Security Agencies and Peace building in Southern Somalia: Case of Mogadishu

By

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to determine the aspects of Security Agencies and Peacebuilding in Southern Somalia. This was informed by the fact that peace has been a major global concern since the fall of the Soviet Union. Many countries became fragile and statelessness in early 1990s, while others teetering on the brink of civil war. Somalia is one of those countries, which its state failed and then collapsed due to civil war erupted throughout the country. The study was directed by the following objectives: to examine the role of Federal Government of Somalia in peacebuilding among the segmented communities in Mogadishu, to analyze strategies used by civil society in peacebuilding process, and to evaluate factors responsible for ineffectiveness of reliable peace and insecurity in Mogadishu. After thirty years of senseless fratricide, kleptocracy, and wanton vandalism Somalia yet to have a reliable government with strong institutions and democracy. Peacebuilding trajectory towards state building in Somalia, particularly southern Somalia remains elusive, and the country divided along clan fiefdoms whose interests seems rife and irreconcilable, in which is associated with the trauma of the civil war and mistrust. Moreover, the linchpin of the security agencies' efforts to partake in peacebuilding, and importantly, reforming security sectors is not in the offing due to weak civilian institutions or based on ethnic connections to preserve political superiority. Therefore, the principal investigator's aim is to stress peacebuilding and security agency in Southern Somalia by highlighting main challenges hindering to implement durable peace on the ground. The study found out that redressing past grievances, effective justice and national reconciliation among the local communities are always needed as post-conflict peacebuilding and conflict mechanism tools. Reforming security sector, demilitarizing and demobilizing of former combatants is vitally important in post-conflict peacebuilding process. Protracted social conflict theory by Edward Azar was be used in the study. This theory is suitable for peacebuilding and security initiative in southern Somalia in order to achieve durable peace based on win-win situation. However, the study recommended that the federal government should come up with lucid strategy to implement peacebuilding among the Somali clans and prioritize the security sector justice in order to shun any social strife.

Keywords: Peacebuilding, Conflict Resolution, Reconciliation, Security Sector, Mogadishu, Somalia

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Background to the study

The concept of peace has a much longer history. While peacebuilding including in UN's post conflict peacebuilding (Boutros, 1992), only entering policy-making and academic discourse following the collapse of Soviet Union. Peacebuilding is essentially both normative and descriptive. Boulding (1964) and Galtung (1967) have made a great and enduring contribution to the study of peace with the distinction between positive and negative peace. While negative peace marks the end of physical violence, its positive peace which signifies the end of structural violence (Galtung, 1967). Peacebuilding has been broadly used since the fall of Soviet Union. With regards to post-conflict peacebuilding Boutros (1992) described that for peacekeeping and peacemaking operations to be likely fruitful, they must include efforts to identify and support structures that would tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence among the people.

The debate on security sector, its relevance for peacebuilding and conflict prevention is a kind of a watershed in post-conflict peacebuilding. In general, after civil war comes to an end, measures might include, for instance disarming previous combatants and reintegration into community, the custody and possible demolition of weapons, repatriating refugees and advisory and training support for security personnel. However, the security sector reform emerged within development and security policy in the late 1990_s in recognition of the need for a broader approach to security assistance and an alternative way of thinking about the role of security service in post-conflict peacebuilding (Ball, 2010). Reforming or transforming security sector is now considered as a vitally important part of the transition from one group to pluralist political system, from centrally planned market to economies, from armed conflict to peace (Karkoszka, 2005). It is therefore, considered as a key component in peacebuilding in post-conflict societies.

Colombia is a prime example of the countries which experienced social conflict over decades. The domestic conflict in Colombia which begun from 1960_s finally come to an end in 2016 with the signing and ratification of peace agreement between main conflicting groups; Colombian government and Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia (Nilsson, 2018). Spence (2001) argued that the proliferation of armed conflicts in 1990 and growing complexity of peacebuilding attempts challenged confronting the International Community, the attention of donors and peacebuilding practitioners have increasingly turned to the potential role to be played by justice and reconciliation commissions and civil societies as well.

Hawkins collaborated the account underscore that, even though these worrying insecurity figures have emerged since 1990s, affecting directly peacebuilding framework in the region. Africa has a sordid situation of insecurity which requires a massive scale to transform its security in order to ensure lasting peace in countries emerging from conflicts. Paris (2007) also noted that SSR in Africa mostly generated by policy framework and presumptions which often do not necessarily align with the realties and sources of insecurity of African peoples, states and societies. Importantly, peacebuilding imperatives in Africa, the strategic problem within African security designed is that the AU continued to surrender its

leadership to external actors whose SSR policies is dependent on inimically external aid. Ball (2010) argued that in the absence of security sector development, security and justice, security system reform and security transformation would be the greatest challenge in peacebuilding process. In light of these approaches, mostly addressing the unavailing and unsuccessful provision of security and, more and more, justice, in part because the providers may be a source of insecurity.

International Community and its major allies played a vitally important role in alleviating social strife and intra-state conflict. Albeit Boutros Ghali's peace building agenda produced very peaceful states in Eastern Europe, but not successfully reached out to the Horn of Africa where peace and stability is in tatters. The continent has a several protracted social conflict after its independence. Moreover, in early 1990s enormous conflict erupted the continent which claimed the lives of thousands of innocent civilians and displacement of millions. Prof Mazrui (2008) lays out that the intractable conflict in Africa triggered by number of issues such as borders; within Africa, ethnicity or faith, identity, natural resources, modern weapons and pre-modern armies. Mzrui also noted that the conflicts in Africa have been exacerbated for two decades due to negligence of African leaders and negation of democracy including inequality of justice and rampant corruption. It is therefore, these perennial hindrances have been crippling most states in Africa.

Rwanda is also an extreme example of countries experienced protracted conflict and gross violations of human right with which was based on ethnic extermination against Tutsi moderated by Hutu. However, Rwanda achieved sui generis approach to peacebuilding and national reconciliation aimed at preventing from recurrence of violent conflict. Lambourne (2004) noted that both the external mediators and Rwandan government expressed their regards in legal justice as central to the peacebuilding process. With regard of post conflict in Rwanda, Gacaca court had been important in Rwanda in terms of peacebuilding process and addressing the root causes of the conflict. Traditionally, Gacaca was a like an alternative dispute mechanism of justice, which involved communities literally sitting together on the grass, with both victims and perpetrators, to come up with possible solution to the satisfaction of all parties (Harris, 2011). As Leah Werchick (2003) noted Gacaca in its pre-colonial form, Gacaca was used to tackle issues concerning the land use rights, cattle ownership, marriage, inheritance rights, and trivial theft and so on.

However, Somalia used to punch over in Africa economically and politically on one hand. On the other hand, the country is grappling with corrosive maleficence and grinding poverty by any world standards, Somali people are mostly homogenous, and have a long history and rich language (Elmi, 2010). According to Michael (2000) the collapse of state institutions in Somalia in 1991, has marked the distinctive sabotage of civil war over decade. The country has become fragile and highly experienced anarchy and statelessness, civil war erupted throughout the country, and common goods had been severely ruined and pillaged. In South and Central Somalia marred by conflict—violence begets violence over two decades. Elmi rightly argued that number of domestic and external actors involved in peacebuilding and conflict in Somalia, while external actors consider building peace in Somalia is essential goal locally and globally. Ryan (1990) noted that the onerous responsibility of ensuring peace prevails entails a shift emphasis away from the soldiers, with whom peacekeepers are primarily concerned, so whereby peacekeeping tries to building barricades among the combatants, establishment of good coexistence establishing links among the normal individuals. More importantly, several peace conferences were held in neighboring countries under auspicious of IGAD, United Nations and AU. Neither successfully sorted out Somalia's intractable conflict nor addressed the path to peacebuilding and state building.

Mogadishu is a major and strategically important city in the country, but has tremendous challenges in terms of peace and security than other southern cities. Insecurity impedes economic growth, hamstrings reconciliation, and promotes terror amongst people as well as noteworthy challenge for peacebuilding process. However, in the absence of peacebuilding approaches may reflect a very macabre picture in a country still wrestling with grinding poverty and political uncertainty. Therefore, the principal investigator attempted to find out what can be done to achieve peacebuilding in Mogadishu and southern Somalia at large, and also highlight strategies of tackling security challenges in southern Somalia.

Statement of the Problem

Peace has been elusive in a number of African states, while others have a perpetual conflict which has entirely changed the perspective of the continent. After the breakdown of the central government of Somalia, the state had become statelessness for decades and experienced protracted social conflict, the country has still a perennial security concern and there is no effective and exhaustive peace on the ground. Several peace processes have been held in abroad, none of which has successfully achieved. African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) was stablished in 2007 and deployed to the country as peacekeepers in order to support the erstwhile nascent Transitional Federal Government. Security Agencies' effort to peacebuilding and conflict prevention is cumbersome and controversial. Moreover, tremendous achievements have been made in terms of state building, reforming security and stability in southern Somalia, but there is no efficient process in peacebuilding and nor reliable security in Mogadishu. Factors of peacebuilding such as addressing root causes of the past grievances, reconciliation, and inclusivity, forgiveness and free judiciary are remains futile, insecurity and malfeasance has also been rumbled on, so far, clan-based system formula seems rife in the country, with whom thirst for dethroning with one another over the mantle of leadership. However, the researcher attempted to find out how can be achieved durable peace based on moral satisfaction among the divided societies in southern Somalia and Mogadishu as the case study, and also try to highlight challenges hindering security agency's efforts in peacebuilding process in Mogadishu.

Objectives of the Study

To examine the role of Federal Government of Somalia in implementing comprehensive peacebuilding in Mogadishu. To analyze strategies used by civil society in peacebuilding process in Mogadishu. To evaluate factors responsible for security failure and ineffective peace in Mogadishu.

Review of Related Literature
Role of Federal Government of Somalia in peacebuilding

Peace building is ambiguous to explicate or even more challenged to accomplish in practice (Cousens, 2001) Lederach (1995) indicates that peace building refers to as a wide-ranging notion that incorporates, produces and withstands the full array of process, approaches, and stages required to transmute conflict toward more sustainable, nonviolent associations. Lederach again defines Peace building is a long-term multi-track transformative contribution to social change, helping to create a serene environment. Peacebuilding activities can be explained with building both structural and cultural peace, ability to identify the non-articulated structural conflicts throughout society is needed (Galtung, 1969). As both scholars indicated peacebuilding can be settled when it overcome the lapse or relapse into violent

conflict by highlighting long term solution and engaging awareness which may prevent an apocalyptic environment. Post-conflict peacebuilding is a complex and multidimensional genuinely a political process of transformation from a state of war or violent conflict to peaceful and stable state (Alif, 2014).

According to Kofi Anan (1998) peacebuilding process should have multi-faceted process, covering diplomatic, political and economic factor. The UNs seeks solutions to the conflict since it is the custodian of international peace and has invested heavily in several peacebuilding efforts in Somalia (Elmi, 2010). Failure to address collectively Somalia's conflict lacks overarching strategy from Federal Government and International community to guide the country to the right path in terms of security and peacebuilding. Menkhaus (2006) argued that the state-building peace accords produced what he called "Governance without Government", in which means the TFG would not be able to control and provide government services throughout the country. Moreover, the TFG backed by international community and Ethiopia Military Force failed to facilitate national reconciliation and comprehensive peacebuilding among the people in southern Somalia, because there is lack of coherence between the TFG and dwellers in southern Somalia and also constant turf war between TFG and Islamic Court Unions (ICU) whom used to controlled major town in south and central Somalia.

After decade of anarchism and statelessness in Southern Somalia, Djibouti called for conference on peace process and national reconciliation among the Somalia people, where then functioned Transitional Government. Elmi (2010) argued the peace process in Djibouti would be successfully agreed on if the warlords attended the conference, again Elmi argued warlords' absence in the conference was supported by Ethiopian regime because they were its clients. Other process was held abroad, none of which has significantly sorted out the incessant conflict in Somalia. Examining Hazard's theory of protracted social conflict Somalia does not have an exemplary approach to peace which can be used to apply for Hazard's conflict resolution theory in order to cease the prolonged, violent conflict in Somalia.

Menkhaus (2006) noted that the legacy of civil war in Somalia is profound. It includes unaddressed crimes and a deep inter-clan grievance is still lingering long. Addressing this tragedy would be enormous challenges to achieving lasting peace in Somalia. Furthermore, there is also another challenge from peace spoilers either from groups or individuals who perceive that their political and economic advantages are threatened by the revival of a peaceful and functional state. Stedman argued that the biggest risk of peace making comes from peace spoilers, Stedman also noted more than one spoiler may create a compound challenge for peacemaking and peacebuilding, and suggested spoilers should be dethroned or marginalized so that they cannot put at risk in peace settlement. Considering this Somalia's biggest challenges in peace process comes from spoilers whenever peace conferences are planned. However, FGS and its allies need to prioritize peacebuilding on the ground where civil societies, women and youth to be a part of this process, and attempt to establish truth justice commissions for the purpose of healing victims.

Post-conflict peace process is a more challenging task for a society marked by the deep social inequalities that are common to many divided and impoverished countries. On the hand re-creation of political institution is an essential task for maintaining stability in a failed state like Somalia where civil war has wrecked the foundations of both governmental and civic institutions. As Elmi (2010) said civil war can be used to overcome either through a military victory or through negotiated settlement. For instance, Rwandan civil war came to an end through negotiated settlement between conflicting parties when Hutu's military

government was capitulated and also Uganda Resistance Army led by Museveni won militarily to shellac Amin's military government. However, state collapse in Somalia brutal warlords emerged from the anarchy and the civil war had been exacerbated, none of whom could win the war by defeating the other factions nor agreed to address their incompatibilities.

Winrich (2001) argued that there is no long-term peace and stable democracy in war torn societies without truth, justice and reconciliation. Justice and security are important aspects of peacebuilding in post conflict situation where there is needed to end prolonged war, restore law and deal with culprits of war crimes and other human rights violations. The efforts of international peacekeepers and Somali National Army in creating sustainable peace and security in the country would be in jeopardy without unimplemented justice, reforming security sector, and demobilization or disarmaments of previous belligerents. Besides governments institutions seems to be weak and not yet able to govern in southern side and the country at large. However, Somalia government needs multifaceted and ample support from the UNs as well as AU in terms of security and transitional justice to tackle senseless fratricide and maelstrom in the country, also Somali people should be given a role to participate in both peacebuilding and state building in order to curb the relapse into bedeviled conflict. Failure of touchable financial support and goodwill may also hinder peace initiative in Mogadishu.

According to Spence (2001) the processes of peacebuilding necessitates new postures and practices: one that are flexible, inclusive and collective and that operate from the underlying issues of violent conflict. The methodology is transformational it is anchored on termination of undesired things and establishing something that is desired through transformation of relationships and establishment of peaceful coexistence (Lederach, 2000). In light of Lederach's approach, intra-clan conflict in Southern Somalia remains unresolved, particularly, clans have a deep distrust about the peacebuilding and state-building because past injustice has not been redressed nor the wounds from the past grievances had been healed. However, getting a stable environment require to reach inclusive and cohesive actions based on modus vivendi and win-win situations.

Civil Society's strategy in Peacebuilding Process

Civil society is broadly utilized in the contemporary scholarship. Despite there is no common definition, beyond the basic idea of civil society is defined arena of voluntary, uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values (Merkel and Lauth, 1998). Conflict resolution and peacebuilding are socially constructed and intertwined process, involving diverse groups of social actors. Lewis (2002) noted that Africa know only traditional associations but has no space for a civil society's participatory role in governance, because it has been fragmented and links between civil society organization and formal political systems are sometimes weak. Considering this, Somalia does not officially have civil society who are organized collectively to take part in peace processes but rather divided along ethnic lines jostling for the mantle of leadership. Moreover, the overthrow of civil government in Somalia in 1969 led by the slain president Abdirashid Sharmake to authoritarian government followed protracted conflict, civil society seems to be divided into clan identity and lacks fundamental tenets of being cohesive and collaborative.

Interestingly, peace conferences held in abroad for Somalis were mainly invited warlords, rather than giving space for civil society to express their role on peacebuilding and reconciliations, therefore these kind of peace agreements had only been exacerbated the situation on the ground. Elmi (2010) argued the factors that causes the collapse of those

arrangements has been the use of clan identity as a tool for spoilers seeking political positions. However, Ghali's agenda for peacebuilding attempts to thwart from relapse into violence by addressing root causes of conflict through reconciliation, institution building and political inclusivity and economic transformation.

Civil society is considered as an important actor in peace process. As such substantive efforts have been devoted towards peacebuilding and strengthening it. In addition, Somalia has strong traditional leaders who are mainly (s) elected by clan or sub-clans. The halcyon periods in Somalia before European colonialist, traditional leaders played a vitally crucial role in solving land disputes and clan confrontation as by means of negotiated settlement. Menkhaus observes that during the colonial era, Southern Somalia was under the Italian colonial rule, Italians dismantled the dispute resolution mechanisms and in the process rendered the elders ineffective thereby, the role of traditional elders in conflict management and peacebuilding vanished in comparison to northern Somalia colonized by Britain where they kept traditional conflict system in place, values and norms were not disrupted, though Puntland managed to preserve its fledgling stability as Somaliland. Besteman argues that traditional leaders are familiar with conflict management and have the experience and command to organize ethnic communities and other resources for communal security. Importantly, traditional elders are the backbones of the community, and they are also respected in terms of conflict management and disputes. However, the elders' efforts in peacebuilding and reconciliation in southern Somalia still remain lip service, and there is no course of action for civil society towards peacebuilding in Mogadishu.

Brons (2001) pointed out that Somali dispute resolution mechanisms are deeply embedded in the clan structure whereby the traditional elders places the clan ahead of individualism which thwarts the improvement of an equal, thriving, democratic and egalitarian society. Close observation revealed whenever peace process was planned clashes among clans increased as each wanted to show its importance by using force to occupy another district or town (Elmi, 2010). In light of clan structure, civil society split along clan-lines and clans themselves split into sub-clans due to the absence of strong government. After the mayhem of Somali government followed by incessant conflict among the Somali clans fighting over resources and land grabbing produced an apocalyptic environment where gross violations and indiscriminate killings are distressingly becoming common. Furthermore, peacebuilding in southern Somalia has numerous challenges ranging from the general insecurity and lack of cohesion among the various clans and sub-clans. Attempts to rebuild Somalia must take into account the need to consolidate social cohesion and also the success of peacebuilding is contingent on the effectiveness of national reconciliation, redressing past mistakes and addressing justice and security in southern Somalia.

As some scholars argued that the situation in Somalia has been worsened after the abortive coup of Barre's regime in 1978. Moreover, military regime aggressively used system of clan politics in order to cling to power, and it also marginalized and disenfranchised certain clans and took excessive actions to punish those go against the government while the regime pinned the futile coup on entire mutinous soldiers' clans, and the military regime committed egregious crimes and injustice in the name of clan identity in which resulted protracted social conflict (Elmi, 2010). Nevertheless, researcher finds that in order to mitigate the social strife in southern Somalia and rest of the country is to take the necessary stratagem of comprehensive peacebuilding aimed at creating in reliable security sector system through consulting with traditional elders, and also need to be rehabilitated, demilitarized former combatants and reoriented the combatants into hoi polio life, stablishing transparent security system and rebuilding public trust under the law and state governed security.

As Lederach suggested transformation of civil society in peacebuilding encompasses the recognition that conflict can progress in either constructive or destructive ways. However, as the paper mentioned that it is therefore, necessary to understand the challenges hindering civil society's role in peacebuilding and reconciliation. A further step for civil society in the development for peacebuilding is to generate a widespread sense of shared responsibility as well as the inclusion of women, youth and other stakeholder in state structures and decision making which will be highly contributed to achieve vertical integration and peacebuilding in Mogadishu and Southern Somalia.

Factors Responsible for Insecurity and Ineffective Peace

Seismic geopolitical disruptions such us that represented by the collapse of Soviet Unions are certainly features on the changing land scape of international security (Butler, 2009). Without a doubt the war on terror has also recast politically, militarily and ideologically the structure of international system. As Africa emerges out of its post-cold war period, characterized by deep intra-state conflicts, mutation of actors, and political uncertainty, the continent has also become a prime theater for various post-conflict peacebuilding intervention (Knight, 2010). Peacebuilding and security sector are the strategies which are most likely seeks to reverse the destructive processes that accompany violence (Hulme, 1999) A plethora of either external or internal actors are involved in peacebuilding process in Somalia, and there has been unfathomable, contradictory goals. Andy (2010) suggested that the peacebuilding intervention measures is to find a way to dismantle conflict nurturing institutions and replace them with institutions that are capable of upholding and sustaining peace. SSR is perceived as a crucial step as external actors, like the UN, hand over the responsibility of peacebuilding to post-conflict state governments. These governments are supposed to uphold the rule of law, shore up its military capabilities and provide its citizens with the protection that comes from reforms to the security sector.

The type of the conflicts in Africa has also included the proliferation of lethal weapons mostly small armies and light weapons (SALW). This has become problematic for peacebuilding process and less controllable since the end of the cold war in 1989 (Krause, 2004). Post-conflict countries faced with enormously complex, and intricately interconnected problems. For instance, such states have problems with previous combatants, literally still armored, who require a massive reform to be demilitarized, demobilized and then reintegrated into societies (Knight, 2010). Southern Somalia lacks any initiative to embrace demilitarization and demobilization process, because there is a controversial agenda for clans in peacebuilding and security reform in the southern part. Elmi (2010) indicated that whenever clan elders and warlords combined together to reach agreement on their gridlocks, the situation get worsened, implementing peace accords and beefing up security is even more challenging. However, the aim of disarmament demobilization and reintegration is to ensure the contribution towards building sustainable peace by giving erstwhile combatants long term reintegration as a DDR process, and also stems from former combatants to provide ample supports or livelihoods once the war comes to an end during the transitional period from conflict to peace.

Security governance issues including the reform of security sector and reinforcing the rule of law are now increasingly recognized as priority peacebuilding tasks (Knight, 2010). UN regards effectual SSR as part of a comprehensive and sustainable peacekeeping and peacebuilding strategy in post-conflict societies. William (2005) argued that in the post-cold war period SSR has taken on a different meaning from the one used during the cold war. Today SSR is viewed as central conflict prevention and poverty reduction mechanism (DFID,

1999). However, SSR finds to rearrange the demoralized security apparatuses of the state as well as their management and oversight to address post-conflict security challenges. It has usually prioritized on propping up the peace capacity of security forces to meet immediate security challenges that threaten sustainable peacebuilding processes and post-war development. Some SSR processes have included justice reform, which improves the peacebuilding capacity of the judicial and penal system and provide legal remedies for all post-conflict societies.

Southern Somalia has a perpetual conflict for nearly three decades, ruined first by combats among clan warlords and by then radically violent extremism. There is a numerous military contingent who are deployed as peacekeepers to fight against Islamic court Unions (ICU) whom are designated as terrorist by the former TFG and its allies. Additionally, AMISOM was given a mandate to safeguard Transitional Federal Government, and carry out military operations against radical groups by facilitating humanitarian assistance. William (2013) argued that the TFG failed to deliver any form of public services to its citizens and nor implemented any major efforts in reconciliation between the conflicting clans. Knight and Ozerdem illustrated that the failure or success of SSR and DDR directly affects the prospects for sustainable peacebuilding in post-conflict societies (Knight and Ozerdem, 2004).

Somalia has three main security institutions under the command of FGS; Somali National Army, Somali Police Force and National Intelligence and Security Agency (Institute, 2021). The country's security is reliant on external assistance for financing, training and equipment. Furthermore, SSF divided along clan lines and they have been influenced by elite irreconcilability and political imbroglio. However, factors responsible for failures in achieving comprehensive peacebuilding and security in Somalia is the deep mistrust between clans and their unquenchable desire for the mantle of top echelon. Importantly, clans in Somalia are complex to penetrate their issues in terms of security sectors and justice system, because each is at war with one another, and they are more armored than the government.

Bradbury indicated that the kinship system remains an important feature of Somalia's social, political and economic life, also scholars like Lewis emphasized kinship as fundamental factor in Somali politics. Decades of statelessness and fragile in Southern Somalia security agencies still seems not apolitical, and divvied up along clan militias. Besteman argued that the politics of clan identity was consolidated with the arrival of colonial power. Elmi (2010) demonstrated that clan conflict tends to increase for one reason or another, affecting the security component, which is prerequisite for other political economic and justice pillars. According to Taisier Ali and Robert Matthews peacebuilding consist of four pillars: the creation of secure environment, the establishment of political systems, the reconstruction of economic development and attentions to issues of justice. It accentuates the demilitarization and development of national security is to address specific challenges to post-conflict peacebuilding especially in the areas of domestic security, social cohesion, economic development and regionalism

However, peacebuilding and SSR for a weak state like Somalia is a very dangerous and daunting task, which needs to have overwhelmingly multifaceted and diplomatic approaches from international community until the fledgling democracy in Somalia stands on its feet. Additionally, FGS, FMS and local community should take collectively appropriate strategies to maintain SSR, achieve lasting peace by addressing the root causes of the incessant conflict. It is also important to dissipate spoilers and actors who are involved in the conflict through national and international fora. As Stedman suggested spoilers must be defeated or marginalized in peace process through international grantees, or by reducing their

abilities to influence others, and should strength the parties to defend themselves, however, forgiveness and reconciliation are crucial factors in peacebuilding and security sector, ADR is highly needed in post-conflict societies as a tool of conflict resolution, Truth justice commission is an exemplary and viable option to address injustice and insecurity from the post-independence and up to now, more importantly, Somali people should have moral satisfactions rather than material compensation. However, as Gawerc (2006) argued the intention of peacebuilding is to generate a structure of peace which is based on justice, equity and cooperation, as well as addressing the underlying causes of violent conflict so that it become less likely in the future.

Theoretical Framework
Protracted social conflict theory will be used in the study. The main proponent of this theory is Edward Azar. PSC theory will be appropriate to use for war-prone countries like Somalia. The PSC theory presented the incessant conflict among communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institution and economic transparent. The PSC theory emphasized the foundations of such conflicts lay vitally within and across rather than exclusively between states. Azar divided this theory into four clusters recognized as prerequisite for their transformation: Human needs, Communal conflict, governance, and international linkages. According to Azar communal content is the fact that the most useful of unit of analysis in Protracted Social Conflict is the identity group: racial, religion and ethnic, in which he defined the relationship among the identity groups and states is at the core of the problem. Edward demonstrated that 'human needs' as the deprivation of underlying source of protracted social conflict, grievance resulted from need deprivation are usually expressed collectively.

Azar further argued that the dereliction of correcting past grievances by the state ignites social strife. He also demonstrated third cluster government and state's role, according to him this variable is crucial factor in post-conflict peacebuilding, the variable turns attention to the role of the state and its role in ensuring that groups under its rule are able to meet their human needs and satisfaction of individuals. The last cluster Azar described International Linkages, which he classifies two distinct forms in which these international linkages can take; economic dependency and client relationships within the international political economic system and the network of military linkages consulting of global and regional patterns. However, PSC theory can be used in post-conflict peacebuilding and security sector aimed at eschewing the relapse into dreadful violence and social conflict.

Conceptual Framework
The concept tried to elaborate the dependent and independent variables which are considered to play important roles in research. The concept implies that security agencies are independent variable that involves for instance; conducive environment reintegration of former combatants in post-conflict peacebuilding, and intervening variables will include traditional elders, religious leaders and local community. Moreover, security is one of the major factors which needs to be addressed by external actors or local communities in order to achieve lasting peace.

Conceptual Framework
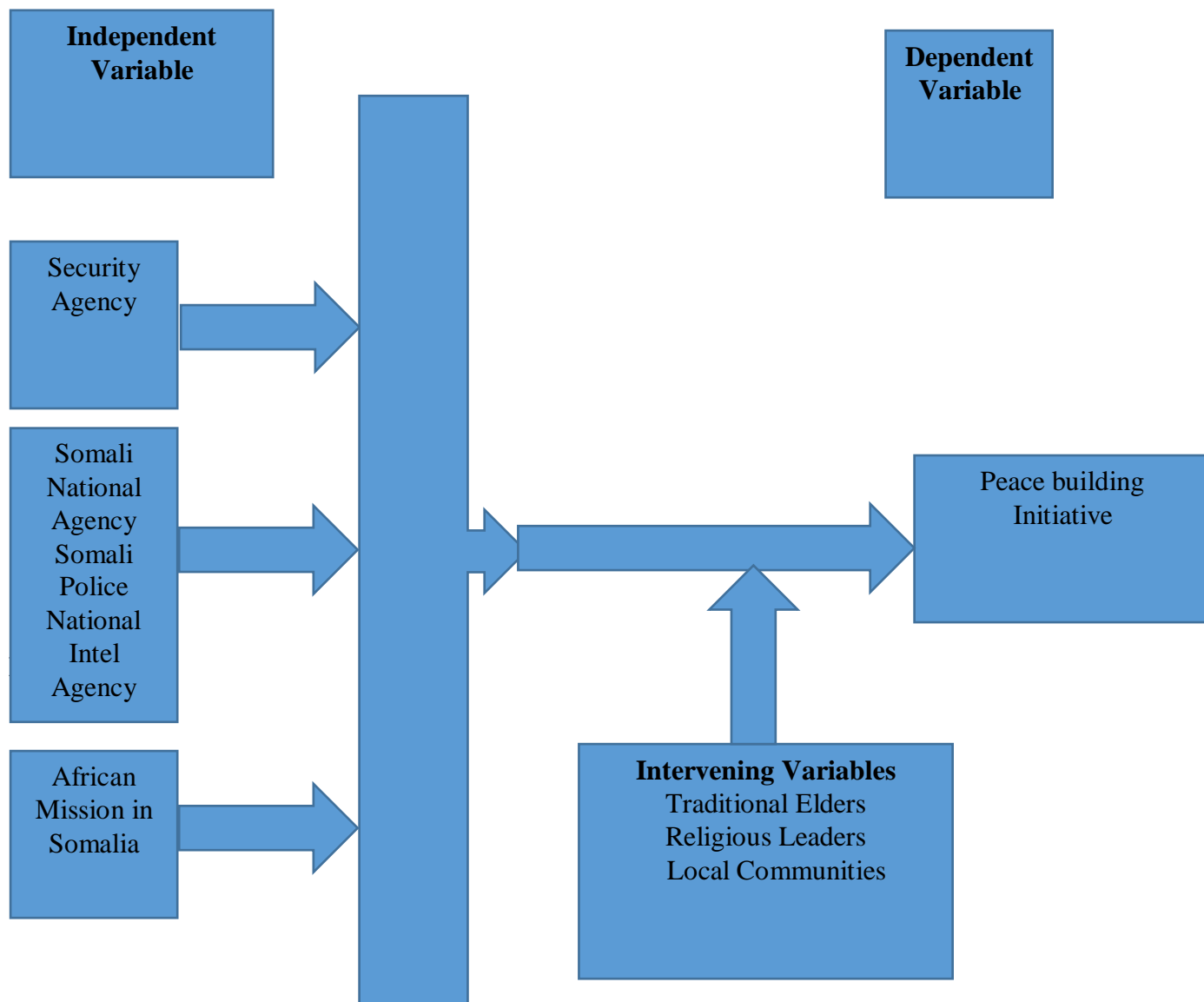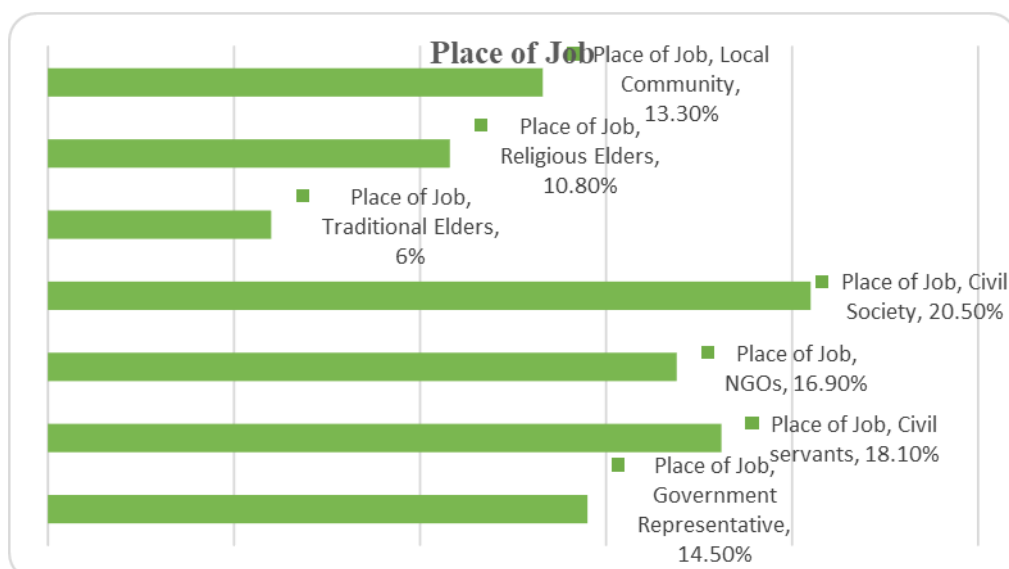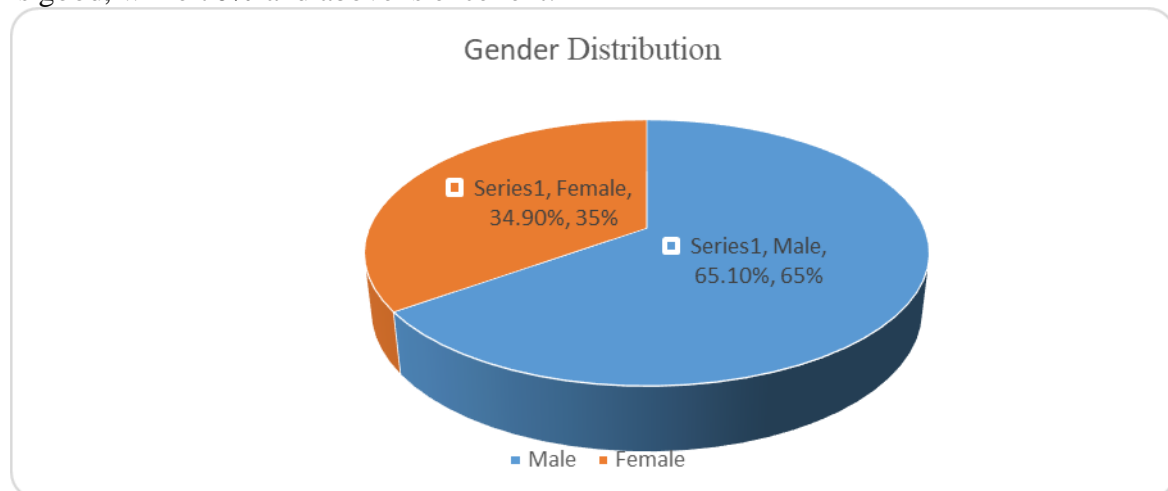

Figure 1
Source: Authors

Research Methodology
Descriptive research design was used in this study. According to Helen Dulock (1993) descriptive survey is used when the researcher wants to describe systematically and accurately the facts and characteristics of a given population, situation or areas of interests as a means of discovering meaning, describing what exist with respect the relationships between the selected variables and determining the frequency with which something occurs and/or categorizing the available information. The design was suited since the study seeks to stablish the implication of security agencies and peacebuilding in southern Somalia. In this study non-probability purposive sampling technique was used. Data collections in this work were used questionnaires for community members, traditional elders, religious leaders and civil society while interview guides were used for key informants.

Findings of the Study
Response Rate
This research purposed to gather data from 100 respondents representing diverse organizations in Mogadishu the capital of Somalia. The respondents included; government representatives, civil servants, NGOs, Civil Society, Traditional Elders, Religious Leaders, and the Local Community. Out of the 100 sampled respondents, 83 participated in this study making a response rate of 83% hence, a majority of the participants in this investigation. The number was considered fit for data analysis, conclusions and recommendations based on Mugenda and Mugenda (2012) recommendations that 50% response rate is satisfactory, 60% is good, while 70% and above is excellent.

Gender Distribution

Series1, Female, 34.90%, 35%
Series1, Male, 65.10%, 65%

■ Male ■ Female

Place of Job

Place of Job, Local Community, 13.30%
Place of Job, Religious Elders, 10.80%
Place of Job, Traditional Elders, 6%
Place of Job, Civil Society, 20.50%
Place of Job, NGOs, 16.90%
Place of Job, Civil servants, 18.10%
Place of Job, Government Representative, 14.50%

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	64	77.1
No	19	22.9
Total	83	100.0

Discussions of Research Findings

This is a clear indication that most of the participants affirmed that the government contributes to sustaining reliable peace in Mogadishu. Some of the key responses from the respondents to support this stated: The FGS's contribution is to encourage ordinary citizens to participate in peace process and give them space to express their roles towards the peace. It is also important for the government to hold exhaustive reconciliation among the community regardless of their background and clan affiliation, which might result in sustainable peace in Mogadishu. The country is emerging from civil war which has been divided the entire community, reconciliation and redressing the past grievances would be the best contribution that can be made by the FGS. AMISOM'S presence in Mogadishu would also contribute much to peace imitative in Mogadishu and the country at large in terms of peacemaking, peacekeeping and conflict management. But their mission in peacekeeping has been ambiguous due to the conflict of interests from the contingent's countries. Because neighboring countries who contributed peacekeeping forces to Somalia have their own national interest in Somalia's peace process and they seem pursing that interests.

The study further revealed that it is reasonable for the federal government to redress past injustices whereby offenders are brought to justice and reconciliation from past conflicts is addressed. The respondents agreed that investigating on the root cause of past injustices and addressing the issues that resulted into conflict then would ensure that future conflicts are avoided and that the people can continue to live in harmony without the fear of relapse of the war. One of the respondents stated that: Clans have been at war with each other, and therefore, the Federal Government supposed to redress the past injustice in order to avoid the lapse into another senseless civil war. Importantly, clans thirst for peace because they tired of chaos and conflict. Solving the main grounds of the conflict as well as redressing the past injustice may pave the way for lasting peace and would come to an end the incessant conflict in the country.

The study tried find out the role of civil society in peacebuilding, and it indicated civil society had no role to play in establishing peacebuilding, because they are divided along clan lines. This means that the people were aware that the Civil Society should contribute to the government efforts on peacebuilding by formulating strategies that are geared towards peacebuilding. The civil society can support the peacebuilding initiatives by addressing the needs of the community, organizing community gatherings and directing the community to solve the existing issues through peaceful means. Civil Society Organizations can also come in as conflict mediators due to their constant interactions with the communities and their knowledge of the community's needs. In addition, the respondents highlighted that the Civil Society Organizations could act as advocacy institutions that can bring forward the needs and priorities of the people in a coherent and a united voice.

The study revealed that the majority of respondents believe traditional elders have role to play in peacebuilding and conflict resolution whereby their efforts have been active for the last thirty years. Traditional leaders have the knowledge on the issues that resulted into conflict and are also respected people in the society therefore given a chance the

traditional leaders would largely contribute to peace in Mogadishu and Southern Somalia. The respondents went ahead to state the impact of the engagement of the traditional leaders in Puntland State. Traditional leaders have been entrusted with conflict management in Puntland and as a result the area has been experiencing peace.

The respondents uniformly agreed that peace could not be achieved without reforming security. The reasons that were put forward to support this were attributed to demilitarization, demobilization, and reintegration that were important in peacebuilding. The respondents stated that there was a possibility of former combatants being used to propagate violence in future. Further, the respondents stated that since some of the security forces in Southern Somalia were ready to take on the role of maintaining peace since some of them had been trained in Turkey and the United States of America. Other respondents stated that some of the military forces were loyal to their clans and would perform excellently once they are properly trained.

While security agencies are important in the peacebuilding process it was important to establish which agencies were particularly actively important in the process. The respondent's views clearly stated that the entire security forces were important in the peacebuilding process, albeit in need of more effective and efficient training. Some of the respondents stated that the Somali National Army was the most important to effectively participate in the governments peacebuilding initiatives. The main concern brought about by the respondents was the need to strengthen the security forces through effective training. With proper training the Somalia National army is capable of providing security in Mogadishu.

This investigation purposed to find out the challenges that the security agencies faced in peacebuilding post conflict. The responses given stated that the security forces lacked proper training, and that their existed division among the officers associated with clan affiliation and other interests to buy off loyalties and consolidate power. In addition to that security forces are grappling with corruption and nepotism, which has been rife to perform their duties impartially.

Further, the participants were requested to indicate the main impediments to the security sector in Somalia. From the responses it was established that the lack of demilitarization, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants was the main hindrance to security in Somalia. Other impediments that were highlighted was the presence of militia who are better trained and more armored than the government's security forces. In addition, corrosive misgovernance and mistrust among the clans had prevented reformation from fully taking place. The respondents also stated that the presence of former combatants that take advantage of the existing turbulence would be problematic for the peacebuilding process in Southern Somalia. Some of the former combatants are involved in criminal activities while others join terrorist groups to validate their abhorrent actions.

Reconciliation in Southern Somalia among the segmented clans can be achieved by solving the root grounds of the violent conflict as well as redressing the past grievances among the communities. It is also important to note that there should be moral satisfactions among the clans which may help them end their mutual recrimination and grudges. In addition, to achieve reliable security in Southern Somalia the respondents stated that there was need for reforming security sectors and enhancing justice among the security forces. They also stated that it was essential to establish connections between the security forces and ordinary citizens aimed at addressing security concerns in the community.

Conclusion of the Study

Considering findings, the study wrapped up that peacebuilding initiative has been paid to lip service by Somali intelligentsias whom have irreconcilable interest in Somali's state building. Furthermore, there is no lucid strategy towards security sector due to lack of ample training and equipment, and importantly, security sector was not given proper scheme to carry out their mission to stabilize the capital city Mogadishu and Southern Somalia as a whole, therefore some SSF are involved in politically motivated activities which have dented their credibility.

However, the study concludes that peacebuilding in southern Somalia can be achieved once addressed the underlying conditions which are hamstringing peace and reconciliation as well as security in the country. The study also emphasizes the need to demobilize and reintegrate the former combatants in order for them to integrate into local community. Reforming the security, training and equipping them would contribute to peacebuilding in a country coping with perennial insecurity and instability. Organizing and improving civil society and local community as stakeholders and giving them space to represent the entire community would also pave the way for peaceful and prosperous Somalia. The study also emphasizes that the crux of peacebuilding lies with the local communities, traditional elders and clergies in collaboration with the government, whereas security can be improved through community policing in order to shun any relapse into violent conflict.

Peacebuilding is not an issue only in post-conflict Somalia, also it is crucial in war-torn countries to overcome security challenges and highlight conflict triggers by addressing the root causes of the conflict. Once all these factors are properly sorted out, then peace and security can be achieved.

Recommendations of the Study

Based on the research findings the researcher recommended to emphasize on how to be held comprehensive peace and reconciliation in southern Somalia by urging the ordinary citizen to involve in the process and take the lead to correct and redress the historical injustice that has affected throughout the country. In this regard, the FGS should open an urgent dialogue with local communities in collaboration with elders and clergies to prioritize national reconciliation and peacebuilding on the ground Ensuring that the rule of law to be effective and equal to all citizenry. Because this will help the marginalized and vulnerable citizens to feel a sense of belonging and importantly, that they will never be lured or exploited by insurgent groups. FGS should facilitate providing public services in order for citizens to access their basic and inalienable rights. Giving space for civil society to represent the entire community where matters of community development and peacebuilding are addressed and discussed. Civil society should then come up with strategies that makes local community cohesive and cooperative. The FGS should implement proper security structure policy by reforming and training Somali Security forces. This would lead to professionalization and institutionalization of security forces. The FGS should declare through media and other platforms public awareness of the perennial security problems which might help ordinary citizens to take precautionary measures to curb insecurity activities. Local community need to be informed the security of Mogadishu and the country at large is their responsibility too, and FGS should ensure that community members are able to participate in tandem with SSF.

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