

# Evaluating Türkiye's Influence in the Somali Peace Process: Positive or Negative Peace?

## Somali Barış Sürecinde Türkiye'nin Etkisinin Değerlendirilmesi: Pozitif Barış mı Negatif Barış mı?

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### Abstract

This study seeks to examine the role of Türkiye in the peace process in Somalia through the lens of the Peace Studies paradigm. It aims to assess Türkiye's contributions in light of positive and negative peace concepts developed by Johan Galtung and to determine the extent to which these activities support the establishment of sustainable peace in Somalia. Through a qualitative approach and historical descriptive analysis, the article systematically investigates the theoretical framework of Peace Studies, the historical context, and the current socio-political dynamics of Somalia, as well as Türkiye's initiatives in Somalia post-2011. The findings suggest that Türkiye's multi-faceted engagement in Somalia (humanitarian aid, development cooperation, and security sector reform) generally aligns with the positive peace paradigm. Türkiye's initiatives in Somalia, such as infrastructure development, education and health services improvement, and institutional capacity building, are considered efforts to reduce structural violence. Nevertheless, the analysis emphasizes the need for more comprehensive, long-term, and multi-actor strategies to effectively tackle Somalia's intricate and multi-layered challenges.

**Keywords:** Peace Studies, Positive Peace, Negative Peace, Somalia, Türkiye-Somalia Relations

### Öz

Bu çalışma, barış çalışmaları paradigması çerçevesinde Somali'deki barış sürecini ve Türkiye'nin bu süreçteki rolünü analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Özellikle, Johan Galtung'un geliştirdiği pozitif ve negatif barış kavramları bağlamında Türkiye'nin katkılarının değerlendirilmesi hedeflenmektedir. Araştırma, "Türkiye'nin Somali'deki faaliyetleri, barış çalışmaları literatüründeki pozitif ve negatif barış kavramsallaştırmaları bağlamında nasıl konumlandırılabilir?" ve "Bu faaliyetler Somali'de sürdürülebilir barışın tesisine ne ölçüde katkı sağlamaktadır?" sorularına cevap aramaktadır. Nitel bir yaklaşımla tarihsel betimsel analiz metodunun kullanıldığı makalede, barış çalışmalarının teorik çerçevesi, Somali'nin tarihsel konteksti ve mevcut sosyo-politik dinamikleri ve Türkiye'nin 2011 sonrası Somali'deki girişimleri sistematik bir şekilde incelenmektedir. Analiz sonuçları, Türkiye'nin Somali'deki çok boyutlu angajmanının (insani yardım, kalkınma iş birliği, güvenlik sektörü reformu) genel itibarıyla pozitif barış paradigmasıyla uyumlu olduğunu göstermektedir. Türkiye'nin Somali'de gerçekleştirdiği altyapı geliştirme, eğitim ve sağlık hizmetlerinin iyileştirilmesi ve kurumsal kapasite inşası gibi girişimleri yapısal şiddeti azaltmaya yönelik çabalar olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Bununla birlikte, Somali'deki kompleks ve çok katmanlı sorunların çözümü için daha kapsamlı, uzun vadeli ve çok aktörlü stratejilerin gerekliliği vurgulanmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Barış Çalışmaları, Pozitif Barış, Negatif Barış, Somali, Türkiye-Somali İlişkileri

## Introduction

Peace Studies has emerged as a crucial discipline in the aftermath of World War II, with the expectation of making significant contributions to establishing international peace. Originating in the late 1940s, this field of study has presented promising discourses through methodological and scope changes in the 1960s and 1970s. It has gained international recognition for its critical examination of the causes of conflict and war and for its comprehensive ideas on achieving sustainable peace.

Peace Studies highlights that physical, structural, and cultural forms of violence in the international system cause conflicts and wars, signaling the need for holistic and non-violent transformation for global peace and prosperity.<sup>1</sup> This approach has garnered interest not only in Europe and the United States of America (USA) but also in Third World countries. Interdisciplinary, multi-dimensional, and multi-cultural studies have generated great expectations for global transformation.

However, changes in the period of adjustment to the post-Cold War international system have called into question the originality and impact of Peace Studies.<sup>2</sup> Post-1990, the critical aspect of Peace Studies diminished, and only the Western wing remained on the international agenda, influenced by global hegemonic powers. This limited presence has occurred solely within the framework of defending Western interests. Consequently, Peace Studies centers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have not received international support and have been unable to make their voices heard.

This study aims to analyze the peace process in Somalia and Türkiye's role within the framework of the Peace Studies paradigm. In particular, the study aims to evaluate Türkiye's contributions in the context of positive and negative peace concepts developed by Johan Galtung. This research seeks to answer the question: "How can Türkiye's activities in Somalia be positioned in the context of positive and negative peace conceptualizations in the Peace Studies literature, and to what extent do these activities contribute to establishing sustainable peace in Somalia?"

The study's central hypothesis is that Türkiye's multi-dimensional engagement in Somalia (humanitarian aid, development cooperation, and security sector reform) is generally consistent with the positive peace paradigm and can be evaluated as efforts to reduce structural violence. This hypothesis is associated with Galtung's theory of structural violence and Amartya Sen's development approach.

The research design employs a qualitative approach using the historical descriptive analysis method. In this context, the study systematically examines the theoretical framework of Peace Studies, Somalia's historical context, the current socio-political dynamics, and Türkiye's initiatives in Somalia post-2011.

Lastly, this research is expected to contribute to current discussions in Peace Studies while analyzing the effects of Türkiye's foreign policy strategies in Somalia on the peacebuilding process. This analysis is expected to provide essential insights into peacebuilding strategies that can be applied in similar post-conflict countries.

1 Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research", *Journal of Peace Research*, 6:3, 1969, pp. 167-191.

2 Paul Rogers and Oliver Ramsbotham, "Then and Now: Peace Research-Past and Future", *Political Studies*, 47:4, 1999, pp. 740-754.

## 1. Normative Changes and Criticisms in Peace Studies

In light of the evolving complexity of international relations and the dynamic nature of world politics, Peace Studies has emerged as a crucial field of study. It offers a more comprehensive understanding of peace by delving not only into the absence of war but also into the underlying structural inequalities that give rise to violence. The discipline has evolved beyond a state-centric perspective, aiming to understand the intricate relationships among individuals, societies, and the international community. This approach is essential for fostering sustainable peace.

The roots of Peace Studies can be traced back to the late 1940s. Since then, the field has evolved in conjunction with the changing landscape of international relations.<sup>3</sup> As the field of Peace Studies has evolved, there has been a growing recognition of the need to adopt a more critical approach. This involves shifting focus from peacemaking to examining the underlying causes of violence and structural inequalities within the international system. The end of the Cold War brought about a significant shift in the discipline, moving away from a focus on states towards a perspective that considers the individual, society, and global dynamics.

### 1.1. The Origins and Evolution of Peace Studies

As mentioned above, Peace Studies originated in the late 1940s and developed in parallel with the significant shifts in international relations. In its formative years, the discipline was frequently called “Peace Science,” drawing inspiration from the natural sciences. However, in the 1960s and 1970s, with the valuable contributions of European theorists, Peace Studies evolved from minimalist North American Security Studies and Conflict Resolution to a more comprehensive, multi-cultural, and social sciences-based perspective.<sup>4</sup>

The roots of Peace Studies lie in an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of war, acknowledging that it is not simply a physical phenomenon. During this period, there was a growing recognition that peace is a multi-faceted concept and that it is crucial to address the underlying structural inequalities and root causes of conflict. The evolution of Peace Studies has been shaped by several influential theorists, including Paul Rogers and Oliver Ramsbotham, as well as Johan Galtung and other post-positivist thinkers. Galtung, in particular with his works in the 1960s and 1970s, encouraged Peace Studies to adopt a more critical and analytical approach focusing on structural issues beyond the scope of war.<sup>5</sup>

Gradually, the differing perspectives between minimalists and maximalists in the field of Peace Studies have given rise to a fruitful debate on the nuances of peace, particularly the concepts of “negative peace” and “positive peace”. The basis of this distinction lies in the fact that the concept of violence is realized in two types. Firstly, we may define “direct violence” as including individual attacks, conflicts, wars, and terrorist acts in which violence is observed at the individual and physical levels. Secondly, we might also consider the concept of “non-direct violence” (structural violence), which encompasses issues such as poverty, hunger, discrimination, and social injustice arising from the structure of the international system. In this context, economic inequalities and resource distribution imbalances are also significant components of structural violence.<sup>6</sup> While the absence of direct violence is

3 Sandi Cooper, “Women’s Participation in European Peace Movements: The Struggle to Prevent World War I,” *Women and Peace*, ed. Pierson, 1987, p. 51.

4 Matthieu Chillaud, “Prêcher la bonne parole en matière de désarmement”, *Stratégique*, 1, 2015, pp. 51-69.

5 Galtung, *Violence, Peace, and Peace Research*, pp. 167-191.

6 Amartya Sen, *Development as freedom*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999.

defined as “negative peace”, the absence of structural violence is called “positive peace”. The concept of “negative peace”, which refers to the absence of wars and conflicts, is more aligned with a realist perspective. In contrast, studies within the scope of positive peace are carried out in a much broader framework. This framework aims to eliminate structural violence by prioritizing social justice in the international system.<sup>7</sup>

It might be helpful to elaborate on the concept of structural violence, as it is a critical aspect to reflect on the debates around negative and positive peace. Towards the end of the 1960s, as the debate between the minimalist and maximalist schools continued with the ongoing Vietnam War as a backdrop, some authors put forth the view that Galtung's socio-economic analyses of violence might benefit from further development. In light of these observations, Galtung published the article “Violence, Peace and Peace Research” in 1969. In this article, Galtung offers further insights into “structural violence”.<sup>8</sup> He suggests that structural violence may contribute to or exacerbate the discrepancy between the current reality and the potential ideal. Galtung's analysis appears to align with economic development theories and human development approaches.<sup>9</sup> Empirical evidence demonstrates that inadequate social services, including substandard education and healthcare provision, coupled with pervasive poverty, low-income levels, and social inequities, constitute key components of structural violence within societies. In this context, the role of economic structures and institutions, inequalities in income distribution, and failure to realize sustainable development goals could also be manifestations of structural violence.

Galtung's analyses on structural violence appear more structure-oriented than state- or individual-oriented. Therefore, it may be suggested that for structural violence to exist, the existing negativities must be caused not by individuals but by the structure of the international system. This perspective emphasizes the importance of international economic relations and global economic governance.<sup>10</sup> In his work titled “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research” published in 1969, Johan Galtung posits that it would be beneficial to strive towards creating fair and equal societies founded upon principles of social justice in order to eradicate structural violence. Furthermore, he suggests that realizing a system in which actors interact harmoniously with each other would be a valuable step in this direction.<sup>11</sup>

It may be beneficial to view the evolution of Peace Studies during this period as a crucial step towards a more nuanced understanding of the field. Rather than seeing it merely as the cessation of war, some thinkers considered the origins of war and the necessity for peace to involve structural change. These thinkers, who laid the first theoretical foundations, put forward important views that peace should not only be a negative concept but involve a positive process of social transformation. At the same time, the field of Peace Studies has been redefined to ensure total and non-violent change at the global level and promote peace and prosperity. This approach has aligned with contemporary economic concepts such as economic inclusion, sustainable development, and equitable growth.

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7 Johan Galtung and Dietrich Fischer, *Positive and Negative Peace*, Berlin Heidelberg, Springer, 2013, pp. 173-178.

8 Catherine Flynn, et al. “Entre théorie de la paix et continuum de la violence: Réflexion autour du concept de la violence structurelle”. *Canadian Social Work Review/Revue canadienne de service social*, 33:1, 2016, pp. 45-64.

9 Paul Streeten, et al., *First Things First: Meeting Basic Human Needs in the Developing Countries*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1981.

10 Dani Rodrik, *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 2011.

11 Galtung, *Violence, Peace, and Peace Research*, pp.167-191.

## 1.2. Changes in the Post-Cold War Period

The end of the Cold War brought about a profound and complex change in the fundamental dynamics of international relations, which, in turn, brought about a critical evolution affecting Peace Studies. As Rogers and Ramsbotham posit, the conclusion of the Cold War marked a pivotal moment for Peace Studies, with the field undergoing notable shifts in its conceptual framework during this era.<sup>12</sup>

The end of the Cold War allowed Peace Studies to evolve beyond a primarily state-centered perspective, embracing a more nuanced approach that considers structural inequalities. During this period, there was a notable shift in theoretical approaches, particularly in response to critiques from European Peace Studies writers. These critiques highlighted that Cold War-era realist analyses tended to prioritize military competition between the two poles while overlooking the human element.

The post-Cold War period also saw the beginning of Peace Studies becoming an interdisciplinary field of study. During this period, researchers working in various fields, including political science, international relations, law, sociology, anthropology, history, economics, mathematics, physics, and biology, have made valuable contributions to Peace Studies. It is imperative to acknowledge the challenges inherent in this interdisciplinary structure, particularly in establishing a unified theoretical framework and methodology.

With the end of the Cold War, Peace Studies gradually evolved from a perspective focusing solely on inter-state relations to a research methodology centered on the individual, society, and the international community. This evolution may have made the field more attractive to post-positivist and critical researchers. In this period, Peace Studies evolved as an expression of an endeavor to gain a deeper understanding of the root causes of war and conflict and find ways to resolve them.

## 1.3. Criticisms and Axis Shifts

Peace Studies has undergone a series of shifts in focus in the post-Cold War period, and the field has witnessed significant changes. The understanding of “Peace Science”, which emerged with natural sciences and quantitative approaches in the early periods, has evolved in a way that has allowed it to become more normative, multi-cultural, and social science-based. This evolution has occurred by separating the field from the so-called minimalist Security Studies and Conflict Resolution through the post-positivist contributions of European authors.

1992, when the then Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN) Boutros Boutros-Ghali prepared his “Agenda for Peace” report, marked a significant turning point for Peace Studies. Boutros-Ghali’s report, which drew inspiration from the Galtungian thinking of the 1970s, paved the way for Peace Studies to gain a foothold in global policy decision-making centers. However, it is worth noting that in this process, there have been instances where the originality and impact of Peace Studies may have been somewhat eroded.<sup>13</sup>

One of the critical areas for reflection is the question of whether the global peace policies pursued after the 1990s, especially under the leadership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the UN, have been sufficiently aligned with the interests of all

12 Paul Rogers and Oliver Ramsbotham, “Then and Now: Peace Research- Past and Future”, *Political Studies*, 47:4, 1999, pp. 740-754.

13 Caroline Hughes, “Peace and Development Studies”. Edt: Oliver P. Richmond, Sandra Pogodda, Jasmin Ramović, *The Palgrave Handbook of Disciplinary and Regional Approaches to Peace*, Palgrave Macmillan, Londra, 2016, pp. 139-153.

parties involved.<sup>14</sup> As Oliver Ramsbotham perceptively notes, Peace Studies emerged during this period as a means of disseminating Western values, including electoral democracies and the free market within the global system.<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, it is worth noting that the limited impact of similar studies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America may be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that Peace Studies has only gained traction on the international agenda from a Western perspective. This situation highlights the challenges in developing a comprehensive theoretical framework for Peace Studies, particularly in light of the North-South divide.

It could be argued that the field of Peace Studies, which previously avoided being state-centered, has become somewhat compromised due to the increasing weight of UN Peacekeeping missions on the international agenda. There is a tendency for solution proposals to subordinate individuals and groups, which is an area that could be open to further discussion. Some authors have suggested that during this period, there was a tendency to focus on specific topics, such as radicalism, terrorism, armament, and nuclear power threats, while social, cultural, and environmental issues were perhaps less prominent.

## **2. Peacebuilding Efforts in Somalia: The Somali Memorandum of Understanding in the Light of Local, Regional, and Global Dynamics**

Somalia's location at the crossroads of international maritime trade routes has long attracted the attention of international companies, given the country's geostrategic position. In the 1950s, international oil companies such as Chevron, Exxon Mobil, and Shell initiated oil exploration activities in Somalia. However, these activities were interrupted due to the Somali civil war in 1991. After years of conflict and instability, Somalia has become a focal point for global oil and natural gas exploration competition. While the explorations are still ongoing, it is estimated that Somalia may have up to 30 billion barrels of oil and gas reserves in 15 offshore blocks.<sup>16</sup>

However, the civil war among the tribes, which started with the collapse of Siad Barre regime in 1991, continued for almost 20 years. In this process, the UN declared famine in the southern part of Somalia, which is the sphere of influence of the Al-Shabab, a terrorist organization reluctant to relinquish control of the region.<sup>17</sup>

In the summer of 2011, Somalia, with which Türkiye has been developing its bilateral relations, presented a positive view of Türkiye both in the eyes of its government and its people. It is also worth noting that the bilateral relations developed between Türkiye and Somalia have been accompanied by other positive changes, including Türkiye's support

14 Political Economy in Security Studies After the Cold War, 2017, <https://pacs.einaudi.cornell.edu/sites/pacs/files/Kirshner.pdf>, accessed 10.11.2023.

15 Tom Woodhouse and Oliver Ramsbotham, *Peacekeeping and conflict resolution*, Psychology Publications, 2000.

16 Somali Petroleum Authority, *History*, 2020, <https://hbs.gov.so/exploration-production/history/>, accessed 12.04.2024; The World Bank, "Democratic Republic of Somalia, Petroleum Exploration Promotion Project (Credit 1043-So)", *Project Completion Report*, No: 7533, December 8, 1988, <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/496761468102862033/pdf/multi-page.pdf>, accessed 12.04.2024; Ece Gürsedef, "Somali'de Petrol Rezervi Ne Kadar? Erdoğan'ın 'Teklif geldi' Açıklamasına Somali Petrol Bakanı ne Diyor?", *BBC News Türkçe*, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-51210933>, accessed 12.04.2024.

17 Israel Nyaburi Nyadera, Mohamed Salah Ahmed and Billy Agwanda, "Transformation of the Somali Civil-War and Reflections for a Social Contract Peacebuilding Process", *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences*, 18:4, 2019, pp. 1346-1366.

for Somalia's visibility on international platforms such as the UN and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, as well as the policy implementations that benefit all parties involved.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, the Somalia Conferences held in London in February 2012 and in Istanbul in May 2012<sup>19</sup> sought to give due consideration to the concept of positive peace in Somalia and to prioritize this over negative peace. In this context, the support of other countries and Türkiye has spread to various fields, including education, health, infrastructure, and security. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Türkiye's support in the security field is of significant value. It would be fair to say that Somalia faces several complex security challenges, including internal conflicts between tribes, the activities of terrorist organizations such as Al-Shabab, smuggling, and piracy.<sup>20</sup> It would be challenging for Somalia to address all these issues with its current resources. It is, therefore, in Türkiye's interest to contribute to the Somali military structure. In this context, the process commenced with signing "Framework Agreement on Training, Technical and Scientific Cooperation in the Military Field" in 2010 between Ankara and Mogadishu, which aims to reinforce the foundations of positive peace in the country. Following this Framework Agreement, the TÜRK SOM Military Training Base was inaugurated on 30 October 2017, reinforcing bilateral cooperation for positive peace in Somalia. The TÜRK SOM military training base, constructed over two years for 50 million USD, has been instrumental in addressing Somalia's need for qualified military personnel. For instance, the Gorgor (Eagle) military unit, trained by Türkiye, has made notable progress in combating Al-Shabab with the effective training and equipment they received.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that due to the significant developments in the Turkish defense industry in recent years, some of the newly introduced defense products are now being utilized by the Somali army. As an illustration, the Turkish Bayraktar TB2, which has received considerable international interest, is employed in the fight against Al-Shabab.<sup>22</sup>

Türkiye also supports positive peace in Somalia and the region, as well as fights against piracy activities in the Gulf of Aden, the Indian Ocean, and the Red Sea. The establishment of an international force against piracy and armed robbery in the Gulf of Aden, Somali territorial waters and offshore, the Arabian Sea and neighboring regions by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution in 2008 can be considered a significant indicator of international support for positive peace in the region.<sup>23</sup> Under the decision of the Turkish Grand National Assembly dated 10 February 2009, the Turkish Armed Forces also serve in this region.<sup>24</sup>

18 Mustafa Şahin, "Türkiye'nin Somali Politikasının İncelenmesi: 2011-2020 Dönemi", *Türkiye Ortadoğu Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 9:1, 2021, pp.109-147.

19 Oktay Bingöl, "Somali'de Barış ve Kalkınma Sürecinde Türkiye'nin Rolü", *Gazi Academic Perspective*, 7:13, winter, 2013, pp. 81-106.

20 European Union Agency For Asylum, *Country Guidance: Somalia. Common analysis and guidance note*, August, 2023, [https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2023-08/2023\\_Country\\_Guidance\\_Somalia.pdf](https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2023-08/2023_Country_Guidance_Somalia.pdf), accessed 14.05.2024.

21 Barış Kılıç, "'Somali Kartalları'" Mogadişu'daki Anadolu Kışlası'nda Yetiştiriliyor, *Anadolu Ajansı*, 24 August, 2022, <https://www.aa.com.tr/dunya/somali-kartallari-mogadisudaki-anadolu-kislasinda-yetistiriliyor/2667294>, accessed 14.05.2024.

22 Paul Cruickshank, P, "A View from the CT Foxhole: Harun Maruf, Senior Editor, Voice of America Somali", *CTC Sentinel*, November/December, 15(11), 2022, p.16, <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/CTC-SENTINEL-112022.pdf>, accessed 15.05.2024.

23 UN Security Council Resolution 1846 (2008), 2 December 2008, <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n08/630/29/pdf/n0863029.pdf>, accessed 24.10.2024

24 Euronews, "Somali Cumhurbaşkanı Mahmud: Türkiye, 10 Yıl Denizlerimizi Koruyacak", *Euronews*, 2024, <https://tr.euronews.com/2024/02/21/somali-cumhurbaskani-mahmud-turkiye-10-yil-denizlerimizi-koruyacak>, accessed 15.05.2024.

It is worth noting that the Defense and Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement signed between Türkiye and Somalia on 8 February 2024 assumes a significant role in many respects, especially considering Somalia's estimated 30 billion barrels of oil and gas reserves. The agreement was subsequently approved by the Somali Assembly and Council of Ministers on 21 February 2024, further solidifying its importance.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to the Türkiye-Somalia Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), another MoU was signed between Ethiopia and Somaliland on 1 January 2024, which is essential for regional security dynamics. However, this MoU has been perceived as a potential catalyst for political crises between Somalia and Somaliland and Ethiopia. Consequently, this MoU is viewed with concern by countries like Türkiye, which raises questions about its future.<sup>26</sup> Although some have voiced concern that this agreement with Ethiopia may have the inadvertent effect of fostering further divisions within Somalia, it also demonstrates Somalia's willingness to engage with other countries in the Horn of Africa in a positive and constructive manner. Despite domestic opposition and negative commentary from post-colonial countries, it is not feasible for Somalia to forego an agreement regarding Ethiopia's access to the sea if Ethiopia maintains constructive communication with the Mogadishu administration in accordance with international law and respects Somalia's territorial integrity. Nevertheless, the most crucial matter at hand is that should Ethiopia have a desire for a port or military base in Somalia, it would be prudent for them to plan and consult with the Somali government.<sup>27</sup>

### 3. The Importance of Macroeconomics in Peacebuilding: A Case Study of Somalia

There has been much discussion in the literature about the potential role of macroeconomic interventions in conflict prevention, management, and resolution. It seems fair to suggest that economic factors are both a root cause and a tool in preventing and resolving violent conflicts. The Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development helpfully identified seven pathways between armed violence and development, three of which are economic:

- The “financial impacts” of armed violence,
- Various political and economic “criminal” activities financed through armed violence,
- The impact of armed violence on different forms of livelihood strategies.<sup>28</sup>

Sanctions regimes were initially a popular tool in conflict prevention. However, there is still much to be learned about their effectiveness and costs for both target and implementing countries. It is worth considering that military interventions are an extreme and costly tool with an economic focus, and their effectiveness may be open to question.

Secondly, it is worth mentioning that macroeconomic instruments have been used in the security field in both conflict and post-conflict settings to promote stability. However, it is often the case that such instruments have been judged ineffective or showed various adverse effects. Despite the considerable levels of Official Development Assistance (ODA) provided

25 Tunç Demirtaş, “Türkiye-Somali Anlaşmasının Verdiği Mesaj ve Türkiye ile Mütteliklik”, *SETA*, 22 February, 2024, <https://www.setav.org/turkiye-somali-anlasmasinin-verdigi-mesaj-ve-turkiye-ile-mutteliklik/>, accessed 15.05.2024.

26 Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “SC-2, 4 Ocak 2024, Dışişleri Bakanlığı Sözcüsü Öncü Keçeli'nin Etiyopya ile Somaliland Arasında 1 Ocak 2024 Tarihinde İmzalanan Mutabakat Zaptına İlişkin Bir Soruya Cevabı”, 2024, <https://bangkok-be.mfa.gov.tr/Mission/ShowAnnouncement/408174>, accessed 15.05.2024.

27 Demirtaş, “Türkiye-Somali Anlaşmasının Verdiği Mesaj ve Türkiye ile Mütteliklik”, *ibid*.

28 Geneva Declaration Secretariat, *Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development*. 2006, Retrieved from <https://www.refworld.org/legal/resolution/gds/2006/en/42323>, accessed 16.05.2024.



to conflict and post-conflict countries, there is currently limited evidence to suggest that it has a positive impact in many cases. In some instances, it may even have the unintended consequence of exacerbating conflict or creating a dependency on aid, which could hinder state-building efforts.<sup>29</sup>

It would be remiss not to mention the recent emergence of private military security companies, whose impact has yet to be thoroughly evaluated. In contrast to these various economic instruments in the security field, it has been suggested that these private military security companies have the potential to contribute to resolving the economic dimensions of conflict.<sup>30</sup>

### ***3.1. Economic Challenges in Post-Conflict Somalia***

In countries emerging from conflict, one of the most challenging tasks is to establish a stable and effective government. It would be fair to say that the lack of effective governing institutions can have a negative impact on a country's economic progress and development. In the case of Somalia, the lack of a stable government since the overthrow of Siad Barre in 1991 has unfortunately resulted in state structures that are not as functional as they could be. In 2004, an internationally recognized Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was established to maintain peace in Somalia. The TFG was given an extended mandate in 2009 since it was deemed the most appropriate governance method. However, despite this progress, Somalia is still regarded as a failed state, with significant challenges in achieving the governance success necessary to ensure economic stability. An International Crisis Group Report even suggests that "institutions and processes designed to produce good governance, promote development, reduce poverty, and guarantee legitimate political processes are either non-existent or have effectively collapsed".<sup>31</sup>

In the view of North, institutions may be conceived of as "the rules of interaction in a society or, more formally, the humanly constructed constraints that guide interaction among people".<sup>32</sup> The interactions and transactions that form the basis of economic activities are inherently based on the "game of rules" that make these activities possible. For example, ensuring enforceable contracts, protecting property rights, maintaining competitive markets, and stabilizing prices require specially regulated state institutions to perform each function. The absence of state institutions indicates a failure of the institutional framework.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that the absence of an effective central authority, inconsistency in regulatory policies, and high risk and uncertainty have resulted in economic failures in Somalia. These failures have resulted in several unfortunate consequences, including a less-than-optimal environment for investment.

As a consequence of inadequate governance and institutional capacity, coupled with an economy in profound jeopardy, unemployment rates are alarmingly high, and household incomes are exceedingly low in Somalia. Approximately 43% of the population is

29 Thomas Edward Flores and Irfan Nooruddin, "Financing the Peace: Evaluating World Bank Post-conflict Assistance Programs", *The Review of International Organizations*, 4, 2009, pp. 1-27.; Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Aid, Policy, and Peace: Reducing the Risks of Civil Conflict", *Defence and Peace Economics*, 13:6, 2004, pp. 435-450; Julian Donaubauer, Dierk Herzer and Peter Nunnenkamp, "The Effectiveness of Aid under Post-conflict Conditions: A Sector-Specific Analysis", *The Journal of Development Studies*, 55:4, 2019, pp. 720-736.

30 Mats Berdal, "Chapter One: The Peacebuilding Environment", *The Adelphi Papers*, 49:407, 2009, pp. 29-94.

31 Abdi Ismael Samatar and Ahmed I. Samatar, "International Crisis Group Report on Somaliland: An Alternative Somali Response", *Bildaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies*, 5, 2005, pp. 107-124.

32 Douglas C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

categorized as “food insecure,” with an additional 24% deemed “marginally food insecure”.<sup>33</sup> Should their economic circumstances deteriorate, these individuals face a significant risk of descending into poverty. The preponderance of employment lies within the agricultural sector, where insufficient monthly incomes impede families' ability to sustain themselves. This economic vulnerability acts as a potent catalyst for adverse coping mechanisms, including the enlistment of children into armed groups for security and/or income generation. In Somalia, debt represents a pivotal driver of poverty, frequently incurred under duress and adverse conditions due to the lack of viable alternatives for survival following economic shocks, and it often remains unsettled. Many individuals are compelled to liquidate their limited productive assets, secure loans at exorbitant interest rates, or sell their future labor at a discounted rate, a practice called “debt bondage”.

Moreover, it is estimated that unemployment affects over 60% of Somalis.<sup>34</sup> Job creation should be regarded as a critical development strategy in post-conflict Somalia, as it provides Somalis with an immediate source of income, thereby reducing reliance on informal aid and worker remittances. Additionally, it assists in reconstructing human capital eroded by the war and instills a sense of security in those employed.

Access to basic services such as healthcare and education is severely restricted due to security issues in Somalia. For instance, the 2004 World Health Organization (WHO) report showed that less than 10% of the population had access to basic healthcare services, resulting in some of the world's highest mortality and morbidity rates. Similarly, the net enrollment rate for primary education is approximately 17%, one of the lowest globally.<sup>35</sup> According to the 2020 WHO report, between 26% and 70% of the Somali population lives in poverty, and approximately 2.6 million people are internally displaced. These conditions contribute to the limited access to healthcare services and result in some of the highest mortality and morbidity rates worldwide. The report underscores the necessity of strengthening primary healthcare to improve health outcomes in the country.<sup>36</sup>

The state of Somalia's land and livestock resources provides a striking example of the paradox between resource wealth and underdevelopment. Somalia's economy has traditionally relied on the export of primary commodities, and the overwhelming majority of the population remains dependent on these activities for their livelihoods. Historical trends have often involved overexploiting of resources in response to urgent national or household economic needs. The consequences have been far-reaching, including issues such as soil erosion, which has led to a decrease in crop and livestock productivity, recurring droughts, and changes in land-use patterns.<sup>37</sup>

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33 WorldBank, “*World Databank: World Development Indicators (Wdi) & Global Development Finance (Gdf)*”, <https://databank.worldbank.org/source/world-development-indicators>, accessed 04.11.2024.

34 Ibid.

35 World Health Organization (WHO), “*World Health Report 2004: Changing History*” Geneva: WHO”, 2004.

36 World Health Organization. “Somalia: Building a Stronger Primary Health Care System”, 15 September, 2020, <https://www.who.int/news-room/feature-stories/detail/somalia-building-a-stronger-primary-health-care-system>, accessed 12.03.2024.

37 Abdirahmen Zeila Dubow, “Somalia Needs its Trees to Restore Landscapes and Livelihoods”, 27 July 2022, <https://blogs.worldbank.org/en/african/somalia-needs-its-trees-restore-landscapes-and-livelihoods#:~:text=A%202020%20Somali%20government%20report,biological%20degradation%2C%20and%20gully%20erosion.>, accessed 24.10.2024.

#### 4. Macroeconomic Policies Applicable in Somalia for Sustainable Peace

States primarily utilize macroeconomic policies to regulate levels of economic activity. An economic policy fundamentally comprises fiscal and monetary policy, along with structural reform measures. The macroeconomic policies of a state involve specific intervention measures aimed at resolving structural and chronic issues, such as unemployment and inflation, while achieving other economic objectives.

The macroeconomic environment is evidently a crucial aspect of the peacebuilding approach. It offers a more comprehensive perspective on how war-torn and conflict-affected countries can rehabilitate themselves from the remnants of war to achieve lasting peace and sustainable development. The policies that the Somali government and its citizens should strive to implement are the ones that aim to promote trade and increase investment within the country to assist in the reconstruction and acceleration of the economy. A general outline for these policies may be as follows:

- Peacebuilding governments should align all income and expenditure processes within and outside the budget with a generally accepted national strategy to construct efficient economic and robust institutions in agreement with the populace.
- In a conflict environment, private investments are low, resources are misallocated, and income distribution can be highly skewed. Conflict can leave a country with excessive debt. Over time, some countries have amassed tens of millions in debt to finance war. A government must undertake significant debt restructuring and allocate funds to appropriate areas to restore the economy to its pre-conflict state or an improved condition.
- In a post-conflict situation, a country may lack an effective, if any, monetary policy. The significance of establishing or re-establishing any monetary policy lies in its being a good indicator of the country's overall stability and transitional stability, a critical factor in the peace process. High inflation, volatile exchange rates, and a lack of coordination between monetary and fiscal policy can hinder the establishment of peace.
- In a post-conflict scenario where the state is nearly non-existent, Somalia must focus first and foremost on rebuilding state governance.
- The role of international aid in economic recovery is undeniable. Development programming in Somalia primarily relies on the new Somali Development Plan, emphasizing the increasing consistency of international aid with evolving Somali agendas. This development marks a significant departure from the past, where externally imposed agendas and priorities often derailed peace and state-building efforts.
- Due to governance problems during the conflict, the Somali administration is currently fragile. Developing state capacity should be a primary focus for international actors since enhancing the state's administrative and technical capabilities will significantly improve the implementation of economic policy.
- Sustaining peace in Somalia will require some donors and aid organizations to make difficult decisions, such as abandoning old interests and relationships with

Somali groups and learning to work with those they historically opposed. This change necessitates a shift in institutional culture and attitude. It will take time, but it is possible, considering the changing nature of conflicts in Somalia and the cessation of many groups and organizations' activities.

- Capacity development in the private sector is crucial for fostering economic growth through industry and entrepreneurship. The private sector currently lacks the confidence and capabilities to operate effectively in Somalia. This ineffectiveness undermines the sector's potential contribution to economic growth, vital to poverty reduction.
- Strategies must be taken above and beyond physical repair and focus on development to achieve desired socio-economic impacts. Infrastructure development is an area where external aid can have an immediate and positive impact on the livelihoods and social welfare of the Somali people. During and after the conflict, the lack of secure employment opportunities has prevented and still prevents many households from resorting to negative coping strategies that erode human and social capital.
- There is considerable evidence of a direct relationship between unemployment and conflict. Collier, Hoeffler, and Söderbom<sup>38</sup> estimate that doubling UN peacekeeping expenditures reduces the risk of a new war from 40% to 31%. In a sense, conflict creates unemployed and impoverished societies, thus becoming a major obstacle to development. Therefore, creating employment opportunities and income redistribution may be paths to prevent a return to conflict and contribute to peace and security in Somalia. On the other hand, microfinance and credit programs targeting poor and marginalized groups that could be potential entrepreneurs should be implemented.
- Natural resources form the backbone of the Somali economy; thus, effective management of these resources is critical for long-term economic growth and sustainable peace. Ensuring equity in resource allocation among regions and social groups is crucial to avoid new conflicts over resources.
- The country's long-term economic and human resource development depends on regional cooperation and Somalia's broader integration into East African political and economic institutions.

Türkiye's economic initiatives in Somalia are critical in promoting positive peace and ensuring regional stability. These economic activities create a transformative impact on Somalia's reconstruction and development.

Türkiye's infrastructural development initiatives in Somalia enhance the country's economic cohesion and mitigate regional disparities, contributing to a more equitable distribution of resources and opportunities. As emphasized by Menkhaus,<sup>39</sup> these investments are vital in restructuring post-conflict societies. Developing ports, roads, and energy

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38 Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler and Måns Söderbom, "Post-Conflict Risks", *Journal of Peace Research*, 45:4, 2008, pp. 461-478.

39 Ken Menkhaus, "State Failure, State-building, and Prospects for a 'Functional Failed State' in Somalia", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 656:1, 2014, pp. 154-172..

infrastructure accelerates economic development while directly contributing to social stability by creating employment opportunities.

Given Somalia's economic structure, collaboration with Türkiye in the agricultural and livestock sectors enhances the country's food security and supports rural development. As noted in the study by Aras and Akpınar,<sup>40</sup> technology transfer and capacity-building programs increase Somalia's agricultural productivity and promote economic diversification.

Türkiye's contributions to education and vocational training strengthen Somalia's human capital and support youth employment. These programs significantly contribute to reducing the risk of conflict. Turkish companies investing in Somalia and forming partnerships with local businesses accelerate knowledge transfer and directly contribute to the development of Somalia's private sector.<sup>41</sup>

Microfinance and Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) support programs encourage entrepreneurship in Somalia and accelerate local economic development.<sup>42</sup> Programs involving such financing options enhance the participation of broader segments of society in economic activities, thereby strengthening social cohesion.

Türkiye's increasing economic presence in Somalia impacts regional dynamics. Türkiye's balanced approach and enhanced economic cooperation with Ethiopia reduce potential tensions in the context of relations between Somalia and Ethiopia.<sup>43</sup> Also, Türkiye's inclusive economic development strategy supports reducing internal tensions and achieving national integration in relations with autonomous regions like Somaliland and Puntland.<sup>44</sup>

Türkiye handles the security risks encountered in its economic initiatives in Somalia through effective cooperation with local security forces and the stringent application of international security standards. Political risks are managed through contributions to developing Somalia's institutional capacity and balanced relationships with various stakeholders. Türkiye mitigates the economic risks by actively participating in global initiatives that enhance transparency and combat corruption, and by supporting rule-making efforts.

Overall, Türkiye's inclusive, transparent, and sustainable approach accelerates Somalia's development and contributes to regional stability, while significantly promoting positive peace.

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40 Bülent Aras and Pınar Akpınar, "The role of Humanitarian NGOs in Turkey's Peacebuilding", *International Peacekeeping*, 22:3, 2015, pp. 230-247.

41 Federico Donelli and Ariel Gonzalez-Levaggi, "Becoming Global Actor: The Turkish Agenda for the Global South". *Rising Powers Quarterly*, Volume 1, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 93-115., Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3462255> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3462255>, accessed 15.04.2024

42 Bashir Ahmed Maow, "The Impact of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) on Economic Growth and Job Creation in Somalia." *Journal of Economic Policy Researches*, 2021,8:1, pp.45-56.

43 Brendon J. Cannon, "Deconstructing Turkey's Efforts in Somalia", *Bildhaan*, Vol. 16, November 15, 2016, Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2872980>, accessed 15.04.2024.

44 Matt Bryden, "Somalia redux? Assessing the New Somali Federal Government. Center for Strategic and International Studies", 2013, [https://cis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy\\_files/files/publication/130819\\_Bryden\\_SomaliaRedux\\_WEB.pdf](https://cis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/130819_Bryden_SomaliaRedux_WEB.pdf), accessed 13.04.2024.

## Conclusion

Johan Galtung's distinction between positive and negative peace provides a valuable framework for analyzing Türkiye's involvement in Somalia's peace process. According to Galtung, negative peace refers to the mere cessation of violence, while positive peace is achieved through justice, equality, and well-functioning institutions that address the root causes of conflict. Using this lens, Türkiye's support for state-building activities in Somalia can be seen as a significant attempt to foster positive peace.

Türkiye's contributions have spanned military, political, and economic domains, helping Somalia move beyond the absence of direct conflict (negative peace) towards establishing the foundations of sustainable peace (positive peace). By providing military assistance, Türkiye has contributed to stabilizing the security situation in Somalia. However, this alone does not fulfill the criteria for positive peace. Türkiye's broader engagement in political capacity-building, institutional reform, and economic development suggests a more holistic approach aimed at addressing the structural factors that contribute to Somalia's long-term instability.

In line with Galtung's theory, Türkiye's emphasis on infrastructure development, education, and healthcare aligns with the principles of positive peace, as these efforts aim to tackle the underlying inequities and institutional weaknesses that have historically fueled Somalia's conflicts. Furthermore, Türkiye's diplomatic initiatives, which promote dialogue among Somali factions and encourage inclusive governance, align with Galtung's idea of a harmonious interaction between societal actors. This indicates a deliberate attempt to build not only peace, but a peace that is just and enduring.

Nevertheless, challenges remain in fully realizing positive peace in Somalia. The persistent fragility of Somali institutions and the enduring presence of extremist groups like Al-Shabaab highlight that positive peace is not yet fully realized. Türkiye's contributions, while critical, must be part of a broader international effort that addresses the multi-dimensional nature of peacebuilding in Somalia. The interplay between local, regional, and international actors will determine the success of these efforts, as no single nation can build peace alone.

To conclude, Türkiye's role in Somalia's peace process represents a meaningful contribution to the establishment of positive peace. However, achieving lasting stability requires sustained efforts to promote justice, social equity, and institutional integrity—elements that Galtung identifies as crucial for positive peace. Türkiye's involvement, if continued in this comprehensive manner, has the potential to significantly contribute to Somalia's journey towards a more stable and peaceful future.

### ***Conflict of Interest Statement:***

*The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.*

### ***Author Contribution Statements:***

*The authors contributed to the study equally.*

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