THE EFFECTS OF UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (UNDP) LEADERSHIP INITIATIVES ON POLITICAL STABILITY IN SOMALIA

BY

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DECLARATION

This Research project is my original work and to the best of my knowledge has not been submitted for examination for any degree in any other Institution or University.

Sign...

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DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this work to Allah, the Almighty for giving me the determination to complete

this research. To all those who lost their lives in innocence and in good course for Somalia. I also

wish to dedicate this work to my Parents for the Educational opportunity I was offered.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the Effects of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) key leadership initiatives in Somalia. The institutional arrangement support such as Somalia Institutional Support programme (SISP), the Rule of law and security projects as well as the Governance and leadership programmes. The Institutional support projects financed and provided both the technical and financial support to the top leadership of the Somali Executive such as the President and the prime minister. The Programme supported group and individual members of parliament as well as technical expatriate that supported the offices.

The Rule of law and security provided evidences of documentation and improvement in Human rights respect, dignity and safety of all officials working for the institutional arrangements. This study adopted the descriptive design and targeted ten key informants from the international expatriates and UNDP officials running the programmes, in affirmation jointly with five other government top officials, who affirmed the technical and financial support provided by UNDP to enhance the transitional institutions and its leaders. The interviews targeted both the direct and indirect officials of the programme and the beneficiaries. The Direct targets being the head of programme that are the expatriates and international staff and the indirect being government officials. The sample size was achieved through cluster sampling of UNDP staff and top government legislative and the executive members. Purposive sampling and other Non-probability sampling methods such as snow-ball, were also used.

The research methods were preferred since detailed and private project information to be revealed, needed honesty and trustworthiness hence referencing through Snow –ball approach using the Interview guide tool. Analysis of the study was done through emerging patterns, themes, documentation, vivo coding of key concepts provided such as Institutional strengthening, Rule of law& Security, Governance and leadership as well as effective and non-effective leadership qualities. The Results obtained in the finding indicated donor good will and proper information sharing stakeholder consultation and constant communications. Donors wait and see attitudes, leadership capacity building, respect for rule of law and security as well as dignified human rights provisions as well as general political agreements between the leaders and the programmes head improved the general implementation and donor support and funding opportunities.

Findings of the study revealed responsive and timely intervention of donor project support can help institutionalize peace building in Somalia. Also UNDP projects have a bearing on overall leadership, peace building initiatives and positive technology use. Similarly; team building, honesty and relationship building between different stakeholders including the Private sector, the UNDP staff, the Executive government officials has strongly contributed to political stability of the process. Effective leadership of the Somali Government and implementation of lessons learnt also remain major findings for the study. Other aspects such as cultural disintegration, globalization, clan conflict and poor leadership also strongly contributed to overall lack of peace building in Somalia.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU	Africa Union
EU	European Union
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Agency for Development
ILO	International Labour organization
IUC	Islamic Union Courts
KDF	Kenya Defence Force
NGOs	Non- Governmental Organization
RLSP	Resilience Livelihood Support Programme
ROLS	Rule of Law and Security
SBS	Strathmore Business School
SCZ	South Central Zone
SISP	Somalia Institutional Support Programme
SOM	Somalia
TFC	Transitional Federal Charter
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TFI	Transitional Federal Institutions
UIC	Union of Islamic Courts
UNDP	United Nations Development Programmes
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UN-Women	United Nations Women
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background information

Global Security and conflict management has become one of the world's political issues and a major debate in the Twenty first century; the effects and catastrophic outcomes are evident in both the developed and developing world (Herman, 2013). Human security, small arms proliferation and global terrorism are some of the key aspects that have been debated but still needs a lot of follow-up and capacity development (International Crisis Group, 2008).

The Arab spring caught the world with a lot of surprise and to-date it is still a puzzle that needs a review. The majority of the Muslim countries view these demonstrations and uprising as an external well calculated intrusion while a few analysts view it as an emergence against dictatorship, cultural disintegration and globalization, whether any of the position holds water, the key view remains, lives have been lost, millions have been displaced, the World has been made more unstable, more aggrieved migrants and other social misfits have been created.

The key inputs remain for the world to review the position and offer solutions that are globally acceptable and as Herman (2013) put it, global governance on issue of key importance are still at large, though she has strongly provided guidance through governing the world concepts.

Decisions undertaken and how decisions are arrived at remain the major global governance issues especially in the management of global conflicts. The Situation might seem far-fetched in the Middle East but with globalization, international trade, financial interaction and the global village

communication processes; the situation seems far from being a distant affair (Daniels, &Hoose 2018).

World Bank (2000)**,** point that a fifth of Africans live in countries severely affected by conflicts. These have major administrative and management cost and impacts both in inter-state and intra state perspectives.

Africa has handled issues of political stability, corruption and unemployment and gender inequalities with limited concerns hence emphasizing that Africa is a doomed continent (WB 2000). With Globalizations, international trade, international Financial and technological innovation no single country can claim to be safe enough to close its doors from what's happening around the world.

United Nations (UN) has been previously accused of not taking crucial leads and intervention in Somalia's initial signs of collapse and human right abuses, it had not grasped the magnitude of the Somalia's Problem, and limited coherent and consistent pressure to Said Barre regime was really evident (Liban 2004). Liban also points that the UN secretary General at the time Boutros Hali had extensive dealings with the regime and its key allies.

Inflammatory media reports and massive political divisions can be a major contributor to unstable governments and military interventions; killing of prominent persons is also top on the list (IIRR, 2004). Siad Barre's regime mercilessly slaughtered a number of key professional and political leaders of the current self-proclaimed Somaliland, triggering the disintegration of the country into major clan divisions (Liban, 2004).

Somalia remains synonymous with war and bloodshed an indication of the fact that the greater pastoralist Somali community are by very nature disorganized and lazy just like other African communities. The World Bank indicates that Somalis are a fifth of an African population living in conflict prone areas (WB 2011). The most recent attack of 2017 of a major business building in Mogadishu, resulting to over 500 deaths remain evident as one man-made catastrophe that happened in the world.

Somalis are traditionally categorized as Cushitic group that practise nomadism. They are found originally in Somalia, Ogden region of Ethiopia, Kenya's North East region, Djibouti and the self-proclaimed British Protectorate of Somaliland. Three decades of War in Somalia means new communities of immigrants turned citizens have been born and developed in Western World including Britain, United States of America (USA) and Canada as well as the neighbouring countries.

Historically nomads are known to be very generous people, in most cases very truthful, with traditional elder's systems that's function for society but also very proud and materialistic in nature. The Islamic religion that preaches peace, sharing and non-conformity to pride, somehow has curtailed the massive destruction of a society that could otherwise be "Man eat man Society".

North (2011), points out that extractive institutions have one common factor, which is to take away and not to rebuild or re-structure for growth. Somalia's division into the traditional, British, Italian and partly French contributed largely to cultural, language and leadership style. The fact that the country was divided into three key regions of South Central Zone by the Italians, the Somaliland Zone and Putland shows the differences in traditional leadership cultures and ideological differences, hence extractive and divisive in nature (North 2011).

Liban (2004), points that Siad Barre permitted no formal, legal opposition to his regime, so no formal structure existed to take his place, the only law and order that existed was that which served his whims and was enforced by the barrel of the gun, no law and order existed, no social constructions to protect the guiding universal Human Rights process.

South Central Zones:

Its neighbours include Ethiopia, Kenya, Eretria, and a vast covering of the Indian Ocean. It has a population of six million people. It has a major seaport of Kismayo. Almost all services including education are privately managed (UNICEF 2009). Weak government and high levels of insecurity that are not only clan based but linked to terrorism groups of Al-shabab categorize it. The Transitional weak government is struggling with control issues, violence, fragility as well as high levels of small arms proliferation (World Bank 2009).

Somaliland:

Neighbouring with Putland, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Coast of Gulf of Eden. They have relative peace for two decades now and enjoy massive support from the diaspora. They faced massive suppression from the former Siad Bare's office, it's commonly occupied by the Issakia Clan.

Somaliland was formed in 1991 after the defacto state of former military led government of Siad Barre; they are currently enjoying relative peace with programmes fully developed in Institutional Development, Rule of law and security programme (UNDP 2009). The region refutes the leadership of Federal government based in Mogadishu. They are in constant conflict for Sool and Sanag with Putland and are relatively advanced in Human rights issues compared to most parts of Somalia.

Putland:

In 1998 the semi-autonomous Darood clan broke away from the Siad Bare regime, re-building efforts are evident and major human rights programmes such as Rule of Law (ROLs) and Governance have taken-off. They have tried to build Sustainable-political administrative institutions (UNDP2009).

Gas and oil exploration is underway and multi-party system democracy coupled with fair democratic electoral systems are in place, gender based violence, and female stereotyping and clan dynamism still remain a major issue (Unwomen 2011). From 1991 to around 2007, clan based conflicts played a central role in the conflict situation in Somalia. In more recent times following the establishment of the transitional federal government, armed resistance by opposition groups, consisting mainly of remnants of the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC), radical Islamisms, and clan-affiliated militia have presented the major source of political and institutional instability (UNDP, 2007). Somalia has collaborated with the International community to establish peace and stability.

Somalia has been highly researched and studied with major agencies giving key scientific finding on Conflict management, institutionalization of Democracy and the Rule of Law as well as key agency development issue on leadership. The Somali culture, colonization model as well as leadership style have also been thoroughly explored (Leftwitch,2007).

1.1.1 UNDP programmes

The UNDP collaborates with different partners and agencies such as the Somali Government, NGOs and civil organizations to develop programmes for building capacity in key areas such as access to water, sustainable food security, health and education and making them a priority in its agendas for intervention in Somalia. It also helps the local communities to rebuild the roads,

undertake demining, markets transformations and irrigation networks damaged during the conflicts. The security agents are also assisted in promoting the rule of law, management of public funds and monitoring the security situation in the country at all levels. Finally, the body advocates for the adoption of sustainable development goals for the citizens of the Somalia in general.

The five Peace and State Building Goals laid down in the Somali Compact document PSG1, points, inclusive politics with a strategic goal of building a politically stable and democratic Somaliland that adheres to the principles of good governance; PSG2 - Security with a strategic goal of establishing unified, capable, accountable and rights based Somali federal security institutions providing basic safety and security for its citizens; PSG 3 – Justice, have a strategic objective of improving access to an efficient and effective justice system for all; PSG 4 - Economic Foundations, have a strategic goal of strengthening the management of Somaliland's natural, productive and human resources, and create an enabling economic and financial environment to maximise economic growth and participation in the regional and global economy; PSG 5 - Revenue and Services: have a strategic goal of increasing the delivery of equitable, affordable, and sustainable services that promote national peace and reconciliation amongst Somalia's regions and citizens and enhance transparent and accountable revenue generation and equitable distribution and sharing of public resources (UNDP Website, 2015). These are the guiding principles upon the operations of the UNDP in Somalia and these principles were the focus of this study based on the capacity development programmes.

1.1.2 UNDP Somalia Institutional Support Programme.

The capacity development programmes adopted by the UNDP in Somalia are based on helping the Somali Government in their role of ensuring sustainability of the functions of the government such as the management of public funds, effective distribution of roles and responsibilities, human

resource management, development and implementation of development programmes for her citizens and coordination of internal and external activities and ensuring sustainable peace programmes (UNDP Intranet, 2015). These functions by the Government promote openness and accountability, enhancing trust and confidentiality among the citizens of Somalia. They are run under the Strengthening Institutional Performance (SIP) Project and the Emerging States Formation Project by the UNDP. Through these programmes, the UNDP helps in responding to the institutional development of different states in various parts of the country, (UNDP Somalia project document, 2015).

The SIP projects supports the Somali Government in the implementation of its capacity development flagship projects for enhancing capacity in the civil service and strengthening capabilities of the key ministries and agencies in performing their main functions of service delivery to the citizens. The SIP project helps the government in developing organizational structures within its functions and ministries to meet the expectations of the people of Somalia. The (StEFS) supports the federal Government of Somalia and Emerging states to achieve the first goal – PSG1 as spelled out in the Somali Compact Document. The PSG1 is about inclusive politics, whose strategic objective is to attain sustainable peace and stability and also promote dialogues between the Government and her people through a process of social reconciliation, (UNDP, 2015).

1.2 Problem statement

Somalia is facing a myriad of problems since the collapse of Siad Barres regime in 1991. This includes poverty, environmental degradation, and high rates of unemployment, black market, and radicalization of the youth, terrorism and a fragmented society among other challenges (ICG report 2006). UNDP is one of the many international and humanitarian organizations which have managed to operate in unstable countries like Somalia to implement projects aimed at changing

the lives of the citizens. The stability of the United Nations organizational structure places UNDP as the appropriate agency that is able to carry out project operations in unstable countries and risky environments (UNDP Somalia website, 2015).

A multi faced agencies; international organizations and Global leadership have focussed their efforts in Somalia through the Sustainable Development goals. Human Security and global terrorism remain an anchoring aspects that guide the intervention programmes. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) remains one major such supported programme by both the UN Security Council and the global goals.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has worked with the state, communities and traditional leaders to implement interventions to address the humanitarian and security crisis. The key focus has been to establish inclusive, equitable and accountable governance, functional institutions and access to justice, respect to human right in addition to inclusive politics. Over more than a decade UNDP has deployed flexible programming to realize its mandate in Somalia. Around the year 2007, the programmes were designed to intervene in three core areas of Somalia Institutional support programme (SISP), Governance and Rule of law. Around 2012, the programme design focussed mainly on governance and Rule of Law and Security.

According to the UNDP website (2015), the agency has had great and workable formulas for unstable and risky countries and they have been able to implement multi-billion kind of implementation strategies, in other countries in the world. Somalia is not unique and faces the same challenges, as other unstable nations.

UNDP as an organization also faces structural, internal institutional sustainability and technical hitches despite implementing and providing road maps for development progress in unstable countries.

Somalia's Conflict can be seen from a failure of government unity of its key regions, where the state wanted to take control of all the regions despite, historical, independence boundaries and more so having different colonialist in all the three regions of Somalia. During the Colonial times Putland was ruled by the French; North which is Somaliland was ruled by the British protectorate, these historical difference is actually a major underpinning principle and an issue that has been investigated.

The language, the culture and the lifestyle of the   adopted in the three regions, meaning, Former President Siad Bare's attempt to use the state and its powerful means to quickly bring together the three regions despite the different colonialist handing it back as separate countries, meant a quick-fix solution that was not sustainable (UNICEF, 2014). Actually, Somaliland had received its recognition as a country, way before the main South Central zone (SCZ, 2014).

After the Collapse of Siad Bare government and the Emergence of the Al-Shabaab in 2009 in Somalia through the Islamic state Government of Sheikh Sharif, the emergence of Terrorism in the Horn of Africa, with clear assurance that the international agenda on terrorism got planted in Somalia.Galtung (1966) pointed that the absence of war does not always mean peaceful coexistence, Structural peace depicts a clear analysis of the social destructions and systematic institutions that have robed Somali people; its peace and livelihood, making citizens suspicious and mistrust all systems, almost all government institutions for south central Zone are run privately hence killing the country output to have a public system that's citizens friendly (UNDP 2009).

The Study therefore intends to establish the effects of UNDP leadership initiatives on Political stability in Somalia. And how the institutional support programme actually implements leadership orientations, training and improved governance for the top executive leaders of the government, Other UNDP programming goals such as Governance and Rule of Law and security have also been explored.

1.3 Research purpose

The purpose of the study is to establish the influence of UNDP leadership initiatives to Political stability in Somalia.

1.4 Research objectives

1. To assess the effect of UNDP institutional Support Programme on political stability.

2. Examine the effects of UNDP Governance programme on Political Stability.

3. Assess the effects of UNDP Rule of Law and Security programme on political Stability.

1.5 Research questions

1. What are the effects of UNDP Somalia's Institutional Support Programme (SISP) on political stability in Somalia?

2. What are the effects of the Rule of law and Security programme on Political stability in Somalia?

3. What are the effects of Governance and Leadership programme on Political Stability in Somalia?

1.6 Delimitation scope of the study

The research was limited to the leaders of the Transitional Federal Government(TFG) and Head of the different programmes in UNDP-Somalia found in Nairobi offices. Also logistical and security reasons affected direct field study, right inside Somalia.

1.7 The independent and dependent variable

Independent	Dependent
UNDP interventions	Political Stability, demining and financial support. Elections, power sharing, & Positive clan based process
Leadership	**Power Sharing** Functional Institutions- Presidential and parliamentary
Institutional support Programme (SISP)	**Electoral Bodies** Rule of Law, Respect to Human Rights **Leadership Training and involvement**
Governance Consolidation (GovCon)	Legislation implementation and support, Micro-Projects supportive overviews, Oversights of key implementation
Rule of Law and Security (ROLs)	

Source: Author -2018

1.8 Operational definitions of variables and key concepts:

Definitions and Conceptualization of Variables is important to bring about general agreement about the use of terms. Conceptualization is defined as a process through which we specify precisely what we mean.

Institutions   The rule of the game

Political stability   The process of creating norms that contributes to reinforcing peace in areas of crisis and conflicts

Conflict Resolution   The process of setting institutions to manage disagreement, war or misunderstandings

Effective Leadership   Activity of leading a group of people or an organization and the ability to establish clear goals, vision and methods of realizing the goals set.

1.9 Significance of the study

Somalia's conflict and unending dangerous security situation spreads to the wider part of Africa and the global community. Furthermore, Media social interactions, illicit financing transaction, competing interests in the horn of Africa, builds an area of study for many research students. The fact that almost three decades of the originally clan based conflict has increased humanitarian crisis and emergences in Somalia gives the study a general areas of focus.

These particular study will look at the institutional, structural and systematic intervention by UNDP in specific Governance and Rule of law programming. These study therefore travels through the institutional and governance strategy and implementation of the UNDP programmes

through the lenses of its key programme leaders. This study therefore opens discussion on the translation from clan based to internationally linked terrorism issues, bearing on strategic leadership, programming and open citizen's participation in democratic process.

An analysis and support systems of the Institutional support, governance and Rule of Law form the detailed part of the study. The systems and structural support of the institutions and organizational flow are studied and analysis derived to check if, the support from UNDP actually translates to long-run and sustainable peaceful stability in Somalia.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Theoretical Literature

This study was guided by problem solving theory, game of conflict theory and realism theory

2.1.1 Problem Solving Theory

Problem Solving Theory adopts a functionalist approach to the problems of conflict by accepting that conflict is part of human experience and attempts to find ways to minimize the impact of conflict on life (McGinty, 2013). It seeks to develop systems and institutions that will mitigate the impact of conflict and help divided communities cooperate.

The problem solving theory to conflict analysis rejects the introduction of power in conflict management and denies its emphasis in the analysis of international relations. It postulates that the power path to conflict management, indeed resolution, lies in the parties to the conflict re-perceiving their conflictual relationships and in so doing mutually building bridges that lead to a self-sustaining post-conflict relationship (Weis-Wick, (1983). The problem solving approach could ideally be applicable to the Somali conflict since most actors have resorted to track one methodology (Keel man, 1992). Keelman (1992) also argues that the problem solving approach is the most effective strategy to be used during the pre-negotiation phase of the conflict as it prepares parties in conflict for formal track mediation.

One major contribution of track-two diplomacy has been the use of problem-solving workshops, which are a creation of the world society paradigm (Burton and Vayrynen, 1994). Track two diplomacy is suggested as most effective during the pre-negotiation phase of a conflict, or as

supplementary players during formal talks since problem solving workshops help in highlighting conflictual differences and aim to reframe the dialogue (Burton and Vayrynen, 1994).

Mwagiru (1994) argues that track two diplomacy has a special meaning, particularly in the context of conflict management. It represents a different view of international relations, which is not state-centric but emphasizes the fact that in the final analysis individuals are at the centre of all international interactions. Problem-solving workshops try to contribute to the creation of a political environment conducive to conflict resolution and transformation of the relationship between the conflicting parties both in the short-term and in the long-term. They create conditions that would enable the parties to move towards negotiations (Mwagiru, 1998).

Mwagiru (2004) notes that the problem-solving workshops have been suggested as a form of conflict management that looks into deep seated and protracted conflicts. It aims at the resolution of a conflict, and it is participatory because it must primarily involve the people in conflict, as they must participate mutually in working out a resolution to their conflict. He further argues that a problem-solving workshop is an approach to conflict resolution as it tries to bring out the deep-seated feelings of the parties.

Mwagiru (2004) mentions four important issues a problem-solving workshop encourages parties to do. A problem-solving workshop encourages parties to talk about the history of their conflict; it encourages them to account for any harm they have caused each other; it encourages them to mourn about the losses they have suffered from the conflict; and it encourages them to agree on what their future relationship will be. These things are necessary before the process of resolution can begin as they prepare the ground for the healing process to start, and provide the atmosphere in which parties can meet without accusing each other. Varying (1995) argues that the problem-solving workshop is seen as an attempt to find a shared reality between the parties in conflict for the

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purposes at hand without causing a further breakdown of social order. In this case, unlike official negotiations, problem- solving workshops provide for the parties a means to engage in dialogue.

According to Mwagiru (1998), the strength of the problem-solving approach is that, it is an attempt to find a shared reality between the parties in conflict for the purposes at hand without causing a further breakdown of social order. The approach provides for the parties a means to engage in dialogue unlike official negotiations. It prepares for the process of resolution to begin by laying out the ground for the healing process to start and provide the atmosphere for parties to meet without accusing each other. The approach achieves this by encouraging parties to talk about the history of their conflict, to accept responsibility for any harm they have caused each other, to mourn about the losses they have suffered from the conflict, and to agree on what their future relationship will be (Mwagiru, 1998).

However, the problem-solving approach has one major weakness as it rejects the introduction of power in conflict management and denies its emphasis in the analysis of international relations (Mwagiru, 1998). The approach postulates that the power path to conflict management, indeed resolution, lies in the parties to the conflict re-perceiving their conflictual relationships and in so doing mutually building bridges that lead to a self-sustaining post-conflict relationship. These are assumptions which might not hold true in the Somalia case. The approach is thus weakened by rejecting the introduction of power in conflict management and denying emphasis in international relations. It also leaves track-one diplomacy for the future despite its importance and subsequent use (Mwagiru, 1998).

The problem solving approach is relevant to this study since most actors in the Somalia case have resorted to track-one diplomacy. The approach looks into deep seated and protracted conflicts such as the one in Somalia and tries to bring out the deep-seated feelings of the parties with the aim of resolving the conflict. The problem solving theory can be strongly used in the study to propagate UNDP's key vision on Rule of law and Governance programmes, where UNDP has organized workshop internationally, regionally and Nationally to get Somali citizens to resolve key outstanding conflict base issues.

2.1.2 Game of Conflict

Rapport and Chammah (1965) proposed the Game of Conflict, where every actor is rational, the strategies employed, the goals and intentions are all meant to be rational. All other players or actors play to the rule up to the extent that the rationality aspect has uniformity and conformity. Rationality theory can be applied jointly with the game theory of competitiveness, in the case of Somalia.

Human Structuring and Transformation of social Institutions are also another key aspect interrogated by a number of different actors and the fact that information systems that are sensitive can be developed and tailored through Institutionalism (North, 2009). These defines the fact that institutionalization as a theory can be propagated. Somalia has a number of issues that weakens its position to institutionalize better, with low literacy levels, gender violence and gender discrimination, to a culture of violence in general and even in key institutions such as schooling.

North (2009) talks of extractive institutions, these are the type of structures that does not only kills consistency, reliability and even validation of good cultures but it can actually promote extractive behaviours such as continued violence and manipulation of the key systems (Galenson, 1993).

The rationality theory applies very strongly in these study as it points to the nature of fatigue, and hopelessness that both the Somali citizens and government officials face as they try to rebuild the nation. UNDP programmes and the need of the citizens in consultation with the leaders also have conformity and uniformity to the projects. Taking advantage of the fact that the people of Somalia, their leaders and UNDP programmes are in tandem can actually help employ a joint front to address any key emerging issues.

2.1.3 Realism Theory

Somalia's Conflict has moved from clan conflict to global terrorist grouped Al-shabab network which in most cases get linked to the global massive and life destructive network of the Al-Qaeda, attracting the attentions of states and the theories that govern state related institutions. Realists argue that only states have a monopoly over the legitimate use of physical force hence, the political violence used by the terrorist groups is illegitimate (Baylis et al., 2017). Herman & Daniel (2013) through their lenses on global governance have viewed global security as a major issues whose governance still need to be reviewed carefully.

States have viewed terrorist attacks on their soil as a statement of war and have proceeded to unleash their military to attack states that are considered to harbour terrorists. A number of Muslim states including Saud Arabia have developed major ways through state intervention to evade massive operations of such groups. The USA and Kenya have on a number of occasion's deployed military troops to protect citizens and massive aggression into their countries. The Bush Invasion of Iraq and the Linda Nchi operation by Kenya were to secure the two countries sovereignty by crashing the terrorist, destroy their base, training camps and secure the countries' borders (Anderson & Sloan, 2015).

The other key school of thought that will guide this deliberation will be the one that remains moderate and a bit rational in the sense that the focus will be on improving structures and institutionalization of peace process and making it a continuous process, such that the absence of war does not mean there is automatic peace.

The Liberalist approach advocates for cooperation, moderation and peace; and have a rational aversion to war because it endangers lives and is almost always wasteful economically (Baylis et al., 2017). A culture of peace and respect for women will yield a better and long-term structural and institutionalized equilibrium process, hence making terrorism ideologies far-fetched and expensive in the society. Development and wellbeing of a society can be viewed from Sen.'s (1999) perspective of Development as Freedom, the Nobel Prize winner actually pointed that unless people realized true freedom of social, economic and political aspects, then freedom of any other form including speech might be far-fetched. Norman Angell's also argued that war was economically harmful to both the victors and the defectors. Douglas North (2009) pointed that institutional arrangement can be the do or die for any society and that extractive institutions that are one-sided can lead to unstable and perpetual problematic issues for communities.

2.2 Empirical literature review

It should be noted that most intra-state and civil conflicts usually have a lot of difficulties in regaining law and order and therefore political stability initiatives are very key. This means that getting a legitimate government and avoidance of the reoccurrence of war requires long turn socio-economic and political reconstruction activities, activities at the local level are relevant and supportive of political stability but they are incapable of substituting a political method for political stability on the side of external actors (UNDP report 2014).

Scholar Pronk (2015) note that the post conflict activities are valuable in conflict prevention and it helps in the healing process of the affected communities, who suffered from negative effects of conflicts. He further proposes that political stability initiative can be very complicated and it requires an integrated system of actions and United Nations must partner with the conflicting parties so that a comprehensive peace-building effort can be successful and be sustainable. It refers to the idea of integrating all the activities such as judicial reforms, electoral reforms, control of arms, institutional reforms, social and economic development among others.

Fisher (2016) claims that in most cases, the way the international community approaches political stability is through the liberal peace idea. These ideas emanated from the western liberal theory and practice. The theory proposes political and economic liberalization as effective strategies of violent conflicts. The theory also subscribes to the promotion of concepts such as democracy, constitutionalism, rule of law, property rights, elections, human rights. Fisher observes that liberal internationalism is naturally interventionist and goes beyond stopping war. This is rather a normative agenda and it contradicts the opinion that political stability has to be accompanied by non-violent political authority that will ensure a conflicting state recovers in its own way.

Paris (2012) narrates that the major aim of political stability is to avoid reoccurrence of war, and it aims at dealing with the root causes of conflict in a structural way that targets both the state and non-state institutions, peoples and attitudes and behaviours of warring factions. The belief here is that all peace efforts must be non-violent, and must be anchored on institutions both in the political platform and also to a greater extent in the social realm, and the greatest in all these is the idea that political stability efforts must be home grown.

Reychlers (2014) notes that there are five key features for any political stability to be sustainable, they include effective system of communication, consultation as well as negotiation, peace

enhancing political, economic together with security structures and institutions, an integrative political – psychological approach and lastly a critical mass of political stability leadership as well as a supportive local, regional as well as international environment. Once all these five features are in place, it will make things easier for the idea of effective coordination and planning.

Elmi and Barise (2013) explain that a proper political stability effort should address the following issues which are believed to be the main root causes of the conflict. They are as follows, creation of a peaceful environment between regions, stopping the activities of the militias. With the support of local security, business communities, elders, law courts, disarmament of warring factors, and people such as warlords, arms merchants. In addition, there must be acceptable forms of power sharing formula for various conflicting groups. This is because the leaders of the conflicting factions play a key role in ensuring peace and stability of the conflicting nation. The writers cite the example of Puntland and Somaliland that adopted this strategy and it made them to be so stable.

Elmi and Barise (2013) also talked about matters to do with pursuit of justice. They indicated that matters concerned with justice should either be dealt with through administration of punishment or giving amnesty to the criminals. The international community should come in to assist in the areas of reconstruction of state institutions, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of fighting groups back to the society, also returning of the refugees should require Donor support. Elmi and Barrise further propose that the role of Islam can be used to support peace through education. In relation to Somalia, the Islamic peace education will help to deal with clan stereotypes and prejudices between clans.

This education will make Somalis to see each other as brothers and subscribe to the Islamic lessons on peace which greatly abhors oppression and aggression or "Thulma."

Perris (2012) claims that the involvement of third parties is crucial but they should be very careful that peace is home grown and not imported, the third parties mostly the international community should limit themselves to giving aid, advice or security umbrella or supporting reforms. This is necessary because in Perris view, the third parties from the international community cannot have any control to national attitudes or behaviours.

Doyle and Sambani's (2012) notes that most of the international community actors are not fully committed to the political stability efforts. They offer military support while at the same time planning to exit the stage early instead of supporting the conflicting nation up to the end. They suggest that the international community actors should develop their capacities so that they divide their focus into two areas, part one will be to deal with the root causes of war, and part two will deal with political stability efforts. In other words, part one deals with the past issues, while part two deals with the future issues. They should give their support in a manner which supports all the warring parties. Political stability should aim at ensuring the sovereignty of the state in question is restored.

2.2.1 Conflicts in Africa

Inter-Governmental Agency for Development (IGAD) (2007), points to the fact that experienced and elderly mediators are in most cases successful in mediation interventions and evidence-based consultation undertaken for Somalia and Sudan. The report also pointed exclusion of key parties in peace process mostly lead to rejection of the outcome, sometimes the civil society agencies were also indicated to take positions and assert those positions very strongly. IGAD also clarified the differences between negotiations and mediations, pointing to the fact that the two processes are not only about the signing of agreements but a sustainable framework of a peace process.

States in post conflict societies naturally have the tendency, particularly in the immediate post-conflict phase to retain authoritarian institutions, while promising to implement popular reforms gradually, more of them retain less democratic structure to retain power and control over the territories and minimize resurgence of violent conflicts (Leftwich, 2000).

Corruption and its massive effects is universal but appear to be better controlled in countries that have adequate procedures, mechanism and active accountability, if a country that's previously very corrupt gets into conflict, the situation might never easily be recovered, since other interests such as private interest that are unregulated sets into the process.

World Bank (2005), points that Somalia's private sector seems to be vibrant and remains the key institutions that's holding the social fabric in Somalia for complete deterioration, hence the need for political leadership to pick the opportunity and use it as an entry point.

Korir and Kaka, (2000), point that attempts by groups both inside and outside the region to manipulate and control the states generate intense armed conflicts among different Social groups. The conflicts lead to major depletion of resources, disruptions, more violence and continued periodic displacements.

2.2.2 Political stability process and leadership initiatives in Africa

Africans nationalist ideological movements were shaped by negative sentiments of anti-colonialism with limited substantive ideological grounding for key issues affecting the post-colonialist, hence competing agendas in social, political and economic aspects. The relationships between ethnicity and leadership have been complex (Raymond 1994).

Post Colonialism showed ethnicity as a divide and rule tactics employed by many African leaders picking it up from the colonizers who had superimposed diverse culture, language groups and

political entities. In Rwanda and Burundi, German and Belgium Colonizers favoured Tutsi who formed a small minority in both colonies. The Belgium gave Tutsi privileged access to education, jobs and a minimum height required for entrance to college (Lindsay 1998).

According to Schwartzberg (1998), Mobutu's leadership segregated people on resource distribution, he benefitted his ethnic homeland who gained enormously from his leadership because the president used his office to aid his kinsmen, some ethnic polarization can be viewed from such leadership.

Weinstein and Schrine (1976) indicated that ethnicity can be fuelled by political positions and ethnic members vying for such positions, ethnic mobilization and competing for power can be aided through ethnic sensitization, for examples Kenyan's Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu (KAMATUSA), or Kikuyu, Embu, Meru and Akamba (GEMA), where each ethnic group positions' its leaders and promise resource distribution, representation and public office inclusion to gain certain contested political position. Ethnicity can therefore be used positively or negatively depending on leadership qualities and its nationalistic Interests.

Ethnic Conflicts, linkages, socialization, colonialist impacts, power balance and nationalistic and state integration can be enhanced, only if great leadership with direction, consultation and pure interest for the sake of the country's development as well as knowledgeable and good attitude of the leaders are in cognisant with positive and advanced development, spearheaded by the quality leadership with Values, Norms and standards mechanisms (Herman and Daniels 2013).

Uvin (1998) opined that if ethnic manipulation gets out of hand, it might easily sweep even the best of leaders in the world. Most leaders have tended to rely on states apparatus of coercion to

deal with internal rebellion. Occupational hiring quotas and education can be well employed to politically remain conscious to ethnic deployment and its aftermath effects.

Whether leadership and its foundational anchoring variables such as ethnicity, education, experience plays a major role in conflict management and political stability has to be an area of importance to check if support for leadership can influence peace process. Key institutions working closely with top leadership as well as the programmes and projects put in place have a bearing on political stability in general, it helps provide the key insights for these paper. Other variable mentioned above can be areas of further follow-up by future academic researchers.

2.2.3 Institutional Legacy of Colonization in Somalia

Somalia got its independence way before many other African countries in 1962s; with its first president Abdinasir Ali Sharmaki assassinated and a military coup by Siad Barre taking the leadership, Barre later consolidated the central government with other independent Somali colonies such as Somaliland and Putland joining to form the Central Government of Somalia (UNICEF 2014).

The Stable country was later disintegrated and weakened by the Ogden war with Ethiopia of 1977 where the consolidation of all Somalis was attempted leading to the collapse of the Bare regime in 1991. The regime could not provide for basic services and security hence leading to the secession of the already identified colonies of the British and the Puntland region, leaving the Italian colony of South-Central on its own with the collapse of the Barre'sRegime (WB 2009).

Somalis culture to date has been shaped and developed by the colonialist rule and cultural diversion. The Somaliland section in the North came about as a result of the British colony hence, the language, identity, the schools and other institutions have a British lineage while the putland

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region has the same characteristic but with Italian influence and colony, the historical division of the Somali people into many colonies can be a bearing to Somalia's problem to date.

Somalia's Conflict began with a bad leadership and a dictatorship of Siad Bare, and then turned into a clan based conflict with majority of the political leaders manipulating the cultural togetherness and elderly respect to get into leadership position without merit or values, hence killing the trust of the local citizenship into the formation of any kind of a respectable government(Sen, 1999).

The clan-based conflict has since 2009, turned into a religious ideological movement subscribing to both international terrorist agendas or even locally formed ideologies that are strictly violent and non-clan based. Massive destructions are across borders and even more worse in Islamic countries. It has been reported by some families that both Kenyan and Somali youth have at some points joined the Syrian forces as Islamic fighters, although the UN in its report has also indicated that majority of the foreign fighter in Syria have no proper Islamic knowledge hence opening a discussion on radicalization debates of non-Muslim groups (ICG 2008).

The ideological movement in some cases down play and stereotype anything modern or western education, calling highly educated individual as people with no true sense and direction in life, they use every aspect to demean any value in individuals, organizations or even entire systems. Brain washing concepts are used as target to those who value and embrace western ideologies.

2.2.4Effective and Non-Effective Leadership aspects

Effective leadership can be categorized, as one that practices justice, equality, inclusion and representation in all is aspects. Its goal oriented, focused and participatory in nature. Ineffective leadership remains non-consultative

Leadership, as defined by Yukl (2005) is the process of moving others through influence to understand and agree what direction to take and what needs to be done efficiently, and the process of supporting individuals and making general efforts to accomplish the shared objectives (Yukl 2005)

Organizations have objectives that they work towards achieving in the long-term as well as short-term. These objectives are usually in the form of mission statements and vision statements. Achievement of these goals is initiated by an organization which is a group of people who converge with different roles but aiming to achieve the same goal which could be: profit making (longterm goal), customer satisfaction (short-term goal), or to compete effectively in the market place which can either be a long-term or short-term goal. However, for their operations to run effectively, organizations need a leader who will give direction on the organizational operations towards achievement of these objectives. The way this leader influences the people in the organization to effectively and efficiently deliver their productivity is called leadership (Yukl 2005)

Dess, Lumpkin & Taylor (2005) argue that Leadership can either be looked into as romantic or external control. The romantic leadership is a belief where implicit assumption is made that the leader is the key force in determining an organizational success or failure. Therefore, the Chief executive officer (CEO) is either lauded for his or her firm's success or blamed for the organizational demise. These views are echoed by Saleemi (2013), who argues that the wheels of an organization do not rotate themselves but leadership must be their propeller. A leader is the pillar on which all organizational needs and demands of the individuals are balanced, most often failures of businesses are based on poor leadership than to any other attribute.

Furthermore, Dess et al' (2005) second perspective of leadership is external control and under this, the authors argued that rather than make an implicit assumption that the leader is the most

important factor that may impact negatively or positively towards a firm's success, the focus is on external factors that may affect the firm. Therefore, leaders can make a difference, but they must be always having a clue of the opportunities and threats that are likely to affect the firm in the external environment and have a proper understanding of their firm's available resources and strengths.

Yukl (2005) ascertains that a group of researchers at the University of Michigan performed a research study and discovered various types of leadership strategies they termed as effective in any organization. The main focus was the identification of relationships among leader behaviour in the working environment, group activities and measures of group performance in an organization. Objective measures were used to clarify manager as relatively effective or ineffective for the firm.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

The central question in the study was to find out the extent to which UNDP's leadership initiatives used in promoting political stability in Somalia. The variables defined here are the independent (explanatory) and the dependent (response) variable. An independent variable influences and determines the effect of another variable. The independent variable in this study is UNDP interventions. Dependent variable is that factor which is observed and measured to determine the effect of the independent variable. The dependent variable is Political Stability. The conceptual model below illustrates the main variables of the study.

Independent variable   **Dependent variable**

UNDP interventions

- Leadership
- Institutional support
- Governance
- Rule of Law and Security

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Political stability in Somalia

- Recommended ways of enhancing sustainable long-term political stability
- Regional stability and international peace
- Acceptable and democratic
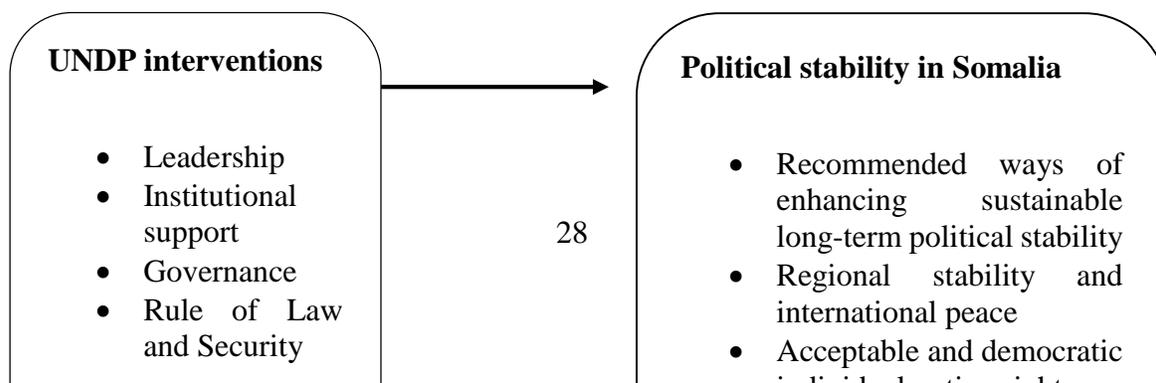
Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework (Researcher, 2018)

2.4 The Prepositions of the Study

This study was guided by the following preposition leading to thematic analysis

1. UNDP institutional Support Programme enhances political stability in Somalia

2. UNDP Governance programme enhances Political Stability in Somalia

3. UNDP Rule of Law & Security programme enhances political Stability in Somalia

2.5 Summary of the Literature and Research Gap

Various circumstances forces third parties to be part of any conflict, Pearson (1998) for instance explains factors such as geography, geopolitical issues, and the extent of the conflict. Pearson claims that in most cases states intervene in conflicts that have gone to higher levels, or the said conflicts have started to cut across national boundaries, or they may have an ethnic influence within their territories. Pearson further observes that sometimes states meddle in other states affairs when they have an interest in that conflicting country which can be an economic interest, political, security educational or military interest.

Hans Morgenthau observes that interventions happen when a country's national interests are held Ransom (Reagan (1998). Conflicts have a direct impact on international security and the neighbouring states. All these may trigger external meddling. The international community through the UN has intervened in many conflicts citing them to be a threat to international peace and security. The UN also strives to promote humanitarian support at all times.

There is no doubt that the Somalia conflict had a spill over effect in the neighbouring states and this explains why UNDP had to intervene. This is because the vacuum left by the fall of Siad Barres government have led into the emergence of many militia groups and the rise of terrorist activities in the entire horn of African region. The spill-over effects is real and progress evident in the horn of Africa region. Mulugeta (2009) observes that Al-Shabaab is now a militant wing of the Al-Qaeda's wing and they have a strong base in Somalia and their recruits come from all states in the horn of African region. This therefore must concern the international community.

According to Samuel Huntington the author of "The Clash of Civilisation and the Remaking of the World Order" conflicts between states have been replaced by conflicts between civilisations. The spread of Western values is seen by some communities as overwhelming and a threat to their unique identity, values and beliefs. For example, religious terrorists such as Al Qaeda, Islamic State and Boko Haram are opposed to liberal democracy as they view it as evil, heretical and materialistic hence the fight to regain and preserve their distinctive cultural and religious identity(Smallman and Brown, 2015).

UNICEF has documented key violence in schools and the perpetuation of such violence in Somalia continues to take place in Institutional set up such as schools and prisons. Leadership that's inclusive and people friendly can develop proper inclusive framework that can contribute to building and sustaining peace initiatives.

The father of peace research points to the key principles that build peaceful co-existence, he points to the fact that the validity of peace as an absence of violence can be maintained in the21[st] century arguments (Gatling, 1966).

Popular participation and correct citizen engagement yields great public management and administrative process hence an accepted Governance system (Hughes, 2012). Fukuyama (2005), in his masterpiece the End of History points a number of issues including looking at good democracies and its forward-looking leadership as a path for new development. He acknowledges the fact that with good democracies a lot can be achieved. The rise of terrorism in the global scene cannot be overemphasised. Terrorism has caused physical destruction, loss of lives, economic damage and a number of other challenges that are social-cultural, religious and even human right abuses. The political and ideological damage is quite massive (Herman & Daniels 2013).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The Research Methodology outlines the plan for data collection, measurement and analysis. It was organized under the following sub-topics: Research Design, population-sampling design, data collection methods and data collection tools remain key area of focus. Anonymity, confidentiality

and the rights of the interviewee was respected at all levels, and the information and data obtained has also been treated with the same level of confidentiality.

3.2 Research Design

The outline of the research design provides a step by step guide on how the study was conducted providing detailed information on how the population was selected, the sampling undertaken and the plans for data collection and analysis provided(Burns & Grove, 2011).

Eller *et. al,* (2018) provides insights on how descriptive research design can be of help in describing the key areas of interrogation in a qualitative study. The purposeful study which aimed at getting individuals who had detailed information about the programme direction and strategy were interviewed and they also provided snow-balling references by alluding to other like-minded individuals working and having a live relationship with the programme.

The design was selected because it enabled the researcher to collect data on different cases at one point to be able to collect a body of qualitative or quantifiable data in relation to more than one variable to be used in detecting the pattern of association (Bryan, 2012).

The research procedures involved identifying target population, developing interview guides and piloting them, selection of relevant sample, and administration of interview guides.

The purpose of survey research is to find out what situations, events, attitudes or opinions occurring in a population. Descriptive research design aimed at getting information about the distribution of some variables in a population or among subgroups of a population. The researcher's concern is simply to describe a pattern or to make comparisons between distributions of the vivo patterns. The design was therefore chosen to give a correct account, people opinion, beliefs and knowledge of the influence of UNDP leadership initiatives to political stability in Somalia.

3.3 Population and sampling

The population of this study were UNDP Key Programme heads who specifically support Government interventions. UNDP staffs who works in any key sector based programme that has presence in Somalia, the leaders can be interviewed in Nairobi for logistical and security reasons. The Transitional Government leaders were part of the sampling framework. Kothari(2004) defines a population as all items that are under consideration in any field of inquiry. The population of the study will be all Somali programme and Government leaders living in Nairobi for one reason or the other.

Eller *et al.,* (2018), points that a sample is a subset of the population, therefore to find a sub-set for these population was to get an accurate representation of the Somali leaders of TFG and those of UNDP by categorizing leadership institutions in three key clusters such as Governance programme, Institutional Support programme and Rule of Law and security programmes.

The three categorization of the three clusters each provided two individual and using purposive and snowball sampling provided in-depth views on the variables of leadership and programmes institutions background and how it affects political stability and by large countering terrorism. Unlike Convenient sampling the purposeful sampling picked on specific individual who had programme information and key strategic intervention.

The study used purposive sampling that allowed the researchers to interview the leaders who provided the researchers with rich information from an in-depth perspective and the institutional support and framework for building lasting peaceful initiatives.

3.4 Data collection methods

The key detailed interviews were conducted face to face and also through teleconferencing facilities. Secondary data for the key variables were collected in the literature review section, the Primary data was collected using the key measurement tools in these case the Interview Guide (see Appendices 1 A). The interview guide questions were administered face to face or through telephone interview helped to ensure key in-depth detailed information are gathered and that the interviewee provided with ample time to answer questions but also probed thoroughly to achieve quality information.

The interview guide questions were administered systematically and consistently such that all individual were subjected to the same questions and digressions did not take place, the same analysis was applied systematically in final analysis and discussions.

Interviews can be more useful than questionnaires because they allow researchers to collect non-verbal data. For example, researchers can see whether particular questions make an interview subject nervous or whether the test subject struggles to answer the question. In short, nonverbal cues such as lack of eye contact, jittery mannerisms or defensive posturing can provide context to an interviewee's answers. This type of information could not be collected from a written questionnaire.

3.5 Data Analysis and Presentation

The collected data in form of the completed field notes of the guiding questions underwent editing to detect and correct errors and omissions. The qualitative data from the completed interview schedules used in the focused group discussion was then put in categories, themes or patterns for coding purposes then analysed by contextual (thematic) analysis or content analysis. Analysis of the qualitative data helped to identify the developing trends and assisted in understanding the

influence of UNDP leadership initiatives to Political stability in Somalia. It also assisted to trace the process and establish a causal relationship between the variables.

The information gathered was analysed using the variable analysis technique. Babbie (2001) noticed that the content analysis measures the semantic substance or the part of a message. Its broadness makes it an adaptable and boundless device that might be utilized as a solitary system or as an issue particular method.

Content analysis complies with three fundamental standards of logical technique. They are; objectivity, which implies that the examination is sought after on the premise of unequivocal principles, which empower distinctive specialists to get similar results from similar report or messages; deliberate; the consideration or rejection of substance is done by reliably connected standards whereby the likelihood of including just materials which bolster the analyst's thoughts is wiped out; generalizability, the outcomes acquired by the scientist can be connected to other comparable circumstances (Franzosi, 2004).

3.6 Ethical Consideration

Mugenda (2008), indicates that it is a voluntary exercise to participate in research and respondent can withdraw at any time. Anonymity was enforced at all stages. The respondents were given this information before taking part in the study and no respondent was forcefully asked to take part in the study. Issues of confidentiality, privacy, justice and data handling were all considered and timely shared with the key respondents. A permit of permission was provided by the Head of programs, who also on face to face basis, introduced the researcher to the rest of the UNDP key program heads and concerned parties, no names appeared in the data collection instruments. Above all, all the work from secondary sources was well cited to avoid plagiarism and ensure necessary acknowledgement.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The data collected was coded into various categories, codes, and patterns and emerging narratives. The researcher used content analysis. Content analysis enabled the researcher to summarize the data. A well demonstrated display and analysis guided the conclusion and key recommendation. A proper public policy or adjustments of the policies can be achieved when its well contextualized, its process well designed and immediate capacities for institutionalization and training well received. A problem well stated, investigated, coded and well displayed will be able to draw better conclusions and findings that would then provide key recommendation and way forward (Ellis et al 2018). In these case therefore once the research problem has been well stipulated, questioned, conceptualized, its literature reviewed and its method of data collection well identified, the researcher will then be able to build a case and provide a better direction, strategy, policy or a suggested solution for the problem at hand, in these case a peaceful Somalia that can be at peace with itself and its neighbours and one that can provide value for more future mutually beneficial interactions (Morse & Struyk,2006).

4.2 Educational Levels, age of participants and Witnessing of the Dictatorship Regime

The study established that majority of the leaders interviewed had witnessed Said Bare regime, therefore repressive dictatorial leadership styles were witnessed and even practise, whether they continue to use the leadership style is a subject of further debates. Ninety percent of the leaders were graduate from universities in Somali language and thus they were quite professional but had international language barriers. The middle-aged leaders between 25 to 35 years used the

opportunities in Diaspora during migrations to learn basic languages such as English, French or Italian depending with the need.

4.3 Political Stability Initiatives under UNDP programmes

UNDP support during the evaluation period was delivered through the following main programmes: Governance and Reconciliation; Rule of Law and Security (ROLS); and Recovery and Sustainable Livelihoods (RSL), as well as smaller cross-cutting programmes covering HIV/ AIDS, gender and economic and human development. Eighty percent of programme expenditures during the period covered by the Assessment of Development Results (ADR) concerned Governance and ROLS programmes that have received strong donor backing. In comparison, expenditure related to Recovery and Sustainable Livelihoods (RSL) has represented only some 16 percent, with half that amount covered by UNDP core resources.

4.3.1 Governance Consolidation and Reconciliation programme

The study established that over the years, UNDP has been called, and responded in a timely manner to engage in activities in support of national reconciliation, peace promotion and political processes such as the organization of the Djibouti Conference (2008) that led to a ceasefire between the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and the Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia and the formation of a broader-based government. UNDP is currently involved in the payment of salaries for TFG parliamentarians and other officials.

One of the key respondents indicated that

> *Apart from important support for the drafting of a new federal constitution and some efforts to develop government capacities, mainly in Puntland and Somaliland, the value addition of UNDP support in this area in terms of the organization's development mandate has been*

limited. While some of these activities are one-time inputs, others such as the payment of salaries would require a viable exit strategy. Such strategies have been difficult to implement owing to the complex political process, poor security and the general weakness of the federal Government.

Another key informant was quoted saying that

In Somalia, the UNDP has assisted in recuperating it from the many years of conflicts through adoption of effective development programmes. At the same time, it is also engaged in providing the people with humanitarian and recovery needs by looking into their needs in terms of gender, encouraging social services, making their livelihoods better, development of effective poverty reduction programmes, enhancing good governance as well as their humanitarian security.

4.3.2 Rule of Law and Security Programme

The study established that Rule of Law and Security Programme (ROLSis the second largest programme and has attracted considerable donor support. In 2008 and 2009, UNDP shifted the programme's emphasis from the strong institutional-support approach since 2002 to community level interventions and a more assertive rights-based approach. UNDP has supported civilian police through training, capacity development, provision of basic operational equipment and infrastructure in all three regions. It is now a central element of the programme, in terms of resources allocated and, unfortunately, controversy. UNDP support to civilian police in South and Central Somalia, particularly the payment of stipends since 2007, has affected the perception of UNDP as a neutral partner and the organization's relations with humanitarian actors. In Somaliland and Puntland, UNDP continues to build the capacity of the civilian police services while supporting Special Protection Units for international operations. UNDP support has significantly

contributed to improved security in the two regions. For all three regions, UNDP ensured the inclusion of human rights in the training curriculum for police officers and promoted gender considerations, including through innovative interventions such as the establishment of special desks for women and children in police stations, in cooperation with UNICEF

A key informant was quoted indicating that:

> *Through the projects under the Access to Justice component, UNDP has supported the drafting of a code of conduct for the judiciary and promoted the harmonization of formal and customary laws; the training of judges, prosecutors and assessors; the creation of legal clinics providing free-of-charge legal aid to the vulnerable and the poor. UNDP support has produced positive results in Somaliland and Puntland, particularly in improving the outreach of the judicial system to rural areas through the creation of mobile courts and mobile legal aid clinics. The cooperation established between the ROLS programme and various faculties of law in all three regions is also a very positive development. This is an area where UNDP can achieve results and has developed a strong comparative advantage.*

The study established that in the area of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), UNDP supported the downsizing of security forces mainly in Puntland and Somaliland. In South and Central Somalia, the fragility of the different political advances and the repeated resumptions of conflict have negated any possibility of effectively implementing a DDR programme. UNDP has gradually moved away from DDR operations in favour of small arms control programmes in Somaliland and a community safety approach under an armed violence reduction programme. The latter programme has started only recently in 2016 but has already developed a promising participatory approach with communities.

4.3.2 Resilience & Sustainable Livelihood Programmes

The study revealed that Resilience & Sustainable Livelihood Programme (RSLP) have continued to grow in the past three years, indicating the priority UNDP is giving to activities directly impacting on the lives of the Somali people. Unfortunately, donors have been less forthcoming in their support to this third thematic area. Income generation through work for the improvement of social and economic infrastructure has been one of the objectives of the employment generation for early recovery (EGER), area-based early recovery (ABER) and watershed management projects. For example, during its first year, the EGER project generated a total of 430,000 workdays; 35 percent of the beneficiaries were women and 20 percent internally displaced persons. Infrastructure that was rehabilitated included water catchment areas, rural access roads, irrigation canals and strengthened river embankments. However, most of the income generated is short term in nature, and the emphasis has been more on generating income than leaving behind a sustainable product from that work. The integrated watershed management project supports the implementation of a wide variety of community priorities, ranging from infrastructure rehabilitation to vocational training. Its implementation has suffered from a number of technical weaknesses and it calls for UNDP to develop its expertise in watershed management.

A key informant indicated that:

> *UNDP has made two very significant interventions in promoting the private sector: strengthening the Somali remittance sector to ensure that key remittances companies complied with international standards and supporting the Somali meat export industry. The environment component of the UNDP programme has remained small so far.*

4.4 Optimism and Positivizes about the Political stability situation in Somalia:

The study revealed that the Role of UNDP in leadership development can be viewed through the following key thematic support programs. UNDP is respected by the leadership structures working in Somalia whether they are those in the transitional government or those from civil society or those donors round table deliberations that keep supporting the programs.

Respondents indicated that apart from human suffering and civil war, there has also been the challenge of dictatorial and authoritarian leadership in the subsequent leadership after the fall of Mohamed Said Barre. Memory continues to observe that Said Barre came into power in 1969 through a military coup that put to an end the attempts for post-colonial democratic state and he introduced socialism that led to dictatorship and culminated into the collapse of Somalia in 1991

The study revealed that the republic of Somalia has been singled out as a state which has survived without a functioning government for more than twenty years. The northern part of Somalia which includes the states of Somaliland and Puntland have always enjoyed some level of stability, but the southern part of Somalia has always been rocked by inter- clan violence, the rise of war-lords and radical Islamic groups that have the main at the centre stage of competition for power, resources and creation of a Caliphate. This instability in Somalia has continued to be a major concern in the African continent and to a larger extent the global world.

One of the respondents indicated that:

> *The challenges facing UNDP political stability initiatives in Somalia include complexity of the Somali conflict. UNDP lacks genuine internal partners of peace from within due to zero-sum clan contest coupled with protracted conflict by warlords who deepened divisions to make reconciliation and power-sharing difficult. Due to the prevailing sense of*

insecurity; most Somalis are unwilling to disarm while dependence on international humanitarian assistance contributes to instability. Second, was poor diplomacy methodology applied. Diplomacy contributed to the failure through use of inappropriate strategies aimed at speeding up the revival of the state system that was originally to blame for the chaos.

The respondents identified three main ways of enhancing sustainable long term political stability mechanisms in Somalia. Firstly, it encourages peaceful co-existence and inclusivity. This entails involving clans, elders and religious leaders, concerted donor good will direction and including civil society organizations. Secondly, international peace engagements should focus on institutional processes while supporting peace talks and making agreements more inclusive. The international engagement in the peace process should be coordinated and strong, both during the negotiation stage and during the implementation stage. Third is to enhance capacity of political stability mechanisms and force requirements in international peace engagements.

4.5. Appreciation of UNDP Leadership Initiatives

UNDP leadership Initiatives are appreciated and anchored as political stability foundations in Somalia and its development progress for the Transitional Institutions. Key Implementing institutions within UNDP Key programs of Rule of Law, security and Institutional development. The United Nation Development program in Somalia has managed to work with the following transitional federal institutions as key institutions that can improve leadership qualities that can be improved. The study revealed UNDP- Somalia key collaborating institutions to be national reconciliation commission, public administration, national civil service commission, presidency, parliament, prime minister's office and constitutional commission.

4.6Appropriateness and Flexibility of UNDP Program for leadership in Political stability

Major policy documents such as Transitional Federal Charter, the Reconstruction and Development Plans as well as the formulated Somalia Transitional Plan are some of the Key documents that provides for policies, guidelines and foundations for the day to day running of the programs guide. Even though there was no one deliberate programmer designed for leadership of the transitional government, but the three programs supported by ROLS, SISP and Governance has all indications of targeting key Values, norms and standards of democracy and issues of Regulations.

Each program studied had developed program document that stipulated the objectives, strategies as well as key projects and outputs expected. All program document that had stipulated objectives, strategies and outputs. The projects were being lead and management by high level UN staff of category and with international exposure from Africans, Americans, French and all other nationalities. The other major shift was this UNDP programmes moved for working with Local and international NGOs and CBO to the Transitional Government structures targeting the governance of the country from the top.

One of the key respondents was quoted saying that

> *The Programme implementation targeting the leaders can be summarized as flexible, appropriate and keen to the concerns of the Somali situation. The programmes are adjustable, consultative and immediate adhoc and crisis meeting are organized and any immerging issues are deliberated. The volatility and political changes encourages adjustments and immediate assignments of new rules and regulations, sometimes to protect the security of the staff in the region.*

4.7 Other agencies coordination and linkages with political and leadership structures

Apart from UND Program, other programs mentioned by the leaders entailed UNOCHA, UNICEF, UNOPS, UN-women, among others working inside Somalia. The Somali Institutional Support programs work as the coordinating, and linkage agency, to developed the capacities and structures of the Somalia Transitional Government and facilitate the progress of development. It links with other agencies in coordination, The Governance Programs also supports networking with Donor agency, sharing lessons learnt and building consultation points for Support.

The Institutions are developed in such that foundation for long-term governance, rule of law and institutionalization take place to avoid public affairs being managed from Clan based support system and capacity building with limited Support. Somalia Institutional Support Programmed (SISP) has been supporting institutions such as the Presidency, the Prime Minister and the Transitional institutions such as Parliament to build support for long-term democratic process.

The Rule of Law and Security Programmed closely works with other institutions such as the Ministry of Justice, Gender, Health and the Supreme Court and Family Affairs, to ensure a bottom-up approach are instilled and recommended with key messages from all the key stakeholders.

Similarly, a key respondent indicated that:

> *Cross cutting Issues such asICT, HIV and IDP's are supported technically and financially to ensure inclusivity and consultation of all programs without leaving anyone out of coverage. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Livelihood Program collaborates closely through the Ministry of Planning in regional development and strategic plans. Technical, Professional and financial backstopping is offered by programs during planning sessions.*

During the Interviews the Somalia Institutional Support Programme(SISP) worked closely with municipalities Puntland, Somaliland and in South Central one to support leadership and planning at the Municipal levels.

4.8TheOrganizational Transitional Institutions

The transitional leaderships including the Prime Minister Geode of 2006, whom we interviewed and his Assistant minister had requested from UNDP programs for women empowerment and community poverty initiative programs, that has really improved the situation and new independent programs for poverty alleviation and women empowerment has been created in UNDP, that remains a clear indication of how both UNDP and TFG have been working very closely to monitor and improve the fragile situation.

Program achievement and consultation have also been observed in convening delegations and reconciliation programs such as congress of more than 2,600 delegated to attend the 2016 Convention in Mogadishu for National Reconciliation, even though a few partners provided condition for participation with withdrawal of Ethiopian forces.

Other key successes are the step made by Somaliland and Putland and the purposeful five year plans developed by these independent entities the Security situation almost relatively proves that political stability initiatives are evident in most Somali region, with the key challenge being South Central. Interviews held with the top UNDP programmes heads in Nairobi revealed the need to strengthen Public and Economic Governance Institutions., enabling peaceful environment and dealing with addictions to Mira(khat) as well as communal and societal support to vulnerable groups seems a challenge.

The interviews revealed that the national reconciliation team came up with seven key points on how to forgive and reconcile all members of the Somali communities and declarations signed by all parties that were present. Local governance was also discussed and majority of the people consulted over a period of 40 days on how and who should take local governance positions. Other Key programs undertaken by Rule of Law and Security (ROLs) entailed training and deployment of eight hundred police officers in Mogadishu. The lack of revenues from the transitional government has curtailed smooth transition from UNDP supported activity to a functioning activity. Also civilian weapon registration has improved perceived perception on weaponless society and improved transparency of key leadership opportunities. Women representation and leadership in political positions through the quota systems has also been a major step.

One of the respondents indicated that:

Other key milestone for the affiliate region of Somaliland is the development of private sector strategy and the public private partnership policy; an enterprise survey was also requested by the Government of the Somaliland region and undertaken by UNDP. Other programs involved Behavioral communication change and training of religious leaders. Partnerships with international universities such as the International university of London and African Virtual University for accreditation and full course availability within the comforts of their homes. African Virtual University in Puntland and Somaliland as well as Mogadishu functioning Universities are part of the key developments that can be fully acknowledged by the interviewed members of parliament and staff working inside the region.

4.9Key Leadership Challenges and crosscutting issues in Development

The leadership of both at the level of government and UNDP mentioned the travel restriction for both staff and technical team a major setback, since with the regulations the programs and interventions remain limited. Misuse of resources and the "wait and see attitude" among donor agencies as well as using programmer funding to establish political positioning and interests has significantly affected progress towards capacity building of the institutions.

Lack of proper political transition and many actors and donor interests poses a major long term intervention and security lapse, the fact that the regions have so many interested players and actors can really be a challenge of its own, political sabotage and out performance of actors remain another issue all together.

Consultation and agreement between key donors, implementers and the Government for the deployment of peace keeping forces is seen and mentioned as a milestone for stabilization but whether that can work without genuine support from elected leaders and religious leaders that command respect is another aspect all together.

Respondents indicated that Somalia has remained the unique case in the world to broker any peace deal. This is because of state disintegration; there has been a lot of difficulty in many issues such as representation, power, resource sharing, reconciliation just to mention but a few. Secondly UNDP as a body lacks committed and genuine partners, in helping Somalia to stabilize, in addition to this; clan loyalty by Somalis is the biggest obstacle. This kind of contest in Somalia among its clans is a zero sum game. This has continued to deepen the crisis and hence realization of peace becoming impossible. The existence of warlords who are mostly opportunistic is another hindrance to peace, most of these people are beneficiaries of the war and they act as spoilers. They pay special

allegiance to their clans and not the Somalia nation. They have a habit of signing deals and disowning it.

One of the key respondents indicated that:

Somalia people embraced Islam since it was introduced in East Africa; however, they practice the tolerant version of Islam as opposed to the radical Islam. This tolerant Islamic version is facing a lot of pressure from the radical Islam that is always violent since it's manned by the extremist groups who want to create a caliphate (Taliban like regime) by uniting all Somalis in Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia and Djibouti, and then create a one Islamic state. They rely on Jihad to advance their agendas; they are one of the serious obstacles in the realization of peace in Somalia hence complicating the conflict in Somalia. Their activities have caused anxieties in the neighbouring states as well as making the Somali conflict to have a regional as well as a global dimension

Since the collapse of the Somalia state in 1991, Somalia became flooded with small arms and light weapons. This was in addition to the escalation of the civil war, rise of poverty levels, increased state of lawlessness and the ugly militarization of the civilians, because of the long continuous and unending state of insecurity, most Somalis people cannot agree to be disarmed. This explains why most interim governments in Somalia cannot put their two feet on the ground. The state is no longer the monopoly of force or violence. Mekhi's (2016) notes that any attempts to disarm people by the existing governments have led to more bloodshed. He therefore proposes that since the integration of the militia groups to the national army of Somalia cannot bear any fruit, the effective disarmament of Somalis require a special deployment of the international forces.

It can be deduced that the political stability efforts by UNDP in managing the Somali conflict had moderate success. UNDP member states have continued their efforts in dealing with the Somalia conflict through a series of peace processes such as the two extraordinary summits and five extraordinary councils of ministers' meetings. UNDP members are also sustaining the government in Somalia by sending troops under AMISOM while the Juba administration was established in South Eastern Somalia. However, failure in managing the Somali conflict can be attributed to economic interests, proliferation of weapons and traditional power structures rendered irrelevant. Opposing identities or hostile factions, divergent goals in terms of clans and the subsequent low affinity for national identity and presence of spoilers undermining peace processes or preventing implementation of peace accords also played a significant role in failure of managing the Somali conflict.

4.9.1 Insufficient Political Will

In most of the cases, UNDP has been relegated to play a peripheral role in making decisions. This is because the secretariat does not attend any council of minister's meetings or the Assembly of heads of states, UNDP only is given what to implement on what the ministers have decided. For instance, in the Eldora peace conference, there is no role that UNDP secretariat played the management of all these peace processes is done by the frontline cases in most cases. It has been alleged that member state are afraid of a stronger UNDP, they fear it may challenge their authority. Another challenge that UNDP experienced is the problem of dual membership by its member states. The said states belong to other regional organizations and therefore they have a divided attention.

4.9.2 Financial Constraints

It has been observed for a long time that UNDP has no financial capacity to meet its own budget. It therefore relies on donor support and the member states annual subscriptions. It has been noted time and again that most UNDP member states do not pay up their annual subscriptions to UNDP; therefore, they are faced with huge arrears. This has led UNDP to be in a big financial problem, this case can also be explained to be as a result of high levels of poverty in most member states. the existing conflicts both intrastate and interstate as some of the reasons that may explain the accumulation of financial debts by member states except Ethiopia and Kenya, what brakes the Carmel's back is the fact that all member states with in UNDP are dependent on foreign aid in financing their own national budgets.

4.9.3 Weaknesses of UNDP Secretariat

It has been observed for a number of years that UNDP secretariat is not well prepared to handle any heavy task before it; for example, the Eldora process was looking upon UNDP to provide proper conference services to the peace process but to the surprise of many it was unable. Also in the entire conference, UNDP never documented or managed any information that came in as a result of that conference. This almost forestalled the continuation of the peace process until the intervention of the Kenyan government. It has been noted that many of the UNDP members of staff pay much allegiance to their home governments than to the UNDP body itself hence undermining the organization.

4.9.4 Disjointed Regional Policy on Peace and Security

Throughout the various peace processes that has never spearheaded by UNDP, UNDP has been exposed a body that lacks comprehensive policy of peace and security. This policy world has addressed the various causes of insecurity in the region had there been a draft strategy but it was

never being adopted because UNDP only focuses on short term and immediate issues as opposed to long term plans, for instance UNDP member state focus more on its revitalization and avoid matters to do with security policies. Medhane (2013) observes that since UNDP member states lack democratic ideals such as respect for human rights, public party's patron and tolerance to divergent views. They fear to adopt a common policy because it will greatly affect the way they run their governments back at home. Also most UNDP members are still in the process of transition in state formation, because of these matters to do with intra-state conflicts, interstate conflicts will always be the case. Similarly lack of a hegemon in UNDP has also slowed down the culture of adopting common stand on policy issues, and that UNDP member states are unwilling to adopt a common policy on matters to do with peace and security

4.10 Ways of Enhancing Sustainable Long-term Political Stability Mechanisms in Somalia

The success of restoration of peace and security in Somalia will require a comprehensive approach by all the peace builders in Somalia as opposed to the current firefighting approach by the international community and UNDP member states. The international community should strive to play a pro-active role as opposed to being reactive. They should realize that the deployment of naval forces to deal with sea pirates and providing humanitarian assistance would not stop the conflicts. Instead approaches that stabilizes Somalia and those strategies that will aim at resolving the root causes of the Somalia conflict will greatly help. A number of Somalia intellectuals have argued that part of the reason as to why the number of warlords has increased is because of the involvement of the international community in the affairs of Somalia and this international community has not taken any decisive actions against these warlords. The warlords are walking free and they carryout heinous actions with impunity as they get away with it. It has been noted that the clan system holds sway in the lives of the Somali people because the Somalis' pay special

allegiances to the clans as opposed to the state. This has resulted to inter-clan conflicts, rising cases of nepotism and high levels of inequalities among the clans. Therefore, in order to resolve the Somalia conflict special attention should be given to the clan membership and inter-clan differences. This is where lies part of the solution, clan membership should be a basis to access resources power and basic services.

The previous peace processes have dealt with warlords and clan elders and side-lined the civil society members, who actively participate in the affairs of Somalia. This has made peace in Somalia to remain a pipe dream. Besides these most peace processes like that of the Arta focused on institutions rather than on the root causes of the problem. Therefore; inclusivity of all groups is key if Somalia peace processes are to be successful.

A key informant indicated that:

> *Proper co-ordination and strong international engagement in the Somalia peace process is very important, that is during negotiations and the implementation of all the signed agreements. Since political stability and state reconstruction go hand in hand, they should be done in a concurrent approach and not one thing at a time. Also the culture of imposing the solutions from western countries into the Somalia war should stop. The Somali people should be given a good political space so that they can own the process themselves.*

Another way forward is to adopt a holistic approach to ensure the prosperity of the Somali people and not just a matter of bringing war to an end, in other words what can work best to the Somali's is positive peace as opposed to negative peace. This is because positive peace will address all the historical injustices and deal with the root causes of the Somalia conflict. This means that both

military, diplomatic, and political stability strategies should be adopted in order to create a lasting peace in Somalia.

The inclusion of the Somalis people in the Diaspora, clan elders, religious leaders and opinion shapers is also a fundamental issue. They carry a wealth of experience which may help their relative back at home, besides these, some space or avenues should be created for them so that they can make their input. Warlords also need to be advised on the need to ensure peace in Somalia. This is because peace is a necessary tool for the prosperity of any nation and all the people.

Another measure that may be adopted in continuing the Somalia war is the idea of the international community to enforce the international human rights law and the norms of the responsibility to protect as their basis for international action.

They should invoke these laws so that they protect lives, property and the people of Somalia. So far the actions of the international community do not rhyme with these principles. The African union on the other hand should strengthen its African standby force so that it may cause an impact in Somali. The holistic approaches should be integrated in nature.

Another measure that can be adopted is that of making peace making missions to be able to make peace before attempting to keep it. For example, ECOMOG succeeded in Liberia, but Amisom and the African standby force has failed miserably in finding peace in Somalia. Therefore, Amisom needs to raise the sufficient member of troops and raise the sufficient number of troops from its African member states. it should also streamline its finding methods and management issues as well as logistical matters. This will go hand in hand with implementing peace-building initiatives in a concurrent manner.

Another proper measure to be adopted is the question of carrying a proper survey and background check of the mission before embarking on intervention measures. This will enable the peace-builders to fully understand the historical issues of the mission both of the political angle, social angle and economic angle a proper assessment of the force needed to realize positive results is very key. For instance, UNOSOM I failed because it did not have an appropriate force to deal with the Somalia problem. The same thing to UNOSOM II and UNITAF, they failed because of failure to address the root causes of the Somalia conflict. The said forces had a restricted itinerary. Therefore, all the interventions in Somalia must be integrated into one system so that they realize a positive effect of restoring peace and security in Somalia. Otherwise hurried deployment and unplanned attacks won't help matters either.

4.11 Perceptions on the Effects of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on political stability

The study revealed that in its effort to help Somalia to recover from the conflicts, the UNDP has developed the Somali Compact document which was signed into action in Brussels on the 16th of September in 2013 during the New Deal Conference. This document is a guide line for its operations in Somalia. At the same time Somalia has corroborated this gesture by the adoption of a new constitution and electing their government and leaders to various institutions through its vision 2016 outline of its strategies on post-transition benchmarks for constitutional review and holding a referendum and the first post-transition national election.

One of the key respondents indicated that:

> *The UNDP collaborates with different partners and agencies such as the Somali*
>
> *Government, NGOs and civil organizations to develop programmes for building capacity*

in key areas such as access to water, sustainable food security, health and education and making them a priority in its agendas for intervention in Somalia.

Another Key respondent indicated that:

UNDP helps the local communities to rebuild the roads, markets and irrigation networks damaged during the conflicts. The security agents are also assisted in promoting the rule of law, management of public funds and monitoring the security situation in the country at all the time. Finally, the body advocates for the adoption of sustainable development goals for the citizens of the Somalia in general.

A key respondent indicated that

The SIP projects supports the Somali Government in the implementation of its capacity development flagship projects for enhancing capacity in the civil service and strengthening capabilities of the key ministries and agencies in performing their main functions of service delivery to the citizens.

The study further revealed that the SIP project helps the government in developing organizational structures within its functions and ministries to meet the expectations of the people of Somalia.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

Somalia as a state is currently facing a myriad of challenges namely conflict, famine, poverty, floods, refugee's influx from Yemen, terrorist activities, sea piracy, Jihadism, illegal and dangerous migration as well as the existence of warlords turned Members of Parliament, triple or double citizenships, as well as survival of the fittest for the most vulnerable individuals. Although the people of Somalia have in the recent past attempted to craft better systems of governance in order to deal with the existing conflicts, maintain law and order. The problem of the nature of the state still remains. The study reveals that strategic implementation and purposeful programming in institutional development and support can actually resolve some of the decades long search for peace. Other studies have tried to link the relationship between financial management and budget monitoring to build effective accountability issues.

Since the collapse of Said Barres regime, there has been a power vacuum and clans together with political elites have attempted to play the leadership role. Leadership programming and effective and strategic intervention in leadership models, styles and values, prove that tangible peaceful processes can be achieved. At the same time the international community has tried to use the diplomatic methods to build the small state by attempting to restore a democratically elected government. This has been alongside the initiatives by the Somali people to re-establish a new system of governance. The bottom-up and vertical-horizontal strategies being employed by the external government and donor agencies can build effective long-term structures.

The study revealed that through the UN joint programme (2008-2012) and its preceding projects, UNDP supported local governance and service delivery at the district and community levels. The joint programme adopted a much-appreciated participatory process within communities and also mainstreamed gender issues. Apart from the Rule of law and institutional support programs UNDP also supported capacity development of key Somali institutions. Support to federal institutions, such as the 'start-up package' designed to facilitate the TFG installation in Mogadishu in 2009, has often been administrative more than traditional capacity development. In contrast, governance programmes in Somaliland and Puntland cover more traditional areas of intervention through technical inputs, capacity development and some infrastructural work and provision of equipment, and have produced tangible results and progress in, for example, civil service reform.

Other similar studies at the UNDP has also focussed on other areas such as detailed aspects of capacity building, human resource aspects, governance and specific programming for other similar studies the final output and agreements in all the studies reveal that with better well managed resources, financial and technical inputs a lot can be achieved and long-term sustainable peace can be visible.

5.2 Conclusions

In Conclusions therefore, Peace process for Somalia's South-Central still seems far-fetched but quite possible to achieve if both top-down and bottom-up approaches are employed. The other two regions in Somaliland and Putland have enjoyed relative peace and stable macro funded programs but limited livelihood and empowerment programs, leaving communities to wonder if any positive peace means progress, an aspect that can be researched further and solutions provided.

Also, the common position that Somalia is being segregated for the fact that it's a Muslim country can be negated by true peace achievement progress being supported in the peaceful regions of

Somaliland and Putland hence providing evidence to the war-torn south Central region. Hence building peace process by visible and working strategies.

It can also be strongly summarized, that proper information sharing, genuine and honest engagements between the top executive of the government and the top UNDP official can actually bring long-term political stability in Somalia. The funding availability, the donor reactions and direction of the key programs such as institutional strengthening, Rule of law and security as well as Governance if well shared and in an open, transparent and responsible manner, it will help support the general impacts of the process.

Transparency, full accountability and networking and linkages support groups with civil society, cooperatives, private sector as well as meso-level women agencies can help in accountability and limit to reactions such as perceptions that donors only support and have high-handed anticipation of projects and programs they can control.

5.3 Recommendations

Key recommendation from the fifteen key in-depth interviews from the government officials to UNDP staff to other governed friendly networks such as the TFG's formed parliament members reveals the following key recommendations:

First and foremost, the fragility of the situation requires a genuine, honest and consultative process from both the leadership of TFG, and key agencies working with them such as UNDP, Rule of law and security, Governance and Support for Institutions Programmed, it seems majority of the government leaders are from the diaspora with different educations and training backgrounds, majority are from different clans for purposes of balancing regional inclusion and majority are not in touch with bottom-up approaches., hence a major challenge. The UNDP has been named as a

major stakeholder in the process so leadership quality training can be fast-tracked and components of key approaches included, by strengthening and fully functioning leadership capacity building program implemented.

UNDP is recommended to have a permanent structure and the capacity for mission management that will be able to work hand in hand with those of the African union and the United Nations Department of peace keeping operations (DPLO). This will ensure proper planning, coordination and integrate style of deployment of peace keeping operations. This will go further and assist UNDP in dealing with the problem of circulation of small arms and light weapons, mobilization of the militia groups, and their subsequent reintegration back to the society, also disarmament will be made easier. Not only will these restore confidence of the Somali people's rule, but the community will be willing to demilitarize and embrace peace; UNDP should strive to do further research on the Somalia's conflict and find out why the opposition usually emerges after signing of the peace deals, and what can be done to deal with such reasons, with a fully democratic election being the overall goal to avoid similar and specific individuals staying in power as members of parliament for decades without and an election.

Meritocracy can also be flagged to ensure merit for purposes of development supersedes all other aspects such as clanship, nepotism, family and marital ties as well as other types of office abuses. Democratic institutions at grassroots should not "a wait and see process" hence making more leaders comfortable with current arrangements.

Similarly, local governance structures should take the bulk of the budget for supporting such initiatives at the UNDP level, all programs should be implemented by Community based agencies, private sector at the localities and women agencies in the smallest unit, key provisions such as farming skills, water points and pasture development should be fast tracked to ensure people see

the fruits of peace compared to conflicts. The comfortable mesa level initiatives remain hanging and undemocratic, more resources should be availed to fund grassroots and democratic representation to avoid the suspended leadership and political groupings.

Similarly, community policing and disarmament programme should be initiated and well developed, entry points for all arms should be mapped and solutions provided. Communities should be provided with key policing mechanism such as food for work and community policing, water points and grazing areas should be units of administration, if well managed and developed these can be the anchoring foundation for peace progress in Somalia. No one will want to discuss democracy and good leadership when their security is at stake.

Exchange programs and bench marking for peace process with countries that have been in same situation such as Rwanda, Nigeria and Sierra Leon should be used as a programs and both grassroots, local government and federal structures and representation taken for lesson learnt and borrowed working systems framework. Budgeting and internal support should be directed to the Government of the day and UNDP can be used as a capacity analysis agency to pint out key flaws, budget issues can be monitored and evaluated if proper mechanisms are put in place. Most leaders complained of being inactive, since all resources are controlled from outside the Government and even those directed in Government are wasted or not well used, then even with good leadership qualities, a challenge might still exist.

Involvement of private sector and actual provision of key consultation with private sector especially on governance, rule of law and security will promote sustainable development, institutional respect and human dignity as anticipated by UNDP-SISP program and the governance program.

Training, team building activities, motivational talks and scaling up of well working institutional programs such as those under the Somali Institutional Support Programmed(SISP) with parliament and office of the president can be scaled both vertically and horizontally, to profile more impacts of the Institutional strengthening process as a UNDP mandate.

UNDP Somalia needs to reassert overall leadership on development issues within the UN community and ensure that development needs of the Somali population and support for achievement of MDGs receive increasing attention from authorities as well as development agencies, NGOs and the donor community

UNDP Somalia needs to re-anchor its country programme to areas which build on its core competence and are central to its mandate. It should work towards finding an alternative 'provider' or mechanism to take over activities related to providing services to political processes or for simple administrative functions which are not central to its mandate.

UNDP Somalia should develop three region-specific five-year operational work plans in full consultation with relevant partners. This should be accompanied by a system of annual participatory reviews in order to increase ownership of the planning process and to address issues of predictability and transparency in UNDP planning and budgeting processes.

UNDP Somalia needs to engage with a wider range of actors, including independent observers, researchers, academics and civil society in order to sharpen its analysis and understanding of the complex context of its operating environment.

UNDP Somalia needs to ensure greater coherence within and between programmes and establish mechanisms that promote coherence, complementarily and synergy as key elements of the institutional culture.

UNDP Somalia should pursue a conscious strategy to enhance the quality of programme planning and the delivery of results and financial resources by: „ Securing necessary technical inputs in design/ implementation and monitoring processes and mainstreaming a results-oriented culture through monitoring and evaluation by ensuring that all programme staff are trained in monitoring and evaluation, seeking the necessary monitoring and evaluation technical expertise, and assuring adequate institutional arrangements and incentives

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 A: Interview Guide

(30 minutes- Each question approximately 3 minutes)

Please be informed that you are free to terminate this interview at any point of its admission and you can even stop it in the middle of the Process. All information gathered and individual interviewed have the researcher's assurance of confidentiality, anonymity and information shared will be protected at all times and at all costs.

1)   What's your level of Education, Undergraduate   Y or N?

2)   Did you witness Said Bare's Rule Y or N?

4)   Do you think Somalia will have Peace (Tick the box below to show your agreement)?

Agree	Strongly Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

5).   From your own experiences and studies, do effective leadership role and its challenges have a bearing on political stability? (Tick Box Below)

Agree	Strongly Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

6) Kindly Tick the institution that contributes the most in Political stability and conflict Resolution in Somalia?

Type of Institutions	Contributes very Highly	Contributes Highly	Contributes Slightly	Contributes very Slightly	Contributes the list
Parliament					
Rule of Law programme					
Governance and Respect to human Rights					
Elections Process					

7). What are the other key agencies that support leadership process in Somalia? (list)

8) Can you outline what kind of interventions exists in those agencies and can you describe?

9) What specific milestones have such interventions achieved? What are the specific leadership traits can be attributed as effective leadership in a democratic setting?

10) Any key leadership challenges that you experience as a Somali leader at personal level and also with the agencies that support your work?

Appendix I B: Key informants Perceptions

Key informant (1)

Apart from important support for the drafting of a new federal constitution and some efforts to develop government capacities, mainly in Puntland and Somaliland, the value added of UNDP support in this area in terms of the organization's development mandate has been limited. While some of these activities are one-time inputs, others such as the payment of salaries would require a viable exit strategy. Such strategies have been difficult to implement owing to the complex political process, poor security and the general weakness of the federal Government.

Key informant (2)

Through the projects under the Access to Justice component, UNDP has supported the drafting of a code of conduct for the judiciary and promoted the harmonization of formal and customary laws; the training of judges, prosecutors and assessors; the creation of legal clinics providing free-of-charge legal aid to the vulnerable and the poor. UNDP support has produced positive results in Somaliland and Puntland, particularly in improving the outreach of the judicial system to rural areas through the creation of mobile courts and mobile legal aid clinics. The cooperation established between the ROLS programme and various faculties of law in all three regions is also a very positive development. This is an area where UNDP can achieve results and has developed a strong comparative advantage.

Key informant (3)

UNDP has made two very significant interventions in promoting the private sector: strengthening the Somali remittance sector to ensure that key remittances companies complied with international standards and supporting the Somali meat export industry. The environment component of the UNDP programme has remained small so far.

Key informant (4)

The challenges facing UNDP political stability initiatives in Somalia include complexity of the Somali conflict. UNDP lacks genuine internal partners of peace from within due to zero-sum clan contest coupled with protracted conflict by warlords who deepened divisions to make reconciliation and power-sharing difficult. Due to the prevailing sense of insecurity; most Somalis are unwilling to disarm while dependence on international humanitarian assistance contributes to instability. Second was poor diplomacy methodology applied. Diplomacy contributed to the failure through use of inappropriate strategies aimed at speeding up the revival of the state system that was originally to blame for the chaos

Key informant (5)

The Programme implementation targeting the leaders can be summarized as flexible, appropriate and keen to the concerns of the Somali situation. The programmes are adjustable, consultative and immediate ado and crisis meeting are organized and any immerging issues are deliberated. The volatility and political changes encourages adjustments and immediate assignments of new rules and regulations, sometimes to protect the security of the staff in the region.

Key informant (6)

The Programme implementation targeting the leaders can be summarized as flexible, appropriate and keen to the concerns of the Somali situation. The programmes are adjustable, consultative and immediate adhoc and crisis meeting are organized and any immerging issues are deliberated. The volatility and political changes encourages adjustments and immediate assignments of new rules and regulations, sometimes to protect the security of the staff in the region.

Key informant (7)

Cross cutting Issues such as ICT, HIV and IDP's are supported technically and financially to ensure inclusivity and consultation of all programmes without leaving anyone out of coverage. The Poverty Reduction Strategy livelihood Programme collaborates closely through the ministry of Planning in regional development and strategic plans. Technical, Professional and financial backstopping is offered by programs during planning sessions.

Key informant (8)

Other key milestone for the affiliate region of Somaliland is the development of private sector strategy and the public private partnership policy; an enterprise survey was also requested by the Government of the Somaliland region and undertaken by UNDP. Other programmes involved Behavioral communication change and training of religious leaders. Partnerships with international universities such as the International university of London and African Virtual University for accreditation and full course availability within the comforts of their homes. VSAT sytems in Putland and Somaliland as well as Mogadishu

functioning Universities are part of the key developments that can be fully acknowledged by the interviewed members of parliament and staff working inside the region.

Key informant (9)

Somalia people embraced Islam since it was introduced in East Africa; however, they practice the tolerant version of Islam as opposed to the radical Islam. This tolerant Islamic version is facing a lot of pressure from the radical Islam. They rely on Jihad to advance their agendas; they are one of the serious obstacles in the realization of peace in Somalia hence complicating the conflict in Somalia. Their activities have caused anxieties in the neighbouring states as well as making the Somali conflict to have a regional as well as a global dimension

Key informant (10)

Proper co-ordination and strong international engagement in the Somalia peace process is very important, that is during negotiations and the implementation of all the signed agreements. Since political stability and state reconstruction go hand in hand, they should be done in a concurrent approach and not one thing at a time. Also the culture of imposing the solutions from western countries into the Somalia war should stop. The Somali people should be given a good political space so that they can own the process themselves.

Key informant (11)

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In Somalia, the UNDP has assisted in recuperating it from the many years of conflicts through adoption of effective development programmes. At the same time, it is also engaged in providing the people with humanitarian and recovery needs by looking into their needs in terms of gender, encouraging social services, making their livelihoods better, development of effective poverty reduction programmes, enhancing good governance as well as their humanitarian security.

Key informant (12)

The UNDP collaborates with different partners and agencies such as the Somali Government, NGOs and civil organizations to develop programmes for building capacity in key areas such as access to water, sustainable food security, health and education and making them a priority in its agendas for intervention in Somalia.

Key informant (13)

UNDP helps the local communities to rebuild the roads, markets and irrigation networks damaged during the conflicts. The security agents are also assisted in promoting the rule of law, management of public funds and monitoring the security situation in the country at all the time. Finally, the body advocates for the adoption of sustainable development goals for the citizens of the Somalia in general.

Key informant (14)

The SIP projects supports the Somali Government in the implementation of its capacity development flagship projects for enhancing capacity in the civil service and strengthening capabilities of the key ministries and agencies in performing their main functions of service delivery to the citizens.

Basra MA Final

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