Economic Commission
for Africa

Fragile States and Development in West Africa

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Contents

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACBF   African Capacity Building Foundation
ADB   African Development Bank
AFD   Aide Française au Développement (French Development Agency)
BCEAO   Banque Centrale des Etats d'Afrique de l'Ouest (Central Bank of West African States
BEAC   Banque des Etats d'Afrique Centrale (Bank of Central African States)
CET   Common External Tariff
CILSS   Comité permanent Inter-Etats de lutte contre la sécheresse au Sahel (Inter-State
            Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel)
CNDD   National Council for Democracy and Development (Conseil national pour la dé-
            mocratie et le développement)
DAC   Development Assistance Committee
ECOWAS   Economic Community of West African States
EU   European Union
FAO   United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation
FCFA   Franc de la Communauté Financière Africaine (African Financial Community Franc)
FDI   Foreign Direct Investment
FSF   Fragile States Facility (FSF)
FSI   Failed State Index
GDP   Gross Domestic Product
IAG   Index for African Governance
ICT   Information and Communication Technology
IMF   International Monetary Fund
LICUS   Low Income Countries under Stress
MDGs   Millennium Development Goals
NEPAD   New Partnership for Africa's Development
OECD   Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PRSF   Poverty Reduction Strategic Framework
PRSP   Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SSA   Sub- Saharan Africa
UA   Unit of Account (used by ADB)
UEMOA   Union Economique Monétaire Ouest Africaine (West African Economic and Mon-
            etary Union)
UNCTAD   United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNO	United Nations Organization
USD	United States Dollars
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WAMZ	West African Monetary Zone
WB	The World Bank Group

FOREWORD

The African continent faces many socio-economic development challenges. Among them is the high level of political instability and fragility in many countries, and the displacement and impoverishment this causes on the citizenry. Yet, Africa is not alone in this predicament. The World Development Report (World Bank, 2011) states that an estimated one and a half billion people around the world live in areas affected by fragility, conflict and large scale organized criminal violence.

Many countries in West Africa can be classified as fragile using the commonly indicators of fragility. For example, the Failed State Index for 2008 shows West African countries are either in the alert or warning category with a majority being in the former (Rice and Patrick, 2008). Similarly, the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (Mo, 2010) also shows that most countries in West Africa were in the bottom 25 on the governance ranking. Further, the Index of State Weakness in the Developing World for 2009 shows that eight countries in West Africa were in the top thirty weakest countries in the world. This is the bottom quintile of this fragility ranking. A global analysis of worldwide fragility in 2009 using a group of nine commonly used indicators showed that, with the exception of the Global Peace Index, at least 50% of the world's ten worst performers are African countries. These data show that there is at least one West African country in each of these top ten states (worst performers). Thus, given the link between political stability and development, these classifications demonstrate that fragility is indeed a major development challenge in the sub-region.

This publication, "Fragile States and Development in West Africa", is a synthesis of the empirical experiences and lessons learnt from five member States of the sub-region on strategies to address fragility and post-conflict challenges. The experiences illustrate the diverse nature of the sources of fragility, the manifestations of fragility and the range of strategies at both national and sub-regional levels to create a peaceful environment and pursue socio-economic development objectives. The publication emphasizes the importance of good governance (including strengthening of public institutions) in creating a platform on which the social contract between the state and its citizen remains cardinal and stability is upheld. The importance of a fully inclusive approach in dealing with manifestations of fragility to build lasting peace and security are emphasized in the national analyses. This message is carried out throughout the report. Addressing the three pillars, peace, state capacity and economic reconstruction, is presented as imperative to a holistic approach to overcome fragility and post conflict challenges. Importantly, the publication emphasizes the significance of preventing conflict through addressing the potential causes in a timely manner. The publication further re-emphasizes the importance of peace, stability and security to the attainment of development objectives including the Millennium Development Goals.

I strongly believe that the recommendations in this publication will help strengthen the policy environment on addressing fragility to ensure that the sub-region takes necessary steps towards maintaining peace and security as a pre-condition to facilitating socio-economic development. The experiences provide comfort in the demonstrated commitment by all countries to address the individual challenges through assistance from development partners and the support which sub-regional organizations are willing to lend to member States facing challenges.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Sub-Regional Office for West Africa is committed to collaborating with the ECOWAS Commission and its member States in order to collectively address the socio-economic development challenges in the sub-region. This publication is a demonstration of that commitment. The Commission will continue to engage with the member States of the sub-region to help tackle impediments to sustainable development and work tirelessly towards the enhancement of the livelihoods of citizens.

This publication was made possible through collaboration with the ECOWAS Commission under the multi-year programme of cooperation, and the input from member States of the sub-region through active participation in the meeting that reviewed the draft reports and developed the sub-regional recommendations. The Government of Sierra Leone, through the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, provided logistical support during the review meeting.

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INTRODUCTION

This volume is a collection of the edited papers presented at an ad hoc experts group meeting on Fragile States and Development in West Africa, organized by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa Sub-Regional Office for West Africa (ECA/SRO-WA) and held in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in March 2011. The meeting was attended by experts from twelve member States of the Economic Community for West African States, the ECOWAS Commission, the West African Economic and Monetary Union, the West African Monetary Institute, the African Development Bank, the Central Bank of West African States, the United Nations Development Program in Sierra Leone, West African Development Bank, civil society organisations and academic institutions. It deliberated on the challenges faced by fragile states in their pursuit of socio-economic development focusing specifically on West Africa. The meeting dealt with both conceptual and empirical issues regarding fragility and post-conflict reconstruction and development.

The concept of fragility[1] has gained prominence in the development discourse during the last twenty years and various development practitioners have coined a plethora of definitions of fragility, in most cases to suit their own focus and objectives. Literature on fragility is replete with debates on the conception and operation of the term fragile states, including what it represents empirically. However, in general, fragility is associated with various combinations of systemic dysfunctions leading to government inefficiency and the breakdown of the social contract. Despite the ever-evolving debate on the definition of the concept of fragile state and the different typologies, most analysts generally describe fragility and fragile states to include countries trapped in violent conflict/crisis or recovering from crisis or conflict and which are generally characterized by weak state capacity and/or a weak state which leave citizens vulnerable to social, political and economic shocks. The weakness of state institutions, deteriorating governance environments, lack of capacity and/or disruption relating to ongoing or recent armed conflict/crisis or violent insecurity are major characteristics of fragility. Fragility impacts negatively on economic growth, social development and jobs creation, which also have the potential to aggravate state fragility and further dent growth and stability prospects. Despite these agreed generalizations about fragility, this classification masks the diversity of the extent and forms of fragile states. In light of the diversity of the nature of fragility, some analysts have questioned the logic of these broad classifications used in development discourse.

Despite the reservations about the correct definition and accurate measurement of fragility, the phenomenon remains a major development challenge on the continent. A recent report by the African

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1   Post-conflict states are special cases of fragile states.

Capacity Building Foundation (2011) alluded to the high levels of fragility in African countries and highlighted the major causes and identified the remedial action necessary. The report highlights that despite recent good economic growth performance, the African continent still has the world's most extensive history of civil wars and instabilities. For example, the report further observes that, for the period 1990 to 2000, there were 19 armed conflicts and cross-border civil wars in Africa, and that in 1999 alone 16 African countries were in armed conflict. These observations highlight the widespread prevalence of fragility and conflict on the continent. Among other effects, the report echoes the fact that fragility results in high levels of poverty and inequality which in themselves become sources of further instability on the continent. Further, the report alludes to the challenges of post-conflict recovery and notes that extricating a country from fragility requires addressing the often dynamic causes in a sustainable manner.

Understanding the dynamic link between development, fragility, and conflict requires an appreciation of the character and determinants of the conflict, its duration and intensity. Hence the transformation of fragile states on the path of stable and sustainable development depends on the resolution of the challenges of peace building, state building, and economic reconstruction. These three broad areas encapsulate the challenges associated with fragility, and define the context of any assistance by development partners.

The building of peace involves a range of measures targeted at reducing the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict, and strengthening of national capacities at all levels for conflict management. By laying the foundations for development, peace building creates fertile ground for the resuscitation of post-conflict countries and provides an environment in which state building can occur. Building the state is an endogenous process to enhance capacity, institutions and legitimacy of the state driven by state-society relations. It helps develop effective government based on law and general consent, and hence facilitates the creation and strengthening of the social contract between the state and its citizens. The third pillar relates to building the economy and focuses on resuscitating the foundations of economic and social development, including revamping infrastructure in various sectors financial and macroeconomic management, basic service delivery, inclusive growth, addressing manpower challenges, opening the political and democratic space and job creation. The building of the three pillars can occur simultaneously.

Using the foregoing exposition, the various dimensions of these three pillars and the experience of five countries, the experts analyzed fragility in West Africa, ascertained its causes, isolated the remedial strategies, and recommended approaches to strengthen peace and stability in the sub-region to create a stable platform for the furtherance of the objectives of regional integration. Each national report had unique attributes on fragility that created a larger and much more diverse appreciation of the challenges of fragility and further exposed the weaknesses of using common classification schemes for fragility. The accomplishment of the overall objective of developing national and sub-regional

recommendations to address fragility challenges was facilitated by the information shared from the background papers and the experiences of experts.

This publication consists of ten Chapters excluding this introduction.

In the first Chapter, the author provides an overview of the various dimensions of fragility covering definition, causes and measurement, and alludes to the ongoing debate on these issues. The review of commonly used indicators of fragility helped illustrate the fragile nature of West African countries. The author highlights the importance of a properly functioning state for economic growth, development and poverty reduction strategies. The review echoes that the process of launching fragile states towards stability and development needs to be holistic and should be based on realistic timeframes that accommodate the expectations of all stakeholders. Further, the assistance provided to address fragility should build sustainable resilience at national level, build both state and private sector capacity to address skills shortages, and should be rooted in national structures.

The second Chapter attributes conflict in Africa to poor governance associated with massive violations of human rights, social and ethnic exclusion, scarcity or inequitable access to lands and distribution of natural resources, share of the revenues from natural resources exploitation, poverty, and artificial borders lines and claims of territories. The author emphasizes that the post-conflict period commences with the signature of the peace agreement and marks the beginning of the post-conflict reconstruction. Three phases in post-conflict development can be discerned: the emergency phase, the transition phase, and the development phase. Each has its own peculiar attributes and challenges. The emergency phase aims at establishing a safe and secure environment for humanitarian relief programmes. The transition phase is often headed by an appointed interim government and ends with the election to set up a popularly-elected administration. The new government then deals with internal capacity issues including re-establishing basic social services such as education and health, and the governance mechanisms, rehabilitation and reconstruction with jobs creation and rebuilding economic infrastructure. The author observes that economic reconstruction is critical for the political economy as it ensures smooth transition and the prevention of relapse into conflict and focused and visionary leadership is important for post-conflict development.

In the third Chapter, the author outlines the ECOWAS framework for supporting recovery and development in fragile states in West Africa. The various Protocols and mechanisms that guide peace and security in West Africa are outlined, and their strengths and weaknesses identified. The harmonious link between the sub-regional processes and the continental peace and security mechanisms is used to demonstrate the overall African context of these initiatives. In this exposition, the author describes how the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, for example, is designed to prevent conflict, ensure peace and stability, good governance and the conduct of credible elections. The active involvement of ECOWAS in its various member States for peace and security purposes is highlighted, with

specific example on the challenges and achievements in the sub-region. Conclusions to strengthen the mechanism are provided including the need for decisive action by the regional body on matters which threaten peace and security.

In Chapter four, the author presents the critical aspects of African Development Bank's (AfDB) framework for supporting fragile states and focusing on the assistance programmes for countries in West Africa. The author highlights that the purpose of the framework is to enhance the Bank's operational engagement in Regional Member Countries that are fragile, based on the harmonized AfDB/World Bank fragility rating, which allows for an increased and more differentiated engagement approach. He notes that the Bank has to stay engaged in all its member countries, and that it needs to enhance its engagement in countries emerging from conflict and crisis. This is especially important given the marked progress that has been made in recent years in resolving many long running and debilitating conflicts. For example, the possibility of successful turnaround is clearly demonstrated by the experience of such countries as Mozambique and Rwanda, where strong country commitment, combined with enhanced and more predictable support from development partners, sustained and accelerated the transition out of fragility. The author observes that building on these lessons to craft more effective engagement in these countries is a priority for the Bank. The Bank's strategy is underpinned by a strategy to strengthen incentives for countries to pursue good economic management thus facilitating their transition out of fragility, and the predictability of assistance which the bank framework provides and is important in post-conflict reconstruction.

The next five Chapters of this publication present detailed analyses of the experiences of Guinea, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria and Sierra Leone to illuminate on the nature of fragility in these countries, the development challenges faced and the suite of approaches employed to address fragility. In each national report, the authors outline the specificity of the fragile nature and provide a genesis of its origins, the challenges faced under the three pillars and the progress made to restore peace and stability. For example, whereas the Nigerian experience illustrates how an economy with abundant natural resources and experiencing continuous revenue flows can be fragile, the cases of Liberia and Sierra Leone show fragility and political instability existing side by side. The case of Niger shows fragility and poverty. Each case outlines the interventions by various actors to restore stability, and critically evaluates the success and challenges. Experiences in post-conflict developments including security sector, judiciary reforms, and truth and reconciliation commissions illustrate the huge challenges in restoring stability. The authors conclude with recommendations to strengthen stability and prevent relapse into fragility. The national analyses use the broad definition of development to assess the impact of fragility on the economies.

The last Chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations from the analysis in the report including the lessons learned from the national analyses. It highlights the broad national as well as sub-regional recommendations to overcome fragility and strengthen stability in West Africa. The rec-

ommendations are derived from the different Chapters and also from the outcomes of the ad hoc expert group meeting. They are provided with the objective of strengthening the restoration of stability in West Africa and preventing conflict. The need to strengthen and synchronize the nature of the engagement of cooperating partners in assisting fragile states, in line with the Paris Declaration, is important to ensure optimal engagement of the development partners.

CHAPTER 1

The Definition, Causes and Measurement of Fragility and the Development Challenges Faced by Fragile States: An Overview

Introduction

The worldwide concern about fragile, weak or failing states and the challenges that such instability of countries poses to the general welfare of humanity and socio-economic development is borne out of the key role of states in the international political system. Instability in any state, whether permanent or temporary, localized (national or sub-regional) or widespread, will adversely impact the functioning of the international political and economic systems as it compromises the role of countries in development, management of shared and scarce global resources and in collective national and international human security. In addition to providing key social services and other public goods such as health, education and sanitation, States superintend over national security and the respect of law and order, ensure security of personal property, and create stability for growth and prosperity. It is for these reasons that fragility is a threat to global peace, as fragile states are at the centre of many internal and regional development problems as well as security threats. The potential ramifications of the current unrest in the Arab world illustrate why there is worldwide concern about instability.

Defining Fragility

The concept of fragility has gained prominence in the development discourse during the last twenty years, and various development practitioners have coined a myriad of definitions, in most cases to suit their own focus and objectives. To facilitate the elucidation of development challenges facing fragile states and post-conflict countries[2], it is important to define what state fragility means in the context of this paper. A fragile state is one with weak capacity to carry out the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations and its territory, and that lacks the ability or political will to develop mutually constructive and reinforcing relations with society (OECD/DAC, 2010). Issues of effectiveness, authority and

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2   Post-conflict countries are often referred to in literature as a special case of fragile states. The two terms, fragile states and post-conflict countries, are used interchangeably in some discussions.

legitimacy are at the core of the definitions and manifestations of fragility, resilience and stability. Although no firm consensus exists on the definition of fragility, there is general agreement on the key characteristics of what are considered as fragile states[3] and these common attributes include: weak national institutions, lack of leadership (authority, legitimacy), and limited state capacity to perform functions expected by society.

The lack of consensus on the exact definition of fragility is dealt with extensively by Cammack et al (2006) who observe that the term "fragile" is, in many documents, replaced by "failed", "failing", "crisis", "weak", "rogue", "collapsed", "poorly performing", "ineffective", or "shadow", each with its own specific manifestations. From this nomenclature, state fragility is thus a multi-faceted concept and is a function of the disequilibrium between state functions and capacity to deliver on the one hand, and societal expectations on the other (see also Menocal, 2010). Cammack et al (2006)[4] further contend that these definitions tend to emphasize the functionality of states, the effects of fragility and the relationship between states and donors, and highlight that fragility is about authority, service entitlements, and legitimacy failures. Political issues and conflict are logically important in fragility issues as the lack of effective political processes can result in disequilibrium in state capacities and a mismatch with societal expectations. Further, as observed and elaborated in Collier (2007), political conflict in any country exacerbates fragility in circular manner. Hence the circular nature of these various dynamic causative factors and their interrelationships is at the heart of the fragility trap faced by many countries.

In another view on fragility and its manifestations, Bertoli and Ticci (2010) relate the state of being fragile to institutional constraints and isolate three key classifications in that regard. First, they contend that, as an outcome, fragility is a misalignment of state policies and objectives. Second, they argue that fragility has to do with the nature of the social contract, a procedural issue in the relations between state and society and thirdly, fragility has to do with the role of non-state actors in development, the provision of goods and services and consumption.

Thus, despite the lack of agreement on one definition of fragility, it is clear that the state of being fragile is a continuum and these various descriptions are different stages or levels of the state of fragility. As noted in Rocha, et al (2008), fragility can be entrenched or transitory and thus it poses challenges of different magnitudes from a socio-economic development perspective. Fragile states vary and often the definitions used focus in the analysis on different dimensions. As a result, some analysts empha-

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3   DFID and OECD definitions of fragility focus on the inability of the state to supply basic services whereas the European Commission, CIDA, UNDP and USAID definitions go beyond performing basic functions for poverty reduction and development to encompass other broader dimensions such as state authority and political legitimacy. The World Bank definition encompasses weak governance, weak policies and weak institutions and a low ranking on the banks' Country Policies and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) index.
4   They argue that fragility has become a veritable academic industry involving a number of analytical frameworks, instruments and indices that claim to measure the different dimensions and indicators of fragility.

Chapter 1: The Definition, Causes and Measurement of Fragility and the Development Challenges Faced by Fragile States: An Overview

15

size that countries cannot be described by one form of fragility (Menacol, 2010). Table 1.1 derived from Call (2008)[5] presents an attempt to classify fragility of states into five categories.

Table 1.1: Broad Characterization of Fragility

Fragility Category	General Characteristics
Weak States	Exhibit low levels of administrative control across an entire territory or portions of it, significant gaps in security, performance and legitimacy
Divided States	Manifest substantial divisions between national, ethnic or religious groups
Post-war States	Have experienced violent conflict
Semi-authoritarian States	Impose order through coercion
Collapsed States	Core government institutions do not function at all, state has ceased to function completely

Source: Adapted from Call (2008)

This characterisation, which leans heavily on political attributes or processes, although allowing us to analyze fragility, and providing some typology, is rather simplistic and masks a myriad of complexities among fragile states, as often these characteristics could and do exist in a single situation or side by side. For example, a weak state can be divided and could be emerging from war and vice versa. In fact, these distinctions more accurately identify dimensions or facets of fragility rather than distinct categories. Further, as other analysts have observed, each of these features or characteristics represents a wide spectrum describing the fragility characteristics. In this simplified categorization, it is not clear how the transition from one category to another occurs, and how easily and accurately it can be defined and measured. The concept of a fragility spectrum (as opposed to a point measure) provides more analytical space for developing appropriate response strategies. It captures the changing nature of fragility and the impact that certain endogenous and exogenous events may have on society more accurately and in that way allows for enhanced understanding of dynamic developmental challenges that should underpin policies and programmes aimed at supporting transition and the development of any country from a fragile situation.

This spectrum typology on fragility provides the space to analyze the situation of countries more generally in order to recommend broad corrective measures. The discussion in this paper adopts this broad characterization of fragility, and uses to the broad description to isolate broad respective challenges in socio-economic development. Yet there is tacit acknowledgement that such a generalization masks the complexity of fragility situations in terms of their character and manifestations.

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5   Cited in OECD (2010) and Menocal (2010)

Causes of Fragility

Fragility can be the outcome of a multitude of interrelated internal and external causes, which analysts classify into four broad classes: structural and economic factors, political and institutional factors, social factors and international factors (see Cammack et al, 2007 and Bertoli et al, 2010).

Structural and economic factors such as poverty, low income (sustainability of regimes is highly correlated with per capita income),[6] and economic decline can be drivers of fragility since poor economic performance can undermine the popularity of governments[7]. Other structural factors which can incite and perpetuate fragility include: violent conflict, presence of armed insurgents, access to natural resources (water, minerals, oil, forestry), lack of natural resource wealth, demographic stress, and adjacency to fragile countries.

In a similar manner, political and institutional factors such as bad economic and political governance, political repression, weak institutional capacity, institutional multiplicity and succession politics can precipitate fragility due the uncertainty these situations create. The prevalence of tension within society caused by social factors such as horizontal inequalities, societal fragmentation, social exclusion, gender inequality and weak civil society structures to provide checks and balances can also instigate disturbances and lead fragility in any state.

Fragility can also emanate from and be sustained by international factors such as a legacy of colonialism, developments in the international political economy, climate change and global economic socks. Rising food and energy prices can result in instability and cause fragility as large sections of the population are unable to access the basic needs. Analysts observe that climate change has capacity to outstretch the adaptive capabilities of fragile states which could potentially lead to mass displacement, destabilisation and ultimately violence. For example, droughts or floods which cause crop failure and lead to food shortages and rising prices can be a source of spontaneous and/or sustained instability. The state's capacity to respond to the challenges ultimately determines the overall impact of this phenomenon. These causes and characteristics are often self and mutually-reinforcing and thus can be permanent or transitory.

As can be seen in Box 1.1, defining fragility through the feature, cause and effect approach can be challenging as, for example, poverty can be a feature, cause and consequence of fragility.

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6   ACBF (2011)
7   ACBF (2011)

In a similar manner to the relationship between poverty and fragility, violent conflict can also be a cause, a symptom or consequence of fragile situations. State failure to provide public services can lead to civil unrest, violence from communities and eventual armed conflict which could be sustained depending on how quickly corrective measures are mobilized. The failure of the state to deliver the expected services leads to the loss of confidence and doubts about the legitimacy of the state leading to instability. The state may respond with repressive methods and this could spiral into sustained violence and conflict. Thus, state effectiveness, authority and legitimacy are weakened by the damaging effects of violent conflict which may breed further violence and long-term fragility.

Fragility can also emanate from illegitimacy of the state, even in instances where resources are plenty and deliberate misallocation of resources occurs, usually at the behest of the political elite. Low organizational capabilities (limited capacity within state institutions) to deliver expected services and a narrow resource base which cripples the ability to meet the expectations of society can cause fragility. Yet, as observed in Collier (2007), for example, fragility is not static, and changes in expectations of society could become asymmetrical to the ability of the state institutions/machinery to respond appropriately and thus cause and deepen instability (see also Menacol, 2010). The dynamic nature of society's expectations requires that the state remain in contact with its citizens through participatory processes in national affairs.

The sources of fragility of African countries can be described by many of the causes outlined above. For example, the conflicts that have occurred and/or are taking place in Nigeria, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Libya, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Somalia, and many other African countries have their root causes in most of the factors outlined in the previous section. Unequal access to natural resources has been identified as one of the key sources of instability in Africa. Some studies have reported that a country with natural resources has three times the probability of instability compared with one without natural resources (see ACBF, 2011). In this case, the instability emanates from two sources: access to the resources as well as distribution of the benefits the exploitation of these resources. In another view, Kofi Annan (1998) identifies the character of African politics as a major cause of instability and hence fragility. He attributes this to the 'winner-takes-all' mentality in political contests. Other causes of fragility and instability identified by Annan (1998) include the lack of transparency, the lack of accountability, inadequate checks and balances, limited respect for human rights and succession politics.

The preceding discussion, though not exhaustive, has provided a brief overview of some of the generic causes of fragility, many of which are applicable to the situations affecting many countries on the continent. As has already been emphasized, there are distinct differences amongst these member States which need to be factored in when designing interventions.

Various methods and approaches are employed in the development discourse to measure fragility for purposes of developing appropriate response strategies. The many analytical frameworks and indicators characterize and classify countries based on levels of fragility. The following section reviews some of the commonly used measures of fragility and brings out the focus of the specific indicators and the challenges of drawing generalized conclusions from these indicators.

Measurement of Fragility

The correct measurement of the cause and extent of fragility is important to help identify and monitor situations of fragility, and hence make context-specific responses to assist countries to overcome fragile situations. Table 1.2, derived from the UNDP Users Guide on Fragility (2009), classifies the indicators of fragility into three broad categories of input, process and output indicators.

The input indicators, which are also referred to as structural, rights or commitment indicators, refer to the existence and quality of enabling structural conditions in any country, and usually focus primarily on the legal frameworks, institutions and procedures in place in any nation. The question posed by these indicators commonly requires "yes or no" answers and measurement is based on such responses. Secondly, process or responsibility indicators measure efforts made by government to achieve certain output or outcomes, for example, the proportion of the national budget allocated to military expenditure and/or education. Finally, the output or performance indicators measure the results of actions or outcomes, such as employment rates. As will be shown later, the overall fragility indicator is a composite measure of these three indicator types.

Chapter 1: The Definition, Causes and Measurement of Fragility and the Development Challenges Faced by Fragile States: An Overview

19

Table 1.2: Indicators and Measures of Fragility

INDICATOR TYPE	COMPONENTS/MEASURES
Input indicators	Is there a division of power (executive, legislative, the judiciary) that guarantees the independence of the different branches of the state? Ratification of core international Human Rights Conventions Existence of regulations and public institutions overseeing public expenditure Country membership of regional and international organizations
Process indicators	Health expenditure as a percentage of GDP Military expenditure as percentage of GDP International transfers of major conventional weapons Pupil to teachers ratio in primary schools Number of ex-combatants receiving professional training
Output indicators	Number of conflict-related deaths per year Unemployment Violent demonstrations and social unrests Trade balance as a percentage of GDP Incidents of victimization that have been reported to the authorities in a given country

Source: Derived from DIE and UNDP (2010)

The commonly used measures of fragility are provided in Table 1.3. These different indicators are generated/developed by various expert institutions (shown in Table 1.4) for specific purposes and comprise a combination of input, process and output indices. Just as is the case with the ambiguity in the definition of fragility, the different measurement indices are also contestable as their development is user-specific in some cases, arbitrary and, in certain instances, methodologically questionable. The orientation of the producer of the index influences its construction and thus affects country scores and comparisons. Further, cross-country comparisons across indicators are thus meaningless given the lack of uniformity in the construction of the indicators. Other analysts have also observed that even time series analysis may not be meaningful as the construction of indicators and weightings change overtime as new parameters are included.

However, as can be seen in Table 1.3, despite the diversity of producers of these indicators most of them measure fragility based on four broad and differently measured and weighted dimensions – security, political, economic and social dimensions. Among all these indicators, the Fragility Index is the only one that explicitly includes environmental parameters in its description.

Table 1.3: Conceptual Dimensions Covered by Fragility Indices

Index	Security	Political	Economic	Social	Environmental
CIFP[8] Fragility Index	X	X	X	X	X
Index of African Governance (IAG)	X	X	X	X	
Index of State Weakness (ISW)	X	X	X	X	
Peace and conflict instability ledger (PCIL)	X	X	X	X	
Failed States Index (FSI)	X	X	X	X	
State Fragility Index (SFI)	X	X	X	X	
Country Policy and institutional Assessment/IRAI[9]		X	X	X	
Political Instability Index (PII)		X	X	X	
BTI[10] State Weakness Index	X	X	X	X	
Global Peace Index (GPI)	X	X			
WGI[11] Political Stability and Absence of Violence	X				

Source: DIE and UNDP (2009)

The specific nature of the producers of the indicators has led some analysts to question their independency and objectivity given that they are produced to serve prior defined purposes. The discussion in Cammack et al (2006) captures the argument of the impartiality of the indicators and highlights the challenges of comparing ranking across indicators. Despite the 'politics of fragility', the indicators are generally accepted in development policy as providing reasonable guidance on aspects they seek to measure, even though at times the strength of the signal they provide is not of the same magnitude. The World Bank and the United Nations are the key sources of some of the data used in most of these calculations.

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8   Country Indicators of Foreign Policy
9   IDA Resource Allocation Index
10   Bertelsmann Transformation Index
11   World Governance Indicators

Chapter 1: The Definition, Causes and Measurement of Fragility and the Development Challenges Faced by Fragile States: An Overview

21

Table 1.4: Producers of Fragility Indicators

Index	Producer and Focus Area
Bertelsmann Transformation Index State Weakness Index	Bertelsmann Stiftung, **state weakness**
Country Indicators of Foreign Policy Fragility Index	Carleton University, **state fragility**
Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA)/ International Development Association (IDA) Resource Allocation Index(IRAI)	The World Bank, state fragility and development orientation
Failed States Index	Fund for Peace, **state failure**
Global Peace Index	Institute for Economic and Peace, **negative peace**
Index of African Governance	Harvard University, **governance**
Index of State Weakness in the Developing World	Brooking Institution, **state weakness**
Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger	University of Maryland, **state instability**
Political Instability Index	The Economist Group, social and political unrest
State Fragility Index	George Mason University, **state fragility**
World Governance Indicators, Political Stability and Absence of Violence	The World Bank, political stability and absence of violence

Source: DIE, UNDP (2009)

A review of selected indicators commonly used in the classification of countries shows the differences in the areas of focus and possible policy prescriptions to emerge from using each indicator.

The **World Bank's Country Policy and Institutional Assessment** is the most prominent in literature and the most widely used despite the reservation among many analysts about the measure, especially with respect to African countries[12]. It measures the conduciveness of a country's policy and institutional framework to poverty reduction, sustainable growth and the effectiveness of development assistance. The index rates the quality of a country's policies and institutional arrangements against a set of 16 criteria grouped into four clusters – economic management, structural policies, policies for social inclusion and equity, and public sector management and institutions with specific weights for each group and sub group. The country scores are used the World Bank and OECD to determine aid allocation and to categorise states that are fragile or Low Income Countries Under Stress (LICUS). Although the difference between fragility and underdevelopment is not clear from this index, it is employed in analyses by the two institutions. The African Development Bank also measures fragility using the CPIA[13] criteria

. . . .

12   See for example, Alexander, N. (2010) for a critique and suggestions for improvements
13   See Alexander, N. (2010) for a critique of the CPIA

to assess the performance of African countries. Yet the African Development Bank and the World Bank generate different ratings for most of the 16 criteria for assistance purposes.

The **Failed State Index** (FSI) is designed to provide policy-makers and researchers with a tool for analyzing vulnerable countries, and it is calculated from twelve indicators of vulnerability in three broad categories: social, economic and political. These twelve indicators include: human rights, security apparatus, factionalised elites, external intervention, demographic pressures, refugees, group grievance, human flight, uneven development, economic decline, delegitimization of the state and public services. Countries are classified failed states into four categories: alert, warning, moderate and sustainable. Using the FSI for 2006[14], five countries in West Africa were in the alert category and nine were in the warning category. In 2010 eight countries were in the alert category and seven in the warning category. These data show that out of 23 countries in the alert category in the world in 2010, eight (35%) and nine (39%) were from West Africa and East Africa respectively. Figure 1.1 compares West Africa with the rest of Africa based on the FSI for 2006 and 2010.

Figure 1.1: Number of Countries in Alert Category on FSI (2006 and 2010)
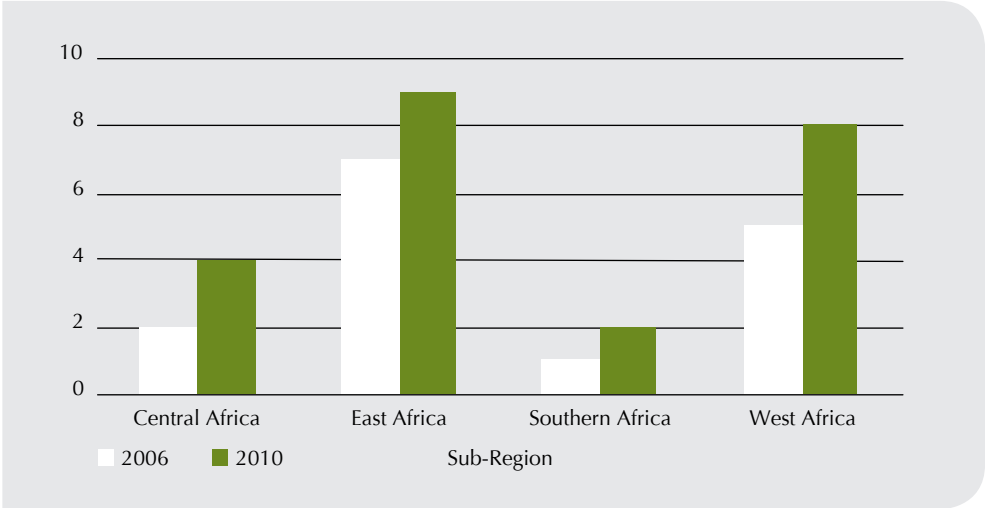
The **Country Indicators of Foreign Policy Fragility** compiled by Carleton University is another commonly used indicator. It is based on the need of the state to exhibit three fundamental properties: authority, legitimacy and capacity, which have to be strong for fragility not to exist. The index groups structural indicators into six broad clusters: environment, governance, economics, security and crime, human development and demography.

....
14   Cape Verde was not included in the surveyed countries

The **Brookings Institute generated Index of State Weakness in the Developing World**, which uses twenty economic, political, security and social welfare indicators (four baskets) to provide an aggregate rating of countries based on weaknesses, is also used by some institutions. The four 'baskets' of indicators facilitate assessment of the ability of the country to foster an environment conducive to sustainable and equitable growth, to establish legitimate and transparent institutions to secure the population from conflict and to meet basic human needs. Using the Index of State Weakness in the Developing World for 2009, eight countries in West Africa were in the top thirty weakest countries, the bottom quintile. Generally, West African countries performed poorly in the welfare basket in this measure.

The construction of **Index for African Governance** shown in Table 1.5 illustrates the broad nature of the issues in the development of the indicator. The IAG defines governance beyond just the rule of law, democracy and human rights and includes aspects of human development and economic opportunity. The index's five categories are in line with the African (Banjul) Charter on Human and People's Rights which emphasizes the intricate link of economic, social and cultural rights in evaluating governance. The relationship between peace, democracy, security, justice on the one hand, and socio-economic development on the other captured in 1995 African Union Cairo Agenda for Action is also accommodated in this governance measure.

Table 1.5: Basic Structure of the Index of African Governance

Category	Sub-Category
Safety and Security	1. National security (2/3 of weight)
	2. Public safety (1/3 of weight)
Rule of Law, Transparency and Corruption	1. Ratification of critical legal norms
	2. Judicial independence and efficiency
	3. Corruption
Participation and Human Rights	1. participation in elections
	2. Respect of Civil and Political Rights
Sustainable Economic Opportunity	1. Wealth creation
	2. Macroeconomic Stability and financial integrity
	3. The Arteries of Commerce
Human Development	1. Poverty
	2. Health and Sanitation
	3. Education

Source: Rotberg and Gisselquist, 2008

The sub-categories of the indicators presented in Table 6 illustrate the qualitative and quantitative elements included in the construction of the Index of African Governance. A comparison of the indicators in Table 1.6 with the conceptual dimensions of fragility indicators as shown in Table 1.3 illustrates that despite the differences in measurement and/or definition of these indices, they broadly and generally cover similar aspects.

Table 1.6: Detailed Structure of the Index of African Governance (*selected categories*)

Category	Sub-Category	Sub-sub-categories (indicators)
Safety and Security	National Security	Government involvement in armed conflicts
		Number of battle deaths
		Number of civilian deaths due to one-sided violence
		Refugees and asylum seekers originating from the country
		Internally displaced people
		Ease of access to small arms and light weapons
	Public Safety	Level of violent crime (homicide rate)
Rule of Law, Transparency and Corruption	Ratification of critical legal norms	Ratification of core international human rights conventions
		International sanctions
		Property rights
	Judicial independence and efficiency	Judicial independence
		Efficiency of the courts, based on pre-trial detainees
		Number of days to settle a contract dispute
	Corruption	Public sector corruption

Source: Adapted from Rotberg and Gisselquist, 2008

Figures 1.2 and 1.3 show the respective scores and rankings of West African countries on the Index for African Governance (IAG) from 2000 to 2007. These Figures show that Cape Verde has improved its score and is the highest ranked country in West Africa. Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea have experienced declines in governance scores during the same period.

Chapter 1: The Definition, Causes and Measurement of Fragility and the Development Challenges Faced by Fragile States: An Overview

25

Figure 2: IAG Scores for Countries (2000 to 2007)
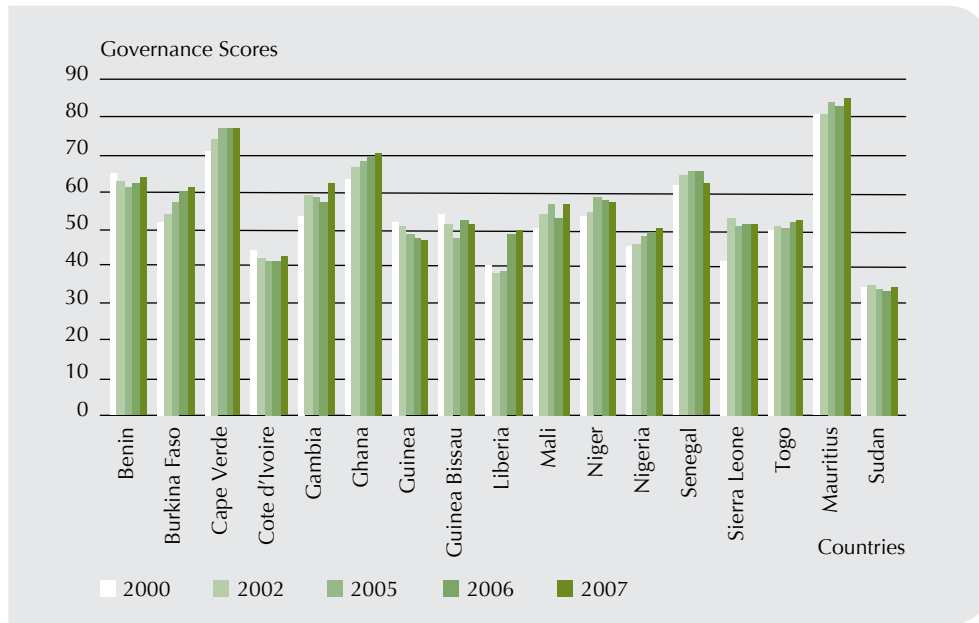
Source: Strengthening African Governance, 2009

Figure 3: Ranking of Countries on the IAG (2000 to 2007)
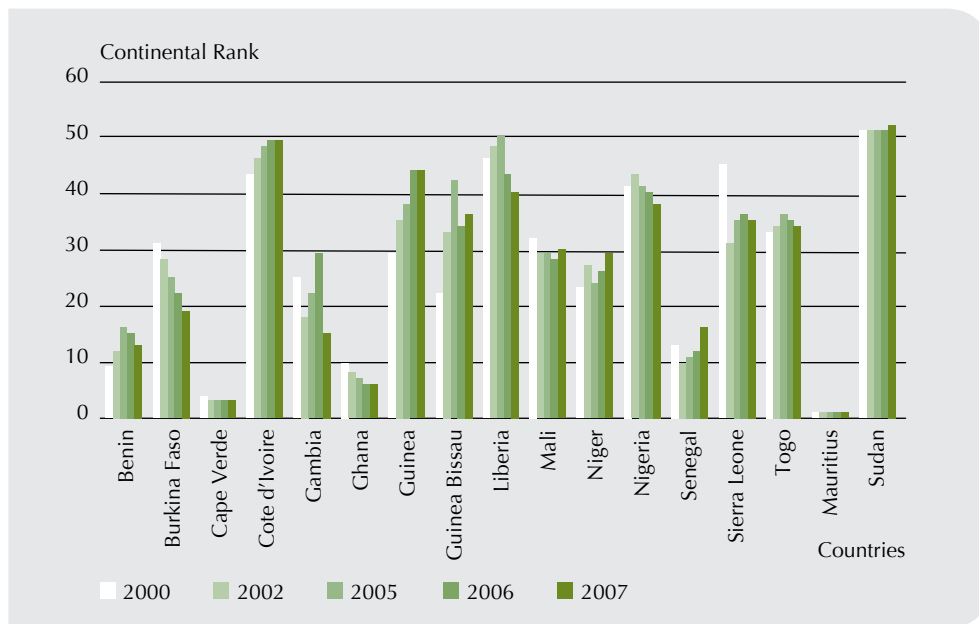
Source: African Governance Index

The analysis of the individual country scores based on the five categories shown in Figure 1.4 illustrates that generally all countries score the least in human development and sustainable economic opportunities. A few score lowly in the aspect of rule of law and in safety and security, all countries score highly.

Figure 4: Index of African Governance Category Scores, 2007
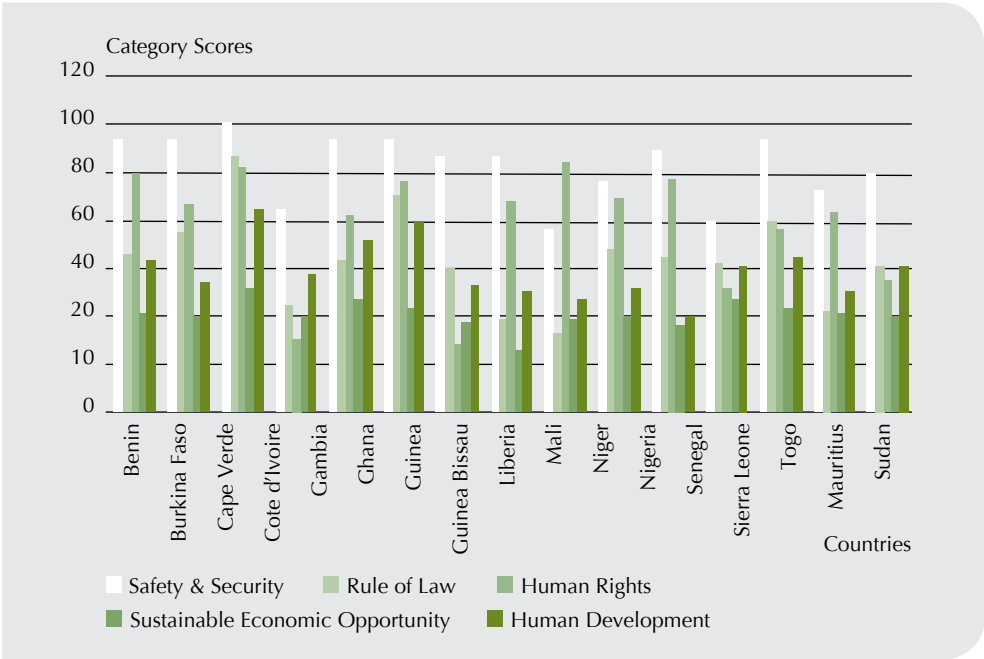
Source: Index of African Governance

The summary in Table 1.7 for 2007 (see Annex 2 for 2006 indicators) shows the worst performers according to different indicators of fragility. With the exception of the Global Peace Index, at least 50% of the world's ten worst performers are African countries. For the ECOWAS sub-region there is at least one country in each of these top ten states (worst performers) according to the ten indicators chosen.

Chapter 1: The Definition, Causes and Measurement of Fragility and the Development Challenges Faced by Fragile States: An Overview

27

Table 1.7: Comparison of Rankings (worst countries, 2008)

	BTI State Weakness Index	CIFP Fragility Index	CPIA or IRAI	Failed State Index	Global Peace Index	Index of State Weakness	Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger	State Fragility Index	WGI Political Stability
1	Somalia	Sudan	Zimbabwe	Somalia	Iraq	Somalia	Afghanistan	Somalia	Somalia
2	CAR	Afghanistan	Comoros	Sudan	Somalia	Afghanistan	Iraq	Sudan	Iraq
3	Afghanistan	DRC	Eritrea	Zimbabwe	Sudan	DRC	Niger	Afghanistan	Pakistan
4	Iraq	Somalia	Sudan	Chad	Afghanistan	Iraq	Ethiopia	Myanmar	Afghanistan
5	Chad	Ethiopia	CAR	Iraq	Israel	Burundi	Liberia	Chad	Sudan
6	Côte d'Ivoire	Iraq	Chad	DRC	Chad	Sudan	Sierra Leone	DRC	DRC
7	DRC	Burundi	Guinea-Bissau	Afghanistan	CAR	CAR	Mali	Iraq	Nepal
8	Haiti	Haiti	Afghanistan	Côte d'Ivoire	DPRK	Zimbabwe	Tanzania	Rwanda	Côte d'Ivoire
9	Sudan	Pakistan	Côte d'Ivoire	Pakistan	Lebanon	Liberia	CAR	Burundi	Lebanon
10	Myanmar	Liberia	Togo	CAR	Russia	Côte d'Ivoire	Djibouti	Liberia	Nigeria

Source: Adapted from DIE and UNDP (2009)

Despite the existence of the various indicators and the differences in the rankings that may result from using the indicators, the correct and accurate measurement of fragility is important for developing appropriate strategies to overcome fragility. Although generalizations from these indicators may not accurately reflect fragility, they help identify challenges and trends to inform appropriate policy responses for engagement. By helping indicate the degree of political participation, the responsiveness of government to rule of law, the absence/presence of institutions of civil society, the level of militarization of society and the extent of isolation of the country from the international community, they provide important information for the engagement of partners for assistance.

It is apparent that, using the broad definition of fragility presented earlier in this paper and the indicators outlined above, most developing countries are fragile as they exhibit the different dimensions of fragility including institutional, economic, political, social and global. The next section explores some of the development challenges faced by fragile states and outlines the roles of different stakeholders in peace building, nation building and economic resuscitation and transformation.

Development in Fragile States and Post-Conflict Countries

Fragility and Socio-Economic Development

The relationship between fragility and socio-economic development is complex in terms of the transmission mechanism and the impact on overall national development. However, the correlation between levels of economic development and the state of fragility cannot be disputed (OECD, 2010). Boxes 1.2 and 1.3 illustrate the link between fragility and socio-economic development and show some of the challenges faced (or outcomes of fragility) by fragile states.

Box 1.2: Socio-economic development challenges

One sixth of the world's population lives in fragile States, which are also home to *one out of every three people surviving on less than a dollar a day.* Of all the children in the world who die before reaching their fifth birthday, half were born in these countries. Of all the women who die in childbirth, one in three dies in these countries. While other developing countries are making progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals these fragile nations, ranging from Haiti to Nepal, from Burundi to Uzbekistan, are falling behind.

Source: OECD, 2010

Box 1.3: Notes from the World Development Report 2011 on Conflict and Development

Poverty rates are 20 per cent higher in countries affected by repeated cycles of violence of the last three decades.

People living in countries currently affected by violence are twice likely to be undernourished and 50 per cent more likely to be impoverished. Their children are three times as likely to be out of school.

Source: WDR, 2011

Chapter 1: The Definition, Causes and Measurement of Fragility and the Development Challenges Faced by Fragile States: An Overview

29

As discussed elsewhere in this paper, the development challenges highlighted in Box 1.2 and Box 1.3 could emanate from many sources, for example, from the four fragility traps identified by Collier (2007). He argues that for some countries, being trapped in a vicious cycle of conflict and poverty negatively impacts on the ability of the state to provide services to its population and thus directly impacts on national development programmes which are coordinated by the state. Other countries suffer from a "natural resource curse", where the resource rents collected from resource exploitation are siphoned-off by a minority. Further, legacies of poor governance can precipitate fragility as states fail to deliver even the most basic services to their citizens. The OECD has observed that the lack of either capacity or accountability to support equitable socio-economic development slows down and even halts progress towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). For example, the OECD (2010) report observes that fragile states are the furthest away from achievement of MDGs and account for 75% of the MDG deficit worldwide. The World Development Report (2011) makes similar observations and states that no low-income fragile or conflict-affected country has yet achieved a single MDG. The report goes on to report that people in fragile and conflict-affected states are twice more likely to be undernourished compared to those in other developing countries (see Box 1.4).

Box 1.4: Violence and Development

Poverty is declining in most countries in the world, but countries affected by violence lag behind. For every three years a country is affected by major violence (battle deaths or excess deaths from homicide equivalent to a major war), poverty reduction lags behind by 2.78 percentage points.

Violence is one of the main constraints to meeting MDGs.

Source: WDR, 2011

Human and technical capacity challenges at state, society and private sector levels are of endemic proportions and are at the heart of the challenges faced by fragile states. The institutional framework of what defines the state, what it can and cannot do, is non-existent or so severely challenged that it cannot provide the security and systems for society to function in peace.

For states emerging from conflict, the main threat to development emanates from insecurity and the common challenges include: (i) a mismatch between the existing type and number of armed forces and what is politically desirable; (ii) the need to integrate various forces into a single force; (iii) imperatives of internal security requiring legal institutions be built and the penal system revamped; (iv) small arms

collection. Further in such situations, the capacity to reform is generally weak as core state institutions lack basic human resources required to develop strategies and oversee operations towards resilience. In addition, the large numbers of people, many of them youths, can become trapped in a cycle of violence, often because of the lack employment opportunities and the lack of skills, and this can prolong instability. Thus, although post-conflict situations provide an opportunity for reconstruction and regeneration, they entail high risks which can rapidly degenerate into renewed warfare and thus the process of reconstruction has to be handled carefully. Reconstruction, whether state building, peace building or both, has to address all challenges and potential flashpoints as simultaneously as is possible or at least have a well laid out programme which is inclusive and holistic. Initiatives such as arms for development have successfully been used in some post-conflict countries.

The State, Peace Building, State Building and Fragile State Development

The role of the State

The state is at the centre of fragility and impacts on development as the major challenges (such as the lack of security, weak governance, limited administrative capacity, chronic humanitarian crises, persistent social tensions and violence, or the legacy of civil war) are all within its direct preserve. The state is at the core of the social contract between the state and society and hence it is critical for development. The evolution of development policy over the years regarding the role of the state in promoting economic growth has shown that the state remains important for development. Following the financial crisis in 2007/2008, the appeal of the role of the state in economic development has strengthened further. It is recognized that while the state should not be the engine for growth, it should be an efficient and credible facilitator of economic and social processes. Thus, establishing a framework (sound and stable institutions) with rules and institutions will facilitate the proper functioning of the market. Rodrik (2006) argues that properly functioning institutions drive and sustain growth in the long-run, and protect the economy against endogenous and exogenous shocks. The state must play a regulatory and oversight role to facilitate the functioning of the market. The need for a properly functioning state with, for example, legal frameworks, taxation systems and providing infrastructure is key for stability and development. The issue of the developmental state is a critical aspect in fragile states' development. The state's intervention in the form of credible policies oriented towards growth and the clarity of its vision on economic objectives is fundamental in dealing with fragility. Also important is the ability of the state to champion an economy grounded in a coalition of rulers, elite and interest groups with the common belief that long-term growth is in the interest of all stakeholders.

There is consensus that recovering from fragility is a challenging endeavour which requires input from all stakeholders in a stable political environment. Stability is a pre-requisite for growth and development. Box 1.5 adapted from the World Development Report (2011) summarizes the impact of violence on development.

Chapter 1: The Definition, Causes and Measurement of Fragility and the Development Challenges Faced by Fragile States: An Overview

31

Box 1.5: Fragility and Instability

Countries with weak government effectiveness, rule of law, and control of corruption have a 30-45% higher risk of civil war, and significantly higher risk of extreme criminal violence than other developing countries.

Source: WDR, 2011

Although building stability should be the ultimate long-term objective, sustaining resilience is equally important for the medium to long-term. As expressed in Menacol (2010), building resilience strengthens the ability of society to cope with the change in capacity and effectiveness or legitimacy of state institutions and thus could help maintain stability in the short term. Consequently, political processes which balance society's expectations and relations underpin both stability and resilience.

The observation by the President of the World Bank that securing the development of fragile states requires tackling the relationship of security, governance and economics emphasizes the importance of harmony in all the fundamentals (Zoellick, 2009). The World Bank President advocates for a framework that goes beyond the classical or neo-classical development model, and is built and concretized around issues of security, legitimacy, governance and economy stability to adequately address the challenges of instability. By bringing security and development together, such a model smoothens the transition from conflict to peace and stability, and permits sustainable development to flourish (see Annex 3b for a proposed elaboration to stability).

Building Peace

Peace building is a key strategy in post-conflict environments, and it focuses on addressing the root causes of the conflict. It is centred on matters that direct financial support, humanitarian aid and technical assistance, including personnel, cannot in themselves deal with and end conflict. This is because the predatory behaviour and survival strategies adopted during the conflict can be carried over into the peaceful environment, and will be at tangent with the new peaceful order and could perpetuate instability (Menacol, 2010). Thus, building of peace encompasses initiatives to end the war and prevent future wars and is generally characterized by the processes and mechanisms of disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating (DDR). These initiatives are at the cornerstone for any peace building process and incorporate technical, military, political, security, humanitarian and developmental dimensions. At the heart of peace building and post-conflict reconstruction is the nexus of political,

economic and social development on the one hand, and sustainable peace on the other. Frameworks such as the Integrated Peace-Building Strategy within the UN used in post-conflict countries can help in the implementation of poverty reduction strategies.

State Building and Capacity Building

State building is the purposeful action to develop capacity, institutions and legitimacy of the state in relation to an effective political process for negotiating the social contract. As a framework for cultivating and strengthening state-society relations and providing a platform for development, state building is a long-term and endogenous process which involves the establishment and/or development of effective and legitimate state institutions. The legitimacy borne out of this process permeates the political structures of any country, and becomes the cornerstone of the social contract between the state and its people. Legitimacy is thus a key ingredient for building peace and statehood and is necessary for effectiveness. Building and strengthening the legitimacy of the political system provides in the stability conducive for peace, state building and socio-economic development. Although state-building is an endogenous process driven by state-society relations, the process of inculcating legitimacy of the political system has over the years seen more and more the active participation of regional and sub-regional organizations. Together with capacity and resources, institutions, legitimacy and effective political processes combine to produce resilience in any economy. According to the OECD (2010), central to this is the critical importance of positive state-society bargaining underpinning the formation of the social contract. Generally, the model of state building entails supporting the legitimacy and accountability of states through democratic governance, economic liberalization, and strengthening the capacity of states to fulfilll their core functions in order to reduce poverty. These activities are considered essential for development, including the attainment of MDGs (OECD, 2010) and World Development Report (2011). The successful experience of East Asian countries on the positive role of strong states in development (the developmental state-building model) further illustrates the importance of state-building as a precursor for development. Therefore, enhancing the legitimacy of the state is key, as it strengthens the capacity to intervene in the economy by introducing strategic economic policies and programmes to help kick-start economic activities.

In post-conflict situations, economic reintegration and the restoration of sustainable livelihoods require the introduction of capacity building and skills training programmes. It is therefore not surprising that the provision of education and training is a vital part of reintegration and reconstruction programmes of many international agencies active in post-conflict development. For example, UN-ESCO's assistance work has this as the fourth pillar of humanitarian response. Similarly, the United Nation's programme on Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration is a major aspect of the skills training provided in fragile states. The success of reintegration is vital for sustainable peace and development by providing alternative means of livelihood to former combatants. Addressing the manpower capacity needs has to commence with the rebuilding of the training infrastructure, including the re-equipping of training courses and re-establishment of quality assurance in education and

Chapter 1: The Definition, Causes and Measurement of Fragility and the Development Challenges Faced by Fragile States: An Overview

33

training and the development of appropriate governance systems (UNDP, 2010). In addition, other demand driven and flexible training programmes have to be delivered to equip the population to exploit opportunities in a stable environment.

Thus, from the foregoing, post-conflict development encompasses reconstruction, nation building, capacity building and institutional reform. It seeks to rebuild the fragile state so that smooth development can take root. In addition to endogenous processes which are key to the process, addressing post-conflict challenges requires input from a supportive sub-regional and international framework.

Regional and Sub-Regional Frameworks

At the continental level, the African Union plays an active role in seeking to promote and enhance the legitimacy of governments in its member States through the (New Partnership for Africa's Development) NEPAD framework and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). NEPAD provides for the maintenance of legitimacy on the continent. The APRM, though voluntary, is a continental framework which commits member States to promote good governance, accountability and good economic management. The mechanism ensures that the policies and practices of participating countries conform to the agreed values in the following four focus areas: democracy and political governance, economic governance, corporate governance and socio-economic development (UNECA, 2005). It is a credible self-policing mechanism by African countries which subjects member States who volunteer to undergo the process of review by their peers, its self-monitoring mechanism. The APRM is rooted in the belief that it is critical that African development and regional co-operation programmes take place in the context of good economic and political governance. The APRM thus seeks to promote and re-enforce high standards of governance. The details of the APRM framework focus areas are shown in Annex 5.

However, it is at sub-regional level where moral suasion to promote peace and legitimacy is expected to be more effective as overall sub-regional prosperity is a collective responsibility. As much as cross-border ties may underpin hostility, they may also be the key to easing it. The economic spill-over effects for countries affected by conflict are often significant. A recent ACBF (2011) report observes that bad neighbours directly contribute to a 2% decline to GDP in the other more peaceful country. According to the World Development Report (2011) countries lose an average of 0.7% of their annual GDP for each neighbour involved in civil war. This adds to other more direct challenges such as political instability and the flow of war refugees. As regional integration deepens and the African continent moves closer towards the aspirations of the Lagos Plan of Action on the creation of the African Economic Community, frameworks that actively promote legitimacy and peace and security will become more important for socio-economic development. Hence regional economic communities on the African continent have put in place such peace and security mechanisms. The ECOWAS framework for peace building, peace keeping and security is guided by the: Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security (1999),

Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (2001), and ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (2008).

These stability frameworks at both continental and sub-regional levels have been criticized for lack of effectiveness and also for their narrow focus. For example, detractors of the effectiveness of the APRM point to its use of moral suasion for compliance without any sanctions for non-compliance as its weakest point. Further, others note that the focus on more tangible and explicit measurement of macro-economic stabilization, and human development and institutions capacity be introduced in these analyses. In addition, the support mechanisms should also introduce mechanisms for macro-economic support, through for example, concessionary sub-regional economic transformation/development fund to help post-conflict countries. This could be incorporated into the sub-regional development framework, for example, GDP support frameworks. Similarly, the sub-regional framework should have a database (pool) of experts and expertise from which post-conflict countries could draw to overcome manpower and institutional challenges.

International Engagement

At an international level, donors and other development partners have developed mechanisms for assisting fragile states and post-conflict countries. The framework, developed by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD and adopted by its Development Ministers in April 2007 is one such mechanism. The Principles for Good International Engagement shown in Box 1.6 (see also Annex 3(a)) are a guide for improved aid management and engagement beyond aid. By encompassing development co-operation, diplomacy and peace building, economic development, capacity building and humanitarian action, the principles present a complete framework for engagement and help maximize the positive impact of engagement and minimize unintended harm.

The long-term vision for the engagement is to assist countries build legitimate, effective and resilient state institutions. Progress towards these lofty goals requires cooperation among all stakeholders and collaboration among donors is key. The Principles of the Paris Declaration[15] are at the centre of the collaboration among donor community.

The strategic framework for stabilization and reconstruction developed by USAID also offers a comprehensive view of developing and implementing programmes to assist fragile states. According to its proponents, the framework offers a foundation from which to develop priorities based on the needs of the fragile country and all its stakeholders. The framework is based on the end-state concept and identifies the necessary conditions that should be pursued in arresting fragility. The five broad interdependent conditions to facilitate stabilization and reconstruction are: rule of law, safe and se-

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15   The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action, 2005-2008, see <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/11/41/34428351.pdf>, accessed 22 January 2012.

> **Box 1.5: Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations**
>
> 1. *Take context as the starting point*
> 2. *Ensure all activities do no harm*
> 3. *Focus on state building as the central objective*
> 4. *Prioritise prevention*
> 5. *Recognise the links between political, security and development objectives*
> 6. *Promote non-discrimination as a basis for inclusive and stable societies*
> 7. *Align with local priorities in different ways and in different contexts*
> 8. *Agree on practical co-ordination mechanisms between international actors*
> 9. *Act fast, but stay engaged long enough to give success a chance*
> 10. *Avoid pockets of exclusion ("aid orphans")*

cure environment, social well-being, stable governance, cross-cutting principles (such as ownership, legitimacy, security, etc.), and sustainable economy. This framework captures the conditions and requirements for stability proposed in most post-conflict development models.

Concluding Remarks

The recent report by the African Capacity Building Foundation (2011) on African Capacity Indicators provided a host of strategic considerations in dealing with the fragile nature of African countries. According to this report, the some of the key issues are:

(i) Enhancing governance and conflict resolution: This requires the growing of local structures to nurture development and to provide ownership and empowerment in the new institutions in a local-specific, culture-specific context. As observed in the ECA African Governance Report (2009), good governance matters for development and is a key element in promoting growth and development to enable African countries to achieve MDGs (Mlambo et al, 2009). Good political governance is important for resolving fragility. Through enhancing public participation and creating democratic institutions, it helps strengthen stability and facilitates the development of good political as well as corporate governance culture. Issues of transparency and accountability in national activities can take root with good governance.

(ii) Strengthening knowledge management: Participation in the knowledge-based economy requires that post-conflict countries build their own human and social capacities. This allows people to exploit new and diverse opportunities as economies evolve from a state of fragility. The development of the requisite infrastructure is paramount in this strategy.

(iii) Promoting gender-based programming: The explicit capacity of post-conflict and fragile states development should include programmes targeted at addressing gender imbalances. In that regard, gender should be a core competence of policy making institutions in economies emerging from conflict to address the capacity gaps.

(iv) Enhancing resource mobilisation: The pace of development in fragile states depends on the predictability of aid flows. Highly predictable and less volatile aid flows facilitate easier planning and ensure smooth execution of programmes while on the other hand erratic aid flows can be a source of further instability due to unfulfillled promises. Good international engagement in fragile States requires rapid response funding mechanisms, which in turn requires long-term engagement. As observed in the World Development Report (2011), aid volatility impacts negatively on the building of institutions in fragile states.

(v) Strengthen strategic partnerships: The entry of new development partners in fragile states has to be viewed positively in addressing the challenges of fragility, as these new partners have the potential to complement support from traditional partners. In that regard, China's increasing importance on the continent presents Africa with an additional source of development aid to address development challenges. However, since fragility is often associated with weak negotiating capacity, Africa-China dynamic elevates the importance of a common negotiation framework for African countries in the dealings with China to avoid countries being forced into skewed agreements due to the pressures of fragility.

(vi) Exploiting skills from all corners: To overcome the manpower constraints, fragile states should utilise networks of professionals at sub-regional level and also tap from the diaspora. Within West Africa, for example, deficit countries can benefit from the free movement of persons and the right to residence and to establishment within an integrated community. Further, the African diaspora through its remittances and skills as a source of technical expertise can provide cover in deficit member States.

(vii) Long-term engagement: The engagement by the international community must be sustained over time in fragile States in order to improve the lives of ordinary people in a holistic manner, with the input and participation of a range of actors, including donors, civil society and the private sector. Short-term engagement has potential to undermine the building of resilient economies in fragile states.

In conclusion, overcoming fragility is an enormous challenge which requires the input of many development actors both internal and external. The challenges of peace building, state building and economic resuscitation facing fragile states and post-conflict countries require a holistic and coherent approach rooted in national structures, and supported by all stakeholders including regional economic communities and international development partners. It is important that the process be driven by national ownership in order to build sustainable resilience and the capacity of the state, private sector, and civil society to address the challenges.

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Chapter 1: The Definition, Causes and Measurement of Fragility and the Development Challenges Faced by Fragile States: An Overview

39

Annex 1.1: Index of African Governance Data (2000 to 2007)

	Yearly Governance Scores for Countries				
	2000	**2002**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**
Benin	65.4	63.1	61.4	62.5	64
Burkina Faso	51.9	54.5	57.8	60.4	61.6
Cape Verde	71.6	74.8	77.2	77.2	77.4
Côte d'Ivoire	44.7	42.3	41.7	41.7	42.7
The Gambia	53.7	59.2	58.9	57.7	62.8
Ghana	63.7	66.8	68.8	69.6	70.6
Guinea	52.1	51	49	48	47.4
Guinea-Bissau	54.3	51.8	48	52.7	51.5
Liberia	40.7	38.5	39.1	49.1	50
Mali	50.7	54.2	57.2	53.2	57.2
Niger	54	54.8	58.5	58.3	57.8
Nigeria	45.7	46.2	48.1	49.6	50.3
Senegal	62	64.9	66	66	62.7
Sierra Leone	41.6	53.1	51.1	51.7	51.6
Togo	50.1	51	50.4	51.9	52.7
Mauritius	81.3	81.1	84.6	83.4	85.7
Sudan	34.5	35.1	33.8	33.4	34.8

Yearly Ranking of Countries					
	2000	2002	2005	2006	2007
Benin	9	12	16	15	13
Burkina Faso	31	28	25	22	19
Cape Verde	4	3	3	3	3
Côte d'Ivoire	43	46	48	49	49
The Gambia	25	18	22	29	15
Ghana	10	8	7	6	6
Guinea	29	35	38	44	44
Guinea-Bissau	22	33	42	34	36
Liberia	46	48	50	43	40
Mali	32	29	29	28	30
Niger	23	27	24	26	29
Nigeria	41	43	41	40	38
Senegal	13	10	11	12	16
Sierra Leone	45	31	35	36	35
Togo	33	34	36	35	34
Mauritius	1	1	1	1	1
Sudan	51	51	51	51	52

Source: Strengthening African Governance, 2009, UNECA: Addis Ababa.

Chapter 1: The Definition, Causes and Measurement of Fragility and the Development Challenges Faced by Fragile States: An Overview

41

Annex 2: Index of African Governance Category Scores for 2006
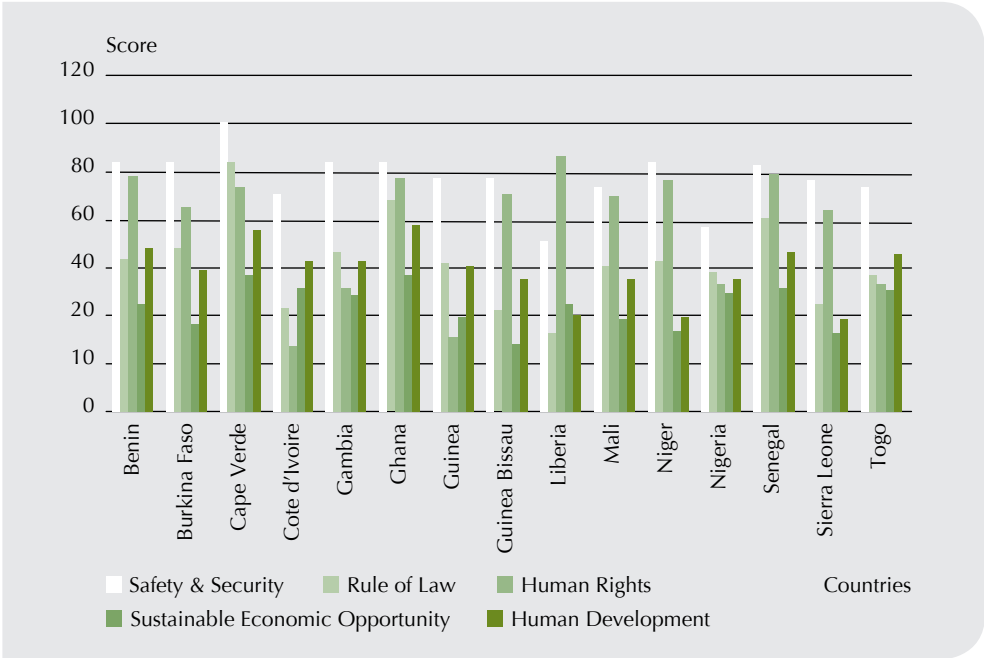
Source: Strengthening African Governance, 2009, UNECA: Addis Ababa.

Annex 1.3 (a): Principles of International Engagement in Fragile States

Principles	Core Components
Humanitarian action	Humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence
Development	Sustainability, empowerment, self-reliance, accountability and participation
OECD principles for good engagement	Do no harm, focus on state building, prioritizing prevention, recognizing links between policy spheres, non-discrimination, alignment with local priorities, coordination, avoid pockets of exclusion, long-term commitment
Good humanitarian donorship	Ensuring fund reinforces the principles of humanitarian action
Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness	Emphasis on country ownership, aid alignment, aid harmonization, managing results and mutual accountability

Source: Adapted from Elhawary et al (2010)

Annex 1.3 (b):

Priority Areas	Issues
Building legitimacy of the State	What services are available, who performs them, adequacy and transparent management of resources
Establish a safe and secure environment	Security and development go hand in hand
Build effective rule of law	A key requirement for sustainable development
Bolster local ownership	Community-led development is more effective, consultation is key
Ensure macroeconomic stability	International financial institutions need tools to provide help quickly
Pay attention to the political economy	Programmes towards stability should take care of winners and losers
Crowd in the private sector	A combination of the public and private sector is required to arrest fragility
Coordinate across national actors	Coordination and integration of actions and programmes
Consider regional context	Regional approaches are required to address security and stability issues
Recognise long-term commitment	Funding mechanisms need to ensure continuity and stability of resources

Chapter 1: The Definition, Causes and Measurement of Fragility and the Development Challenges Faced by Fragile States: An Overview

43

Annex 1.4: African Peer Review Mechanism Focus Areas

Focus Area	Key issues
Democracy and good political governance	This area looks at ensuring that member State constitutions reflect the democratic ethos, provide accountable governance and that political representation is promoted, allowing all citizens to participate in the political process in a free and fair political environment.
Economic governance and management	Good economic governance including transparency in financial management is an essential pre-requisite for promoting economic growth and reducing poverty
Corporate governance	This area focuses on promoting ethical principles, values and practices that are in line with broader social and economic goals to benefit all citizens. It works to promote a sound framework for good corporate governance
Socio-economic development	Poverty can only be effectively tackled through the promotion of democracy, good governance, peace and security as well as the development of human and physical resources

CHAPTER 2

Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development in Africa: Challenges and Opportunities

By Amy Toure, Regional Advisor on Post-Conflict Management and Governance, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Sub-Regional Office for Central Africa

Introduction

In the past two decades, numerous conflicts have taken a toll on the prospects for uninterrupted development in African countries. From Burundi to Sudan to Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, DRC, Ethiopia, Somalia, Liberia and Sierra Leone and many others, Africa has witnessed more conflicts than any other continent in the world during the last century. The various and multiple violent conflicts that have afflicted the continent have exacted an incalculable toll on the economies, politics and society, robbing them of their developmental potential notwithstanding the continent's wealth in natural resources. The United Nations Security Council has spent not less than 75% of time and money resolving conflicts and performing humanitarian duties in Africa, more than any other part of the world, and according to the UNHCR (2010), there are over 3.2 million refugees and internal displaced persons (IDPs) in Africa, second highest number after the Middle East.

The root causes of conflict in Africa are diverse. They generally stem from poor governance with massive violation of human rights, social and ethnic exclusion, scarcity and/or inequitable access to lands and natural resources, unequal distribution of revenues from natural resources exploitation, poverty, artificial borders lines and claims of territories and many others. The previous chapter outlined some of these causes in greater detail. Countries can thus be in conflict situations (in a state of fragility) stemming from combinations of many of these factors.

A post-conflict scenario, as termed by analysts, generally refers to a situation where peace has returned or at least signs of the return to peace are evident. Conceptually, the term post-conflict can be misleading because violence often continues in societies after a peace settlement has been accepted. According to analysts, post-conflict is the period that commences with the signature of the peace agreement. It formally marks the end of the war and the beginning of the post-conflict reconstruction period often fraught with a multitude of challenges to stakeholders. There is consensus that gener-

ally post-conflict reconstruction consists three phases: the emergency phase, the transition phase, and the development phase. However, these phases are neither absolute with clear boundaries nor do they occur in any pre-determined chronological order. The phases might differ from one country to another. Similarly, different geographic, ethnic, language or religious regions or groups within a country emerging from conflict are likely to result in differences in phases. Therefore, any assessment or planning should factor in these attributes.

The emergency phase is the period that follows immediately after the end of hostilities and aims at establishing a safe and secure environment for humanitarian relief programmes. In this phase, while many external actors ensure basic security necessary to the humanitarian responses (food aid, re-settlement of refugees and IDPs), domestic actors are pre-occupied with outlining key institutional components of their ravaged political and social system. It is crucial that the latter be consulted by the external actors for involvement early in the process. The emergency phase can last from ninety days to a year.

The transition phase derived its name from the period of transition during which an appointed interim government is set up. The interim government is followed, within a reasonable period of time by a transitional government which will be in charge of laying out the foundation of the future political landscape or writing the constitution. The transitional phase ends with the election that set up the freely-elected government. At this stage, internal capacity is focused in re-establishing basic social services such as education, health, for example, and the governance mechanisms. The process then moves from the emergency situation to recovery rehabilitation and reconstruction with job creation and the rebuilding of economic infrastructure.

The last phase, that of development, is oriented towards post-conflict reconstruction and sustainable development with internal actors and development partners, including the United Nations country team, taking full responsibilities of planning and coordinating progress. The shift from post-conflict reconstruction to development commences during this phase which usually lasts from four to ten years depending on domestic factors including the extent of destruction and instability.

It is worth emphasizing that the national and transnational linkages and complexes that spawn, sustain, or shape Africa's conflicts are obviously multidimensional. Similarly, the post-conflict reconstruction remains a complex system that demands an assessment during the emergency phase, and a coherent, well planned and coordinated multifaceted response. It aims at short, medium and long term programmes that take into account the specificity of each country.

Economic reconstruction is critical for the political economy, and is one of the most important challenges in any state building strategy. After the peace agreements, the context requires that policy-makers manage economic, social and structural challenges created by instability. This, for example,

entails moving from violence to security, from lawlessness, political exclusion and human rights violations to the rule of law and inclusive and participatory government, and from communities/ casts, religious or ethnic confrontation to social cohesion and national reconciliation, and from war-wrecked economies to functioning market economies to allow people to earn a decent living. Further, the process has to create mechanisms to prevent disputes from escalating, avoid a relapse into violent conflict and to build and consolidate sustainable peace and hence sustainable development. The complexity of these challenges makes the task even more daunting for economies emerging from instability as basic structures to coordinate such important processes are often absent and there is general suspicion amongst the population.

As has been observed already, countries emerging from conflict have become a growing concern for many international donors because sustainable peace, a key ingredient for development, is a challenge in this case. Dire poverty, ongoing ethnic, political or religious rivalry, the proliferation of arms, weak government structure and ravaged infrastructure pose tremendous threats that can easily lead a country back into war. At the same time, notwithstanding the overwhelming challenges, the post conflict period is also a period of hope and opportunity especially from the inflow of financial and technical resources which can help to address the root causes of war, and shape social and economic pillars to propel development in a stable environment. Yet it has been acknowledged that, in most cases, "winning the peace" poses a bigger challenge than winning the war and that nation-building is a complex and long-term process that no single institution can address without collaboration.

Although the study of the link between conflict and development is a relatively new field, there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that countries in conflict have failed to pursue consistent development programmes as budgets are often diverted to support war efforts and coordination of national development programmes is often secondary. Further, leadership is often either preoccupied with addressing the causes of conflict or its symptoms. In addition, many post-conflict reconstruction efforts have failed because they haven't been development-oriented. The lack of comprehensive planning, insufficient aid and assistance, and poor coordination among partners are the main reasons. We should not overlook the fact that countries making the shift from conflict to peace face the multipronged transition in the political, security, social, legal and economic sectors and the challenges of achieving reconciliation and sustainable peace, which often overcomes the capacity of the institutional infrastructure.

Although the effects of conflict depend on the characteristics embedded in the root causes of the wars as well as the specifics such as the protagonists (both internal and external actors), the intensity, territorial location, duration, and the peace agreement, following the lessons of experience from post-conflict literature, seven common effects of conflict would constitute the key challenges. Further, we will look at the way to address the challenges towards peace and sustainable development.

Key components and challenges in post conflict reconstruction

As noted above and also in the previous Chapter, the causes of conflicts can be traced to, for example, the unequal distribution of the revenues from the exploitation of the nations' natural resources industries that provide high rents, a low or declining capita income, scarcity of some natural resources such as lands, social exclusion, poor governance, political corruption, disregard for the rule of law, massive violations of human rights, artificial borders claims, unfair international trade and the proliferation of small arms. In the aftermath of the conflict, the transitional governments often face issues related to legitimacy and weak authority. Yet these are the cornerstone of state authority.

Distrustful legitimacy and weak state authority

Violent conflicts are associated with or often result in poor governance, lack of legitimacy and weak state authority. Often, the transitional government is the result of the brokered peace agreement between warring factions without the participation or involvement of the population. Therefore, the transitional government is seen as lacking legitimacy as their mandate is not the results of popular elections. The transitional government often includes ex-combatants (rebels and other armed groups) who have perpetrated crimes and violence on the populations. This brings a complex dimension which has to be dealt with. The holding of democratic elections to create a new government within a reasonable time frame following the peace agreement is an important stabilizing factor, which will help consolidate peace. Democratic elections remain a key ingredient to engage all the population, victims and perpetrators, in an acceptance of the peace process and thus conferring legitimacy to the government. Furthermore, the transitional government may have a weak authority over the country or some parts of the country, and/or wealth like natural resources. When these are in the hands of former rebel groups, public policies need to be negotiated with the armed groups who may become "spoilers" depending on their interests. Partners should work for restoring state authority across the country.

Once the war breaks and the authority of the state collapses, all the other governmental structures fall apart, leading to a societal, political and economic breakdown. Such degeneration undermines legitimacy and trust, and regaining it back from the population is essential for sustainable recovery, peace and development. The transitional government needs to work towards transforming the peoples' mindset to trust them in delivering a lasting peace and prosperity for all. The rebuilding requires a committed and visionary leadership with a strong agenda on ensuring justice and security, protecting and promoting human rights according to the international standards, redeploying and strengthening credible, transparent and accountable public administration institutions that can ensure equitable service delivery and shift from "war economies" to a sustainable market economy.

High corruption

Post-conflict environments are almost inevitably characterized by high levels of corruption. The lack of political will and weak corruption prevention mechanisms, due to the lack of shared vision among

parties in the transitional government, undermine fairness, transparency and accountability. Very often, individuals' and/or groups' interests prevail over those of the state, and corruption becomes endemic. Further, post-conflict reconstruction is an opportunity for international companies to offer diverse services, from security to natural resources exploitation passing by financial services. These investors can face significant regulatory challenges as with the wars, laws may not support this. Sometimes, bribing officials may facilitate business. The lack of law reforms engenders high levels of corruption that can discredit the reconstruction process, and increase the risk of renewed conflict.

Dysfunctional justice system and massive human rights violations

In the post-post conflict setting, the ineffective and dysfunctional justice system and the culture of impunity undermine the legitimacy of the state and weaken formal disputes resolution mechanisms. This encourages citizens to resort to illicit means or any other forms of grievance resolution.

Destruction of infrastructure, lack of access to justice, courts' closure due to the departure of the justice professionals who feared for their safety or were threatened are typical to post-conflict justice system. The impact of conflict on the justice system is among others:

» Militarisation of the administrative system and the decision-making process along with lack of inclusive participation;
» Ethnic and/or religious segregation within the bureaucratic system;
» Disintegration of local governance institutions (destruction of infrastructure and departure of local staff);
» Law officials are discredited for having contributed to the violations of human rights;
» Lack of trust leads to militia formation;
» Lack of credible institutions for grievances management;
» Prisons are overcrowded, brutality is common and some detained have been languishing in prison for years without standing any trial;
» Corruption is rife; and
» Diversion of programmes funds towards supporting the conflict.

The absence of a credible and properly functioning justice system affects the population, particularly the most vulnerable and the minority, in many ways. These include:

» In post conflict environment, any small, solvable issue can generate into a social conflict;
» Militaries', officials' or extremist groups' abuses are ignored. Similarly, the formation of militia leads to violence and legitimizes acts of revenge and impunity in the communities;
» Communities affected by conflict have limited possibilities to make claims regarding their lands and basic social services, and IDPs' legitimate claims in regards to their properties in their region of origin go unsolved;

» Frequent clashes between refugees and host communities regarding sharing the natural resources; and

» With the lack of trust in post-conflict environment, formal courts are viewed as biased, corrupted and unfair based on political, ethnic or religious orientation. As a result, populations in the concerned communities are reluctant to deal with them.

It is therefore crucial to reform the justice sector and related institutions, and provide them with adequate human and financial resources, rehabilitate the physical infrastructure and staff capacities within a legal and regulatory framework and raise them to standards consistent with international human rights norms.

Security and porous borders issues

Post-conflict states are by definition weak states and are therefore associated with significant political and security risks. Violence and insecurity affect the delivery of basic services, humanitarian operations and the reestablishment of government authority and redeployment of the administration. The disintegration of the institutional structures and more specifically those of the security forces have led to the lack of trust in the public authorities and therefore a ground for renewal of violence and conflict.

In a post-conflict setting, although political and historical legacies can differ, the security sector presents the following general characteristics:

» The military and police forces may be abusive, corrupt and incompetent along with a culture of impunity;

» The militias remain a threat to individual and communities' security;

» There is discord between civilians and militaries, and between militaries and the police forces;

» There is lack of professionalism in the security sector;

» The warring factions may want to keep the status quo and not be willing to move forward with SSR;

» There is lack of credible data about the condition of the security system. For example, the number, size and organizational structure of the military, police, intelligence services, private security actors and illegal armed groups; and

» The former warring factions are often more interested in maintaining the status quo than in moving the reform process forward.

Security from violence and from fear is a human right and fundamental to sustainable economy, social and political development, and this is held true for all including minorities and vulnerable populations. Therefore, transitional rulers need to ensure that security is part of the package of post-conflict development programmes. Developing responsive, effective and accountable security and

justice institutions remains a key priority in post-conflict reconstruction. Security and justice reform can help support peace building and reconstruction, and prevent a slide back into violence.

Porous borders remain a breeding ground for illegal arms, drugs, and human trafficking, prostitution, customs and tax invasions, money laundering, smuggling of goods, mercenarism, the recruitment and use of child soldiers, peddling, armed robbery, etc., to which the presence of anti-personal mines that have not been removed is added, and remains a human security issue. Cross-border crimes engender instability. Weak security and justice system, uncoordinated and weak collaborative efforts, and legal regulatory frameworks have been challenges to curb cross-borders criminal activities. The regulation and control of cross-borders criminal activities are critical to ensure peace and stability, and promoting political and socio-economic activities corollary to a regional integration.

The issue is how to regulate and control the borders to further discourage such activities that threat peace and security at the national and regional level, and promote safe and free movements favouring integration?

Social capital, cohesion and special groups' needs

In post–conflict settings, often there is disintegration in the relationship between the social capital and social cohesion. Incoherent public policies and the lack of inclusive participation mechanisms may lead to exclusion or discrimination against sections of the population, and the national interests could be at stake. Exclusion and the absence of participatory mechanisms in public policy formulation challenge the rehabilitation of local governance structure. Vulnerable populations such as returning refugees, internally displaced people, ex-combatants and former child soldiers are likely to invest in illicit activities, which are counter-productive. Furthermore, the lack of sufficient local ownership and participation in post-conflict reconstruction is unsustainable. The reinforcement of networks of civic engagement contributes in rebuilding the social capital and re-establishing trust that would in turn contribute towards social stability and peace. Transitional government should work towards institutional reforms and programmes that promote social cohesion through participation, fairness and inclusion meeting the needs of the vulnerable and minority groups.

Addressing grievances: reconciliation

Reconciliation processes are one of the challenges that should not be overlooked in post-conflict reconstruction. If grievances are not addressed properly or left unsolved, they risk precipitating the return to the conflict situation. Abuses and crimes must be tackled, whether their perpetrators are high rank officials, armed groups or individuals within the communities and the causes of the conflict must be addressed. Any ignored reconciliation can undermine social cohesion and peace building. Experiences have shown that in some post-conflict situations, truth and reconciliation commissions (TRC) were ineffective because of inadequate implementation and lack of support. In others, such commissions have been counterproductive because of the lack of political will and follow-up. Fur-

ther, the lack of coherence between the peace consolidation processes and short term actions or lack of funding for peacekeeping interventions may impede the effort to achieve sustainable peace and development.

Economic reconstruction

Post-conflict countries share a number of characteristics with countries at the same level of development, but that are not coming out of conflict. These common characteristics are: a ravaged economy with human and physical infrastructure in shambles; severe economic distortions and macroeconomic imbalances; weak national civil institutions; a high dependency on official aid flows, mostly in the form of grants; and protracted arrears on payment of foreign debt. Further, the country will require large debt relief.

The governance reforms and economic reconstruction programmes should be designed to achieve poverty alleviation efforts corollary to peace and stability. On the one hand, short terms economic restructuring programmes, which are not sustainable, are prominent in post-conflict reconstruction. On the one hand, war economies continue to coexist with new economic programmes. In addition, the lack of trust and legitimacy in the transitional government and illegal exploitation of natural resources by national and/or foreign actors have diverted substantial revenues at the detriment of the state. This, in turn, undermines efforts to address the economic challenges and to ensure a sustainable economic reconstruction.

Strategic actions for addressing the key challenges to social justice, sustainable peace, and development

One should ask what is social and economic recovery and reconstruction. Indeed, the socioeconomic reconstruction aims at re-establishing the functional components of society, which are: internal and external security, including the reintegration of uprooted populations (refugees and IDPs), and disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating (DDR) former combatants; building administrative and governance capacities; rehabilitating physical infrastructure; establishing functioning financial infrastructures and economic restructuring, which includes creating a credible banking and financial system; fiscal planning and budgets; restoring an economic base drawing on traditional agricultural or pastoral production and existing industries; and creating an environment conducive to generating new sources of income and economic growth. It also includes the provision of loans and grants to businesses or new ventures, skills training, development of new industries and commerce, eliminating criminality and the control of armed actors over important sectors of the economy; establishing a credible and functional judicial system; ensuring social well being, by providing food security, providing basic social services. It is true that each post-conflict is unique. It is no less true that a mix of common frame of reference and shared universal values shows key elements to be considered in designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating governance strategy that will lead to post-conflict recovery, social justice, sustainable peace and development for countries emerging from crisis or

violent conflict. However, it is important to emphasize that each post-conflict reconstruction presents its own dynamics that need to be taken into consideration. Therefore, a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the root causes of the conflict, the internal and external (regional and global) context along with the processes that resulted in some form of peace agreement is critical before undertaking the reconstruction.

Governance strategy for social justice, sustainable peace and development

Experiences have showed that the following pillars are essential to a successful post-conflict reconstruction: a visionary leadership; public administration, justice and security reforms; the promotion and protection of human rights; and reconciliation, participation and social cohesion.

A visionary leadership

A visionary leadership is critical in post-conflict reconstruction. It can rebuild the capacities of the state by rehabilitating the public administration system, and the delivery of basic social services such as health care and education, in a credible, transparent and participatory manner. It can also integrate institution formation with capacity building of civic and political leadership, including constructive negotiation and consensus skills, in a way towards peace stability and sustainable development.

Strong governance structures such as constitution making, the rule of law, security and justice sector reforms, the establishment of mechanisms of political participation and inclusive policies, empowering the civil society, the effective provision of basic services and goods, fighting corruption, promoting genuine democratic culture, the promotion and protection of human rights, free and transparent elections, and the promotion of local governance are the foundations to nation/state building. National interests must prevail over individual/group ones.

Leadership should be able to manage all components of the society. Further, special attention should be given to women, minority and vulnerable groups to address their needs in post-conflict reconstruction.

Empowering local governance through decentralization, by giving them the opportunities to be involved the public services management, can reinforce peace.

Public administration reform

In post-conflict reconstruction, public administration needs to have an effective face-lift to provide excellent public service in a transparent and accountable manner that is consistent with the citizens' needs. Recruitment in public services needs to be based on merit and competence. The public service may have not been stranger to the conflict. Therefore, administrative laws and regulations need

to be peace-sensitive, inclusive, and development-oriented in providing services. Adequate financial resources, qualified and skilled staff, and modern infrastructure and equipment must be at its disposal for efficient service delivery.

Governments in post-conflict reconstruction should undertake in-depth analysis of the root causes of the conflict and address them, foster a national dialogue, and learn how to curb crisis before it escalades into conflict. This offers the opportunity to elaborate negotiation and mediation mechanisms to prevent conflict.

Further, adequate salary to minimize corruption, and training to upgrade skills should not be overlooked in public service reform in post-conflict reconstruction. Equally, Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and Knowledge Management (KM) are equality critical. In a fragile peace environment, any manipulated information can lead to erroneous interpretation, tension and conflicts. Access to information is a human right. Moreover, it is important in the public service reform, and remains a socio-development tool in efficiently delivering public services (dissemination of information, inclusive participation, transparency and accountability are increased, better coordination of activities within different ministries and organs, fighting corruption).

Justice system reform, human rights and reconciliation

Many conflicts are rooted in the breakdown of justice, when individuals' and groups' rights were violated, and they were not able to obtain a fair solution for their grievances. Conflicts can also occur when political, legal and institutional biases marginalize sections of the population, so that they resort to violence. Even where the justice system per se may have not been the direct cause of the conflict, with the continuation and the escalation of the conflict over time, the judicial and legal system generally becomes less able to cope with the injustices of war, thus compounding the perception that the judicial establishment is either unable or unwilling to fulfilll the demands for justice. As such, any attempts to facilitate a process of moving from conflict to democratization and/or peace, if they are to be successful, must take into account the causes of the conflict including the absence of an effective justice and human rights mechanism.

In post-conflict settings, conflicts can arise from the failure of the justice system to protect human rights and punish the perpetrators of violations. Therefore, it is critical to ensure the existence and functioning of accountable judicial systems, to promote reconciliation and nation building, and to protect human rights. Programmes in justice sector need to re-establish the rule of law, promote national dialogue and reconciliation by installing truth and reconciliation commissions to address past abuses and monitor human rights, with the participation of all the components of the society. Special attention needs to be paid to the involvement of women and vulnerable populations. Access to justice is crucial in reaching lasting reconciliation and sustainable peace.

Post-conflict countries and fragile states are often characterized by weak institutions, scarce resources, poor and fragile security, a lack of institutional independence and/or capacity, and often a lack of political will. This presents a complex environment for rule of law interventions. In the post-conflict setting, justice renewal programmes need to link access to justice and human development, thus defining a sphere or accountability through legitimate claims and obligations, and strengthening accountability mechanisms.

Some strategies to overcome the challenges related to the delivery of justice include:

» Strengthening institutions of democratic governance and increasing participation, accountability and transparency;
» Setting up a gender-sensitive justice system to address gender-based violence;
» Strengthening national human rights institutions;
» Enhancing access to justice to enable disputes to be resolved peacefully;
» Strengthening of conflict-sensitive development planning and service delivery;
» Developing the capacities of civil society to manage its owns mechanisms for conflict prevention, informal conflict resolution mechanisms through community leaders for successful peace-building; and
» Setting up Transitional Justice Mechanisms such as:
   º *Criminal prosecutions:* Domestic courts, international tribunals, hybrid judicial mechanisms;
   º *Transnational justice mechanisms:* Criminal prosecutions and civil suits in foreign courts;
   º *Quasi-traditional justice mechanisms:* Incorporation of mechanisms or processes that exist outside the formal state framework, as elements of a transitional justice strategy;
   º *Commissions:* Primarily truth commissions set up on a temporary basis to investigate specific abuses;
   º *Lustration/vetting processes:* Excluding certain individuals from holding public office or employment through dismissal, forced retirement or establishing certain criteria which must be met by future candidates for public positions;
   º *Reparations:* Relieving suffering of, and affording justice to, victims to achieve satisfaction through restitution, compensation, rehabilitation and guarantees of non-repetition;
   º *Amnesty:* Act by which an individual or a group of people is granted immunity from criminal prosecution, and in some cases civil liability, for a crime committed in the past.

In post-conflict setting, parliaments play fundamental roles in peace building processes while reinforcing the power of the legislative branch in a period when state institutions lack credibility. Indeed, the role of parliaments involves oversight of reconstruction, legislating on human rights issues and addressing post-conflict security concerns. It is critical to strengthen parliamentary systems to fulfill their constitutional mandate in holding the executive branch accountable for its actions and performance.

Security sector reform (SSR)

The security dimension is responsible for ensuring a safe and secure environment that will enable the civilian humanitarian actors to undertake emergency relief, recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration operations which will prepare the ground for full-fledged reconstruction programmes.

The traditional concept of security is being redefined to encompass state security to extend to human security: the well-being and safety of the people. It is held true that security and development are inextricably linked. An accountable and efficient security system helps reduce the risk of conflict thus creating an environment for development to occur. The security system as newly defined includes core security actors such as armed forces, police, gendarmerie, border guards, customs and immigration, and intelligence and security services, security management and oversight bodies (e.g. ministries of defence and internal affairs, financial management bodies and public complaints commissions), justice and law enforcement institutions (e.g. the judiciary, prisons, prosecution services, traditional justice systems), and non-statutory security forces (e.g. private security companies, guerrilla armies and private militia). Programmes in security sector reform include security sector review, reform and transformation; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR); small arms reduction strategies; enhancing regional security arrangements; and small arms control. These initiatives must be designed and delivered in a coherent and coordinated manner, with each informing and supporting the other. A strong security sector is a key public policy and a precondition for recovery, development and stability, providing safety and security for the population, assuring the return and resettlement of IDPs/refugees, and ensuring good management DDR processes. The successful disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, resettlement, and reintegration (DDRRR) of former combatants is a condition *sine qua non* for the consolidation of peace. Internal and external actors should make available adequate resources for a successful DDR and the reinsertion of ex-combatants demobilized in the economic sector to allow them to have a sustainable livelihood.

In a post-conflict environment, security issues to be addressed generally cover:

» *Providing a Safe and Secure Environment:* control of belligerents; territorial security; protection of the population including returnees, refugees and internally displaced persons; protection of key individuals, infrastructure and institutions; small arms reduction strategies (laws and regulations, weapons collection among civilians and former combatants, regional arrangements); police customs; border patrol; intelligence services;
» *Security Sector Governance, Reform & Transformation:* national armed force; non-military security forces; re-training military and police; salary review;
» *Disarmament, Demobilization, Resettlement and Reintegration (DDRR):* reintegration packages for ex-combatants; regional security and security arrangements.

Cross-border issues need to be addressed because criminals take advantage of instability to undermine good governance and security, impact the rule of law, economic activities and growth, and human rights. In order to tackle the issue, it is necessary to identify the category of cross-border crimes, the actors involved and their modus operandi, and identify an effective response to fight cross-border criminal activities in a broad regional context.

As specified earlier, in West Africa the main criminal activities are: illegal arms, drugs, and human trafficking, prostitution, customs and tax invasions, money laundering, smuggling of goods (petroleum products, ivory, cocoa, timber etc), mercenarism, the recruitment and use of child soldiers, peddling, armed robbery, anti-personal mines. The individuals involved in criminal activities are ordinary business men and women, rebels, criminal gangs and government officials, for example. They operate through their illegal and secret networks, on foot or hidden in vehicles, and their organization is corporate having border officials and some government officials as accomplice.

To tackle these issues it is necessary to implement a border control strategy to prevent, control and criminalize cross-border criminal activities. Equally important are the national and regional regulation of weapon flows, borders control, awareness campaigns, monitoring and evaluation programmes.

Conflicts, natural resources and environmental governance
In Africa, natural resources have motivated and fuelled conflicts. Revenues from the exploitation of natural resources have been invested in weaponry to continue the fighting, to the benefit a fistful of individuals and reinforcing their political support. Armed groups refused to hand over the control of the exploitation of natural resources, thus violating peace agreements. This created a further obstacle to peace, and hindered any possibility of sustainable development in the interest of the whole nation.

For example, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, with the fall of the former President of Zaïre, Mobutu Sesse Seko, the war was rather linked to the abundance and diversity of natural resources such as diamond, cobalt, columbite-tantalum and other minerals. The conflict continues because of the involvement of foreign private companies who have been illegally exploiting the natural resources. In Liberia, Charles Taylor used diamond and timber to sustain the conflict. Similarly, in Côte d'Ivoire, rebels illegally exploited gold and cocoa to finance the war that broke out in September 2002.

Violent conflicts have also negative consequences on the environment. In 2020, the UN has projected that Africa will have 50 million environmental refugees. The destruction of structures and oil fields, fires, military and weaponry transport, and chemical spraying are all examples of the war activities with a devastating impact on the environment. Air, water and soil are polluted, man and animal are killed, corpses have not been properly removed, and the survivors face numerous health

hazards. More and more humanitarian actors have been incorporating environment issues in their programmes through training and awareness campaigns.

Through post-conflict reconstruction programmes, decision makers must prioritize the management of natural resources and their equitable distribution to the population, particularly to local communities, in a transparent manner and associating them in the process. Further, policies need to elaborate accountability mechanisms for better management of natural resources. Natural resources management strategy should target mapping the natural resources, the exploitation regulations, monitoring and evaluation. This will reduce the risks of conflicts, reinforce peace building, help fighting poverty, and ultimately enhance socio-economic development. Further, elaborating policies aiming at the protection of the ecosystem, preventing and managing natural disasters and climate change will contribute to environment damage mitigation. In order for the strategy to be successful, it has to be regionally elaborated with the support of the international community. As shown in Box 2.1, relapse into civil war is a real threat to development and hence the need for a holistic approach in addressing causes of instability.

Participation and social cohesion

Some sections of the population may have suffered from exclusion, discrimination or unequal access to opportunities, abuses due to their political orientation, ethnic or religious identities. The aftermath

Box 2.1: Relapse into Civil War

Ninety per cent of civil wars in the 21st Century occurred in countries that already had a civil war in the previous 30 years

Source: World Bank (2011). World Development Report, 2011.

of conflict is the period when rebuilders need to promote political inclusive participation, power sharing, strengthening of the community-based organizations (CBOs), and social cohesion as corollary to the democratic process. In this regard, the government, CBOs, as well as communities together with their religious and customary leaders need to re-establish dialogue. Genuine dialogue can ad-

dress the root causes of the conflict, and find ways to a peaceful settlement of disputes and ultimately to a lasting peace and socio-economic development.

Economic reconstruction and development

Formulation of economic policies needs to be closely aligned with peace-building components if they are to succeed. While stability and economic growth cannot be sustained without a lasting peace, peace will not be durable without high-quality growth. Generally, peace agreements create great expectations among the population and ex-combatants regarding their basic needs. Transition from conflict to peace creates a window of opportunity for socio-economic changes that should be managed to benefit all the segments of society.

In a post-conflict country, given the long-standing and continuing depreciation of the human and physical infrastructure, the international community needs to understand that the economic reconstruction process must combine short-, medium- and long-term strategies. This requires consultation, local ownership and a strong support from the international community. The issue of ownership is particularly important as the national leadership — both at the national and local levels — works closely with international organizations, bilateral donors, and NGOs in designing particular economic reconstruction programmes.

Further, it is a priority to constrain 'war economies' and parallel economies, and a poverty reduction strategy should be at the centre of reconstruction efforts and decisions. In light of this, it is important that the decision making process be decentralized, and the approach to development be based on a participatory approach.

Poverty is continuously cited as one of the principal factors responsible for instability in many parts of Africa. For example, West Africa contains 11 of the world's 25 poorest countries and is currently one of the most unstable regions of the world. In fact, at a recent United States Institute of Peace workshop with the theme "Responding to War and State Collapse in West Africa", it was demonstrated that poverty and the lack of economic opportunities were more important factors than Charles Taylor and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in the continuing instability that afflicts the entire region. In the end, poverty can be a root cause of conflict.

In times of peace, promoting jobs creation is difficult and probably twice as complicated in post-conflict setting. Scarce livelihoods and efforts to sustain the reintegration of ex-combatants made of armed force and groups, youth, refugees and internal displaced persons can be very challenging in an environment characterized by declined revenues, inflation, and lost confidence in the local currency, and where youth are trapped in violence, poverty, illiteracy and social exclusion. Stimulating the economy and providing basic public services using armed forces can contribute, in some sectors, to the consciousness and awareness on the difference between war and the benefits of peace. Thus,

it can justify expenditures and encourage population to work toward peace. Equal distribution of revenues from natural resources exploitation across different regions and ethnic components of the country can curb the risk of violence and contribute to economic stimulation.

At a macroeconomic level, strong management and support are critical to economic reconstruction and rehabilitation. Given the continuing degradation of human and physical infrastructure, a long-term international commitment is required. International stakeholders should encourage governments to promote private sector development, and create economic opportunities for business operation focusing on small and medium enterprise development. Strategies should highlight that the macroeconomic framework relies on market forces for the allocation of resources in the economy, and focus on establishing a sound banking, payment and fiscal system incorporated and adjusted to the financial requirements of peace-related programmes.

In presence of huge relief and rehabilitation needs, short- and long-term comprehensive and realistic plans need to be developed with adequate mobilized funds. As peace efforts continue, this will determine the basic infrastructure (bridges, roads, schools, housing, etc.) rehabilitation, and the need for services provision regarding water, electricity, sanitation, communication, etc.

Conflict prevention and peace building infrastructure

International, regional and local actors need to commit to strengthening national capacities for conflict prevention, and train leaders in understanding the relationship between peace and development. It is equally important to put in place mechanisms for in-depth conflict analysis and prevention, such as the early warning mechanisms, local customary and religious conflict prevention, and peace building, which will take advantage of the UN Peace building Commission services. Women need to be associated at all stages of decision-making, and in gender-sensitive programmes on conflict prevention and peace building. Should a conflict arise between the "development" and "peace" objectives — the latter should prevail. Because peace is a precondition for sustainable development, economic priorities should always be guided by political considerations.

The role of diverse actors in post-conflict reconstruction

The international community and regional and local actors play a crucial role in post-conflict reconstruction. However, their actions can be plagued by lack of coordination, insufficient funds, lack of genuine and long-term commitment towards sustainable peace and development, little or no involvement of internal actors. It is essential to strengthen the national capacity for ownership, as well as the capacities of public officials in designing and implementing policies, so they can take over and continue sustainable recovery and development processes.

Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and other regional organizations play a pivotal role in the aftermath of the conflict, but they need to reinforce their own internal capacities. RECs can broker

peace agreements, and provide troops for peacekeeping and monitoring elections. ECOWAS is a good example in a sub-region recording conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, and now in Côte d'Ivoire. With their knowledge of the sub-region and the relationships with leaders, they can be instrumental in reaching an agreement otherwise difficult for external actors to influence.

The diaspora can play a great financial role in post-conflict reconstruction. For example, Celtel, a Netherlands-based mobile phone company which operates in more than a dozen of sub-Saharan countries, as founded by a Sudanese-born who wished to 'give something back' to his home region.

The financial contributions of diaspora can be used for positive development or can be diverted to potential "spoilers" with the intention to maintain the conflict. Therefore, such contributions need to be carefully monitored.

At internal level, a reinforced civil society can make a significant contribution to post-conflict recon-struction in almost every arena of the rebuilding. The civil society can help better understanding the root causes, triggers and consequences of conflict, and work with the communities towards conflict prevention and peace building. Thus, it contributes to building capacity through training and educa-tion interventions, as well as building the social capital.

The private sector plays an equally important role in developing entrepreneurship and business at large. In a national and regional context, governments and other actors should encourage the private sector, through commercial legislation and not only, to invest in post-conflict reconstruction.

Some programme implementation issues

Policies harmonization and management (aid harmonization)
Experiences have shown that most interim, transitional or elected post-conflict governments have been confronted will less skills and capacities in coordinating with external actors in post-conflict reconstruction. World Bank and UNDP research found that aid coordination, reporting and evalua-tion systems, associated with absorbing aid, generate considerable human resource and administra-tive costs and thus could burden the recipient country. They estimate that if a typical African country manages 600 projects, this would translate into 2,400 quarterly reports a year submitted to different agencies in different formats; approximately 1,000 annual missions, appraisals and evaluations, each of which will require meetings with key officials and official responses.

In light of the importance of ownership of the post-conflict reconstruction process, it is critical for governments to acquire the capacity of managing external relations and forging alliances with a vast

range of stakeholders. The partnership between domestic and external actors needs to operate within a coordinated, peace-sensitive approach in order to provide the impact expected.

Absorbing post-conflict reconstruction assistance implies using scarce or inexistent human and administrative resources to manage relations with external actors. Such resources could have served the local community in urgent need. A good coordination and professional resources management system could alleviate the burden of lengthy bureaucracy system that drains the aid resources. In this regards, the Rome Declaration on Aid Harmonization is helpful in specifying four main principles of harmonization: "recipient countries coordinate development assistance, donors align their aid with recipient countries' priorities and systems, donors streamline aid delivery and donors adopt policies, procedures and incentives that foster harmonisation."

Aid conditionalities remain another issue. Internal actors are accountable to the external ones. If priorities set up by external actors are not consistent with those of internal actors, the relationship between them could be distorted. A parliament system is much more adequate to make the government accountable to the people, and such internal system is to be reinforced by the internal accountability towards external actors.

Vulnerable and minorities groups needs

In the process of policy development, governments need to pay special attention to the vulnerable and minorities groups (women, children, youth, the disabled, the elderly, ex-combatants, female ex-combatants, child soldiers, IDPs, refugees, single parent households, victims of sexual violence, HIV positive, and others). As generic programmes may not be suitable for all vulnerable or minorities groups, governments should tailor programme responses that accommodate their specific needs.

Programmes encapsulating effective DDR principles can successfully reintegrate ex-combatants into society, and impact not only on the security dimension, but on the socio-economic development and reconciliation dimensions. Similarly, the special needs of women in the post-conflict environment impact on household livelihood, family health, education and so on, and thus tend to have positive effects far beyond the initial target group.

Women's contribution the war and peace has been demonstrated. However, their contribution to the outbreak of wars and hostilities haven't been proved. Indeed, women have encouraged men to defend honour, community interests, and livelihood. Women have also kept the households alive in the middle of chaos and despair. However, their role seems to fade when it comes to peace negotiation, post-conflict reconstruction and peace building. Women have always been portrayed as victims. It is essential to go beyond such portrayal, and see women as an active and resourceful actor in post-conflict reconstruction. It is undeniable that they can make a difference in brokering the peace agreement that will end the war, and contribute to the political and socio economic construction. The UN

resolutions 1325 and 1820 highlight the necessity for women to contribute to peace building, be associated to decision-making processes, and be protected against violence. A fair and equal treatment of women and men is critical to promote harmonious recovery, reduce vulnerability, and prevent violence. A gender-aware employment creation, income generation and reintegration programmes need to be carefully elaborated in the post-conflict reconstruction strategies.

Monitoring and evaluation

To be successful, post-conflict reconstruction should be supported by a participatory monitoring and evaluation system that provides feedback and accountability standards. Monitoring and evaluation can help addressing issues that arise from the implementation of post-conflict reconstruction programmes.

Concluding remarks

Post-conflict reconstruction remains a challenge for all stakeholders. While a country can have a new start encouraged by the flow of aid, the successful post-conflict reconstruction needs to be linked to sustainable peace and development with inclusive participation, ownership, and rigorous planning and coordination. Further, aid conditions need to be flexible to ensure that the government becomes accountable to its citizens.

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CHAPTER 3

Supporting Recovery and Development in Fragile States in West Africa: The ECOWAS Experience

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Introduction

Between 1960 and the end of the 20th Century, there were as many as 80 violent changes of government in Africa. Many of our countries were engaged in internal strife, conflicts and wars. In West Africa the conflicts have included those arising from forceful overthrow of elected governments, disputes precipitated by bad governance, disputed elections and the general struggle for political power. Such conflicts have occurred in Liberia (1989), Sierra Leone (1991), and Guinea-Bissau and Côte d'Ivoire (2002).

The effect is that not only did these conflicts obstruct development, but also the societies involved actually regressed, income and standards of living declined, and the instability impacted on development strategies. The first attempt to deal with the incessant conflicts at regional level was made in 1990 when the leaders of Nigeria and Ghana organized the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to enforce peace in the war affected countries, first in Liberia and later in Sierra Leone. The success of this initiative and the awareness it created on the possibilities of further outbreak of wars in the sub-region compelled its leadership to conceptualize a more structured way to prevent conflicts in West Africa. The leadership realized that the prevalence of these conflicts might derail the ECOWAS economic development and integration objectives.

The ECOWAS framework now includes support for the re-building of state capacity. A normative framework aimed at preventing the recurrence of such conflicts is being developed. The framework seeks to isolate the root causes of conflicts and develop strategies to address these as prevention is indeed better than attempting to deal with the consequences of instability.

This paper is an overview of the framework for supporting fragile states in West Africa and uses national level experiences to illustrate some of the key challenges faced by countries in the region. A genesis of the conflict situations in some countries highlights the complex nature of instability and conflict in the region.

Security Threats in West Africa

The security environment in West Africa is characterized by fragility and unpredictability, and these threats flow from diverse sources. The sources of threats include: trafficking in drugs and weapons; poor management of the region's natural resource endowments (often described as the resource curse); the vulnerabilities associated with the region's geographical location, demographic configuration, environmental factors; and, in recent times, the regression in the progress earlier attained in the area of democracy and good governance. The transformation of these risks into active insecurity is fuelled by the interplay between internal governance processes, power relations flowing from geo-strategic interests, and the capacity or incapacity of the regional security system to respond to the challenges. The analysis of the challenges related to two causes of insecurity in West Africa, drug trafficking and regression in good governance, illustrates the enormity of the regional challenge.

Increased Drug Trafficking Activities

The observations by Mr. Antonio Maria Costa, the Executive Director of UNODC, in June 2010 that "West Africa is under attack by organized criminal groups dominated by drug trafficking rings; under attack from criminals who sometimes appear to be more organized than the institutions we have established to fight them; who seem to have more dubious means than our skills can catch up with; a group of mindless people who are ready to do away with any obstacle against their criminal objectives by all means necessary including corruption, intimidation, blackmail and outright violence", perhaps summarizes the security challenges in the region.

In recent times, drug trade and trafficking has led to severe security challenges in West Africa as the region is now a drug transit route for Latin American drug lords and barons to Europe. This has added a new twist to the insecurity experienced in Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone, for example. Drug trafficking has been linked to many crimes in the sub-region in recent years. For example, the initial investigations into the double assassination of the President of Guinea-Bissau, Bernardo Vieira, and his Army Chief, Gen. Tagme Na Waie, in March 2009 linked these crimes to the drug rings operating in the country. Further, the almost daily phenomenon of discovering hundreds of cocaine couriers on commercial flights coming from West Africa, and the complicity of top government officials and people close to the corridors of power further reinforce the need for a collective response to the drug menace.

Further, over the past two years, at least three Lea Jets laden with cocaine allegedly operated by Columbian drug cartels have been impounded in West Africa. They started with one laden with 700 kilograms of drugs with a street value of about 60 million US Dollars seized at Lungi Airport in Sierra Leone in July 2008. This was followed by another one laden with drugs, impounded at the Bissau Airport in September 2008. Yet another drug-laden jet landed in the town of Boke in Guinea (Conakry) in 2008. Involvement in the trafficking activities cuts across the entire social fabric. However, the poorly remunerated, largely unprofessional and untrained law enforcement agencies and corrupt government officials, usually found in impoverished societies, are often easy targets for drug lords who bait them with cash inducements so that their nefarious activities can easily be executed. However, recently, the son of the late President Lansana Conte confessed on national television of his active involvement in drug trafficking. Though this could be an isolated case, it shows that even influential people can also be involved in illicit activities.

To overcome this problem, or at least minimize it, government authorities from West Africa, Latin American and Europe have to collaborate in fighting the flow of drugs. For West Africa, mechanisms should be developed to prevent the use of the region as a transit route. On the other hand, there should be concerted efforts on the part of the Latin American countries to monitor the activities of the drug barons and gangs in their countries as well as on European government to tighten controls on inflows of drugs. The formulation of the Political Declaration on Drug Trafficking, Organized Crime and Drug Abuse Prevention in ECOWAS, with its attendant roadmaps is an important development in this regard.

Regression in Democracy and Good Governance

There is consensus on the link between better governance and the promotion of growth and development. According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa's recent report on Governance in Africa (2009), the continent has made significant strides in improving political, economic and corporate governance during the past decade. The report cites the holding or regular elections, improvement in the management of public resources, respect of the rule of law and adherence to the constitution in most countries as a sign of improved governance. Yet, the challenges of regression remain real as the section below will illustrate.

Guinea
The military coup d'état following the death of Guinean President Lansana Conte led to the suspension of Guinea from membership of the African Union and ECOWAS. However, both institutions continued to engage the government on how an electoral process, which would lead to handing over the power to a democratically elected government in Guinea, could be achieved. Despite rumours that military had been reluctant to hand over power, and the intention of Captain Camara to be a

candidate in the presidential elections earlier planned in early 2010, ECOWAS and the African Union continued to engage the government. However, events of 28 September 2009 in Conakry changed the political landscape. The economic and socio-economic crisis which followed led to an assassination attempt on the coup leader Moussa Dadis Camara in December of the same year. A new political transition occurred from January 2010 following successful elections.

These crises, reflecting bad governance, were consequences of the break in dialogue: internally, between political actors, around a consensus on the strategy for concluding a national pact to deal with the challenges and major issues of the country; and externally, with technical and financial partners. Overall, the political instability has not helped the implementation of the two cycles of the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) in 2001-2002 and 2007-2010, and has impeded appreciable progress in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

The Authority of Heads of ECOWAS appointed President Blaise Compaoré of Burkina Faso to be the ECOWAS Facilitator to Guinea in response to the killings and the unrest. The mandate was to engage the Guinean regime and major stakeholders on ways of establishing a new transitional authority, to ensure a peaceful transitional authority allowing for a short and peaceful transition to constitutional order through credible, free, and fair elections. The Facilitator was also tasked to ensure that the Chair, Captain Dadis Camara, members of the ruling CNDD (National Council for Democracy and Development), the Prime Minister, and those who hold high offices in the new transitional authority would not be candidates in the presidential elections to be organized.

Within its framework, ECOWAS is particularly committed to ensuring that the acts of impunity that were witnessed in Guinea and Guinea-Bissau do not reoccur anywhere in the region. The appointment by the United Nations of investigators for the Conakry massacre further strengthened the ECOWAS resolves to ensure that such acts are not repeated. The economic and political roadmap of the 2009-2010 transition was to strengthen internal social and political dialogue which led to a new constitutional order, restore democracy, and create a platform for development.

The ECOWAS Commission is part of the international framework of the International Contact Group on Guinea which seeks to strengthen democracy and good governance in Guinea.

Niger
The Niger disturbances emanated from the political actions of President Mamadou Tandja, who sought to extend his stay in power beyond a constitutionally permitted two terms in office, and dissolved Parliament, sacked the Constitutional Court, and went on to organize a referendum in August 2009 which 'approved' the extension of his term in office. The Extraordinary Summit of ECOWAS Heads of State in October 2009 imposed sanctions on Niger and appealed to President Tandja and the Nigerien authorities to suspend indefinitely the conduct of legislative elections which had been

scheduled for 20 October 2009, so as to allow for continuation of the preliminary dialogue with all national stakeholders. General Abdusalami Abubakar, former Head of State of Nigeria, was appointed as the ECOWAS Mediator to Niger. In defiance of the appeal made by the Authority of Heads of State, the Nigerien authorities went ahead to conduct the elections following which its membership of ECOWAS was suspended. Despite the suspension, there were ongoing mediation efforts with the military to resolve the Nigerien problem. Successful parliamentary and presidential elections were held in February 2011 and the Presidential election and run-off followed successfully. ECOWAS stood with the Nigerien people and continued to engage them during the transition period.

Guinea-Bissau

After the coup of September 2003, ECOWAS committed itself to support the country to return to constitutional rule within the framework of the National Charter. Legislative and Presidential elections were concluded on 24 July 2005, during which Mr. Joan Nino Bernado Vieira was elected President with 52.35% of the votes cast. Unfortunately, he was assassinated together with his Army Chief, Gen. Tagme Na Waie in March 2009. Moreover, on 1 April 2010, the UN compound in Bissau was invaded to release an alleged coup plot mastermind, Vice-Admiral Americo Bubo Na Tchuto. During this military mutiny the Prime Minister was temporarily arrested, manhandled and dragged into the Office of the Vice-Chief of Defense Staff. There were threats to open fire on citizens if they did not end their rallies for the release of the Prime Minister and leave the streets. Finally the Chief of Defense Staff was removed, whilst still under illegal arrest and accused of wrong doing by his deputy. All these events came as an unfortunate reminder of impunity, as a confirmation of the military being "a State within the State", and of their supremacy over the Political leadership.

The Mediation and Security Council instructed the Commission to work hand in hand with the partners to fast-track the implementation of the Defence Sector Reform, which included:

»   the implementation of the Pension Funds scheme to reconvert military personnel ready to retire and to provide them with sustained livelihood for future civilian life;
»   the retirement of overdue personnel, including the military leadership to allow the emergence of a new Republican Armed Forces;
»   the right-sizing, restructuring and modernizing of the Armed Forces to allow them engage in peacekeeping operations; and
»   the provision of security for the Institutions and key political leaders, as well as key witnesses identified, to allow the Commission of Inquiry established to investigate the assassinations to continue and finalize its work.

All these processes towards the implementation and completion of the reforms have resumed and are back on track after the country's suspension by major partners in response to the April 2010 military mutiny.

Côte d'Ivoire

ECOWAS has committed itself to search for a lasting solution to the Côte d'Ivoire crisis since its commencement in September 2002. Several joint initiatives were taken by ECOWAS and the AU to enable the Ivorian political parties to reach a consensus on the full implementation that culminated in Presidential elections that was held in Côte d'Ivoire on 31 October 2010 and the runoff of 28 November 2010. The political impasse that followed the disputed runoff elections on 28 November 2010 prompted several mediation activities that have been expended, especially by the ECOWAS and the AU, with the aim of finding a lasting solution and most importantly, averting a relapse of the country into civil conflict. Most of these efforts however did not achieve the desired results. Consequently, the AU Peace and Security Council at its 259th Meeting held in Addis Ababa on 28 January 28 2011 set up a High Level Panel comprising five Heads of State that included President Jacob Zuma of South Africa, Jakaya Kikwete of Tanzania, Blaise Compaoré of Burkina Faso, and Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz of Mauritania. The Chairperson of the AU and President of the ECOWAS Commission are also members.

After a meeting on Sunday, 20 February in Nouakchott, Mauritania, to deliberate on the report of the Team of Experts which had earlier undertaken a mission to Abidjan, the Panel of Heads of State went to Côte d'Ivoire on Monday, 21 February 2011, where it met the two protagonists -Mr. Gbagbo and Mr. Ouattara. However, even before the Panel members left Abidjan on 23 February, pockets of violence had broken out leading to the death of dozens of people. The violence was as a result of an attempt by the security forces to quell the "Egypt-style" protests called for by supporters of Ouattara, to force Mr. Gbagbo to relinquish power in accordance with the election results. The violence has since escalated in Abidjan with reported ambush and killing of members of the security forces loyal to Mr. Gbagbo by elements known as "invincible Commandos" believed to be aligned with the New Forces (ex-rebel group). There have been reports of widespread use of mercenaries by both sides. Although some semblance of stability has returned following the forceful removal of Mr. Gbagbo from office, the present state of affairs in Côte d'Ivoire really suggests that the country is still on the verge of a full-blown conflict similar to the one experienced from 2002 to 2005, which divided the country into a rebel–held north and government-controlled south.

ECOWAS remains actively involved in the present ongoing efforts to ensure a peaceful negotiated resolution of the political impasse to avert a possible relapse into a civil conflict.

Liberia and Sierra Leone

Upon requests by the Governments of Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea-Bissau, ECOWAS – through its International Contact Groups (ICG-MRB, ICG-GB) – selected these three countries to be the first considered by the Peace building Commission.

In Sierra Leone and Liberia, important achievements have been made to date in restoring peace and stability and promoting post-conflict recovery. ECOWAS also welcomed the efforts of the internation-

al community in supporting the governments of Sierra Leone and Liberia in developing and imple-
menting various strategies: the Poverty Reduction Strategy, the Medium Term Expenditure Framework,
and the Peace Consolidation Strategy.

It is also pertinent to stress that all peace building efforts are linked to the existing strategies under the
leadership and ownership of the governments of Sierra Leone and Liberia. In this context, the govern-
ments of Sierra Leone and Liberia as well as the UN have established a National Steering Committee
on Peace building to relate to the work of the PBC and the Peace Building Fund. It brings together
government, UN, donor, and civil society representatives to jointly address peace building priorities.

Members and the government of Sierra Leone agreed that specific challenges under four critical areas
needed to be addressed. These include: social and youth empowerment and employment; consoli-
dating democracy and good governance; justice and security sector reform; and capacity building.
It must also be noted that Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea-Bissau were declared eligible to benefit
from the Peace Building Fund.

The ECOWAS Commission strongly supports the developments witnessed in Liberia and Sierra Leone
through the Peace building Commission which is making efforts to elevate post-conflict countries to
firmer ground in their search for the building of durable peace.

Togo
ECOWAS deployed a Civilian-Military Observer Mission, led by former ADB President, Mr. Babacar
Ndiaye to monitor the Presidential elections which were successfully conducted on March 4, 2010.
The appointment of an all-inclusive Government including seven Members of the major Opposition
party UFC, selected by the President of the opposition party was applauded as it demonstrates com-
mitment to peace and stability.

Considering that the country has returned to normalcy, upon the request of the Togolese authorities,
the President of ECOWAS Commission decided to end the mission of his Special Envoy in the To-
golese Republic. However, there is a need to continue national reconciliation and to intensify intra-
Togolese dialogue to achieve further consensus and inclusiveness in governance.

The foregoing has illuminated on some specific cases demonstrating ECOWAS's engagement in its
member States. Yet, the ECOWAS support in Fragile States in West Africa includes, but is not limited to,
appointments of and on the spot assessment of ECOWAS Mediators in Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia
and Niger; the appointments of Special Representatives of ECOWAS President with support Staff in
Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau; the secondment of electoral experts to the Na-
tional Independent Electoral Commission and support in the conducts of elections. ECOWAS continues

to play its role and works closely with various partners such as International Contact Groups on Mano River Basin (ICG-MRB), ECOWAS-EU Political Dialogue, ICG-Guinea-Bissau and ICG-Guinea.

Early Warning

An essential component of the ECOWAS Mechanism is the pursuit of the objective to strengthen co-operation in the areas of conflict prevention, early warning, peace-keeping operations, the control of cross-border crime, international terrorism, and proliferation of small arms and anti-personnel mines. Concrete action has now been taken by the Commission to meet the objective. The Commission has in place an Early Warning Department which was set up to gather information on the socio-political situation in member states, analyze the information, and make it available to the Commission to enable it to take pre-emptive action in potential conflict situations. It may also require the dispatch of a Commission delegation to the state concerned to nip the crisis in the bud. Sometimes, it requires a visit by a highly respected ECOWAS Statesman who commands respect among the principal characters in the emerging conflict. This system has succeeded in avoiding crisis in a number of countries in West Africa.

Small Arms Proliferation

Having come to the conclusion that the emerging fragile peace in West Africa was being threatened by the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, the Heads of State adopted in 1999 the Moratorium on the import, export and manufacture of small arms. Not fully satisfied with the efficacy of the Moratorium being a political instrument only, the Heads of State transformed it in 2006 into a legally binding instrument, namely the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and other Related Materials. The purpose is to ensure that arms proliferations are effectively controlled.

Council of the Wise

One other important means of conflict management is the institutionalization of the Council of the Wise, which is an integral part of the early response mechanism of the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention. The Council comprises eminent personalities who, on behalf of the ECOWAS, can use their experience and good offices to play the role of mediators or conciliators. From time to time, members of the Council lead pre-election fact-finding missions, discuss with stakeholders in emerging conflicts with the aim of avoiding outbreak of hostilities, and also use their connections to engage in quiet, behind-the-scene preventive diplomacy that is entirely devoid of publicity.

The ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF) as a Response to Fragility in West African States

The uniqueness of the ECPF is exemplified by the wide consultations that characterized the conceptualizing and drafting stages, leading up to its adoption by the ECOWAS Mediation and Security

Council in January 2008. Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the ECPF is that it was conceptualized and adopted with the active involvement of civil society and important stakeholders across member States.

Beyond the sub-region, ECOWAS also ensured that inputs were made into the strategic framework by the African Union, and the United Nations and its agencies. The ECPF is a West Africa people-owned and inspired strategic framework aimed at promoting human security through operational and structural conflict prevention programmes and activities. Its major objectives are to mainstream conflict prevention into ECOWAS' policies and programmes as an operational mechanism; build awareness and anticipation; strengthen capacity within member States and civil society to enhance their role as principal constituencies and actors in conflict prevention and peace building; and to increase awareness and preparedness for cooperative ventures between ECOWAS, Member States, civil society and external constituencies towards the aim of ensuring conflict prevention and peace building. Comprising fifteen core components, it also seeks to extend opportunities for conflict prevention to post-conflict environments, through targeted restructuring of political governance, conflict-sensitive reconstruction and development, as well as humanitarian crisis prevention and preparedness, and related peace building initiatives. The ECPF was also borne out of the realization that most conflicts in the region have their roots in bad political governance, violation of human rights and the rule of law, inequitable and lack of transparency in the distribution of public resources, among other factors. It therefore makes provisions for ensuring the effective management of resources as well as standards for good governance.

It is expected that its implementation will also serve to further operationalize the existing provisions in ECOWAS' peace and security normative framework, especially the 1999 Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Peacekeeping and Security. Other marked features of the ECPF are its enabling mechanisms for advocacy and communication, resource mobilization and cooperation.

While the implementation of the ECPF has commenced at the micro-level as from January 2010, a major step towards full operationalization is the development of the Plans of Action and Logical Framework Matrices of the components, and this is already being embarked upon by relevant ECOWAS personnel and identified consultants. The uniqueness of the ECPF has attracted several development partners' interests and desire for active partnership. For example, the bulk of the 119 million Euros budgeted for peace and security programmes in the Tenth European Union Development Fund to ECOWAS (10th EDF), taking off in 2011 has already been earmarked for the operationalization of the ECPF. Other ECOWAS partners such as governments and development agencies of Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Germany, Japan, Norway – to mention just a few – have also signified their interest in helping to ensure its full operationalization.

Concluding thoughts

Although ECOWAS was originally established to promote economic development and integration of the 15 *independent* West African countries, by the mid 1980s it became clear that the original mandate would not be achieved without a concomitant political atmosphere. The frequent occurrence of conflicts threatened the prospect of accomplishing the objective of economic development and integration.

To deal with these conflicts, ECOWAS leaders have adopted a preventive approach. The Mechanism for Conflict Prevention was designed for that purpose. It provided an umbrella for all that was necessary to ensure peace and stability, good governance, and credible elections in the sub-region. Supplementary protocols were subsequently created to elaborate on key aspects of the Mechanism. In the process, ECOWAS has achieved remarkable successes in accomplishing its mandate by containing violent conflicts in the region though preventive diplomatic initiatives, fact-finding missions, quiet diplomacy, diplomatic pressure, and mediation. ECOMOG intervention in Liberia in 1990, Sierra Leone in 1997 and the ECOWAS Missions in Liberia, ECOMIL in 2003 and Côte d'Ivoire were classic military operations. ECOMOG interventions in West Africa have often created platforms for the subsequent diplomacy of large UN peace keeping and international humanitarian missions. In the process, ECOWAS has always been acting in concert with the African Union and the UN. As of now, no part of the region is embroiled in serious civil strife.

In concluding it is perhaps important to emphasize that in all its activities ECOWAS has always placed premium on cooperation with regional and international development partners. The peace and security framework incorporates the realities of the sub-region that do constitute a building block and an integral part of the global security architecture, defined under the relevant provisions and derivative statutes of the Constitutive Act of the AU and the UN Charter. ECOWAS works in partnership with the AU to identify conflict prevention and peace building initiatives. It also works with the UN to provide political legitimacy for the realization of our goals and to mobilize financial and technical support to implement the priority areas of human security in the sub-region, and cooperates with other development partners such as the EU, USAID, DANIDA, CIDA for financial and technical support.

The belief in the strength of institutions that promote democracy and good governance is at the core of the ECOWAS framework for maintaining peace and stability in West Africa. As part of the initiatives to promote democracy, ECOWAS is encouraging more of its member states to sign up the APRM process, and ECOWAS staff are actively involved in the AU processes in the APRM.

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CHAPTER 4

Supporting Development in Fragile States in West Africa: The African Development Bank Framework

by Dr. Basil Jones, African Development Bank, Fragile States Unit, Tunis, Tunisia

Introduction

This Chapter sets out the African Development Bank framework to enhance the Bank's operational engagement in Regional Member Countries that are characterized as fragile[16]. The case for an enhanced approach, allowing for an increased and more differentiated engagement, has become clear. The background is essentially two-fold: the Bank has to stay engaged in all its member countries and it needs to enhance its engagement in particular in countries coming out of conflict and crisis. The former is especially important given the marked progress that has been made in recent years in resolving many long running and debilitating conflicts and bringing prolonged political crises to an end. The possibility of successful turnaround is clearly demonstrated by the experience of countries such as Mozambique and Rwanda, where strong country commitment combined with enhanced and more predictable support from development partners sustained and accelerated the transition out of fragility. Building on the lessons of the past in order to craft more effective engagement in these countries for the future is thus particularly urgent for the African Development Bank. Underpinning the strategy is a move to strengthen incentives for countries to pursue good economic management, thus facilitating their transition out of fragility.

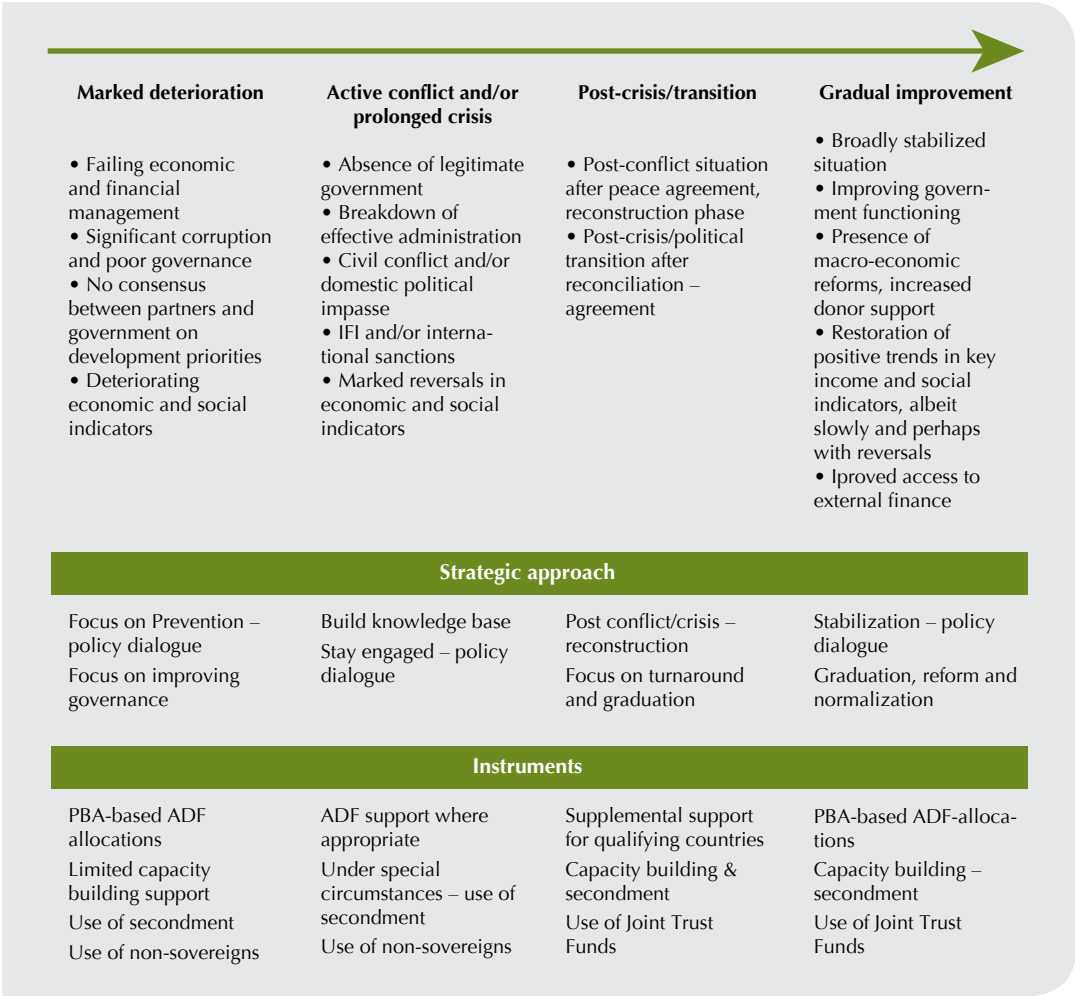### Assisting the Continuum of Fragile States

Diversity of fragile state situations

Fragile state circumstances take different forms in different countries and in the same country at different times. Major differences exist in political and public security environments, institutional capacity

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16   The Bank uses the harmonized AfDB/World Bank CPIA rating of 3.2 or less

and performance, government accountability, and commitment to progress along a credible reform path. These differences have major implications for the scope and nature of engagement by development partners. Experience has shown that a uniform approach to widely differing circumstances on the ground has often failed to produce the desired results, and in many circumstances has precluded forms of selective engagement that could be both justified and effective. Figure 4.1 below illustrates a simplified continuum along which country circumstances typically fall – ranging from marked deterioration in performance, to active conflict, to post-crisis and transition, and finally to gradual improvers. Movement along this continuum is in reality neither automatic nor unidirectional, as countries may stagnate or move back and forth between various fragile situations.

Figure 4.1: The Continuum Approach

Marked deterioration	Active conflict and/or prolonged crisis	Post-crisis/transition	Gradual improvement
• Failing economic and financial management • Significant corruption and poor governance • No consensus between partners and government on development priorities • Deteriorating economic and social indicators	• Absence of legitimate government • Breakdown of effective administration • Civil conflict and/or domestic political impasse • IFI and/or international sanctions • Marked reversals in economic and social indicators	• Post-conflict situation after peace agreement, reconstruction phase • Post-crisis/political transition after reconciliation – agreement	• Broadly stabilized situation • Improving government functioning • Presence of macro-economic reforms, increased donor support • Restoration of positive trends in key income and social indicators, albeit slowly and perhaps with reversals • Iproved access to external finance
Strategic approach			
Focus on Prevention – policy dialogue Focus on improving governance	Build knowledge base Stay engaged – policy dialogue	Post conflict/crisis – reconstruction Focus on turnaround and graduation	Stabilization – policy dialogue Graduation, reform and normalization
Instruments			
PBA-based ADF allocations Limited capacity building support Use of secondment Use of non-sovereigns	ADF support where appropriate Under special circumstances – use of secondment Use of non-sovereigns	Supplemental support for qualifying countries Capacity building & secondment Use of Joint Trust Funds	PBA-based ADF-allocations Capacity building – secondment Use of Joint Trust Funds

The Bank Group's Involvement

The avenues through which the Bank may become more effectively engaged on a selective and tai-lored basis are presented in Figure 1. In situations of markedly deteriorating performance, intensified efforts to support government accountability and transparency may contribute to improved capacity. In situations of active conflict, viable options are few, but they could include more intensive engage-ment with non-sovereign actors and selective capacity support. States that have clearly emerged from conflict, by contrast, present a strong case for significantly deeper engagement, including through expanded direct investments. Finally, states that have moved into a stage of gradual improvement and turnaround can accelerate positive trends through targeted institutional and capacity-building sup-port in addition to normal PBA-based allocations.

The Bank's enhanced fragile states framework is built around three key pillars:

(i)   Pillar I: on top of regular performance based allocation, this is a supplementary financing mech-anism to provide incremental resources for enhanced Bank engagement in post crisis and transi-tion situations;
(ii)   Pillar II: resources to pursue the Bank's arrears clearance program; and
(iii)   Pillar III: targeted technical assistance and capacity building program.

The Bank established Fragile States Facility (FSF) as a single distinct financing vehicle which encom-passes all three channels of enhanced support for fragile states. Further, the Fragile States Unit (OSFU) was created to implement the FSF and coordinate bank wide activities on fragile states. The new facility consists of:

(i)   An Enhanced Support Window (ESW), which will cover Pillars I and III; and
(ii)   An Arrears Clearance Window (ACW), covering Pillar II and providing arrears clearance for FSF eligible countries. This window performs a similar purpose to the Post Conflict Countries Facility (PCCF). It clears arrears to the Bank to allow resumption of normal operations and to pave the way to the HIPC process.

The key advantages of the Bank's new approach include:

(i)   It integrates enhanced support for fragile states into a single facility with the resources and instruments to deal effectively with the full range of prospective supplemental fragile state en-gagements. The benefits would be greater ease of administration, more effective oversight and coordination, and a more seamless sourcing of services and support;
(ii)   It strengthens the transparency and performance-basis for allocating regular ADF resources. Regular ADF resources would now be allocated using the PBA system without the need for a "post-conflict enhancement factor";

(iii) As a legally autonomous body OFSU thereby provides greater possibility to use more flexible procedures, in particular for participation in joint trust funds and support for non- and sub-sovereigns. While regular Bank procedures would be used, modifications to accommodate the particular conditions of fragile or post conflict/crisis states would be introduced without needing to amend the overall guidelines of the Bank Group; and

(iv) It provides scope for voluntary contributions in addition to the contribution from the ADF. Contributions from other donors could be targeted by country or for general use.

As noted earlier, Pillar I provides supplementary financing for post-crisis or transition countries, and therefore it is particularly relevant for this review. This pillar provides for substantially enhanced operational support to be provided to a limited number of countries with circumstances characterized as post-crisis/ transition. There are particular challenges faced by post-crisis countries working toward successful transition to sustained growth and development, coupled with limitations in the Bank's potential support under its current approach and instruments.

Challenges to effective engagement

At country level, the key challenges impeding effective engagement by the Bank are:

» Poor institutional and administrative capacity including non-functional physical infrastructure, non-functioning social services systems;

» Highly contracted economic activity, with per capita GDP well below pre-crisis levels in real terms and the human development indicators have typically declined even from already low levels;

» Low levels of domestic resources to finance the estimated new investment needed to restore or attain provision of basic services;

» Negative regional spill-over effects which could have severed commercial links with development institutions;

» Heavy dependence on external assistance but access to adequate external resources on appropriate terms is limited relative to needs. Aid flows tend to be highly variable and volatile, and in many cases have been interrupted for lengthy periods; and

» Low absorptive capacity within the countries.

In addition to the country level challenges, there are several limitations to more effective engagement thus far by the multilateral development banks, including the Bank Group. These include:

» Low level of resources allocated under performance-based allocation relative to needs and legitimate demands;

» The CPIA assessments on which allocations are largely based are only able to capture the very performance deficiencies that result from crisis-driven institutional failure and that require targeted external support. The intended performance focus of the existing PBA mechanism in effect results in low-capacity post-crisis countries competing for limited resources with performing countries in a sharply different set of circumstances. Moreover, because CPIA ratings are retrospective, by design and due to data constraints, they may not adequately capture evidence that a country is actually working to "turn the corner";

» Annual allocations bring considerable uncertainty for the medium-term budget planning process needed for a well prioritized multi-year recovery and reconstruction effort;

» Arrears to the institutions are typically large relative to prospective new flows, and often long-standing; negotiating a multilateral arrears clearance deal invariably takes considerable time;

» Field presence limited and is not well tailored to specific needs and is often lacking entirely;

» Prolonged crises invariably undermines the knowledge base of the international institutions about this group of countries, making their own reengagement point one of considerable uncertainty; and

» Standard operational systems and methods can result in substantial delays in delivering assistance, and may be hampered in adequately monitoring either its quality or effectiveness.

Key elements of the enhanced approach

The Bank's operational framework for Pillar I built up from to accommodate these challenges and AfDB's accumulated experience. The core components of the framework are:

» Engagement is triggered by a limited number of indicators intended to demonstrate both particular

» needs and clear commitment to transition to social stability, reconstruction and renewed development;

» Provision of supplemental resources (i.e., beyond allocations derived from the annual PBA process), primarily for priority infrastructure investments and capacity building;

» Supplemental funding committed up-front for three years, and in line with a country's Debt Sustainability Framework (DSF);

» Funds specifically dedicated for this purpose from the Bank's ADF-11 pool;

» Effective collaboration with partners, including joint engagement wherever possible;

» Potential support for up to 2 ADF cycles, with exit from supplementary financing expected after no more than 6 years; and

» Reduction of delivery bottlenecks, and effective monitoring and reporting.

Using this framework, the Bank applies a two-stage process in selecting the post-crisis and transition countries eligible to its supplemental operational support.

The first stage is an assessment of key conditions of peace and security, and of key socio-economic needs indicators (Table 1).

Table 4.1: Detailed first-stage criteria

Commitment to Consolidate Peace and Security to Consolidate Peace and Security	To demonstrate commitment to consolidating peace and security after crisis or conflict, the country should have: (i) A signed comprehensive and internationally recognized peace agreement or a post-crisis or reconciliation agreement. The presence of such agreements is clear indication that the country has moved out of conflict and is in the process of consolidating its peace situation. International recognition would underpin prospects for supporting the country by other partners and institutions, including the UN Agencies, Funds and Programs. The credibility of signed agreements would also need to be buttressed by an absence of on-going hostilities of any significance, which is necessary in ensuring that the Bank's program of assistance could be smoothly implemented without being hampered by serious security considerations. Conversely, the absence of formal agreement is indication that the minimum conditions have not been met for substantial Bank Group engagement in the post-crisis or post-conflict transitional country; and (ii) A functioning governmental authority or transitional government broadly acceptable to stakeholders and the international community must also be in place.
Unmet Social and Economic Needs and Economic Needs	While all ADF countries are characterized by significant unmet economic and social needs, post-crisis and transitional states that are candidates for supplemental assistance from the Bank are expected to face a uniquely challenging combination of circumstances demonstrated by: (i) Continuing severe economic effects of conflict, as evidenced by a contraction of real GDP per capita by 10% or more since 1990, which is the base-reference year for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Analysis tends to suggest that countries in Africa where the per capita GDP has contracted by more than 10% since 1990 are the furthest from reaching the MDG goals; and (ii) Extremely low levels of human development, as indicated by ranking in the bottom quintile of the UN Human Development Index.

The countries deemed to have satisfied these first-stage criteria would then be assessed relative to a simple filter intended to capture a country's commitment to a sound program to improve macroeconomic conditions and pursue sound debt policy, sound financial management practices and transparency of public accounts (Table 2).
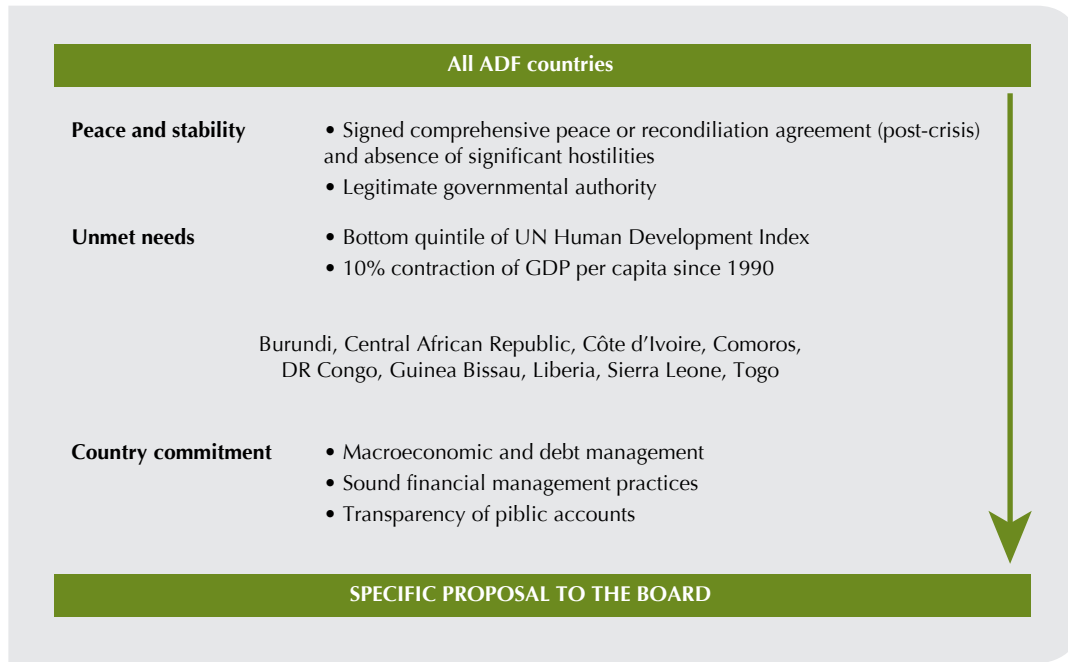
Table 4.2: Detailed second-stage criteria

Improving

Improved Macroeconomic conditions and pursuit of sound debt policy	The Bank will assess a country's program to improve its macroeconomic performance and debt management policy. Such an assessment is critical in the context of countries which emerge from crisis or conflict with unstable macroeconomic conditions, including high domestic inflation and unsustainable debt. The assessment will be done in close collaboration with other partners, including the Bretton Woods Institutions. It will be based on dialogue with the relevant country authorities and stakeholders, on the basis of which agreement will be reached on key performance benchmarks used to guide engagement and assess the country's progress over the medium term.
Sound Financial Management Practices	The Bank will assess a country's commitment to pursue sound public financial management practices, which are important dimensions of improving good governance and in re-establishing the enabling environment for private sector activities in post-crisis and post-conflict transitional countries. The Bank will assess this commitment based on progress made by a country in reforming its public expenditure management system, seriously addressing corruption and reviving or strengthening its revenue mobilization institutions.
Transparency of public accounts	The Bank will further monitor the transparency of public accounts in all post-crisis, post-conflict transitional countries eligible for supplementary funding, through regular reporting or publishing of government revenues and expenditures, external debt obligations and new borrowings.

Macroeconomic

Using this framework, the Bank's assessments indicated that nine countries qualified for Pillar I support. Out of the nine counties the following are from West Africa: Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Togo and Guinea-Bissau. The Bank's framework is shown in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: The Banks Framework

Figure 4.2: The Banks Framework

All ADF countries

Peace and stability
- Signed comprehensive peace or recondiliation agreement (post-crisis) and absence of significant hostilities
- Legitimate governmental authority

Unmet needs
- Bottom quintile of UN Human Development Index
- 10% contraction of GDP per capita since 1990

Burundi, Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Comoros, DR Congo, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo

Country commitment
- Macroeconomic and debt management
- Sound financial management practices
- Transparency of piblic accounts

SPECIFIC PROPOSAL TO THE BOARD

Resources Allocated to the FSF as at June 2009

Under ADF 11 cycle (2008-2010), the FSF allocated resources in the amount of UA 408.43 million, equivalent to 7.5% of the total ADF resources envelope, net of deductions for contingencies. The ADF resources were augmented with carry-over resources from the then existing Post-Conflict Country Facility (PCCF) in the amount of UA 165.64 million and UA 13.72 million, which was the cumulative income, earned by end-December 2008 on the PCCF resources. Because of the high demand for FSF resources, the Board of Directors also authorized the allocation of UA 60 million to the FSF from the 2008 ADB net income. The decision of the Boards of Directors was ratified by the Board of Governors during the 2009 Bank Group Annual Meetings.

Since inception, the FSF has received UA 647.80 million from the ADF and the ADB. The FSF remains open to receiving voluntary contributions from ADF members and other donors. Such contributions could be earmarked for a special country (e.g. supplemental funding. arrears clearance or targeted support) or could be used to support activities under any of the three windows of the FSF. All contributions received by the FSF will be disclosed in the Financial Statements of the Bank Group with the objective of ensuring transparency of the Facility. Table 3 below shows the total resources received by the FSF as at June 2009 and the distribution of such resources across the three windows of the FSF as approved by the Boards of Directors.

Table 4.3: Distribution of FSF Resources as at May 2009 (UA million)

Window	Source ADF 11 Allocation	PCCF Carry-Over ADF ADB	Earnings from PCCF Resources	ADB allocation from 2008 Net Income	Total Resources
Supplemental	253.94	- -		-	253.94
Arrears clearance	129.10	102.94 62.70	13.72	-	308.46
Targeted Support	25.39	- -	-	60.00	85.39
Total Resources	408.43	102.94 62.70	13.72	60.00	647.80

Accessing FSF Resources: Experiences

In 2008 and 2009, Management had assessed 18 regional member countries as fragile or conflict-affected. These are countries with a composite averaged AfDB and World Bank's Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) score of 3.2 or below. The countries include: Burundi, Central Africa Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Democratic Republic, Congo Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Eritrea, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, and Zimbabwe. They constitute the expanded list of fragile and conflict-affected regional member states that are potentially eligible for benefiting from all or some windows of the FSF.

Out of these, nine were assessed in early 2008 as potentially eligible for supplemental funding from the FSF (Pillar 1 resources). These are Burundi, Central Africa Republic, Comoros, Congo, Democratic Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Togo. These eligible countries were assessed as having met the two-stage criteria for accessing supplemental resources (over-and-above their PBA-determined allocations) from Pillar 1. These assessments are contained in a Board of Director's approved Country Strategy Papers (CSPs), Joint Assistance Strategy paper (JAS) (usually with the World Bank), Mid-term Review Reports of CSPs or through specific Information Notes or Country Briefs.

At the end of December 2010, the total Pillar I resources of UA 253.94 million had been committed to all nine eligible fragile states for supplemental funding namely: Burundi, Central African Republic, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, DRC, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

The Pillar I operations approved by the Board for country projects increased from UA148.86 million at the end of June 2010 to UA 253.94 million at the end of December 2010. During the second half of the year, OSFU worked with country and sector departments to ensure that all the infrastructure projects under Pillar I were approved by the Board before the end of the year. Notable among the Board approvals were the UA60.0 million energy projects for DRC, the Burundi roads project for UA24.0 million and the Sierra Leone water and sanitation project for UA6.5 million.

Consistent with the ADF 11 strategic priorities and the Operational Guidelines of the Fragile States Facility, most of the resources are funding the development of credible country finance management systems, thus enhancing accountability and efficiency in management of public sector resources in beneficiary countries. The support is critical in minimizing constraints to economic development in fragile states, improving service delivery and in establishing the enabling environment for private sector activities. The resources have also supported infrastructure development, water supply and sanitation and in reviving the productive sectors of war-ravaged economies.

Lessons Learnt from the Fragile States Facility

Based on three years of the Bank's operational experience of implementing the FSF, the following valuable lessons (Table 4) have been learnt which will inform the implementation of the FSF during the ADF-12 cycle:

Table 4.4 Lessons learned and measures taken to integrate them in ADF-12

Identified weakness	Measures to address them in ADF-12
Weak capacity in fragile states to deliver key services	To address the weak institutional and human capacity constraints, OSFU will ensure that Pillar I projects integrate capacity building components. Pillar III support will focus exclusively on technical assistance and capacity building to strengthen key government agencies.
Conflict analysis and political economy of fragile states not well integrated into the Bank's programming documents	Political economy and conflict analysis are important to inform the selection and sequencing of priorities for country programming documents in fragile states. OSFU will work with country departments to ensure that they incorporate analysis of the political economy and conflict dynamics in country programming processes and upstream project preparation.
Bank's rules and procedures – the Bank's procedures for procurement and disbursements create delays in project implementation	Speed and adaptability is particularly needed in fragile states. The OSFU will integrate flexibility into its operations to minimize delays and to ensure that the Bank's rules and procedures does not undermine reform initiatives in fragile states.
The need for better coordination within the Bank	OSFU to be better integrated into country teams in fragile states. OSFU will ensure that they participate in joint missions to fragile states.
Strengthening field presence	Lack of field presence imposes substantial limitations in the Bank's operations in fragile states. The Bank's decentralization roadmap is addressing the lack of presence in fragile states.

Further, considerable challenges remain to be overcome in order to deliver development outcomes in the weak institutional environments in fragile states. The security situation in some fragile States

has improved however we are also observing other states falling deeper into fragility and this poses a serious challenge. Weak capacity in the beneficiary countries has been identified as one of the key challenges which tend to slowdown the utilization of FSF resources.

The Bank, like other international partners is working closely with the beneficiary countries and is learning what approaches work in fragile state contexts. OSFU will work with beneficiary countries to ensure that these resources are fully committed in viable operations that will demonstrate positive development outcomes and results in rebuilding human capacity and sustainable institutions before June 2012.

In terms of opportunities, in the ADF-12 cycle, there will be an increase in the ADF allocation for the FSF to provide supplemental financing for selected countries as well as arrears clearance for countries that will become eligible. The increase in financial resources will help to deepen the support that is being provided to fragile and post conflict countries overcome deep seated fragility and moving towards sustained macroeconomic stability and growth.

OSFU is working on the country eligibility assessment for FSF resources for Pillar 1. This document is an ADF 12 requirement and will be considered by the Board. A pipeline will be developed to assist the Unit internally in the Bank as well as externally for the countries to ensure greater predictability in resources as well as prioritization of programs in line with the OSFU country roadmaps to have a much closer view of results and impact on the ground as a result of utilizing FSF resources.

Going forward, OSFU is preparing a roadmap for each fragile state that will ensure that all support under the FSF fully conform to the Bank's country programming document and efficient but urgent use of resources will be achieved before ADF-12 Mid Term Review. In addition one or two impact indicators will be identified for each country within the framework of the use of the FSF as contribution to the achievement of results. These proposed indicators will be monitored for reporting in every bi-annual OSFU report and other Bank wide reports.

Conclusion

The foregoing has shown that since its inception, the FSF has received UA 647.80 million from the ADF and the ADB. As required by the Deputies, the FSF remains open to receiving voluntary contributions from ADF members and other donors. Such contributions could be earmarked for a special country (e.g., supplemental funding, arrears clearance or targeted support) or could be used to support activities under any of the three windows of the FSF. All contributions received by the FSF will be disclosed in the Financial Statements of the Bank Group with the objective of ensuring transparency of the Facility.

The collaborative inter-Departmental working arrangement nurtured by OSFU since 2008 will be deepened and broadened in order to leverage the Unit's capacity to deliver improved development outcomes and results for all FSF investments, particularly for the TCB program. The Unit will continue to coordinate Bank-wide interventions in fragile states and in providing advisory support to Regional and Sector Departments, especially with respect to preparation of country programming documents and in the design and implementation of projects and programs being undertaken by various complexes.

The OSFU remains on track in strengthening the operations of the FSF in the ADF 11 period. The FSF resources are funding the development of credible country finance management systems, thus enhancing accountability and efficiency in management of public sector resources in beneficiary countries and supported arrears clearance and the provision of debt relief (for Côte d'Ivoire and Togo).

The resources allocated under the FSF have supported infrastructure development and have contributed towards reviving the productive sectors of war-ravaged economies. Such support is critical in minimizing constraints to economic development in fragile states, improving service delivery and in establishing the enabling environment for private sector activities. The strengthening of mechanisms for monitoring the utilisation will be key in ensuring that countries remain on track in implementing development projects.

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CHAPTER 5
Fragility and Development in Guinea

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General Summary

Guinea as a "fragile West African State confronted by development challenges" provides an atypical case which does not fit the conventional profile of a "fragile state" as exemplified by countries in or emerging from conflict situations. Countries labeled as fragile (particularly Liberia and Sierra Leone) were indeed characterized by lack of capacity and/or unrests induced by recent armed conflicts/ crises or violent insecurity. Even though Guinea was not directly involved in armed conflicts, it suffered the consequences of external armed conflicts due to its proximity to neighbouring countries in crisis, that is, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Côte d'Ivoire. These consequences included: (i)security pressures as result of cross-border movements of unruly combatants and the proliferation of trafficking of all kinds (UNOWA 2006, IRIN 2006); and (ii) a humanitarian emergency arising from the influx of completely deprived and distressed refugees (UNHCR 2007). Guinea also endured sustained political instability epitomized by a wavering leadership and the slow demise of the regime embodied by a sitting President weakened by illness (International Crisis Group, 2003).

This resulted in the failure of the State throughout 2000 to: (i) maintain territorial control in the face of armed groups and trafficking of all kinds; and (ii) safeguard life and property within the country. The people of Guinea thus suffered from security and political tensions induced by external conflicts and poor internal governance. The regime's low legitimacy exposed the country to a range of economic and social challenges. All political and/or social movements to show discontent were first met with contempt and deadly violence by the government, leading eventually to the disruption of the social pact that was painfully achieved in the early 90's. The repression of the 2006, the strikes in 2007 and the political event of 28 September 2009 also culminated in a number of deaths among the population and the arrest of leaders of the Opposition (ICG 2007, ICG 2009). The uncompromising nature of the regime under President Conté did not change with the arrival of the CNDD (National Council for Democracy and Development) military in December 2008, as the last political and social unrest of September 2009 was met with the same deadly violence common to autocracies.

Despite efforts to introduce reforms amid political and social instability on the one hand, and external shocks on the other hand (decline in prices of bauxite), the government was unable to fully meet the political or social needs of the people in the first decade of 2000. However, the 2010 presidential elections opened up new horizons for reconstruction, peace building and economic recovery, which the government and the people, with support from partners, should consistently and efficiently leverage in the coming years. Guinea's development over the past decades has indeed been in contrast with its enormous natural resource potential.

Guinea is a specific case of fragile State in which fragility is due to the country's adjacency to other States in armed conflict and to poor governance. Notwithstanding its peculiarity, Guinea has been classified as a fragile state alongside Guinea-Bissau, Liberia and Sierra Leone (IFRI 2007), despite being regarded as a country "in a protracted crisis of purely human origin with potential health and death implications for the population" (FAO 2007 over an extended period). The defining characteristics of a protracted crisis in Guinea are: (i) weak governance; (ii) limited capacity of the State to deal with or mitigate threats to the population or to ensure an adequate level of protection; (iii) long crisis of ten years; (iv) country's adjacency to border conflicts; and (v) failed local institutions (collapse due to the crisis). Factors such as poor government practice and weak political opposition combined with internal divisions and power struggles have exposed Guinea to quite a number of political risks throughout the period.

Those risks came to prominence with the following events:

 »   The constitutional review notwithstanding the country's decision in the 90's to limit the presidential term to five years renewable only once (after the amendment of the 1991 Constitution by referendum in 2001);
 »   The resurgence of military coups (1984 and 2008 in Guinea);
 »   The refusal of the military to hand over power to civilians through democratic elections (i.e. CNDD in 2009); and
 »   Crippling divisions amongst opposition parties.

Guinea's peculiarity is underscored by the fact that political and economic governance was particularly affected by the long illness of President Conté, which caused a power vacuum beforehand, a deep leadership crisis characterized by institutional failure, state disintegration, distrust and serious economic and financial improprieties. The country was thus weakened by a legitimacy and succession struggle and series of political and social crises: mutinies, recurrent strikes, succession of conflicting decrees (Crisis Group, 2005). The country also had to endure the security effects of armed conflicts in neighbouring countries.

The Presidential Election of 2010 ushered in the prospect of starting the transition process in Guinea. However, the election also showed that in this process, the country will come against numerous challenges including bad governance and slow and/or deadlocked democratic transition. An appropriate political response means strengthening the transition process from a fragile State to a modern and stable State through improvement of the democratic transition for better State management, while deepening the democratic culture within political forces and society as a whole, and improving internal and external checks and balances in all aspects of governance. The intended reform of the Army towards the creation of a republican army is a top priority, as is the establishment of national solidarity and support mechanisms for the most vulnerable, alongside the implementation of comprehensive youth employment programmes.

Peace building entails: (i) sustained consensus-driven, representative and neutral governance, which is a symbol of national unity; (ii) stronger commitment to political agreement within the political class; and (iii) governance sustainability.

Economic reconstruction and the new drive for development should be structured around the following priorities: (i) renewed commitment to macroeconomic, structural and institutional reforms; (ii) macroeconomic stabilization; (iii) investment promotion; (iv) basic infrastructure development; and (v) poverty reduction strategy implementation.

These reforms will only be effective if led by a wise and consistent leadership, supported by Guinea's bilateral and multilateral Partners.

Introduction and Background

Describing Guinea as a fragile state seems a bit paradoxical given the fact that all African countries that were classified like Guinea in the category of developing countries or least developed countries (LDCs) have not been labeled as such, although they share with Guinea, beyond the political system and economic structure, the same inability to achieve economic diversification and to effectively address social needs, including youth employment. What more, these countries also share the same concern of not being on course to attain the MDGs by 2015.

Nonetheless, one needs to be a bit more circumspect considering the fact that Guinea has had territorial control challenges resulting from: (i) incursions into its borders by armed combatants and distressed civilian populations from neighbouring countries engulfed in infightings, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire; and (ii) trafficking of all kinds.

This paper highlights the fragile state of Guinea over the decade of 2000, and isolates the underlying causes of fragility including its proximity to conflicts involving neighbouring countries and the weakening of the President due to ill health. Specifically, the report (i) spells out the defining characteristics of Guinea's fragility (first part) and (ii) assesses the various exit strategies implemented to provide the way forward in terms of reconstruction, peace building and economic development recovery.

Origin of the Concept of Fragile State

While some African states had become fragile as a result of armed conflicts before the decade of 2000 without ever being considered a threat to international security, it was only in 2000 that correlations were established between a weakening state in an African country (faced with a civil war that translates into inability on the part of the state to maintain public order and ensure territorial protection) and sustainable international security. Civil wars in the Democratic Republic of Congo (1960s, 1990s), Nigeria (1960s), Mozambique (1970s-1980s), Angola (1970s, 1980s and 1990s), Chad (1970s, 1980s and 1990s), Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Rwanda, DRC, Guinea-Bissau, and Congo (all in the 1990s), and the Central African Republic (early 2000s) were perceived only as a domestic threat to the people of these countries, but not to international security.

With the exception of Somalia, the emergence on the international scene, especially in Africa, of "fragile states that could not ensure public order and protection of life and property with sustained monopoly on legitimate force, had hitherto been considered only as a domestic threat to the nationals and the stability of the immediate environment of those countries" (FAO 2000, Didima Lodge 2008). Things suddenly changed with the 9/11 attacks which reminded the world that "one unstable country could be a breeding ground for terrorist activities and therefore a threat to international security" (AFD 2005). Those events underscored the possible linkages between lack of domestic capacity and growing international insecurity. Meanwhile, the increased number of armed attacks by "armed Somali groups" on ships of any nationality sailing the red sea only reaffirmed the potential threat that a fragile state in Africa could pose to international security.

After 2001, state failure and/or incapacity in any part of the world became a concern for major powers, including the United States under its 2002 National Security Strategy, and Europe under the European Security Strategy of 2003. Originally, the concept of fragile state was associated with Western security (United States and Europe) and subsequently espoused by the Community of Development Partners "through the prism of human security and growing awareness of the connection between security and development", with a "new understanding of development (OECD, 2005, OECD, 2008a, OECDb)" and of the centrality of state institutions after the failure of the Bretton Wood Institutions' SAPs of the 1990s (Lodge, 2008).

It is against this backdrop that a "Working Group on Fragile States" was set up by the OECD Development Assistant Committee (DAC) to consider the various approaches across member states in order to

come up with policy guidelines to foster greater commitment within fragile states for more effectiveness. The concept was thus introduced by DFID and USAID (DFID 2005) at the 2004 international meeting on development assistance. Discussions have underlined the danger of the "result-based assistance" philosophy believed to be a driver of fragility for states that are already confronted by economic and financial challenges (Châtaigner, 2004).

The dominance of security dimensions which will subsequently give way to aspects related to the economic, financial and/or institutional capabilities (governance) of a State will be part of the difficulties in defining the concept.

Concept Definition

The original definition of the concept of fragile state is based purely on security and geo-strategic concerns: ascendancy of "security" issues now linking assistance to the stability of beneficiary countries in order to prevent the risks of conflict (Crocker, 2003, OECD/DAC 2005). Fragile states are states which are no longer able to protect their territories and safeguard life and property due to weak capacity arising from state failure as a result of internal or border conflicts, or bad governance. However, some economic and institutional criteria were subsequently factored into the definition of the concept. These include: (i) poor economic performance under DFID classification; and (2) the actual powerlessness of the state under the DFID and World Bank Country Policy and Institutional Assessment classification (Severino and Charnoz, 2005).The first classification includes 46 "fragile" countries which are all Low Income Countries and mostly LDCs.

Most of the proposed approaches have failed to clarify the concept which remains vague and complex. The proposed classifications have been criticized for propounding value judgments rather than relevant criteria. As observed in Chapter 1, most definitions tend to focus on state failure (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: The Concept of Fragile State: Definition

Institutions	Concept
AFD	"A society is fragile with one of the functions of the state in peril: sovereign functions or public service delivery functions". (AFD, 2005)
DFID	Fragile states are "states where the "government" is unable or unwilling to perform its core duties towards a majority of the population, especially the poor" (DFID, 2005 : 7) The United Kingdom DFID's definition emphasizes the non-achievement of MDGs as the main criterion for "fragility" based on the World Bank CPIA rating which affects 14% of the world's population (870 million people, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa). Included in a DFID proxy list of fragile states are countries such as Angola, Cameroun, Indonesia, Kiribati, Mali, Nigeria, Tonga or Yemen. (AFD, 2007)
OECD	The OECD DAC has on its part equated the two conceptually distinct expressions of "Difficult Partnership Countries"(introduced in 2002 through LAP8) and "fragile states" (which is more recent) by defining them simultaneously "as countries where there is no political will and capacity to develop and implement pro-poor policies. (DAC Chairman's office, 2005)
UNS	Concept of a "fragile state" which is unable to fully perform its state functions, thus posing a threat to national and international peace; hence the need for partner support (pursuant to chapter VII of the United Nations Charter which calls on Partners to strengthen the capacities of partner governments to fully exercise their state functions). A state cannot continue to exist under international law without a real capacity to assert its political authority (Satchivi, 2001)
USAID	(1) "Failing states" Unable to provide basic services and ensure the safety of their people; - North American political concept of "collapsed states" (Somalia was a first example (Zartman, 1995); (2) "Failed states" Where a significant part of the country is not controlled and managed by the central government; in the broadest and most complex sense (all key functions of a state no longer exist; -There are two types of "fragile states" a) those that are simply "vulnerable" b) and those already " in crisis" whose situation has become so dramatic as to lead to an actual armed conflict (USAID, 2005); (3) "Recovering States" Where governance and stability, however weak, keep improving (internal documents submitted to DAC in 2004).
World Bank	As for the World Bank, its LICUS initiative does not benefit all the states it considers "fragile", but only those believed to be characterized by a "debilitating combination" of political, governance and institutional "deficiencies" (various internal documents of the Bank, 2004).

Source: AFD 2005.

The concept thus remains vague and complex as it is not based on scientific and specific criteria and therefore does not provide a standard profile of fragile state. Such a definition raises more questions. Should the security criterion not take precedence over governance in the definition of fragility? Should all the countries that are noted for poor governance not be considered as fragile states? Should all the countries with limited economic and/or financial capacity not be classified as "fragile states"? The lack of specific and reliable criteria only added to the confusion in that a country with economic

and financial capabilities like Nigeria can be considered a fragile state while states that are deemed weaker in this regard (Benin, Burkina Faso) continue to be regarded as "normal states" (IFRI, 2007).

It is on the basis of these reservations that the African Union rejected the concept of "fragile states" for another approach which advocates the use of "fragile situations" instead. This alternative proposal was made by the EU (see box below).

Box 5.1: The AU Approach

The African Union opted to reject the concept of "fragile state" because it has a much more ideological connotation. According to AU Experts, this concept: (i) criminalizes African states as it classifies African countries based on Western standards; and (ii) justifies Western intervention in Africa. The concept of "fragile situation" was developed by the European Commission following the AU's refusal to use the concept of fragile state in EU-AU relations. This concept which is considered more neutral was preferred to the concept of fragile state.

Source: Didima Lodge (2008). Les Etats fragiles en Afrique : un paradigme utile pour l'action ? *Conference Report, 12-13 May, Observatoire de l'Afrique: South Africa.*

Notwithstanding the AU's reservations, the concept of "fragile state" should not be dismissed outright. In the case of African countries for instance, the concept has refocused the analysis on the state which has now taken centre stage in the political, security and development agenda of these countries (Fukuyama, 2004). After decades of eclipse caused by the search for the "minimalist State" through restructuring of government spending under the WB/IMF Structural Adjustment Programmes, the resurgence of the State is in line with the dire "need for a state" in these countries since the late 1990s[17].

Among fragile states in West Africa, Guinea is a special case.

It is also obvious that there is a correlation between the fragility of a state and its heritage value.[18] What more, how to link state fragility to the underlying factors of state criminalization by some Af-

17   Leroy E. (1994), Recherche l'Etat, désespérant en Afrique subsaharienne, GEMDEV, Karthala: Paris.
18   Bratton M (1989). « Beyond the state, civil society and association of life in Africa », in Word Politics, volume 41, No 3; Bayart J.F.(1989). « L'Etat en Afrique » Fayard, 1989; Médard F (1990).« L'Etat patrimonialisé », in Politique africaine, Septembre 1990; Mbembe A.(2000). De la post-colonie ,Karthala : Paris .

rican countries over the last decades (Bayart, Ellis & Hiboux, 1997). Is the concept of fragile state applicable to all countries in which the state has been criminalized? Studies on the subject define a "Criminal or Mafia State" as one in which the following are rampant: "fraud and trafficking in general, indiscriminate exploitation of resources, looting, privatisation of institutions, criminalisation of power, proliferation of armed militias (J.F. Bayart, Stephen Ellis, B. Hiboux 1997) . State criminalization here refers to "widespread practices within the state which are obviously indictable under existing national laws and mostly against the criteria set by international law and/or international organisations"[19].

In light of the above, it is instructive to investigate why Guinea qualifies to be a fragile state.

Although a victim of political, social and security tensions, Guinea is not among the African countries that experienced internal armed conflicts of the levels in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Côte d'Ivoire .This type of conflict usually involves armed factions within the same country which are engaged in a power struggle. The clashes sometimes result in total disintegration of the state (Liberia and Sierra Leone) or the creation of a territorial area no longer controlled by the ruling government (northern, central and western regions of Côte d'Ivoire controlled by the New Forces).

Further, Guinea is not among the 10 African countries with the lowest score under the 2007 human development index criterion. And yet Guinea was classified by IFRI[20] in group 3 (Table 5.2) along with Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone which are all countries emerging from conflicts, whereas in the other problematic groups (Group 2 and Group 4), there is no explicit reference to the fragility of the states concerned. Group 2 includes "the Sahelian States (Mali, Mauritania and Niger) which are undermined by porous borders, weak security forces and proximity to groups with perceived links to Al Qaeda in Algeria" (IFRI, 2007). Group 4 includes "unstable states and states in crisis" such as Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Togo.

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19   Bayart J.F. (1997). De l'Etat kleptocrate à l'Etat malfaiteur Reno).
20   Institut français des relations internationales

Table 5.2: Security Trends in West Africa, 2007

Group	Member Countries	Characteristics
Standard States	Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Senegal	Democratization of security and defence sectors and regular elections that result in smooth transfer of power
Sahelian States	Mali, Mauritania and Niger	Porous borders, powerless security forces in the face of vast territories and proximity to groups suspected to have links with Al Qaeda in Algeria
Fragile States	Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone	Post-conflict countries
Unstable States & States in crisis	Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Togo	Security is more an issue for the regimes than the states, and even more for the population

Source: IFRI, Paris 2007

Furthermore, Guinea is usually considered as a fragile state with a weak capacity to implement structural and institutional reforms (Outlook Perspectives 2010).The factors behind Guinea's fragility in 2000, which may also explain its classification among fragile states, will be reviewed in the subsequent sections. As noted earlier, Guinea's predicament is the result of its adjacency to neighbouring countries which are home to internal armed conflicts. Conflicts in Sierra Leone (1991-2000), Liberia (1996-1997 and 2000-2003) and Côte d'Ivoire (2002-2011) had negative security and humanitarian impacts on Guinea.

Some offensives were launched into Guinea from Liberia at the time when the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) was also carrying out attacks on Guinean territory. The armed group called Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) was based in Guinea and, in violation of the UN armed embargo on Liberia, the Guinean Ministry of Defence reportedly supplied LURD with weapons when the group led the attacks on Monrovia in July 2003, culminating in the overthrow of President Charles Taylor (International Crisis Group, 2005). In the 1990s, Guinea was closely involved in the conflict in Sierra Leone. In 2000 and 2001, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) carried out incursions into Guinea from Sierra Leone. Guinea recruited fighters among Sierra Leonean refugees in Guinea to repel those attacks, and played an active role in the defeat of RUF during the final stages of the conflict in Sierra Leone (International Crisis Group, 2005).

The forest region was a hub for arms trafficking. Moreover, for the thousands of young combatants, including child soldiers, who were crisscrossing the borders between Liberia, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire, gun violence was seen as a means to become rich (BEFORE, 2007). In 2000, Guinea was the victim of an armed attack from outside. The deadly armed attack which started on 1 September 2000 in Massadou (Macenta), quickly spread to Pamelap and Farmoriah (Forécariah) in

Madina Oula (Kindia), and to Guéckédou and Kissidougou on 5 and 6 December 2000. The attacks were claimed on foreign radio stations by Guinean nationals who had gone into exile after the failed coup of 4 July 1995 and the mutiny of 2 and 3 February 1996. They reportedly were fighting to overthrow the regime of Lansana Conté (International Crisis Group, 2005).

At the same time, Guinea experienced a long end of autocratic rule during the last years of President Conté, who was now weak as a result of illness. After taking over power in 1984 through a military coup to allow for a military transition to democratic elections, President Conté stayed in power until his death in December 2008 following several renunciations of the rule of law and democracy. It was during that period that the President began to find it increasingly difficult to govern, thus triggering a power vacuum. Guinea was also identified as having been exposed to political risks, including:

» Constitutional reviews in countries that had opted in the 1990s for the limitation of the presidential term to five years with possibility to renew it only once (in the case of Guinea, the 1991 Constitution was amended through referendum in 2001);
» Resurgence of military coups d'état (1984 and 2008 in Guinea); and
» Refusal of the military to relinquish power to civilians through democratic elections (2009 in Guinea).

The regime was also weakened by security tensions and humanitarian crises arising on the border of neighbouring countries in conflict, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire, and from the influx of refugees from these countries. Guinea was identified as a country in protracted crisis (FAO 2007). FAO defines a protracted crisis as "an environment in which a significant proportion of the population faces serious risks of death and sickness and possible disruption of their livelihood over a long period". The criteria used by FAO to characterize this protracted crisis are provided in the Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Key criteria for protracted crises

Criteria	Characteristics
Long crisis period	The criterion takes into account the duration of the crisis based on country information (whether a man-made crisis or a crisis resulting from natural disaster or a combination of both), which requires external assistance. This information is compiled annually by FAO's Global Information and Early Warning System (GIEWS) for all member states of the United Nations. A country is said to be experiencing a protracted crisis when featured on the GIEWS list for at least eight years, from 2001 to 2010 (in order to include the most recent crises) or for at least 12 years from 1996 to 2010.
Existence of conflict	This is a common feature, but a conflict situation does not necessarily lead to a protracted crisis: in some countries in protracted crisis, a full-blown military conflict is not a significant causative factor, or it is limited to only one part of the country (as in the cases of Ethiopia and Uganda).
Weak governance and public administration	Sometimes, it simply means inadequate capacity to cope with overwhelming constraints, but it could also reflect a lack of political will to grant rights to all citizens.
Unsustainable livelihoods and poor performance in the area of food security	These factors contribute to malnutrition and increased mortality. Transient or chronic food insecurity is usually on the rise in protracted situations. Moreover, unsustainable livelihoods are not just a sign of protracted crisis: the decreasing sustainability of livelihoods may give rise to a conflict which may in turn culminate in a protracted crisis.
Failed local institutions	This is compounded by state fragility. Relatively stable traditional institutional systems often collapse during protracted crises, but alternatives to be provided by state institutions are often not available.
Aid flows	This criterion refers to the ratio of humanitarian assistance to total volume of aid received by a country. A country is deemed to be in a protracted crisis situation if the proportion of humanitarian assistance received is at least 10% of the total volume of official development assistance received since 2008.
Economic and food security status	Economic status and food security status. Under the last criterion, countries concerned must be on the list of LIFDCs.

Source: FAO/ SMIAR de la FAO et Initiatives de développement, 2010

The cause of a "protracted crisis" may be, depending on the case: natural, man-induced, or a combination of both (natural and man-induced), as shown in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Countries in protracted situations: typology of crises, 1996-2010

Countries	Natural Crisis Only	Man-made Crisis Only	Combination of Natural and Man-made Crises	Total number of Disasters (1996-2010)	Humanitarian Assistance (%)
Number of years					**Percentage**
Angola	1	11		12	30
Burundi		14	1	15	32
Congo			13	13	22
Cote d'Ivoire			9	9	15
Eritrea	2	3	10	15	30
Ethiopia	2	2	11	15	21
Guinea			10	10	16
Kenya	9		3	12	14
Liberia		14	1	15	33
Uganda		4	10	14	10
Central African Rep.		8		8	13
DR Congo		15		15	27
Sierra Leone		15		15	19
Somalia		15		15	64
Sudan		5	10	15	62
Chad	2	4	3	9	23
Zimbabwe	2	3	5	10	31

Sources: FAO/ SMIAR de la FAO and Initiatives de développement 2007

Table 5.4 shows that Guinea has been through a protracted crisis of 10 years which was exclusively man-made. Humanitarian assistance to the country is estimated at 16% of total aid.

From the foregoing, the State in Guinea became fragile in 2000 as a result of the collapse of state institutions, a rigid political system and bad governance, culminating in a political paralysis (International Crisis Group, 2003). The position of Prime Minister remained vacant until the end of the year after the resignation abroad of the Prime Minister appointed in April 2004, on grounds that the President was a hindrance. The political uncertainty was heightened by constant changes of Prime Ministers:

the new Prime Minister, who had been appointed in 2004, was dismissed in April 2006; the next one who was appointed following the political accord of May 2008 suffered the same fate (International Crisis Group, 2008).

Lack of dialogue between the government and the opposition contributed greatly to increased political disputes and violence. However, Guinea's peculiarity is underscored by the fact that political and economic governance suffered particularly from the illness of the sitting President. This had already created a power vacuum and a deep political crisis characterized by failed institutions, a crumbling state, waning confidence in authorities, indiscipline in the Army (mutiny) and serious economic and financial abuses (International Crisis Group, 2008). According to the International Crisis Group (2005), the state became fragile on account of a struggle for succession and legitimacy, and of a series of political and social crises: military mutinies, recurrent strikes, churning out of conflicting decrees.

Causes of the various crises in Guinea

The causes of the political crises in Guinea can be classified into political, security, economic, social and legal issues (BEFORE, 2007).

> According to BEFORE (2007), the dynamic political factors which contributed to instability in Guinea include: the early retirement and arbitrary transfer of army officers; electoral challenges; conflict; political interference with the judiciary; and lack of transparency in the electoral process. The general poor level of governance was further worsened by human rights violations, poor management of transition, poor democratic culture and lack of electoral transparency. Box 5.2 elaborates on the governance issues.

Box 5.2: The Concept of Governance

The term Governance refers to processes and institutions that contribute to decision-making. When related to the public sector, we talk of Public Governance. There are three types of Public Governance which focus on civic, political and development dimensions. Civic and Political Governance deals with human rights issues while Development Governance focuses primarily on planning, budgeting, socioeconomic development policies and programmes monitoring and accountability. It therefore includes dimensions such as accountability, rule of law, reforms (i.e. civil service) and participation. Participatory Governance is one of the numerous institutional strategies of development governance. Public participation is the expected outcome or logical result of participatory governance policies. Participation can help to deepen democracy, enhance social capital, improve efficiency, foster economic growth, and promote pro-poor initiatives, equity and social justice.

Source: Guinée (2007), « Rapport d'évaluation et de chiffrage des besoins pour l'atteinte des OMD et Cadrage macroéconomique-Capacité à gérer l'aide », Système des Nations Unies, Conakry.

The political climate in Guinea had begun to worsen following: (i) the shock generated by the extreme tension under which the controversial 1998 presidential elections were held; (ii) the arrest of the opposition leader; and (iii) boycott of the November 2001 referendum, the 2002 parliamentary elections and local elections. In 2001, an amendment to the provisions of the constitution limiting the president's term of office to two made it possible for the president's mandate to be renewed in December 2003. The ensuing street protests by the opposition against this lack of "political fair play" led to heightened political tensions throughout 2000. This development worsened the already volatile political situation as mistrust grew within the political class and Government and Opposition refused to dialogue. The arrival of the CNDD to power in a December 2008 coup d'état could only worsen the situation (Box 5.3).

Box 5.3: CNDD's high handed rule

Hours after the death of President Lansana Conté, the army took over power and grad-ually tightened its grip on it. It subsequently replaced civilian heads of the civil service with soldiers, used state resources to form CNDD support groups across the country and trained ethnic militias. The army inflamed tensions, especially in the already un-stable Forest region of Guinea in the south where it had grouped thousands of former combatants and volunteers who had experience in armed conflict. While the army had a collective interest in staying in power, the recruitment of militias was evidence of growing mistrust among leaders of the junta and other sections of the army. This situa-tion was particularly worrying since any conflict within the army could easily turn into a full scale civil war in Guinea and potentially destabilize its neighbours with a wave of refugees crossing over to Mali, Senegal and Guinea-Bissau to safety. It could also give rise to movement of firearms to Côte d'Ivoire and movements of ex-combatants and refugee communities along the Liberian and Sierra Leonean borders. This catastrophic scenario that certain analysts feared at the time (International Crisis Group, 2005) had begun to unfold with the wave of apocalyptic violence that led to the death of protes-tors on 28 September.

Source: International Crisis Group, 2010

The high point of bad Governance by the junta was its refusal to: (i) comply with the rules of the "political game" set out in the 1991 Constitution, review in 2001 of the limitation of the five-year presidential rule to two terms; and (ii) organize free and fair presidential elections in 2010, in which leaders of the military junta would not take part.

The dynamic economic factors which contributed to the crisis are: non-compliance with consti-tutional provisions; conflict between farmers and livestock breeders; insecurity; land conflicts; high levels of poverty and unemployment; impunity; and general economic mismanagement. The levels of economic mismanagement were precipitated by poorly qualified workers, corrup-tion, high rates of inflation and general lack of competitiveness (BEFORE, 2007).

Among these factors, mismanagement was the main economic factor that led to the State be-coming fragile. This trend prevailed throughout 2000 as government spent more on security and sovereignty to the detriment of economic priority and pro-poor expenditure. The abuse of

exceptional procedures in the public expenditure payment system and preference for private contracts over public procurement procedures increased fiscal indiscipline in the management of public funds.

In addition to political and economic factors, the BEFORE (2007) report identified other social dynamics which also contributed to instability and crises. These include: the influence of NGOs that impose foreign practices; non-recourse to ethnicity in the event of a social, economic and political crisis; the proliferation of new religious groups which conflict with traditional ones; limited social security coverage; discrimination /exclusion of minorities; and low investment in education. The inadequacy of social policies at national level to provide a social safety net is also a major contributor. The lack of jobs and massive unemployment of the youth, polygamy and violence against women and the poor link between training and the job market all contributed to deepening the crises.

In the face of worsening living conditions of a majority of the people after more than twenty years of authoritarian rule under President Lansana Conté, two general strikes were organized in February and June 2006. A third general strike in January 2007 led to an unprecedented uprising calling for political change. Protests that followed in the subsequent weeks were met with violent repressions by security forces.

Thus, according to the BEFORE (2007) report, the dynamics of the security sector also had an impact on the crises. Some of the influencing security factors were: the uncontrolled recruitment of personnel into the army; the exclusion and the existence of cliques within the army; favouritism; indiscretion; inadequate military training; allocated budget; and bad governance. The scourge of bad governance was further deepened by lack of logistics, intra-military violence, conflict between the military and politicians, frustration, favouritism, abuse of power, illegal arms circulation, lack of dialogue/coordination, civilian- military violence, and cross border violence.

The Guinean government, according to corroborating sources, was involved in conflicts that broke out in neighbouring countries. The regime became very interested in the affairs of neighbouring states, with the Army playing a central role. The Government had indeed made the involvement of Army officers in business practices at the border with neighbouring countries a centerpiece of its strategy to push its internal problems to the borders of the country.

The dynamics of legal cases also impacted on the crises in Guinea. Issues such as supremacy of the executive, interference of the executive and legislature in the judiciary, interference of the executive and legislature in the judiciary, frustrations, nepotism, disregard for the separation of powers, judicial laxity, manipulation of security and defence forces, inadequate training and the non-enforcement of legal judgments precipitated the crises. Other contributory factors were:

fatalism of the citizenry; social breakdown; violation of the law; influence of religion; citizens' lack of knowledge about their rights and responsibilities; inadequate training; indiscriminate arrests; coercive use of power; and corruption.

All the crises cited below are indications of the poor governance that characterized Guinea in the 2000s. The breakdown of dialogue was registered internally between political stakeholders on a common strategy towards a Republican pact to address the major challenges facing the country. It happened also externally, with technical and financial partners, and in both cases it had a significant impact on the social, economic and political dimensions.

Impact of the Crises

Political impact

The government was often uneasy whenever its decisions were contested, especially due to the long-standing antagonism between the government and other political forces in the country, the lack of dialogue between the two parties and/or initiation of a fruitless dialogue without any possibility of democratizing the regime (Box 5.4). As a result of the increasing violence, the opposition took a hard line, causing political tension to rise in the country. The political situation became increasingly unstable, fuelled by a sudden power vacuum: the President, who was now seriously ill, often ruled from his village.

Guinea's political indicators, which fell from 1 to 4 points in 2009, show a grim picture compared to others in the sub-region. The country slipped into a political crisis sustained by the anticipations of all stakeholders who were already expecting a regime change (Economic Outlook 2010). It is against this backdrop of political and economic uncertainty that the Ouagadougou Accord was signed.

Box 5.4: Antagonism between the political forces

The antagonism between the political forces in Guinea arose from the "forced" constitutional review of 2001, considering the fact that the opposition had called for a boycott of the referendum which amended the 1991 Constitution to that effect. Since then, all political and social demonstrations were violently suppressed before the signing of any political accord. The situation reached its peak with the events of September 28, 2009, as tensions increased due to the apparent resolve of the leader of the military junta to stand for election and talks on the transition process broke down. The junta had blocked the creation of a National Transitional Council (CNT), a broad-based consultative body which was a key component of the transition process adopted in March, and temporarily banned political discussions in the State media. Political and civil society leaders became targets of intimidation and harassment by the military. The breakdown of talks only strengthened the people's belief that the streets were the only platform left for them to express their opinions on the transition process.

Source: International Crisis Group 2009 and 2010

The upsurge of threats against opponents and their arrest only made the protests against the regime louder in the streets, with the Government responding with violent and murderous crack-downs on anti-government protestors. The violent repression reached its peak when, on 28 September 28 2009, security forces cracked down on a pro-democracy rally organized by the country's political forces and trade unions backed by civil society.

Human Rights Watch estimates that between 150 and 200 people were killed during the crackdown and about 1,500 people were injured, while women of all ages were raped. Political leaders were also arrested by security forces, a situation which clearly shows that continued military rule is a threat to the stability of Guinea, and indeed the stability of the entire sub-region, including Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire, three fragile states which were just recovering from a civil war.

Economic Impact
The economic situation in 2009 was marked by the socio-political crisis that triggered off the events of September 2009 (the massacre of demonstrators by the military regime) and of December 2009 (the assassination attempt on Moussa Dadis Camara, leader of the junta) which ushered in a new political transition in January 2011 (Economic Outlook 2010).

Guinea's economic performance over the last two decades has shown that the 1990s was a decade of peace and economic growth. It was much better than the years of crisis and economic stagnation that the country experienced from 2000 onwards. The 1990s had been a decade of relatively strong growth as shown in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Annual Growth Rate and Average GDP for selected periods. 1991-2005 (in percentage)
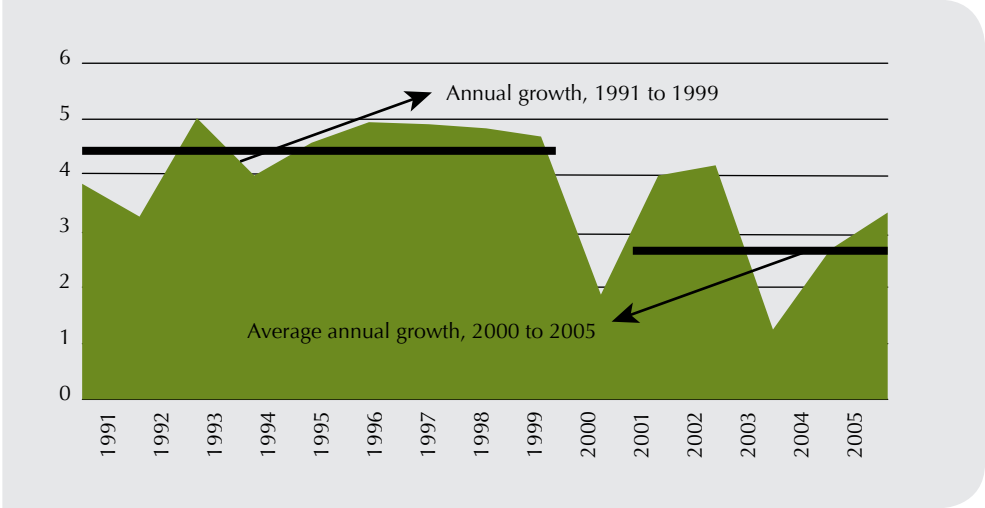
Source: World Bank (2007). World Bank Services' Calculation (LDB, Calculs des Services de la Banque mondiale) in Revue des Politiques de Développement, June.

Between 1992 and 1999, Guinea's economic performance was better than the recorded average of Sub-Saharan Africa (sustained growth of real GDP at an annual rate of 4.4% as against an average growth rate of 3.8% for the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) as shown in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2: Weighted Average Annual Per Capita Income Growth Rate for Guinea and Sub-Saharan Africa. (1986-2004)

This growth was driven by the agricultural and mining sectors and was bolstered by major economic reforms aimed at liberalizing the economy, had been robust and stable during the period, with an estimated 0.62 standard deviation in the annual growth rate. The per capita income over the last decade averaged 0.9% while the average for WAEMU member states was 0.4% (World Bank, 2007).

Guinea's economic performance began to slump in 2000, "with an average annual growth rate of 2.8 percent as against 4.4% per annum between 1992-1999; the country's foreign reserves run out and its currency depreciated drastically, driving inflation up by 39% in 2006 (as against single digit inflation in the 90s) while its foreign exchange reserves shrank to less than a month of import cover coupled with a huge public debt of nearly 100% of GDP" (Economic Outlook 2010). This economic slump was caused by external shocks mainly due to the fall in world market price of bauxite combined with a loss of momentum in economic reforms, growing uncertainty in the political climate, and deterioration in the quality of public institutions and the macroeconomic situation.

Among the least performing public institutions were the country's electricity company (EDG), Guinea Water Company (SEG), the telecommunications service provider (SOTELGUI), the courts, internal revenue and tax authorities. Additionally, over 40% of households were required to pay bribes for services rendered to them. The quality of such services was also reported to vary across public services and geographical areas" (World Bank 2007). A flexible monetary policy led to a double-digit inflation and the crowding out of private sector credit.

Then, Guinea was hard hit by the global crises: oil (2007-2008), food (2008) and financial (2009). The Government was unable to reduce the budget deficits due to poor macroeconomic policies (5% of GDP between 2000-2004, compared to less than 3% in the mid-1990s). Guinea was also faced with a structural problem of public expenditure management arising from low fiscal revenues and the suspension of foreign aid after the IMF programme was considered inconclusive. In 2001, Guinea was one of the first countries to reach the HIPC decision point and this improved the country's fiscal prospects through the provision of assistance for debt cancellation.

In the absence of any refined econometric tests, it is difficult to identify the factors underlying this negative assessment. The best statistical approach would be to isolate the effects of Guinea's successive crises since the early 2000s from influences caused by other events. This is however difficult given the lack of modern evaluation tools. The fact remains that most economic studies on a country's economic development have always pointed to the negative impact of political and/or security tensions on the economy of that country. It could be said, in the case of Guinea, that the country's economic growth and development suffered from the negative trends of heightened security, political and social tension throughout 2000. These developments had caused a dramatic shift in government priorities, in addition to the freeze on institutional, structural and macroeconomic reforms, and lack of commitment of donors.

Change in priorities

As far back as 1984, the Government had made clear its intent to expedite the transition from a State-controlled economy which prevailed between 1958 and 1984 to a free market economy. This new direction had begun to impact positively on economic growth and the living standards of the people in the 1990s, which turned out to be a decade of peace and economic growth for Guinea. The successive crises that affected Guinea in 2000 and beyond forced the Government to focus its attention on security to the detriment of its economic programmes. For example, spending on security took precedence over other sectors. A World Bank report speaks of the trend where pro-poor expenditures under the 2002-2005 poverty reduction strategy (PRS1) were replaced with sovereignty and security expenditures (Box 5).

Table 5: Composition of Public Expenditure, 1990-2005 (percentage of Total expenditure)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
1. Sub-Total Current Expenditure	50.2	54.4	53.0	50.6	53.7	51.4	54.9	52.4	60.4	55.5	56.4	61.7	67.5	67.1	69.6	70.3
1.1 Primary Current expenditure	39.8	44.1	44.5	43.5	44.7	43.3	46.7	43.0	50.4	45.9	46.4	53.6	58.4	56.1	54.2	53.9
Salaries and Allowances	18.9	18.7	15.6	13.9	13.2	11.8	11.4	10.4	13.1	11.6	12.4	12.1	18.3	18.4	9.8	17.0
Goods and services	17.1	20.0	23.1	24.2	25.1	24.0	27.1	23.8	28.2	25.2	23.1	19.4	20.6	18.7	18.8	21.2
Subsidies and transfers	3.8	5.4	5.7	5.4	6.4	7.5	8.2	8.8	9.1	9.2	10.9	22.2	19.5	19.0	25.6	15.7
1.2 Debt Service	**10.4**	**10.3**	**8.6**	**7.2**	**9.0**	**8.1**	**8.1**	**9.4**	**10.0**	**9.6**	**10.1**	**8.1**	**9.2**	**11.0**	**15.4**	**16.3**
Domestic interest payments	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.8	0.6	1.7	1.4	1.9	1.8	2.5	2.7	5.0	7.1	7.1
Foreign interest payments	10.4	10.3	8.6	7.0	8.6	7.3	7.6	7.7	8.6	7.7	8.3	5.6	6.4	6.0	8.3	9.3
2. Sub-Total Capital Expenditure	**49.8**	**45.6**	**47.0**	**49.4**	**46.3**	**48.6**	**45.1**	**47.6**	**39.6**	**44.5**	**43.6**	**38.3**	**32.5**	**32.9**	**30.4**	**29.7**
2.1 Foreign financed	40.9	37.9	40.9	41.5	39.6	40.6	37.5	41.9	32.6	38.1	38.6	35.0	25.3	21.5	18.0	17.4
2.2 Domestic financed	9.0	7.7	5.5	7.9	6.7	7.9	7.6	5.5	6.5	6.3	4.7	3.1	6.8	11.3	12.4	12.0
2.3 Other Capital operations	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.3
Total (1+2)	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

2.   Source : World Bank, 2007

3. The general change observed in public expenditure patterns shows a gradual shift towards public consumption instead of investment for development.
4. Crowding out of priority social spending
5. As the rising number of conflicts across West Africa affected Guinea, its defence and security expenditure went up significantly at the expense of other priority sectors (Table 13).

Table 6 : Public Spending on Priority Sectors*, Defence and Security (2000-2005)

	1997	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
1. Priority sectors							
% of budget		19.7	16.5	21.1	23.4	20.3	20.4
% of GDP		3.2	3.1	3.9	4.5	3.5	2.6
2. Defence & Security							
% of budget		18.1	28.7	19.7	16.6	20.3	13.3
% of GDP	1.2	3.0	5.4	3.6	3.2	3.5	1.7

Source: World Bank 2007

6. Available data for 1997 and 2000 – 2005 show that spending on security increased from 1.2% of GDP in 1997 to 5.4% in 2001, bringing the average to 3.4% of GDP in 2000 – 2005. This increase was said to have been in response to security threats from neighbouring countries. Average spending on education and health combined, over the same period, increased by only 2.2% of GDP.

Lack of fiscal discipline

The payment of security expenditures did not comply with existing procedures under the public expenditure system, hence the need to adhere to the fiscal framework under the Finance Act, complemented by budgetary allocation controls. Public procurement procedures were also completely ignored in the payment of public expenditure. Thus, instead of competitive bidding as required by procedure, major government contracts were awarded through private arrangements. All these abuses only made the macroeconomic framework more unstable (increased budget deficit, widespread monetary financing of budget deficit with a concomitant exchange rate volatility) resulting in the deterioration of the business climate.

Suspension of reforms

Structural reforms were suspended in 2002 when the Government halted the implementation of the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) it had signed with the IMF. In May 2001, the Government and the IMF signed a poverty reduction strategy implementation reform programme, 2001-2004. The programme, which was supported by the IMF's PRGF, also received budget support from the World Bank, ADF, EU and other bilateral partners, as well as debt relief under the HIPC initiative (BAD 2004).

While the first three PRS (Poverty Reduction Strategy) implementation reviews were generally satisfactory, the fourth in November 2002 showed major slippages in non-priority spending, especially on sovereignty and security, leading to increased fiscal imbalance and greater vulnerability of public finances. This slackening of fiscal policy resulted in the suspension in December 2002 of the reform programme by the IMF. Additionally, the arrival of the CNDP and the establishment of an exceptional regime in 2009 ended the implementation of the public finance reform strategy, drawn up by the Government in 2008, following the conclusion of the 2006 PEFA evaluation of the public finance management framework in Guinea, with support from Coopération Française (MEF 2008).

Efforts made by the donor community to revive the implementation of the reforms after their suspension proved futile. The ADB missions in May and December 2004 were inconclusive due to lack of willingness on the part of authorities to, as part of an interim programme, implement measures aimed at checking slippages in non-priority spending, controlling inflation and stemming the continuous depreciation of the Guinean franc. This was followed by the exacerbation of social and political tensions on account of the July 2004 looting of staple foods such as rice in Conakry, the acts of vandalism in other parts of the country, violent protests in November 2004 against increases in electricity tariffs, and falling standards of living for the most vulnerable (unemployed and the youth). The Government had very little room to implement the public finance reform and economic recovery programme.

Suspension of external funding to Guinea

The suspension in December 2002 of on-going reforms by the IMF led to the freezing or non-renewal of budgetary assistance from Guinea's foreign development partners and the suspension of expected debt reliefs from the IMF, ADB and AFD under the HIPC initiative (with the exception of the World Bank). This resulted in the deterioration of the country's socio-economic situation, a setback in good governance and heightened political tensions between the government and the opposition. Guinea's worsening financial situation also led to the suspension of support from the African Development Bank group between February and November, due to accumulated debt towards the ADB, ADF and FSN (BAD 2004). Sanctions imposed by the ADB were however lifted immediately after payment of these arrears on December 3, 2004.

Measures put in place in May 2004 by the Government to reduce non priority expenditure by 50% were not satisfactorily implemented (World Bank 2007). Extra budgetary spending (on sovereignty and national defence) continued to weigh heavily on the public purse. Thus in spite of decisions taken by way of the supplementary budget adopted in November 2004 to adjust government spending and increase allocations to priority sectors such as education, health, rural development, the implementation of the budget lacked the required discipline to avoid slippage in the fiscal deficit, excluding grants (4.7% of the GDP). During that period, the Guinean franc depreciated from 1232.8GNF to 1USD a dollar in 1997 to 1950GNF to 1USD in 2003, representing a decline of more than 60% in four years. Also, recourse to monetary financing of the budget deficit in 2004 drove inflation upwards (27.4% year-on-year in November as against a projected 14.3%) in sharp contrast to a decline from 6.8% in 2000 to 3% in 2002.

Table 5.7: Average annual inflation rate in some ECOWAS countries

Country /Year	2000	2002	2003	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Benin	4.2	2.4	1.5	5.4	3.8	1.3	8.1	6.5
Burkina Faso	-0.3	2.3	2.0	6. 4	2.3	-0.2	10.8	5.0
Côte d'Ivoire	1.6	3.2	3.3	3.9	2.5	1.9	6.5	5.7
Ghana	3. 7	14.5	13.0	15.1	10.2	10.7	16.8	13.3
Guinea	6.0	3.0	12.9	31.4	34.7	22.9	17.9	9.3
Liberia	10.0	14.6	10.4	6.9	7.2	11.4	19.2	11.4
Nigeria	5.5	12.9	14.0	17.8	8.3	5.5	11.0	11.1
Sierra Leone	-0.9	-3.1	7.4	12.1	9.5	11.7	15. 3	13.9
UEMOA	1.8	3.0	1.3	4.6	2.2	2.1	8.1	4.6
ECOWAS	4.2	9.0	9.3	13.9	7.6	5.6	10.9	9.8

Source: ECA SRO-WA, from official data and ECOWAS; IMF, World Economic Outlook, April 2009

Guinea's structural financial deficit only hampered private sector development. Banks had long term resource gaps and lacked viable risk guarantee systems. This made it difficult for SMEs to access credit from the banks. The country also had other challenges, including: (i) collapsed energy, water, telecommunications and transport infrastructure; (ii) ineffective legal system, (iii) corruption and bureaucratic hurdles; (iv) small external market; and (vi) high incidence of fraud and smuggling of competing foreign products. Moreover, the implementation of the new public enterprise privatization strategy adopted in 2001 by the Government did not record any progress; Parliament's approval in

October that year for the creation of a Privatization Unit (UP) charged with the implementation of the said strategy, could not attract private investors into the sectors concerned.

> The political instability in Guinea generally made it difficult to implement two PRSP cycles (2001-2006 and 2007-2010), hence the country's inability to make significant progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (WEO, 2010).

Guinea recorded a reversal in human development during the decade of 2000. The UNDP's human development index for 2007-2008 (based on 2005 statistics) placed Guinea 160th out of 177 countries. Infant mortality was at 97 per thousand in 2005 as against 136 per thousand in 1990. The under-five mortality rate was 160 per thousand in 2005 as against 229 per thousand in 1990. There is still much work to be done, in this regard, to achieve the objective of reducing these rates by 2/3 of their 1990 level. Maternal mortality rates also went down from 666 per hundred thousand in 1990 to 528 in 2000. The percentage of assisted deliveries stood at 34% in 2000. The AIDS prevalence rate was at 1.5%, while tuberculosis was at 193 per hundred thousand. Statistics also revealed that malaria was the leading cause of hospital attendance (33%) and admission (25.4%) at health facilities with an incidence rate of 108.3 per thousand (UNS, 2007, ADB, 2004 and 2005). The economic downturn experienced during the period largely explains the deterioration in the living conditions of the Guinean people since the late 90's. This led to an increase in the poverty incidence rate from 49.1% in 2002/03 to 53% in 2007/08 (UNS, 2007).

> Under these difficult economic circumstances, Guinea's capacity to reduce poverty and improve social indicators was affected. National statistics suggest that the incidence of poverty dropped from 62% of households in 1994 to 49% in 2000, but rose again to 54% in 2005 and 53% in 2007/08. High inflation in recent years, coupled with stagnant wages, contributed to the decline in real wages. Guinea's per capita income stood at 370 USD in 2005 (Atlas Method), representing a reduction by over 400 USD – a trend which was sustained throughout the 90s. As one of the poorest countries in Africa, Guinea ranked 160th out of 175 countries in the UNDP Human Development Index for 2006.

7. On the other hand, some progress was made in the area of basic social services of health and education (primary school enrolments increased from 31% to 81% between 1991 and 2003 and infant and maternal mortality over the last ten years has dropped) despite persistent regional and income inequalities in terms of access to basic education, health care, and infrastructure services. Similarly, access to water (64.3%) and electricity (18.8%) has not improved since 2002.

Challenges in the implementation of poverty reduction strategies

Guinea's tense political climate and poor governance adversely affected the implementation of reforms and economic programmes drawn up by the Government. For example, the implementation of the PRS was stalled in 2002 and more significantly in 2003, when Guinea's development partners suspended already approved or scheduled budget supports following the suspension of IMF's PRGF. Implementation of the public finance reform strategy was interrupted in early 2009 after the proclamation of the CNDD-led emergency regime, which had taken over from President Conté who died in December 2008. Major challenges noted in the implementation of the PRS included: (i) political instability, (ii) unstable macroeconomic environment, (iii) persistent high rate of corruption and poor governance, (iv) weak institutional capacity; and (v) persistent instability in the sub-region which could also thwart the achievement of the macroeconomic targets of the PRS.

Other risks include external shocks such as the climatic fluctuations as experienced in 2002 with the drying up of some waterbeds, leading to low hydroelectric power production and the vulnerability of the Guinean economy to volatile prices of petroleum and mineral products. Phase II of the PRS (PRSP II 2005-2007) will have to address the risks associated with resource availability. Indeed, in addition to poor internal resource mobilization, the country's relations with development partners are rather precarious and the non-renewal of a PRGF with the IMF may further weaken this partnership.

The poor performance of the economy during the decade of 2000 has made it difficult for Guinea to achieve the MDGs, with the exception of primary school enrolment. Indeed the gross primary school enrolment rate which stood at 80% in 2005 appears to be the only MDG attainable by 2015. Government's ability to reduce poverty has been compromised by poor macroeconomic management and per capita income is gradually declining. Low revenue mobilization (averaging 12.1% of GDP between 2003 and 2006), and decline in ODA have put a heavy strain on government's ability to fund the fight against poverty. Various surveys estimate the number of people living below the poverty line at 53.6% in 2005 as against 50.1% in 2004 and 49.2% in 2002. This trend is essentially due to a poor macroeconomic performance characterized by low economic growth.

Security Impact

Aside from the resurgence of urban insecurity, the year 2000 recorded higher levels of insecurity due to rebel incursions, increased poverty and an upsurge in school violence. After a period of calm at the beginning of the year, there was an upsurge of insecurity due to rebel attacks, the potential spread of the rebel movement and the mounting of road blocks in various parts of the capital and across the country. Cases of armed robbery generally targeted at shops and residences owned by traders were

also recorded in several areas. In addition to stealing valuable property and money, the robbers also committed murders and created a situation of general insecurity and fear.

The wave of attacks on homes in Conakry prompted the security services' response, leading to the arrest of scores of criminals and the dismantling of several gangs with ramifications in the sub-region. Urban insecurity was thus a major challenge for the authorities at the time. An upsurge in school violence and numerous cases of unrest were also recorded. Insecurity on the Guinean border was partly fuelled by incursions from neighbouring countries and the involvement of Guinean citizens in all kinds of cross border trade with Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Côte d'Ivoire (International Crisis Group, 2005). A number of Guineans profited a lot from the regional war and so the gradual return to peace in countries like Sierra Leone and Liberia made some of them lose substantial income (International Crisis Group, 2005).

Humanitarian impact

Due to the conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire, a region in Guinea (Forest region) had become home to a wave of refugees. Thousands of refugees including a large number of Guineans crossed the border into Guinea. Most of these people found refuge in the Forest region, a secluded region that borders these four countries (Table 5.8).

In 1997 and 1998, close to half a million refugees and asylum seekers in Guinea were registered by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). The number dropped to about 100,000 in 2004 and 2005 when a semblance of stability had returned to Guinea's neighbours and the refugees could return home. In 2007, there were some 12,000 refugees remaining in Guinea, 70% of who were from Liberia and about 30% from Sierra Leone.

Table 5.8: Number of displaced persons and/or refugees in Guinea as well as neighbouring and border countries

Country	Population	Conflict began	Number of displaced persons	Refugees in Guinea
Liberia	2 500 000	1989-1990	1 000 000	300 000
Sierra Leone	4 500 000		1 600 000	400 000
Côte d'Ivoire	17 500 000			

Source: UNHCR, Statistical Yearbook 2005, Guinea, April 30, 2007, www.unhcr.org

In each of these three cases, Guinea became home to many refugees for several years. It therefore found itself drawn into some border-related issues of the conflicts and changed its attitude towards the refugees whom it accused of fomenting trouble. Consequently, in the last few months, the refu-

Box 5.6: Influx of refugees into Guinea

1) Among these refugees were some 350 Sierra Leonean children separated from their families. Many of them had earlier been forcibly drafted as child soldiers and later voluntarily crossed the border to take up arms and fight in other conflicts as members of a different armed group. In 2005, a survey conducted by Human Rights Watch concluded that most of these young fighters had been promised financial rewards and that most were unable to articulate the political goal of the group they were fighting for. The risk of re-enlistment was exacerbated by the high levels of youth unemployment, corruption and deficiencies that dogged the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme (DDR).

) A report published in August 2005 by the UN Office for West Africa indicated that the high levels of unemployment across West Africa, especially among the youth, posed a threat to regional stability. This was reiterated in a report published in 2007 by the UN Secretary General who also emphasized the need for a region-wide reform of the security sector to put an end to instability.

3) Recruitment and deployment of children During the rebel incursions against Guinea from Liberia and Sierra Leone between 2000 and 2001, over 7,000 young men willingly enlisted into the Young Volunteers, a militia group made up of civilians backing the Guinean army. The government had promised to enlist them into the regular army but only a few of them were actually recruited. The number of children who were not recruited into the Young Volunteers could not be established and their presence in this militia was systematically denied by government authorities.

4) Officers were trained on the rights of the child, especially with the aim of preventing the recruitment or use of child soldiers. A former member of the Young Volunteers said he was recruited at age 13. Only a handful of the members of the Young Volunteers completed the demobilisation process and so the status of those who were not demobilized could not be clarified. Some are still in possession of their weapons and according to sources, they continue to operate as volunteer soldiers, while others are employed to provide security for non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and UN agencies based in the Forest region. It was also reported that some mounted road blocks to raid vehicles and extort money from passengers. In March 2006, the UN

gees were placed in camps and their movements restricted. They would be frequently attacked and murdered by the Guinean population while Guinean soldiers would look on unconcerned or actually egg them on.

The increase of the population in these areas drove up demand for social services in a country already struggling to deal with its poverty situation. These demands could not be met and so the region was plunged into trafficking, wanton violence and insecurity. Both indigenes and refugees alike paid a high price for the resulting insecurity: growing illicit trafficking, wanton murders and rape, increased insecurity, unstable political climate. The result was that the already precarious living conditions of the people worsened.

Evaluation of Exit Strategies: Analysis and Perspectives (Strategic Assessment)

With the breakdown of State institutions, Guinea was faced with institutional instability, insecurity, violence, a slumping economy and poverty. Strategies were implemented to bring peace to the country and pave the way for Guinea to move from its current status of a fragile state to a more stable and modern one. How effective were these strategies and what are the possible prospects?

Minimum treatment
These were responses aimed at dealing with security and humanitarian emergencies.

National responses

National responses

These only aimed at putting out the "fire" without solving the real problem. The responses helped to curb the attack in 2000 and calm political, social and security tensions, which had characterized the period between 2001 and 2008. The Guinean army beefed up by civilian volunteers and retired soldiers and funded by the Government and economic operators, tried with relative success to push the rebel forces back in mid-December 2000.

The army launched a vigorous offensive which pushed back the rebels who had set up their head-quarters at Yendé Millimou, in Kissidougou and threatened to take their attacks as far as Conakry, through Faranah and Mamou. At the national level, State institutions, most political parties and civil society organizations also condemned the rebellion.

Diplomatic and mediation initiatives

These were principled condemnations from ECOWAS (adoption of a motion condemning such in-cursions), US/China Bilateral Cooperation and the UN Security Council which adopted a resolution condemning the attacks on Guinea.

Management of the humanitarian crisis

Specialized UN Agencies like UNDP and OCHA played an active role in the management of the humanitarian crisis and the provision of relief to displaced persons right from the beginning of the border conflict that broke out in 2000 between Guinea and its neighbours -Liberia and Sierra Leone (Table 9).

Table 5.9: Management of the humanitarian crisis and assistance to displaced persons

Management and assistance	Outcome
Meetings held between October 6 and December 20 for the setting up of the OCHA Country team of a Humanitarian Coordination Committee.	Sharing information on displaced persons
	Coordination of aid and initiatives
First mission of the United Nations' Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) to Conakry on the sub region including Cote d'Ivoire.	Production in October 2000 of a Strategy Paper on managing the risks of humanitarian crisis.
Second mission of the United Nations' Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) to Conakry.	Production of a document; « Donor's alert ».
Opening of a permanent OCHA office in Conakry, in early 2001. It had three employees and a support staff.	Production of a consolidated multi-sectorial document, « Flash Appeal » for emergency appeals.
Launch by the UNDP (responsible for building capacities in management and coordination of humanitarian support as well as support for the rehabilitation of grassroots communities) of a project to support the National Solidarity and Rescue Committee with communication equipment and means of transport for sector focal points.	Release of 50,000 USD for the supply of communication and transport equipment for sector focal points.

Source: ECOWAS, 2000, UNDP, 2001

The activities of the UNHCR and its partners on the field were coordinated from Conakry and decentralized at sub-office level. These were scaled up from September 2000 due to rebel attacks. The coordination office in Conakry had 26 international staff, 3 JPO, 121 local staff, 18 UNVs, a Security Officer, many consultants, and four sub-offices in Forest Guinea and Maritime Guinea. The monthly Inter-Agency Coordination Committee meetings continued; the UNHCR coordinated its interventions with WFP (Food supplies), UNDP (Environment), UNICEF, WHO, UNESCO and UNFPA (Census).

Crisis exit strategies

(i) Initiatives of the Mano River States with the Summit of Heads of State of the Mano River Union (MRU) in Bamako, on 2 March 2 2000, under the auspices of ECOWAS, with RUF Representatives in attendance. The meeting was to take stock of the follow-up to the Abuja Summit of 16 September 1999, and to facilitate dialogue and reconciliation among leaders of the three countries, in order to revive the Union.

(ii) ECOWAS Initiatives with the high level meeting of the Heads of State of Guinea, Mali, Liberia and Sierra Leone (8th and 9th May 2000 in Conakry), on monitoring and implementation of the accords towards finding a participatory approach to peace in the sub region, a precondition for

strong regional integration. The creation of an effective mechanism to ensure proper controls and security at the borders was also suggested.

(iii) The Conakry Meeting saw the active involvement of women through NGOs such as « Femmes Africa Solidarité » and the « African Women's Committee for Peace and Development ».

The meeting that was held on 16 December 2000 in Bamako had agreed to deploy a 1676-strong peacekeeping force along the 1215 km long border separating the three countries, for an initial period of six months. The OAU had voted 300,000 USD to support the operation while Nigeria, Senegal, Mali and Gambia offered to deploy troops and provide them with logistical support while waiting for support from the international community. This mission was not carried out because the Guinean authorities opposed the deployment of ECOWAS Troops.

ECOWAS Peace and Mediation Committee:

Convened an urgent meeting of the Joint Security Committee of the Mano River Union in Sierra Leone sent a request to the Joint Security Committee of the Mano River Union
UN Security Council with a mission to Guinea on 8th and 9th October 2000 as part of a tour of the sub-region. The mission comprised eleven ambassadors who held discussions with Guinean authorities and the UN Team on issues related to the rebel incursions in Guinea, restoration of stability and security in the sub-region and steps to ensure the safety of humanitarian workers as well as possible recommendations to the Conference of Heads of State and Government for immediate deployment of a Military Observer Mission along the land and coastal borders of Guinea and Liberia.

In December 2000, a strategy paper was developed on refugee assistance and management of the humanitarian crisis, to manage the humanitarian crisis created by the massive displacement of people. The Government established a National Organization for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (SENAH) while the UN Country Team set up a Humanitarian Coordination Committee (SNU).

Post conflict responses to security issues

Demobilization
More than 7000 young men were willingly enlisted into the Young Volunteers, a militia group made up of civilians who supported the Guinean Army (International Crisis Group, 2005). In spite of the Government's commitment, only a few of them were recruited into the Army. Other children demobilized for fear of being stigmatized (the phenomenon of child soldiers).

Management of the Social crisis
Signing of the Political Accord in May 2008

After the strike-induced crisis of January and February 2007, an agreement signed between the Government and the Unions in May 2008 to end the crisis (See box below) led to the appointment of a Prime Minister with extended powers. Such powers, in reality, were not as extended as they appeared to be in the agreement.

Box 5.7: The May 2008 Political Accord

After the January and February 2007 strikes, negotiations were held between the Government, Employers and Unions, leading to the signing of a political accord. Major aspects of the accord included:

» *Formation of a government of broad consensus led by a Prime Minister who will be Head of Government.*
» *Observance of the constitutional principle of separation of powers, especially with regard to the Judiciary;*
» *Improving the purchasing power of the population and workers.*

In line with the provisions of the political accord, a Prime Minister with extended powers was appointed in February 2007 and the government team was completely reshuffled in March 2007.

Source: Crisis Group 2007 and 2008

Challenges in the implementation of the May 2008 Accord

Notwithstanding some positive aspects (setting up of the INEC and release of 19 billion Guinean Francs to political parties on the condition that they participated in at least two elections in Guinea and obtained at least 3% of votes cast), the implementation of the accord failed to ease the political tension and despite the lull, the implementation of the accord ran into some difficulties (Box 5.8).

Box 5 8: Obstacles in the implementation of the May 2008 Accord

The implementation of the Accord highlighted the limits of the constitutional powers of the Prime Minister contrary to what was inferred from the May 2008 Accord. Thus, even though he presided over the Cabinet, the Prime Minister could not sign decrees as these were constitutionally in the purview of the Head of State. Another difficult task was the appointment of regional Governors. Lastly, the law on reorganization of ministries was signed as late as December 5, 2007; in other words, nine months after the new Government was formed.

There was a political deadlock as the new ministers were forced to work with obsolete organization charts (the new ones were yet to be approved by the Head of State), and in some cases, with several people occupying one and the same position.

The situation finally led to the replacement of the Prime Minister appointed under the May 2008 Accord.

Source: International Crisis Group, 2008

The Government had accepted in principle to accede with the demands made by the mutineers.

Management of the September 2009 political crisis

The Guinean Civil society (See appendix 2) and the international community immediately condemned the killings and demanded a swift investigation into the killings. On October 2, 2009 the ECOWAS appointed the President of Burkina Faso as mediator in the Guinean crisis. The massacre took place barely ten days after the Africa Union announced its intention to apply sanctions against the junta if its leader failed to confirm in writing by October 17 that neither he nor any member of the CNDD would stand for presidential elections which were then scheduled for January 31, 2010.The Ouagadougou Accord signed on January 31, 2010 led to the formation of a new transition government to oversee the democratization process based on clear processes (Box 9).

> ## Box 5.9: Major processes spelt out in the Ouagadougou Accord
>
> *The Ouagadougou Accord hinges on the following stages:*
>
> » *Organisation of elections for a return to a new constitutional order;*
> » *Adoption and implementation of a strategy to reform and convert the defence and security forces into republican and professional forces;*
> » *Introduction of a series of measures aimed at greater price and currency stability and strengthening public finances; and*
> » *And creation of an economic environment that promotes the return of development partners.*
>
> *Source: International Crisis Group, 2010*

The transitional government put in place under the Ouagadougou Accord may be considered a departure from previous trends in the Guinean political system. New organs were set up (CNT, Transitional Government of National Unity) and a clear election timetable was drawn up based on the transition period of 6 months. By the end of 2010, it looked certain that the first objectives of the Ouagadougou accord had been attained, especially the organization of elections. The restructuring of the defence and security forces was now considered vital.

The leader of the transitional government reaffirmed their commitment "not to cling on to power" by declaring their willingness to "act in ways that will promote peace and unity among all Guineans, and reconstruction of the Guinean state and political system". The CNDD and the Transitional National Unity Government were to be supported by a National Transitional Council which would play an advisory and legislative role in the review of electoral laws.

Guinea's Challenges and Reconstruction Prospects

Guinea is still faced with challenges including: (i) political stability; (ii) institutional and human capacity building; (iii) stabilization of the macroeconomic framework; (iv) good governance; (v) mobilization of private investment; and (vi) improvement of basic social services. The first challenge is a societal challenge that can be addressed through transition from a fragile state to a stable and modern one. Other issues will be addressed by this transition which is to foster a political environment expected to speed up the institution of the rule of law. There is therefore need to consolidate the

political dialogue that was established after the Ouagadougou Accord and the holding of the 2010 presidential election. It is equally important to organize the other elections (parliamentary and local) in accordance with the timetable, and to ensure better representation of the political actors. All other challenges will be addressed through improved economic and financial governance.

Building human and institutional capacity had become necessary because of the institutional insta-bility which characterized the running of public institutions in Guinea during the 1990s and 2000s. Departments under the various Ministries were penalized as they were constantly subjected to lead-ership changes through incessant reshuffles by Government. This situation hampered the pursuit of efforts already made and the monitoring of their corresponding processes.

Other factors that contributed to this poor performance were the non-improvement of human re-sources and corruption. The functioning of the Administration suffered due to ageing officials, who had to be replaced with poorly trained staff. The age pyramid had started a downward trend to the disadvantage of well trained executives who were nearing retirement and had to be replaced with younger ones who often lacked the requisite training (recruitments were generally done without con-sidering the profiles set out by the various departments).

Corruption has been the bane of Guinea in the last few decades. In 2006, Transparency International ranked Guinea 160th out of 162 countries worldwide. Management of public resources in Guinea has been "dogged by a number of institutional weaknesses including corruption, lack of transpar-ency, lack of accountability on the part of officials, insufficient public participation and the lack of independence of oversight bodies in the development and implementation of social and economic policies" (UNS, 2007).

> Since 2000, there has been slow economic growth and poor economic performance. This was due to: a slack in the macroeconomic stance; the negative effects of external shocks; decreased government revenue from the mining sector; growing insecurity at Guinea's borders; massive influx of refugees from neighbouring countries (Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire); slow implementation of reforms coupled with a volatile political climate; and the poor quality of public institutions. After 2000, Guinea's economic growth slumped as a result of a decline in investments and inadequate supply of electricity and construction materials, especially cement. Private investments also declined during the same period from 14.4% or 8.4%. With a reduction in revenue, increasing pressure for government to spend more on security and high indebtedness, public investments dropped further from 3.4% of GDP to 2% between 2000 and 2005.

A lack of fiscal discipline characterized by the use of special procedures in the disbursement of public funds led to an increase in budget deficit. The overall deficit, excluding grants, had gone up 4.4% of GDP compared to an anticipated figure of 2.6% in the budget. This deficit was largely cov-

ered through monetary financing and high accumulation of external arrears. Monetary financing of the budget deficit brought inflation year-on-year to a record high of 27.6% by the end of December 2004 and led to a tighter foreign exchange market which in turn created a gap of over 20% in 2004, between the official exchange rate and the rate on the black market (ADB 2005). Average money supply increased significantly by 37%. In 2004, the balance of payment was in deficit with a current account balance (excluding official transfers) of -6.4% of GDP. The country's outstanding external debt dropped from 101.8% of GDP in 1999 to 89% in 2003. But rose again to 99.7% of GDP by the end of 2004 (ADB 2005).

Since reaching the HIPC decision point in 2000, Guinea's external indicators had been lower than projected export levels. Lack of external funding throughout the year 2000 had significantly weakened the country's economy.

Prospects: Transition from a fragile to a stable and modern state

The title of this paragraph coincides with the theme of a Seminar that was held on 12 and 13 July 2010 in Conakry: "Guinea, transition from a fragile State to a stable and modern State". The meeting was organized by the Guinean Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs in collaboration with UNDP, the EU, AFD, the ADB Group and USAID-Guinea. During the two day-meeting, members of the Government, civil society, the public and private sectors and representatives of political parties and chancelleries reflected on the contribution a modern State to sustainable development.

While African States continue to be fragile as a result of their deteriorating economies, it has to be said that bad governance, facilitated by autocratic regimes, has often been an impediment to progress and development. In this sense, the introduction of political systems which are consistent with the requirements of good governance can accelerate the transformation from a fragile to a modern State. Progress towards such a system in which checks and balances exist should not come from the mere fact of establishing formal institutions and mechanisms dictated by the principles of democracy. These institutions should be founded on institutionalized mechanisms of operation which are less subject to manipulations, through consensus among all the vital forces of the country.

Possible obstacles

Bottlenecks may indeed occur throughout the transition process owing to: (i) the hegemonic tendency that often leads the Executive to manipulate the other powers (legislature and judiciary); and (ii) the ethnic dimensions that it may be forced to exploit. The civil society has a significant role to play at initial stages of the transition because it can, when necessary, fill the vacuum created by the inertia of countervailing powers (Legislature and Judiciary, in particular).

The third obstacle is the army: we are familiar with the role the armies were made to play by autocratic regimes in countering or delaying the legitimization of political systems. Armies have often been used to defend illegitimate "institutions" in regimes that they were often believed to have created in the aftermath of coups de d'état or elections that lacked credibility.

Even with the election of a new president, the grip of the army can only be set loose after a reform of this institution into which discipline must be instilled again. Moreover, after decades of implementation of structural adjustment policies, African countries have been in real need of a State since the late 1990s (Leroy, 1994). However, the political system to be adopted should be able to balance the need of a State with the need for freedom and justice. After the disastrous experience of autocratic regimes, the State in Guinea can only derive its strength from its legitimization through recognition, full subscription and acceptance by the citizens of the established order and government.

This scenario will only be consolidated through a comprehensive system based on credible institutions. Consequently, Guinea's experience in the last few decades should be incorporated in the intended institutionalization of powers, rules and principles of operation and control mechanisms. Decentralization in the past few years has been identified as an instrument that may be useful in dealing with the temptation of the State to control and centralize everything. It is often considered as a guarantee of democracy because of the subsidiary principle. It narrows the gap between the state authority and the public. Decentralization can strengthen centrifugal tendencies where it should be a vector of balance and justice, but could be hindered by financial constraints. This phenomenon may well prove inefficient if decentralization of competencies does go hand in hand with resources and skills.

The 27 June and 8 November elections paved the way for the start of the transition process in Guinea. However, these elections also showed some challenges to be faced by the country in the area of political governance. These challenges are similar to those identified by an ECA study on Governance in Africa. (ECA, 2009).Despite the gains made by Guinea in liberalizing the regime in 1984, formal democracy and the multi-party system remained a façade. Guinea's experience in the 1990s and 2000s has shown that the mere fact of having a multi-party system or organizing elections is not enough to make democracy effective in a country. Guinea's experience has brought the following obstacles to the fore: crackdown on opposition parties, weak democratic culture, manipulation of electoral authorities by the ruling government, and weak rule of law.

The crackdown on opposition parties is inconsistent with the tenets of democracy. Opposition parties in Guinea were constantly threatened and intimidated by the Government, and some opposition leaders occasionally imprisoned. Demonstrations organized by these parties, and even by Unions sometimes with support from Civil Society were ruthlessly suppressed, leading to killings of citizens

and rape of women of all ages. Furthermore, access by opposition parties to State media was very limited, as was their access to public funding and logistics.

Further, the democratic culture is yet to take root in each political party. The practices of these parties and the behaviour of their respective leaders towards the grassroots are basically undemocratic. The internal processes for organizing primaries within each of these parties are either skewed or non-transparent. Moreover, the lack of democratic debate does not allow party activists to influence the formulation of manifestoes and/or policies of these parties, even when they are riddled with inconsistency. The independence of the Electoral Commission is not always guaranteed by the incumbent. Once in power, the government often exerts political pressure on the heads of these Commissions. When these pressures yield results, the implication is a loss of credibility and legitimacy of elections organized by these Commissions.

In addition, the respect for the rule of law is not always guaranteed. The regime in power from 1984 to 2008 demonstrated its contempt for the 1991 Constitution by reviewing the limit of the two-time presidential term of five years. The pseudo-referendum of 2001 which was boycotted by the opposition parties scraped this cap on the tenure, while extending the duration to seven years. The inaction of official countervailing powers (Legislature and Judiciary) which were manipulated by the Executive, and the powerlessness of civil society ended up deepening the rift between Government and the people.

The progress in all these areas can only be achieved through political awareness. Political will and responsible politicians are crucial if a qualitative change in the political system is to be achieved. This change is also subject to the existence of a credible system that will deepen the democratic culture at all levels. Such a system will thrive on the institutionalization of a multi-party system, the rule of law, a Republican Army, national solidarity and support for the most vulnerable (ECA 2009). Better Governance (see above) will entail greater transparency in the use of public resources (leaders and public servants must account for the quality of their stewardship. It is therefore incumbent upon the Government to provide the country with an independent judiciary that can promote the rule of law which is defined as "a set of applicable rules and mechanisms for their enforcement" (UNS, 2007).

Peace building
The political climate began to normalize with the implementation of the Ouagadougou Accord. The accord fostered the institution of consensus-based, equitable and neutral governance, symbolizing national unity. The first round of the presidential elections took place on 27 June 2010 and the second round on 7 November of the same year. The national reconciliation movement was thus launched, with the divide between the opposition and the ruling party giving way to inclusiveness for "transition government and political class". It is now up to the political actors (Government and Opposition) and the army to pursue the implementation of the timetable as set out in the Accords and to sustain the

climate of peace and security now prevailing in the country. Progress in the fight against inflation, the protection of purchasing power, poverty reduction and the fight against unemployment will be crucial to social peace and peace building.

Civil society was involved in the resolution of the crises that weakened the country either by drawing the attention of the outside world to the dangers that the Guinean Population was exposed to or by organizing sensitization and peace campaigns and training sessions on conflict prevention. An example of this is the organization of a training workshop on peace and conflict prevention in Guinea by journalists on Thursday 18 March 2010 in Conakry. Participants included 35 journalists, key personalities of the country, notably officials from the Ministries of Information and Local Government and Political Affairs, political leaders, UNDP officials, and players from national unity and cohesion initiative group. The objective was to establish a network of journalists for the promotion of peace in Guinea during the transition period.

Box 5.10: Recommendations from the Peace Workshop for Journalists

» *Compliance with the code of conduct by the media to ensure ethical and professional conduct, without encroaching on democracy and respect for human rights,*
» *Promote peace media to prevent violent conflicts, and*
» *Ease tensions, by involving moderates in talk shows.*

Source: Association of Guinean Journalists, Workshop on peace: Conakry, March 2010

Renewed development process

As the first decade of the year 2000 draws to an end, the Guinean economy faces numerous challenges. These include particularly structural and institutional challenges, which have been already analyzed in preceding paragraphs. The new development process should revolve around the following priorities: reactivation of reforms, stabilization of the macroeconomic environment, investment promotion, basic infrastructure development and implementation of the poverty reduction strategy

Resumption of reforms

This involves the implementation of the public finance reform strategy developed by the Government in 2008 following a diagnosis of the public finance management framework under PEFA 2006. This

reform shall be implemented in accordance with the existing framework (MEF, 2008). Measures to be implemented include the following:

Modernizing the legal and organizational framework for the management of public finances: This entails the update and review of the Organic Law of 1991 finance laws and public accounting regulations. The draft texts on the powers, organization and responsibilities of the various directorates under the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs and the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation will also be reviewed along with the Tax and Customs Codes and the Public Procurement Act.

Improving budget preparation: This aspect has to do with the development of the human, material and logistical capacity of the National Department of Planning, the Department of Forecasting and the National Budget Directorate. These three departments should be equipped with modern tools for macroeconomic forecasting for the first two and budget forecasts for the latter.

Capacity building for implementation: The implementation of the 2005 reform regarding the decentralized authorization of public spending was affected by inadequate human resources from the National Directorate for Financial Control and the Public Procurement Directorate, a situation that has so far delayed the full establishment of units under these two outfits attached to the sector Ministries. This gap ought to be bridged. Moreover, the chain of public expenditure suffered severe deficiencies due to the lack of budget preparation, budget monitoring, administrative accounting and cash accounting modules. The National Directorate for Financial Control on its part requested the introduction of stock accounts in the budget process.

Strengthening the audit of public finance management: This applies to the two aspects of auditing (internal audit by government auditors and external audit by the Chambre des Comptes de la Cour Suprême). Both structures lack human and financial resources, while their staff have no particular status. Both also require more room to operate: their lack of autonomy compromises the credibility of the audits they conduct as well as their appropriate operation.

Re-enforcing public procurement procedures: Public procurement procedures were often ignored by Government in public spending, especially on security, with major government contracts being signed by private agreement. Refocusing on existing procedures is therefore indispensable. Furthermore, the review of the Public Procurement Act and the institutional reform of the National Public Procurement Directorate must be completed. It goes without saying that this trend also involves other structural reforms (Agricultural, Mining, Energy, Trade, and Transport Sectors in particular), including local government reforms.

Macroeconomic stabilization: The Government will need to revive the public expenditure re-structuring programme to prevent the recurrence of past slippages (crowding out effects of sovereignty and security expenditure on pro-poor expenditure, abuse use of exceptional procedures in the public expenditure system at the expense of normal procedures and lack of control of the wage bill) so as to reduce public deficit. This goal can only be achieved if the Government agrees to strengthen monetary discipline at the expense of monetary financing of the budget deficit and to safeguard the value of the national currency.

Investment promotion: Private investment is key to the development of Africa even though Africa, in this regard, seems to be the worst off (UNCTAD 1997, Basu and Srinivasan, 2002). In the case of Guinea, private investors should be supported through administrative and tax incentives. The Government must continue the process of sanitizing the business environment and improve self-governance. This last point is about the efficiency of the Administration, the quality of public service and the fight against corruption. The country is in dire need of private investment to exploit its natural resources (bauxite, timber), set up a manufacturing industry and develop a dynamic tourism sector. A combination of "foreign direct investment and private domestic investment" is desirable, including in the area of industrial outsourcing.

Basic infrastructure development: The lack of equipment (energy and water) and road infrastructure in the country is a big obstacle to Guinea's development. Efforts are thus required to address this pressing need through an intensive public investment programme to be financed from domestic resources and external resources. The onus is therefore on the government to renew its cooperation with the financial and technical Partners of Guinea, while remaining consistent in its commitment to the reforms and implementation of the programmes developed with support from partners.

The poverty reduction strategy: An effective implementation of this strategy should allow Guinea to reach completion point under the HIPC initiative: the country really needs these external funds to support the payment of pro-poor expenditures.

Support from technical and financial partners: In the 2000s, Guinea was expecting some financial and technical supports, including:

» Predictable and timely budget supports, including external debt relief under the HIPC initiative;
» Support for Guinea to improve its capacity to absorb new financial flows through the strengthening of human and institutional capacities;
» Sustained funding for on-going projects and programmes and support in the identification and implementation of new projects to reduce poverty; and

» Assistance to Guinea for better coordination of the interventions of various development partners. Thus, it is indispensable to ensure consistency between the sectoral policies, the PRSP and the MDGs, which are the framework of our various interventions.

In addition to these budget supports and other types of assistance, the Guinean Government expected funding for certain projects from the World Bank, especially in the areas of electricity and rural roads. The Government had also called for the revival of the Institutional Capacity Building Programme (ICBP) which was audited. Moreover, the ICBP and the village community support programme are central to the implementation of our poverty reduction strategy.

Conclusion

Even though it did not experience any armed conflict within its territorial space, Guinea was nonetheless a fragile state throughout the 2000s. Guinea's proximity to the conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire heightened security tensions in the Forest region (Southern Guinea) which became a traffic and violent zone that the government could hardly control, due to the influx of refugees.

The various political and social tensions (resulting from the refusal of the autocratic regime to accept a democratic transition, and Government's inability to appropriately respond to social demands) have throughout the present decade contributed to Guinea's fragility. All these elements sum up the bad governance that characterized the autocratic regime in Guinea which had no democratic perspective. Guinea peculiarity is underlined by the fact that the running of the State (political and economic governance) was particularly affected by the political uncertainty due to the President's illness and a premature succession struggle as well as indiscipline within the army. It follows from the July 2010 meeting organized by the MEF in collaboration with the UNDP, EU, AFD, the ADB Group and USAID, that "Guinea had failed during the entire period to strike a balance between a strong State respected by all, while remaining humane; in other words, a state that is committed to progress and freedom, a state that promotes economic and social development: throughout its checkered history, the citizenry has suffered at the hands of a state which behaved as a superstar with no authority as the basis of its myth".

Poor governance also explains the poor performance of the Guinean economy in stark contrast to its natural resource potential (30% of proven world reserves of bauxite, with diamond, gold, and other metals to which one must also add a huge hydropower potential), the frequent fluctuation in the exchange rate of the local currency and frequent power outages and water supply interruptions in Conakry.

Increasing uncertainty in the political climate and the deteriorating quality of public institutions made it difficult to sustain the implementation of poverty reduction programmes, thus compromising Guinea's chances of achieving the MDGs, with the exception perhaps of primary school enrollments. The responses provided so far, both from local actors and from external Partners, have put an end to the country's successive crises. However, more needs to be done by way of strategy to accelerate the country's transition from a fragile to a stable and modern state, and to consolidate peace and revive the process of economic development. Deepening the rule of law in Guinea and improving governance will facilitate the transition of the state which was ushered in by the successful organization of the June 2010 presidential elections. The consensus reached since the signing of the Ouagadougou Accord and the dialogue established between the Government and the rest of the political class are peace building factors that should be strengthened by factors of social peace (increased purchasing power, low inflation, regular power and water supply, job creation for the youth in particular).

A revival of the macroeconomic and structural reform process will be key in stabilizing the macroeconomic environment, improving the business environment, attracting private investments and diversifying local value added. Guinea's status as a fragile state or least developed country is not an inevitable fate: it is even a paradox considering the country's rich human and natural potential. The various crises that have marked Guinea's history since independence are only a symptomatic reflection of the poor governance that characterizes autocratic regimes with no national perspective on progress and development. After this negative experience of state crises, it is now up to the people of Guinea to "turn the page" by resolutely steering the country on a path of confidence, stability and progress.

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APPENDIX 5.1: Background information on Guinea

The Republic of Guinea covers a land area of 245 852 Km². It is situated in West Africa, between the 7th and 13th parallel. It is bounded to the North by Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Mali, to the East by Côte d'Ivoire, to the South by Liberia and Sierra Leone and to the West by the Atlantic Ocean. In 2005, Guinea's population was estimated at 9.3 million (with a density of 38.6 inhabitants/km² and 31% urbanisation rate).

It is characterised by a youthful population (45.6% are below 15 years). In 2004, the gross rate of school enrollment was 77% for boys and 70% for girls. Maternal mortality rate stood at 528 per 100 000 live births in 1999. **Life expectancy** is 54 years. If the trend remains the same, the population will reach 10.6 million in 2010.

The climate tropical with 2 seasons, wet and dry. Guinea has 4 climate zones: very humid in the West, temperate in the Centre, Sudanese in the Nord-East and Sub-Equatorial in the South-East. Out of a total emerged land area of 24.6 million hectares, arable lands represent 2.5% and irrigated lands 15.2%. The forest cover is 58.8% with a deforestation rate of 1.1% essentially due to bushfires. Since 1989, Guinea has suffered the consequences of the presence of refugees logging. The country's economy is predominantly driven by the rural and mining sectors.

Per capita GNP was around 382 $ EU in 2004.In 2002, 49% of the population was considered poor as against 40.3% in 1994/95 and 27.2% were extremely poor as against 13% in 1994/95, representing a two-fold increase of people living in extreme hardship, fleeing the war in Liberia, Sierra Leone and en Guinea-Bissau. The country must also deal with the return of a large number of Guineans evacuated from Côte d'Ivoire.

Chronology:
  » 2 Oct. 1958: Proclamation of independence. Ahmed Sékou Touré becomes President
  » 14 Dec. 1998: Reelection of Lansana Conté
  » Jan. 1968: Ahmed Sékou Touré reelected Sept-Dec. 2000 : Rebel incursions in the South-east (Liberia and Sierra Leone)26 march
  » 1984: Ahmed Sékou Touré dies on 21 Dec.
  » 2003: Lansana Conté is reelected, the opposition leader, Alpha Condé is arrested
  » 3 April 1984: Coup d'états by Colonels Lansana Conté and DiarraTraoré. Lansana Conté is appointed President
  » April 2004: Resignation of the Prime Minister, François Loncény! Fall,while abroad
  » 9 Dec.2004: Appointment of a new Prime Minister: Cellou Dalein Diallo
  » 19 Dec. 1993: 1st multiparty presidential elections, Lansana Conte, leader of the Party for Unity and Progress (PUP) is elected.
  » 19 Jan. 2005: Armed men attack the presidential motorcade.

- » May 2008: Lansana Kouyaté is appointed Prime Minister
- » December 2008: Demise of President Conté

Human Development Index: 0.397
HDI Rank 150/162
ODA/Capita ($ EU): 29
Land use (thousand acres,% total)
Useful Agric. lands: 8.2/33.4
Cultivated land: 0.92/3.7
Pastures 0.03/0.1
Forest and woodland: 3.7/15
Other lands: 11.6/47.8

Demographic Characteristics
Population density (inhab. /km²): 29
Rate of demogr. growth. (%): 3.1
Distribution of the population (%)
Urban/Rural: 30/70
Fertility rate: 5.5
Birth rate (per thousand): 39.7
Infant mortality rate (per thousand): 98.0

Maternal mortality rate: 528 (per 100.000 live births)
Child mortality rate (per thousand): 87.5

Absolute poverty/ Extreme poverty 40.3/13.0%

HIV/AIDS prevalence rate: 4%
Life expectancy at birth (years): 54
Inhabitants/health centre: 21.249
Access to potable water
Average/urban (in %): 55/75
Access in PSS (in %): 80
Under 5 malnutrition (%): 11.5/30.5

Infrastructure
Access to electricity: 12.5%
Road network (km) 19.215
- » National roads 6.825

» Regional roads 6.770
» Rural roads 5.620
Railroads ('000 km) 1.1
Hydroelectric potential
('000/GWH) 63.2

General:

Religions (%)
Muslims: 87.0
Animists 4.6
Christians 4.3
Others 4.1
Official language: French
Currency: (GNF) Guinean Franc

A complete multiparty system was enacted by a decree in 1992 and the first multiparty election took place in 1993. The political climate deteriorated after (i) the shock caused by the extreme tension that characterised the 1998 presidential elections; (ii) the arrest of an opposition leader; (iii) the boycott of the November 2001 referendum, the regional elections in 2002, and the parliamentary elections in June 2002; and (iv) the boycott of the 2003 presidential elections. Things worsened with rumours about the state of health of the Head of State. The UNDP organised, right from the end of 2002, the beginning of a political dialogue between the Government and the opposition. The initiative came up against the mutual distrust of the players and the absence of a real debate.

On 19 January, 2005, the assassination attempt on the Head of State continues to stoke tensions on the Guinean political front with several arrests and a reshuffling of the Government.

With a view to improving multi-party representation, early municipal and parliamentary elections are expected to be organised after the 2011 presidential elections.

Source : ADB 2004, UNDP2001

Appendix 5.2: Respect for children's rights and protection of children affected by war

Initiative	Results
Training session for soldiers held in Zambakro in the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire in June 2000, co-organized by the Executive Secretariat and *"Save the Children"*	Train the soldiers on the rights of children before, during and after conflicts, in order to familiarize them with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the OAU Charter on the Rights and welfare of children. Help the military personnel to improve their knowledge on how to prevent the worst effects of conflicts on children, through concrete action.
Ministerial Conference of ECOWAS member states, held in Accra from 27-28 April, 2000.	
International Conference in Winnipeg on 16 and 17 September, 2000.	This International Conference endorsed an international programme for children affected by war. The programme includes the following principles intended to inform actions and priorities for immediate and long term actions: Appeal to the leadership to step up to assume their responsibility to protect children; Fulfillment of all the obligations, including the signing, ratification, and implementation of all conventions on the protection of children in armed conflict situations; Greater responsibility and end to impunity, notably with the signing, ratification and implementation of the ICC statute; End to child slavery, including actions to prevent the murder, mutilation, torture, forced enlistment, rape, exploitation, kidnapping, and all other serious violations of the freedoms and fundamental rights of children before, during and after conflicts; Release of all children forcefully recruited, and their disarmament, demobilisation and social reintegration; Guaranteed access to children affected by war; Emphasis on conflict prevention; Blocking of the source of arms; Promotion of children's health, well-being and education; Long term concerted action through coordination of sustained, consistent and effective efforts from the international community; Youth participation in the peace process and the development of policies and programmes designed to ensure their re-adaptation, reintegration and education.

Source: Coalition against child soldiers (2004). World Report 2001 and 2004, citing a confidential source, Guinea, May, 2004,

Coalition against child soldiers (2006). Child soldiers and disarmament, demobilisation, rehabilitation and reintegration in West Africa, November, 2006.

Appendix 5.3: Appeal by Guinea's Civil Society

Guinea-Conakry: The IFHR and OGDH calls for restraint and the holding of the presidential elections
14 September 2010

The International Federation of Human Rights (IFHR) and its member organization in Guinea, the Guinean Organisation for the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (OGDH), condemn the pre-election violence that occurred on 11 and 12 September and wish to call on the two presidential candidates and their supporters to exercise restraint and all political stakeholders to ensure peaceful, free, transparent and fair elections.

On Saturday 11 September, spates of violence that left about twenty people wounded broke out on the outskirts of Conakry between supporters of the two parties in the second round of the presidential elections, l'Union des Forces Républicaines de Guinée (UFDG) led by Cellou Dalein Diallo, and le Rassemblement du Peuple de Guinée (RPG) led by Alpha Condé. Fresh violence that claimed two lives and left more than thirty people wounded broke out on 12 September, at Hamdallaye, in the suburb of Conakry, where the Headquarters of UFDG and RPG are located. Both parties accused each other of starting the violence between their supporters, who attacked each other with stones. These events came in the wake of the decision of the court of first instance of Dixinn (a suburb of Conakry), on 9 September, 2010, to sentence the two top most officials of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), notably its chairperson, Ben Sékou Sylail to a one-year jail term on charges of "electoral fraud" during the first round of the presidential elections of 27 June, 2010.

The IFHR and OGDH, condemn the violence and wish to solemnly call on the two candidates in the presidential race and their supporters to exercise restraint and to respect the code of conduct signed by the two candidates on 3 September 2010 in Ouagadougou under the aegis of the mediator, Blaise Compaoré.

"Tensions are running high, but the political parties must not give in to the demons that led Guinea into violence and authoritarian rule. All must allow reason to prevail and accept the game of the nascent democracy in our country" declared Thierno Maajou Sow, president of the OGDH.

The candidates and their supporters must demonstrate responsibility and exercise restraint. Guinea does not need a repeat of 28 September, 2009. The people expect their leaders to step up to the plate and to preach unity, rather than division" declared Souhayr Belhassen, president of the IFHR.

The IFHR and OGDH will be closely monitoring the situation and urge all stakeholders in the electoral process to ensure peaceful, transparent and fair elections in order to safeguard the right of the Guinean people to freely choose their representatives, in accordance with regional and international human rights instruments to which Guinea is a party, particularly article 25 of the international Pact on Civil and Political rights.

Source: website of the NGO http://www.repertoireong.org

Appendix 5.4: Draft reform of the Army prepared by ECOWAS

Institutions targeted by the recommendations	Proposals
Executive	Design a national security strategy, including a white paper, to identify the role and mandate of the Defense and Security Forces and work out a national consensus around the reform, including with the armed forces.
	Start immediate discussions with the army to: a) Freeze recruitment and, together with donors and the technical support of ECOWAS, undertake an exhaustive head count of members of the army as a first step in a resource needs assessment process; b) Demilitarise administrative structures, including those in charge of monitoring governance within the army, by reducing the number of army service corps and in the other structures under the Ministry of Defense; c) Initiate a comprehensive assessment of the management of the armed forces with a focus on transparency, renewed discipline and clarity in the legal status of the personnel. Priority should also be given to better stockpile management.
	Protect the army from any political manipulation by: a) ensuring that appointment of senior officers are submitted to regulatory bodies such as the National Defense Council, Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces Command for their recommendations; b) building civil control capacities with a training programme for members of the main supervisory institutions; c) resisting the temptation to use the armed forces to partisan ends and recognising that any attempt to politicise them will prejudice the institution; d) improving conditions of service in a bid to end the difficult living conditions of personnel and the rampant corruption within the army.
Army	Continue to support in very good faith, efforts at reform and work towards a common commitment to build a professionally managed force.
	Fully cooperate in efforts to determine the real size of the armed forces and honestly participate in discussions to work out their future size.
	Fully participate in efforts to restore discipline and end injustice among the armed forces, notably by consolidating investigative mechanisms regarding cases of violence perpetrated and/or suffered by members of the army.
	Fully cooperate with all efforts by the government to institute a transparent financial management system; prioritise this issue of transparency in internal management reform; envisage to this end, the creation of big chains of command – one in charge of operations and the other for logistical support – so as to tailor the structure of administration to existing needs.

Institutions targeted by the recommendations	Proposals
To ECOWAS, the major donors and other members of the international community:	ECOWAS and the United Nations Office in West Africa (UNOWA) should facilitate a donor roundtable, with the participation of the new President, to discuss and define an international framework of SSR. Donor countries should be conscious of the fact that reform of the army in Guinea will be a costly and long term endeavour, but will bear good fruit for Guinea and all its neighbours.
	The European countries, especially France, as well as the United States should, in conjunction with ECOWAS, support the setting up of a international advisory and training military team to provide strategic and operational advice, to provide strategic and operational advice for a long term training programme.
	All international partners of Guinea should: a) support the national and regional stakeholders to consolidate national ownership of the SSR process; b) prioritise good donor coordination so that soldiers seeking to preserve their interests do not set them against each other, as happened in Guinea-Bissau; c) make their support conditional on progress made in the fight against poor financial management within the army and the depoliticisation of their management; help put in place sound financial management structures through deployment of international experts; d) support the democratic government against any attempt by the military to resist the reforms, notably by continuing to send strong signals about the inadmissibility of any military intervention on the political scene and clearly indicating that any attempt to derail the reform process through chaos will not be tolerated. At the behest of the new President, ECOWAS should consider offering security support to allow the new President to counter possible opponents to reforms within the army.
To the UN Security Council:	Be conscious that a reform of the army will need, inasmuch as it will strengthen, regional stability, consider the state of Guinea when it comes to examining the level of withdrawal of the UNO mission in Liberia, by slowing down the process if no significant progress has been made by way of reform of the army in Guinea, or if the situation in that country deteriorates.
	Implementation of this reform will be an uphill task. It will, for instance, be difficult to strike a balance between the need to preserve the army and reducing its numbers and reforming its financial management. The army's experience in Guinea-Bissau (where the SSR, led by the EU and the UNO have failed because the army had managed to pitch the various international players against each other) shows that there is a risk of seeing the army in Guinea being willing to let go their formal power, while still seeking to preserve a significant influence, behind the scenes and ending up refusing to submit to the authority of the civilian government on issues regarding it. A good international coordination would be indispensable to averting such a scenario in Guinea.)

Source: International Crisis Group, 2010

Appendix 5.5: Peace building Strategy in Guinea

Area	Objectives	Activities	Desired changes
Policy	Revision of laws	Immediate creation of en place the other institutions of the Republic	Consolidation of the return to the constitutional order
	Effective pursuit of the electoral process	Organisation of legislative elections elections	
		Holding of municipal elections	
	Army reform	Advocacy among technical and financial partners to support the reform of the law enforcement agents materially and financially	Socio-political stability
		Organisation of an Estates General of the army to draw up the new status of the army	Creation of a modern and Republican army
		Adoption of the new statute of the army	
		Advocacy to Government to implement the statute of the army	
Economic	Acceptance and compliance with texts	Publication and dissemination of texts	Possession of law texts by the public
		Sensitisation of the public	Proper ownership of texts
		Dissemination of texts	Mutual understanding between the government and the governed and conflict resolution
	Good management of public funds	Moralisation of the economy	Behavourial change of economic players
	Security of persons and goods	Fight against corruption and impunity	Change of mentality
		Stringent enforcement of existing laws	Compliance with rules and transparency in management
		Fight against crime	Reduction of violence
		Fight against drugs and crime	Reduction in crime
		Training and equipment of law enforcement	Improved civil protection
	Fight against poverty	Job creation	Improved incomes and drop in joblessness
		Encouragement of private initiative	Investments
		Improvement of access to basic social services	

Area	Objectives	Activities	Desired changes
Social	Consolidation of the social fabric	Promotion du dialogue social	Tolerance and acceptance of one's neighbour
		Civic Education	Improvement of social relations
		Intra and inter-religious dialogue	Mutual acceptance of members of the various regions
	Formulation and implementation of relevant social policies	Implementation of the national employment policy	Existence of an intervention framework
		Formulation of a family policy	More balanced families with more solid bonds
		Formulation of a social security policy	Improvement of welfare assistance and health care
		Formulation of an education policy	Better trained youth that are better integrated into society
	Training of citizens in democratic practice	Training of political leaders in political party management	Political leaders better informed about the role of educators
		Training of the media in democratic practice	Media further contribute to political education of citizens
		Sensitisation of religious leaders to the relationship between politics, ethnics and religion	Religious and political tolerance achieved
Security	Strengthen the social fabric	Promotion of social dialogue	Guineans get to talk and listen to each other about their problems
	Make the army a republican army	Respect the rules and principles of recruitment of law enforcement agents	A strong, competent and patriotic army
	Consolidation of lasting peace	Equipment of army and retrieval of small arms in circulation	Well equipped law enforcement agents and better management of arms
	Get the army to better play their role	Re-update of the military tribunal and disciplinary council	Functional military tribunals
	Abolition of child trade and violence in schools	Sensitisation on school violence and child trade	Total stop to such practices
	Keeping the military in the barracks	Redefine the role of the army	

Area	Objectives	Activities	Desired changes
Legal do-main	Absolute compliance with the law by all	Dissemination of the law	Better understanding of the law
		Civic and Citizens' education	Knowledge of rights and duties
		Effective enforcement of the law	Social equilibrium and peace
	Respect of separation of powers	Advocacy for change	Citizens committed to change-ment
		Sanitisation of the Constitution	Submission of all organs of State to the law
	Civic education for law enforcement	Training of trainers in civic education training	Trainers available
		Organisation of training sessions	Better knowledge of the rights and duties of law enforcement agents
	War against impunity	Campaign to sensitise public authorities	Law enforced with all its rigours
		Training of the auxiliaries to the police (police officers, gendarmes …) and prison guards	Laws better enforced and justice better carried out
			Integrity of magistrates
			Competent and well informed magistrates

Source: International Crisis Group, 2010

CHAPTER 6
Fragility and Development in Liberia

By Dr. Oliver Maponga, UNECA, and James D. Jormon, Jr,The African Development Associates, Monrovia, Liberia

Summary

Liberia, Africa's oldest Republic has gone through a difficult path since independence in 1847. Dominated by a minute minority for 133 years, the indigenous were exploited and marginalized. Moreover, several factors ranging from breakdown in democratic institutions to militarization were visible. Consequently, the last three decades created the recipe for a failed state. This situation led to a total collapse of the economy. Although there has been relative peace since 2003, unemployment stands at 85% and functional illiteracy rate is 44% (PRS, 2008: p.111). 63.8% of Liberians live below the poverty line, while 48% live in extreme poverty (PRS, 2008: p.25). Liberia is still food insecure, despite the fact that 70% of Liberia's 3.5 million people are engaged in agricultural activities, basically subsistence farming (Liberia, Ministry of Agriculture Food and Agriculture Policy and Strategy, Monrovia: 2008, p. 1). The need to therefore restore the country, and position it on a path to growth and development is imperative.

It is equally important to note the progressive nature of post-war interventions guided by various development agendas including the Result Focus Transitional Framework (RFTF), Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy (IPRS), and Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS). In recognition of Liberia's critical needs, several efforts, both international and local, were also exerted to restore peace and sanity. Moreover, there have been various initiatives geared towards transforming Liberia since the 2005 Presidential and General Elections.

Peace building efforts include consultations on issues ranging from land disputes to the lack of basic social services; support to various security institutions, for examples, the Liberia National Police (LNP); the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL); the Police Special Unit (PSU) and the Emergency Response Unit (ERU). State building covers improvement in governance, and promulgation of legislations that promote gender equality and free access to information. Economy building includes over 18 billion investment from various multinational corporations and the provision of basic social services from

government, local and international non-governmental organizations. The various interventions, especially on the part of the international community and the Government over the last eight years, have transformed the country from a failed state to a fragile state. But the extent to which Liberia remains fragile giving these initiatives and interventions requires sober investigations.

The findings suggest years of bad governance and misrule, marginalization and neglect during Liberia's pre-war era, which served as major factors that contributed to Liberia's fragility. Similarly, militarization of the country between 1980 and 2003, coupled with the manipulation of neglected youths, is another important contributing factor. Corruption, which was proclaimed as public enemy number one by President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf during Her Excellency's inaugural address on Monday, 16 January 2006, is still endemic. Corrupt practices are still widespread, despite frantic efforts to expose corruption by various agencies of government and the local media. Paradoxically, corruption is justified in certain quarters on grounds of being systemic. On the other hand, the likelihood of electoral violence in the pending October 2011 Presidential and General Elections is very high, if the Elections Commission which is gradually losing its credibility is not reconstituted. The study also presents an historical perspective of Liberia's fragility and highlights achievements and challenges. The study therefore delves into issues bordering on fragility with emphasis on key indicators such as basic social services, governance, and the economy. Major achievements in rebuilding the governance structure and system as well as economic revitalization are critical milestones acknowledged in the study under three broad categories: peace building, state building and economic building. These strategies aim at mitigating the fragility of the country.

In addressing challenges, the report also recommends: a consultative forum where critical issues facing Liberians can be adequately discussed; the implementation of programs and projects that are geared towards developing Liberians; the creation of opportunities that will develop the skills and talents of youths; and the provision of technical assistance as well as the dissemination of information. Other areas include focus on rural youths and youths with disabilities. Access to education, vocational training, participation, employment opportunities and empowerment are also recommended. The report also recommends improvement on the achievements made thus far.

Background

Literature Review

This report was compiled from both primary and secondary information. The report benefited immensely from the review of various documents including the recent African Capacity Building Foundation Report (2011), the Liberian Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS), the Liberian Transitional Framework and the National Policy on non-governmental organizations.

The data presented by the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) give an overview of fragile states. According to ACBF 2011 Capacity Indicators, 19 major armed conflicts and civil wars were fought in Africa from 1990 to 2000. In 1999, 16 of Africa's 54 countries experienced bitter conflicts; 22 African countries were grappling with post-conflict peace building, state building and economy building (*ACBF, Africa Capacity Indicators 2011: Capacity Development in Fragile States, 2011: p.41*). Experiencing 14 years of civil conflict, Liberia (Africa's oldest independent state) is one of those 22 African countries confronted with post conflict reconstruction and development.

The Liberian PRS is the blueprint for Liberia's post-war social economic development. Its implementation began on 1 April 2008 and should have ended on 30 June 2011, but was extended to 2012 due to delay in the implementation of some core activities, the lack of funds and capacity to achieve certain deliverables. Derived through a consultative process, the PRS identifies four key areas of intervention, namely: consolidating peace and security; revitalizing the economy; strengthening governance and the rule of law; and revitalizing infrastructure and delivering basic social services. Pillar IV of the PRS addresses health issues and other social services ranging from roads, bridges, transportation, energy, post and telecommunications, to water and sanitation, public buildings, housing and education. Although cross-cutting issues such as gender equality and threats from HIV Aids are highlighted, Pillar I captures peace building. Pillar III emphasize state building, and pillars II and IV lay emphasis on economy building.

The Result Focus Transitional Framework (RFTF), the 150 Day Plan of Action, the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy (IPRS), and the Country Development Agenda (CDA) all provided important background information in the review of fragility. Youth being the major victims of Liberia's 14 years of civil conflict, policy documents such as the Lisbon Declaration on Youth Policies and Programs, the 2001 Dakar Youth Empowerment Policies, and most importantly, the National Youth Policy of Liberia were consulted. These documents advocate for needed changes ranging from sociological, psychological, as well as education and health.

The 2005 report on the Situation Analysis of Orphans and Children made vulnerable by HIV/Aids in Liberia provided insights into developmental challenges facing Liberia. The work highlights birth registration, food security, health care, sexual relationships and behavior, knowledge and awareness on STDs and HIV/AIDS. The Liberia Demographic Health Survey (LDHS) of 2007 also captures household characteristics, HIV/Aids-related knowledge, attitude and behavior, HIV prevalence rate and associated factors, as well as women empowerment and demographic health outcome. Other prominent sources include the Republic of Liberia National Budget for the Fiscal Years 2009 and 2010, as well as Liberia's Progress towards the Millennium Development Goals, 2008.

National documents on the situation of education such as A System in Transition and the 2007-2008 National School Census Report published by the Ministry of Education (MOE) allowed the authors

to present the challenges in the education sector. This document provides reliable data which is intended to enhance proper planning and effective implementation of primary, secondary and vocational schooling. With reference to age range, it clearly shows, amongst other data, the percentage/distribution of enrolment by sex – 47% for girls and 53% for boys from a total enrolment of 1,265,513 students (Appendix 6.1).

The Liberian Government's National Policy on Non-Governmental of January 2008 addresses the concerns of NGOs, government entities, the general public and ensures the smooth operations and the effectiveness of aid and thus is important in guiding programmes. The document clearly defines, inter alia, eligibility requirements, accreditation procedures, monitoring and evaluation of non-governmental organizations' (NGOs) activities, capacity building, taxation, sector and thematic networking as well as the resolution of conflicts and the guidelines surrounding the implementation of relief and development assistance[21].

The Liberian TRC Report acknowledges the role of youths as both victims and perpetrators of heinous crimes. Combatants maimed innocent youths, including women and children during the disturbances. The document recommends punishments ranging from ban from political activities to prosecution, but falls short of recommending a war crime court for perpetrators of heinous crimes. However, the extent to which the TRC recommendations[22] will be honoured, despite the millions of dollars invested in the TRC process, remains to be seen.

The review of these documents, complimented by information gathered from interviews, indicates the level of fragility in Liberia, contributes towards the findings of the objectives of the research and, to a large extent, captures the challenges towards peace building, state building and economy building.

Conceptual Definition of Terms

In order to assist in the discussion on the review of Liberia's fragility and path to stability, it is important to define some of the key terms used in this report. The definitions complement those already provided in the rest of this publication.

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21   Even though development assistance and relief items are solicited under the guise of helping Liberians, the guidelines fail to clearly define the roles and responsibilities of beneficiaries. Thus, most Liberians questioned the effectiveness of aid as it relates to the Paris declaration.

22   Amongst the various recommendations, it was recommended that warlords should be prosecuted and refrained from political activities. The President, Madam Sirleaf was also banned from politics for thirty years, thus deny the opportunity to contest in the 2011 political elections, but some warlords, for example, Senator Prince Johnson and President Sirleaf are contesting in the 2011 elections.

Peace Building

Although relief assistance and humanitarian interventions are necessary in the resolution of conflicts, the need for post-conflict reconciliation, development of capacities, and the building of sustainable peace are paramount for states, be it post conflict or non-conflict societies. Consequently, the term *peace building* was popularized when Boutros Boutros-Ghali, former United Nations Secretary-General, announced his *Agenda for Peace* in 1992. In order to be effective, peace building requires careful planning, a participatory methodology, proper coordination amongst stakeholders, and sustained commitments on the part of both donors and local partners. Over the years, the concept has extended to long term development activities, the building of governance structures, institutions and sustainable reconciliation. It also calls for the enhancement of capacity for non-governmental organizations, religious institutions with the aim of making peace and building peace. Peace building also takes into account the building of legal and human rights institutions, fair and effective governance and the resolution of disputes (*www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding*). Although a cross-cutting issue, peace building falls under Pillar I of the PRS, but the extent to which it has been effective in Liberia will be discussed under major findings.

State Building

Even though there are several views on what constitutes state building, one authoritative definition with focus on fragile state is the OECD-DAC "Principles for Good International Engagements in Fragile States and Situations". In 2007, the DAC's Fragile States Group (FSG) concluded that state building is an endogenous process to enhance capacity, institutions and legitimacy of states. It is driven by state-society relations. It aims at enabling states to function effectively by developing capacity, institutions and legitimacy. Good state building processes involve a state that lives up to its constitutional mandates vis-à-vis constructive engagements on the part of individuals as well as social and political groups[23]. The latter groups are expected to pay taxes, accept the state authority to apply coercive force when necessary, as well as accept other restrictions in accordance with the law/constitution. In addition to these reciprocal relations, the international community expects states, non-State actors and individuals to conform to international conventions, declarations, norms and standards, for example the International Convention on the Rights of the Child (ICRC), which is often abused in fragile states. The PRS captures state building under Pillar III.

Economy building

In order to maintain the peace (peace building) and the viability of the state (state building), economy building is vital in achieving sustainable development. Economy building encompasses the attraction of investments, and rebuilding economic and social infrastructure ranging from financial to macro-economic management. Other areas of concentration include the delivery of basic social services,

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23   Engagements for its people and social and political groups, who constructively engage with their state. The primary goal of state building is on developing effective government, based on law and general consent.

for examples health, transport, and educational facilities, as well as the creation of employment op-
portunities. Pillars II and IV of the Liberian PRS capture economy building, yet there are serious gaps
in the realization of core activities.

Development

There is consensus that development is an ongoing process, which target basic personal and social
needs, the urge to be safe, useful, to be valued, and to develop skills and competencies. Amongst
development economists, it is seen as a process to sustainability which requires the support of all
stakeholders – be it family, community and state. It calls for the realization of happiness, health and
success. Two major outcomes can be identified, namely identity and ability. The former calls for,
inter alia, a sense of safety, high self-esteem, belonging and membership, a feeling of mastery over
ones future, whilst the latter calls for physical health, mental and intellectual health as well as being
employable and actively participating in civic and social activities. The above definition encapsulates
three major elements of development: employment, empowerment and participation, which are also
in consonance with the concept of development – life sustenance, self-esteem and freedom from
servitude as captured in Todaro (1977, p. 62-63). Using Todaro's (1977) definition, one is inclined to
define Liberia a fragile state when one takes into consideration the level of poverty which is calcu-
lated at over 63.8% for a population of 3.5 million people.

Fragility

As noted earlier in this report the debate on what constitutes a "fragile state" remains unresolved.
Fragile States go beyond post-conflict countries. There are non-conflict countries, for examples, Guy-
ana and The Gambia, which are classified as fragile states due to the lack of basis social services, the
rule of law and security. DFID and OED conceptualize fragile state as the lack of political commit-
ment and pro-poor policies. Canada's Country Indicators for Foreign Policy Project (CIFP) equally em-
phasizes the lack of capacity to represent citizens at home and abroad as fragility. Although USAID,
a major donor to Liberia's post-war reconstruction, agrees with these indicators, but classifies fragile
states according to "states in Crisis" and "vulnerable States". A state, according to USAID, may qualify
as a fragile state if the state has failed, is failing or is recovering from a failed state. A fragile state is
vulnerable if unable or unwilling to provide basic social services, security and when the legitimacy of
the government is questioned. On the other hand, a fragile state is in crisis when the central govern-
ment lacks effective control over its territory or is unable or unwilling to provide basic social services
and when the country is at great risk of resorting to violent conflict. The World Bank equates fragil-
ity with low-income countries under stress (LICUS). LICUS' fragile states include countries at risk of
conflict or those on the verge of political instability. Major indicators include weak governance and
policies, and institutions which undermine the capacity to deliver basic social services and control
corruption.

Drawing upon the above definitions, this Chapter defines Fragile States to include: failed states, failing states, states at risk of failing due to the lack of effective authority, states that lack effective delivery of basic social services, or States that lack legitimacy.

Within the context of the above definitions from DFID, OED, CIFP, USAID and the World Bank, and predicated upon Liberia's historical past, a prevailing poverty level of 63.8%, coupled with the presence of endemic corruption under the Unity Party led government, Liberia is indeed a fragile state. In addition, in the absence of effective national security across the length and breadth of Liberia[24], its proximity to a conflict country -Côte d'Ivoire- amidst the presence of over ten thousand jobless ex-combatants, former warlords and bellicose intellectuals, the likelihood for Liberia to descend into a failed state is very high. Moreover, the lack of basic social services, coupled with uncertainties over peaceful and transparent elections (October 2011), could be considered as additional factors to Liberia's fragility.

Fragility and Development: Major Findings

Historical Analysis of Liberia's Fragility

To better appreciate the extent of Liberia's fragility, it is expedient to begin with an historical analysis. While most African countries were still under the yoke of colonialism, Liberia declared her independence as far back as 26 July 1847. But for 133 consecutive years, a minute minority known and styled as Americo Liberians[25] oppressively dictated Liberia's security and domestic policy with the help of US aid and strategic military assistance. J. Gus Liebenow, in his authoritative book "*Liberia, the Quest for Democracy*", vividly presents the vague line between family and politics during the Tubman's era. Interestingly, the cessation of the Cold War and the relative disengagement of the superpowers exposed Liberia's inherent weaknesses and exacerbated ethnic tensions which led to fourteen years of intermittent brutal Civil War. The civil war created a collapsed economy, the end of governance although not good governance, the destruction of infrastructure, and a total breakdown of social services and amenities. Between 1989 and 2003, over 270,000, people died and over half a million people displaced (PRS, 2008: p.14).

The primary cause of Liberia's fragility can be traced to the callous attitudes exhibited by Americo Liberians. Contemporary literature on Liberia's current problems is replete with references to the

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24   The presence of UNMIL is serving as a psychological boost in maintaining peace and stability
25   Two major parties – The Republican Party and the True Whig Party were organized by Americo Liberians. The former regime ruled from 1847 to 1869. Between 1870 and 1876, the two parties alternated. From 1877 to April 12, 1980, the True Whig Party draconically stuck on to power.

breakdown of patron-client politics, cuts in aid after the cold war, international conspiracy[26], tribalism, demographic and environmental problems, illicit trade by warlords, as well as what Paul Richards calls youth crisis (Reno, 1995: p.212).

As late as 1979, Americo Liberians constituted 5% of Liberia's population. Irrespective of no significant increment when one takes into consideration the mass exodus of Americo Liberians during the civil war, they continue to dominate every major political and economic sphere of Liberian society. Although sent on a civilizing mission in 1822 and mandated to spread Christianity, their treatments of natives were far more dehumanizing than what they experienced on American plantations. According to Dolo (in his book, "*Democracy versus Dictatorship: the Quest for freedom and justice in Africa's Oldest Republic – Liberia*", the exploited slaves on American plantations became the exploiters in Liberia. Stephen S. Hlophe in "*Class, Ethnicity and Politics in Liberia*" and Gus Lebenow in "*Liberia: the Quest for Democracy*" vividly describe this domination in terms of institutions such as the state, the Masonic Craft, the True Whig party, Churches, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA).

Politically, indigenous people were denied citizenship. Trades formerly controlled by Mandingoes were monopolized by Americo Liberians (Liebenow, 1987:p.48). Theoretically, indigenous Liberians were recognized as citizens during the administration of Arthur Barclay (1904-1912). But even with the extension of representation and suffrage during the Tubman era, votes for entire chiefdoms were cast by chiefs who were given licenses to collect taxes and display power without reference to tribal customs. On the other hand, missionaries saw the indigenous Poro and Sandi societies as well as tribal sculptures and dances as anathema to social economic development (Liebenow, 1987: pp. 49-54).

Moreover as recent as 1940, the interior of Liberia was neglected and ruled indirectly. Contrary to widely held beliefs that Tubman's Unification Policy of 1944 was meant to embrace indigenous Liberians in the decision-making process of the nation (Lowenkopf, 1976: p.55), it was actually promulgated to mainly gain unfettered access to the resources of the hinterland, and to legitimize the draconic hut tax. Of equal relevance is the seizure of Liberia's coastal areas from the natives. According to Kappel, "The stealing of land from the natives was the decisive cause" for exploitation (Kappel, 1980:p. 176). This nullifies the misconception that indigenous Liberians, for example the Bassa ethnic group, sold their land for pieces of smoked fish.

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26   In Neighboring Sierra Leone, President Siaka Stevens felt uncomfortable with a 27b year low ranking military officer being president. As such, several moves were planned in collaboration with Liberian opposition leaders to oust Doe. In Côte d'IvoireCôte d'Ivoire, Felix Houphouet-Boigny found it very hard to sincerely accept Samuel Doe after the latter had killed his friends (William R. Tolbert) and son-in-law (A.B. Tolbert). Former Libyan Leader, Muammar Gaddafi felt insulted when Doe threatened to fight him at an O.A.U. Conference for openly condemning America. On the other hand, upon the Americans' request for Liberia to honor her external debts, President Doe promptly mobilized Liberians to contribute towards the payment of the debts. This sense of nationalism, coupled with Doe's Human Rights records, did not go down well with the White House.

But the exploitation by Americo-Liberians were not received passively. There were resistances, mainly tribal uprisings, for example the 1856 Grebo and Kru uprising, the 1864 uprising of the Bassa tribes, 1875 Cape Palmas rebellion, the Grebo War of 1910, the Kru rebellion of 1915, the Gola rebellion of 1918, and the Kpelle rebellion of 1920. However, the lack of proper coordination[27] of these wars which could have involved all ethnic groups led to their containment with the help of American naval vessels, the Liberian Frontier Force (Lowenkopf, 1970: p.3; Hlophe, 1979: p.112-7; Akpan, 1980: pp.116-7) and few sycophantic chiefs, for example, King Saa Boso. Notwithstanding, a group of young educated natives and progressives in person of James Teah Tarpeh, Togba Nah Tipoteh, H. Boima Fahnbulleh Jr., Amos Sawyer and Dew Mason emerged during the late 1960s and early 1970s at the University of Liberia to repeatedly question the Americo-Liberian hegemony (Fahnbulleh, 1980: p.359: Tipoteh, 1980: p.372; Mayson 1980: p.382), thus giving credence to Raymond Leslie Buell's prediction of 1947:

It seems only a matter of time when the preponderance of the "civilized natives" over the Americo-Liberians will become overwhelming. Once awakened to western ideas of democracy and freedom, the educated natives will demand the right to participate in government, believing that eventually the Americo Liberia minority must lose its control. Sooner or later, the struggle for power between the groups will take place (Buell, 1947: p.19).

This long-awaited awakening and struggle culminated into "progressive" slogans like "no more work baboon draw", "the time of the people has come", "in the cause of the people, the struggle continues". The first was a protest against the conspicuous consumption of Americo-Liberians at the expense of the blood and sweat of indigenous, whilst the others signified political consciousness. These anti-settler campaigns reached their zenith when the late Baccus Matthews of the newly registered Progressives Peoples Party (PPP) masterminded a successful demonstration against the Tolbert-led True Whig Party government's pronouncement of 1979, that the price of a hundred pound bag of rice (Liberia's staple diet) would increase from US$22.00 to US$30.00. Consequently, the first phase of Americo-Liberia domination climaxed on 12 April 1980 when 17 low ranking but brave officers of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) mainly Krahn, Gio and Mano led by the then Master Sergent Samuel K. Doe assassinated President William Tolbert and seized power in a coup d'état (Guannu, 1985: p.134; Berkeley, 1986: p.14; Kandeh, 1996: p.389).

Notwithstanding the 133 years of autocracy, Doe and his colleagues were not of the educated natives or progressives. Kandeh, Huband and others maintain that although a native, Doe was "functionally illiterate" (Kandeh, 1996: p.391; Huband, 1998: p.36), a complete caricature of Americo-Liberian enslavement from one of Liberia's least developed county – Grand Gedeh – a region least exposed

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27   If only the indigenous had united and waged a united battle, instead of waging a fragmented war, the Americo-Liberians would have found it very difficult to subdue the indigenous.

to western education and the monetized economy (Liebenow, 1987: p.204). Thus Doe turned out to be a perfect hindrance to the struggle for political liberation and integration in that he adequately fulfilled western perception of the caricature they had drawn from the lifestyle of Idi Amin of Uganda, also once a Master-Sergeant.

Doe's military regime, the People's Redemption Council (PRC), released from prison progressive opposition politicians who were awaiting execution by the Tolbert Government. A cabinet comprising of few former cabinet ministers and progressives was formed (Liebenow, 1987: p.186). But the honeymoon between the progressives and the military junta was short-lived. Gradually, progressive cabinet ministers were replaced by Americo-Liberians when the former felt out with the PRC. Moreover, the signal of disappointment reached its peak when important government Ministries and institutions like the Ministries of Finance, Commerce, and Industry, Post and Telecommunications and the National Bank fell directly in the hands of the semi illiterate junta or their stooges (Liebonow, 1987: p.186). In addition to Doe's brutal human rights record, he ruled in total disregard for fiscal discipline. Contrary to being victory over dictatorship and segregation, the Doe era became a replacement of Americo-Liberian domination with Krahn oppression (Berkeley, 1986: p.22; Liebenow, 1987: p.191)

Worse still, Doe became uncomfortable with the democratic demands and aspirations of the educated indigenous members / progressives of his cabinet. Soon, there were reports of attempted coups that implicated some of his close friends. After a successful neutralization of all opposing factions, Doe with the help of Emmett Harmon, Chairman of the 1985 Elections Commission, well protected by a tribalized national army and financed by American aid, conveniently rigged the 1985 elections (The World Guide, 1997/98: p.359). Few months later, Thomas Quiwonkpa, an intimate friend of Doe and one time commanding General of the Armed Forces of Liberia, was mutilated and killed following a failed coup in 1985. In the aftermath of the failed mission to redeem the Liberian people, Doe enhanced the krahnization of the army and his kinsmen attacked Quiwonkpa's kinsmen – the Gio and Mano of Nimba County. The terror and brutality that were unleashed by Doe's kinsmen left behind scars of intense ethnic hatred in Nimba County.

Capitalizing on Gio and Mano animosity for Doe, Charles Taylor[28], an Americo Liberian, began advancing his own political ambition for the presidency and the re-emergence of Americo-Liberian domination (Wippman, 1993: p.162; Sesay, 1996: p.37; Huband, 1998: p.91). With the formation of a rebel armed group of fighters (mainly natives), the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) headed

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28   Taylor served as the first GSA Director under Doe. GSA was responsible for all GoL procurement. It was alleged that Taylor absconded with millions of US$ to the United States. Upon Doe's request for extradition, Taylor was imprisoned in May 1984 at Plymouth County House of Corrections in Massachusetts, USA. His escape from prison during the Reagan's administration remains a mystery. With the assistance of Doe's political opponents, he was again released from prisons in Ghana and Sierra Leone.

by Taylor invaded Liberia on the eve of Christmas 1989 from neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire[29]. He was greatly supported by Côte d'Ivoire, Libya and Burkina Faso as well as prominent Liberians in exile, including Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf[30], Africa's first female President.

As the invasion advanced towards the capital, the Gio and Mano became law unto themselves. To maintain the war, looting of Liberia's natural resources, mainly diamonds, gold and timber were greatly relied upon as well as the exploitation of more neglected youths (Richard, 1995: p.137). Innocent civilians including women and children as well as foreign nationals who had earlier embraced the NPFL invasion were maimed, killed and tortured. Under the protection of ECOMOG, President Doe was captured, and brutally tortured and killed on the 9 September 1990 by the leader of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) – General Prince Johnson[31], Quiwomkpa's kinsman. Thousands of Liberians and foreign nationals also fled and sought refuge in neighbouring countries (Greenwood, 1993: pp.36-37; UNHCR, 1995: p.113).

Despite the intervention of ECOMOG in August 1990 and several peace accords, Liberia remained a failed state for over a decade. Taylor's intransigence led to the proliferation of other factions, notably, the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), United Liberation Movement for Democracy (ULIMO-K and J), headed by Alhaji Kromah and Roosevelt Johnson respectively; Lofa Defense Force (LDF) headed by Francois Massaquoi; Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL) headed by Thomas Woewiyu and the Liberian Peace Council (LPC) headed by George Boley. Five interim governments[32] were formed, yet failed to exercise authority across the length and breadth of Liberia. They failed to provide basic social services and to create room for the fulfillment of human rights.

The threats of asset freezing, a ban on foreign travel and the establishment of a war crimes tribunal, coupled with war fatigue as well as the desire to occupy the Executive Mansion generated compliance among the warlords. Abruptly, military organizations were transformed overnight into political organizations; combatants were ordered to disarm, and arms were surrendered to ECOMOG. Predicated upon threats from Taylor that only a divine being could save the life of the head of the Elections Commission (Henry Andrews) if the elections were postponed (Heritage, 12-15 July 1997: p.1), elections were hastily held on 19 July 1997 amidst a disorganized disarmament and demobilization process. Moreover, years of political and military balkanization prevented a level playing field for

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29   Côte d'Ivoire President, President Felix Houphouët-Boigny and Burkina Faso's President, Blaise Compaoré were greatly involved in the destabilization of Liberia. Houphouët-Boigny was just not a friend of Tolbert, but also a father in-law to Tolbert's son, A.B. Tolbert who was killed after the coup.

30   During the TRC Hearing, President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf reiterated that she gave an amount of US$10,000.00 to Charles Taylor's NPFL. The amount, it is assumed was debited from Her Excellency's saving account while with the UN.

31   General Johnson, now Senior Senator Prince Johnson is one of several former warlords in the National Legislature. He presently represents his homeland, Nimba County.

32   The first interim government was headed by Dr. Amos Sawyer; the second by Professor David Kpomakpor; followed by Prof. Wilton Sankawolo and then Madam Ruth Sando Perry.

campaign purposes. Being perceived as the wealthiest and the only candidate capable of maintaining peace and tranquility, Taylor with a massive youth constituency[33] was elected President from thirteen contestants (West Africa, 4-19 August 1997: p.1252; Nowrojee, 1998: p.2) to champion the cause of post-war development.

Regrettably, peace was illusive, not to even mention post-war development. Instead of settling his differences with ECOWAS and encouraging ECOMOG to maintain the peace, Taylor, with the advice of Cllr. Charles Brumskine[34], requested the pre-mature departure of ECOMOG. Under Taylor, Liberians experienced some of the worse human rights abuses and were deprived of basic social services. Civil servants' salaries were hardly paid on time. There were renewed conflicts, and resources diverted to war machineries. Military pressure from LURD; diplomatic pressure from the international community as well as threats from US President George Bush made Taylor to hurriedly leave for the State of Calabar, Nigeria. Another interim government, headed by Gyude Bryant was constituted. Characterized by corruption, the government failed to deliver on basic social services.

In October 2005, free and democratic elections were held in accordance with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The elections ushered in Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Africa's first female President, but a major actor to Liberia's fragility. With the three branches of Government (Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary) heavily populated with former warlords and white collar warlords, the prospects of establishing a war crime court is very slim. Moreover, despite the abundance of natural resources and the international community enormous support to the Unity Party (UP) led Government, Liberia is yet to graduate from a fragile state.

In a nutshell, this historical analysis is intended to present the underlying causes of Liberia's fragility. It summarizes the greed for power and resources, the fight against economic and political inequalities, attempted ethnic cleansing, and the denial of political rights. These analyses are also aimed at setting the pace for the analysis of the social and economic impacts of Liberia's fragility, and the challenges and achievements towards state building and economy building.

Social and Economic Impacts of the Crisis on Development

While it is easy to calculate the economic losses in a fragile state, it is difficult to measure the suffering, pain and trauma caused by fragility. Due to the prolonged civil war, many Liberians were displaced, while some sought refuge in neighbouring countries. Although hostilities have subsided, some Liberian refugees are still unwilling to return home, thereby facing the vicissitudes of life in foreign coun-

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33   In support of Taylor, the youth sang; "You killed my pa, you killed my ma, I will vote for you".
34   Brumskine is one of several, over twenty-two Presidential Candidates that will be vying for October 2011 elections,

tries. For example, Liberians in Ghana's Buduburam Camp are repeatedly and presently faced with police brutality[35]. Thus, the lack of capacity to provide protection squarely falls within CIFP scope of fragility. Moreover, the desire to migrate to developed countries, the lack of economic opportunities at home, and the absence of a comprehensive reintegration package has denied most underprivileged Liberians the opportunity to constructively contribute towards national reconstruction. Interestingly, apart from advocating for Temporary Protective Status (TPS) to be extended for Liberians in the United States of America, the state does not have the capacity to fully protect Liberians in other countries, especially in developing countries and other fragile states such as the Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone and Guinea. Consequently, most Liberian refugees are easy prey for rebel groups within the sub-region.

Although DDRR programs were held, the specific needs of disabled ex-combatants were forgotten after the DDRR process. For example, most female ex-combatants are finding it very hard to reintegrate. Instead, most are stigmatized. Some child soldiers did not receive psychosocial counseling, access to education and health services. Communities were not sensitized enough to meet the particular needs of child soldiers. The high rate of criminal activities amongst youth is a clear indication of a disjointed DDRR program.

Notwithstanding the establishment of Criminal Court E, which concentrates entirely on rape cases, most complaints are easily compromised between families of victims and perpetrators. Usually, cases are not reported for appropriate actions, despite the millions of dollars received by NGOs for litigations and support services to victims. Moreover, insistence on cultural practices and relegating girls' roles to household duties and child bearing has undermined the development and empowerment of girls.

Most Liberians are also facing serious food security problems, while majority lack economic opportunities. Unemployment stands at 85%, while the EU maintains that 41% of Liberians are food insecure[36]. The situation of Liberians in the leeward counties is more pathetic, characterized by hopelessness, idleness and frustrations. According to the Liberia Core Welfare Indicators Questionnaire (CWIQ) survey of 2007 that was conducted by LISGIS with the support of World Bank, most Liberians lack opportunities in the formal sector as a result of poor education and lack of requisite skills. Accessing capital is therefore a major hurdle for most Liberians who are desirous of entering business. In the absence of a National Social Welfare Policy for youths, most vulnerable young people are found on the streets engaging in criminal activities. Moreover, the full participation of youth in governance is still negligible. Apart from the "Hatai Centers", there are little or no youth centers where young

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35   Attempts by Ghanaian Police to prevent Liberian refugees to change the leadership of the Liberian refugees led to the death of over five Liberian refugees and the wounding of several others on Sunday, 13 February 2011.
36   The News, "Liberia: Still a Hungry Country", 17th March 2011, Vol. 22, No. 421, p.1.

people will express themselves and make meaningful contributions to society. No wonder why Paul Richards attributes the major cause of the Sierra Leonean and Liberian Civil wars to "crisis of youth".[37]

Economically, Liberia is yet to reach W.W. Rostow's "take off stage" towards development[38]. Even though an aid darling, the economy is yet to fully recover from the effects of fourteen years of warfare and mismanagement. On the other hand, there are high expectations. Unemployment rates, both rural and urban are very high. Training opportunities are limited and housing facilities are scarce. For example, a VSLAs baseline survey conducted by Plan Liberia in five communities in Kolahun and four communities in Foya Districts, Lofa County, from 28 May 2009 to 9 July 2009 reveals four types of houses in the nine communities. 36% of 105 households lived in mud wall, palm leave roof earth floor and wooden window. 44% lived in mud wall, zinc roof and cement floor; 11% lived in brick wall, zinc roof and cement floor, whilst 9% lived in un-burned brick wall, zinc roof and earth floor. Relative to daily meals, only one house had two meals a day; the rest had a single meal per day. These signs of food insecurity and poor shelter are evident of the lack of pro-poor policies and initiatives as proffered by DFID and OECD.

Assessing Challenges

Liberia faces numerous challenges as it attempts to pursue stable socio-economic development following a period of fragility. This paper reviews the major challenges including: corruption, electoral violence, the qualities of infrastructure, agriculture, education, and the conditions of youths.

Corruption

Even though successive governments have condemned previous administrations on corruption, little has been done to minimize this problem. Instead, the level of corruption keeps increasing. In 1990, the autocratic TWP Government was overthrown for, inter alia, rampant corruption. In 1989, the NPFL invasion was executed under the guise of human rights abuses and massive corruption. Moreover, successive governments have been prey to corrupt activities, despite the pronouncements against corruption, while in the opposition. This deception on the part of politicians confirms Thrasymachus' observations in Plato's Republic – "for when people denounce injustice, it is because they are afraid of suffering wrong, not of doing it" (The Republic, 380 BC: P.19).

With the ushering in of Madam Sirleaf, and Her Excellency's declaration that corruption would have been public enemy number one, one thought that corrupt individuals would have been legally dealt with promptly and severely. During Her Excellency's inaugural address, she said, inter alia,

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37   Please refer to <http://www.worldpress.org/africa/2689.cfm>.
38   Apart from policy documents and papers, Liberia is yet to pursue a well-defined economic model.

Fellow Liberians, we know that if we are to achieve our economic and income distribution goals, we must take on forcibly and effectively the debilitating cancer of corruption. Throughout the campaign, I assured our people that, if elected, we would wage war against corruption regardless of where it exists, or by whom it is practiced. Today, I renew this pledge. Corruption, under my Administration, will be the major public enemy. We will confront it. We will fight it. Any member of my Administration who sees this affirmation as mere posturing or yet another attempt by another Liberian leader to play to the gallery on this grave issue should think twice. In this respect, I will lead by example. I will expect and demand that everyone serving in my Administration leads by example. The first testament of how my Administration will tackle public service corruption will be that everyone appointed to high positions of public trust, such as in the Cabinet and heads of public corporations, will be required to declare their assets. I will be the first to comply, and I will call upon the Honourable Speaker and President Pro-Temps to say that they comply. My Administration will also accord high priority to the formulation and passage into law of a National Code of Conduct, to which all public servants will be subjected[39]....

Despite these assurances, the prosecutions of corrupt officials are moving too slowly compared to the gravity of the cases. Within less than four years, the UP-led government was classified by the General Auditing Commission (GAC) headed by Commissioner John Morlue as being three times corrupt than its predecessor – the NTGL Government headed by Gyude Bryant[40]. The sample of corruption cases shown below from the Liberia Anti-Corruption Commission[41] (LACC) illustrate the observation of Auditor General Morlue

- » Liberia Marketing Association – Financial malpractices
- » Liberia National Police – Annual vehicle inspection exercise
- » Liberia National Police – Procurement of Emergency Response Unit (ERU) uniforms
- » Liberia Telecommunication Authority (LTA) – Prosecution of its former Chairman
- » Ministry of Finance – Missing civil servants salary checks for the months of July and August 2008
- » Ministry of Gender and Development – Illegal polling and deductions of staff general allowance

Moreover, prosecution of corruption cases involving high ranking government officials has been difficult at the LACC. This was due to the lack of cooperation from the judiciary and legislature in implementing the Asset Declaration regime, delay in the passage of a code of conduct for public officials, the absence of well-defined laws on corruption, insufficient budgetary allocation as well as inadequate and untrained investigators. Other impediments at LACC include the absence of in-house lawyers to prosecute cases of corruption and delay in the prosecution of cases. Presently, the Judici-

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39   Please refer to: <(http://alfrica.com/stories/200601170106htm1?).>
40   Bryant along with other former government officials were accused of corruption, imprisoned, but later acquitted
41   The LACC is mandated to investigate, prosecute and prevent act of corruption as well as educate the public on the ills of corruption. In 2010, 22 cases were reported to the LACC; four cases were recommended to Ministry of Justice for prosecution and one case (corruption charges against the former chairman of the LTA) was adjudicated.

ary is perceived to be the weakest link in government due to lack of funding and limited capacity of judicial staff.

If corruption cases are not adjudicated speedily, fairly and transparently, Liberia will continue to be a fragile state, in accordance with the World Bank classification. As such, the advice from LACC that a separate court be created to trial only corruption cases since the existing criminal courts are flooded with other criminal cases should be seriously considered.

Police Brutality

This remains endemic within the Liberian society. Contemporary history shows the prevalence of police brutality during the Tubman and Tolbert eras. President Tubman used police brutality and secret service agents to suppress political opponents. Tolbert resorted to political brutality during on 12 April 1979 peaceful demonstration against a planned increase in the price of a bag of rice (Liberia's staple diet). For President Doe, he relied greatly on the Armed Forces of Liberia and his kinsmen, while President Taylor resorted to both police brutality and military violence.

Being one of the underlining causes of the Liberian conflict, and realizing its dysfunctional consequences, the international community invested millions of dollars in reforming the security sector. This sector is squarely captured in Pillar I of the PRS – Consolidating Peace and Security. Consequently, aged police officers and paramilitary personnel were pensioned and some dismissed for unethical reasons. Security infrastructures were renovated, several workshops held, and training provided to military and paramilitary personnel.

Despite these tremendous gains, it is generally believed that the psychology of the average police man and woman in Liberia is yet to be changed. According to a recent statement (April 2011) signed by six universities, police brutality targeted public school students who were peacefully demonstrating for their teachers to return to classes. The teachers had boycotted classes to pressure government to honour its pronouncement on the increment of teachers' salary effective January 2011. The high handedness with which policy responded to these demonstrations illustrates the challenges which Liberia faces. Factors such as low pay and poor working conditions within the police force contribute to this rather unfortunate police behaviour.

Electoral Violence

Globally, several methods of governance have been practiced[42]. Theoretically democracy is the best form of good governance. In Liberia, the history of "democracy" is not characterized by bitter elec-

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42   Few of those methods are autocracy (an absolute government run by an individual; a dictatorial government); gerontocracy (rule by the old); kakistocracy (rule by the worse citizens – criminals); timocracy (government based on property requirements and love for honor); oligarchy (few but corrupt and selfish); plutocracy (government by the wealthy); aristocracy (rule by Plato's few best) or theocracy (rule by clerics).

toral violence, but is punctuated with notorious electoral malpractices. Special references can be made to the 1931 elections in which the Legislature prevented the winner of the People's Party from Maryland from taking his seat. In the 1955 elections, ballots for the independent True Whig Party were counted in only two counties. In 1985, elections transformed Doe from a military leader into a civilian leader. According to Liebenow, "if the ballots of an opposition party were counted and a majority was recorded, there was no assurance that the victory would be officially recognized" (Liebenow, 1987, pp.94-95). Thus, the pace at which the Elections Commission is conducting pre-elections activities, coupled with pronouncements emanating from the Chairman of the Elections Commission, Hon. James Fromoyan, calls for serious reflections, if one takes into account the activities and pronouncements of the 1995 elections. In 1995, Liberians and major opposition parties were urged to accept the results, despite several electoral malpractices reported by the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) of Ambassador George Weah.

In complete disregard for the electoral guidelines, the ruling party and other opposition parties, for examples, the Liberty Party (LP) and the Movement for Progressive Change (MPC) have started campaigning for the pending October 2011 elections far ahead of the date set for campaign activities. On the other hand, the CDC, the Liberty Party (LP) of Counsellor Charles Brumskine, the National Democratic Coalition of Prof. Dew Mayson, and other opposition parties have repeatedly called for the resignation of Chairman Fromoyan[43]. Moreover, there have been cases of political violence between overly zealous state personnel and other interest groups, for instance, widows of AFL soldiers and the March 22 Student Demonstration[44].

If these moves are not checked, as well as any attempt on the part of the elections commission to rig the October 2011 Presidential and General elections, the act will most likely be received with stiff resistance. Discussions with major stakeholders reveal that this time Liberians will not accept any result in favour of any party amidst malpractices. Modern technology, in particular the electronic media, has enabled Liberians to see the waves of political activities and democratic changes going on in Tunisia, Egypt, Côte d'Ivoire, and Libya. Thus, the propensity exist for Liberia's fragility to be worsen during the October 2011 elections if the commission is not reconstituted or does not put its house in order. The worst case scenario will be a return to violence; the most likely will be another interim government; and the best case scenario will be a government that is democratically elected.

Infrastructure

In Liberia, the impact of the conflict is still visible on some private and public infrastructure. New constructions[45], for examples, the Health and Defense Ministries, and the Housing and Central Banks,

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43   National Chronicle, "For October Elections: Opposition Wants Fromoyan Out" Vol. 17 No. 25, 25th March 2011, p.1.
44   Daily Observer, "Students Demo Gets Bloody Nose: Several Injured, Arrested" Vol. 14 No. 414, 23rd March 2011, p.1.
45   Over the years, government ministries and agencies have been housed in private buildings owned by sons and daughters of former Americo-Liberian officials who are charging astronomical fees for rent.

which were being undertaken by the late President Doe, are yet to be completed. Instead of being elephant projects, unfinished public buildings initiated by the late President Doe should be completed. The completion and utilization of these buildings will prevent the astronomical amount pay on rented properties, for examples, the ministries of Education, Transport, Justice, Commerce and Industry as well as buildings hosting various public commissions and public corporations. Interestingly, none of these buildings is owned by a native, instead all are owned by Americo-Liberians.

Although there have been some maintenance done on roads in Monrovia – the capital, the road network is still poor in most of rural Liberia. Many of the major bridges have been destroyed during the war, and are yet to be rebuilt. Prefabricated steel bridges provided by donors, for example those supplied by the World Bank, are being used in some areas.

Agriculture
Agriculture remains one of the neglected sectors in post-war Liberia, despite the millions of dollars the sector received during the administration of Dr. Chris Toe, former Minister of Agriculture. Due to rural- urban migration, agriculture activities, in which the majority of Liberians (70%) were employed prior to the civil war, have been neglected. The prolonged crisis created serious uncertainties for agricultural activities. Due to uncertainty about length of stay in a particular area, there are no incentives to engage in agricultural activities. Illegal taping of rubber, and mining of diamond and gold were the livelihood methods. Even though the war is over, the agriculture sector remains dormant, due to bad infrastructure (poor roads network), lack of fertilizers, insecticides and incentives, and poor returns on agricultural produce. The failure of Liberians to fully engage in food security and agricultural activities will continue to increase Liberia's fragility.

Education
The quality of education is very poor. A survey conducted by ADEAS for Plan Liberia reveals that most schools are housed in dilapidated buildings. The 2007-2008 National School Census Report shows that 8251 students (42% girls and 58% boys) suffer from some types of disabilities (physical: hearing, visual, and others (Appendix 6.2). This report equally indicates that from a total of Forty- Nine Thousand Eleven (49,011) teachers, only 42% are trained (Appendix 6.3).

Consequently, the lack of education and skills training continues to undermine job opportunities. According to the Minister of Planning, a significant number of university graduates are unable to write a concise application letter. In a nutshell, performances do not match with degrees and certificates. In most cases, those with foreign degrees from western universities are favoured. With capacity building funds from UNDP and other donors, qualified Liberians from the diaspora have returned and are taking advantage of various programs. The extent to which these Liberians will remain when donors' funding run out remain to be seen. But the lack of empowerment for most graduates from national universities is gradually becoming a catalyst for another discontentment.

Conditions of Youths

In 1979, President William R. Tolbert referred to Liberian youths[46] as Liberia's precious jewels. However, the fourteen years of civil war have exacerbated the conditions of Liberian youth (Appendix 6.4 -6.7). For instance, most young girls have resorted to prostitution for survival. Others are victims of extreme poverty, constant abuse and violation of their rights. Some youths are exposed to sexually transmitted diseases. For example, HIV infection is gradually increasing amongst youth. 0.9% of youth between the ages of 15 to 19 years, and 1.4% of youth between the ages of 20 to 24 years are infected[47]. Young boys are equally found on the streets, become drug addicts and are engaged in criminal activities. Culturally, most war affected youths lack manners, information about Liberia, its history as well as the functions, roles and responsibilities of government. Others have no appreciation for Liberian customs. With no sense of nationalism, the prospect of state building will continue to be a herculean task.

With a poverty level of 63.8% and about 1.3 million people living in extreme poverty (less than fifty United States cents a day)[48], most Liberians cannot afford three meals a day, not to even mention pursuing vocational or formal education. The high rate of unemployment amongst Liberians has also led to a state of hopelessness. In the quest for survival, most young men and women have turned to the burning of charcoal (environmental degradation), the hunting of wildlife and being "pen-pen" drivers (commercial cyclists). Accidents from the latter vocation have led to pre-matured deaths. Amidst these deplorable conditions, high profiled corruption cases are yet to be investigated.

Even though the TRC report recognizes youths as both perpetrators and victims during civil conflicts, the report falls short of recommending a comprehensive strategy aimed at youth development. Due to these shortcomings, youth are major carriers of diseases, most especially HIV/Aids. Liberian youths are also confronted with food security and unemployment problems. With an unemployment rate of 85%, a significant number of youths, especially those residing in the hinterland, have no access to employment and empowerment opportunities due to poor economic activities and lack of information. Other experts maintain that dysfunctional cultural behaviours, such as the Sande and Poro societies, are also impeding the development of youths.

The situation of Liberians with disabilities is worse, and deserves urgent attention. According to the Final Report of the National Population and Housing Census, there are 110,260 Liberians living with disabilities. Over half of them are not employed, and are constrained to beg at street corners to get their daily bread. A significant number of people with disabilities are youths. Discrimination and marginalization characterize their existence. Continuously, they face discriminations in all forms and

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46   The age range for youth varies from country to country and from institution to institution. For YMCA Liberia, it ranges from 15 years to 35 years.
47   PRS, p.31
48   Republic of Liberia, Poverty Reduction Strategy, p. 25.

manners. In most cases, they do not have employment opportunities, do not participate in political decisions, but are urged to vote and not to be voted for during elections due to poor education and inexperience. Most often, they are constrained to live in abject poverty. Yet there is no comprehensive policy that addresses their unique concerns.

Moreover, irrespective of the role played by Liberian youths during the 14 years of civil conflict, little has been done to empower them. In a nutshell, the conditions of Liberian youths[49] are still pathetic. Instead of community libraries, internet facilities, community playgrounds, livelihood projects and health centres, Liberian youths are constrained to watch videos and play football. Even those at universities spend more time discussing European football matches, for example, Barcelona versus Chelsea than economic and political concepts, for examples Plato's Republic, the merits and demerits of sanctions, globalization, and the prospects of Islam and democracy. These pitfalls and habits on the part of youths have undermined efforts at employment, empowerment and participation.

Finally, the National Security Strategy recognizes the problems with youth development. It alleges that there were approximately 17,000 ex-servicemen, mostly youth who were retired from the army, police, Special Security Service (SSS) and other security institutions. In 2004, 103,019 ex-fighters, mostly youths completed the DDRR program, but over 9,000 did not receive any rehabilitation and reintegration package. Being attracted to conflict, they fled to neighbouring countries. It is alleged that some are actively fighting for various factions in neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire. At some point in time, some of these youths will return and might likely serve as breeding ground for recruitment and the conduits for drugs trafficking. Thus, in contextualizing the security environment, unemployment is attributed to the lack of skills which has led to vulnerability and exclusion[50]. The presence of unemployed youths has become a major challenge with serious security implications.

Even though the number of youths with access to school has increased, more youths have been engaged with manual jobs while some have been affected by the government civil service reform program – "Smaller Government Better Service". At a two-day National Consultative Workshop on Civil Service Reform Strategy (CSRS) from 29-30 January 2008, stakeholders acknowledged the deplorable state of the Liberian Civil Service[51].

Realizing the bureaucratic red tape, and the low level of human resource capacity and morale, several strategies ranging from capacity building programs (for example the Senior Executive Service, the Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN), and the Scott Family Liberia Fellowship Program) were initiated. Some skilled Liberians in the diaspora took advantage of these programs

49   Liberian youth constitutes 37% of Liberia's 3.5 million people.
50   National Security Strategy of the Republic of Liberia, January 2008, p.13.
51   Republic of Liberia, Smaller Government, Better Service – Civil Service Reform Strategy, 2008-2011, Monrovia, June 2008, p.17.

and returned home to contribute to national development and reconstruction. Unfortunately, most locally trained Liberians were unable to take advantage of these programs due to low capacity, coupled with the lack of computer skills. Others were affected by the 'Right-Sizing Strategy' of the Civil Service Reform in the country.

Given the unemployment rate of 85%, it is obvious that most Liberians are not working. Some are available for work, but unable to find a job; others are continuously looking for job. The most vulnerable Liberians are those between the ages of 15-24, who are entering the labour force for the first time, and most often they are also not in school. Even those with university degrees are usually denied employment opportunities simply because most employers do not want to take risks with inexperienced candidates. If employed, they are underpaid. It can therefore be deduced that most Liberians are not actively involved in the decentralization and governance processes. The continued marginalization of youths will worsen Liberia's fragility.

Assessing Achievements

Even though Liberia is still a fragile state, there have been several attempts aimed at mitigating the fragility through the formulation and implementation of policies. For example, the Result Focus Transitional Framework (RFTF), formulated during the National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) covering the period January 2003 to March 2006, identifies 13 priority sectors/needs which are grouped into nine clusters.

Upon the ascendancy of the Unity Party-led Government headed by President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the first major document was the 150-Day Plan of Action, followed by the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy (IPRS)[52]. The IPRS was the framework for recovery and reconstruction in post-war Liberia and identified the priority needs from July 2006 to June 2008.

In April 2008, the Government of Liberia presented its Poverty Reduction Strategy document which runs from 1 April 2008 to 30 June 2011. It was also declared a catalyst to target the 2015 UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)[53]. Issues affecting children and youths are crosscutting. Under Pillar I (National Security) of the PRS, issues of gender-based violence, gender sensitive training, and

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52   The document takes into consideration four pillars, namely security, economic revitalization, governance and the rule of law and infrastructure and basic social services. But a major pitfall of these documents is the failure to adequately address the peculiar conditions of vulnerable groups, not to even mention strategies of implementation. For instance, programs and projects that comprehensively target youth development, employment, empowerment and participation were lacking.

53   UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG) targets the year 2015. It is a pledge by 191 UN member states to meet eight goals, namely eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development.

protection of youth were highlighted. Consequently, several gender sensitive workshops have been held for both social workers and security personnel over the past two years. Equally important is the strengthening of the women and children protection unit of the LNP, the training of judicial staff to properly handle cases of sexual harassment and exploitation, and the passing into law the Rape Act by the National Legislature in 2008.

In an effort to address the empowerment of youth, the Ministry of Youth and Sports in collaboration with the Federation of Liberian Youth and other stakeholders from the international community adopted in 2005 the National Youth Policy of Liberia, a policy aimed at promoting a multi-sector approach to programming and implementation. The policy clearly defines the parameters of youth within both the Liberian and UN contexts. It goes further by identifying various youth groups, for example, youths with disability, street youth, youths affected by HIV/Aids, unemployed youth, out of school youths, and youths who are ex-combatants.

The National Youth Policy also pinpoints some of the major issues affecting youths. Emphasis is placed on the lack of employment opportunities, gender based discrimination, insecurity, crime, disillusionment, displacement and disempowerment. Other issues cover poor public health care, the lack of access to information, communication and technology. Inadequate sporting and recreational facilities and environmental degradation are highlighted[54]. In response to these issues, a strategic plan which is jointly implemented by external partners and local institutions is being executed. The role of donors and the responsibilities of youth organizations are clearly defined. A mechanism is in place for periodic review, monitoring and evaluation.

As a follow-up to the Policy, the National Youth Policy Action Plan[55] was presented in February 2008 at the Ministry of Youth and Sports. The project has a budget of US$4,272,199.80 and a timeframe that runs from 2008 to 2011. 91% of the above funding targeted core activities, whilst 9% targeted administrative costs. Although most of those actions agreed upon are being implemented slowly due to budgetary constraints, progress is being made in some areas. In addition to meetings, workshops and other minor activities, some major achievements include the development of the Liberian National Youth Policy Website, and Partners' Database, the establishment of satellite youth centres, upgrading the Monrovia Vocational Training Center (MVTC) to its pre-war level, and improving its facilities to accommodate disabled youths.

Another laudable effort is the Accelerated Learning Program (ALP), initiated in 1999 by the Government of Liberia. The program clearly spells out the strategies, methodologies and approaches to

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54   But cultural and identity crisis are areas that equally deserve urgent attention.
55   Although it brought together sixty stakeholders, the one-day forum (24th January 2008) was not sufficient to adequately discussed issues facing youths. With barely a year remaining, the time frame for implementation has been extended by two years since monitoring has also been very poor due to the lack of funding and poor capacity of line institutions.

teaching and learning. The ALP is a direct response to the denial of basic education for most war affected children and youth, mainly from fifteen years and above. These youths have outgrown the minimum pre-primary and primary ages. Moreover, most have limited opportunities for schooling due to the prevailing economic constraints and the lack of parental care.

Complementing the ALP is the National Policy on Girls' Education, which seeks to address the issue of girls' education, marginalized groups and networking. The program was jointly published in 2005 by the Ministry of Education and the United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) and highlights the peculiar conditions of girls and offers remedial actions. Several issues including girls' admission and retention, dysfunctional cultural practices, and violence and sexual harassment are tackled. Highlighting these issues in policy documents is worth commending, but the extent to which programs and projects are implemented effectively requires thorough investigation.

Responding to the level of unemployment as a result of a collapsed economy and the current global economic crisis, the Government of Liberia also initiated a job creation initiative known as Liberia Jobs and Opportunities Initiative. This effort has brought together line Ministries – labour, Public Works, Youth and Sports and Planning and Economic Affairs. Other actors include the Monrovia City Corporation as well as Community Based organizations (CBOs). The first phase of the initiative recruited 1,660 youths across the country that provided services in street sweeping, painting of bridges, painting of streets, and clearing of drainages. Over a period of five months, from February to 30 June 2010), 8,000 jobs were created, out of which 1,660 were meant for youths between the ages of 18-35 years. But these jobs are short-termed, quick impact assignments[56].

Realizing the number of youths living with disabilities in the country, a committee on youth was established during the TRC hearings to ascertain the roles of youth, and what can be done to address the plight of war-affected youths. The Federation of Liberian Youths (FLY) played a major role on the above committee. Other major activities undertaken included workshops, town hall meetings, football tournaments and talent shows. At the University of Liberia, a Youth Club (TRC/University Club) comprising over two hundred students was organized to discuss the effects of the conflict and the aspirations of youth. Discussions on issues of Transitional Justice[57] were also deliberated upon in some leeward counties[58]. Notwithstanding, most institutions see the issues of youth development to fall directly within the domain of the Federation of Liberian Youth (FLY), the Ministry of Youth and

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56   The extent to which this initiative can be sustained without external support remains to be seen. Please refer to LRDC Brief, Liberia Creates 8000 jobs for the youth, Poverty Reduction Takes Center Stage in 2010, Vol. 1 No. 1, p. 4.

57   Interestingly, these efforts really do not target youths from the ghettoes who are the main perpetrators of violence. Moreover, the TRC is yet to advance a comprehensive package that will address the plights of war affected youths. The TRC for now is more occupied with claiming financial arrears than advocating for best practices. However, youths with disabilities have organized themselves into associations to advocate for their rights; yet marginalization and discrimination remain a challenge for them.

58   Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia, Vol. I: Preliminary Findings and Determinations, 19th December 2008, p. 41.

Sports, and the Ministry of Labour. But these institutions discuss of youth employment as if it were a sufficient condition for youth development.

Finally, the efforts for decentralization, when sincere, will be another major achievement. Apart from the functions of the judiciary branch of government and other sectors[59] that are exclusively reserved by the National Government, the exercise advocates for the enhancement of public ownership of governance, the sharing of power and decision making authority as well as developing and empowering local authorities. The image of Liberia has improved internationally. Liberians are also enjoying freedom of speech and religious tolerance, as well as some basic social services as a result of these reforms. But Liberia is still at risk of being a failed state.

Analysis of Strategies Applied to Mitigate the Fragility

The Government of Liberia has put in place mechanisms towards economy building, state building and peace building as part of the overall process of addressing the general fragility of the economy.

Peace Building

Peace building although a cross-cutting issue, falls under Pillar I of the Liberian PRS. The consolidation of peace and security is aimed at: restructuring and reforming security institutions, strengthening human and personal security, and building and maintaining regional peace and security.

With the assistance of donors, mainly UNMIL, US, Britain, France and China, peace and security have been maintained through support to various institutions, for examples, the Liberia National Police (LNP), the Emergency Response Unit (ERU), the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) the Police Special Unit (PSU) and the Liberia National Coast Guard. Assistance has been provided in the form of training and logistics. Over 50 correction officers and seven fire-fighters have been trained and assigned.

However, a projected 2,000 armed personnel is insufficient to cover the entire country. Although the ceiling has not been achieved, most military and paramilitary personnel are concentrated in Monrovia. Some leeward areas do not have military or paramilitary personnel, while some border posts have only two to three personnel.

Another attempt at peace building was the various consultations held in the fifteen political sub divisions of Liberia. The consultations were meant to decentralize decision-making by enabling local

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59   Executively reserved for the National Government are National Defense and Security, Foreign Affairs and International Trade, police and law Enforcement, Administration of Justice, Immigration, Elections, Money, Banking and Insurance, Auditing, Industrial Licensing and Agreements, National Health, Education, Water Services, Posts and Telecommunications, National Emergencies and Natural Calamities

leaders to identify priorities. The consultations developed the Country's Development Agenda and identified sources of conflict to include:

» Land disputes;
» Issues relative to youth unemployment and lack of education;
» Lack of access to justice;
» Weak and dysfunctional judicial system / constant delay of justice;
» Mismanagement of natural resources;
» Inequitable distribution of natural resources;
» Corruption;
» Abandonment of towns and villages for development;
» Poor health conditions; and
» Lack of qualified and enough health practitioners.

Consequently, in promoting peaceful coexistence and conflict resolution, the Government of Liberia, in collaboration with the United Nations, established a Peace Building Office (PBO) on 8 October 2008. With an initial funding of US$909,759.00, the PBO has issued early warnings, gathered and shared information on potential areas of conflict, trained over 150 Liberians in various peace building skills[60] as well as supported government's capacity to manage and resolve conflicts. Irrespective of these efforts, the state is yet to find solutions to perennial conflicts such as:

» Ownership over Ganta Market Spot in Nimba County;
» Boundary dispute between Bong and Gbarnpolu (Dubly Island and Gbokomu);
» Boundary dispute between Nimba and Grand Gedeh;
» Boundary dispute between Bong and Margibi counties;
» Lanko Town land dispute between Mandingoes and Kpelleh;
» Various land disputes in Nimba with Mano / Gio versus the Mandingoes;
» Boundary dispute between Rivercess and Sinoe Counties;
» Dispute over the control and ownership of the Liberian Marketing Association;

These conflicts have the potential of degenerating into serious tribal wars. Regrettably some politicians exploit these conflicts for political gains, for example, the superintendent of Sinoe County, Hon. Milton Teahjay's attempts to annex a portion of Rivercess County. Other activities that have the potential to lead to conflict are the killing of motorcyclists and youths for ritualistic purposes, and the misapplication of funds generated from natural resources, for example, pit sawing. Thus, workshops

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60   Other trainings include capacity building; gender sensitive training for traditional leaders and strengthened local traditional mechanism for peace.

and seminars should be complimented with economic empowerment if lasting peace and stability can be realized.

State Building

There are several concrete efforts aimed at improving Liberia within the context of state building driven by the resolve to consolidate peace and security, and strengthen governance and the rule of law. The various planning initiatives including the RFTF, IPRS and PRS from 2004 to present clearly articulate the government's resolve to develop. As such, issues around state building are emphasized under the above development plans.

There is an ongoing Security Sector Reform (SSR) which has led to the formation of a new national Army (the AFL) with an initial strength of 2,000 men to add onto other major security apparatus such as the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization. The Liberia National Police are currently being restructured. Trainings and redeployment as well as provision of logistics have also been part of the reform process. The level of confidence and interaction between the security and the citizenry is gradually improving.

Liberia is also making frantic efforts in upholding the rule of law. Strengthening the justice system and ensuring equal access is a major landmark. The construction of court facilities around the country and the deployment of county attorneys and public defendants into the fifteen counties since 2005 are major achievements aimed at state building.

There are also improvements in governance at both national and local levels. While there are improvements in the areas of legislations and legislative engagements, there are also efforts made at adhering to the tenets of good governance. For examples, there are legislations that promote free access to information and gender equity. There are also legislations that put in place processes and procedures for due diligence (e.g. the Public Procurement and Concession Act), even though the privilege to exercise due diligence has been abused on several occasions. Other critical efforts aimed at ensuring checks and balances within the governance system are the establishments of the General Auditing Commission (GAC) and LACC. Signing and ratifying major international conventions and protocols, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Security Council Resolutions, are clear indications of Liberia's resolve to develop as a nation and foster stronger collaboration.

The government is also building and maintaining regional peace and is playing a leading role in promoting peace within the West African sub-region and Mano River basin. Cases in point include mediation efforts in settling the political situation in Guinea, Niger and Côte d'Ivoire, and mediating between the Governments of Guinea and Sierra Leone over a piece of land claimed by both countries. Moreover, nearly all pre-war diplomatic missions have been re-established which is an indication of credibility within the international realm.

Economy Building

Although the presence of national security is not visible in every part of Liberia, the improvement in security has enhanced investment. According to the National Investment Commission, over 18 billion has been invested in Liberia since 2006. But the extent to which these investments have trickled down to average Liberian remains a debatable issue. Notwithstanding, the Government clearly articulates in its development agenda (the PRS) the need to revitalize the economy. The strategy for fast tracking the economy and accelerating growth has three prongs, namely: a) rebuilding basic infrastructure, especially roads; b) restoring production in leading natural resource sectors, e.g. mining and forestry; and c) reduction of production costs in order to enhance the diversification of the economy.

The prominent investments include ArcelorMittal, China Union, Sime Daby, Elenito, Buchanan Renewable Energy, BHP Billiton, and ADA. There are also investments within the forest sector including the various Forest Management Contracts (FMCs). A negotiation of these investments within the context of ensuring widely shared benefits has been a major focus of government. For example, within the mining sector, each of the Mineral Development Agreements (MDAs) made provision for social development funds and decisions around the utilization of these funds. These frameworks lend themselves to greater citizen participation. Similarly, the emphasis placed in the MDAs on third party use of infrastructure developed by concessioners such as rails and ports is a major strive towards promoting economic diversification and subsequent growth.

Revitalization of basic social infrastructure within the last five years has also been a major focus that creates the supportive environment for economic growth. Currently major primary roads across the country are being constructed and rehabilitated. This includes major streets of the capital, Monrovia. Other initiatives include the Monrovia – Robert's International Airport road, Cotton Tree – Buchanan, Fish Town – Harper, Waterside Bridge, etc. Another key infrastructure includes the renovation of the Free Port of Monrovia.

Within the health sector, several facilities including the rehabilitation of the JFK Maternity Center, the Tubman National Institute of Medical Arts (TNIMA), and construction of few hospitals and clinics around the country are critical milestones strengthening social infrastructure. The education sector as another supportive infrastructure has made several achievements. Key among these are the provision of free primary education, construction of the University of Liberia Fendell Campus, establishments of community colleges in five counties, and the construction of several primary and secondary schools. One major boost within the sector is the provision of a US$40 million grant by World Bank to further strengthen education in Liberia. It is hoped that this grant will be used for its intended purposes since there are schools without basic furniture (for examples, desks and chairs), text books, qualified teachers and salaries for teachers, or medical practitioners.

Labour and employment are critical components of economic development. Addressing unemployment has been a challenge. Notwithstanding, there has been significant efforts both on the part of Government and the private sector to deal with the issue of unemployment. While government through the civil service has provided employment opportunities, the private sector has been very responsive to providing employment opportunities as well. Part of this effort is largely supported by the government's resolve to create a good environment that strengthens the private sector investment. Other economic building efforts are reflected in the promotion of sound economic and financial management practices. Specific cases involve the establishment of Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GMAP), Public Procurement and Concession Commission (PPCC), Economic Management Team (EMT), and Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). These are evidenced by the inflow of foreign investment and aid from humanitarian partners (Appendixes 6.8 and 6.9).

The Role of Key Stakeholders in National Programmes

Since 2006, the international community has increased aid to Liberia, thereby ensuring that Liberia's fragility does not descend to another Hobbesian state of nature[61]. Appendix 6.8 as noted earlier, from 2006 to 2010, over US$18 billion has been invested in Liberia. The main areas of investment so far include, iron ore, gold, agriculture, hotels, industry, forestry, petroleum, infrastructure and banking. Major investors include China Union (2.6 billion); Western Cluster (2 billion); PHP Billiton (1.8 billion) and Mittal Steel (1.6 billion). As a result of these investments, over 100,000 jobs, according to the National Investment Commission (NEC), were created during the period.

Humanitarian assistance also accounted for over three (3) billion from 2004 to 2007 (Appendix 6.9). Major donors included but are not limited to the United States, Britain, France and Japan. But instead of direct budgetary support, NGOs were used as conduits to deliver basic social services (Project Support). According to statistics from the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, there were over 100 international NGOs and over 700 local NGOs as of January 2011. The matrix in Table 7.1 shows major donors vis-à-vis sectors of engagement.

Table 7.1: Sectoral Focus of Donor Assistance Programmes

Donor	Sector
ABD	Governance & Rule of Law, Health
CANADA	Coordination, Health (Immunization), Protection (Refugees)

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61   The British Philosopher, Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679) in the Leviathan describes the state of nature as "continual fear and danger of violent death and the life of man is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short" p.374.

DENMARK	Governance & Rule of Law, Health, Protection (Refugees)
ECHO	Agriculture & Food Security, Coordination, Health, Nutrition, Watsan
GERMANY	Agriculture & Food Security, Economic Recovery, Education, and Governance Rule of Law, Health, Protection and Watsan
GFATM	Health
IFES	Governance & Rule of Law
IRISH AID	Health, Protection (Refugees & SGBV), Watsan, Governance & Role of Law, peace building
JAPAN	Agriculture & Food Security, Peace building, Protection, Watsan
OPEN SOCITY	Multi – sector
OTI	Education (literacy)
SPAIN	Nutrition
SWEDEN	Agriculture & Food Security, Coordination, Education, Governance & Rule of Law Health, Peace building and Protection
SWITZERLAND	Agriculture & Food Security, Coordination, Education, Health Peace building, Protection and Watsan
UNDP	Coordination, Economic Recovery, Governance & Rule of Law, Health, Multi-Sectoral activities, Peace building and Protection
UNEP	Environment
UNFAO	Agriculture

Despite the increased flow of aid, most critics are concerned about the effectiveness of aid in Liberia as it relates to the Paris Declaration. Moreover, irrespective of the tremendous contributions received from donors and Liberia being a founding member of the UN, Liberia is yet to ratify several conventions. Specific reference is made to youth empowerment and development. For example, Liberia signed the African Youth Charter, but is yet to ratify it. The matrix in Table 7.2 shows a sample of documents that relate to ratification.[62]

Table 7.2: Ratification of Charters and Conventions by Liberia

Contents of Conventions and Covenants	Date	Liberia: Date Ratified[62]
Universal Declaration of Human Rights	1948	

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62   Unconfirmed by Foreign Ministry and the National Legislature. Information was sought from various internet sources such as: en,wikipedia.org/…/international_convenant_on_civil;hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/70.html;www.unicef.org/protection/Liberia_51970.html;www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/1956.pdf;www,ohchr.org/documents/press/handbookfinal.pdf;   www.uneca.org/…/assessing_women_legal.and.human_right.htm

Contents of Conventions and Covenants	Date	Liberia: Date Ratified[62]
Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples	1965	
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	1966	2004
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	1966	2004
The Convention on the Rights of the Child	1979	1993
The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	1979	
United Nations Guidelines for Further Planning and Follow-Up in the Field of Youth	1985	
United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice(The Beijing Rules)	1985	
Declaration on the Rights to Development	1986	1986
United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty	1990	
United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (The Riyadh Guidelines)	1990	
The Rio Declaration on the Environment and Development and Agenda 21	1992	
The Vienna Declaration and Program of Action	1993	
Program of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development	1994	1994
Copenhagen Declaration and Program of Action of the World Summit for Social Development	1995	
World Program of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond	1995	
Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women	1995	1998
The Habitat Agenda and The Istanbul Declaration of the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II)	1996	
Rome Declaration on World Food Security and World Food Summit Plan of Action of the World Food Summit	1996	
Braga Youth Action Plan	1998	
Lisbon Declaration on Youth Politics and Programs	1998	
ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work	1998	
Special Session on Social Development (Copenhagen+5) Geneva	2000	
Dakar Youth Empowerment Strategy	2001	

These data show that out of a sample of twenty-four conventions/covenants, 75% is yet to be ratified by Liberia. This shows that Liberia falls short of OECD-DAC's "Principles for Good International Engagements in Fragile States and Situations".

Conclusions

A critical look at Liberia's past formed the basis for Liberia's fragility. For 133 years, a minority class (Americo-Liberians) exploited the majority of the population. The quest for liberation and democracy yielded repeated bloodbaths. Thus, within the context of failed promises, unfulfilled expectations and the desire to change for the better, Liberia is poised to remain a fragile state for several years.

But realizing the low level of human resource capacity and morale, several strategies ranging from capacity building programs, for examples, Senior Executive Service (SES), the Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN), and the Scott Family Liberia Fellowship Programs were initiated. Unfortunately, most Liberians were unable to take advantage of these programs due to low capacity, coupled with the lack of computer skills. However, most locally-trained Liberians were affected by the Right-Sizing Strategy of the Civil Service Reform. In most cases, professional Liberians were recruited from abroad to fill vacancies, and earn astronomical salaries ranging from three thousand US dollars to over ten thousands US dollars per month. Thus, the employment of expatriate Liberians at the expense of qualified home based Liberians has created serious discontentment from the latter group.

Moreover, with an unemployment rate of 85%, most Liberians are not working; some are available for work, but unable to find a job, while others are continuously looking for job. The most vulnerable Liberians are those between the ages of 15-24 who are entering the labour force for the first time; most often they are also not in school. The majority of people face serious food crisis, whilst others lack economic opportunities. The lack of quality education and skill training has equally deprived most Liberians of employment opportunities. It can therefore be deduced that most Liberians are not actively involved in productive activities, and the decentralization and governance processes. If these trends continue, Liberians could be easy prey for renewed violent activities.

On the other hand, the prospect for renewed conflict is very high when one takes into consideration the intermittent religious conflicts between Christians and Muslims, coupled with the many land disputes across the length and breadth of Liberia. If these land disputes are not settled judiciously, and religious tolerance is not encouraged, the likelihood exists for Liberia to be unstable and even relapse to war.

Most importantly, it is germane to note that Liberian women, children and youths remain to be the major victims of Liberia's 14 years of civil conflict. Although, the issues of vulnerable groups have been highlighted in several policy documents, for example, the Result Focus Transitional Framework (RFTF), the 150Day Plan of Action, the Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy (IPRS), and the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS). Most of these documents address the concerns of youths as cross cutting issues. Moreover, while it is true that the Ministries of Youth and Sports, Labour and Education are playing a lead role in the development of youth (age 15-35 years), and the TRC Report recognizes the role of youth as both perpetrators and victims during the Liberian civil conflict, little has been done holistically to address the situation of youths. In particular, the situation of youths in rural areas is even worse. With the likelihood of violence being very high during the pending October 2011 elections, idle youths could be a springboard for chaos.

Frustratingly, youths with disabilities fall under the most neglected category. Most disabled youths have turned to street beggars. Issues confronting disabled youths are not fully mainstreamed on the development agenda. The National Youth Policy Document is yet to be enacted and most programs on youth development do not target youths with disabilities. Programs aimed at strengthening the capacity of youths as well as advocating for policies that will adequately address the issues of participation, employment and empowerment are still lacking within most national policy documents.

Irrespective of the many workshops held to address the issues of youths, the conditions of youths are still deplorable. The amount allocated to the Ministry of Youth and Sports in the 2009/2010 National Budget was US$4,580,000.00 (1.23%) of the total national budget (US$371,908,799.00). This amount was infinitesimal to take care of core activities such as youth empowerment activities, sporting activities and vocational and technical services. Consequently, several issues raised in the National Youth Policy document are yet to be fully implemented due to the lack of funding. Those issues range from the lack of employment opportunities, gender based discrimination, displacement, crime, disillusionment, displacement and disempowerment. If these vices are not checked, Liberian youths will remain an easy prey for would-be warlords in Liberia and in neighbouring countries.

Nationally, other issues confronting Liberians are poor public health care, the lack of access to information, communication and technology, inadequate sporting and recreational facilities, environmental degradation as well as cultural and identity crisis. In particular, former combatants are discriminated against for fear of creating problems. This fear can be justified within the context of a half hazard disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation and reintegration processes. But Liberia will forever remain a fragile state as long as youths, ex-combatants, and other vulnerable groups are not fully reintegrated and capacitated. The shortcomings of the DDRR program are outlined in the National Security Strategy document. Interestingly, the National Youth Policy document had to be extended for another two years. Hence, most Liberians are still marginalized in decision making and policy processes. For those who are favoured and employed, they are expected to blindly abide by

the dictates and policies of their institutions. Finally, the fight against corruption needs to be impartial and transparent. If not, sycophancy, blind loyalty amidst mediocrity, and corruption will continue to be a breeding ground for more conflicts. Thus, Liberia will remain a fragile state for years.

Recommendations

The review has shown that Liberia has made tremendous progress in addressing the challenges emanating from fragility. The programmes focused on peace building, state building and economic reconstruction have achieved commendable results. Yet challenges remain. Within the context of the above findings and conclusion, the following are recommendations to the Liberian Government and development partners with respect to the three pillars.

With respect to *State Building*, the Liberian Government, with the assistance of the international community, should:

» Develop mechanisms to implement recommendations of the various policy documents focusing on the key deliverables which can make a difference in Liberia;
» Revise the existing national legal, regulatory and monitoring structures and strategies and harmonize them with international best practices;
» Establish a knowledge sharing platform that encourages discussions and review on fragility challenges as part of efforts to build upon the gains over the years. The platform should also include sharing of experiences from other countries;
» Ratify outstanding Charters including the African Youth Charter to ensure that youth issues are enshrined in national programmes;
» Strengthen the system for delivery of justice and the rule of law and establish a separate court to expeditiously conclude corruption cases; and
» Strengthen liaison with the UNHCR in protecting Liberian refugees.

With respect to *Economic Building*, the Liberian government, with the assistance of the international community, should:

» Promote investment in the agricultural sector in which over 70% of Liberians to ensure food security, increase jobs and national wealth;
» Judiciously apply due diligence and transparency in the enforcement of the PPCC Act;
» Develop strong monitoring mechanism for tracking development in Liberia; as well as strengthening national and local monitoring mechanisms;
» Strengthen programmes for the youth including the provision of community libraries, playground and youth centres, in order too develop youth with responsibility for the future;

- » Commission studies to determine the economic sectors in which Liberians with disabilities can be empowered to be gainfully employed;
- » Develop mechanisms and programmes for Liberians infected with HIV/Aids to cover medical, psychosocial, capacity building and empowerment activities; youths living with HIV/Aids;
- » Strengthen environmental awareness to enhance preservation of wildlife and ensure that Liberians do not engage in environmental degradation for survival; instead the campaign for employment opportunities should be reinforced; and
- » Develop programmes for long-term employment for the youth.

To assist the process of building the economy, development partners should:

- » Provide direct budgetary support to the Liberian government;
- » Assist in building the human resources capacity of Liberians through enhancement of training programmes, supporting a sub-regional approach to recruitment and tapping on the diaspora;
- » Assist with ensuring that there is coordination in the provision of donor assistance to the Liberian govern; and
- » Focus on areas that strengthen the productive capacity of Liberia so as to entrench sustainable growth.

With respect to *Peace Building*, the Liberian Government, with the assistance of the international community, should:

- » Continue with efforts to amicably resolving the various land and boundary disputes across the length and breadth of the country;
- » Strengthen mechanisms for consultation to resolve tribal differences, for example, conflict between the Gio and Mano on one hand and the Krahn on the other, there is a need for a conflict resolution meeting between the Americo-Liberians and the indigenous;
- » Develop mechanisms to strengthen peace building efforts to ensure that these efforts are more participatory and target substantive issues;
- » Establish the court to investigate perpetrators of heinous crimes and implement the recommendations contained in the TRC report;
- » Develop programmes for the substantive reintegration of ex-combatants into Liberian economy;
  - ° Ensure that warlords and white collar politicians who used youths to commit crimes against humanity are brought to justice;
  - ° Develop mechanisms to address cultural practices, for example, Female Genital Mutilation and prevent the adoption of unethical foreign culture, for instance, homosexual tendencies;
  - ° Decentralize marketable programs in order to provide opportunities for Liberians in rural areas;

- ° Increase internship programs, job training for college and university graduates, vocational jobs for high school students and job training for graduates from technical and skill training programs; and also develop awareness for program activities, compulsory education, technical skill training and vocational skill training should be created by government and other stakeholders;
  - ° Develop a monitoring and evaluation program with indicators;
  - ° Strengthen the decentralization efforts so as to ensure that the County Development Fund funds reach the grassroots and contribute to changing the livelihoods of all Liberians; and
  - ° Strengthen the Election system through development of appropriate early warning systems and ensure the full participation of all stakeholders in preparatory processes.
- » To strengthen peace building initiatives, the international community should assist the Liberian Government through;
- » Support government's efforts in containing police brutality and all efforts should be made to investigate police brutalities;
- » Encouraging the government to ratify pertinent international conventions and covenants;
- » Advocate for a Social Welfare Policy that will prioritize the empowerment of vulnerable youths; the specific needs of disabled, street, unemployed, out of school, ex-combatants and youths affected by HIV aids should be well-defined and addressed; and to prevent youths on the street from being conduits of drug trafficking, youth need to be empowered with vocational skill training; and
- » Buttress Government's initiatives by proving adequate funding in order to implement programs that are designed for Liberians to acquire the requisite skills for empowerment, employment and participation.

These recommendations, though not exhaustive, if implemented, will go a long way in easing the prevailing state of Liberia's fragility and strengthen the impact of the positive impacts of the various initiatives to revive the Liberian economy.

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Basic Statistics

Appendix 6.1: Student Enrolment

#	Student Enrollment	Boys	Girls	Total
1	Pre-primary	251,049	240,515	491,564
2	Primary	286,584	253,303	539,887
3	Junior High	57,477	45,165	102,642
4	Senior High	32,906	22,694	55,600
5	ALP	40,245	35,575	75,820
	Total	668,261	597,252	1,265,513

Source: Republic of Liberia, A System in Transition: The 2007/08 National School Census Report, *MOE, October 2008; Junior to ALP student enrollment constitutes 18.50% of the total student enrollment. A significant number of these students are youths.*

Appendix 6.2: Student Disabilities

#	Student Disabilities	Boys	Girls	Total
1	Pre-primary	1921	1470	3391
2	Primary	1816	1356	3172
3	Junior High	524	296	820
4	Senior High	259	117	376
5	ALP	259	233	492
	Total	4779	3472	8251

Source: Republic of Liberia, A System in Transition: The 2007/08 National School Census Report, *MOE, October 2008; Students with disabilities constitute 0.65%. Notwithstanding, the construction of most infrastructure do not take into consideration the peculiar conditions of disabled*
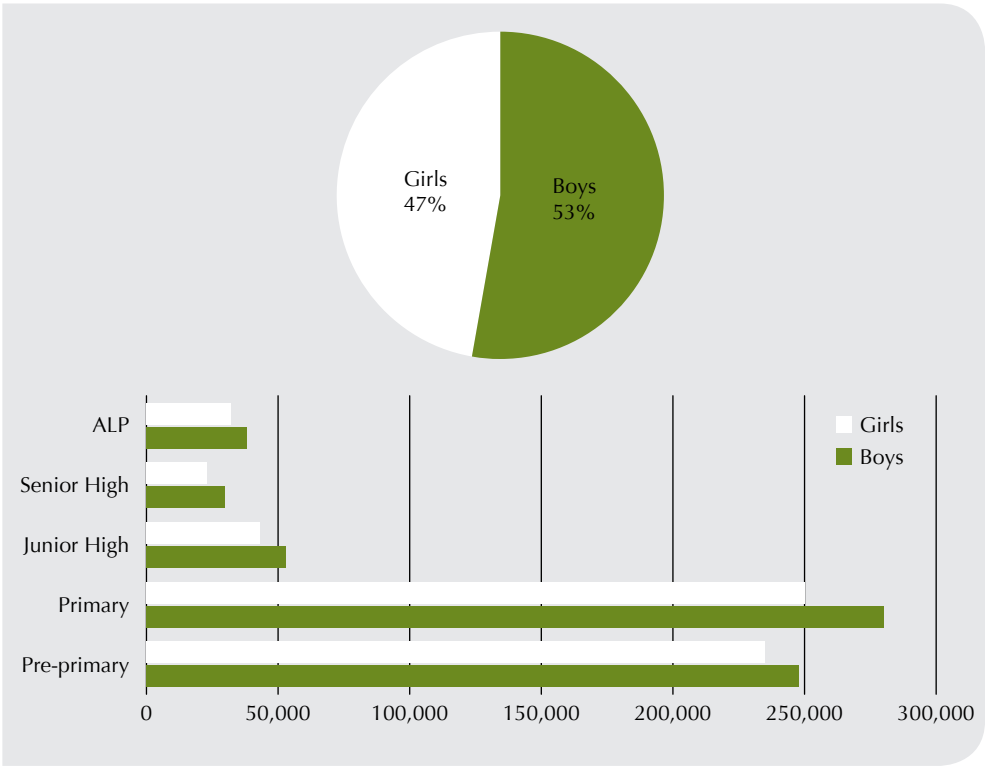
youths. For example, most schools do not have ram for disable youths / students.

Appendix 6.3: Trained and Untrained Teachers

		Teachers		
#	Level	Trained	Untrained	Total
1	Pre-primary	3392	8387	11779
2	Primary	8952	13301	22253
3	Junior High	4755	3473	8228
4	Senior High	1918	1734	3652
5	ALP	1439	1660	3099
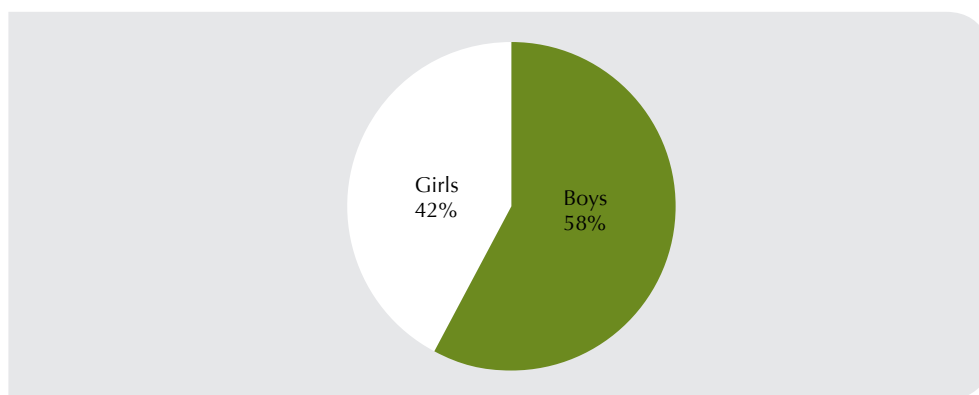
	Total	20456	28555	49011

Source: Republic of Liberia, A System in Transition: The 2007/08 National School Census Report*, MOE, October 2008; 60% of primary school teachers are untrained which clearly show the poor quality of education youths received at the formative age. Overall the number of untrained teachers is 58%.*

Appendix 6.4: Age Range – Country Statistics

#	Description	Male	Female	Total
1	Liberia	1,739,945	1,736,663	3,476,608
2	Youth: 15–35	625,409	658,399	1,283,808
3	0 – 14 + Adults	1,114,536	1,078,264	2,192,800

	Liberian Youths		
#	Age Range	Male	Female	Total
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1	15 – 19	189,407	186,288	375,695
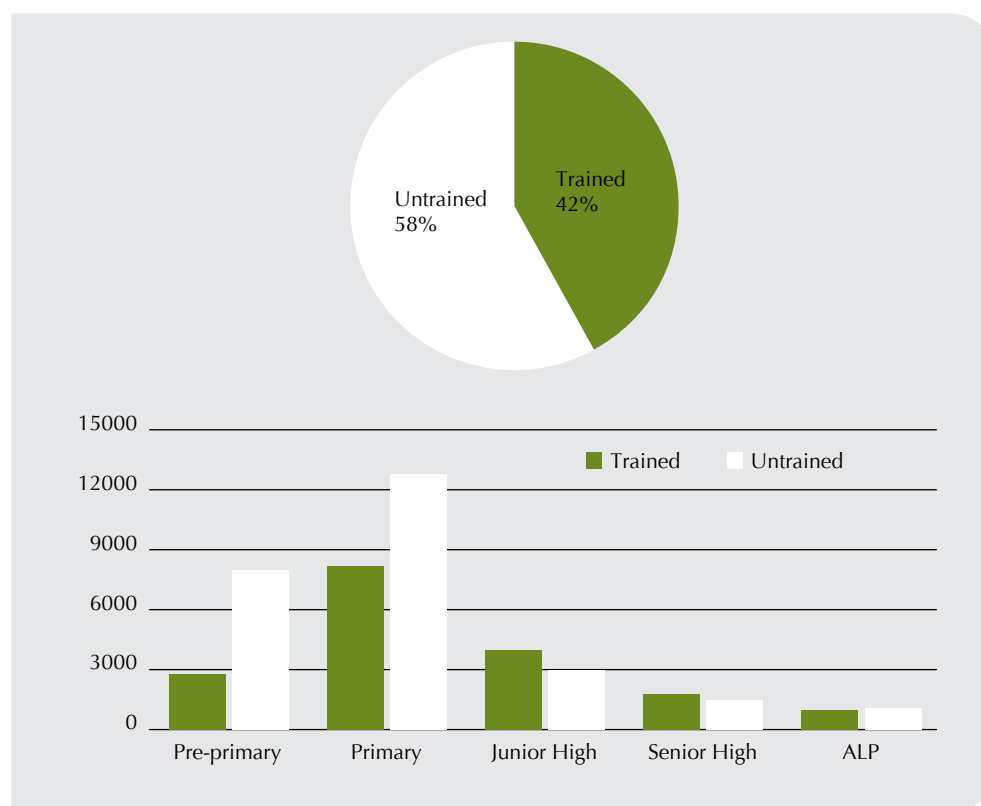
2	20 – 24	161,951	180,979	342,930
3	25 – 29	141,006	150,852	291,858

4	30 – 34	107,326	112,306	219,632
5	35	25,719	27,974	53,693
	Total	625,409	658,399	1,283,808

Appendix 6.5: Age Range – County Statistics

		Age Range: Liberian Youth				
#	County	15 – 19	20 – 24	25 – 29	30 – 34	35	Total
1	Bomi	7,049	7,431	6,881	5,005	1,423	27,789
2	Bong	29,428	29,356	26,688	20,489	5,460	111,421
3	Gbarpolu	9,253	7,601	6,959	5,071	1,397	30,281
4	Grand Bassa	18,133	18,816	17,717	13,710	3,453	71,829
5	Grand Cape Mount	13,644	11,605	11,016	7,704	2,595	46,564
6	Grand Gedeh	17,163	14,938	11,025	7,956	1,473	52,555
7	Grand Kru	6,271	5,358	4,260	3,407	632	19,928
8	Lofa	29,944	23,378	23,058	16,636	6,439	99,455
9	Margibi	20,678	20,460	17,169	12,944	3,079	74,330
10	Maryland	17,878	13,645	9,660	7,378	1,665	50,226
11	Montserrado	132,619	126,784	105,392	77,622	16,704	459,121
12	Nimba	48,624	42,045	32,783	27,038	6,199	156,689
13	Rivercess	6,796	6,087	6,047	4,307	992	24,229
14	Rivergee	7,272	5,799	4,826	3,739	847	22,483
15	Sinoe	10,943	9,627	8,377	6,626	1,335	36,908
	Total	375,695	342,930	291,858	219,632	53,693	1,283,808

Source: Republic of Liberia, 2008 National Population and Housing census Results*, Monrovia: LISGIS, 2008*

Appendix 6.6: National Youth Policy Action Plan Budget:

#	Discription	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
1	Activities	471,765.00	1,431,305.00	1,980,748.00	3,883,818.00
2	Admin. Cost	47,176.50	143,130.50	198,074.80	388,381.80
3	**Grand Total**	518,941.50	1,574,435.50	2,178,822.80	**4,272,199.80**
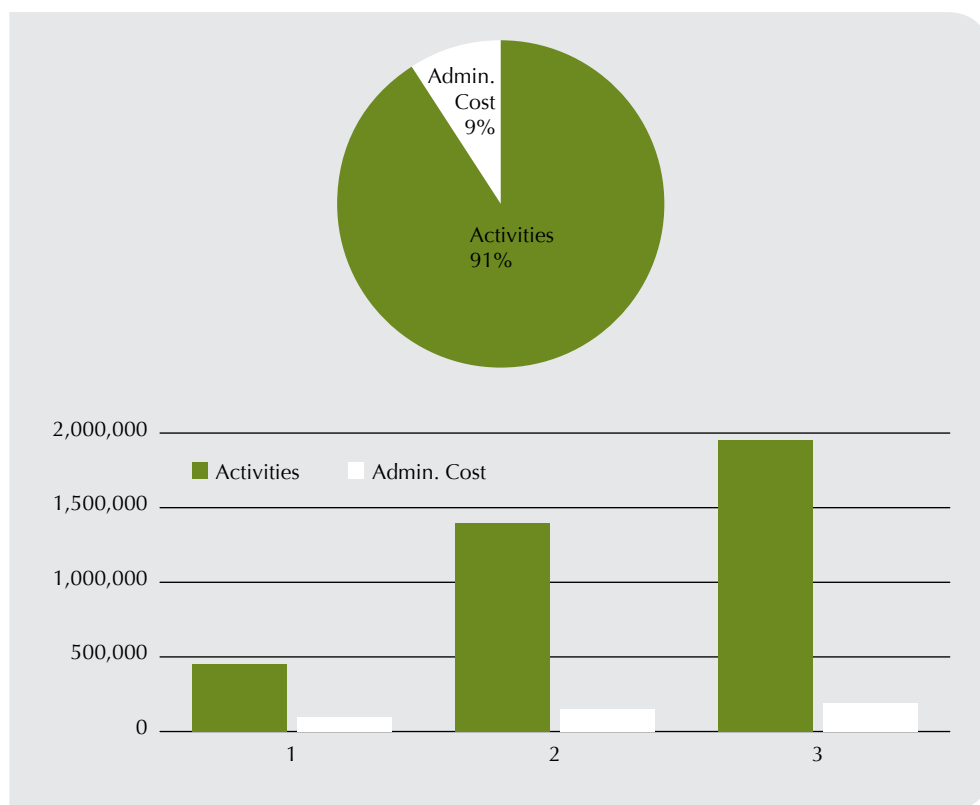
Even though the cost of administration is reasonable, most core activities are still pending. This state of affairs is a clear indication that activities / programs for Liberian youths are yet to be prioritized. Thus, Liberian youths remain easy prey for warlords and politicians.

Appendix 6.7: Ministry of Youth and Sports: 1 July 2008 – 30 June 2010 Budget

#	Program	2008-9	2009-10
1	Youth Services	1,072,543	1,219,202
2	Sport Services	1,450,100	1,510,020
3	Vocational / Technical Services	690,041	554,297
4	Administration & Management	1,087,492	1,296,481
3	**Total**	4,300,176	4,580,000
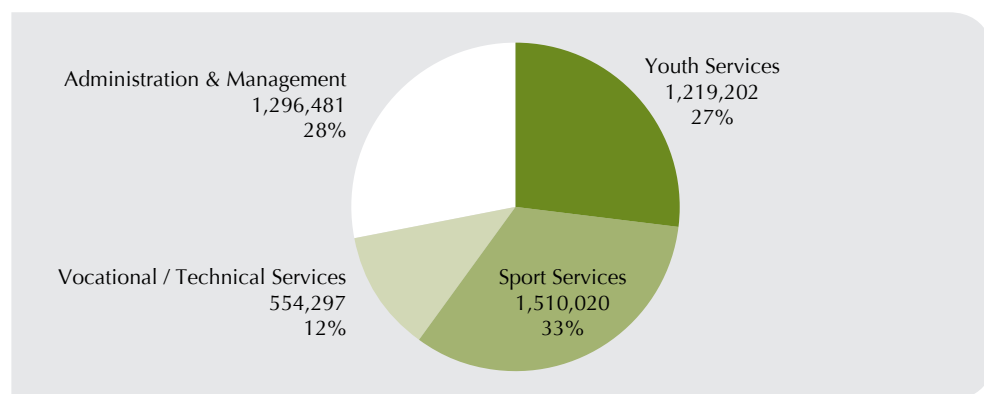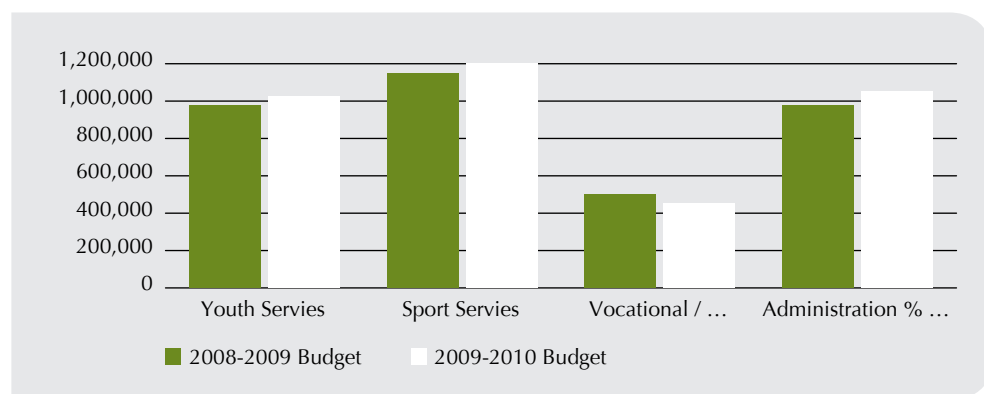
The Government of Liberia total budget for 2009 to 2010 fiscal year was US$371,908,799. Allotment to the Ministry of Youth and Sports was US$4,580,000 (1.23%). But youths constitutes 37% of Liberia's population, which attests to the poor levels of participation, employment and empowerment.

Appendix 6.8: Flow of Foreign Investment

#	Sector	Date	Location	Capital	Job Creation
	Iron Ore				
1	Revised Mittal Steel Agreement	2006	Nimba	$1.6 Billion	3,000
2	China Union/Bong Mines MDA	2009	Bong	$2.6 Billion	3,000
3	Western Cluster/Elnito MDA	2010	Bomi	$2.0 Billion	2,000
4	Seversta/Putu MDA	2010	Grand Gedeh	$2.0 Billion	2,000
5	BHP Billiton/Kitoma, Goe Fentro MDA	2010	Nimba	$1.8 Billion	2,500
	Gold				
6	AmLib (Kokoya and Cestos)	2010	Bong	$100 Million	200
7	Africa Aura (Gola Konneh)	2008	Cape Mount	$150 Million	200
	Agriculture				
8	ADA/LAP Commercial	2007	Lofa	$30 Million	200
9	Novel Rice	2007	Cape Mount	$2 Million	20
10	Decoris Oil Palm Plantation	2010	Maryland	$64 Million	1,000
11	LAC Rubber Plantation Rehabilitation	2010	Grand Bassa	$45 Million	1,000
12	Cavalla Rubber Plantation Rehabilitation	2010	Maryland	$65 Million	1,000
	Hotels				
13	Libyan Holding Company/Ducor Hotel	2006	Montserrado	$40 Million	300
14	Robert L. Johnson/Kendeja Hotel	2007	Montserrado	$10 Million	160
15	Golden Gate Hotel/SKD Stadium	2008	Montserrado	$8 Million	100
16	Cape Hotel, Golden Key, Palm Springs, Royal	2006-2010	Montserrado	$50 Million	400
	Industries				
17	BRE/Vattenfall Wood Ship Export	2007	Grand Bassa	$200 Million	700
18	BR Power 35MW Power Plants	2009	Margibi	$150 Million	300
19	Premier Flour Mill	2008	Montserrado	$10 Million	70
20	Liberia Materials New Cement Factory	2010	Montserrado	$30 Million	200+

#	Sector	Date	Location	Capital	Job Creation
	Oil Palm				
21	Sime Darby Gurthrie Plantation	2009	Bomi/Cape Mount	$800 Million	30,000
22	Golden Veroleum/Southeast Plantations	2010	Rivercess/Grnad Kru	$1.6 Billion	40,000
23	Equatorial Palm Oil	2007	Grand Bassa	$100 Million	10,000
	Forestry				
24	5 Timber Sale Contracts	2009	Bopolu, Bomi	$20 Million	500
25	4 Forest Management Contracts	2010	Grand Gedeh, Cape Mounty	$60 Million	2,000
	Petroleum				
26	Anardako/Repsol/Oranto/Africa Petroleum/European Hydrocarbon	2009	Off Shore	$500 Million+	200
27	20 New Total Stations	2009	Montserrado	$20 Million	1,000
	Finance				
28	Guarantee Trust Bank	2009	Montserrado	$8 Million	100
29	Access Bank	2009	Montserrado	$6 Million	100
30	UBA Bank	2008	Montserrado	$8 Million	100
31	PHP/Global Bank	2010	Montserrado	$8 Million	100
32	Liberia Enterprise Development Fund	2007	Montserrado	$8 Million	10
	NIC Investment Incentive Contracts				
33	SME Projects ($10 Million and below)	2006-2010	National	$300 Million	3,000
	Infrastructure				
34	BSGR/Trans Liberia Rail and Port	2011	Nimba/Grand Bassa	$1.5 Billion	1,500
35	CEMENCO New Mill	2011	Montserrado	$20 Million	100
36	Port of Monrovia, Privatization	2010	Montserrado	$100 Million	250
	Pending				
37	Wologisi/Iron Ore	2011	Bopolu, Bomi	$2 Billion	2,000+
	TOTAL			**$18,774 Billion**	**108, 000**

CHAPTER 7
Fragility and Development in Niger

by Joseph Foumbi, UNECA, and Moussa Djibrillou, SIMEC Consulting, Niamey, Niger

Introduction

This study is an account of the different crises and potential conflicts impacting negatively on economic development in Niger. An examination of all available documentation reveals that these may be classified into two major crises, namely, the Tuareg rebellion and social crises. A description of these two phenomena is followed by an analysis of their socio-economic impacts.

The term *fragile* (or *failing*) State was coined at the end of the Cold War, a period which coincided with the comeback of the concept of State in scientific studies on international relations[63]. Countries like Haiti, Afghanistan, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo were the stage for the enactment of dramatic economic, political and social events from the early 1990s. Some of these States collapsed, while others imploded. Observation of these events led certain writers to build an entire field of study around the concept of the failed State.

However, during the 1990s, the concept of *fragile State* remained relatively unimportant. It was not until the September 11 attacks that the concept gained prominence in the international community. Since then, the scientific and political community has given a new lease of life to this area of study. Prior to this date, these weak States, which were deemed unable of imposing the rule of law and maintaining the monopoly of legal violence, were essentially perceived as a threat to their own peoples and to the stability of those in their immediate vicinity. The September 11 attacks changed this perception, and a new consensus emerged around the idea that the instability of a single country is likely to encourage the development of terrorist activities, and thereby jeopardize international security. During this same period, a plethora of definitions of the concept of fragile State were formulated. According to the OECD definition[64]: "States are fragile when state structures lack the politi-

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63   By Lionel Gallet, Research Assistant on the International Peace and Security Programme, "Index of Fragile States: a New International Relations Tool".
64   Lodge D. (2008). "Fragile States in Africa: a Useful Paradigm for Action", Report of the South Africa Conference, 12 and 13 May 2008.

cal will and/or capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations". The United Nations considers the phenomenon of fragility to be an erosion of the capability of a State to provide its citizens with social services, effective government and/or viable economic opportunities[65]. However, these definitions are very general, and it is extremely difficult to identify the criteria for fragility with precision. Nonetheless, there is a general consensus that the concept comprises economic, social, security and political dimensions which are, by definition, closely interlinked. States which are defined as "fragile" may present very different profiles: some may be emerging from conflict situations while others may be undergoing a period of deep political, social and/or economic crisis.

In light of these observations, West Africa can be seen as the incarnation of a situation of multidimensional fragility: corruption, underemployment, conflict and insecurity remain powerful and recurrent conditions of its existence. Overall, Africa is characterised by the existence of four major structural problems which could explain the fragility of its States. These are: prevalence of strong authoritarianism; exclusion of minorities (generally for ethnic reasons); social, political and economic inadequacies coupled with injustice; and weakness of State structures which are unable to confront multidimensional crises.

In order for these States to make progress towards sustainable stability and development, a number of challenges must be overcome in state-, peace- and economy-building.

Mindful of the fact that each country has its specific characteristics and that the factors explaining the root causes of their crises and conflicts are not identical, the trajectory followed by individual reconstruction processes is not necessarily identical either. Niger, for example, did not experience the same type of armed conflict as Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia. The Tuareg identity conflict in Niger cannot be resolved in the same manner as the insurrection in Côte d'Ivoire, nor can peace-building in the two countries be identical. Unlike the other countries, Niger is landlocked, and considering the specificity of its natural resources, economy-building in this country cannot be identical to the process followed in other fragile states.

This paper uses the three pillars of state-building, peace-building and economy-building to provide a better understanding of the Nigerien context. As is the case of other national experiences presented in this publication, the paper explains the causes of the crises and conflicts which have resulted in the economic, political and social fragility of Niger. The roles of the stakeholders in both conflict/crisis and post-conflict/crisis situations are presented, and so are the challenges that Niger faces in its pursuit of sustainable development.

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65   Lodge, op. cit.

The study is divided into three major sections. A historical perspective on the crises and conflicts in Niger, and their causative factors, is provided in the first section. The discussion in the second section focuses on the three pillars (state-building, economy-building and peace-building) and the challenges faced in addressing the constraints. The last section analyzes at a post-conflict and post-crisis situation, and details the agreements reached and the implementation status. It also provides conclusions and recommendations.

A Historical Perspective on Conflicts and Crises in Niger

For analytical purposes, the conflict and/or crises in Niger can be divided into three distinct categories. These are: inter- and intra-community conflicts which encompass conflicts in rural areas; conflicts between herdsmen and farmers, and conflicts between farmers; and religious and social conflicts.

Inter- and intra-community conflicts are defined as conflicts arising from cohabitation, or resulting from the conduct of an activity. They fall into several categories including conflicts in rural areas where disputes arise from access to agro-pastoral resources. In Niger, which is mostly a pastoral country, more than 80% of the population earning a living from agriculture and animal husbandry is rural, and competition for the scarce land can result in conflict. Conflicts also arise over the cultivation of transhumance corridors, grazing areas, and areas surrounding animal watering points. The conflicts also arise when animals break into cultivated fields and cause crop damage.

The time-lapse between the vacation of cultivated fields and the return of transhumant animals (seasonal movement of herdsmen from North to South according to season) can also be a cause of conflict. Conflict is often a result of the marginalization of certain pastoral communities in their former camping grounds. Further, traditional rivalries between farming and pastoral communities can also constitute a causative factor for conflict.

The causative factors for the conflict between farmers are often the delimitation of farmland, traditional pledges, long-term loans, sales of land without corroborating paperwork, and gifts. In Niger, Plateforme Paysanne (rural workers' platform), which is a direct-intervention civil society partnership organization, plays a key role in the resolution of this kind of conflict.

Religious conflicts are also common in Niger. These are bred through intolerance and the emergence of beliefs which sometimes split a single religious community. The proliferation of sects is becoming a threat to the peaceful cohabitation of Nigerien communities. With a population which is 90% Muslim, Niger, as a lay country, is not really subject to this type of conflict, despite the penetration of

certain Muslim as well as Christian sects. Cohabitation has been largely successful, due to the freedom of worship granted to each community.

In recent times there has been a rise in Islamic fundamentalism under the influence of Al Qaeda which, from its bases in Mauritania or Mali, launches sporadic forays into Niger, carrying out repeated kidnappings of Western nationals. Recent kidnapping, involving the abduction of two French nationals from the heart of Niger's capital city, is still making the headlines. In addition, Niger's shared border with Nigeria has, in the last few years, led to infiltration by terrorist movements such as Boko Haram.

Outbreaks of social conflict are most frequently a manifestation of the poverty and precariousness experienced by different elements of the society in their areas of professional activity. These outbreaks are characteristic of disadvantaged households and the unemployed youth. Civil society organizations intervene in an effort to control possible outbreaks and seek a means of resolving this type of conflict.

Conflict can also be engendered by the malfunctioning of the justice system. In other words, misapplication of the law can trigger frustration and hence instigate conflict. Niger has, in the past, undergone the painful experience of armed rebellion by a section of its population. Regrettably, this period of rebellion bred banditry due to arms proliferation. The northern part of the country is still subject to residual insecurity due to the failure of efforts to resolve and manage the two rebellions to which the country has been subjected.

The First Rebellion, 1990-1995
This was a social rebellion fomented by the young Tuareg population of Niger, manifesting both political and economic dimensions. The rebellion had a number of causative factors, including the drought, Tuareg youths, return of the Tuareg, and the political and economic situation.

In the early 1970s, a natural phenomenon of unprecedented intensity swept the Sahel and Saharan regions in the form of the great drought of 1972-1973, which changed the lives of the nomadic populations of that area for ever. During this period, the herdsmen of Niger lost more than a quarter of their livestock. It is against this backdrop of crisis aggravated by famine that the massive exodus of Tuaregs to urban and administrative centres in the immediate vicinity of their traditional nomadic lands began. Many young Tuaregs migrated to neighbouring countries such as Algeria, Chad and Libya, while others went to the Middle East.

The incursion of Libyan-trained Tuareg youths has also been a source of instability. These were mostly young exiles, who trained abroad in the art of war, mainly in Libya. They formed the bulk of the fighters in the 1990-1995 rebellion in Niger. At a congress organized in 1986, Malian and Nigerien

Tuaregs decided to join forces in order to liberate firstly Mali, and then Niger. The first secessionist movement emerged during this congress. A series of events in 1987 further encouraged the return of the exiles. These included the end of the war in Chad, in which many Tuaregs had fought on the side of Libya; the death of Brigadier-General Seyni Kountché, which rendered the State of Niger even more vulnerable in the eyes of the Tuareg exiles; and most significantly, the dwindling financial resources available to them in Libya.

The massive return of Tuareg refugees from Algeria also contributed to instability. In January 1990, Algeria decided to repatriate more than 20,000 Tuareg refugees who had settled in their country, many as refugees in the In-Guezzan camp near the Niger border. Through the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the United Nations set up refugee reception programmes in both Mali and Niger. Among the new arrivals were many young people described as Ishomars ("unemployed" in Tamasheq). They were the ones who had trained abroad as fighters, with the aim of liberating their people from the central authorities of Niger and Mali. With the arrival of these refugees, the conditions were ripe for a tiny spark to set the tinderbox ablaze in both Niger and Mali. The trigger in this instance was the attack against the gendarmerie of Tchin-Tabaradène on 7 May 1990.

The overall economic and political situation also had a role to play. The resistance of the young Tuaregs was attributed to their inability to access employment and income. The rebellion of the 1990s had a political dimension: it was a conflict in support of project for the federalization or scission of the country. This project was categorically rejected by the National Conference of 1990. Having failed to rally the massive and sustained support of the entire Nigerien community to its cause, the rebellion substituted the cause of decentralization and communalism for that of federalism. Although all political leaders had advocated for decentralization since 1964, the idea remained abstract until the armed rebellion of 1990-1995. It can therefore safely be asserted that the rebellion contributed to the introduction and acceleration of decentralization, even though the process remains incomplete to date.

The Second Rebellion, 2007-2009

While the conflict combined both economic and political factors, the economic factors were the more prominent. They included: claims for retention of part of the income from sales of uranium, the failure to effectively establish decentralization and communalism, bad governance, lack of development, and the oppressiveness of the central power structure. All these factors had been the watchwords of the previous rebellion, to which was now added the failure of Government to honour the commitments made under the peace agreement. The conflict was particularly intense among the peoples of Aïr and Azawak, and reflected the failure of post-conflict management in military, economic, social and political terms. The "economic, social and cultural development" referred to in Chapter V of the 1995 Agreement was in fact premised on the fulfillment of three conditions: reintegration of the combatants through their absorption into State army corps and support for micro-projects; support for livestock farming activities; and sharing of mineral resources through the use of local labour and

transfer of a part of the profits earned to the local collectives. In reality, implementation of the provisions of the Agreement generated frustration for the following reasons, among others:

» Delays in the implementation of the socio-economic reintegration exercise which took off a full ten months after the signature of the Agreement;
» Lack of transparency in the recruitment and reintegration of former rebels into the different military corps, companies and other State-run institutions;
» Failure to recruit a number of senior-ranking ex-combatants into the mining companies which offered them compensation ranging from 1.2 to 1.5 million FCFA for them to renounce positions in the company, while other rebel leaders received appointments to positions in the different State organs and/or institutions;
» Poor career management in favour of the former rebels and distrust of those elements which were absorbed into the defence and security forces; some even deserted from the FNIS (National Interventions and Security Forces) in 2006, while others were dismissed for minor mistakes;
» The inequalities created by the implementation of the Agreement as evidenced by the enrichment of certain rebel leaders and other persons who had played important roles during the rebellion;
» Failure to take sufficient account of the economic marginalization of the rebel areas. The decision-makers did not take into account the pastoral vocation of these areas, which would seem to indicate that the problems confronting the inhabitants of these areas had been relegated to the background. As a result, the situation created by the failure of the State, civil society, intelligentsia and political parties to monitor and evaluate implementation of the peace agreements worsened the situation.

The outbreak of the second rebellion is also the result of the weakening of State authority, and above all, of the absence of a real democratic framework in Niger. In economic terms, the armed conflict was a manifestation of the failure of the neo-liberal policies adopted by the different Governments in Niger. These policies brought about a total decline in social services (education, health, clean water) and high levels of both qualified and unqualified youth unemployment in the rebel areas. In political terms, although the country had undergone 17 years of democratization, rule of law had not truly taken root in the country by 2007. The fact is corroborated by the dysfunction and inadequacies of the judicial system, based on two pillars: the rule of law, and equal treatment for all. In fact, the justice system in Niger was even less credible at that time than it had been under the emergency regime of 1974 to 1987. The basic principles of the rule of law, namely equal treatment for all and the presumption of innocence were not observed by a large majority of Judges, working within a corrupt legal system. It was therefore inconceivable that real democracy could exist in the absence of an independent and credible judiciary, effective citizen participation, citizen control of ethical conduct, and the rule of law.

Political Crises

This type of crisis was engendered by poor organization of the electoral process and bad governance, or manipulation of the Constitution with the intention of extending presidential tenure[66], and precipitated changes in government. The Military Coup of 15 April 1974 by Seyni Kountché occurred in the wake of an economic recession in the country, characterized by extreme drought and a famine of unprecedented intensity. Some analysts attribute the use of force by the military to the presence of foreign troops on the ground at a time when the Government in power was about to review the price of uranium. Similarly, the coup of 27 January 1996 occurred in the wake of the dispersal of the Alliance of Forces for Change (AFC), and with the presence in office of a Government of "Cohabitation". Niger experienced its first institutional political crisis, arising from the disagreement between the President and the Prime Minister, and culminating in the military coup led by the late Barré Ibrahim Maïnassara. The justification given for this coup was the restoration of constitutional rule.

The military coup of 9 April 1999 was precipitated by decision by the late President Barré to organize an electoral 'hold-up' in 1999, which sparked the anger of the entire political class, transforming it into a strong and united opposition force. The trial of strength between Government and opposition led, in 1999, to the Daouda Malam Wanké coup which is generally seen in the light of a solution to the political and institutional crisis in the country. In a similar manner, the military coup of 18 February 2010 was in response to the failure of President Mamadou Tandja to uphold people's will. At the end of the transitional period headed by the Government of the late Daouda Malam Wanké, democratic elections were organized in Niger in 1999 and 2004. The transparency of the electoral process gave Niger a decade of model democratic governance, stability and political dialogue, national reconciliation, and economic prosperity. Regrettably, the manipulation of the Constitution in 2009 with a view to extending the tenure of the Presidency by three years (or 'Tazartché' in Hausa, meaning continuation), plunged Niger into a political and institutional crisis of unparalleled acuity. President Mamadou Tandja attempted, by referendum, to extend by three years the length of his second tenure which was due to expire in December 2009. The Speaker of the National Assembly and the President of the Constitutional Court headed the two institutions which were hostile to the President's proposed amendment of the Constitution. The military coup of 18 February 2010 broke the tension of the situation. The leaders of the coup announced the creation of a Supreme Council for the Restoration of Democracy (CSRD), headed by General Djibo Salou. The creation of the CSRD was well received by the majority of Nigeriens, many of whom declared their support at rallies in the capital Niamey and across the country.

After initiating a series of consultations with the political parties, professional and social groups, and technical and financial partners of Niger, the Head of the Junta declared that the CSRD would govern

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66   The reference here is to the recent case of President Mamadou Tandja.

the country for a transitional period of no more than 12 months, which was deemed a reasonable timeframe, and furthermore, that he had no wish to remain in power. He went on to identify the three pillars of the transitional period, namely, restoration of democratic rule, national reconciliation, and sound administration of public finances (reform of the public finance sector). The Junta also affirmed the will to address the food crisis whose very existence had been denied by its predecessors in power.

The last three military coups were precipitated by the desire by the citizenry to restore democratic rule. The successful transition to democratic rule in 2011 demonstrates that the thirst for democracy remains paramount in Niger.

Socio-Economic Impacts of the Conflicts and Crises

The consequences of armed conflict and crises for the people and the economy of Niger were disastrous. Northern Niger was once known world-wide as a stage along the course of the famous Paris-Dakar rally, and enjoyed the financial benefits generated among its population by the event. The region underwent a complete change of character, and is now better known as a safe haven for rebels and armed robbers. This state of affairs has completely destroyed the tourism trade of the region, and at the same time, deprived the national economy of a valuable source of foreign currency. In addition, the climate of insecurity in the north of the country has driven off foreign investment. Nonetheless, the mineral resources of the region continue to attract a good number of investors. In the absence of the foreign currency earnings they once enjoyed, the people of the region have taken up the 'activity' of rebellion.

The institutional instability created by the recurrent crises in the country seriously undermines investor confidence, and the country loses the benefits of increased investment.

Mechanisms for Conflict and Crises Resolution

Peace Building

The rebellions of the 1990s, which were caused by social, economic, and political factors, created 13 armed fronts and four self-defense movements. They culminated with the signature of the following peace agreements: the Niamey Peace Agreement of 24 April 1995; the Algiers Supplementary Protocol Agreement of 28 November 1997; and the N'Djamena Peace Agreement of 21 August 1998.

These Agreements were focused on four principal areas of activity: decentralization; security management in conflict-affected areas; integration, socio-economic insertion of ex-combatants, and return of refugee populations to their areas of origin; and development of conflict-affected areas. These areas of activity were complemented by measures likely to create enabling environmental conditions for mutual trust. The measures taken were: amnesty and release of prisoners; reintegration of those

who abandoned public sector employment and those who abandoned educational institutions; and the eradication of the action of armed groups and gangs.

All these commitments are aimed at achieving effective disarmament of ex-combatants. Implementation of the provisions of the Agreements is the responsibility of the High Commission for the Restoration of Peace and other State bodies. The High Commission for the Restoration of Peace (HCRP) functions under the direct supervision of the Presidency. It is responsible for the removal of all obstacles to the consolidation of national unity and the reinforcement of social peace. In this regard, the Commission is also responsible for the planning, implementation and evaluation of all measures and actions relating to: the consolidation of national unity, the strengthening of social peace, negotiated resolution of armed rebellion, and the permanent monitoring of all actions undertaken.

The functions of the High Commission for the Restoration of Peace (HCRP) include monitoring of the implementation of the Peace Agreements and various activities in favour of peace consolidation. As such, it is deeply involved in the process for the integration and reintegration of ex-combatants. The Commission also acts in a useful advisory capacity to the Niger authorities on issues relating to the monitoring of the implementation of the peace agreements, and in that regard, constitutes a consultative and analytical tool for the handling of armed conflict.

One of the major advantages of the HCRP lies in its capital of accumulated experience, in the involvement of its members in the peace process, and in their familiarity with both the subject matter and the terrain. Unfortunately, the HCRP also reveals major financial challenges which limit the ability to effectively discharge on responsibilities:

Its limited material and financial means. In 2007 for example, its operating budget was only 34,500,000 FCFA, yet it required more than that, and this limited the execution of planned activities as per the action plan and further restricted the missions exclusively to management of peace agreements;

The HCRP's functions are strictly limited by lack of funding to the monitoring of peace agreements, whereas it was assigned other functions such as the creation of enabling conditions for sustainable peace-building between all Nigeriens. This mission can only be fulfilled through the creation of socio-economic, cultural and political think-tanks and analytical forums. There is therefore a need to recommend the restructuring of the HCRP to include consultative forums for military, political, and social conflict management.

The actions which have been executed within the framework of the implementation of the peace agreements include: decentralization; security management in conflict-affected areas; integration and socio-economic reintegration of ex-combatants; development of conflict-affected areas: and disarmament of ex-combatants.

Following the second rebellion, negotiations were held on a number of occasions between the Governments of Niger and Libya, and specifically with the Guide of the Libyan revolution. After a number of meetings, including tripartite meetings between the Rebellion, State of Niger and State of Libya, Niger was able to conclude a peace agreement which was in fact informal, since there was no official agreement on the cessation of hostilities, nor were projects or programmes agreed for the reintegration of ex-combatants. There have mostly been promises of peace and pardon on the part of the Nigerien Head of State. Some critical and pessimistic analysts describe this peace as a "Kadhafi, or fragile peace" due to the fact that the Guide of the Libyan Revolution succeeded in doing nothing more than allocating several millions of dollars to the different warlords. Instead of the disarmament exercise which was carried out in the wake of the previous rebellion, what is currently ongoing is pretense of disarmament. This time around, and contrary to what took place after the first rebellion, the civil society has played a substantial role. Several meetings have been organized between traditional rulers, women's associations, non-governmental organizations, one of the rebel fronts and the civil society in the interests of peace consolidation.

State Building

In his address to the Heads of State of former French possessions in Africa at the Baule conference of 20 June 1990, the former French President, Mr. François Mitterrand, underscored the fact that "… in much the same way as there is a vicious circle of debt and under-development, there is another vicious circle of economic and political crisis: the one feeds the other. This is why it is important that together, we look for the way forward so that, in the political arena, some of our institutions and mind-sets lead to a restoration of trust. In some cases this refers to the trust which exists between the people and their leaders, but most often, it is the trust between one State and another, and specifically, between Africa and the developed countries." Mr. François Mitterrand's speech at that time emphasized the need for a new form of governance in developing countries, and the establishment of democratic rule.

In Niger, the price of democracy was a bloodbath. It was the death of three students on 9 February 1990 as a result of the attempt to stop a march organized by the Union of Nigerien Students. This led the people, in a show of militancy, to demand not only an independent enquiry into the event, but the democratization of public affairs. The much-vaunted multiparty political system was conceded to the nation in November 1990 by the President of the Republic, General Ali Saibou.

In order to change the system inaugurated by the regime of the late President, Brigadier-General, Seyni Kountché, the forces of Niger demanded a Sovereign National Conference (CNS). The Nigerien Sovereign National Conference, which was held from 29 July to 3 November 1991 at the Niamey Palais des Sports, was attended by a majority of delegates who were already partisans of the cause of change. Having proclaimed the sovereignty of the National Conference, the delegates were unanimous in their decision to not only suspend the Constitution of the 2nd Republic, but also to

dissolve its institutions, leaving only the President of the Republic in place for protocol reasons. The Conference also put an end to the monopoly of information by the State-owned media houses, and set up a Commission of Enquiry to look into all instances of political, economic, and socio-cultural crime and abuse committed from Independence on 3 August 1960 to 1990. The Conference decided on a 17-month transitional period and set up the apparatus of State for this transition to democracy, by electing the Head of Government, the Members of the High Council of the Republic (HCR), the Parliament and other institutions. This transitional period witnessed the organization of the first democratic and transparent elections to be held in Niger. After the installation of a coalition government of the forces for change voted in through this transparent electoral exercise, Niger settled in for a period of political cohabitation which was characterized by in-fighting at the top. The instability generated by this situation led to the military coup of 1996.

The coup, which was welcomed by the general public, was perceived as the guarantee of State re-building through the restoration of democratic rule. Unfortunately, it proved to be a case of much ado about nothing: the outcome failed to live up to its earlier promise. All hope of rule of law and fundamental freedoms vanished with the electoral "hold-up" of President Baré Ibrahim Mainassara. Governance through the State apparatus disappeared yet again in the space of three years. It took another 'benign' coup in 1999 to restore trust between the people of Niger and their leaders. After a nine-month transitional period and the conduct of transparent elections in 1999, Niger established a democratically elected regime. This period of democratic stability continued with the elections of 2004. For a decade, Niger earned its membership of the comity of democratic nations, and was indeed frequently cited as an example of the model democracy. In order to avoid the recurrence of conflicts and preserve the gains of democracy, there was an imperative need during this period for the country to create appropriate executing organs. The Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI), which is responsible for the organization of elections, and the National Council for Political Dialogue (CNDP), which is the permanent regulatory political conflict prevention framework, are two such organs put in place in agreement with the political parties, Government and eminent representatives of the civil society.

The civil society played a critical role in the formulation of a strategy for peaceful conflict resolution and management through the establishment of a functional democratic system. Its representatives remained mindful of the fact that democracy and the rule of law are enabling conditions for justice, without which there can be neither peace nor sustainable development. In the discharge of the duties incumbent upon the civil society under democratic rule, Niger civil society organizations did sterling work, participating in the political debate and the conduct of mediation actions (according to the type of conflict involved) in the interests of the establishment of true democracy. Its level of involvement was further evidenced by the creation of RODADDHD. Many members of the civil society are also members of the institutions created as instruments for the establishment of democracy in Niger. The national coordinator of one network RODADDHD was appointed as rapporteur for the voters'

register review exercise. The civil society succeeded in organizing an independent country-wide verification of the voters' register, in collaboration with an external partner, thereby making history in Africa. Finally, the civil society participated in the deliberations of the national forum for conflict prevention in Niger within the framework of non-jurisdictional actions for conflict prevention.

Meanwhile, the National Assembly and the Constitutional Court served, during this period, as the veritable foundation for and guarantee of the democratic process. Had Mamadou Tanja not attempted to manipulate the Constitution of Niger in 2009 in an effort to extend his presidential mandate by three years, Niger would have remained a model for democracy. The manipulation of the Constitution was in fact the trigger which sparked off another period of political, institutional, and indeed economic crisis in Niger. After much fruitless negotiation, the political stalemate in Niger was only broken by the intervention of another military coup on 18 February 2010. The new authorities set themselves three objectives over a 12-month transitional period as part of the road map for the restoration of the rule of law and the rebuilding of the State. They included: the restoration of democracy; national reconciliation; and sound public finance management (public finance reform).

A number of coordinating and management structures were set up during this new transitional period in order to achieve this objective. These included:

»   The High Commission for National Reconciliation and Peace Consolidation (HCRN/CP);
»   The National Consultative Council;
»   The Constitutional Council;
»   The Ethics and Economic Crimes Commission;
»   The Committee on the Fundamental Texts for the Drafting of a New Constitution; and
»   The Independent National Electoral Commission.

Coordinated action between these bodies led to the successful conduct of transparent elections in January 2011[67]. The second round held on 12 March 2011 resulted in the election of a new president. Niger is once more on the way to entrenching democratic rule.

Economy Building

Economic development within a globalization framework constitutes a major challenge for all Third World countries, especially those of the African continent, and even more so for countries emerging from crisis. This will obviously involve a fundamental change in social perceptions, and incorporate the needs, strategic interests and concerns of women and men of all socio-professional categories, without any form of discrimination. The Millennium Summit held in New York in September 2000, provided the international community with a forum for the adoption of the "Millennium Declara-

....
67   The first round of local, legislative and Presidential elections.

tion" whose principles are embodied in what is known as the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which are structured as follows:

»   MDG1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;
»   MDG2: Achieve universal primary education;
»   MDG3: Promote gender equality and empower women;
»   MDG4: Reduce child mortality;
»   MDG5: Improve maternal health;
»   MDG6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases;
»   MDG7: Ensure environmental sustainability; and
»   MDG8: Develop a global partnership for development.

Niger, like other signatory countries of the Declaration, undertook to achieve these goals by 2015, using 1990 as the reference year. To this end, Niger adopted and implemented a poverty reduction strategy which took off in 2002. The Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) is a general framework of guidelines for economic and social policies in Niger. It is articulated under four major headings as follows:

N° 1 relates to the stabilization of the macro-economic framework in order to create enabling conditions for sustainable economic growth;

N° 2 relates principally to achieving development of the productive sectors in order to ensure food security, access to basic services, job and income creation;

N° 3 relates to the improvement of performance in the social sector in order to guarantee access by the most underprivileged. This includes the areas of healthcare, education, and clean water; and

N° 4 relates to the improvement of political, economic and local governance, decentralization, the promotion of transparency and anti-corruption measures, human and institutional capacity building in favour of the major development stakeholders (the State, local authorities, the private sector and civil society), and development of information and communication technologies.

An evaluation of the implementation status of the PRS reveals that: "despite the progress made, the continued existence of certain constraints severely limits the scope of actions and maintains the country in a poverty trap". Examples include:

»   Insufficient economic growth in the face of strong social demand exacerbated by strong demographic growth;
»   A high degree of dependency of the economy on climate hazard;
»   Low level of human capital; and

» Gender inequality in terms of access to opportunities.

It was decided that, as a means to redressing these constraints, the PRS should be reviewed, and now referred to as the Accelerated Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (DPRS). This new-generation PRS was created based on the country's firm resolve to achieve the MDG targets within the period from 2008 to 2015. The Accelerated Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (DPRS) is the only reference framework for all development policies in Niger over the next five-year period. The strategy was highly commended at the partners' conference held in Brussels on 25 and 26 October 2007. The Accelerated Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy is articulated around seven major guidelines, as follows:

» The search for strong, diversified, sustainable and employment-generating growth: the objective pursued is to boost economic growth, diversify its sources and ensure fair and sustained distribution of its proceeds to the underprivileged;
» Equitable access to quality social services: emphasis should be laid on sustainable improvement of access by the people, and especially the underprivileged, to basic social services (education, health, clean water, etc.);
» Demographic growth control: the objective is to gradually reduce demographic growth rate in view of the current level which gives cause for concern;
» Reduction of inequalities and reinforcement of social protection for vulnerable groups: promotion of equity and gender empowerment by finding appropriate responses to the issues of reduction of inequalities, protection of children and the underprivileged, risk prevention and mitigation of the impacts of natural disasters;
» Development of infrastructures: the objective is to endow the country with economic infrastructures which will drive and facilitate access to social services. Infrastructural development will also open up production areas and facilitate their market access;
» Promotion of good governance: this is backed by the rule of law, promotion of high performance levels and transparency in economic and financial management; and
» Effective implementation of the strategy: emphasis is placed on the promotion of developmental results-based management.

The implementation of the DPRS is informed by guiding principles designed to guarantee the strategy's success. These principles include:

» Coherence and synergy of development interventions;
» Systemization of the results-based management (RBM) approach;
» Promotion of good governance and anti-corruption measures;
» Peace consolidation and introduction of a social pact;
» Mainstreaming of the gender dimension; and

» Change in mental attitudes and behaviours.

The DPRS is implemented through sectoral strategies and policies, broken down into programmes and projects. At regional level it is implemented through actions designed to create poles of growth and integrate the regions within a dynamic system of equitable development. The sectoral policies include:

» The Rural Development Strategy (SDR) whose overall objective is to reduce the incidence of rural poverty from 66% to 52% by 2015. For the purposes of achieving its overall objective, the SDR is broken down into eight specific objectives with three strategic orientations, namely: facilitation of access by the rural population to economic opportunities in order to create the enabling conditions for sustainable economic growth in the rural areas; risk prevention, improvement of food security and sustainable natural resource management in order to safeguard the living conditions of the people; capacity building of public institutions and rural organizations with a view to improving management of the rural sector;
» The Health Development Plan (PDS): The focus and strategy of the health development plan is the patient, demographic growth, and maternal and child health (reproductive health). The health authorities are convinced that primary health care delivery which has long been advocated in the sector, remains the best way forward and the most effective means of improving the health of the Nigerien peoples in general and of the most vulnerable population groups in particular. It is a historical fact that Niger has run three PDSs, from 1994 to 2000; 2005 to 2010; and 2011 to 2015 respectively. The last two are distinguished by the fact that their common objective was achievement of the DPRS and MDG objectives. However, those objectives cannot be achieved with only State backing, given its limited resources. There is therefore a need to more actively mobilize all the stakeholders of the sector. In addition to the substantial increase expected from State funding, the Ministry of Health anticipates a higher level of commitment on the part of its technical and financial partners and of the beneficiary local communities. In order to guarantee preparation of the basic tools for the adoption of this sectoral approach (a plan, a financing framework, a monitoring and evaluation report), a Country COMPACT [68] will be concluded between the Ministry of Health and the different technical and financial partners with a view to improving performance within the sector;
» The Ten-Year Education Development Programme (PDDE) is a reform of the Nigerien educational system characterized by the will to bring about not only far-reaching institutional change, but also the redefinition of management mechanisms. The Programme is aimed at achieving quality universal primary school education and halving the illiteracy rate by 2015. PDDE targets

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68   A document defining a single, harmonized framework designed to increase and improve performance in aid, and sets out the commitments made respectively by Government and signatory TFPs under the terms of the 2011-2015 Health Development Plan and in alignment with the DPRS, with a view to accelerating achievement of the MDGs.

for basic education are: increased access to formal and informal elementary school education, particularly for children in rural areas, girls and underprivileged children; upgrade of the quality and appropriateness of educational content; building of strategic management and the operational capability of central and regional education authorities and assumption of a higher level of responsibility for education delivery by local authorities and communities. For purposes of the achievement of these objectives, the activities undertaken are grouped under three components: access, quality and institutional development; and

» National Social Development Programme (PNDS): the PNDS, which was drawn up in 1998, analyzes the social situation in Niger (under the headings of education, health, water and sanitation and food insecurity).

Post-Conflict Situation Analysis

The First Rebellion, 1990-1995

Disarmament operations have been in effect in all areas since 5 June 2000. On 25 September 2000, a ceremonial lighting of the "Flame of Peace" during which surrendered weapons were incinerated marked the culminating point of the operation. The ceremony also marked the dissolution of the different self-defense fronts and movements.

The peace agreements provided for the integration of ex-combatants into different State institutions after their disarmament. The numbers put up for integration were determined during the course of several working sessions, in accordance with the following additional texts to the agreement:

» Summary of conclusions arrived at by Government and the former Resistance with regard to the determination of the complement of fighting men between 07 June and 04 July 1996;
» The additional agreement between Government and the ORA (Armed Resistance Organization), dated 04 September 1996, relating to the determination of the complement of fighting men;
» The Tahoua Inter-community Reconciliation Forum (CVT-CAD);
» Minutes of meetings of the Steering Committee dated 03 September 1997 and 22 April 1998;
» Summary of conclusions reached by the HCRP and FARS further to the armament of 02 June 1999;
» Summary of conclusions reached by the HCRP and FDR, dated 19 August 1999;
» Summary of conclusions reached by the HCRP and the Fulani Militia. dated 07 July/February 2000; and
» Summary of conclusions reached by the HCRP and the N'Guigmi Arab Militia, dated 30 May 2000.

The status of integration is presented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Status of integration

INSTITUTION	No PROVIDED FOR	No INTEGRATED
FAN	274	274
GS	66	66
USS	1602	1602
GR	91	91
Police	107	107
Customs	120	120
Forestry/Fauna	112	112
Subtotal 1	2372	2372
University	152	152
Sec. Shh/Colleges	160	160
Ecoles Normales	84	84
E.N.S.P.	65	65
ENA-IFTIC-IPDR/KOLLO	61	61
Direct Integration Into Civil Service	7	7
Auxiliaries Ministry of Education	73	73
Auxiliaries Ministry of Health	40	40
Sub/Total 2	642	642
Grand Total	**3014**	**3014**

It should be emphasized that the column headed 'No provided for' indicates the number of men agreed upon under the following:

» The Peace Agreement of 24 April 1995;
» The Summary of Conclusions, dated 02 June 1999, relating to the FARS;
» The Summary of Conclusions, dated 19 August 1999, relating to the FDR;
» The Summary of Conclusions, dated 07 February 2000, relating to the Fulani Militia;
» The Summary of Conclusions, dated 30 May 2000, relating to the Arab Militia.

Socio-economic Reintegration of the Ex-combatants

The Peace Agreement of 24 April provided for the social reintegration of demobilised former rebels, as detailed in the Summary of Conclusions, dated 04 July 1996, which established the number of

ex-combatants at 3,500. The Summaries of Conclusions reached between the HCRP and the FDR, the Fulani Militia and the N'Guigmi Arab Militia, also provided for the reintegration of 250 other ex-combatants. 300 more former rebels, who were initially recruited by companies in September 2000, but agreed to accept other forms of socio-economic reintegration, were added to this number.

The number of ex-combatants concerned by the socio-economic reintegration exercise in the four conflict-affected regions of Aïr-Azawak, Kawar, and Manga, was 4,050. With support from Coopération Française, UNDP, and the United Nations Volunteer Programme (UNVP) 660 ex-combatants in the Manga area received grants for the establishment of 95 micro-projects under the terms of the "Peace Consolidation Project for the Diffa Region" which was wound up on 31 May 2003. In the Kawar region, 230 ex-combatants received payment of their grants in full through interventions by groups or cooperatives within the framework of the "Peace Consolidation Project for the Bilma Region" which was wound up on 31 May 2004.

In the Air and Azawak regions, the "Peace Consolidation Project for Air Azawak" provided for the socio-economic reintegration of 3,160 ex-combatants at an estimated cost of 807,606,333 FCFA. In addition, the company Areva undertook to provide employment for ex-combatants on any future work sites.

Security Management in the Conflict-affected Areas

With regards to the security management in conflict-affected areas, provision was made for the creation of Special Forces known as the Saharan Security Unit (USS), composed of ex-combatants and natives of the regions concerned. The four Saharan security units created, namely, those of Aïr, Azawak, Kawar and Manga are all operational.

The development of conflict-affected areas was one of the major demands of the former rebels. The emergency roundtable conference organized at the conclusion of the 1995 Peace Agreement fell short of expectations. The development programme for the pastoral areas, which was formulated and validated in the 2000s, is yet to be submitted to the TFPs with a view to its implementation, although it was included in the PRS. The PRS document was scheduled to be upgraded in 2011 within the framework of UNDP cooperation. Development of conflict-affected areas is also taken into account in the regular Government and project programmes.

Further arrangements for the decentralization exercise are in place. Local elections have already been organized, although elections at the other levels of governance, namely, the departmental and regional levels, are yet to be organized. Regrettably, by 2007 the promises made were yet to be kept, thus planting the seeds of the second armed rebellion which broke out in 2007. By a decision of the Steering Committee, dated 22 April 1998, special treatment was conceded to leaders of the front and some officers. Some were granted preferential integration into various military corps, others given

political appointments, while yet others received grants equivalent to voluntary separation pay in the civil service for their socio-economic reintegration. Payment of compensatory voluntary separation pay to beneficiaries which began in 2000 was completed in 2003.

The Rebellion of 2007-2009

The armed rebellion of 2007-2009 was not treated in the same way as the rebellions of the 1990s. From start, this new rebellion was considered by Government to be the work of a group of armed bandits and drug traffickers, which explains the half-hearted conflict resolution effort. Management of this crisis was handed over to a small committee put in place by the President of the Republic, and headed by the Minister of the Interior. The task assigned to the committee was to prevail on the warring groups to disarm. Members of the committee were, as follows: the High Commissioner for the Restoration of Peace; the Special Chief of Staff to the President; a representative of the Ministry of Defense; a representative of the National Forces for Intervention and Security (FNIS); a representative of the Gendarmerie Nationale; the Governor of the Region of Agadez; and the Commandant of Defense Zone N°2 (Agadez).

The committee led a number of missions to both Agadez and Tripoli, and held meetings with the heads of the armed groups, under the aegis of the Guide of the Libyan Revolution. It is essential to note that no written agreement was concluded in resolution of this conflict. The Libyan Guide was alone in providing funding to the leaders of the three armed movements for the reintegration of their combatants. Unfortunately, the combatants were betrayed by their leaders, and never received this benefit. No attempt was made for their integration or reintegration prior to the military coup of 18 February 2010. However, there was an attempt at some form of disarmament, with meager results, and some of the arms recovered were sent to Libya. The Niger Head of State promised amnesty and pardon to the combatants.

Conclusion and Way Forward

After briefly presenting the different crises and conflicts experienced by Niger over the last twenty years, this study has endeavoured to conduct an in-depth analysis of root causes with a view to arriving at an understanding of the motivating force behind each of the protagonists.

With reference to the crises[69], it should be noted that their recurrent nature can be attributed mainly to the lust for power on the part of the country's leaders, who always ended up trying to remain in office beyond their tenure[70]. They were always countered by the army which intervened to restore

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69   The crises referred to here are political in nature.
70   By resorting to extreme measures.

constitutional rule. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that Niger needs strong institutions if the army is to be restored once and for all to its traditional role of the custodian of the nation's security.

With reference to the conflicts, it must be acknowledged that Niger has not experienced many. The only conflict to date has been confined to the northern region of the country. Beginning in 1990, it generated repeated outbreaks, triggered by the failure to resolve the situation effectively. The socio-economic consequences (loss of revenue) of both crises and conflicts are accurately reflected by the relevant indicators. It seems that this time around the central authorities and the Tuareg party have found common ground for the permanent resolution of this northern conflict. It is not beyond the bounds of reality to believe that the Niger engine for growth is now gathering steam. The outlook for peace consolidation is favourable if the following issues are addressed: the promotion of a peace culture, promotion of harmonious regional development, and the completion of the socio-economic reintegration exercise in favour of ex-combatants.

In view of the renewed interest of certain world powers in Northern Niger (exploitation of natural resources), it is vital for Niger to conduct in-depth research programmes with a view to outlining and reaching an understanding of the geopolitical and geostrategic issues at stake in the rebel areas. To this end, it will be necessary to establish an Institute of Strategic Studies to find responses to the issues raised. The institutes could, for example, constitute a think-tank of eminent, open-minded researchers drawn from all disciplines, who will be tasked with examining strategic issues from all perspectives. Presently, Niger lacks a strategic and forward-looking vision which places the northern Agadez issue at the centre of its concerns in formulating its development policies. Such an approach could well bring about a permanent solution to the Tuareg problem.

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CHAPTER 8

State Fragility in Nigeria: Causes and Possible Solutions

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Introduction

Contextualizing State Fragility in Nigeria

In 2004, Nigeria was listed among 46 countries, mostly of African origin, that were labeled "fragile". Other countries in this category included Angola, Burundi, Comoros, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, and Sao Tome and Principe, Togo, Somalia, Sudan, and Zimbabwe in Africa; and Uzbekistan, Tajikistan Timor-Lest, Kosovo (territory), Lao PDR Papua New Guinea, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Haiti, Myanmar, Solomon Islands in other parts of the world.

Unlike many of these countries, Nigeria, as it stands, has no reason to be in the loop of fragile and failed States. Fragility in Nigeria is peculiar given abundant resources and opportunities potentially available in the country and for her citizens.

Nigeria is a country endowed with a variety of resources ranging from natural to human and capital resources. If well harnessed, these resources have potential to elevate Nigeria from a struggling economy to one of the so-called "Tigers", such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. For instance, Nigeria has received over US$300 billion from oil since early 1970s. Some analysts have questioned what these resources have been spent on. At present it can still boast of proven oil reserves estimated at about 36 billion barrels, while natural gas reserves are somewhat larger, estimated at over 100 trillion cubic feet (Usman, 2007). Also, the country is potentially a force to reckon with if we consider deposits of untapped precious metals and other mineral resources. Added to that, Nigeria has abundance of dynamic human resources that are capable of effectively utilizing the resources to place the country among the most prosperous in the world under enabling environment for growth and development.

It is disappointing that Nigeria has neither redeemed its enormous promise nor fulfilled its great potential suggested by large deposit of minerals, petroleum and agricultural resources. The main explanations for this situation include failure of governance, lack of context relevant institutional instruments, lack of concrete framework to foster institution of private property which encourages widespread opportunity for all citizens (Oyeyinka, 2011). The core of these is leadership incompetence and corruption leading to significant level of poverty, inequality, social exclusion culminating into civil disobedience and insurgency. Lack of capacity to manage the twin oil-boom of the 1970s and unsustainable fiscal expansion exposed the Nigerian economy to a deep rooted crisis which has had nearly permanent impact on growth, welfare and livelihood, and social integration.

Even when categorized as fragile, Nigeria experienced successive rounds of windfall from oil price shocks in the global oil market but, like in the past, failed to transform them into sustainable economic opportunities. However, it has applied its financial and military wealth to provided leadership in maintaining regional peace and stability, and bail-out a number of economies from financial crises in the sub-region[71].

Some Reflections on State Fragility: Concepts and Definitions

The concept "state fragility" recently gained increased reckoning in the global development literature, and in particular development prospects and challenges relating to the Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). As discussed in the opening Chapter, fragility is associated with various combinations of systemic dysfunctions that lead to inefficiency or failure in governance. These factors include inability to provide basic services, which has a wide range of implications on people, especially the poor and vulnerable groups. Theory and policy on state fragility have now moved beyond the first-generation-post-cold-war perspectives, which tended to equate state fragility or state system's failure to armed struggle and institutional collapse that result from war, social conflicts, and other forms of systemic insurgency. According to Carment et al. (2008), these first generation approaches focused on mono-causal explanations of state performance by giving credence to claims that failure and collapse were a function of political discord, open conflicts between groups and the failure of state, and in a number cases requiring foreign intervention.

There is no single definition of fragile state. There has also been deep contention about what the international community labeled as fragility (DFID, 2005). Four definitions of state fragility and failure given by the United Kingdom Department for Internal Development (DFID), the World Bank, the Fund for Peace, and State Failure Task Force are provided in Iqbal and Starr (2007). The UK-DFID defines a state as fragile if the government cannot deliver on its core function to majority of its people, including the poor. The functions identified as core to operationalizing responsible governance process include poverty reduction and territorial control, safety and security, capacity to manage public

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71   Sao-Tome very recently

resources, delivery of basic services, and ability to provide social protection to the poorest. DFID further provided four broad indicative features of state fragility, namely authority for safety and security, effective political power, economic management, and administrative capacity to deliver services. All these indicators are subject not only to national capacity, but also to the willingness on the part of the rulers to provide them.

In the case of the World Bank, low-income countries with clear element of stress in the different aspects of national economic, political and social management process are classified as "fragile". Low-income countries under stress (LICUS) are countries characterized by a debilitating combination of weak governance, policies, and institutions, indicated by ranking among the lowest (< 3.0) on the Country Policies and Institutional Performance Assessment (CPIA)[72]. According to the World Bank, a definitive list of LICUS is impossible to draw up since LICUS-defining characteristics are a continuum (World Bank, 2004). The consensus for analytic and operational purposes, however, is that some countries are lagging and exceptional weak in respect of policies, institutions and governance when assessed against the criterion of poverty reduction and, in particular, in respect of management of economic policy, delivery of social services, and efficacy of government.

The Fund for Peace presents state fragility in the form of "state failure", and suggests a situation in which state is losing physical control or lacks control over legitimate use of force. Other indicators include erosion of authority to make collective decisions, inability to provide reasonable public services, and the loss of capacity to interact in formal relations with other states as a full member of the international community. The State Failure Task Force views fragility and failure as complete or partial loss of authority to function in the public interest. The government under this circumstance may lack political ability to impose the rule of law.

Measure of Fragility

The two alternative classifications of fragile states usually employed by international development partners can help bring out the diversity of challenges faced by these countries. The first, proposed by Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), classifies a country as fragile if it belongs to the bottom two quintiles of the World Bank's country policy institutional assessment (CPIA) rating or was not rated at all in the current CPIA exercise (World Bank, 2004; Ballimoune-Lutz and McGillivray, 2008). CPIA is prepared annually by the Bank's staff initially based on 20 criteria, now reduced to 16, which are all related to the appropriateness of a country's economic policies and the performance of its public institutions. Thirty-five countries, including Nigeria, were classified as fragile according to the approach in 2004.

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72   See Table A1 at the appendix for CPIA ratings of selected countries including Nigeria, adapted from Baliamounw-Lutz and McGillivray (2008).

The second depicts a country as fragile if it is in the low income under stress (LICUS) group. Forty-six countries were classified as fragile states according to the definition in 2004.

In theory, fragility is measured by fuzzy-set which defines a class of objects with continuum of grade of membership. This "set-theory" is an innovative idea credited to Zadeh (1965). According to Ballimoune-Lutz and McGillivray (2008) degrees of membership in the set of achievements (or goals) are usually expressed by members belonging to the interval [0, 1]. Fuzzy allows for gradual transition from one state to another, while allowing one to incorporate rules and goals. The innovative criteria allow measurement of vague or ambiguous outcomes. The method allows examination of changes in country ranking depending on degree of vagueness and thresholds at which performance changes from disastrous to average or good based on predetermined cut-off point(s).

Pre-cursor to State Fragility in Nigeria

Colonial Legacy

At its strongest, legacies take form of "path determination", implying that colonial choices determined post-colonial ones, or at least conditioned them, such that departure from the colonial pattern was, and perhaps remains, difficult and costly (Austin, 2010). Nigeria was one of the countries colonized during the "European Scramble", and by no coincidence during a period when industrialization of Europe was creating expanding markets for various commodities that could profitably be produced in Africa. The time of European incursion was characterized by abundance of cultivable land (Hopkins, 1973; Austin, 2008). This, however, did not really mean unlimited resource abundance as most of Nigeria's mineral endowments were either undiscovered or inaccessible with pre-industrial technology or not yet valuable on the international scene until the period of decolonization.

Colonization significantly affected the pattern of post-colonial economic development in Nigeria. Colonial political, industrial and economic management legacy worked to constrain the structure of incentive in Nigeria to high degree of self-sufficiency and in effect, overwhelmingly subsistent oriented production (see Manning, 1990; and Alaba, 2011). The monoculture nature of most of Africa economies, including Nigeria's, has been noted and widely condemned as subversion of Africa's interests for colonial economic interests, which still predominates international relations between Africa and Europe after independence of most of the countries. It is noted that colonial partitioning of Nigeria and that of similar colonies is meant to further colonial interests.

In summary, European rule in Nigeria fostered poverty and distribution of wealth that promoted settler-peasants dichotomy, where income distribution was more unequal in the settlers' economies than in the "peasant" ones which laid foundation for extreme inequality in Nigeria, and one of the worst in

the world today. Colonialism and submission to un-adaptable policies and production models have, in effect, constrained maximization of growth pathway in Nigeria.

Oil Discovery and Application of Petrodollars

Following the oil discovery of the late 1960s, Nigeria economy became more reliant on oil since the early 1970s and the country rose to become the 8th largest oil exporting country in the world. Oil accounted for more than 80 percent of government revenue and 95 percent of foreign exchange earnings. The oil boom of the early and late1970s brought massive inflow of petrodollars into the Nigerian economy which prompted unsustainable fiscal expansion, rent seeking, and significant investment into quite a number of "white elephant" projects. The non-permanent nature of booms and inability to manage successive busts created a highly volatile macroeconomic environment leading to large fiscal deficits, and heavy debt burden and debt overhang, a situation usually referred as natural resource curse. Manifestations of the Dutch Disease were also evident in Nigeria's economy.

The availability of huge oil revenues and existence of weak political and administrative structures to manage them gave rise to high level of corruption, lack of accountability, deepening inequality, and widespread poverty. Inability of successive governments, military and civilian, to find solutions to ensuring structural problems exposed Nigeria to significant socio-economic instability and insurgency in the oil producing region, now spreading to some other parts of the country. Also, poor corporate relations between the oil companies and their host communities, and severe ecological problems resulting from oil exploration and exploitation have combined to fuel militancy, armed struggle, and fragility in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria.

Post-colonial Industrialization Attempt

This section benefited significantly from Oyeyinka (2011): "Nigeria yesterday and tomorrow; a techno-economic perspective of dreams visions and realities", which gives a narrative of development as outcome of state-led development that to a very large extent failed.

A shift in Nigeria's pattern of industrial development occurred in the early 1970s when the Nigerian economy started benefiting from increased inflow of petrodollars. Given that effective management of oil wealth lies on creation of a long term strategic plan to develop linkages with other sectors of the economy, significant efforts went into evolving sustainable industrial master-plan for Nigeria since the 1970s. Following this, significant investments were channeled into creating a solid industrial base which saw many ambitious and costly industrial projects initiated, but were by and large truncated by corruption, poor investment strategies, deficient operational assumptions, and lack of thought-through vision. Some of the projects are, among others: iron and steel, cement, sugar, pulp and paper, fertilizers, and salt projects.

There are various reasons why Nigeria initiated a public sector led industrialization strategy in the 1970s. The overall aim was to deepen the industrialization process and to hasten development using the huge revenue inflows. The specific reasons why Nigeria envisioned a large scale industrial plan included the need to: generate domestic technological capacity, develop endogenous technological capabilities in design, production and innovation, and generate employment for citizens. The linkages created from this expansion would have resulted in large multiplier effects in the rest of the economy and thereby catalyze socio-economic expansion. However, Nigeria lacked capacity to cope with the capital and technology intensity of such a large scale industrial plan, added to the fact that management requirements of such initiative are often beyond the capacity of developing countries.

In sum, almost all of the first generation industrial projects failed and billions of investments in dollars lay to waste in the process.

Macroeconomic Management

Nigeria's civilian administration of 1979 to 1984 introduced an Economic Stabilization Act in April 1982 as an interventionist policy. This measure followed an unprecedented economic crisis, heavy debt burden, gloomy international oil market outlook of the 1980s, balance of payments disequilibrium, and general structural crisis that immediately followed the end of second oil boom of the late 1970s. There was minimal involvement of non-state institutions in the policy framework. The Act was a package of stringent demand management measures aimed at rationalizing government overall expenditure in order to restore fiscal balance and Nigeria's external position. The measures were implemented mainly through administrative controls including introduction of foreign exchange restrictions on international transactions, import control, substantial increase in custom tariffs, and introduction of advance import deposit scheme, plus introduction of cap on total foreign exchange disbursement by the Central Bank of Nigeria. The tightening of fiscal policies included a freeze on capital expenditure, curtailment of low priority projects, and increase in pump price of petroleum products.

The worsening economic condition was the main excuse for the military intervention of December 1983. The government reinforced the austerity measures of 1982 by further tightening fiscal policy and introducing additional stringent administrative control on the economy. The government introduced counter trade measures aimed at reviving the economy through provision of raw materials required for industrial production. This measure stopped further closure of industries, reduced unemployment, curtailed spiraling inflation and, in effect, addressed poverty. However, the fundamentals of functional economic and financial environment continued to deteriorate and thus required pragmatic policy to reverse the trend.

The collapse of the world oil prices and the sharp decline in crude oil output resulting from significant cut in Nigeria's OPEC oil export quota in the early 1980s exposed the structural weakness of Nigeria's economic and financial positions. The dramatic fall in export and consequent oil revenue manifested in a sharp decline of the country's balance of payments position and public finances, further leading to deep recession, fiscal crisis, foreign exchange shortage, debt crisis, high rate of unemployment and negative growth (see Anyanwu, 1992; Onyeiwu et al., 2009). Following this, like many other developing countries, Nigeria was forced to adopt neo-liberal structural adjustment programme (SAP) to achieve recovery and bail the economy out of the growth trap.

Nigeria had no excuse to remain in such deep economic and financial crises in the late 1990s and 2000s with resumption of massive inflow of windfall petrodollars. However, gross mismanagement and corruption by both military and civilian administrators created a new class of few rich, wiped away the middle-class, grossly expanded inequality, created a new class of knowledgeable poor, and therefore sophisticated insurgents within the length and breadth of the country, including the resource control advocates of the Niger Delta.

Indicators of State Fragility

Determinants of state fragility have been well identified in relevant literature. Among the most important are levels of democracy, incidence of civil and international armed conflicts, domestic unrest and instability, and national income (Iqgbal and Starr, 2007). In 2006, USAID constructed indicators of state fragility based on findings in the literature on state failure and conflict. The innovative attempt drew heavily on the works of Collier and Hoeffler (2004) on the causes of conflicts and civil war, and other literature on greed and grievance models of conflict. USAID's selection of fragility indicators favours variables that satisfy two substantive criteria namely, consistency with causal mechanisms identified in the conceptual literature, and statistical significance. Variables considered include debt crisis, balance of payments stress, and macroeconomic instability among others. USAID (2006) process for selecting fragility indicators put significant focus on economic growth and poverty, as a way of incorporating economic performance assessment, including economic effectiveness and legitimacy, and to a lesser extent on social effectiveness.

According to Bertocchi and Guerzoni (2010), based on Bertocchi and Canova (2002), attempts to identify variables of particular relevance to Africa's situation, in terms of economic and institutional performance, led to the selection of a wide range of variables including economic, demographic, geographic and institutional indicators, and income and its growth rates. Carment et al. (2008) also found per capita income level as the main factor, as higher income was found consistent with lower level of fragility. Also, literature on Africa put significant emphasis on the role of history, and in particular colonial history. Africa represents an appropriate setting to analyze the impact of colonial rule

(Alaba, 2011). There is shared perception that fragility in Nigeria and Africa in general may find its root in the legacy of colonization which created inequality amongst regions or ethnic groups. Bertocchi and Guerzoni (2010) also found that institution structure and functionality is a key variable in determining fragility.

What Really Makes Nigeria A Fragile State?

Based on the World Bank's benchmark, as presented on tables 8.1 and 8.2 of the appendix, the CPIA index indicate that Nigeria is core fragile state. The National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) documents and the subsequent seven-point agenda in Nigeria also recognized that despite its great natural wealth, the country is poor and social development is limited. The documents further indicate that, if the current trend continues, Nigeria is unlikely to meet the much desired Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which set targets for better life for all, and in particular the poor at the beginning of the 21st century (CBN/NPC, 2005). Comparing Nigeria to other countries in global socio-economic ranking it is clear that it is significantly backward, and in effect very fragile, and tending towards qualification of a failed state. The Legatum Prosperity Index (LPI) shows that despite massive oil wealth Nigeria ranks 106 out of 110 countries for prosperity, and occupies the 81st position on Average Life Satisfaction Ranking in 2010. Nigeria stands at 158 out of 182 countries on the UN Human Development Index, and 127 out of 139 countries in WEF Global Competitiveness Index (Oyeyinka, 2011).

The general problems that hamper pro-poor growth and development as identified by the NEEDS document include: lack of universal access to opportunities and prosperity, insincerity on the part of successive administration with respect to delivering essential public services by only assuming control of major national resources, and in effect foster their individual interest and fanning corruption in the process. Also there are many challenges related to the business environment and private enterprise in Nigeria. Analysis of fragility in this paper adopts three broad categories of factors, namely social dimension, governance, and business environment as identified in the NEEDS.

Social Dimension

Pervasive Poverty and Inequality

The level of poverty is high in Nigeria. At the break of the 1980s national poverty level was 27.2%, meaning only a little more than a quarter of Nigerians was living below poverty line (CBN and NPC, 2005). By 1985, however, the level of poverty in Nigeria increased by almost 20%, meaning that over 46% of Nigerian where living below poverty line. There was a marginal decline to about 43% in 1992, and a significant jump to 65.6% and 70% in 1996 and 1999 respectively (Federal Office Statistics, 2004). In 2004, 54.4% of the Nigerian population were said to have remained in poverty

(National Bureau of Statistics, 2005). CIA (2010) account shows that about 70% of Nigerians were living below poverty line (CIA, 2010).

According to Oyeyinka (2011), Nigeria ranks 42 in the global community in terms of Gross National Income (GNI) in 2008, but with per capita GNI of US$1,170, making it 155 in the world. On the basis of per capita Purchasing Power Parity (PPP), it ranks 169th. Nigeria's human development rankings are equally very low. Nigeria's HDI rank in 2000 was 151 out of 174 countries while in 2007 and 2010 it was 158 out of 182 countries. A further examination of other indicators of poverty in Nigeria shows that maternal mortality ratio in 2005 was 1,100 per 100,000 live births, making it one of the highest in the world. In 2008 the infant mortality and mortality of children under five years were 46 and 186 per 1,000 live births respectively.

Some of the factors identified in Nigeria as the root causes of poverty include lack of access to basic services, such as clean water, education and health care. Another factor is the lack of access to assets such as land, tools, credit, and supportive network of formal and informal social protection. The third is lack of income to access food, shelter, clothing, and basic empowerment (including political power, confidence and dignity) required to liberate them from further poverty (CBN and NPC, 2005). Inequality and social exclusion remain very high as the middle class in Nigeria, wiped out during the implementation of neo-liberal structural adjustment programme (SAP), is yet to meaningfully re-emerge to bridge the inequality gap (Alaba, 2011). All these affect reactions to environment, conflict, and an increasing wave of insurgency in Nigeria.

Social Cohesion and Personal Freedom

National security in Nigeria is extremely low, while risks to personal safety are very high and social cohesion poor (LPI, 2010). Civil liberties are low with LPI ranking placing the country among the 15 bottom countries on the scales of freedom of expression, belief, association, personal autonomy and freedom of choice. Socio-political situations driven by socio-exclusion, religion, and a dysfunctional institutional system triggered significant political and religious crises, and growing armed insurgency in some parts of Nigeria. Attempts by political class to monopolize national economic and political structures have caused exclusion and resentment, resulting in various ethno-religious and political hostilities.

According to the LPI (2010), there is a relatively high level of forced uprooting of refugees and internally displaced persons, and the country ranks 68th on the Index on this variable. Only two countries on the LPI have more problems with group grievances than Nigeria, while state-sponsored political violence seems endemic, placing Nigeria 90th for this variable. Many people are afraid to express their political opinions openly, and the country is the seventh highest on the ranking for human flight. It is also placed in the bottom 20 of the Index for the high degree of civil and ethnic violence, as well as for the high degree of demographic instability resulting from border disputes, ownership or oc-

cupancy of land, access to transportation outlets, control of religious or historical sites, or proximity to environmental hazards. According to a 2009 survey, a very high 17% of the population reported having been assaulted during the previous year, while a high 24% had property stolen. This places Nigeria 105th and 96th, respectively, on these variables of 110 countries.

Governance

Governance in Nigeria ranked 108th of 110 countries assessed on global prosperity indices. According to most accounts the government of Nigeria is inefficient and corrupt. The Nigerian government is inefficient and undemocratic, inspiring low confidence in its institutions (Legatus Prosperity Index, LPI, 2010). While Nigeria has all the instruments of democratic institutions in place, it is largely undemocratic, possesses significant autocratic strains and largely ineffective (see Oyeyinka, 2011).

Poor Economic Management

Nigeria is currently anticipating and planning to be among the 20 most prosperous nations by 2020. To achieve this Nigeria requires consistent annual growth rate of 12.5% for 20 years. However, annual rate of growth in the last five years have consistently been about half of the growth requirement. Added to that, Nigeria's economy ranked 90 out of 110 on the LPI in 2010 which makes it relatively weak, while inflation in Nigeria lies above the global average, at 12%. Between 2004 and 2008, GDP growth per capita was an average of 4.3% annually placing the country 44th on the Index, but capital per worker is one of the bottom six in the Index, falling below $3,000 (PPP). High-tech exports are also very low, at just 0.3% of total manufactured exports, while the levels of foreign direct investment are among the Index's bottom 20 (LPI, 2010; Oyeyinka, 2011).

These and various antecedents are part of the challenges that formed the basis for NEEDS proposal. According the National Planning Commission/Central Bank, 2005, the greatest hindrance to economic growth and meaningful progress is the boom and bust mode of economic fundamentals, due to dominance of oil. Oil revenue significantly dictates volatility of government spending often based on "irrational expectation" leading to spiraling internal and external debt profile. Today, the three tiers of government spend far more than what they earn with deficit in excess of a trillion leading to high level of fiscal indiscipline and corruption.

Added to the national economic weakness is the domestic and external debt to GDP ratio being as high as 70%, a situation which translates to significant proportion of current revenue largely been eaten up by debt servicing. In reality, Nigeria is today one of the weakest economies in the world, having lost decades of opportunities to ascend as one of the greatest emerging economies in the world. The ambition to be one of first 20 economies by the year 2020 is a mere mirage, given the significant annual growth shortfall from estimated growth trend to attain such status. Contrary to growth projec-

tion of 12.5% over 20 years required to achieve 20:2020 target, GDP growth declined from 6.5% in 2005 to 6.0% in 2008 and further down to 5.6% in 2009 (IMF, 2008; and CIA, 2010).

Despite massive oil earnings since the 1970s, average income in 2000 was about 20% lower than in 1975. Also high debt profile did not appeal to the reasoning of successive administration to curtail further piling-up significant debt, added to gross fiscal indiscipline which had become a norm. The long-drawn lobby by Obasanjo-led administration yielded significant results. It led to Paris and London Clubs erasure of $30 billion out of over $34 billion external debt, and pay back of outstanding through buy-back deal which successfully removed Nigeria from the list of world's most indebted nations. Few years after, however, Nigeria is gradually being plunged back into another round of significant public borrowing for largely unconvincing reasons. Nigeria's debt profile released by the national Debt Management Office (DMO) shows that total public debt in Nigeria rose from a little over $20 billion in 2008 to about $25.8 billion, of which external component was $3.95 billion in 2009. In June 2010 the total public debt rose to $29 billion, of which $4.27 billion is external debt. In principle there is nothing wrong with public borrowing as long as it is well directed to projects and programs that promote growth and widespread development. In practice in Nigeria, however, the purpose of seeking public loans has more often than not being defeated by the peculiarity of national economic (mis)management.

The NEEDS document further reveals that the national plan and budget have little relevance to funding and implementation of development programmes, given that poverty up-surge has consistently followed increase in yearly government spending in Nigeria.

Hostile Environment to Private Sector Growth

According to LPI (2010), Nigeria ranked 103 out of 110 countries for entrepreneurship and opportunity. LPI further reveals that Nigerians are relatively optimistic about value of hard work, but opportunities are limited. The mono-cultural nature, gross inability to diversify the productive base and limited opportunities in the Nigeria economy is partly due to the hostile environment to investment and business. An indicator of declining cum stagnant non-oil sector is the decline of non-oil revenue as a proportion of the GDP from 9.9 percent 2007 to 9.5 percent in 2008 and 9.6[73] in 2009 (IMF,2010) leading to rising unemployment, and income, food and livelihood insecurity. Existing and prospecting businesses and entrepreneurs face significant constraints including poor infrastructure, particularly electricity supply, telecommunication, road network, security and corruption in Nigeria. For instance power production and consumption were 21.92 and 19.21 billion kWh respectively compared to 70 and 69 billion kWh world average respectively in 2007. Global competitiveness outlook for Nigeria 2007-2008 remains dismal and a major disincentive for both foreign and domestic investment (see Table 8.1).

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73   Projection

Table 8.1: Nigeria: Global Competitiveness Index 2007-08

	Overall rank (out of 131)	Score (1to 7)
Global Competitiveness 07-08	**95**	**3.7**
Global Competitiveness 05-06 (of 117)	108	3.7
Basic requirements	**108**	**3.7**
1st pillar : Institutions	103	3.3
2nd pillar: Infrastructure	119	2.2
3rd pillar: Macro economy	28	5.6
4th pillar: Health and primary education	124	3.6
Efficiency enhancers	**77**	**3.8**
5th pillar: Higher education and training	109	3.0
6th pillar: Market efficiency	65	4.2
7th pillar: Labour market efficiency	75	4.2
8th pillar: Financial market sophistication	56	4.5
9th pillar: Technological readiness	97	2.6
10th pillar: Market size	52	4.0
Innovation and sophistication	**69**	**3.6**
11th pillar: Business sophistication	47	4.0
12th pillar: Innovation	66	3.2

Source: World Economic Forum, 2008

Other indicators of cost of doing business such as business disclosure index, time taken to clear customs and transparency and time in business registration remained unsatisfactory.

In addition, Nigeria's institutional infrastructure remains structurally weak. Technology infrastructure (e.g., research and development (R&D) institutions, design, metrology, testing, quality assurance, technology information) is evidently ineffective. While some technology institutions certainly exist in Nigeria, there appears to be limited interaction between them and the industrial sector. They therefore operate in isolation from the productive sectors. Many are not only poorly funded but with conflicting objectives, apart from inadequate equipment and unmotivated staff. Further, poor coordination among agencies competing for relevance, the limited skills of policy-makers, together with the paucity of scientific and technical personnel with the requisite understanding of the science and technology system, jeopardized development objectives. Moreover, there seems to be a paucity of institutions that are critical to the development initiative (Oyeyinka, 2011).

Fixing State Fragility in Nigeria

There is no doubt that there are significant direct correlations between economic crisis (stress) and social tension, insurgency and crime. Nigeria requires intensive and innovative effort to bail the country out of growth trap and consequent complex crisis of the past years. This can be anchored on two pillars namely latecomers and catching up initiatives.

Latecomer and catching up models

Over the last few decades countries that are seemingly left behind are coming up with somewhat catalytic speed to catch up with the industrialized countries of the north. Nigeria, in principle, falls in this category with its planned National Economic Empowerments and Development Strategy (NEEDS), seven-point agenda and vision 20:2020. In practice however, Nigeria lags behind most of the late-starters that are making concerted efforts and focused investment to catch up with early starters in development. Fast-followers from East Asia adopted a new model of industrialization to consolidate economic bases much as was done by industrialized states. The East Asian countries, in an uncanny emulation of Japan, have had their economies transformed at a speed unprecedented in history (Oyeyinka and Sampath, 2010; Oyeyinka, 2011). Successful model of fast followers is thus conditioned on emergence of a new pattern of industrialization contrary to industrial development conundrum that characterized development plans of the last four decades in Nigeria. Escape from such historical limitations requires systemic reform of significant dimension.

Systemic reform

Systemic reconstruction towards catching up for late-starters requires macroeconomic, institutional, political reforms and value change in order to lay a new foundation for growth and development. First step is to restructure the Nigerian economy from large dependence on extractive industries, particularly oil, which for over four decades display inability to promote broad based employment generation couple with its tendency to induce rent-seeking and corruption. Creation of new framework for industrial re-invention for Nigeria is critical to catching up and bail Nigeria out of the current fragility. Macroeconomic stabilization is a non-negotiable priority in order to create environment for growth, lower inflation, improved access to employment and improvement in productivity is essential for improved welfare for the large proportion of the population. Also, rapid structural transformation and institutional change are essential for sustainable growth and overall improve in physical quality of lives through extended access to opportunities that may nurture atmosphere for economic growth.

Given the above, there is urgent need to address crisis relating to resource allocation problems and access to indigenous endowments which is the main driver of insurgency in the Niger Delta. Sustainable development programmes, poverty reduction and creation of environments where livelihoods are sustainable and human dignity adequately protected is essential for peace. Meaningful social and economic reintegration and re-orientation of internally displaced persons, and compensation for

community either displaced or affected by processes involved in prospecting for national fortune in the extractive and related industries is a national emergency. Also, deepening inequality within the system has to be concretely addressed through decentralization of power and resources to deprived region and the minorities. State and local government will have to be empowered to ensure rapid development of areas whose needs the central government may not visibly appreciate.

Further, the creation of an effective model, perhaps including financial incentives and empowerment and stepping up on the on-going amnesty programme to encourage political and economic driven insurgents in different parts of the country to surrender their weapons could be a potent tool. By providing guarantees and enduring solutions to violent crimes, bombing and kidnapping for ransom-seeking on-going in some parts of Nigeria some stability can return.

Investing in Growth

This involves two main elements. One relates to extensive public-aided private sector development, investment in infrastructure and institutional reform, while the second entails significant human capital development by empowering people towards innovation and productivity. All of these require significant technical, financial and human resources investments. Given tremendous flow of petrol-dollar that successive government in Nigeria could not account for over the years, it is important for the Nigerian government to create a trust fund for research and development (R&D) and training for specific needs in the Nigerian economy. Investment in innovation should be encouraged by creating innovation parks which will foster gainful employment and improved physical quality of life that may dissuade people from social and political confrontation resulting from idleness and frustrations. Development agencies are encouraged to kindly increase partnership with fragile economies to foster safe earth for all. Government in collaboration with donor agencies must establish meaningful fraternity to create a new framework within which pro-poor growth and development can thrive.

Some Concluding Thoughts

Nigeria is arguably a fragile state of a peculiar trait. Though with abundance of resources that should have propelled the economy to one of the most prosperous in the world, Nigeria failed to avoid the usual resource-curse common to similar resource-abundant economies. Despite vast human and mineral endowment and significant inflow of foreign exchange from oil in the last four decades or so, all indicators of determining this derogatory nomenclature situate the country in fragile position. The main factors that account for this situation in Nigeria include corruption and lack of capacity for policy choice towards efficient resource management. The duo has overtime worked to create extreme inequality, social exclusion and class struggle for which extreme outcome includes violent crimes and insurgencies in the Niger-Delta region and some other parts of the country. Corruption and capacity deficiency in policy making manifested in mismanagement of various oil booms the massive inflow of foreign exchange into the economy in the 1970s, 1990s and 2000s. It was equally

visible in post-colonial choice of industrialization trajectory and adoption of neo-liberal structural adjustment programmes which plunge the country deeper into economic and social crisis.

The way out of this is to create a comprehensive framework to learn and emulate the fast followers of the East Asia and make a quick return from only theorizing development to taken practical steps to incubate specific drivers of development. Vision 20:2020 is an obvious fallacy given the very unrealistic assumption it has been based upon. Nigeria need to go back to the basics and first seek concrete framework to address lacking basic to first end poverty, despite abundance and create realistic framework for real sector development industrial revolution and re-engineering of the agricultural sector through increased investment in science, technology and innovation for growth and development.

Macroeconomic, institutional and political reforms that enhance access to opportunities, improved in livelihood, social protection and sense of ownership of the geographical formation called Nigeria are urgent needs. Nigerian must rise to demand derogation of lucrativeness of politics and dissuade people from making career out of it in a do-or-die manner. Accountability in governance must be entrenched in the national polity, while transparency and responsibility should be a must for custodians of national economic resources. All these are capable of fostering relative equality of access to economic resources, improve livelihood, welfare and enhance happiness, peaceful co-existence and economic progress which is capable of driving Nigeria out of fragility.

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IDA country performance ratings (CPR) and fuzzy CPR scores

	IDA-CPR	Fuzzy scores based on the scenarios in Table A2				
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)
Armenia	5.58	5.33	5.32	6.00	5.99	5.99
Bhutan	5.17	5.11	5.10	6.00	5.97	5.98
Samoa	5.07	5.04	5.04	6.00	5.97	5.97
St Lucia	4.92	4.95	4.95	6.00	5.95	5.96
Cape Verde	4.75	4.85	4.83	6.00	5.94	5.95
St Vincent	4.50	4.62	4.64	5.99	5.90	5.92
Tanzania	4.35	4.48	4.51	5.98	5.87	5.90
Honduras	4.26	4.40	4.43	5.96	5.84	5.89
Georgia	4.13	4.28	4.32	5.93	5.80	5.86
Maldives	4.04	4.19	4.23	5.90	5.76	5.84
Ghana	4.04	4.18	4.23	5.89	5.76	5.84
Senegal	3.97	4.11	4.16	5.85	5.73	5.82
Uganda	3.95	4.10	4.15	5.84	5.72	5.81
Dominica	3.95	4.09	4.14	5.84	5.72	5.81
Nicaragua	3.94	4.08	4.13	5.83	5.71	5.81
Azerbaijan	3.79	3.93	3.99	5.66	5.63	5.75
Sri Lanka	3.79	3.92	3.98	5.66	5.63	5.75
India	3.77	3.90	3.96	5.61	5.61	5.74
Mongolia	3.76	3.89	3.96	5.61	5.61	5.74

IDA country performance ratings (CPR) and fuzzy CPR scores

	IDA-CPR	(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)
		Fuzzy scores based on the scenarios in Table A2				
Uzbekistan	1.86	1.71	1.86	0.01	1.67	2.79
Eritrea	1.75	1.61	1.75	0.00	1.42	2.50
Congo, Dem. Rep.	1.70	1.56	1.71	0.00	1.33	2.39
Comoros	1.70	1.56	1.70	0.00	1.32	2.38
Côte d'Ivoire	1.50	1.39	1.53	0.00	0.98	1.92
Haiti	1.50	1.38	1.52	0.00	0.97	1.91
Sudan	1.47	1.36	1.50	0.00	0.93	1.85
Chad	1.47	1.36	1.50	0.00	0.93	1.85
Central African Rep.	1.28	1.20	1.34	0.00	0.67	1.45
Togo	1.24	1.17	1.31	0.00	0.64	1.39
Zimbabwe	0.84	0.90	1.02	0.00	0.32	0.80

Note: The lines divide the scores to greater than 5, between 4 and 5, between 3 and 4, between 2 and 3, and less than 2.

IDA country performance ratings (CPR) and fuzzy CPR scores

| | IDA-CPR | Fuzzy scores based on the scenarios in Table A2 | | | | |
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)
Vietnam	3.76	3.88	3.95	5.59	5.60	5.74
Grenada	3.70	3.83	3.89	5.48	5.56	5.72
Burkina Faso	3.67	3.79	3.86	5.41	5.54	5.70
Benin	3.67	6.79	3.85	5.39	5.54	5.70
Mali	3.63	3.75	3.82	5.29	5.51	5.68
Serbia & Montenegro	3.56	3.66	3.74	5.03	5.44	5.64
Moldova	3.55	3.65	3.73	4.97	5.43	3.63
Rwanda	3.53	3.63	3.70	4.89	5.41	5.62
Albania	3.51	3.61	3.69	4.81	5.39	5.61
Lesotho	3.44	3.53	3.61	4.44	5.31	5.57
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3.41	3.49	3.58	4.28	5.28	5.55
Madagascar	3.37	3.45	3.53	4.02	5.23	5.52
Kenya	3.36	3.43	3.52	3.91	5.21	5.50
Guyana	3.26	3.31	3.41	3.22	5.08	5.42
Bolivia	3.23	3.28	3.38	3.01	5.04	5.40
Mozambique	3.17	3.20	3.30	2.54	4.93	5.34
Malawi	3.10	3.13	3.23	2.09	4.82	5.27
Indonesia	3.06	3.07	3.18	1.80	4.74	5.22
Ethiopia	3.03	3.04	3.15	1.64	4.69	5.19
Sao Tome-Principe	3.00	3.00	3.11	1.46	4.63	5.15
Kyrgyz Republic	2.98	2.98	3.09	1.35	4.59	5.13
Pakistan	2.95	2.94	3.05	1.18	4.52	5.08
Cameroon	2.91	2.89	3.01	10.2	4.44	5.03
Kiribati	2.89	2.87	2.99	0.93	4.39	5.01
Sierra Leone	2.80	2.76	2.88	0.62	4.17	4.87
Tajikistan	2.78	2.74	2.86	0.58	4.14	4.84

	IDA-CPR	Fuzzy scores based on the scenarios in Table A2				
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)
Niger	2.72	2.67	2.79	0.45	3.99	4.75
Yemen	2.72	2.67	2.79	0.44	3.99	4.75
Zambia	2.70	2.64	2.76	0.39	3.92	4.70
Gambia, The	2.67	2.61	2.74	0.35	3.86	4.66
Bangladesh	2.65	2.58	2.71	0.31	3.80	4.61
Nepal	2.64	2.57	2.70	0.31	3.79	4.61
Djibouti	2.62	2.55	2.68	0.27	3.72	4.56
Vanuatu	2.62	2.54	2.67	0.27	3.72	4.56
Tonga	2.60	2.52	2.65	0.25	3.67	4.53
Papua New Guinea	2.59	2.51	2.64	0.24	3.64	4.50
Solomon Islands	2.52	2.43	2.56	0.17	3.44	4.37
Mauritania	2.52	2.43	2.56	0.17	3.44	4.36
Congo, Republic of	2.49	2.39	2.52	0.14	3.35	4.30
Lao, PDR	2.37	2.26	2.39	0.08	3.02	4.04
Combodia	2.36	2.24	2.38	0.08	2.99	4.02
Guinea-Bissau	2.29	2.16	2.30	0.05	2.78	3.85
Nigeria	2.25	2.12	2.26	0.04	2.67	3.76
Burundi	2.23	2.10	2.24	0.04	2.62	3.72
Guinea	2.02	1.87	2.02	0.01	2.05	3.19
Angola	1.87	1.72	1.87	0.01	1.69	2.81

CIFP's top 40 fragile states, 2006 ranking

Country	Fragility Index	ALC scores			Cross-cutting themes		Indicator clusters					
		Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity	Gender	Governance	Economics	Security	Human development	Demography	Environment
Burundi	8.25	8.04	7.58	8.65	7.42	7.18	8.08	9.17	8.89	7.25	8.00
Congo (Kinshasa)	8.11	7.93	7.58	8.49	7.72	7.67	6.93	9.15	9.70	7.35	5.47
Afghanistan	7.89	9.06	8.42	6.68	–	9.56	6.00	9.53	7.78	7.57	4.33
Somalia	7.86	7.53	8.41	7.82	–	8.90	8.42	7.18	8.51	7.34	7.13
Liberia	7.84	6.18	8.82	8.64	8.52	9.22	7.58	7.20	8.91	6.78	5.40
Chad	7.81	6.79	8.13	8.43	9.33	7.96	7.04	6.89	9.83	7.57	4.87
Ethiopia	7.81	7.58	7.14	8.31	7.47	6.59	7.44	8.07	8.83	8.35	6.40
Côte d'Ivoire	7.79	7.74	7.89	7.79	8.51	7.83	7.09	7.46	8.64	8.15	6.40
Angola	7.73	7.98	7.66	7.55	6.62	7.62	7.21	7.88	9.28	7.58	4.00
Eritrea	7.73	7.04	7.91	8.14	7.00	6.93	7.45	7.68	9.02	7.49	6.07
Haiti	7.72	6.81	8.53	7.94	7.27	8.32	7.24	8.05	7.95	6.90	7.67
Kenya	7.60	7.46	7.68	7.66	8.60	7.32	7.25	6.98	8.40	8.30	6.67
Rwanda	7.55	6.27	7.47	8.51	6.42	6.93	6.74	6.47	8.69	8.43	8.20
Zimbabwe	7.54	6.77	8.33	7.76	7.62	7.49	8.21	6.79	8.40	6.05	6.27
Guinea-Bissau	7.52	6.66	7.42	8.25	8.38	6.93	8.11	5.43	8.60	8.40	4.67
Sierra Leone	7.50	6.55	7.22	8.46	7.60	7.38	8.18	5.70	8.46	7.33	6.00
Congo (Braz.)	7.49	6.70	7.57	8.02	7.06	7.68	7.47	6.69	8.17	8.23	4.20
Sudan	7.48	7.83	7.58	7.21	7.82	7.13	6.38	9.22	8.22	6.95	6.00
West Bank/Gaza	7.41	6.69	10.33	7.50	8.30	6.85	9.08	8.16	4.78	7.00	9.00
Nepal	7.37	6.58	7.76	7.71	7.42	7.63	6.69	8.28	7.73	7.34	6.00
Nigeria	7.33	7.19	7.46	7.37	7.64	7.19	6.65	7.02	8.08	8.30	6.67

| Country | Fragility Index | ALC scores | | | Cross-cutting themes | | Indicator clusters | | | | |
		Authority	Legitimacy	Capacity	Gender	Governance	Economics	Security	Human development	Demography	Environment
Niger	7.28	5.61	7.09	8.63	9.07	6.92	7.58	3.22	9.16	7.70	6.67
Yemen	7.27	6.59	8.32	7.31	8.93	8.00	6.56	7.44	7.20	7.63	8.33
Uganda	7.24	7.38	6.50	7.51	5.33	6.51	6.11	7.38	8.27	8.95	6.67
Central Afr. Rep.	7.17	5.47	8.19	7.97	8.33	7.91	7.49	4.96	8.58	7.23	2.67
Mauritania	7.16	5.99	7.81	7.69	9.34	7.64	6.89	5.67	8.23	6.68	6.93
Guinea	7.15	5.97	7.56	7.92	7.40	7.40	7.36	4.87	8.94	6.90	4.93
Burkina Faso	7.00	5.50	6.39	8.28	7.90	5.61	7.16	3.25	8.94	8.40	5.00
Iraq	6.94	7.52	7.50	6.15	6.42	7.60	7.80	9.38	5.53	6.30	4.33
Tanzania	6.90	6.48	6.14	7.61	6.74	5.99	6.23	5.85	9.16	7.28	5.33
Malawi	6.89	5.87	6.29	7.90	7.42	5.78	7.84	3.52	8.45	8.43	7.00
Togo	6.83	5.50	7.54	7.48	8.17	7.56	6.56	4.26	8.21	6.98	6.33
Pakistan	6.82	7.08	6.43	6.83	6.11	6.47	6.01	8.58	6.44	7.34	6.73
Madagascar	6.81	5.06	7.24	7.83	7.94	6.68	6.88	4.89	8.15	7.74	5.00
Mozambique	6.79	5.53	6.12	8.05	6.80	5.05	7.23	5.05	9.20	7.15	3.67
Myanmar	6.79	6.96	7.15	6.47	6.25	6.75	6.96	8.81	6.75	5.20	4.73
Bangladesh	6.77	6.25	7.68	6.72	7.76	8.25	5.77	7.68	6.48	7.03	4.33
Cameroon	6.77	6.02	7.06	7.23	6.60	7.28	6.52	5.56	7.81	7.48	4.33
Mali	6.76	5.40	6.34	8.01	9.02	5.73	7.13	4.14	9.34	7.20	4.33
Laos	6.67	5.83	7.05	7.15	6.16	5.93	7.11	6.41	7.14	7.00	3.67

Source: Cannent et al. 2008

CHAPTER 9

From Fragility to Sustainable Peace and Development in Sierra Leone

by Dr. Oliver Maponga , UNECA, and Prof. Ibrahim Abdullah, PhD Department of History, University of Sierra Leone

Introduction

> Fragility refers to weak or failing structures and to situations where the social contract is broken due to state incapacity or unwillingness to deal with its basic functions, meet its obligations and responsibilities regarding the rule of law, protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, security and safety of its population, poverty reduction, service delivery, the transparent and equitable management of resources and access to power[74].
> *Council of European Union, 2007*

The shift away from project-based assistance to budgetary support coupled with the increasing awareness that the internal policies of respective states constitute a fetter on the impact of aid programmes begins to explain the current emphasis on state fragility. However, before fragility became the buzz word in donor and development circles, the World Bank had developed the notion of Low Income Countries Under Stress (LICUS)[75]. Both donor designed notions (State fragility and low income countries under stress) fingered certain governance and structural characteristics of low income countries, which provoked similar response: donor countries became selective in providing bilateral aid, as witnessed in the Monterrey Consensus. The principal recipients of aid became those countries considered capable of absorbing aid in line with the rigid requirements of donor countries. It is in this context that 'aid orphans' emerged: countries characterized as having weak governance structures to guarantee security and safety of their citizens were denied donor funding. Thus at one level state fragility captures the seemingly never ending relationship between an erstwhile colony and the donor

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74   Cited in European Report on Development (2009). *Overcoming Fragility in Africa: Forging a New European Approach*, October, p. 36.
75   The World Bank Group (2006), *Engaging With Fragile States: An IEG Review of World Bank Support to Low Income Countries Under Stress*, World Bank, Washington D. C.. For emphasis on security, see USAID (2005). Fragile States Strategy, U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington D.C., January.

community and at another level lays bare the grim realities of life in the post-colony. The latter often appear as a cluster of economic indicators—dubbed the cost of fragility— or just plain description of what are supposed to be the key features of state fragility[76].

Fragility imposes high costs on many development parameters including a heavy toll on human development. In sub-Saharan Africa the costs of fragility include [77] direct costs such as being the hubs of organized crime and illicit drug trafficking, threats to global stability and threats to neighbouring countries.

Fragile states share some common characteristics[78] and these include: the inability to mobilize domestic resources and dependence on external resources, reliance on primary products, narrow export base, low Human Development, and poor soft and hard infrastructure. Annex 9.1 shows some commonly used indicators for fragility and other socio-economic measurements for Sierra Leone.

What are generally referred to as the costs of state fragility tend to overlap with what others single out as common characteristics of fragile States.[79] And in between the two extremes of costs of state fragility and the alleged common characteristics are varying notions of failed, failing, frail, weak and collapsed states that are seen as sources of security concern to the outside world. The major culprits in this formulation are states that are emerging from war, such as Sierra Leone, and those that are likely to go overboard as a result of weak state structures, like Niger. The seeming emphasis on institutional weakness – capacity – and resilience underscores the importance of donor engagement, service delivery and state security. Thus the UK Department for International Development (DfID) defines fragile states as "those countries where the government cannot or will not deliver core services to the majority of its people, including the poor'[80]. For the OECD "states are fragile when state structures lack political will and/or capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations."[81] Both definitions mirror the World Bank's Country Policy and Institutional Assessments (CPIA) – a set of indicators on structural policies, social inclusion, and state performance record on economic management, equity and public sector management institutions.

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76   Fragility is such a slippery category that the indicators or the emphasis tend to differ from one institution to the other. Whereas the EU emphasis is on aid the USAID puts more premium on security even though the two are interlinked. See the European Report and the USAID study cited above.
77   European Report on Development, op.cit., p. 38.
78   European Report on Development (2009). *Overcoming Fragility in Africa: Forging a New European Approach*, October 2009, p. 54.
79   See the following: E. Ikpe (2007). 'Challenging the Discourse on Fragile States.' In *Conflict Security and Development* 7(1): 85-124; Briscoe I. (2008).'The EU Response to Fragile States, in *European Security Review* 42: 7-10; Stewart F. and Brown G. *(2009). *Fragile States*. Working Paper No.51. Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity.
80   DFID (2005). *Why we need to work more effectively with Fragile states*. Department for International Development: London
81   OECD/DAC (2007). Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations. Paris: OECD, p2.

At the core of the fragility mantra is the issue of natural resources. Specifically how the proceeds of exploitation are used for development or other purposes, and how they can also provide the basis for a protracted insurgency/rebel war. The latter, which could be summed up as the greed versus grievance argument, is less fashionable these days. It has been replaced by the resource curse argument and the chief proponent is Paul Collier and his group of researchers at Oxford and the World Bank.[82] If rebels are not motivated by greed to loot resources then those resources – the conflict trap – wherever they exist are not being fully utilized for the benefit of the citizens in the country. This is so because resource rich countries tend to neglect the development of other productive sectors in the economy and simply concentrate on milking the rent from the resource whether it is oil, diamond or gold. This neglect is what is commonly referred to as the 'Dutch disease'. And its multiplier effects do have enormous implications for how politics is conducted; for it promotes patronage and subverts democracy[83]. This then conduce to fragility precisely because it undermines good governance and the building of institutions and structures that would guarantee the judicious use of the available resources. For Sierra Leone, literature is replete with arguments about how resources were used to finance the insurrection and/or were in themselves the cause.

If the question of governance is reduced to the presence or absence of political will in terms of service delivery to citizens within a particular state, how does this reflect the situation in contemporary Africa? Put differently, if the State cannot function as State due to lack of resources to do so, does it also qualify as fragile? Is fragility then the new donor mantra invented to punish and reward those who refuse to play by International Financial Institutions (IFI) rules from without? In any case, why substitute fragile state for low income countries under stress when the central issue at stake is about delivery and the capacity of the State to govern? Fragility is too broad a term to capture the complexity of Africa: there are resource rich and resource poor countries that are considered fragile; just as there are low and middle income countries classified as fragile. In what follows, we single out service delivery, the building of responsive institutions, and resource availability as the central issues in a postwar transformation away from fragility. By so doing we move from abstract generalities to concrete situations involving real actors and evidence-based policies; and present an outline of an argument away from State fragility.

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82   The leading proponent of this argument is Paul Collier. See Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler (2004). 'Greed and Grievance in Civil War', *Oxford Economic Papers* 54; 563-95. This and other of his provocative arguments have appeared in Collier P. (2007). *The Bottom Billion*, Oxford University Press: London7-i.eespecially part two, chapters two and three. For a critique of the greed versus grievance argument as it relates to Sierra Leone see Ibrahim Abdullah, 'Africans do not live by bread alone': Against Greed, Not Grievance,' Africa Review of Books, March, 2, 1.

83   Collier P. (2007). *Bottom Billion*, pp. 38-52.

Historical Background

Sierra Leone as we know it today came into being in 1898 as a result of the stitching together of the Crown Colony State created in 1808 and the hinterland incorporated as a Protectorate after the war of 1896. Before this period what was referred to as Sierra Leone was limited to the area around Freetown and the Sherbro Island. The creation of a wider territorial space called Sierra Leone brought together different peoples speaking different languages that had been in contact with each other for centuries. The novelty in the new dispensation was the coming into being of a single unitary state incorporating different nationalities. The key marker of this new state was the centrality of Freetown as the centre of power and the hegemony of the European language and culture. Embedded within that unitary state was the twin notion of citizen and subject which corresponded to the two spatial units that were stitched together in 1898[84].

Like all borders of the modern nation-state, the boundaries of modern Sierra Leone were artificial creations, the product of negotiations between the British and the French. What was not artificial was the idea of Sierra Leone, or Sierra Leone (ness) which had emerged in the late nineteenth century amongst descendants of freed slaves and Liberated Africans in the Freetown area. The emergence of a group feeling amongst this group was in part a product of their individual and collective exposure to Western education. This gave them access to jobs in the burgeoning bureaucracy, which would later transform into power and other resources in the entrepot enclave that was nineteenth century Freetown. The centrality of Freetown in the then expanding colony ensured that those with access to western education became dominant in the new dispensation that resulted in the transformation from Freetown to Sierra Leone. By the time the colonial state was created in 1898 the inhabitants in Freetown had become citizens with rights and obligations that were not accorded to those from the hinterland. This division between citizens and subjects would be reproduced in the hinterland in the form of indirect rule.

Colonial rule created a dependent political economy that was arguably the source of most of the ills that came to characterize the post-colony. The "entrepot" economy of Freetown was dependent on the hinterland from whence came the agricultural products that were the mainstay of the economy before the discovery of mineral resources in the 1930s. Thus the railway, the European iron horse, traversed the colonial political economy to cart away the cocoa, coffee, piassava, and palm products that were the principal primary commodities. What this meant was that areas that had no cash crops were condemned to engage in so-called subsistence agriculture. By the time war broke out in 1914,

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84   For the colonial experience in Sierra Leone see the following: Kilson M. (1966), *Political change in a West African State*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge; Porter A.(1963). *Creoledom*, Oxford University Press: London 1; Peterson J.(1969). Province of Freedom, Faber and Faber: London; Spitzer L. (1975). *The Creoles of Sierra Leone*, University of Ife Press: Ile-Ife; Abraham A. (1978). *Mende Government and Politics Under Colonial Rule*, Sierra Leone University Press: Freetown.

the colonial economy had become totally dependent on the metropolitan economy. It was the source of all credit facilities as well as the market for its produce.

The dependent colonial political economy also brought into being dependent social classes, whose existence was tied to the functioning of the lop-sided economy. Thus a sizeable working class developed mostly in the railway and the port – the two important facilities for the extraction of agricultural produce – and subsequently in the mining sector. The merchant class that emerged was mostly Syrian, and had entered the colony at the turn of the century at a time when the fortunes of the Creole middle class was declining. Buying bulk goods and pooling their resources together, they would gradually edge out the declining Creole middle class as agents of big business. The credit facilities made available by the big colonial companies – SCOA, CFAO, G. B. Ollivant, P. Z. – made it possible for this group to accumulate enough trading capital to invest in transport and the produce business. The Syrians would later enter the diamond business as buyers and supporters when production started in the late 1930s.

Opportunities in business were seemingly matched by recent openings in the educational sector. The establishment of schools outside the Freetown area first by missionaries and later the colonial state meant that those in the hinterland who could afford it would again access to the proverbial meal ticket that might open doors for further opportunities. But education implies the availability of resources which those who were engaged in cash crops agriculture could muster. It is therefore not co-incidental that those who gained access to education in the hinterland were initially the sons of chiefs and other notables—those who had access to land and other resources to enable them invest in the education of their children/ward. This investment in education would pay huge dividend during the period of decolonization. For those who would emerge to form political groups/parties would be the sons and daughters of chiefs and other notables who had access to resources.

Thus the competition which would herald the decolonization process would pit those from the hinterland against those in the Freetown area. In other words, the contest would be between citizens from the Freetown area and subjects from the hinterland. This national fault-line which tended to correspond to region and ethnicity was the major signpost of the nation-state that would become independent in 1961. It would first rear its ugly head in the period of decolonization when those from the Freetown area would constitute themselves into a political party representing Creole sectional interest. This would be stoutly opposed by a united front of hinterland notables supported by some progressive elements from the Freetown area. But as independence became imminent the cracks would multiply – more political groupings would emerge anchored on ethnicity and other sectional interests – until it became apparent that only the two majoritarian regional/ethnic groups would survive. This in essence is the story of the Sierra Leone Peoples Party (SLPP) and the All Peoples Congress (APC).

Post Colonial Sierra Leone, 1961-1991

Like most post-colonial states in Africa, Sierra Leone experimented with multi-party politics briefly before it degenerated into a one-party dictatorship where elections were only a ritual to justify the continued looting of the state treasury in the name of nation-building. The SLPP a coalition of elites – chiefs and the educated middle class in the liberal profession – from different parts of the country with popular support in the South-East was only in power from 1961 to 1967 before they were booted out in a hotly contest elections in 1967. The turning point came after the 1962 elections during which the opposition APC, formed on the eve of independence, was able to wrest majority of the seats in the North and the Western area[85]. This was quickly followed by a victory in the municipal elections of 1964. The APC was able to capitalize on the trade union background of its leader Siaka Stevens to win the support of the labouring population. This, added to the party's solid base in north, was enough to act as a wake-up call for the ruling SLPP. The presence of an opposition party in control of Freetown, the seat of power, three years to a general election was an embarrassment for the ruling SLPP.

Things were to change for the worse when the Prime Minister Sir Milton was succeeded by his younger brother Sir Albert Margai. The latter sought to tighten his grip on the party by promoting those deemed loyal to him. In the end he succeeded in alienating a broad section of the party leadership that would have provided the support he needed for his one-party state and republican bill. To make matters worse there were serious allegations of corruption involving the prime minister and his cabinet. Other damning allegations include charges of nepotism/tribalism (preferential promotion for his kinsmen in the civil service), interfering with the judiciary and tinkering with the professionalism of the military. These charges which clearly portrayed the prime minister as an ethnic entrepreneur became the sing-song of the APC opposition as the nation drifted to yet another election.

And the elections – allegedly the first in post-colonial Africa where an incumbent government was defeated—not only revealed the bi-polar voting pattern that had emerged in the political sphere but also catapulted the military into post-colonial politics, first in support of the defeated prime minister, and subsequently to install the APC opposition leader as the legitimate Prime Minister. It was a keenly contested election in which all sides claimed victory. In the end the incumbent was adjudged the loser after which a traumatized nation was allowed to pick up the pieces and start afresh. Even so, the intense bi-polar politics that pitted so-called northerners against so-called southerners, which marked the 1967 elections did not disappear; it would become the defining characteristic of post-colonial politics in Sierra Leone.

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85   For politics in the immediate post-colonial period see Cartwright J. (1970). *Politics in Sierra Leone 1947-1967*, University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

But the first decade of independence produced relatively decent economic growth: the gross domestic product increased nearly 5 per cent annually. Added to this were the relatively small external debt and a stable consumer price index[86]. The exchange rate to the dollar was stable; education was expanding; and jobs were easy to come by for recent graduates as well as high school leavers. Things however began to change by the second decade of independence. There was a decline in diamond output, the principal foreign exchange earner; and the closure of the Marampa iron ore mining operation, the second foreign exchange earner; and the triple oil bill between 1973 and 1974. The fall in prices of diamonds affected the provision of social services and infrastructural development. This was compounded by the failure of state officials to work out a detailed agreement on the financing and development of Kimberlite mining to replace the already exhausted alluvial mining. The revenue shortfall in the mining sector was exacerbated by the low prices for coffee and cocoa – the key cash crops.

By the 1980s the state was in serious financial crisis: the combined effects of official mismanagement/corruption and the global economic meltdown. The awarding of inflated contracts, import licenses, foreign exchange, government subsidies, tax exemptions, credits, and almost any

government service, was increasingly dictated by personal contacts, bribes, and private arrangements with senior state officials[87]. Officials failed to tackle the financial and economic crisis of the 80s and instead opted for deficit financing and increasing money supply. Such highhandedness contributed in no small measure to deepen the economic and financial crisis that had become endemic in a context of dwindling revenues and infrastructural decay. Public servant salaries went unpaid for months while private sector workers were laid off en mass or received a wage cut. Annex 1 shows some commonly used business and socio-economic indicators for Sierra Leone.

The above economic and financial crisis were preceded by a macabre political reengineering that initially stifled, then put paid, to competitive electoral politics. This was quickly followed by an officially sponsored attack on the free press and an unbridled interference in judicial matters. The net result was institutional fragmentation and a weakened civil society. Every institution of state became heavily politicized. It was difficult to get by without membership or family connection to the ruling APC. Consequently, elections became a mere ritual to recycle members of the ruling party who hired paid thugs to harass and intimidate opposition candidates. All the elections held during this period (1973, 1977, 1978) were mired by violence against the opposition SLPP. The de facto one-party state and the rubber stamp parliament that gradually started to emerge as a result of the numerous election petitions filed against the SLPP after the 1967 elections became de jure in 1978. This process

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86   Fred M. Hayward (1991). *Sierra Leone : State consolidation, fragmentation and decay in Contemporary West African States*, Donal B. Cruise O'Brien, John Dunn and Richard Rathbone (eds.) – Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
87   Fred M. Hayward , op. cit., pp.174-175.

symbolized the total dominance of APC leader Siaka Stevens and his party in the political economy of Sierra Leone.

By 1985 when the ailing Stevens turned to his Army Chief Joseph Saidu Momoh, a co-opted parliamentarian and minister of state, to succeed him the economic situation had deteriorated to such an extent that the Bretton Woods institutions were unwilling to grant any credit facility to the ailing state. The new President's talk about a new order failed to gain traction as he moved slippery from one ad hoc policy to another. Negotiations with the IMF and World Bank led to a floating of the national currency and other structural conditionalities designed to limit spending and garner revenue. Even so the national currency (the Leone) officially pegged at Le 6= $1 in 1986 shoot up to a whopping 65:1 in 1987. A series of economic emergency measures designed to tackle the crisis failed to yield any encouraging results. Foreign currency was hard to come by while the national currency was in short supply. Importers could not process their demands at the Central Bank; shops became empty and prices went up. Amidst this crisis the call for a return to multiparty became loudest. By March 1991 the RUF entered Sierra Leone. The following year subaltern officers trooped to Freetown to seize power from a weakened and corrupt state and government. The ten year rebel war had begun.

The Specificities of the Sierra Leone Civil War

The preponderance of what could be called a youthful population in the demographic make-up of Sierra Leone cannot be the explanation for the involvement of youth in the major drama of the senseless decade, 1991-2000. Yet it provides a point of departure in understanding their collective involvement in what is arguably the first insurrectionary movement in modern history that could be read as a youth project. The gerontocratic nature of Sierra Leonean society and its quotidian emphasis on the young, on youth, as 'leaders of a tomorrow' perpetually-in-the-making, underscores the marginal position of more than a third of the population in the business of governance. This marginality is codified in legal instruments/ documents specifying age limits to positions of authority. It is not unusually accompanied by a lethal practice of collective discrimination in holding positions of responsibility in major institutions in society.

Under these conditions youth in the Sierra Leonean context became a transition to nowhere, a prolongation of a system of apprenticeship without a future. The young were/are expected to wait, and to wait patiently, for their turn. High school drop-outs, dope pushers, petty traders, illicit miners, and freshly minted graduates are expected to serve a period of apprenticeship to their masters, the old, or to wait patiently to acquire some valuable experience. Attempts to jump the queue, to by-pass officialdom, and the old are consistently frowned upon in the old people's mind-set. Youth are admonished to be patient; 'they are in a hurry' comes in as a handy reminder that they should obey

the unwritten laws of gerontocratic hegemony. The 1990s, the wasted decade, was a key moment in violently contesting this notion of a gerontocratic assembly line.

The first moment of contestation was the 1991 incursion in the eastern part of the country signaling the commencement of war. The second was a coup d'état by young subaltern officers in the Sierra Leonean army. The third a combined army and rebel seizure of state power in 1997. All three political moments were lessons in the collective exclusions of the young in the business of governance and the fruits thereof. The fundamental political lesson to learn from the RUF rebellion is that those who were enrolled as combatants and those who later controlled the movements were not central to the insurrectionary discourse of the late 1970s and 1980s that made it possible for the RUF to emerge.

Key to understanding this moment is the role of college students in articulating popular dissent in the context of dwindling state revenues and political repression. College students assumed the role of a radical intelligentsia and an informal opposition by constituting themselves as the conscience of the nation and the focal point for a sustained critique of state repression and political intolerance. Their ideas took root amongst the marginal sectors of society—the youthful population. Most of their ideas and language of protest were appropriated by subaltern military officers, who literally 'skipped' the gerontocratic queue when they seized power in 1992[88].

The 1992 coup was popular not because the coupists who were in their 20s had a solid program of societal transformation. Rather, it was popular precisely because people wanted change: an alternative to the decadent All Peoples Congress one-party dictatorship. The old political elites, those who had been sidelined in the vicious world of patronage politics, welcomed the change because it opened up the political space. The young/youth saw this as an opportunity to enter a system that had collectively excluded them. If the former sought to manage the sudden shift in power to protect and guarantee their political future, the latter supported the change as an opportunity to participate in a project they could call their own. Owning the 'revolution' as the change was popularly christened was a central aspect of the new identity that marginal as well as mainstream youth wanted to carve for themselves. Participation and ownership were key to continued support. Once this aspect was lost, they would become the first to quickly 'disown' the 'revolution' by collectively demanding the restoration of multi-party democracy.

If the 1992 coup was 'disowned' by the very constituency that had made it a popular project, the 1997 'revolution' was stoutly opposed because it was the wrong thing to do. Unlike the 1992 coup, the 1997 'revolution' failed to elicit popular support not only because it inaugurated a regime of terror but also because it came with an ideology of vulgar entitlement: nar we ton don cam so (now it's

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88   Rashid I. (2004). 'Students Radicals, Lumpen Youth, and the Origins of Revolutionary Groups in Sierra Leone, 1977-1996' in Abdullah I. (ed.) (2004). *Between Democracy and Terror*, CODESRIA: Dakar.

our time to rule). It was the young (students and marginal youths) who had provided the main support for the subaltern coup in 1992 that were in the forefront of opposition to the violent seizure of state power in 1997. Calling themselves democrats (me nar democrat), the young came out en mass to defend democracy even when it meant paying the ultimate price[89].

The political experience of the wasted decade was exceptional: it was the first time in modern Africa that youth have wielded political power through violence. Sierra Leone is perhaps the only country in the modern world where non-conventional political actors, in this case youth, have staked their claim to political leadership/power by taking up arms. The leadership of such movements usually comes from the marginalized members of the power blocs/established political class or radical intellectuals. Sierra Leone produced the youngest heads of state in the world in the 90s: Captain Valentine Strasser and Julius Maada Bio. The first post-war elections in 2002 witnessed the formation of a Young Peoples Party (YPP), possibly the first political party by and for young people in the world. These experiences were revealing: they emboldened the young in their bid to forcefully participate in shaping their collective destiny. On the one hand they wanted to participate as full citizens in the nation-state project, and on the other they craved to do so in a context wherein they could claim ownership. These historical lessons – youth and political power – should have been central to any post-conflict societal transformation. Unfortunately, nothing seemed to have been learnt by the political class since the return to party politics in 1996.

The Impact of the War on Economy and Society

The war in the hinterland remained a distant reality up to 1995. Before this period, the scars of war were visible only through the occasional mass recruitment drive in the city, the movement of large convoys of troops to the war front, and the trickling presence of displaced civilians seeking refuge. This was to change with the coming of mercenaries (the Gurkhas and the Executive Outcomes) and the multi-national peacekeeping force—the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). The presence in the city of a substantial number of foreign troops and their civilian support staff put heavy strains on the already destroyed infrastructure, even as it brought in needed cash in a cash strapped economy dependent on donor funding. Housing these newcomers in the city, their first port of call, drove up prices of rented space as landlords and fly-by-night estate agents hiked their rents a hundred fold. Instead of collecting rent in the local currency, landlords now demanded foreign currency and a minimum two year lease. Stories abound of Sierra Leoneans who were evicted from their dwellings by their compatriots because they could not pay in dollars. Within two years of their arrival, the peacekeepers

89   Gordon, O. (2004). 'Civil Society Against the State: The Independent Press and the AFRC-RUF Junta' in Abdullah I. (ed.) (2004) *Democracy and Terror*, CODESRIA: Dakar.

(ECOMOG and UNAMSIL) had taken over all the beautiful villas and bungalows in Freetown's low density neighbourhoods. Their arrival in the city worsened the housing problem and pushed to the hilltops many who would otherwise have found a place with their kith and kin.

War, it must be remembered, is a double edged sword: it makes some people rich and others poor. The housing condition and the struggle over space constitute the most visible aspect of abject poverty that predated the war years, 1991-2000. Every social group in Sierra Leone was hit by the war, beginning with the peasantry who lost their land, to workers who lost their jobs after the mines or factory folded up and yet others who could not be paid because the money was just not available. A majority of those who lost out and could afford it travelled to Freetown hoping to begin a new life. Young teenage girls/women, forced by the war to fend for themselves or to augment meager household incomes, became involved in the sex trade.

Practically everything came to a standstill: from education to health; from export of produce to the import of manufactured goods. The chaos was total: lack of security and inability of the citizenry to move from one place to the other brought economic relations to a grinding halt. The formal economy literally ceased to exist; every economic transaction took on the shade of informality. A look at what happened after the restoration of multiparty elections in 1996 and the subsequent coup d'état the following year would illustrate the total mess that the war years were with regards to the economy.

In 1996 when President Kabbah was elected the Sierra Leone economy registered a negative growth rate of minus 6.4 per cent. There was hardly any revenue coming in and this was at a time when 35% of the national budget 'went to the military, exclusive of arms and ammunition.'[90] When the coup took place in 1997 all the gains were reversed! There was 'complete breakdown of internal security and the proliferation of arms all over the country'; 'disintegration of the public administration apparatus'; 'macro and micro-economic disorder and financial instability'; high rate of attrition as many professionals left the country after the coup;' and 'collapse of the social infrastructure'[91]. The effect of the coup d'état on economy and society was devastating.

Between 25 May and early February 1998 the GDP declined by 20% in real terms. The revenue base shrunk; total revenue collected in 1997 amounted to only Le45 billion compared to Le 87 billion in 1996. As a result there was a significant increase in budget deficit, which rose to 7.2% of GDP compared to 6.4% in 1996. Bank financing also rose to a staggering 44 billion Leones. There were huge domestic and international arrears of US $12.5 million. Sadly, the country lost the opportunity

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90   Kabbah, A. T. (2011). *Coming From the Brink in Sierra Leone*, EPP Book Services: Accra, p. 59.
91   Kabbah, op. cit., p. 93.

of a stock of debt operation for which it would have qualified in December 1997 for a partial debt write-off.[92]

This graphic description of the war from a man who presided over the affairs of the nation for the best part of the war is a telling reminder of what can happen to a nation in war. The country came out of the war with the following deeply entrenched characteristics. The education system was non-functional, equally non-functional was the social services support system including the health sector, the state itself was non-existent, the state security apparatus was in disarray, the national infrastructure had collapsed completely and the countryside had visible scars of war. Further, the society was generally traumatized and general insecurity existed in the country. Thus, it is how to get things back on track that constitutes the major challenge in post-war reconstruction in a country like Sierra Leone.

Addressing the Three Challenges

Peace Building

There are really no formal strategies or instruments specifically designed to tackle peace building outside ad hoc response to situations as they unfold. Despite this lack of a formal instrument state/official response have been robust enough to counter any attempt to roll back the gains since the cessation of hostilities in 2002. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was well received and even though there were enormous and costly delays in issuing the government white paper accepting the key findings of the Commissions: the setting up of a Human Rights Commission and the establishment of a Youth Commission. The former is designed to tackle issues hovering around human right violations that could be treated swiftly outside the cumbersome judicial process. Similarly the establishment of the National Youth Commission is designed to tackle the burning issue of youth marginality, to give youth a voice in their affairs, and to ensure that they play an active role in the any decisions affecting their collective destiny.

Arguably, the most important recommendation of the TRC was the establishment of a National Youth Commission (NYC) and the necessity for a legal requirement mandating all political parties to 'ensure that at least 10% of their candidates for all public elections are youths.'[93] Both recommendations were designed to redress the wrongs of the past by creating an inclusionary political space within which youth could play an active role in governance. 'Youth,' the recommendation urged, 'must have a stake in governance.'[94] Political representation would give youth a stake in state and society.

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92   Ibid, p. 94.
93   The Truth and Reconciliation Report, volume 11, Chapter 3, pp.166-167.
94   The Truth and Reconciliation Report, p.166.

The proposed National Youth Commission (NYC) was conceived as a political space for youth to directly participate in shaping their individual and collective destinies. In the words of the Commission the Ministry of Youth and Sports created in 2002 was incapable of addressing the 'youth question as a fundamental priority in post-war reconstruction'[95] Excessive bureaucracy, inadequate funding and lack of requisite expertise were identified as the key factors militating against the ministry's mandate 'to address the youth question.'[96]

The TRC recommendation underlined the urgent need to engage the youth question as a national emergency and therefore recommended the establishment of the National Youth Commission (NYC) under the direction of the presidency to replace the newly created ministry. The Commission would implement the youth policy as well as the national youth plan : an annual 'State of the Youth' report must be presented to parliament detailing the conditions of youth and the strategies employed by all involved in addressing the youth question. The Commission would be tasked with sourcing funds from donors and also through the establishment of 'public-private partnerships involving youth in different sectors including tourism, agriculture, and fisheries, housing and mining'.

The establishment and operation of the Special Court—the major bulwark against impunity—at a time when the TRC was winding up was suggestive of a new modus operand in the region: to put an end to impunity. Since it became operational, the court has succeeded in convicting all the key figures involved in the war, those according its mandate 'who bore the greatest responsibility' for the atrocities committed during the civil war. This included the RUF, CDF, and the SLA[97]. The court is currently winding down at The Hague where Charles Taylor, the former president of Liberia, is awaiting judgment on the charges preferred against him for his alleged role in the Sierra Leone civil war. Despite of their short comings, both institutions—The TRC and the Special Court—fulfilled a basic desire to right the wrongs of the past and to assure the victims that there is justice even without the much anticipated monetary compensation.

If the two institutions served the immediate needs of a post-war community yearning for justice, the setting up of the Peace Building Fund (PBF) took that process further: the building of a solid foundation to pursue and promote peace as an integral part of governance and development. The fund has been used to support peace consolidation in the following areas: youth empowerment and employment; democracy and good governance; justice and security; capacity building of public administra-

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95   Ibid.
96   Ibid.
97   Foday Sankoh the leader of the RUF perished at the maximum security prison before he was arraigned; Sam Bockarie Maskita was allegedly murdered by agents of Charles Taylor in Liberia; while Johnny Paul Koroma, the leader of AFRC junta that ousted the democratically elected President in 1996 is still at-large; unaccounted for.

tion; and support to the energy sector.[98] These five areas were considered critical to the consolidation of the hard won peace.

Other areas that have been targeted include:

» National security: enhancing the capabilities of the security forces, institutions and agencies; strengthening interagency partnership and coordination; and strengthening civilian oversight of the security sector;
» Local governance and decentralization: revision and reformulation of the decentralization policy; revision of current legal framework; support further devolvement of government functions; and preparation of a national decentralization coordination policy.
» The agenda for fighting corruption: strengthen ACC's autonomy; improve and expand service delivery; regular assessment of the implementation of the ACC strategy; and strengthening prevention and deterrence mechanisms; and
» Equitable and affordable justice and human rights: increasing access to justice; strengthening the rule of law; improved justice service delivery; and strengthening the democracy process[99].

State Building

State building is an endogenous process that can and should benefit from external support. It refers to efforts by national actors to establish, reform and strengthen state institutions, where these have been seriously eroded or are missing. Put differently, state building deals with building the legitimacy and capacity of state institutions to deliver basic services to citizens: security, justice, and the rule of law, as well as schools, health, sanitation, water – all meeting citizens' expectations. It involves, should involve, continuous dialogue with the electorate. The end goal of all such enterprise is the creation of a responsive citizenry. Both the SLPP and the current APC have embarked upon key governance reforms that should enhance the process of state building.

These include: constitutional and institutional reforms; decentralization and local government; civil service/public sector reform; judicial and legal reforms; human rights; and corruption[100]. In all these areas institutions have been set-up to commence/initiate the processes that would lead to the establishment of functional entities that would serve the needs of the citizenry. There have been encouraging results in the area of local governance and decentralization; public awareness and the fight against corruption; human rights and justice for the poor; and a more efficient and responsive police force. Sierra Leone can now boast of a downsized professional army that is seemingly outside the political realm and directly under the control of civilians. This army played an important role in the

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98   The Republic of Sierra Leone, 2008. An Agenda for Change: Second Poverty Reduction Strategy (PSRP 11), p. 101.
99   The Republic of Sierra Leone , op. cit.,. pp.102-109.
100   Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, op. cit., p. 223.

recent held 2007 elections in acting as a back-up to the regular police. They have also gone further afield to participate in peace keeping mission in far-away Darfur.

The major down side in these institutional reform/rebuilding is the snail pace of progress. There are always issues of funding and sustainability once the initial donor funding dries up.

Economy Building

Economic transformation has been central to all the numerous undertakings that have characterized post-war reconstruction in Sierra Leone since the cessation of hostilities in 2002. Lack of resources, primarily financial and technological, are at the core what is arguably dubbed fragility. Since one cannot deliver what one does not produce/or own, delivery becomes an issue only when there is something to deliver. To deliver something (roads, schools, health care facilities, infrastructure, etc.) one has to have resources. Resources plus delivery equals legitimacy which in turn generates consent and the ability and capacity to improve upon what is being delivered.

Picking up the pieces after the war, Sierra Leone experimented with ad hoc measures that were mostly project-specific until conditions were ripe to enable it move forward. Thus it began its economic transformation in fits and start, from a UN dependent neo-colony garnering revenue to a donor-dependent economy, targeting specific projects in a context that was just too difficult to prioritize precisely because everything was of paramount importance.

Attempts at economy building arguably commenced with the National Recovery Committee in 2001 which was followed by an interim poverty reduction paper (PRSP 1) and a full poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP)[101]. Both documents were designed to 'support the transition from peacekeeping to peace building and from relief to equitable and sustainable development'[102]. The thrust of these early outings were to tackle the troubling issue of governance in a context where there were to state structures, to establish peace and security so as to lay the groundwork for a 'pro-poor sustainable growth for food security and job creation, and the promotion of human development.'[103] These laudable efforts did not yield the expected dividend in part because they were heavily dependent on donor funding that was not forthcoming. Then came the ambitious *Sierra Leone Vision 2025*. Built around three themes (United People, Progressive Nation, and Attractive Country) the document seemed to have captured the imagination of Sierra Leonean with its emphasis on unity and openness; as if to say we are ready to once more join and participate in the Commonwealth of Nations.

The country's Vision 2025 identified six areas of intervention which are to be key growth drivers:

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101   Ibid, p. 265.
102   Ibid, p. 265.
103   Ibid, p. 266.

- » Attaining competitive private sector-led development;
- » Creating a high quality life for all Sierra Leoneans;
- » Building a well-educated and enlightened society;
- » Creating a tolerant, stable, secure and well-managed society based on democratic values;
- » Ensuring sustainable exploitation and effective utilization of Sierra Leone's natural resources while maintaining a healthy environment; and
- » Becoming a science and technology-driven nation[104]

Despite of these laudable objectives nothing much was achieved in this Vision 2025. The document was seemingly shelved away, forgotten and abandoned by those who had championed its publication. For the modest gains made during Kabbah's tenure did not even begin to embrace six point of intervention outlined above. Agriculture, mining, construction and manufacture have all rebounded from their war time low. Real GDP grew at 9.3% in 2003, 7.3% in 2004 and 7.7% in 2005. The state's fiscal position has also improved tremendously as has the effectiveness of tax collection. The strides made under the Kabbah administration according to one report did not generate 'the depth or breadth of economic change needed to generate employment, growth or substantive poverty reduction'[105]. Perhaps it had to be so: President Kabbah was to lay the groundwork for President Koroma to register some gains!

Koroma's *Agenda for Change* seems to be speaking to the real issues that need to be tackled even though tackling the issues themselves remains worrisome for the most part. The four key priorities in the current government's agenda are centred around the following: a reliable power supply through improved management and regulation of the energy sector; a pro-poor growth perspective keyed to raising the quantity and value-added productivity in agriculture and fisheries critical to poverty reduction as the majority of Sierra Leoneans are bunched in these two sectors; a national transportation network to enable the movement of goods and people thereby facilitate increased investment and economic activity; and fourth sustainable human development through the provision of improved social services particularly in education and health[106]. To ensure success these four priorities will be guided by and anchored on the principles of good governance; macro-economic stability; financial and private sector development; and managing natural resources. These policies are not necessarily new; they seem to build on what the Kabbah administration had imagined. And they clearly tackle the problem of fragility as they are no doubt set out to tackle the issue of delivery, responsible citizenry, the building of institutions and legitimacy. As with the Kabbah administration, the primary issue here is the dependence on external funding to implement the Agenda for Change.

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104   Ibid, p. 268.
105   Taylor Brown et al. (2006). Sierra Leone: Drivers of Change, p. 21.
106   An Agenda for Change, p. 2.

This dependence on external funding has serious consequences for the realization of the millennium development goals (MDGs) to which it is linked. All the same, Sierra Leone has received a total of over US42 billion in development aid since 2000 of which 18.3% has been spent on revamping the infrastructure, 15% on macroeconomic programmes and 13.3% on the health sector. To design alleged pro-poor packages is one thing; to fund and sustained the multiple assault on what the Agenda for Change calls 'abject poverty' quite another. Some strides have been made—though difficult to measure because of the lack of concrete data and adequate monitoring outfits—in the area of universal education, gender equality, child health, and combating HIV/AIDS and malaria. The government recently rolled out a free health care package for children under five years of age and lactating mothers. The free health care package is specifically designed to tackle the MDG four and five: child health and maternal health.[107] Progress has also been registered in the fight against HIV/AIDS and malaria prevention. The prevention strategy for the former seems to be working with current infection rate still at the 1.5% range. For Malaria, the most common cause of illness and death, the emphasis is also on prevention though prompt ACT and quinine are available for curative services. There are however enormous challenges in the health sector particularly in the procurement, distribution and storage of drugs; the availability of qualified personnel; and the perennial equipment deficit in the available facilities.

Strides in the health sector seem to compliment progress in achieving universal primary education and improving the quality of education. The education sector plan launched in 2007 was key to poverty reduction through the provision of quality primary education for skill acquisition as well as tertiary education. Primary school enrolment has increased from 1,135,000 in 2004 to 1,322,000 in 2007; while gender parity in enrolment was 693,730 for boys and 628,508 for girls.[108] School feeding and de-worming programs have been undertaken to boost enrolment. This has been complimented with across the board fee waiver and non-payment of examination fees. Despite this policy, about 30% of children of primary school-going age are still out of school. The multiple challenges to the achievement of universal primary education include: overcrowded classrooms; high pupil- teacher ratio; shortage of teaching and learning material; high repetition and drop-out rate; poor accountability and transparency; and sexual harassment and gross child abuse, exploitation and violence in schools amongst others.[109]

Progress in the area of gender equality remains problematic precisely because of its revolutionary implications. There are verbal pronouncements here and there but no concrete attempt to right the wrongs of the past in the present. More girls now go to school than before but Sierra Leone still has one of the worst 'maternal and child morbidity in the world: 457 maternal deaths per 100,000 live

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107   Sierra Leone has been consistently ranked at the bottom of the UNDP Human Development Index with the under-five mortality serving as the metaphor for that lack of progress.
108   Agenda for Change, p. 79.
109   Agenda for Change, p. 80.

births.'[110] Women are still battling with participation and representation in the public sphere even though they constitute a little over 50% of the population: 14.5% in parliament; 14.3% in cabinet; 9.6% in top civil service positions; and 13.3% in ambassadorial positions[111]. The legal gains made in the area of gender based violence and property inheritance have not really translated into everyday happening for the majority of women folk. It is highly unlikely that Sierra Leone will achieve this goal of gender parity by 2015. The lack of progress in the area of gender parity is mirrored in the area of environmental sustainability and global and partnership.

The above notwithstanding, tremendous gains have been made in infrastructure development, and especially in the energy sector. The development of infrastructure has been spearheaded by huge resource flows from cooperating partners. For example in 2010[112], about 33 per cent of all donor resources went into revamping the infrastructure sector. Infrastructure is critical for development and the resolution of the current challenges will free resources into other sector. But the challenge of transformation still remains in the front burner of change. The Sierra Leone President alludes to the monumental challenges that still remain and continues to express his government's commitment to overcome these. There are serious shortcomings in terms of job creation, especially for youth; and progress is painfully slow. Even so, there seem to be some light, however dim, at the end of the tunnel. The recent announcement of large deposits of iron ore in the Tonkolili area and the discovery of oil in commercial quantities in the Pujehun area (off-shore) are developments that could help lessen the huge dependence on external finance with its attendant implications. Official policy has to go beyond the much trumpeted infrastructure, banking facilities; and the so-called one-stop shop for business.

Challenges and Recommendations

Some modest gains have been made though the process of state reconstruction, institution building, and citizen response is a never ending dialogue and requires commitment and dedication. This is understandable given what the country went through and the extent of destruction that occurred during the war.

The laudable gains in Sierra Leone in post-conflict reconstruction and development have included:

» The reform of the security sector has resulted in the creation of a functional army and police less than three years after war;

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110 Agenda for Change, p. 94.
111 Agenda for Change, p. 95.
112 The trend is similar for the period 2000 to 2009.

- » The reform of the judiciary sector has created a functional judiciary in Sierra Leone;
- » The economic stabilization efforts have resulted macro-economic stability and modest economic growth;
- » Improved governance: decentralization, transparency, free, fair and regular elections;
- » Relative peace and stability;
- » Experiment with transitional justice: Special Court and TRC;
- » Modest gains in infrastructure development including the energy sector;
- » Increased public awareness in the fight against corruption;
- » Improved service delivery in the health sector; and
- » Improved access to education for the disadvantaged.

However, it is worth mentioning that the benefits of post-conflict stability in Sierra Leone go beyond the above list. The energies and multiplier effects that have been created by the stability have restored confidence in Sierra Leone nationals and this is bound to continue to strengthen the reconstruction momentum as nationals take the lead as entrepreneurs. Yet several challenges still remain for the economy to develop at the high and stable and sustainable rate. We review the challenges in the next section.

Key Challenges and Recommendations

State incapacity: Post-conflict reconstruction has occurred within the context of weak state capacity, that is to say, the inability of the state to function qua state. The non-provision of essential services (infrastructure, schools, health facilities) because of lack of resources makes it impossible for the state to function qua state. It is not only an issue of capacitating the state with qualified personnel; it is also an issue of providing the necessary wherewithal to enable officials function properly; to deliver the goods. This is the most daunting challenge facing contemporary Sierra Leone

Youth and urbanization: The demographic factor/the preponderance of the young, those between the ages of 15 and 35, poses enormous problems for governance, peace and stability. Providing employment for the teeming population of the young is unarguably one of the most important challenges confronting state officials. Employment is key: it puts food on the table, guarantees respect, an insurance against future armed conflict, and essential bedrock for a meaningful citizenship.

Democracy and Development: These two remain major state challenges in the pursuit of stability. Democracy and development guarantees meaningful livelihood that is a sine qua non for the emergence of social citizenship. The dividends of democracy (jobs, livelihood, education, health and civil rights) are essential to any post-conflict transformation. The challenge here is to deepen democracy through active and meaningful participation of women and youth. Decentralization of institutions of governance and the establishment of an affirmative action program for youth and women takes us away from the current concern with procedural issues relating to elections and parliamentary repre-

sentation. Deepening democracy and development is a people-centred project, a key ingredient in any post-conflict transformation.

Corruption: The privatization of state resources/access to state resources stifles development; it deprives the citizens of scarce resources that would benefit the majority. We need to move beyond rhetoric and address the efficacy of the relevant institutions/oversight bodies created to tackle this national malaise. Tackling corruption in the public sphere should be linked to the question of a living wage, decent livelihood, and as such a human rights issue.

Regional: Drug trafficking and the scepter of narco-millionaires in the sub-region are major challenges. Cocaine trafficking in neighbouring Guinea-Bissau and the involvement of Guinean nationals who double up as dual citizens in Bissau and Freetown poses challenges to nation-state and regional security in the sub-region. The police, the military, the customs and immigration are seemingly compromised in this tri-continental global search for quick money that now threatens to takeover huge swathe of Mali, Guinea-Bissau and Guinea-Conakry. Youth unemployment + drug trafficking = chaos with enormous implications for peace, stability and security in the sub region.

Regional cooperation: The need of a sub regional approach in dealing with cross-border issues is apparent. Enhancing security at border posts, strengthening trans-border patrols and strengthening the legal regime on drug trafficking across the sub-region can improve stability across West Africa.

Further, development partners have a role to play in providing financial assistance for the full implementation of the Agenda for Change. The support from development partners will continue to be critical in building state institutions and the requisite human capacity in both the private and public sectors.

Privileging Youth: The Key Challenge

The challenge of effectively managing the burgeoning youth population still continues to haunt policy makers ten years after the cessation of hostilities. This situation poses enormous problems for building and maintaining sustainable peace and security in the country. Externally induced programmes of international and national agencies, most notably the DDR, have privileged male ex-combatants, those who allegedly took up arms to right the wrongs of the past, at the expense of the bulk of marginalized youth. The special needs of girls/women ex-combatants were first side-lined and then completely ignored. The establishment of a Ministry of Youth and Sports in the aftermath of the 2002 elections and the promulgation of a National Youth Policy did not address the urgent issue of mass unemployment and youth empowerment. And even when external funding to youth serving agencies and youth organizations increased in the post war era this did not translate into any meaningful changes in the living condition of those between the ages of 15 and 35 years who constitute 33.3% of the popula-

tion[113]. The 2004 Integrated Household Survey recorded a whopping 60% poverty among youth in both the rural and urban areas. Youth unemployment, estimated at 66% (some say 75%), constitutes a major challenge for peace and state building, along side issues such as violence, drug abuse, HIV/AIDS, low levels of education and gender inequality.

The current government's Agenda for Change (2008[114])—the second generation Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper—has identified the promotion and enhancement of youth employment as a one of the central developmental challenges facing the nation. A National Youth Commission bill—to ensure more co-ordination and strategic coherence in youth intervention—has been drafted and sent to Parliament for amendment and ratification. The Commission will serve as the central hub for all youth related activities: from research to the sourcing of funds and the designing and implementation of programmes. The overarching challenge remains how to create a meaningful space for youth to be gainfully employed and contribute to socio-economic development. The youth are a manpower resource which the process of reconstruction should benefit from.

The policy recommendations proposed in this paper essentially fall into two broad categories – giving voice to the voiceless (superstructure), and creating an economic space for decent livelihoods (substructure).

(a)   Giving Voice to the Voiceless:

» The generality of the youth population are concerned with what they always dub marginalization. This refers to their individual and collective exclusion in key decision making processes/structures at the local and national levels.
» They also demand an end to discrimination based on age and experience in accessing jobs—a vital component of social citizenship—at both the local and national levels.
» Citizenship, they argue, has to be concretely translated into their individual and collective involvement in decisions/decision-making processes that affect their lives/livelihoods in the society in which they live.
» The above not only serves as a necessary antidote to their collective alienation but also makes it possible for them to identify with state institutions/state processes that guarantees ownership, and therefore allows them to function qua citizens.

Recommendations
» That the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) report which explicitly states that 'youth must have a stake in governance' be implemented. Political representation must translate to a

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113   Sierra Leone Census Report (2004). Statistics, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
114   This document has been incorporated into/part of the Government's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2009.

policy of affirmative action that would guarantee youth membership and presence in local government councils as well as national parliament.

» That the demographic preponderance of youth in the national population justifies their statutory inclusion in key institutions of state. Similarly, their collective exclusion subverts the democratic process by excluding the majority of the population.

» That any Affirmative Action crafted must reflect the realities of the different categories of youth by factoring the key fault lines such as class, gender, sexual orientation and the rural-urban divide.

» The proposed National Youth Commission should adhere to the findings and recommendations of the TRC report namely—the presentation of an annual 'State of the Youth' report to parliament detailing the conditions of youth and the strategies employed by all involved in addressing the youth question as well as the establishment of 'public-private partnerships involving youth in different sectors including tourism, agriculture, fisheries, housing and mining'.

Creating an Economic Space for Decent Livelihoods

» The inability to live a decent life, to earn a living wage, to be assured of a guaranteed future, are the driving forces that shape/continue to shape youth desire to embrace the exit option.

» Lack of an economic space for decent livelihoods underline the limit of citizenship as an integral part of everyday life. Decent livelihood constitutes a pre-condition for youthful passage into adulthood. Youthful passage into adulthood guarantees respect, fosters independence, and aborts the excruciatingly painful transition to adulthood which characterises the majority of youth in contemporary Sierra Leone.

» Lack of sustenance and lack of education/skill to guarantee the wherewithal for a decent livelihood are key markers of state incapacity and a weak post war economy anchored on donor life support.

» The challenge is how to suck up youth labour, both skilled and unskilled, in the context of a global economic downturn, a 4% economic growth, and 66% youth unemployment.

Recommendations

» 'There is virtually no evidence of any lasting impact on youth lives,'[115]concludes a recent study on youth intervention in post-conflict situations. This is hardly surprising: most externally derived projects and programmes are designed without consulting the intended beneficiaries. Even when such claims are seemingly anchored on supposedly 'best practices' they often fail to capture the specificities of targeted beneficiaries. This being the case any meaningful economic intervention must perforce be evidence based and grounded on the specific realities of

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115 Sommers M. (2006). *Youth and Conflict: A Brief Review of Available Literature*, USAID: WashingtonD. C.

the country. Specificity serves as an antidote to the now prevalent one size fit all approach to tackling the youth question.

» Closely related to the above is the need to disaggregate the heterogeneous category that we call youth. We need to remember that 'educated and unemployed youth have different requirements than their undereducated and unemployed counterparts'[116]. The most vocal group of youth in post-conflict societies are the educated youth, those who dominate civil society organizations that claim to speak for and on behalf of their less fortunate compatriots. Recognizing these fault lines would help in designing appropriate intervention strategies that would serve the needs of the different categories of youth.

» There is an urgent need for a central coordinating body/institution to monitor and evaluate all youth projects in the country. This would not only help in planning and designing of appropriate intervention strategies but also eliminate the unnecessary duplication and proliferation of NGO projects that clearly have no impact on the intended beneficiaries. All youth intervention projects that are geared towards providing employment must therefore be channeled through the newly created Ministry of Youth Employment and Sports after being vetted by the proposed National Youth Commission.

» The numerous and ever increasing youth employment projects are mainly supply driven, short –term intervention, that focus exclusively on training with limited linkages to the demand of the labour market[117]. The heavy investment in youth entrepreneurship and the privileging of male as against female youth replicates the pitfalls of the DDR model described in the paper. Like their DDR counterparts the trained entrepreneurs soon discover that capital is hard to come by and that there is really no business to manage. What is needed is a sustainable youth employment model that would suck up the ever present army of unemployed youth in the cities and elsewhere and at the same time generate economic growth. Massive labour intensive public works would be the ideal starting point for post-conflict rebuilding: it will jump start the economy and provide temporary sustenance to the ever increasing army of unemployed youths in Freetown and elsewhere[118].

» The long term solution to the problem lies in the total transformation and expansion of the economy so as to generate high growth rate that would in turn translate into sustainable employment for the most vulnerable groups in society which includes the youth who constitutes more than 60% of the labour force. Such long term social engineering would have to prepare youth for the labour market through massive training/retraining, and the provision of and access to facilities

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116   Sommers M. (2007). West Africa's Youth Employment Challenge: The Case of Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire, UNIDO: Vienna.
117   World Bank (2007). Improving Opportunities for Sustainable Youth Employment in Sierra Leone, Washington, Report Number 30; United Nations Office For West Africa (2006). Youth Employment and Regional Insecurity in West Africa: Dakar.
118   United Nations Office for West Africa (2005). Youth Employment and Regional Insecurity in West Africa, United Nations Office for West Africa: Dakar.

that would guarantee social citizenship: decent housing, decent remuneration based on qualification, medical facilities, and access to land in both the rural and urban areas.

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Annex 9.1: Socio-Economic and Fragility Indicators for Sierra Leone

Index of Governance: Sierra Leone

Category	2007 score out of 100	2008 score out of 100	2009 score out of 100
Safety and security	79,7	79,6	
Rule of Law, Transparency and Corruption	38,3	37,3	51.8**
Participation and Human Rights	66	69,8	19
Sustainable Economic Opportunity	26,7	27,1	37
Human Development	31,7	31,8	30

*Mo Ibrahim index is backward looking and 2010 will be produced in 2011

** Change in methodology, in 2009, category (1), safety and security and (2) rule of law, transparency and corruption were combined

Human Development Indicators: Sierra Leone (2005 to 2010)

Category	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
HDI value	0,33	0,357	0,365			0,317
Country Ranking	177	180	180		180	158
Number of countries in rankings	177	180	182	182	182	169
Life expectancy at birth (yrs)	41,8	46,9	47,3	47,6	47,9	48,2
Adult literacy rate (% ages 15 and older)	34,8	37,1	38,1	2.7*	2,8	2,9
Combined primary and tertiary gross enrollment (%)	45	44,6	44,6	7.2*	7,2	7,2
GDP per capita (PPP US$)	806	647	679	767	787	809

* Change in methodology of calculation.

Source: Human Development Report, 2010

Corruption Perception Index: Sierra Leone's Position

Year	Rank	Number of Countries surveyed	Corruption Perception Index
2005	126	158	2,4
2006	142	162	2,2
2007	150	179	2,1
2008	158	180	1,9
2009	146	180	2,2
2010	134	178	2,4

Source: Transparency International, 2010

Doing Business Index: Sierra Leone's Position

Indicators	2008	2009	2010
Doing Business	163	156	148
Starting a business	94	58	58
Dealing with construction permits	171	168	171
Employing Workers	173	167	166
Registering Property	175	165	175
Getting credit	141	147	127
protecting investors	49	53	27
Paying Taxes	154	162	160
Trading Across Borders	133	135	137
Enforcing Contracts	139	144	144
Closing a business	144	147	147

Source: World Bank, 2010

CIPA: Sierra Leone's Position

CIPA Cluster A: Economic Management	2008	Average IDA Borrowers	2009	Average IDA Borrowers
Macroeconomic Management	4	3,7	4	3,7
Fiscal Policy	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,5
Debt Policy	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,5
Average 1	3,7	3,5		3,5
CPIA Cluster B: Structural Policies				
Trade	3,5	3,8	3,5	3,9
Financial Sector	3,0	3,1	3	3,1
Business Regulatory Environment	3,0	3,3	3	3,3
Average 1	3,2	3,4		3,4
CPIA Cluster C: Policies for Social Inclusion/Equity				
Gender Equality	3,0	3,4	3	3,4
Equity of Public Resources Use	3,0	3,4	3	3,4
Building Human Resources	3,5	3,4	3,5	3,4
Social Protection and Labour	3,0	3,1	3,5	3,1
Policies & Institutions for environmental sustainability	2,0	3,1	2,5	3,3
Average 1	2,9	3,3		
CPIA Cluster D: Public Sector Management and Institutions				
Property rights and rules based Governance	2,5	2,9	2,5	2,9
Quality of Budget and Financial Management	3,5	3,2	3,5	3,3
Efficiency of Revenue Mobilisation	2,5	3,4	2,5	3,5
Quality of Public Administration	2,5	3	3	3
Transparency, Accountability & Corruption in the Public	2,5	2,9	3	2,9
Average 1	2,7	3,1	2,9	3,1
Overall CPIA	3,1	3,3		

Source: World Bank 2010

CHAPTER 10

STRENGTHENING STABILITY for Development in West Africa: Conclusions and Recommendations

This publication has dealt with the conceptual and empirical issues on fragile states and development and highlighted vast differences among countries commonly classified in the same groups as fragile. The review has shown that in some cases, the so-called fragile states are in actual conflict while others are rich and politically stable but somehow cannot deliver basic services to their citizens due to capacity constraints and bad governance (World Bank, 2011).

It is clear from the national experiences that the fragility spectrum is wide and diverse. The rather one-size-fits-all negative lens on fragility often used in most analyses masks the complex manifestations of the extent and character of fragility in the different countries. This generalized view is unfortunately employed to classify almost the entire African continent as fragile. Yet the situations of these countries differ markedly and ideally, these countries could be described more positively as awaking, emerging countries or capable States, in recognition of the efforts being made to address fragility and move the states on a sustained development path. This unfortunate but frequent reference to generalized fragility challenges at the expense of opportunities continues to paint a wholly negative picture about these countries, and often leads to inappropriate interventions. As the national experiences have demonstrated, the nature of fragility and its causes are diverse such that it is a travesty to classify Niger and Nigeria in the same fragility category. The causes and character of their fragility are not at all comparable, nor are the solutions.

Fragility in West Africa can be attributed to many interrelated factors including: the inequitable distribution of resources, especially from the large reservoir of natural resources of the sub-region, bad economic governance shown by the mismanagement of financial resources, both in the national budgets and donated funds, and outright corruption, the lengthy duration of African leaders in power sustained through a review of constitutions to prolong office terms, and political and social exclusion and isolation largely on the basis of political affiliation, religion, ethnicity and race, and geography. The case of Niger has shown that in addition to the struggle for scarce resources and religious-related factors, the struggle for democracy has been at the top of the causes of the many coups and changes in governments. In the case of Nigeria, instability is also linked to access to natural resources and

the distribution and management of the proceeds from resources exploitation. The high levels of corruption and mismanagement have perpetuated instability in Nigeria. Further, Nigeria's experience is a typical resource-curse case and the lack of accountability remains a major challenge. Meanwhile, the gains made in Sierra Leone and Liberia demonstrate that with dedication and commitment, the transition to stability is possible. Despite the huge challenges ahead, both countries had laid solid platforms for development.

In some cases, the impact of these factors is further exacerbated by the strategy of developed countries to use the African countries as a dumping ground for armaments which are then used to fuel civil wars. Further, some external interventions, such as the Bretton Wood structural adjustment programs of the 1980s and onwards, diverted away resources from social sectors resulting in states being unable to deliver on their functions, and this precipitated conflict in some countries.

As observed in the national analyses, addressing fragility challenges requires a broad-based approach which involves various stakeholders including regional and sub-regional institutions. For example, the ECOWAS framework for peace and security discussed in this report is an important part of the conflict management architecture in the sub-region and bodes well for strengthened integration. Further, the existence of capable institutions to prevent conflicts, and the prevalence of the rule of law at both national and sub-regional levels is important for maintaining and sustaining peace and security. Similarly, the establishment of institutions such as the courts of law, electoral commissions, and the ombudsman is central to dealing with potential sources of conflicts including corruption, and violation of human rights (including discrimination).

In light of the challenges faced by member States in dealing with fragility, the cooperation of international development partners in infrastructure development, capacity building, development of productive sectors, education and technical training, and in the health sector is important as part of the process of building the state, its institutions and the economy. The mechanisms for intervention in the economic front could include: direct budget support, ensuring aid predictability, and streamlining of disbursement procedures. Financial assistance packages such as those provided by the African Development Bank, with their focus on 'quick-wins' provide an exit route from fragility and have potential to launch countries into a sustainable development path. However, such support should be targeted at the critical national priority areas in post-conflict reconstruction. A fully consultative development framework is required to ensure national buy-in in the development programmes.

As the ECOWAS framework expressly emphasized, 'prevention is better than cure'. Addressing potential sources of conflict in a timely manner is important in conflict prevention. Issues such as social exclusion which manifests itself through the limited participation of other groups (minority tribes, vulnerable groups) in the decision making process, inclusion of minority and vulnerable groups can precipitate conflict and need to be addressed on an ongoing basis. Further, addressing manifestations

of poor governance such as massive violation of human rights, weak state institutions, corruption and dysfunctional justice system can also prevent conflict and an early warning system that enables countries to detect any manifestations of these challenges needs to be developed. Similarly, unequal access to resources (water, minerals, land), gender discrimination, macroeconomic instability and the lack of effective conflict prevention institutions can precipitate instability. As observed in the rest of the publication, the key challenges faced by member States to address these issues include: existence of weak absorptive capacity, weak implementation of aid modalities, the lack of supportive infrastructure, the lack of fiscal discipline, a dysfunctional judiciary, and the existence of weak political institutions

The significance of enhancing governance, especially promoting good political, economic and corporate governance as central to stability resonates throughout this publication. That good governance is important for development, and is an essential element in promoting growth and development and in resolving fragility and maintaining stability is carried throughout all the Chapters. Enhancing public participation and creating democratic institutions can strengthen stability and facilitate the development of good political as well as corporate governance culture and the entrenchment of transparency and accountability at all levels. The improvement of governance also requires the promotion of reconciliation through establishment of appropriate mechanisms including, for example, truth and reconciliation commission and national conferences and promoting the rule of law and the respect for democratic principles.

The strategy for economic recovery in a post-conflict environment requires the laying of a solid vision for development, improving the business environment to facilitate private investment, and developing a plan for the use and equitable distribution of resources. The economic recovery plan should be supported by the promotion of a peaceful environment which can be sustained through developing programmes to reintegrate former combatants and promoting regional security cooperation. The large numbers of unemployed youths present a major challenge in post-conflict reconstruction. The youths require technical and vocational training adapted to the employment market (priority sectors) and creating an environment for the growth of small and medium scale enterprises.

The need for broad-based resource mobilization strategies to finance economic reconstruction is important to strengthen the predictability of aid flows. The search for additional resources requires countries to look beyond the traditional partners and pursue strategic partnerships with the emerging nations such as Brazil, India and China. China's increasing importance on the continent presents African countries with an additional source of development finance to address problems emanating from fragility. However, in courting financial assistance from the new sources, it is important that fragile states enter into agreements that are mutually beneficial in the medium- to long- term. A region-wide template is required for such agreements to avoid the pitfalls associated with skewed bilateral agreements.

Fragile states are confronted with serious manpower constraints to take charge of reconstruction. To overcome the challenge of limited human capacity for economic resuscitation and state building, fragile states have to look beyond their borders and exploit skills from networks of professionals at sub-regional level and also tap from the diaspora. It is commonly accepted in development discourse through empirical studies that the diaspora of developing countries can be a potent force for development through expertise and remittances, but also through the promotion of trade, investment, and knowledge and technology transfers. For post-conflict African countries, this indeed presents a source which countries should exploit to accelerate reconstruction and development. However, the diaspora, like any other investor (or source of human and financial resources), requires security in the destination economy as a priority. This implies that the countries have to develop policy frameworks which guarantee security of investment and also offer competitive remuneration to returning nationals.

Recommendations

In addition to the elaborate and in some instances specific recommendations provided in the individual Chapters of this publication to strengthen political, economic and social stability, the overall national and sub-regional level recommendations for state building, economy building and peace building are provided below.

To address the challenges with respect to the three pillars (the state, the economy and peace), member States should:

1. Commit adequate time and resources to addressing the root causes of conflict and fragility as well as the early manifestations of these challenges in order to prevent conflict and also ensure that countries do not relapse into conflict;
2. Eliminate political and social exclusion and isolation on the basis of ethnicity, religion, geography or political affiliation and develop and implement modalities for more devolution of decision-making powers to provincial (regional) and local spheres of government and traditional authorities to strengthen a participatory approach to governance;
3. Facilitate full popular participation by all stakeholders in all national decisions including those on the distribution of resources through budgetary process, to restore public trust in government and institutions of the State;
4. Use humanitarian and reconstruction aid efficiently and effectively, and eliminate leakages through corruption and misdirection of the resources by maintaining transparency;
5. Develop mechanisms for job-creation as a central part of national poverty reduction efforts including the development of appropriate support mechanisms for the agricultural sector which will reduce rural poverty, ensure food security and increase wealth;

6. Create opportunities for gainful employment, education and training for the youth (including those from combat situations) to reduce the risk of relapse into social unrest and combat situations as a central strategy of the national development agenda, social integration and economic empowerment;

7. Strengthen political, economic and corporate governance and restore and strengthen public administration systems, including the electoral and justice delivery systems;

8. Strengthen the government delivery systems (public service) through skills upgrade for civil service staff for effectiveness of the social contract and legitimacy;

9. Emulate, domesticate and adapt the experiences of other countries that have successfully emerged from conflict and are well on the path to stability and development;

10. Restore and maintain macroeconomic stability through prudent management of exchange rate and fiscal deficits, for example, as the basis for economic resuscitation and strengthening of growth and development;

11. Manage public resources in a transparent and accountable manner ably supported by extensive stakeholder consultation and feedback; and

12. Facilitate economic growth by creating an environment in which the private sector can prosper and become the engine of economic growth through investment in economic diversification and value-addition to the vast natural resources of the sub-region. This should include the support and nurturing of local entrepreneurship and the support of small and medium scale enterprises.

The sub-regional framework for maintaining peace and security in West Africa is an important part of the architecture for ensuring stability among the member States. Some of the important interventions that ECOWAS has made were outlined in the publication. However, to further elevate its role and strengthen peace, state and economy building initiatives, the ECOWAS Commission should:

1. Strengthen mechanisms to enforce the respect of and adherence to sub-regional and international norms on, for example, peace building and on transparency in resource utilization and financial flows;

2. Commit adequate financial resources towards the rehabilitation and development of infrastructure as one of the key drivers to building a prosperous sub-regional economy that deepens trade and facilitates the development of economic linkages across borders;

3. Develop more effective conflict management instruments in order to effectively, timely and decisively deal with conflict situations; this includes an acceleration of the inauguration of effective early warning systems in the sub-region and the quick resolution of election disputes;

4. Accelerate the integration of economies of the sub-region as envisaged in the ECOWAS Vision 2020 to avert conflict and reduce the recurrence of conflicts;

5. develop a coordinated framework to deal with the impacts of conflicts which occur from outside the sub-region, for example, refugee flows and the evacuation and resettlement of ECOWAS citizens caught up in conflicts outside the sub-region;

6. Develop a platform to facilitate the sharing of experiences on fragility and post-conflict reconstruction among member States and also use such a platform to share experiences on the African Peer Review Mechanism to ensure that countries are at the same stage;

7. Strengthen the institutions that promote democracy and good governance such as judiciary, parliament and elections monitoring bodies in member States through mechanisms which enforce mandatory peer review with an effective sanctions policy for non-compliance;

8. Strengthen national level institutions and oversight bodies such as anti-corruption mechanisms and the mechanisms for the management of public finance by creating a forum for the periodic sharing of experiences at sub-regional level;

9. Reinforce and synchronize mechanisms for the coordination and prioritization of aid at sub-regional level; and

10. Accelerate the development and implementation of a short, medium and long-term economic assistance framework to help countries in crisis overcome the challenges. The assistance should also close the large manpower gaps (lack of skills) in post-conflict situations.

The progress made by countries such as Sierra Leone and Liberia, which have, to some extent, successfully and prudently negotiated and partially overcome the challenges of post-conflict development demonstrates the importance of state legitimacy and accountability in post conflict development. This experience brings to the fore the importance of sharing experiences among member States on the challenges and opportunities in post-conflict reconstruction. The experience of Niger also demonstrates how the search for democratic space can create instability on an on-going basis and also how winning democracy can bring stability.

The varied nature of the sources of conflict illustrated by this review highlights the importance of the correct diagnosis of sources of conflict to facilitate the development of appropriate remedial strategies. Further, the analysis demonstrates that programmes to address fragility should be rooted in the national development framework and they not be one-off interventions but should rather be deep rooted and be able to address the structural constraints.

This publication has demonstrated that overcoming fragility through addressing the challenges of peace building, state building and economic resuscitation facing fragile states and post-conflict countries require a holistic approach rooted in national structures, and supported by all stakeholders including regional economic communities and international development partners.

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