

# FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND PEACE BUILDING IN MOGADISHU, SOMALIA

By

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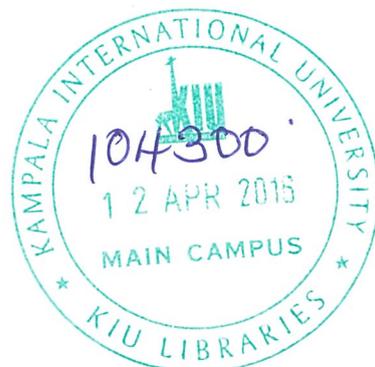
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

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Kampala International

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## DECLARATION A

This report is my original work and has never been presented to any other university for award of any academic certificate or anything similar to such. I solemnly bear and stand to correct any inconsistency.

Bashir Mohamed Omar 

Name and Signature of Candidate

12/06/2015

Date

## APPROVAL

I confirm that the work in this report has been carried out by the candidate under my supervision".

Glange Rusoke

Name and Signature of Supervisor

12<sup>th</sup> June 2015

Date

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicated this dissertation to my beloved parents Mohamed Omar and Kaltun Ali Hogato and my brothers Sultan Abdallah Mohamed, Salax Mohamed (Faray).

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This project would not have been possible without the support of many people. First and foremost I wish to express my gratitude to Allah for making me come this far and I am so grateful for His unconditional protection. Secondly many thanks to my supervisor and advisor, **Dr. Otanga Rusoke** who read my numerous revisions and helped me make some sense of the project. I am also grateful to Kampala International University Thesis Hearing and Defending workshops for providing me with the conceptual means to complete this project. Thirdly, I equally express my utmost gratitude to the respondents who afforded to spare time to complete the questionnaire and also to sit for the interviews. Fourth acknowledgement goes to my research assistant who devoted his time and energy towards the accomplishment of this research project. The moral support that he gave me too was overwhelming and came in handy at times when I was being challenged by various issues in the field. And finally, thanks to my family, father Mohamed Omar, mum kaltun Ali Hogato and brothers Suldun Abdalla Mohamed, Salax Mohamed and Abdirashid Mohamed tutors and numerous friends who provided me with moral support vital for the success of this project.

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

AMISOM	African Mission in Somalia
CAMEO	Conflict and Mediation Event Observation
CVI	Content Validity Index
DVC	Deputy Vice Chancellor
GDELT	Global Database of Events, Language, and Tone
ICU	Islamic Courts Union
IFIs	International Financial Institutions -
IGOs	Intergovernmental Organizations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KIU	Kampala International University
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NTC	National Transitional Council
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TFC	Transitional Federal Charter
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TFIs	Transitional Federal Institutions
UN	United Nations
UNPOS	United Nations Office for Somalia

## **ABSTRACT**

This study had the main objective to establish the role of foreign intervention in the peace building of Mogadishu, Somalia. The researcher was motivated by the fact that there was little progress in the peace building process in Mogadishu. The study was guided by the following objectives 1) to examine the foreign intervention strategies employed in Mogadishu Somalia 2) to assess the peace building process in Mogadishu, Somalia and 3) to establish a relationship between the foreign intervention and peace building in Mogadishu, Somalia. The study employed descriptive cross-sectional by design which involved both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Using this method, the researcher used a structured questionnaire (close ended) and an interview guide (for qualitative responses). A research population of 300 was identified and a sample size of 171 respondents was computed using the Slovene's formula. In selecting the respondents the researcher used simple random sampling technique. From the findings it was found that foreign intervention was very low in all aspects except for military intervention which was found to be high. Peace building process was also found to be low. Analysis of relationships suggested that there was a significant relationship between foreign intervention and peace building at a Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.827. Regression analysis computed the R Squared was to be at 0.683. Somalia's political situation is an ideal example of the hardships and disunity that many African nations have encountered in post colonialist era. Somalia has encountered political instability in the absence of functioning central government, numerous armed groups and militants that control different parts of the country. Ultimately the researcher suggested more civic education, equipping of national security forces, better international relations, foreign electoral oversight and government support to peace talks.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter indicates the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose, objectives and research questions, scope, significance of the research, hypothesis and a definition of the key words.

#### **1.1 Background of the Study**

##### **1.1.1 Historical background**

The end of the Twentieth Century is still characterized by geopolitical fluidity and socio-economic effervescence that tend to challenge the sovereignty of the developing state both from below and above. Violent ethnopolitical conflicts, separatist movements, rivalry for autonomy or political power, or territorial control, economic dislocation, among others, assail the integrity of the developing state, thereby impelling hegemonic actors (major states, Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs), and International Financial Institutions - IFIs) to intervene in order to: (1) uphold state integrity/sovereignty; (2) promote/enforce human rights practices; or (3) forestall/contain the negative and dysfunctional aspects of globalization processes in developing countries.

The ever-increasing negative effects of transnational social forces tend to generate the pervasive force of a neo-liberal cosmopolitan moral view of international relations that increasingly sanctions both military and non-military interventions to maintain the existing structure of states and international society. The consequence is that states, in particular, developing states, are progressively losing their individual identities, rights, and obligations vis-à-vis civil society, in the wake of external impositions. In other words, the disintegrative effects of globalization as well as the dislocative aspects of weak developing economies are increasingly undermining the twin pillars of non-intervention and state sovereignty. Conflict/peacekeeping interventions and economic dislocation/external economic policy impositions now constitute the most formidable

sources of assault on the decision-making autonomy, territorial integrity, and overall sovereignty of the developing state.

Countries forming the African continent are very different by their history, culture and geography, by their internal policies and international relations. The sources of the conflicts which devastate them reflect that diversity and complexity. Some are the result of internal factors, others depend on the dynamics of a region, and others comprise even significant international dimensions. Some originate from historical processes implying collective identifying conflict-generating perceptions, others arise from cyclical factors linked to among other things the violation or the absence of satisfaction of ontological needs. However, and beyond all the underlying causes, the role of the rulers and the attitude of those aspiring to rule are constantly at the heart of political violence and conflicts.

Rwandan conflicts ensued after the Hutus and Tutsis learned that they belonged respectively to the Bantu and Nilotic- Hamitic family, that they were definitely strangers to one another. At the same time, they learned that the first is an inferior race and the second a superior race, which was enough to arouse resentment of frustration on the one hand and conceit on the other hand. The government has in the aftermath created National Reconciliation Commission, headed by Aloysie Inyumba, which has initiated consultations throughout the country on issues related to coexistence. It seeks to highlight common problems and solutions and to promote a common history for all Rwandans, remove myths, and confront bigotry in all its forms. Perhaps its most innovative mandate is to monitor all government programs to determine how they affect peace, reconciliation, and national unity.

Since 1991, clan warfare has besieged Somalia. The United Nations has called the current situation in Somalia the "world's worst humanitarian disaster." At the end of January 2009, Sheikh Sharif Ahmed was elected President of Somalia with the hope that his administration will bring stability to Somalia and implement the Djibouti Peace Process of 2000. However, violence has continued unabated. At the end of 2009, nearly

700,000 Somalis were under the responsibility of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, constituting the third largest refugee group in the world after war-afflicted Iraq and Afghanistan, respectively.

In Mogadishu, African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) has played a great role of ensuring peace and democracy in Somalia, it has managed to provide security assistance to the government, though despite its role in ensuring security, there is still some regions of the country still hunted by the terror of the conflict and the Al Shabaab Terrorism Group. AMISOM continues to provide and play a great role in providing security assistance and tools both to the government and other foreign agencies. All in all foreign intervention in Somalia has managed to bring peace and development in the country compared to the past experiences of the government efforts (Heinlein 2011).

### **1.1.2 Theoretical Perspective**

The study was guided by the theory of Justice as was advanced by Rawls (1971). The theory states that for a peace to be attained in a conflict stricken community, past and historical injustices have to be addressed. This theory is relevant to the study at hand since foreign intervention uses similar tactics to address the conflicts through mediation. The study was also guided by the institutional theory of development as propounded by Scott (2004). The theory states that for development to be achieved in a country there is need for peace which is also achieved through installation of fundamental governmental institutions like the judiciary, parliament and executive to oversee the development process. This theory was also deemed relevant seeing that it talks about the governmental institutions as prerequisite for peace which is part of what this study stands for

### **1.1.3 Conceptual perspective**

Foreign intervention is the activities done by foreign countries to situations of the domestic state such as diplomacy for dispute solutions, operating as a protecting power of the domestic state on behalf of the other states by offering intervention capabilities (Dalton 2004). Adam Roberts defines foreign intervention as a "military intervention in a

state, without the approval of its authorities, and with the purpose of preventing widespread suffering or death among the inhabitants (Dalton 2004). Foreign intervention is "an act of intervention in the internal affairs of another country with a view to ending the physical suffering caused by the disintegrations or gross misuse of authority of the state, and helping create conditions in which a viable structure of civil authority can emerge" (Claude 2005). In this study foreign intervention included military intervention, peace talks' mediation and institutional building.

Peace building is an intervention that is designed to prevent the start or resumption of violent conflict by creating a sustainable peace (Svetlana, 2012). Peace building is a process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing root causes and effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building, and political as well as economic transformation (Bradbury, 2010). Peace building is the development of constructive personal, group, and political relationships across ethnic, religious, class, national, and racial boundaries (Muhizi, 2007). According to this study peace building will include all efforts geared towards establishment of sustainable peace and was thus constituted of reconciliation, reinforced security and democratization.

#### **1.1.4 Contextual perspective**

The United Nations is heavily involved in Somalia, providing essential foreign relief and assistance, supporting peacekeeping operations, and involved in counter-terrorism and anti-piracy operations that are actually lead by others. In October 2012, Kenya intervened inside Somalia and created a buffer zone in southern Somalia. Before this Kenyan intervention, AMISOM forces had literally surrounded the second most strategic part of Al Shabaab-held areas - the Bakara market in Mogadishu thereby destroying a major source of revenue for Al Shabaab. The greatest defeats suffered by Al Shabaab were inflicted by Ethiopian forces, who intervened in force against Al Shabaab, first taking control of the capital in the Hiran Valley, then taking control over Baidoa in February 2012, Ethiopian forces then advanced to take control over several other large

cities in the Bay-Bakool province, and intervened in central Somalia to help their Somali allies protect Dhusamareb against an Al Shabaab attack, at the same time pushing Al Shabaab out of their capital El Buur in central Somalia (UNPOS 2012). Although these situations exist in Somalia, the major concern of doing study is to assess how these interventions stabilized the political situations in Somalia especially Mogadishu.

There have been several efforts to resolve the Somali conflicts. A two-year peace process, led by the Government of Kenya, was carried out and which ended in October 2004. During the talks, the main warlords and politicians signed an agreement to set up a new parliament (Abdullahi, 2008). They elected Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed as President of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia, and formed an interim government, known as the Somalia Transitional Federal Institutions (TFIs). The TFIs were created based on the Transitional Federal Charter (TFC), which suggests the government follow a five-year mandate leading to the establishment of a new Somali constitution and a transition to a representative government following national elections. The new administration was Somalia's fourteenth attempt to establish a central government since 1991 (Warsame, 2011). This coupled together with the huge presence of African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) troops, peace is slowly being restored. However, with the advent of the news that the AMISOM tenure in the country comes to an end in 2016, there grows a dire need to hasten the peace and reconciliation process to avoid a repeat of the conflicts once the mission terminates.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Somalia's political situation is an ideal example of the hardships and disunity that many African nations have encountered in post colonialist era. Somalia has encountered political instability in the absence of functioning central government, numerous armed groups and militants that control different parts of the country. Today, international interventions have similar high-stakes for ordinary Somalis and, notwithstanding foreign objectives of 'stability' despite the various interventions of the AMISOM and other international bodies, the conflict in Somalia is still in action and poses a great threat to

the political status of the country. Foreign intervention in Somalia has bloody and disastrous precedent. The US-backed Ethiopian invasion in 2006-9 against the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) resulted in the displacement of millions of Somalis and precipitated the rise of Al-Shabaab which splintered from the moderate Islamic courts union during the course of the war. Therefore other interventions such as peace talks and other non-violent methods have also been applied to bring about an end to this conflict. According to the above scenario the research study intended to assess how the intervention of AMISOM and United Nations Office for Somalia (UNPOS) play a pivotal role in political stability and peace-building in Mogadishu, Somalia.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.3.1 General Objective**

The general objective of the study was to investigate the role of foreign intervention in the peace building of Mogadishu, Somalia.

#### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

- i. To examine the foreign intervention strategies employed in Mogadishu Somalia
- ii. To assess the peace building process in Mogadishu, Somalia.
- iii. To establish a relationship between the foreign intervention and peace building in Mogadishu, Somalia.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

- i. What is the foreign intervention strategies employed in Mogadishu Somalia?
- ii. How is the peace building process in Mogadishu Somalia?
- iii. Is there a significant relationship between foreign intervention and peace building in Mogadishu Somalia?

### **1.5 Hypothesis**

There is no significant relationship between foreign intervention and peace building in Mogadishu Somalia.

## **1.6 Scope of the study**

### **1.6.1 Geographical Scope**

The study was carried out in Mogadishu which is the capital city of Somalia. Mogadishu is located in the southern part of Somalia along the Indian Ocean to the west. The researcher chose this area because this is the central point for the administration of most of the foreign missions in Somalia.

### **1.6.2 Content Scope**

The study investigated the role of foreign intervention in the peace building process of Mogadishu, Somalia. Foreign intervention included military intervention, peace talks' mediation and institutional building. The peace building was indicated by reconciliation, reinforced security and democratization.

### **1.6.3 Time Scope**

This study was carried out within a period of one year extending from April 2014 – April 2015. The study period included all activities up to final submission of research report.

### **1.6.4 Theoretical Scope**

The study was guided by the institutional theory of Justice as advanced by Rawls (1971) This theory is relevant to the study at hand since foreign intervention uses similar tactics to address the conflicts through mediation. The study was also guided by the institutional theory of development as propounded by Scott (2004)

## **1.7 Significance of the Study**

The study may be useful to various stakeholders as highlighted below

- i. The findings of the study may help the administration of Mogadishu, Somalia, local leaders and other local stakeholders in drawing out the exact role of the foreign intervention and in peace building which may later motivate the functioning and further support of the government of Somalia.
- ii. The findings of the study may help the humanitarian agencies in identifying their roles of helping Somalia to improve socially and economically.

- iii. To the policy makers, the study findings may help in drawing appropriate measures of addressing the conflict once and for all so as to create an environment of continuity in the social and economic aspects of the people. This will be achieved by coming up with working policies since they will be informed by the results of the research.
- iv. To the policy implementers, the findings of the study may bring in new knowledge on the challenges involved in trying to solve the problems that breed conflict in the Mogadishu of Somalia as well as the region and how to close these loopholes.
- v. The study helped the researcher in acquiring practical research skills and also serves as a partial requirement for the award of Master of International Relations and Diplomacy of Kampala International University.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATUREREVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter reviewed literature on the topic, the purpose of this review is to clarify the problem and establish the existing gaps. This chapter consists of theoretical review, review of the related literature, foreign intervention in Somalia, foreign intervention towards political reconciliation in Somalia and infrastructure development and foreign intervention.

#### **2.1 Theoretical Review**

The study was guided by the theory of Justice as advanced by Rawls (1971). In the Theory of Justice, Rawls argues for a principled reconciliation of liberty and equality, central to this effort is an account of the circumstances of justice, inspired by David Hume, and a fair choice situation for parties facing such circumstances, similar to some of Immanuel Kant's views. Principles of justice are sought to guide the conduct of the parties. These parties are recognized to face moderate scarcity, and they are neither naturally altruistic nor purely egoistic (Rawls, 1971). They have ends which they seek to advance, but prefer to advance them through cooperation with others on mutually acceptable terms. Rawls offers a model of a fair choice situation (the original position with its veil of ignorance) within which parties would hypothetically choose mutually acceptable principles of justice. Under such constraints, Rawls believes that parties would find his favored principles of justice to be especially attractive, winning out over varied alternatives, including utilitarian and right-libertarian accounts.

Buckley (2012) explains that the original position is the appropriate initial status quo which insures that the fundamental agreements reached in it are fair. This fact yields the name "justice as fairness." It is clear, then, that Rawls (1971) wanted to say that one conception of justice is more reasonable than another, or justifiable with respect to

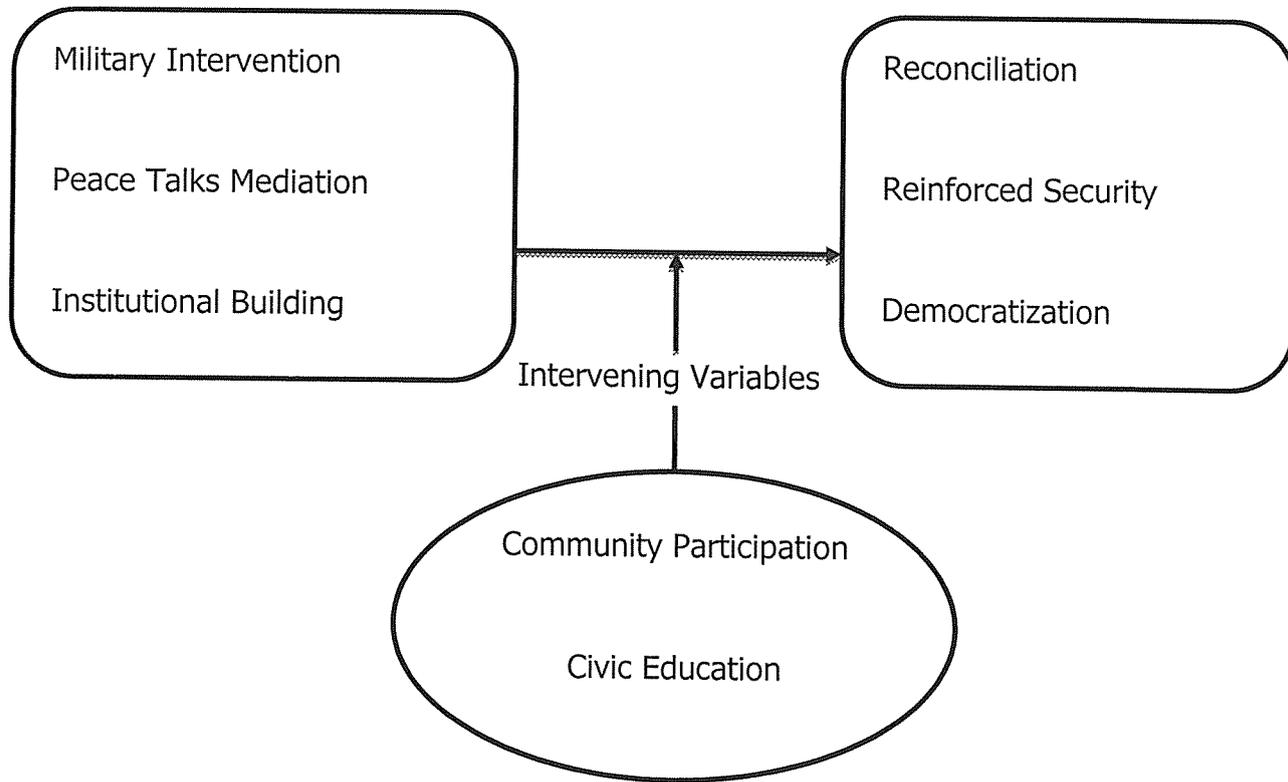
it, if rational persons in the initial situation would choose its principles over those of the other for the role of justice. Conceptions of justice are to be ranked by their acceptability to persons so circumstanced. Understood in this way the question of justification is settled by working out a problem of deliberation: there has to be ascertainment as to which principles it would be rational to adopt given the contractual situation. This connects the theory of justice with the theory of rational choice. If this view of the problem of justification is to succeed, we must, of course, describe in some detail the nature of this choice problem (Buckley, 2012). A problem of rational decision has a definite answer only if we know the beliefs and interests of the parties, their relations with respect to one another, the alternatives between which they are to choose, the procedure whereby they make up their minds, and so on. As the circumstances are presented in different ways, correspondingly different principles are accepted.

The study was also guided by the theory institutional theory of development by Scott (2004). Institutional theory of Development is "A widely acknowledged theoretical supposition that emphasizes rational myths, isomorphism, and legitimacy." Institutional theory dwells on the deeper and more resilient aspects of social structure. It considers the processes by which structures, including schemes; rules, norms, and routines, become established as authoritative guidelines for social behavior (Scott, 2004). Different components of institutional theory explain how these elements are created, diffused, adopted, and adapted over space and time; and how they fall into decline and disuse. As a general supposition, the theory asserts that for peaceful coexistence to be realistic there is need for proper governance structures and institutions in a country or region.

## **2.2 Conceptual Framework**

The figure below presents the supposed relationship between the variables under study. The concepts are organized into independent variable, dependent variable and intervening variables

**Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework for the Study**



**Source: Researcher, 2015. Adopted from Hobbes (1762)**

From the figure above, it was hypothesized that the dependent variable of peace building as constituted by reconciliation, reinforced security and democratization is influenced by military foreign intervention through its constructs of military intervention, peace talks' mediation and institutional building. This happens with the intervention of another set of variables namely the intervening variables constituted by community support and civic education. These two inhibit, facilitate and or limit the effect that foreign intervention has on the peace building process.

## **2.3 Related studies**

### **2.3.1 Foreign Intervention**

The conceptualization of intervention in this analysis is broad and includes both coercive/military forms of intervention, and non-military/consensual forms of

intervention. Interventions even when consensual often have serious human rights implications because of their tendency to subvert the managerial capacity of the state vis-à-vis the welfare of its citizens (Tazoacha, 2013). An example is the coercive consensual relationship or consensual domination of the developing state by Great Powers and International Financial Institutions (IFIs) in the area of economic policy. In post-Cold War international society in which military-strategic-defensive issues have rapidly given way to socio-economic globalization processes, non-military forms of intervention by Great Powers and IFIs on developing state sovereignty are increasingly becoming a moral problem as manifested in the reaction of large segments of developing state civil society to external economic impositions, such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditionalities (Yunis, 2012).

Building capacity from outside implies that more resources for repression are laid into the hands of those who control political power. Thus, foreign help in building capacity is in danger of preventing armed conflict at the cost of aiding repression. A key indicator of this danger is the extent to which political power of the government is constrained institutionally.<sup>6</sup> High institutional restrictions of executive power mean that the incentives of the group in power to abuse the build-up in capacity are muted. A second significant caveat is that we therefore have little hard evidence on the effectiveness of different types of interventions. While counter-insurgency has received some attention recently (Bori, 2009) preventive measures like capacity building are much harder to evaluate.

The analysis of preventive measures could be aided considerably by reliable measures of conflict risk. A good measure of conflict risk would not only be useful for academic research but could, as illustrated above, assist the policy process as well. Open-source Initiatives like Conflict and Mediation Event Observation (CAMEO) or the Global Database of Events, Language, and Tone (GDELT) might help but it requires both theory and data to predict conflict (Bradbury, 2010).

## **2.3.2 Peace building**

Peace building refers to a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development (UNDP Report, 2014). Peace building strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives (Kent, 2011). The United Nations has been at the center of expanding international peace building efforts, from the verification of peace agreements in Southern Africa, Central America and Cambodia in the 1990s, to subsequent efforts to consolidate peace and strengthen states in the Balkans, East Timor, and West Africa, to contemporary operations in Nepal, Haiti, Iraq, Afghanistan and the Sudan (UN Report, 2011). Recognizing that the United Nations needs to better anticipate and respond to the challenges of peace- building, the 2005 World Summit approved the creation of a new Peace building Commission. The Commission is supported within the United Nations Secretariat by a Peace building Support Office that draws on the expertise of the many different United Nations entities involved in peace building, including the Department of Political Affairs. A new Peace building Fund was also established.

### **2.3.2.1 Reconciliation**

Reconciliation is a complex term, and there is little agreement on its definition. This is mainly because reconciliation is both a goal - something to achieve - and a process - a means to achieve that goal. A great deal of controversy arises from confusing these two ideas. This Handbook focuses very firmly on the process. The goal of reconciliation is a future aspiration, something important to aim towards, perhaps even an ideal state to hope for. But the process is very much a present tense way of dealing with how things are - building a reconciliation process is the means to work, effectively and practically, towards that final goal - and is invaluable in itself (Trevor, 2012).

A second source of complexity is that the process of reconciliation happens in many contexts - between wife and husband, for example, between offender and victim, between friends who have argued or between nations or communities that have fought. The focus of this Handbook is on reconciliation after sustained and widespread violent conflict. Typically, we have in mind what is often called a post-conflict situation: war has ended, a settlement has been reached, and a new regime is struggling to construct a new society out of the ashes of the old. Part of that task of construction is to build better relationships between the previously warring factions.

Reconciliation is an over-arching process which includes the search for truth, justice, forgiveness, healing and so on. At its simplest, it means finding a way to live alongside former enemies – not necessarily to love them, or forgive them, or forget the past in any way, but to coexist with them, to develop the degree of cooperation necessary to share our society with them, so that we all have better lives together than we have had separately (Yunis, 2012). Politics is a process to deal with the issues that have divided us in the past. Reconciliation is a parallel process that redesigns the relationship between us. This is an immense challenge, and no one should think that it is quick or easy. But the effort carries a great reward: effective reconciliation is the best guarantee that the violence of the past will not return. If we can build a new relationship between us that is built on respect and a real understanding of each other's needs, fears and aspirations, the habits and patterns of cooperation that we then develop are the best safeguard against a return to violent division. And so we reach our basic definition of reconciliation: it is a process through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future.

### **2.3.2.2 Reinforced Security**

Despite recent strides in strengthening the ability of the United Nations to protect civilians, conflicts around the world were still characterized by a "prevailing disrespect" for the core principles of international humanitarian law, top officials warned the Security Council today. Briefing the Council ahead of a day-long open debate on the protection of civilians in armed conflict topic, they said grave challenges remained in

each of the discussion's focus areas: enhancing compliance with international humanitarian, human rights and refugee law; ensuring humanitarian access to affected populations; and strengthening accountability for serious violations of international humanitarian and human rights law (Buckley, 2012).

"Protecting civilians demands timely political action and prevention," emphasized Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, whose latest report on the topic (document S/2012/376) was the subject of many references by speakers. That meant helping Governments — with whom lay the primary responsibility for protection — to build the necessary capacity, and might include a presence or pre-emptive action by uniformed peacekeepers, he added, pointing out that civilian protection remained at the core of nine current United Nations peacekeeping operations. Meanwhile, creating the new mandate of the United Nations Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), as well as strengthening that of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO), offered opportunities to enhance the Organization's ability to protect civilians (Bori, 2009).

### **2.3.2.3 Democratization**

Democratization is the process whereby a country chooses its leaders through fair and competitive elections, ensure basic civil liberties, and respect the rule of law. Some observers also claim that a democracy has to have a capitalist economy and a strong civil-society and civic culture, although not all political scientists would include these two criteria (Kerant, 2009). There is less agreement among political scientists about how that process occurs, including the criteria to use in determining if democratization has, in fact, taken place. Many countries have adopted democratic regimes only to see them collapse in a military coup or other revolt that yields an authoritarian government instead. Typically, some authors do not feel that democracy has truly taken root until at least three national elections have been held. Another criterion raised by many experts is the peaceful transfer of power from one political party or coalition to the former opposition. Such a transition is critical because it indicates that the major political forces

in a country are prepared to settle their disputes without violence and to accept that they will all spend periods of time out of office.

As with the definition of the term, the importance of democratization is easy to see at first glance but is much more complicated in practice. Democratization is important because of one of the most widely (but not universally) accepted trends in international relations, known as the democratic peace. Put simply, democracies do not have wars with other democracies. There were a handful of ambiguous cases in the 19th century in which democratizing countries fought other emerging democracies (Tazoacha, 2013). But there have been no cases of an established democracy going to battle with another one since 1900. Obviously, that does not mean that democracies cannot go to war with each other. But there is something about democracy and the relationship between democracies that allows them to settle their disputes peacefully.

### **2.3.3 Relationships between Foreign Intervention and peace building**

#### **2.3.3.1 Military Intervention and Peace building**

Svetlana (2012) states that, no military intervention is ever free of moral hazard and what NATO did in Libya can hardly be called a 'catastrophic failure'. He claims that there is a reasonable prospect that, under the new Libyan government, credible reports of serious human rights violations are properly investigated and anyone found guilty brought to justice. Should the authorities in Tripoli fail to act for reasons of weakness or political convenience, the international criminal court can be expected to step in and carry out its own investigations under the mandate already given to it by the UN Security Council. The crimes reported in Sirte, while they were serious in each and every case, are counted in the dozens. The larger figure of 30,000 deaths quoted by Milne is the one given by the National Transitional Council (NTC) for those killed on both sides during the whole of the conflict, and includes 8,000 said to have been killed by the Gaddafi regime before NATO's intervention had even started. To point out that the killing continued after that point is hardly proof that NATO caused more suffering

than it prevented. The opposite conclusion – that western intervention saved lives – still seems far more convincing (Svetlana, 2012).

Kent (2011) states that currently, many Nigerians have a slightly less rosy perception of the American intervention. He writes that the United States and most European countries do not have impressive records in terms of intervention, especially in Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, and Congo; on occasion, those interventions have ended up precipitating civil wars. In addition, some Kaduna-based clerics in Nigeria argue that the American intervention in Chibok serves to pull further at an already polarized society. He considers the American military intervention an invasion of Islamic territory by “Christian crusaders” from America. While the American intervention continues to divide opinions, Northern Nigeria remains the poorest region of the country. Poverty and illiteracy rates, deforestation, internal migration, corruption and infrastructure problems are rising. Military intervention won’t help these issues – it only increases them and, in turn, increases the allure of fundamentalist activities (Kent, 2011).

### **2.3.3.2 Peace Talks Mediation and Peace building**

Trevor (2012) writes that despite problems with the mediation and implementation period that happened in Kenya in the post-election violence in 2007-2008, he concludes that the Annan-led mediation should constitute success. While there were many reasons the mediation succeeded, three elements were most important. First, the appointment of a single empowered mediation panel composed of figures of enormous stature and moral authority was critical. Second, international engagement in support of the process was important to enhancing the mediation panel’s leverage. Third, the mediation panel’s emphasis on “pragmatism over politics” helped shift the parties from focusing on “zero sum politics” (e.g. who won the election) and towards a more comprehensive solution to resolve Kenya’s crisis of governance (Trevor, 2012).

Claims by Davis (2012) are that in the South Sudan conflict that broke out in 2014, many foreign countries have intervened in peace talks with the two sides. As South Sudan's number one foreign investor, China came to play an unusually active role in an

effort to resolve the conflict. China has high stakes in both Sudan and South Sudan, having invested \$20 billion in Sudan prior to the 2011 partition, and an additional \$8 billion in South Sudan following its secession. As 5 percent of China's crude oil came from South Sudan (when it was at full production), the restoration of stability is likely to remain a high priority for Beijing (Davis, 2012). He observes that while playing its diplomatic role, China also happens to be the government's top weapons provider. China had by then sold \$38 million worth of ammunition, grenade launchers, machine guns and missiles to South Sudan's government. As a result, many voices in South Sudan and the international community have accused Beijing of prolonging the conflict. Some rebel figures have also criticized Beijing, claiming it is playing a contradictory role by arming South Sudan's military while investing time, effort and money in peace talks. South Sudan's rebels do not view China as a legitimate or genuine peace broker, and accuse it of playing peacemaker simply to protect its oil interests.

### **2.3.3.3 Institutional Building and Peace building**

According to the UN Report (2011), the destruction of institutional capacity during conflict greatly hinders a society's ability to restore and maintain peace, which may be one of the main reasons why the majority of post-conflict countries relapse into conflict within 10 years in spite of all efforts to promote peace. For that reason, an increasing emphasis has to be placed on the crucial role of institutional development in preventing the renewal of conflict. To prevent relapse, it is important to begin institution-building efforts in the immediate post-conflict phase and not leave it to a later stage, the paper states. However, it is important to remember that building institutional capacity is always a difficult undertaking, especially in post-conflict situations. Tensions as well as a lack of resources and human capital add to the difficulties of a process involving multiple stakeholders and the need to strike the right balance between short-term results (such as providing basic services) and long-term capacity development, including institutional reform (UN Report, 2011).

## **2.4 Research Gaps**

There were evidently several gaps which have been identified during the literature review. Most importantly there was no study which was found which sought to link the two variables under investigation. Most of the studies were only highlighting on some aspects while leaving the others. Also, the studies reviewed are not current. The situation in Somalia is very volatile and dynamic. As time goes, more and more information and revelation comes. As such there is need to conduct a study to reveal facts as they currently are. Very few studies employed the questionnaire as their research instrument. Most were engaging documentary review which at times could be misleading. Studies on the role of institutional building were particularly scarce probably due to the fact that the concept is still new within the country. The literature reviewed mainly talks of other countries other than Somalia and other cities other than Mogadishu. These literature gaps necessitate another study to be conducted to address the highlighted issues which also served as a motivation towards conducting this study.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter includes research design, research population, and sample size, sampling procedure, research instruments, validity and reliability of research instruments, data gathering procedure, data analysis, ethical consideration and limitation of the study.

#### **3.1 Research design**

This study followed a descriptive research design and used to describe the nature of the study problem. It was descriptive in that it described the characteristics of respondents. The descriptive design was used to determine how foreign intervention stabilized the political situation in Mogadishu Somalia. It was cross-sectional in that data was collected from all respondents at the same time.

#### **3.2 Research Population**

The study population was 300 and these included traditional leaders, politicians, civil society organizations, business organizations, religious and academicians in Mogadishu, Somalia (UNDP Report, 2014).

#### **3.3 Sample Size**

The sample size of the researcher for the research study was 171 respondents. The researcher used the Slovene's Formula to generate the sample size from the research population.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e^2)}$$

**Equation 3.1: Slovenes formula**

Where: n=sample size

N=target population

e =level of significance/marginal error (0.05)

$$n = \frac{300}{1 + 300(0.05^2)}$$

$$n = \frac{300}{1 + 300(0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{300}{1.75} = 171.429 \cong 171 \text{ respondents}$$

**Table 3.1: Population and Sample Size Summary**

<b>Respondents type</b>	<b>Target population</b>	<b>Sample</b>
Tradition leaders	40	20
Religious leaders	35	22
Politicians	50	31
Academicians	65	36
Civil society organization	60	35
Business organizations	50	27
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>171</b>

### **3.4 Sampling Procedure**

This study employed simple random sampling where respondents were selected from the target population without bias. Certain members of population were selected to represent the entire population. Simple Random Sampling technique is a technique that ensures each member of the target population has an equal and independent chance of being included in the sample. Furthermore, it produces a random sample. The researcher was convinced that the target population was uniform and had similar characteristics.

### **3.5 Research Instruments**

#### **3.5.1 Questionnaire**

This study used questionnaires as the main tool when collecting data. The questionnaire consisted of a structured type of questions which produced the answers needed by the researcher. A questionnaire is a formatted set of questions that was drawn up to meet objectives of the study Mugenda, & Mugenda (1989).

The reason for selecting this instrument was that the researcher believed that the questionnaires would be the most reliable instrument to get the necessary information from the respondents without fear or hesitancy. It was also found to be less costly compared to other instruments. Each respondent was provided a chance to express his or her ideas, options, views freely in a provided space without any undue influence of the researcher or his assistants.

#### **3.5.2 Interview guide**

Interview guides were also used to collect data especially from the respondents who didn't know how to read and write. Interviews were also done with people in higher positions.

### 3.6 Validity and reliability of the instrument

#### 3.6.1 Validity

Validity of the instrument was ensured through expert judgment and the researcher made sure the coefficient of validity (Content Validity Index – CVI) was at least 70%. The researcher will consult his supervisor for expert knowledge on questionnaire construction. After the assessment of the questionnaire, the necessary adjustments will be made bearing in mind of the objectives of the study. The formula that will be used to determine the validity of the instrument will be;

$$CVI = \frac{\text{no of items declared valid}}{\text{total no of items}}$$

Equation 1: CVI Equation

In the end, out of 24 questions, 21 were declared valid and as such the researcher claimed a validity of 0.875. Since this index is above 0.7, the instrument was declared valid.

#### 3.6.1 Reliability

Reliability is a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials (Muganda & Mugenda, 2003). Reliability of the instrument was established through a test-retest technique. The researcher conducted a pre-test of the instrument on group of subjects and waited for a week then administered the same test to the same subjects a second time. Cronbach's alpha was used to determine the reliability of the instruments. A Cronbach's alpha value of 0.70 and above is considered to be the criteria for demonstrating internal consistency of new scale and established scales respectively (Amin, 2005). The following table represents the results obtained from the reliability test

**Table 3. 2: Cronbach's Alpha Table**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Cronbach's Alpha</b>	<b>Number of Items</b>
Military Intervention	0.74	4
Peace Talks' Mediation	0.83	4
Institutional Building	0.88	4
Reconciliation	0.79	4
Reinforced Security	0.77	4
Democratization	0.85	4
<b>Mean and Total</b>	<b>0.81</b>	<b>24</b>

### **3.7 Data Gathering Procedures**

Data gathering procedures was divided into three phases, these included; before, during and after. The researcher followed these phases to reach to the conclusion of the data gathering procedures.

**Before**, before the research, the researcher was required to get an introductory letter from the college of higher degrees and research. After this letter, the researcher presented this letter to the field officials before carrying out the data gathering.

**During**; in the process of collecting data, the researcher educated the respondents about the research and also informed them about the future use, benefits and outcomes of the research report. This he did by the researcher with the help of three people by distributing the questionnaires to the respondents.

**After**, after collecting the data from the field research the analysis process and presentation emerged. The researcher made sure he collected all the questionnaires from the respondents since the questionnaires were vital in data analysis procedures and presentation.

### 3.8 Data Analysis

This part addresses processing and analysis. Therefore, data was collected from the study area, edited, collated and tabulated. Data was manually entered in an SPSS spread sheet and tabulated using the programmed and it will be analyzed on it. Then, the data was entered and tables were produced frequently. The data was analyzed and the report was made soon after.

Various statistical methods were used to analyze the data collected from the study. The profile of the respondents was analyzed by use of frequency and percentage distribution tables.

Qualitative data from the interviews was analyzed by use of content and context analysis. Content analysis involved coding and classifying data, also referred to as categorizing and indexing and the aim of context analysis is to make sense of the data collected and to highlight the important messages, features or findings.

Objective one and two: The mean, standard deviation, t-statistic and ranks was used to determine foreign intervention strategies and peace building. An item analysis illustrated the strengths and weaknesses based on the indicators in terms of means and ranks. The following mean scale was used to interpret the means scored by the various variables to be analyzed.

**Table 3. 3: Mean Interpretation Table**

<b>Mean Range</b>	<b>Response Mode</b>	<b>Interpretation</b>
3.26-4.00	Strongly Agree	Very High
2.51-3.25	Agree	High
1.76-2.50	Disagree	Low
1.00-1.75	Strongly Disagree	Very Low

Objective three: Pearson's Linear Correlation Coefficient was used to find out the relationship between foreign interventions strategies. Regression method was also used to establish the causal relationship between the study's variables by computing the R squared.

### **3.9 Ethical Considerations**

Bearing in mind the ethical issues, the researcher provided the respondents with the necessary information regarding the main purpose of the research, expected duration and procedures to be followed, and was in a position to maintain their privacy by not disclosing the confidentiality and identity of respondents.

### **3.10 Limitations of the Study**

The researcher encountered a number of limitations including;-

The time to complete the research was not enough because there were many procedures and activities to be undertaken within a constrained period of time

The cost of undertaking the study was quite high because the research was done in Mogadishu where the cost of living is very high and the researcher was not employed.

Some of the respondents were not motivated when it came to responding to the questionnaires because they felt that the study would add no value to their lives

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **FINDINGS, PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter contains the presentation and analysis of the findings obtained from the field. The data analyzed herein is first hand as it was obtained from questionnaires and interviews conducted during the study. This section of the report is guided by the following objectives

1. To analyze the demographic characteristics of the respondents
2. To examine the foreign intervention strategies employed in Mogadishu Somalia
3. To assess the peace building process in Mogadishu, Somalia.
4. To establish a relationship between the foreign intervention and peace building in Mogadishu, Somalia

The questionnaire return rate was superb as most of the questionnaires issued out were redeemed. Out of the 171 questionnaires distributed, the first 171 were considered for analysis since this was the sample size for the study.

#### **4.1 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

The profile of respondents was analyzed with respect to their gender, age bracket, level of education and occupation. Consequently, the following table was obtained as summary of the characteristics. Frequency tables, percentages and bar charts were used to present these characteristics.

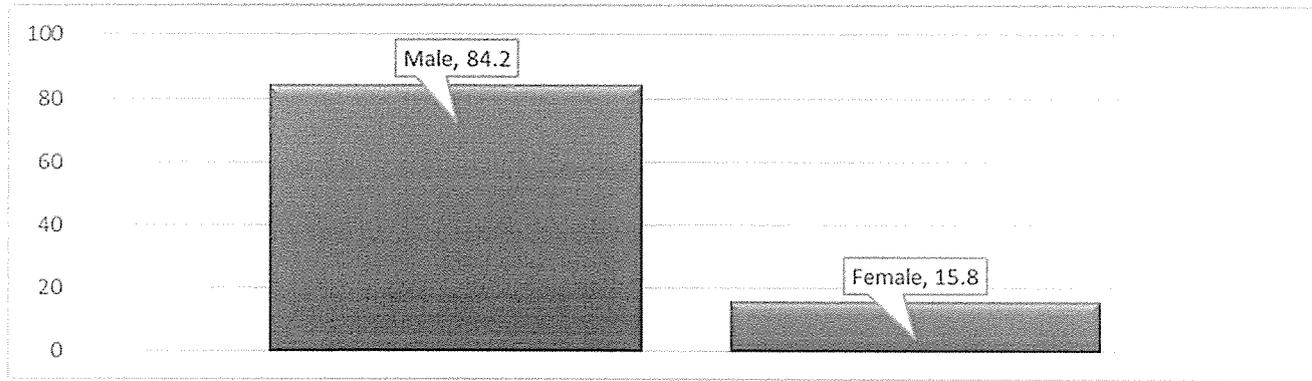
**Table 4. 1: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

PARAMETER	SUB-CATEGORY	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Gender	Male	144	84.2
	Female	27	15.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>100</b>
Age	Below 25	12	7
	26-39	28	16.4
	40-54	88	51.5
	55 and above	43	25.1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>100</b>
Level of Education	Secondary	39	22.8
	Certificate	57	33.3
	Diploma	49	28.7
	Degree	17	9.9
	Master	9	5.3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>100</b>
Occupation	Traditional and religious leaders	42	24.6
	Politicians	31	18.1
	Academicians	36	21.1
	Civil society organization Officers	35	20.5
	Business People	27	15.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

From the table above it can be noted that the males were more than the females by a huge proportion where the males composed 84.2% while the females composed only 15.8%. This provides evidence that that political and leadership positions in Mogadishu are occupied by men since most of the respondents were either politicians or were leaders of the community or religion. The figure below presents a graphical view of the information above to display the same information.

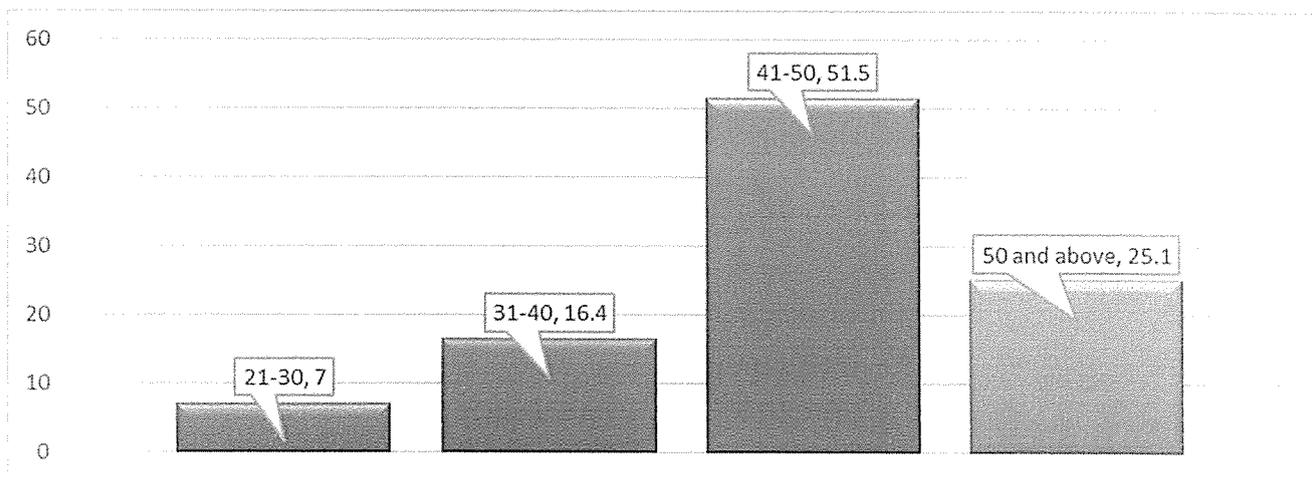
**Figure 4. 1: Gender Distribution of Respondents**



**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

The second parameter to be investigated under the profile of respondents was the age distribution where significant disparities were discovered. It was found that the most dominant age group amongst the respondents was for those individuals between 41-50 years who composed 51.5% followed by far by those above 50 years constituting 25.1% then by those aged between 31-40 years with 16.4% composition and finally the least dominated age group was the lowest in hierarchy for those between 21 and 30 years claiming a percentage composition of 7%. This information shows that there were more elderly people than there were younger ones amongst the respondents as it is displayed in the following bar chart representing the same information.

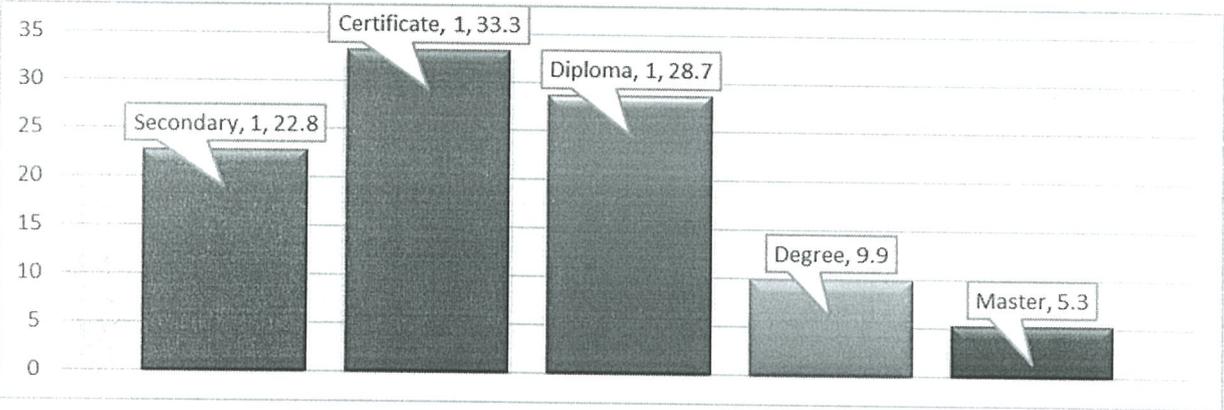
**Figure 4. 2: Age Distribution of Respondents**



**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

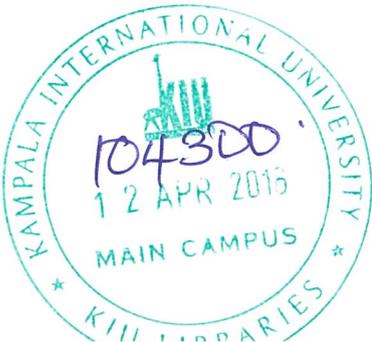
The third parameter under the profile of respondents was on the educational levels of the respondents. This parameter was important as the researcher needed to understand how qualified the politicians and community leaders were for their positions of power. Here, it was duly found out that most of them had post high school certificate as their highest academic qualification who represented 33.3% of the total 171 respondents followed by diploma holders at 28.7% composition, subsequently followed by secondary school certificate holders claiming 22.8% composition. Degree holders represented 9.9% while master’s degree holders had a mere 5.3% representation. This provides evidence that the educational levels of the politicians and community leaders in Mogadishu are lowly educated. The following bar graph serves to represent the above information graphically.

**Figure 4. 3: Educational levels of Respondents**



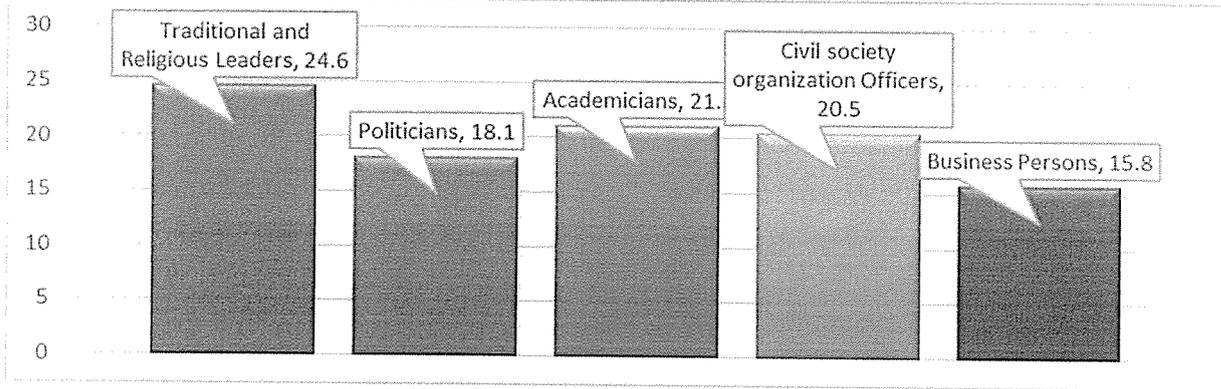
**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

The final parameter under the demographic characteristic was the examination of the occupation of the respondents who took part in the study. Under this, the analysis gave fewer disparities where the most populated group or category had 24.6% (traditional leaders and religious leaders) representation while the lowest had 15.8% (business persons). In between the two categories came academicians at second place with 21.1%, followed by civil organizations officers with 20.5% and then followed by politicians with 18.1% representation. This shows that the sample size was carefully



representative of all the listed categories of respondents which boosts the validity of the findings. The figure shown below offers a more vivid illustration of this information.

**Figure 4. 4: Occupation of Respondents**



**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

#### **4.2 Objective One: Foreign Intervention Strategies in Mogadishu**

The first objective of the study entailed the analysis of the foreign intervention strategies as were found to be employed within Mogadishu. This section was dedicated towards satisfying the specific objective. In general, the strategies were found to be generally low as its average mean was computed at 2.20 which according to the mean scale of interpretation reads as low. This objective was further broken down into three sub objectives of military intervention, peace talk’s mediation and institutional building. A total of 12 questions were asked in this regard and descriptive statistics computed as a result. By use of tables of descriptive statistics, the following interpretation was arrived at. From the interviews, the foreign intervention strategies received heavy criticism which ranged from the fact that the respondents believed that the foreign participants in resolving the Somali conflict in Mogadishu had their own agendas in mind. A sampled respondents from the interviews had the following to say

*"...I personally don't believe in foreign assistance in this situation, these people have their interest at heart...every move they make is geared towards establishing themselves as countries...I think the strategies help them more to build their nations' reputation than they help us to find a resolve in our civil conflicts..."*

#### **4.2.1 Military Intervention**

The first element to be investigated under foreign intervention was the military intervention which was found to be the most significant form of foreign intervention strategies. Consequently it was found to be high since its mean was calculated at a comfortable level of 2.9. The standard deviation of 1.01 shows that the responders were a bit divided but the general notion was that military intervention had a significant share in the foreign intervention strategies. The statement which received the highest positive assessment was the one stating that "There is a huge presence of international military personnel in Mogadishu" measured at a mean of 3.73 while the lowest was the one which advocated "International military personnel coexist well with the locals" receiving a mean of 1.43. This means that as much as there is high military presence, this presence is not perceived as friendly to the common people as might have been expected.

**Table 4. 2: Military Intervention Table**

Question	Mean	Construct Mean	Std Deviation	T statistic	Interpretation
There is a huge presence of international military personnel in Mogadishu	3.73	2.9	1.01	2.87	High
The international military personnel are important to the security of Mogadishu	3.12				
Presence of military personnel gives confidence to the residents of Mogadishu	3.33				
International military personnel coexist well with the locals	1.43				

**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

From the qualitative data gathered (within the interviews) the following quotes were captured

*"...soldiers are many, troupes are everywhere, the African Union Mission in Somalia has the largest peace keeping force around here and we are grateful for that...but our reservation is that there have been some few cases of irregularities which like rape committed by the troupes which are highly condemned by our culture and religion...for that I feel it is a bitter sweet situation we are facing..."*

#### **4.2.2 Peace Talks Mediation**

The second item of analysis under foreign intervention strategies was the peace talks' mediation. The researcher basically set out to investigate the role of the international community in striking peace deals between the conflicting parties in the Somali conflict. The results indicate that this mediation has not been significantly central to the foreign intervention strategies. Its mean which was found to be at 2.08 was interpreted as low

to suggest the notion above. This is moreover confirmed by the standard deviation of 0.43 which shows that the responses were not far from each other thereby resulting in a t statistic of 4.84. The highest construct under this category of questions was the statement "Peace talks are appropriate to the Somali conflicts" at a mean of 2.56 interpreted as high while the lowest was the statement "There is significant progress in talks between the fighting clans" which was computed at a mean of 1.62. This led the researcher to make tentative inferences that maybe the peace talks were not very relevant to the Somali conflict and that the progress in the talks between the conflicting sides were at a standoff.

**Table 4. 3: Peace Talks Mediation Table**

Question	Mean	Construct Mean	Std Deviation	T statistic	Interpretation
Peace talks are appropriate to the Somali conflicts	2.56	2.08	0.43	4.84	Low
There is significant progress in talks between the fighting clans	1.62				
Foreign experts are central to the peace talks in Mogadishu	1.83				
Mediation of peace talks by foreigners provides a relatively loner lasting solutions	2.32				

**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

From the interviews, the opinion was a bit disputed as the respondents were hopeful that a deal would most likely be struck from the peace talks and that it was by far the most significant tool the foreign intervention were using to create lasting peace. A notable quotation from these interviews had the following to say

*"...we are all hopeful that it (peace) will be achieved through this means (peace talks). It is by far our most relied upon tool of peace mediation. The foreigners are central to the plan and I feel progress has been forthcoming...if anyone thinks otherwise then maybe it is because he has no idea of what is happening on the ground. I am personally privy to the talks and I can confidently state that there are high chances of success than there are of failure...please pray for us..."*

### 4.2.3 Institutional Building

The third item investigated under foreign intervention strategies was institutional building. In this case the researcher was interested to know whether foreign interventions had an actionable plan for the public institutions of Somalia with respect to Mogadishu. The public institutions implied here were the legislature, ministries, judiciary and police.

**Table 4. 4: Institutional Building Table**

Question	Mean	Construct Mean	Std Deviation	T statistic	Interpretation
The international community has helped Mogadishu to set up governmental institutions	1.88	1.63	0.22	7.41	Very Low
The legal system effective in Somalia is as a result of the international community	1.38				
The police force are well equipped to maintain law and order in Mogadishu	1.53				
The government of Somalia has all its arms fully functional	1.74				

**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

From the table above, it can be noted that this construct had the least spread in the responses offered as observed from the standard deviation of 0.22. This may not validate the results but increases their plausibility. Generally, institutional building was found to be very low as evidenced by the mean of 1.63. The highest evaluated statement was the one on "The international community has helped Mogadishu to set up governmental institutions" calculated at 1.88 and interpreted as low. The lowest evaluated statement was the one on "The legal system effective in Somalia is as a result of the international community" which received a mean of 1.38 and which was interpreted as very low. This means that the international community is not perceived as having helped solve the peace crisis and is even more criticized for not helping out with positively influencing the legal infrastructure of the region.

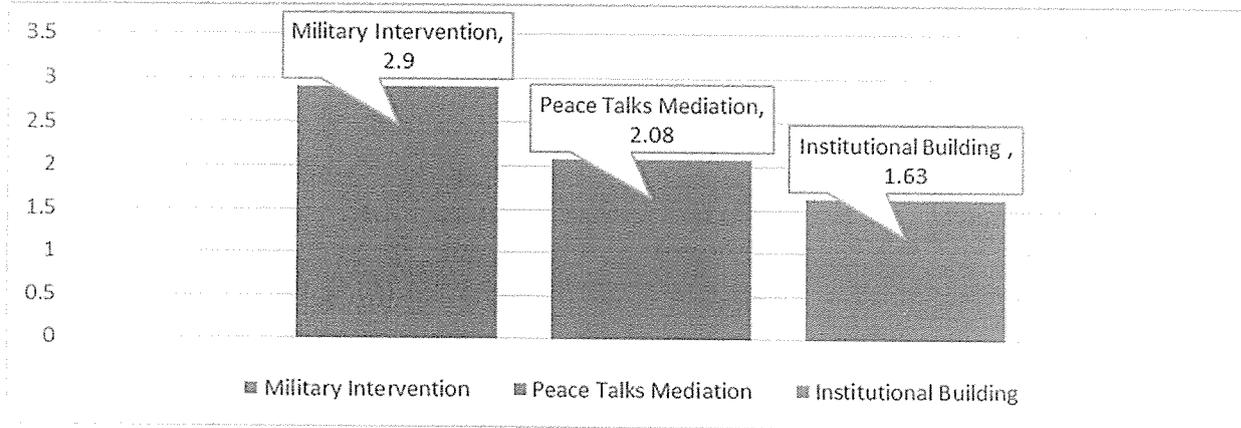
From the interviews, the same notion was held where the respondent were outraged about the fact that they felt some intrusion on their religious beliefs. They highly objected the western suggestion of having the judiciary above the Kadhi's courts and preferred the status quo in this regard. One respondents made the following statement

*"...no matter what they do, Kadhi's courts are here to stay...I think they should focus more on helping us establish these courts more than they should be trying to talk us out of this...we are all of Islamic faith which will always prevail above other legal systems..."*

#### **4.2.4 Ranking of Construct variables**

The bar graph below shows the ranking of the construct variables under foreign intervention strategies. From the graph it is clear that military intervention received the highest rating as a strategy followed by peace talks' mediation while institutional building came last. This means that, according to the respondents, this was the correct order of the relevance of the strategies employed by the international community in trying to aid them resolve their conflicts

**Figure 4. 5: Ranking of Construct Variables under Foreign Intervention**



**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

### **4.3 Objective Two: Peace building in Mogadishu**

The second objective of the study was to assess the extent of peace building in Mogadishu, Somalia. This section was also divided into three sub sections of reconciliation, reinforced security and democratization. Each of these subsections tackled three questions each contributing to a total of 12 questions. Descriptive statistics of means standard deviation, t statistic and ranks were used to provide an in-depth analysis to the accomplishment of this objective

As a result, it was found that the prevalence of peace was low as evidenced by the average mean of the construct computed at 2.24 (interpreted as low). This showed that the respondents who were also residents of Mogadishu were not happy with the general state of peace in their city. Asked about this the interviewed respondents also agreed that there was little peace prevalence.

*"...we are not like other cities in the region...there are still cases of bombing even near parliamentary buildings...this shows that there is still hatred amongst the people of Mogadishu...our clans fight and hate each other, we are trying to come up with a resolve but as of now peace is till eluding us..."*

### 4.3.1 Reconciliation

Reconciliation was the first indicator of peace prevalence to be examined. After examination it was found that this indicator was low as it was measured at a mean of 1.87. The opinions of the respondents were not too diverse as the standard deviation yielded 0.43 to result in a t statistic of 4.35. This means that the people of Mogadishu still do not favor reconciliation and probably need more time for their pains and enmity to calm down. The highest evaluated questions under reconciliation was that "There are currently less clan rows in Mogadishu" which received a mean of 2.47 and interpreted as low. The lowest evaluated statement under reconciliation was that "The people of Mogadishu have forgiven each other over past atrocities" as it received a mean of 1.47 and interpreted as very low. This means that as much as there have been efforts to bring reconciliation between the clans, it has proven hard due to the evils which were committed not long ago.

**Table 4. 5: Reconciliation Table**

Question	Mean	Construct Mean	Std Deviation	T statistic	Interpretation
The people of Mogadishu have forgiven each other over past atrocities	1.47	1.87	0.43	4.35	Low
There is peaceful coexistence amongst the people of Mogadishu	1.78				
There are currently less clan rows in Mogadishu	2.47				
there is unity amongst the Somalis in Mogadishu despite clan differences	1.74				

**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

From the interviews, the same sentiments were shared where the interviewees were of the opinion that residents of Mogadishu were not ready to forgive each other of the

atrocities committed in the past. Most of them lamented the manner in which this process was being hastened, according to them, it would be more appropriate to let the hate amongst the various groups subside which takes time. A notable response from the field had this to say

*"...I can understand why this process is really unfruitful, we are taking it too fast...it was just like yesterday when these people were fighting and we should not expect that today they can easily shake hands and simply forget what happened... these are not children we are dealing with here, these are adults who have motives for every move they make and they should be treated as such..."*

#### **4.3.2 Reinforced Security**

Reinforced security was the second item analyzed under the second objective of the study. This entailed how much security and safety that Mogadishu has. It was found that the security was reasonably high as its mean was calculated at 2.79 and interpreted as high. The opinions in this category of questions were not very diverse as the standard deviation was computed at 0.44 and therefore giving rise to the t statistic of 6.34. The highest evaluated statement under this was that "Crime levels have been significantly dropping over time in Mogadishu" which obtained a mean of 3.26 and interpreted as very high. The lowest evaluated statement was that "It is safe to walk in the streets of Mogadishu even at night" which obtained a mean of 2.22 and interpreted as low. This means that the security beefed up in Mogadishu is high enough but there are still some cases of insecurity at night.

**Table 4. 6: Reinforced Security Table**

Question	Mean	Construct Mean	Std Deviation	T statistic	Interpretation
Crime levels have been significantly dropping over time in Mogadishu	3.26	2.79	0.44	6.34	High
It is safe to walk in the streets of Mogadishu even at night	2.22				
There are few or no attacks being launched in Mogadishu and environs	2.73				
There has been growth in economic investment as a result of improved security	2.95				

**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

From the interviews conducted during data collection stage, it was found that the respondents had different opinion concerning the security situation of Mogadishu. They claimed that there was no enough security and to them it was rated as very low. They attributed this mostly to lack of proper institutions to take care of the security.

*"Dependence of peace keeping forces for domestic security is not a strategy worth relying on...what if they go? What if their countries decide otherwise? We need our own law enforcement institutions like the police to be built and equipped for better security prospects in Mogadishu..."*

**4.3.3 Democratization**

The third item of analysis under peace prevalence is that of democratization. In this section the researcher was interested in establishing how democracy has gained grounds in Mogadishu. As a result the findings indicated that this indicator was rated as low as it scored an average mean of 2.07. The standard deviation of 0.24 signifies that the responses were not far apart and as a result the t statistic was calculated at 8.63.

This means that democracy is still a concept which may not have found favor with the locals in Mogadishu. The highest rated statement under this construct was the one which says "Somalia now carries elections to put leaders in power" which scored a mean of 2.38 and interpreted as low. The lowest evaluated statement within this construct was the one that says "Fundamental rights of people are provided for in the current political dispensation" which received a mean of 1.87 and interpreted as low. This means that the elections conducted in the country may not be as effective as the people expected them to be and also that the government is not proactive in protecting the rights of the people.

**Table 4. 7: Democratization Table**

Question	Mean	Construct Mean	Std Deviation	T statistic	Interpretation
Somalia now carries elections to put leaders in power	2.38	2.07	0.24	8.63	Low
The electoral process in Mogadishu is free and fair	2.12				
Leaders elected enforce the law without fear or favor	1.93				
Fundamental rights of people are provided for in the current political dispensation	1.85				

**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

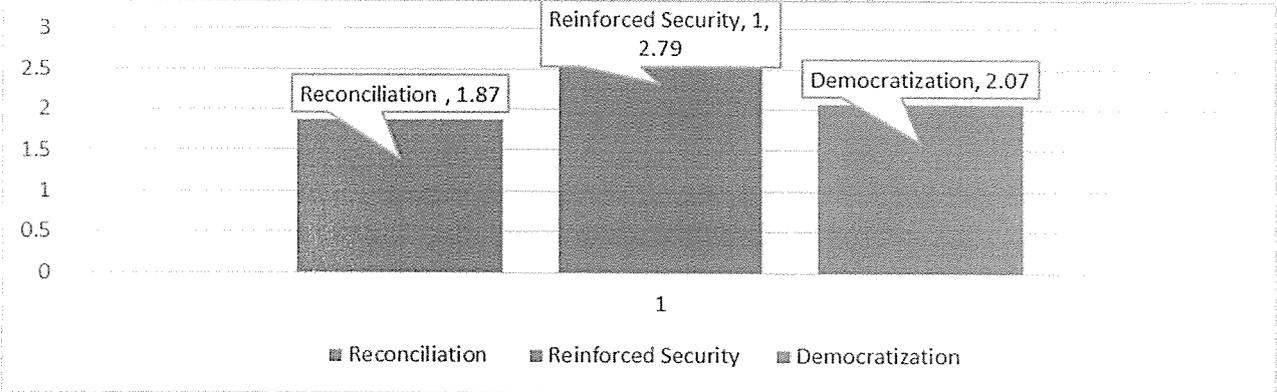
From the qualitative responses, it was found out that the residents also had a poor assessment of the democratic situation in Somalia and Mogadishu in particular.

*"...we are still learning, we need time to understand what democracy means...if putting women in charge is what democracy advocates then we seriously need time to digest exactly what is expected of us..."*

**4.3.4 Ranking of Construct variables**

In ranking the variables under peace prevalence, it was statistically found that reinforced security was the highest perceived at a mean of 2.79 while democratization came second at 2.07 and reconciliation came last at 1.87. the figure below is a graphical representation of this information

**Figure 4. 6: Ranking of Construct Variables under Peace Building**



**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

**4.4 Objective Three: Relationships between Foreign Intervention and Peace building in Mogadishu**

The third objective of the study was to establish the relationship between foreign intervention and peace prevalence in Mogadishu, Somalia. This was both the third objective and also forms the purpose or general objective of the study. It was thus the ultimate goal of this study. It is within this section where the hypothesis was tested for inferential purposes. Two relationships were tested of their existence and strength first with correlations and then followed by regression

**4.4.1 Correlations**

Pearson Linear Correlation Coefficient was used in testing the strength of the relationships between pairs of the variables under study. This section was further divided into two sections, multiple correlations and main study correlations.

#### 4.4.1.1 Multiple Correlations

Multiple correlations dealt with the strength, direction and significance of the relationships which were found to exist between the study's construct variables. The test was carried using SPSS and the data summarized into a single table showing the pairs of the tested variables. The table below serves to present the findings obtained as a result.

**Table 4. 8: Multiple Correlations Table**

<b>Constructs</b>	<b>Pearson R</b>	<b>Significance p</b>	<b>Interpretation</b>
Military Intervention and Reconciliation	0.22	0.004	Significant weak Positive Relationship
Military Intervention and Reinforced Security	0.85	0.000	Significant Strong Positive Relationship
Military Intervention and Democratization	0.71	0.002	Significant Fairly Strong Positive Relationship
Peace Talks Mediation and Reconciliation	0.92	0.000	Significant Very Strong Positive Relationship
Peace Talks Mediation and Reinforced Security	0.84	0.000	Significant Strong Positive Relationship
Peace Talks Mediation and Democratization	0.57	0.000	Significant Average Positive Relationship
Institutional Building and Reconciliation	0.49	0.001	Significant Average Positive Relationship
Institutional Building and Reinforced Security	0.67	0.000	Significant Fairly Strong Positive Relationship
Institutional Building and Democratization	0.90	0.000	Significant Very Strong Positive Relationship

**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

From the table above it can be noted that all relationships were found to be positive and significant. The highest relationship was found to exist between institutional building and democratization which was measured at a Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.90 and was interpreted as significant very strong positive relationship. This means that as institutional building rises, democratization is expected to also rise but by 90% and the reverse is true. The lowest rated relationship was found to exist between military intervention and reconciliation which was computed at a Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.22 and was interpreted as significant weak positive relationship. This

means that as military intervention rises reconciliation is expected to also rise but by 22% and the reverse is true.

**4.4.1.2 Main Study Correlations**

Here the variables tested were only two which are foreign intervention and peace building. It was found that foreign intervention had a relationship with peace building computed at a Pearson correlations coefficient of 0.827. The relationship was significant as the significance level was found to be at 0.000 which is below the threshold level of 0.05. This validates the findings.

**Table 4. 9: Main Study Variables Correlations**

Variables		Foreign Intervention	Peace Building	Decision on Hypothesis
<b>Foreign Intervention</b>	Pearson R	1	0.827	Rejected
	Significance p	0.000	0.000	
<b>Peace Building</b>	Pearson R	0.827	1	
	Significance p	0.000	0.000	

**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

Furthermore in testing the hypothesis, the null hypothesis was rejected due to the significance level found as explained above. This meant that the study produced enough evidence to support the fact that foreign intervention was related to peace building. This led the researcher to adopt the alternative hypothesis which states that there is a significant relationship between foreign intervention and peace building.

**4.4.2 Regression**

There was need to test the causal relationships between the variables under study. The researcher opted to test this relationship using multiple regression where the constructs of foreign intervention were regressed against peace building. The following table of coefficients and other important regression statistics was obtained.

**Table 4. 10: Regression Analysis Table**

<b>Coefficients<sup>a</sup></b>					
<b>Model</b>	<b>Unstandardized Coefficients</b>		<b>Sig.</b>	<b>R Squared</b>	<b>F Value</b>
	<b>B</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>			
Constant	2.41	1.41	.036	0.683	43.501
Military Intervention	.318	.015	.000		
Peace Talks Mediation	.572	.271	.000		
Institutional Building	.891	.008	.000		

**a. Dependent Variable: Peace Building**

**Source: Primary Data, 2015**

From the table above it can be noted that the R Squared value which is a measure of the causal effect that all the constructs was at a convincing value of 0.683. This means that 68.3% of the variation in peace building could be explained by the variation in the three construct variables of military intervention, peace talks’ mediation and institutional building. The rest of the variation (68.3%) can be explained by other factors not encompassed by this study like community participation and civic education.

Ultimately there was need to come up with an equation to explain the causal relationships explained under this section. Using the coefficients above the following equation was formed

$$Y = 2.41 + 0.318x_1 + 0.572x_2 + 0.891x_3$$

**Equation 4. 1: Study Multiple Regression Equation**

**Where**

- y = peace building
- x1 = military intervention
- x2 = peace talks’ mediation
- x3 = institutional building

As can be seen from the equation and the variables' coefficients, institutional building has the biggest impact on peace building followed by peace talks' mediation and then finally military intervention has the least impact on peace building.

#### **4.5 Summary of Findings**

From the findings, it can be noted that gender was the variable in which huge disparity was observed in the demographic characteristics of the respondents. Males had 84.2% while the females had 15.8% composition. On the independent variable, it was found that foreign intervention strategies were poorly administered as they had a mean of 2.20 which is interpreted as low. The peace building process was also found to be low and at the mean of 2.24. There were significant relationships found between the study variables (both construct and main). The main variables of the study which were foreign intervention strategies and peace building were found to have a correlation coefficient of 0.827 and this was interpreted as a strong and positive relationship. It was also found that foreign intervention strategies encompassed by the study influenced the peace building process by an R Square coefficient of 0.683. The null hypothesis was thus rejected and the alternative hypothesis was adopted.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter gives a comprehension into the study findings of the study and relating with findings by other researchers especially those included within the related studies in the literature review section of this report. Conclusions and recommendations are then made before the researcher suggests areas for further research.

#### **5.1 Discussion of Findings**

This section provides a critical review of research findings and relating them with relevant studies carried out beforehand. It aims at revealing consistencies and inconsistencies that may be there as a result of carrying out of this study. New information generated by the study is also highlighted in this section.

##### **5.1.1 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

It was found out that there were more male respondents than there were female ones. This gender disparity was too huge to ignore. Its implication is that women don't like leadership positions since the respondents were representatives of certain categories of the populations. This is confirmed by the work of Warsame (2011) who also finds the same in a study conducted in Mali. Since both are Islamic states it can be inferred that religion may have been a factor in this disparity. Age distribution was also inclined towards the elderly as majority of the respondents were above 40 years. This is likely because of the fact that they were majorly politicians and community leaders who are at most times of an advanced age. Davis (2012) writes that Africa is yet to embrace the youth and women as leaders of the society and this is clearly depicted in this study. Few of the respondents were sufficiently educated as most of them had their highest academic qualification below a degree. This therefore portrays the leaders as very reserivist which in this era is not a compliment on the side of leaders. Finally the

occupations of the respondents were almost all populated with the same proportion of the employees. This was ensured by the researcher to avoid biased responses which would have compromised this study.

### **5.1.2 Foreign Intervention Strategies**

This factor was constituted by three other sub variables of military intervention, institutional building and peace talks' mediation. Generally it was found to be low which means that the strategies were not as effective as had been anticipated. More light is shed on each of these variables individually hereunder.

Consistent with the findings of Warsame (2011), military presence of international troops in Mogadishu was found to be significantly high. Even though it was high it was found to be the least effective strategy in building peace in Mogadishu, Somalia. As Chrispus (2013) purports, there is no doubt that the use of force by the international community in such places as Kosovo and Somalia was an important part of the development of peace building in the 1990s. There is also little doubt that the failure to intervene effectively in Rwanda, Chechnya, and elsewhere made intractable conflicts worse than they otherwise would have been. Finally, there is little doubt that the international community has a lot to learn about how to conduct such operations. This means that it is not just in Mogadishu where this strategy has not worked effectively and as such validates the findings of this study.

In yet another study by Svetlana (2012), it is found that military presence is sometimes not very welcome in certain countries as they try to protect their nation's sovereignty. The study claims that there can be no military intervention unless states commit their troops. On another level, what states can do and should do is anything but obvious. One does not have to go as far as far with his wholesale condemnation of contemporary humanitarian action to realize that nations have entered a new period in international relations in which national sovereignty matters more than it used to and it is harder to define what a state's national interests or humanitarian obligations are.

Peace talks' mediation was found to be lowly done. Peace talks was found to be a very significant strategy in peace building and it is quite baffling to find that it is not being used to its capacity in averting the situation in Mogadishu. Buckley (2012) claims similarly where he writes that mediation can prevent conflict and stave off bloodshed. Mediation can support peaceful transitions and nurture reconciliation, mediation is inclusive and can help build representative, democratic societies that realize the legitimate aspirations of their peoples. Outlining what he believed are essential elements for successful mediation endeavors, Buckley (2012) stressed the need for strong leadership and coordinated action. In particular, he says that for the sake of coordination and efficiency, there should be one lead mediator or one lead mediation team for each specific case. This lead should be supported by others, where necessary. Mogadishu peace talks are characterized by poor mediation techniques and lack of confidence on the side of the locals towards the foreign intervention strategy. As Warsame (2011) finds out, Somalis feel insecure disclosing their weaknesses to foreigners since they believe that they don't mean well and would one day turn against them.

Institutional building was concerned with ensuring proper machinery which would be responsible for maintaining the country and region's peace once it has been achieved. This included the police, military and judiciary. The efforts to build these machinery by the foreigners was found to be very low implying that there was less insistence on this strategy. Contrary to this, the strategy of peace building was found to be very instrumental in reclaiming peace and maintaining.

### **5.1.3 Peace building in Mogadishu**

The peace building process of Mogadishu was found to be low as exhibited by the analysis of the study findings. Peace building which is a major problem facing the region, has been very elusive and it still is. As noted in Warsame (2011), the peace process in Mogadishu is full of highs and lows which have created a vicious circle and have led to an unending path of trying to redeem the peace. Peace building was indicated by three indicators of reconciliation, reinforced security and democratization.

Reconciliation was found to be low. Reconciliation is very instrumental to restoring peace in conflict stricken areas as it serves to eliminating the actual root cause of the problem and if not properly done, it is likely that the conflicts may come back (Ngala, 2009). Since this has not yet been achieved in Mogadishu it certainly means that there might be a backlash of the civil unrest should the military support cease to operate as it is with AMISOM and other forces in Mogadishu. Bradbury (2010) reasons that whenever reconciliation is not reached, it creates a situation where a rift develops between the two sides and this is undesirable. He goes ahead to warn that it is a wrong conflict resolution strategy if it does not lead to reconciliation. He intermittently offers the old English adage of treating the signs and not the disease in which case he feels bringing reconciliation as treating the disease and reinforcing security as treating the signs. If this assessment is anything to go by, it means that more needs to be done in bringing the conflicting parties (clans) to the negotiating table and forge a way forward; a way which is geared towards realization of reconciliation.

Reinforced security was found to be high in Mogadishu. This means that it felt safe for one to live in the city as it is currently. This is important for development prospects of the city. Tazoacha (2013) claims that no development can come to a place devoid of peace. War torn areas discourage economic investments which are the drivers of the economy of the nation. On another level agriculture which is the backbone of several African countries needs peaceful environments for it to be practiced effectively. Farmers need to settle both physically and psychologically for them to produce optimally. This explains why the region is highly dependent on other regions of the country for their food supply despite the region having very fertile soils.

National security is also a measure of government's performance and an invaluable asset to the citizens of a given country. Bori (2010) in times of peace and prosperity, people often claim they care about other things more. But if national security is ever threatened, their tune changes immediately and everything else is thrown to the wayside. And woe to the leader who fails to protect their people. This explains why the people of Mogadishu have always been critical of the leaders due to their

ineffectiveness in providing sustainable security to the people. Most people like living, and they don't like their lives to be massively and unexpectedly disrupted. National security is their defense against death and destruction at the hands of outsiders and so it the situation in Mogadishu.

In a study by Bori (2009), there is mention of the relevance of security in promoting tourist activities in a country. African economies get a substantial portion of their revenue from tourism. Tourism is an industry which is directly influenced by the state of security in the destination countries. Countries like the UK and USA issue travel advisories against unstable countries where Somalia (and Mogadishu for that matter) are constantly blacklisted. This explains the reason as to why Somalia has not been receiving many tourists despite having several features and attractions which could potentially interest tourists from all over the world. This has further limited the extent to which the city can compete for tourists with other cities in the horn of Africa region like Cairo, and Addis Ababa.

From another angle, democracy was found to be low in Mogadishu. The area was particularly found to be devoid of good human rights principles and having a government which was not elected by the people themselves. Democracy is very important in the modern day world as it helps avoid conflicts such as the ones which are being settled in Mogadishu. As Buckley (2012) finds out, democratization is important because of one of the most widely (but not universally) accepted trends in international relations, known as the democratic peace. Put simply, democracies do not have wars with other democracies or within themselves. There were a handful of ambiguous cases in the 19th century in which democratizing countries fought other emerging democracies. But there have been no cases of an established democracy going to battle with another one since 1900. Obviously, that does not mean that democracies cannot go to war with each other. But there is something about democracy and the relationship between democracies that allows them to settle their disputes peacefully (Buckley, 2012). This is probably the reason as to why Somalia has been

facing difficulties in extending their international relations with other nations and more importantly the reason as to why there were conflicts for a very long time.

Being low, democracy may prove difficult to achieve in a short time frame. The people who seek a democratic system in Mogadishu and Somalia at large might wait for a long time before the system takes shape and become operational in the region. As Yunis (2012) claims, there are very few countries that have been able to move from intractable conflict to democracy quickly or easily. One exception is South Africa, where the black and white political elites summoned up unprecedented political will and commitment to the multiracial democracy that came into effect in 1994. There are very few countries which experienced intractable conflict where it would have been possible for someone who was jailed for 27 years (Nelson Mandela) to have the head of the former racist and authoritarian government serve as his vice president.

#### **5.1.4 Relationships between variables**

There was found to be a strong relationship between foreign intervention strategies and peace building in Mogadishu, Somalia. This was a positive relationship which implies that as more the more the three strategies are enforced the higher the peace building process. Furthermore, there was a significant causal influence that foreign intervention was found to exert on peace building. Similar findings were established by Davis (2012), where he found that foreign intervention in establishment of peace in Sudan Darfur region. He claims that despite many issues the AU force faces, it has achieved a significant impact in the areas under its control, which have resulted in human lives saved as well as the restoration of the confidence of populations affected by conflict. In another study, also, Kerant (2009) finds out that foreign intervention is an important factor in restoring peace where it has been lacking for a long time. He reasoned that this is so because for a conflict to have endured a test of time is clear evidence that all local sources of peace resolution have been exhausted and thus there is need for outside intervention.

## **5.2 Conclusions**

The study was satisfied all of its objectives and can be deemed to have been generally successful. The first objective which concerned analyzing the foreign intervention strategies as deployed in Mogadishu, Somalia in order to try and restore peace. These were found to be military intervention, institutional building and peace talks' mediation. Only military intervention was found to be high but it wasn't at its highest. The second objective entailed rating the peace building process which was found to be low. Three indicators were investigated namely; reconciliation, reinforced security and democratization. Within this construct, all indicators were found to be low except for security which was rated as high. In terms of relationships, a strong positive relationship (and a causal relationship) was found between the main study variables of foreign intervention and peace building which is a good thing since it means that foreign intervention can be used to reinforce the peace building process. All this boils down to the fact that foreign intervention strategies are instrumental in developing the peace prospects of Mogadishu. Since their deployment was low, it gives us the notion that it is in fact the reason as to why Mogadishu has been ailing with severe conflicts and instability.

## **5.3 Recommendations**

From the discussion presented above the researcher feels that the following recommendations should be implemented in order to attain a more elaborate and speedy process of peace building.

- a. Civic education. This is a very important factor as it serves to ease the tension that has been noted to build up between the locals and the foreigners especially the international military personnel.
- b. Equipping of the national security forces. This should be done early enough since the security being enjoyed currently is due to the presence of international security personnel. These will one day go and the region should have a plan which ensures that the security prospects of Mogadishu will not be compromised.

- c. Better international relations. Somalia should look towards establishing better international relations not only with African countries but even the west and the Arab League. This is important since these are the source of foreign intervention which has been observed to be important in peace building
- d. Foreign electoral oversight. This will help the country conduct free and fair elections. The oversight will also ensure that the leaders are vetted and only those who have the country's interests at heart should be allowed to contest.
- e. Government support to peace talks. Cooperation should always be forthcoming from the government towards the foreigners since it is Somalia which has a problem and the rest are just trying to help. As much as there is going to be a little bit of invasion on the nation's sovereignty, this is only for a while and can be done with

#### **5.4 Areas for Further Research**

The following areas are thought by the research as ones which merit looking into through research.

1. Military intervention and Safety of Women in Mogadishu
2. Foreign Policy and national Healing Process in Mogadishu
3. Foreign Intervention and Socio Economic development of Mogadishu

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX IA: TRANSMITTAL LETTER OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY VICE CHANCELLOR (DVC)**

#### **COLLEGE OF HIGER DEGREE & RESEARCH**

Dear Sir/Madam,

#### **RE: INTRODUCTION LETTER TO CONDUCT RESEARCH**

Mr. Bashir Mohamed Omar is a bonfide student of Kampala International University pursuing a Master in International Relation and Diplomacy.

He is currently conducting a field research for his thesis entitled, **foreign intervention and peace building in Mogadishu, Somalia.**

Your institution has been identified as a valuable source of information pertaining to his research project. The purpose of this letter then is to request you to avail him with the pertinent information he may need.

Any data shared with him will be used for academic purposes only and shall be kept with utmost confidentiality.

Any assistance rendered to him will be highly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Novembrieta R. Sumil, Ph.D.

Deputy Vice Chancellor, CHDR

**APPENDIX IB: TRANSMITTAL LETTER FOR THE RESPONDENTS**

Dear Sir/ Madam,

Greetings!

I am a masters' student of International Relation and Diplomacy of Kampala International University. Part of the requirements for the award is a thesis. My study is entitled **FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND PEACE BUILDING IN MOGADISHU, SOMALIA**. Within this context, may I request you to participate in this study by answering the questionnaires? Kindly do not leave any option unanswered. Any data you will provide shall be for academic purposes only and no information of such kind shall be disclosed to others.

May I retrieve the questionnaire within seven days (9)?

Thank you very much in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Mr. Bashir Mohamed Omar

**APPENDIX II: CLEARANCE FROM ETHICS COMMITTEE**

Date \_\_\_\_\_

**Candidate's Data**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Reg. # \_\_\_\_\_

Course \_\_\_\_\_

Title of Study **FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND PEACE BUILDING**

**Ethical Review Checklist**

**The study reviewed considered the following:**

- Physical Safety of Human Subjects
- Psychological Safety
- Emotional Security
- Privacy
- Written Request for Author of Standardized Instrument
- Coding of Questionnaires/Anonymity/Confidentiality
- Permission to Conduct the Study
- Informed Consent
- Citations/Authors Recognized

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**Results of Ethical Review**

\_\_\_ Approved

\_\_\_ Conditional (to provide the Ethics Committee with corrections)

\_\_\_ Disapproved/ Resubmit Proposal

**Ethics Committee (Name and Signature)**

Chairperson \_\_\_\_\_

Member's \_\_\_\_\_

**APPENDIX III: INFORMED CONSENT**

I am giving my consent to be part of the research study of Mr. Bashir Mohamed Omar that will focus on providing answers to the asked questions to allow the researcher do his research.

I shall be assured of privacy, anonymity and confidentiality and that I will be given the option to refuse participation and right to withdraw my participation anytime.

I have been informed that the research is voluntary and that the results will be given to me if I ask for it.

Initials: \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_



## PART II: Questionnaire on Foreign Intervention

**DIRECTION:** Rate your ability, knowledge or skill on the following items by entering the right number corresponding to each question.

**Options;** 1=Strongly Agree; 2 = Agree; 3 = Disagree; 4 = Strongly Disagree.

### Military Intervention

1. There is a huge presence of international military personnel in Mogadishu
2. The international military personnel are important to the security of Mogadishu
3. Presence of military personnel gives confidence to the residents of Mogadishu
4. International military personnel coexist well with the locals

### Peace Talks Mediation

5. Peace talks are appropriate to the Somali conflicts
6. There is significant progress in talks between the fighting clans
7. Foreign experts are central to the peace talks in Mogadishu
8. Mediation of peace talks by foreigners provides a relatively loner lasting solutions

### Institutional Building

9. The international community has helped Mogadishu to set up governmental institutions
10. The legal system effective in Somalia is as a result of the international community
11. The police force are well equipped to maintain law and order in Mogadishu
12. The government of Somalia has all its arms fully functional

## PART II: Questionnaire on Peace building

**DIRECTION:** Rate your ability, knowledge or skill on the following items by entering the right number corresponding to each question.

**Options;** 1=Strongly Agree; 2 = Agree; 3 =Disagree 4 = Strongly Disagree;

### Reconciliation

1. The people of Mogadishu have forgiven each other over past atrocities
2. There is peaceful coexistence amongst the people of Mogadishu
3. There are currently less clan rows in Mogadishu
4. there is unity amongst the Somalis in Mogadishu despite clan differences

### Reinforced Security

5. Crime levels have been significantly dropping over time in Mogadishu
6. It is safe to walk in the streets of Mogadishu even at night
7. There are few or no attacks being launched in Mogadishu and environs
8. There has been growth in economic investment as a result of improved security

### Democratization

9. Somalia now carries elections to put leaders in power
10. The electoral process in Mogadishu is free and fair
11. Leaders elected enforce the law without fear or favor
12. Fundamental rights of people are provided for in the current political dispensation

### **APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

1. Comment on the military intervention currently in Mogadishu
2. Comment on the peace talks mediation on Somali conflicts
3. Would you say most of the government institutions in Mogadishu are a result of foreign intervention? Explain your answer
4. Which of these elements has been most achieved in restoring peace in Mogadishu, reconciliation, security and democratization? Explain your answer
5. Which are the setbacks in the process of implementing peace in Mogadishu?
6. Within the context of the study, what would you propose to be done to speed up the peace process?



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**BY KAKURU FRED**

**BSW/38466/123/DU**

**A RESEARCH DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE COLLEGE**

**OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL**

**FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE**

**AWARD OF A BACHELOR'S DEGREE IN SOCIAL**

**WORK AND SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF**

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**UNIVERSITY**

**SEPTEMBER, 2015**

**DECLARATION**

I **KAKURU FRED** declare that this is my original work and to the best of my knowledge, has never been presented to any institution for any academic award.

Signed  ..... Date  .....

**KAKURU FRED**

**APPROVAL**

This research dissertation entitled “community policing and security status of people in urban areas of Makindye division” was submitted to the college of humanities and social sciences with my approval as a university supervisor.

Signed  ..... Date 18/09/15 .....

**MR. OKELLO CEASER**

Supervisor

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