

**MULTI-DIMENSIONAL PEACE KEEPING MISSIONS AND STATE BUILDING  
IN CONFLICT STATES: THE CASE OF THE AFRICAN UNION MISSION IN  
SOMALIA (AMISOM)/AFRICAN UNION TRANSITION  
MISSION IN SOMALIA (ATMIS)**

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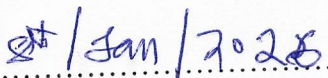
**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
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AWARD OF A MASTER'S DEGREE OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS AND DIPLOMATIC STUDIES  
OF MAKERERE UNIVERSITY**

**DECEMBER, 2025**

**DECLARATION**

I **Mugisha Ronald Ndora Wairindi**, hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and has never been submitted for any academic award in any university or higher institution of learning.

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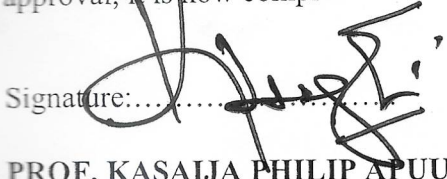
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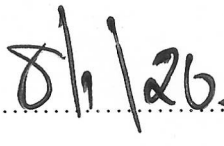
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**APPROVAL**

This is to certify that this dissertation document titled, "**Multidimensional Peace Keeping Missions and State Building in Conflict States: The Case of the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS)**" was compiled under my supervision and guidance. With my approval, it is now complete and ready for submission.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this Dissertation work to my Father Mr. Simon Wairindi Byarufu and Members of my family, particularly my Wife; Rebecca Mugisha for the continuous encouragement to pursue this academic endeavor even when I felt disenchanted owing to my busy work schedule on one hand and the highly demanding research work.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

A4P	Action for Peacekeeping
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
APK+	Action for peacekeeping plus
ATMIS	African Union Transition Mission in Somalia
AU	African Union
CAR	Central African Republic
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DPMT	Developmental Peace Mission Theory
EU	European Union
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
FMS	Federal Member States
HIPPO	High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations
HQ	Headquarter
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
LPBT	Liberal Peace Building Theory
MDPKM	Multi-dimensional peace keeping missions
MPI	Multi-Dimensional poverty Index
NCC	National Consultative Council
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organization's
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister

PCRD	Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development
PBSB	Peace building state building
SD	Standard Deviation
SDRF	Somalia Development and Reconstruction Facility
SNAF	Somalia National Armed Forces
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SS	Security Sector
SSG	Security sector Governance
SSR	Security Sector Reforms
TOC	Theory Of Change
UN	United Nations
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
URDCC	Uganda Rapid Deployment Capability Centre
WB	World Bank

## ABSTRACT

This study aimed to assess the effectiveness of AMISOM/ATMIS multi-dimensional components in advancing state-building efforts in Somalia. The study noted that despite initial AMISOM/ATMIS operational successes that resulted into the Al-Shabaab terror group losing its strongholds in Mogadishu and parts of South and Central Somalia and whereas there have been systematic efforts by AMISOM/ATMIS/AUSSOM to create an enabling environment for rejuvenation of FGS institutions, Somalia's security and political landscape remains fragile. In addition, the economic sector has not delivered expected public goods for the betterment of the population.

Against this background, the study specifically assessed the impact of (1) ATMIS led security sector reforms in enhancing the efficacy of the Somali state to ensure long term stability (2) the role of reconstruction and development assistance initiatives in peace building and reduction of poverty as a driver of conflict and (3) the impact of Somalia's federal political system in enhancing state building outcomes. Two theoretical frameworks were adopted to ground the study into existing literature. These included the Liberal Peace Building Theory (LPBT) and Developmental Peace Mission Theory (DPMT). In addition, a mixed research methodology combining both quantitative and qualitative techniques was adopted in order to develop an in-depth understanding of the study topic. Since study was conducted in Uganda and Somalia, the study population involved diverse groups including; Somali refugees living in Uganda, police and Army officers who have served under AMISOM/ATMIS, ATMIS FHQ and Mission Staff and Al-Shabaab defectors. The sample size was determined using Yamane's formula and simple random and purposive sampling techniques. Data was collected through questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussions and document reviews ensuring validity and reliability. In order to maintain the integrity of the study, ethical considerations were adhered to. Regarding AMISOM/ATMIS led Security Sector Reforms, Pearson correlation ( $r = 0.304$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ) indicated a moderate positive relationship between SSR's and state-building process. Similarly, reconstruction and development Initiatives were found to have positive effects on reducing poverty, improving public services and fostering state legitimacy. As such, the Pearson correlation ( $r = 0.261$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) showed a moderate positive relationship between reconstruction and development initiatives to state-building efforts. On the role of the federal political system in consolidating the Somali state, the Pearson correlation ( $r = 0.276$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ) indicated a

moderate positive relationship between the federal political system and state-building agenda. Federal political structures explained 7.1% of the variance to state-building outcomes ( $R^2 = 0.076$ , Adjusted  $R^2 = 0.071$ ). However, from a qualitative perspective there was a moderately split opinion regarding the efficacy of the federal system in fostering state consolidation. In summary, the study found that ATMIS-led security sector reforms, reconstruction and development initiatives and federal structures have a positive relationship to the state-building process in Somalia. However, the explanatory power of these variables was found to be moderate, suggesting that the three factors are insufficient to anchor the state building process in Somalia hence the need to explore other elements influencing state building outcomes.

## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND/ INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Background of the Study

Since the inception of the first United Nations (UN) peacekeeping mission, the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in 1948 (Rebbeca & Juergenliemk,2014) and the deployment of the first armed United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF 1) to address the Suez canal crisis of 1956, peacekeeping operations and multilateral interventions have undergone significant transformation. Efforts to enhance the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions particularly became evident from early 2000 when the UN began implementing various reforms. According to (Day et al., 2020) initiatives such as the Brahimi Report of 2000 (Brian, 2002), the Action for Peacekeeping (A4P), Action for peacekeeping plus (APK+), and the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO) report aimed to enhance the capabilities of UN peacekeeping missions. As a result of this paradigm shift, UN deployments of military, police and civilian components surged to an estimated 138,000 personnel deployed across 16 UN missions by 2015 (Gao, 2016) excluding regional security blocs.

In light of this growth, Allard et.al (2023) contends that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the UN has not only become the most singular actor projecting military power globally but has evolved into a formidable tool for international crisis management.

The growth in UN led multilateral interventions in relation to the state-building industry is attributed to the rise in intra-state wars (Heathershaw & Lambach, 2015; Yilmaz, 2007) also referred to as “new wars” by (Kaldor.2013), these conflicts have been prominent in sub-Saharan Africa, former Soviet Republics, parts of Central and Latin America and South Asia (Evans,1994) prompting a reassessment of traditional peace-keeping modal in preference for integrated multi-dimensional approaches (UN PKO, 2008)

According to (clerk,1997) the post-cold war conflict environment marked by multiple actors , powerful non-state actors, transnational networks and advancements in information communication technologies (ICT) have broadened the scope of peacekeeping activities to include ceasefire monitoring, the overseeing of political processes (Tardy, 2011; Zaman & Biswas, 2020) in addition to pacification operations all of which converge in a multi-

dimensional environment (Brosig & Ssempijja, 2017). For, Jasper (2015) multi-dimensional integrated peacekeeping approaches are relevant in as far as they involve efforts to address various dimensions of conflict simultaneously and in a multifaceted nature to achieve comprehensive and sustainable peace. To Brosig & Ssempijja (2017), multidimensional missions comprise sub-categories such as demilitarization, disengagement and redeployment of forces, disarmament, demobilization, resettlement, reintegration, reconstruction and development in addition to traditional peacekeeping practices, all as inter-linked mandate objectives.

Gargo (2014) contends that the emergence of international norms such as the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) centered on the prevention of conflict outbreak and escalation, response to grave situations of human suffering and rebuilding conflict-affected states through full recovery assistance, and reconstruction programs has injected renewed impetus in the multi-dimensional peacekeeping 'toolkit' making it a back born for state building initiatives in conflict states.

### **Multi-dimensional peace support approach:**

Multi dimension peace keeping missions generally comprise various components including; military, police, political and civil affairs, law and human rights, reconstruction and development , public information and gender (UN ,2003) there cardinal objective being to create conditions for long-term peace and stability within conflict states. The doctrine of multi-dimensional peace keeping draws from two watershed documents; the Agenda for peace (1992) and the Brahimi report (2000) which emphasize a multifaceted UN response to crisis through; early conflict detection and prevention by diplomatic means, focus on peace making by bringing parties involved in conflict to a common understanding, conduct of Peace keeping operations as well as the option of post conflict peace building measures to ensure state resilience.

According to (Kumar,2022) in order to execute multiple mandates, multi-dimensional missions deploy along with other enabling agencies, departments and resources not only to maintain peace and security but also enable a multitude of peace building initiatives. These include supporting political processes, protection of the population, conduct of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) activities and offensive peace keeping or (enforcement operations) which are intrinsically linked to restoration of state capacity (Munroe,2025).

whereas the multi-dimensional peacekeeping model is lauded for creating international peace and security and ensuring justice and human rights (Andersen & Engedal,2013), its strategic outcomes in countries like the DRC, Mali, Central African Republic and Somalia is mixed with successes in some areas and glaring deficiencies in others. Barbra (2008) particularly links the failure of the multidimensional peace keeping model to neo-liberal state-building agenda which is embedded within multidimensional missions. She argues that neo-liberal thinking within multi-dimensional missions has not only failed to build viable states through the imposition of western values but instead relegated conflict and post-conflict states to chronic fragility and dependence on international financial aid.

Marquette & Berwick (2011) on the other hand highlight the issue of ownership of multi-dimensional missions and the legitimacy of state-building enterprises proposed to resuscitate failed states which often reflect international rather than local needs. Building on this perspective, (Jonathan, 2013) has highlighted USA interventions in Afghanistan in October 2001 and Iraq in 2003 which failed to create favorable conditions for state consolidation due to lack of local context.

Similarly, to (Dayal, 2022) despite the initial euphoria of MDPK approach, UN missions in the DRC, Mali and Central African Republic (CAR) failed to transform the conflict trajectories in the respective countries due to multiple factors. In the case of the CAR, issues of UN over-extension, capacity short falls, unclear political strategies, financing challenges and inadequate conflict analysis contributed to the failure of the multidimensional peacekeeping mission (Carayannis & Fowlis,2017). For Denis (2023), the crisis of legitimacy emerges as the overriding factor undermining the efficacy of multi-dimensional peace missions in Africa generally.

### **State building:**

State fragility as a consequence of looming violence, conflict or post conflict situations often presents a major challenge for policy makers and intervention forces in conflict states (Geda,2011). This is primarily because weak, failing or fragile states lack capacity to execute the most basic function of governing the population and preserving state sovereignty (OECD,2011). In addition, fragile states exhibit a high degree of vulnerability to various shocks (OECD, ibid).

In contrast, resilient or strong states often demonstrate capacity to provide public goods, are legitimate, accountable and responsive to the needs of the governed (OECD, *ibid*).

Thus, within the context of multilateral interventions like AMISOM/ATMIS, state building entails complex reforms to restore governance and re-invigorate collapsed state institutions in order to make them effective, ensure safety, economic growth, reconciliation and justice (Rondinelli,2007). Although distinct and often overlapping processes, state building and peace building (SBPB) are complimentary and self-reinforcing thus contributing to long-term stability (OECD Report,2010). For the purpose of this study, peace building entails multi-dimensional efforts intended to address underlying causes and structural factors of conflict to create sustainable peace.

### **AMISOM/ATMIS/AUSSOM multi-dimensional peace keeping model in Somalia**

In spite of the notable improvement in the security and political situation in Mogadishu since the early1990s, ongoing insecurity in parts of the country continues to pose a serious challenge to AMISOM/ATMIS state-building agenda (Deyal, 2022). Having deployed in 2007, AMISOM strength grew from an initial 1600 Ugandan peace keepers to over 12,000 Troops from five troop contributing countries (Uganda, Kenya, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Burundi) by 2011 with a mandate to normalize the security situation and support fledgling Somalia Transnational Government institutions.

However, according to (Williams, 2019) In spite of the increase in the troop foot print, the Mission faced numerous challenges in delivering its mandate of revitalizing the Somali state and ensuring long term peace and stability. For (Ajú, 2022) enduring operationcapacity shortfalls coupled with insufficient resources, governance issues and the complexity of addressing longstanding socio-political tensions between various actors further complicated the Mission creating a dissonance between its strategic goal and expected outcomes.

Williams (2013) has summarized the strategic challenges facing AMIOSM following its initial deployment as; international pessimism towards the missions success, problems of strategic coordination between external partners, the nature of threat Forces facing AMISOM principally the Al-Shabaab terror group, lack of relevant capabilities and

resources to enable the mission to execute its mandate and the challenge of facilitating the natural growth of legitimate Somali state institutions.

While the study acknowledges AMISOM/ATMIS initial successes, such as the expansion of the FGS controlled areas, organization of political-electoral processes, protection of nascent state institutions and populations in liberated areas, an attempt to assess the overall effectiveness of AMISOM/ATMIS in facilitating the Somali state building agenda is contested because to (Paul, 2018) the Mission has not addressed the fundamental problems underlying state failure in Somalia.

## **1.2. Problem Statement**

Since the collapse of the Siad Barre regime in 1991, the process of state building in Somalia has faced serious challenges. Persistence insecurity condemned the Country to a battle ground for multilateral-interventions. Despite the deployment of AMISOM in 2007 and the initial mission successes registered in 2012, the security landscape in Somalia remains precarious (EUAA report, 2022). According (Ewi et.al, 2023) the Al-Shabaab terror group not only continues to obstruct the expansion of FGS authority beyond current AMISOM/ATMIS controlled areas, but also retains capacity to conduct devastating attacks. Moreover, the drawdown of AMISOM/ATMIS troops, as mandated by the UNSC Resolution 2687 (2023) poses a significant challenge to Somalia's stability. According to Harun (2023) the draw-down is likely to embolden Al-Shabaab, potentially resulting into retaliatory attacks by the group thereby undermining state-building efforts.

From the academic perspective, whereas there have been attempts by the academia and policy researchers to elucidate the relationship between multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions such as AMISOM/ATMIS and state-building efforts (Munro & Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 2008; Andersen & Engedal, 2013), these studies focused on challenges faced by multi-dimensional missions rather than assessing the effectiveness or utility of multi-dimensional components in firming the state-building objective (Munro & Geneva Centre for Security Policy, 2008; Andersen & Engedal, 2013). Meanwhile, (Autesserre, 2010 & 2014, Bellamy et al.2010 & Howard 2008) have examined the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations generally as a

conflict management tool. However, their works do not address the specific complex relationship between AMISOM /ATMIS multi-dimensional components on one hand and the state building agenda.

By evaluating the effectiveness of AMISOM/ATMIS multi-dimensional components in reinvigorating the Somali state, this study highlights strong points and endemic issues hindering AMISOM/ATMIS from delivering state building outcomes with a view to highlighting areas for improvement in the overall architecture of ATMIS/AUSSOM multi-dimensional mission and state-re-building strategies.

### **1.3. Purpose of the Study**

The main purpose of this study was to examine the role of AMISOM/ATMIS multi-dimensional components in the realization of the Somalia state building enterprise. The study highlighted contributions and gaps in the AMISOM/ATMIS mandates and the overall implementation of the Somalia national stabilization strategy by pointing out key obstacles to state building efforts with a view to fostering a re-conceptualization of structures, functions and state building strategies of AMISOM/ATMIS and other subsequent multilateral interventions in conflict and post conflict states.

### **1.4. Main Objective of the Study**

The main objective of this research was to assess the effectiveness of AMISOM/ATMIS in enhancing state building efforts in Somalia. The study proceeded by analysing the endemic issues and dysfunctions in the implementation of the AMISOM/ATMIS mandate before making recommendations to address identified inefficiencies with a view to fine-tune and reconfigure multilateral and regional interventions in conflict and post-conflict societies so as to make them effective in delivering their mandates.

#### **1.4.1. Specific Objectives**

- i. To assess the impact of AMISOM/ATMIS led security sector reforms on the long-term stability of Somalia.
- ii. To examine the impact of reconstruction and other development assistance initiatives in peace building and poverty reduction as driver of conflict in Somalia.

- iii. To evaluate the extent to which the Somali federal system has fostered political consolidation, democratization and the evolution good public sector governance practices in Somalia.

#### **1.4.2. Research Questions**

- i. What is the effect if ATMIS led security sector reforms on the long-term stability of Somalia?
- ii. To what extent have reconstruction and other development assistance efforts enhanced peace building and poverty reduction as a driver of conflict in Somalia?
- iii. To what extent has the Somali federal system ensured political consolidation democratization and evolution of good public sector governance practices in Somalia?

#### **1.4.3. Hypothesis**

- i. There is a positive relationship between ATMIS led security sector reforms and long-term stability of Somalia
- ii. There is a positive relationship between reconstruction and other development assistance efforts undertaken to deepen peace, reduce poverty and drivers of conflict in Somalia
- iii. The structure and nature of the Somali federal system has contributed to political consolidation and good public sector governance practices

#### **1.5. Significance**

Over the years, the debate on the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions in conflict and post conflict societies has drawn mixed interpretations regarding how peace keeping interventions reduce various dimensions of conflict while strengthening post conflict peace. Against this backdrop, this study is significant in as far as it seeks interrogate the impact of AMISOM/ATMIS/AUSSOM multi-dimensional elements on state building process in Somalia as a pathway for conflict resolution and state consolidation.

Considering Somalia's fragile political and security landscape and the impending AMISOM/ATMIS draw down, this research offers valuable insights on interventions and state-re-building strategies in order to ensure longterm stability.

## **1.6. Justification of the Study**

For Somalia, the Eastern Africa region and the international community, this study is justified because, despite various interventions and attempts at stabilization, the security landscape in Somalia remains fragile. An enduring Islamist insurgency has condemned the country to a failed state status. Moreover, despite growing private sector activity Somalia continues to grapple with extreme poverty and underdevelopment. Whereas the creation of federal system of government was deemed appropriate to facilitate the decentralization of power and resources for the benefit of local populations and improve security within Federal Member States (FMS), they (FMS) remain a bargaining chip for soliciting foreign aid under the effective control of “tribal warlords” with limited or no allegiance to the FGS. This study is therefore justified in as far as it highlights the strong points and endemic issues impacting the capacity of AMISOM/ATMIS multidimensional peace keeping mission in delivering robust state building outcomes. The findings and recommendations of the study will be replicated in other Conflict affected states to reconfigure and design more effective multi-dimensional mission approaches to state building.

## **1.7. Theoretical Framework**

In order to situate this study within the social sciences discourse, two theoretical frame works were adopted to explain the relationship between the dependent and independent variables and various concepts used in the study in addition to supporting the analysis and interpretation of results of the study.

### **Liberal Peace Building Theory (LPBT)**

The post-cold war era has witnessed greater commitment by international actors in fostering peace-building activities with differing motivations (Barnett et al., 2006). For Notorski (2011). at the core of liberal peace building activities is the view that state-building is an indispensable component for conflict resolution. Drawing from the Kantian Democratic Peace Theory in (Macmillan, 2004), the liberal peace building approach advocates for promotion of democracy, market-based economic reforms and the establishment of institutions akin to Western-style states as a foundation of long-term stability in war-torn societies (Jude j,2020).

The underpinning principle of the LPBT is that liberally constructed societies likely exhibit domestic stability and coherence in their overall foreign policy conduct, a vibrant civil society and multilateralism all of which are relevant elements for laying a strong foundation for the Somali state-building project (Newman et al., 2009; Oliver,2006). Sabaratnam (2011) concurs that the liberal peace building theory provides a dominant intellectual framework for post-cold war conflict intervention.

To Paris (2004) the liberal peace building approach to conflict prevention emphasizes the use of formal external institutions, such as the AU, UN and Multinational Intervention Forces, to terminate violent conflicts, restore state authority and enhance capacity. Mac Ginty & Richmond (2007) on the other hand liken the liberal peace building theory to the Wilsonian tradition which assumes that external interventions based on liberal ideology can transform socio-political and economic life of societies previously affected by conflict making the liberal peace building theory highly relevant to examining the relationship between AMISOM/ATMIS multidimensional peace keeping model and the state-building agenda in Somalia.

However, LPBT alone cannot comprehensively explain the strength and failures of AMISOM/ATMIS multi-dimensional approach to state-building in Somalia. Bellon (2012), Ginty & Richmond (2013) argue that the application of the theory has failed in war-torn African countries for two reasons. Firstly, peace builders tend to propose neo-liberal security strategies in a subtle neo-colonial form with intent to impose a western-oriented liberal order. Secondly, they argue that the approach neglects socio-political, cultural, and economic nuances of conflict states.

Meanwhile, (Grovoqui, 2006; Deng & Mading, 1995; Mamdani.1996) link the problem of statehood and state building in Africa to the conquest and the institutional legacy of colonialism which has led to contested versions of the state and state-building approaches in divided societies like Somalia. As early as the 1960s, Lewis (1965) criticized the promotion of liberal ideas that did not consider local contexts. Following the assertions of Lewis and others above; the liberal state-building model is problematic due to its top-bottom technocratic approach which when singularly applied to the Somalia context tends to neglect local socio-political and economic nuances.

Contrariwise, Lee (2013) suggests that the Gramscian approach, which views states as formed through social articulation involving socio-political and economic interests and ideational factors, offers a better corrective model. In his work titled “Governance without Government in Somalia,” Mankaus (2006) acknowledges the rise of an informal system of adaptation driven by evolving coalitions of business groups, traditional authorities, particularly Clan heads and civic groups, promoting more organic forms of public order and rule of law. Whether these processes constitute state-building in a non-liberal format is debatable. However, in order to address the limitations of the LPBT this study adopted the developmental mission theory (DPMT).

## **Developmental Peace Mission Theory (DPMT)**

The Developmental Peace Mission Theory (DPMT) emerged from a critique of UN approach to conflict interventions particularly the tendency to under emphasize peace building efforts amid a high rate of conflict recurrence also called the “conflict trap” (UNDG/ECHA Working Group, 2004 & Walter, 2010). Accordingly, the “conflict trap,” demonstrated structural failures of traditional peacekeeping approaches in addressing the root causes of conflict (Collier & Sambanis, 2002).

For (Bakhet, 2001), the lag between the end of peacekeeping and the start of peace building processes termed the “reconstruction gap,” often exacerbates the conflict trap. Another study by Gueli & Liebenberg (2007) linked the UN’s policy framework which prioritizes security over development to the low success rate of peacekeeping interventions. Moreover, despite some adjustments following the Brahimi Report (2002), the UN’s approach remains insufficient in addressing conflict relapse.

The DPMT is therefore relevant in as far as it proposes a paradigm shift towards a systems thinking approach that addresses all dimensions of conflict simultaneously (Gueli & Liebenberg, 2007). It emphasizes the interdependence of security and development processes advocating for the swift integration of peace building activities with military operations (Madlala-Rouledge & CSIR, 2004). The theory posits that security and development are mutually reinforcing and essential for the success of conflict interventions (Gueli, 2006).

In the case of Somalia, the DPMT offers a good framework for assessing the compatibility of AMISOM/ATMIS military operations on one hand and reconstruction and development initiatives on the other. For instance, while military efforts have created conditions for political progress, they have not resolved underlying political crisis (Williams et al., 2017). Moreover, ATMIS reviews by (Lotze & Williams, 2016) suggest that a heavy military focus that is not aligned to political-economic objectives may hinder longterm stabilization efforts. In summary, not only does the DPMT facilitate analysis of military, political, development and reconstruction efforts in Somalia's stabilization and state-building process but also underscores the importance of a holistic approach to peacekeeping by incorporating military, political and developmental efforts to achieve long lasting stability (Gueli & Liebenberg, 2007).

## **1.8. Conceptual frame work**

According to Becker (1998) a conceptual framework not only grounds the study in relevant knowledge bases but also seeks to explain the inter-relationship between key concepts and variables used in the research. For Kivunja (2018), the above process is a Meta cognitive, reflective and helps to elucidate a logical master plan of the entire research study.

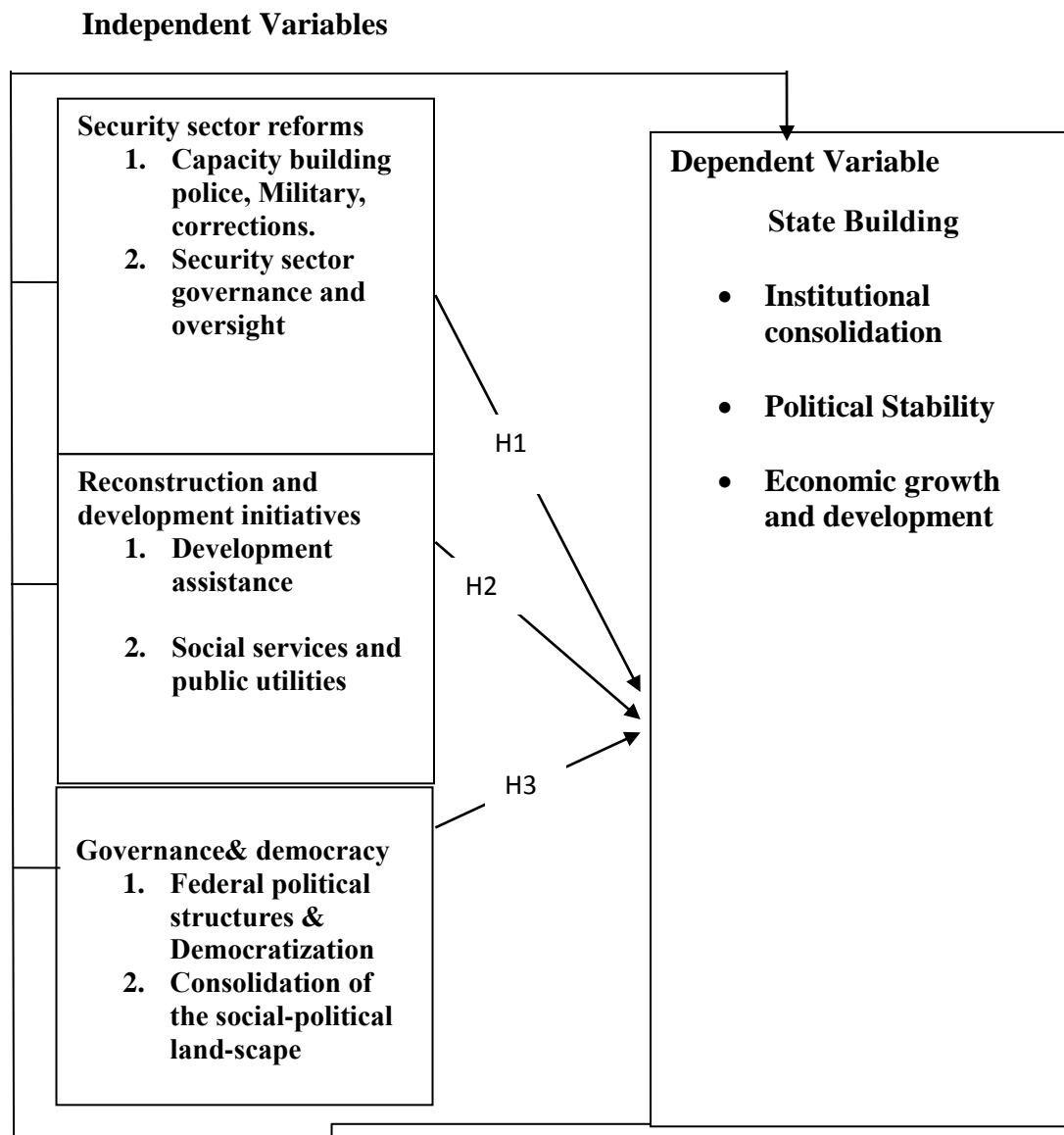
This dissertation's conceptual framework delineates independent variables encompassing Security Sector Reforms (SSR), reconstruction and development assistance, federal political system in relation to the dependent variable which is state building. Specifically, SSR's such as security reforms, institutional capacity building and security sector governance and oversight are interlinked elements that can enhance or undermine state consolidation. For instance, strengthening security forces through training contributes to institutional resilience, political stability with positive outcomes for the overall state building agenda. A study by (Sarah, 2017) found that patterns of SSR failures resulting from misdiagnosis of post conflict security environment and lack of local ownership of SSR programs likely exacerbate conflict relapse and instability while deep and broader level society involvement in such reforms consolidates peace and security.

Secondly, reconstruction and Development assistance initiatives have capacity to enhance social services delivery, thereby revitalizing social economic sectors for the well-being of the population. External support and infrastructure development on the other hand foster economic growth and institutional consolidation. According to (Leonce,2017) the failure of reconstruction efforts in post conflict societies not only increases the risk of new conflicts setting such countries on the path of systematic fragility but also derail the process of achieving sustainable development and state consolidation.

Thirdly, governance and democracy as underpinned by the Somali federal political structure has a crucial role in opening up political space, promoting democratization which contributes to mass political participation of women youth and other groups hence ensuring political stability. On the other hand, the consolidation of social cultural landscape enhances national unity and cohesion a key element of long term stability, development and state consolidation.

In summary, the three independent variables as dispensed by AMISOM/ATMIS are linked to the dependent variable (State Building) which for the purpose of this study is conceptualized as a process of revitalizing core state institutions and functions so as to provide citizens state and human security, ensure institutional consolidation, political stability, and economic development. This study upholds the view that the nexus between security sector reforms, development assistance and reconstruction initiatives and good governance practices underpinned by the federal political structures collectively shape the Somalia state building trajectory.

**Figure 1: Conceptual Framework**



Adopted from Kusek (2004) and Modified by the Researcher:

## **1.9. Scope of the Study**

### **1.9.1. Geographical Scope**

The study was conducted in Nakivale refugee camp in Uganda, Ministry of Defense and veteran Affairs Headquarters in Mbuya Kampala and Somalia a country located in the Horn of Africa. Somalia has been grappling with chronic conflict and instability since the early 1990s making it a pertinent case study for evaluating the effectiveness of AMISOM/ATMIS multidimensional intervention in delivering state-building outcomes.

### **1.9.2. Time Scope**

This study will be limited and focused on activities of AMISOM/ATMIS including a time frame of 2007 to 2025. The supportive literature scope of this study is limited to 20year period including 2003-2024.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0. Introduction**

This section presents an analysis and discussions of literature relating to the study. It includes conceptual and empirical literature and a summary guided by the study objectives based on past and current information retrieved from journal articles, policy briefs, reports, books and relevant documents about the study. Whereas a significant portion of available literature assess challenges faced by Multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions in conflict states, this review seeks to specifically analyze the effectiveness of AMISOM/ATMIS multi-dimensional components in rebuilding the Somali state.

#### **2.1. Conceptual Literature**

##### **Multi-Dimensional Missions**

Traditional peacekeeping operations have evolved adopting multiple aspects including military, police, political support, human rights, humanitarian and gender components etc. to facilitate political processes, protect civilians and support elections (UN Multidimensional PKO, 2003, UNPKO, 2008). For Van Veenet al. (2019) rapid changes in the security landscape have necessitated multidimensional peacekeeping as a tool kit for addressing the fragmented nature of intra-state conflicts.

Consequently, organizations such as UN, AU and EU have since aligned to multidimensional peace keeping approaches to promote lasting peace and support state building efforts (Brosig & Sempijja, 2018). However, despite the adoption of multi-dimensional integrated approaches and expanded mandates, Mission out comes remain mixed amid structural and operational inefficiencies, inadequate collaboration and tensions between military and civilian components which directly inhibit state building processes (Onditi et al, 2016).

##### **State Building in Somalia**

Since the end of the Cold War, state-building has emerged as a primary mechanism for mitigating state failure. This is largely due to the assumption that international security hinges on state security (Sedra, 2012).

For (Weber, 1968; Mann, 1984) the concept of ‘state’ or ‘state building’ is multifaceted with varying definitions centered on institutional authority and effectiveness of state governments. OECD (2011) has identified three key factors underpinning the state-building agenda: State-Society relations; the primacy of politics; and the endogenous nature of state-building.

To Henning (2017) state-building encompasses processes aimed at enhancing the capacity and functionality of fragile states. It involves strengthening legitimacy, authority, and capacity of the state to effectively deliver its mandates (ibid). While contemporary liberal perspectives emphasize sovereign capacities and marketization, critics argue that this approach imposes Western frameworks of state building on non-western societies (Milliken, 2003; Suhrke, 2011). As a result, the limited success of exogenous state-building projects underscores the need for a more restrained approach argues (Pei, 2003). In addition, the liberal state-building model faces criticism for creating local dependency and lacking normative cultural engagement (Richmond, 2014).

On the other hand, Etzioni (2004) and Ottaway (2002) advocate for a moderated version of state-building, emphasizing primarily the establishment of security within fragile states. They caution against a one-size-fits-all approach and suggest a re-consideration of alternative sources of state formation, such as bottom-up approaches that resonate with local needs (Boeg et al, 2009).

In summary, positive state-building necessitates reciprocal relations between the state and engaged groups, ensuring the delivery of public goods and constructive engagement (OECD-DAC, 2008). As the discourse on state-building evolves, there is a growing recognition of the need for nuanced approaches that consider local contexts and prioritization of security alongside governance and development efforts.

## **2.2. Empirical Literature**

This section includes primary literature drawn from studies that correlate to the methods used in this research to provide a solution to the research problem. The literature is reported in such a way that the researcher can extrapolate what was done previously to make study findings more replicable.

### **2.2.1. Security Sector Reforms**

Security Sector Reform (SSR) has emerged as a crucial component of international development, conflict resolution and state-building efforts. As a process, SSR involves the restructuring of policies, systems, and capabilities within the security sector to enhance their effectiveness, accountability and adaptability to democratic oversight and the security needs of the population.

For Brzoska (2003), SSR's appeal, lies in its ability to integrate broad objectives under one roof; including reduction in military expenditures and redirection of critical resources for development purposes, arms control and improvement in efficiency and effectiveness of governance institutions. Gindarsah (2015) and AU (2023) concur that SSR has become central to rebuilding countries ravaged by conflicts or transitioning them from military rule to democratic governance although its necessity varies from Country to Country, driven by factors such as post-conflict reconstruction, transition from military to civilian rule, lack of accountability and transparency, disregard for the rule of law, and insufficient civilian oversight of security forces (Wulf, 2004; AU, 2023).

Whereas the AU Policy Strategy on SSR provides clear guidelines to member states and regional bodies on the implementation of SSR initiatives as aligned to global regulatory frameworks under the United Nations (Jackson, 2011), Scholars like (De Waal ,2015, Wilén,2011 & Hills 2007) argue that SSR has become intertwined with efforts to modernize armed forces and institutionalize international neo-liberal values, making them too prescriptive and ethnocentric for implementation in diverse contexts. On the other hand, Sedra (2010) highlights the political nature of SSR, advocating for its integration into broader political transitions to prevent it from being driven by particularistic interests.

In the case of Somalia, SSR has played a crucial role in the country's transition to stability and democratic governance. The Somali Transitional Plan (STP) provides a critical framework for building effective and accountable national security forces to support peace-building efforts (STP, 2023). However, Williams & Elmi (2023) point to numerous challenges hindering SSR in Somalia, including sustainability gaps, political fragility, corruption and continuous militarization outside official security apparatus.

The complex security landscape in Somalia characterized by multiple actors and stakeholders, equally presents formidable obstacles to effective SSR (Abdullahi, 2020). Building on Abdullah's assertion, Beyen (2018) contends that in environments with competing security actors, SSR efforts may prove futile and resource consuming. The absence of a truce between belligerent parties further complicates SSR in Somalia, raising questions about its effectiveness in achieving long-term stability (Skeppström et al., 2015). Moreover, the infiltration of armed groups like Al-Shabaab undermines SSR initiatives and perpetuates insecurity, making the restoration of stability a costly and an unsustainable endeavor (World Bank, 2020).

In summary, SSR represent a vital aspect of state-building efforts, particularly in post-conflict societies like Somalia. However, numerous challenges, including political fragility, corruption, and the presence of armed groups, hinder its effectiveness. Achieving sustainable security sector reforms requires addressing these challenges while ensuring local ownership, accountability, and transparency in the process.

#### **Capacity Building: Military, Police- and Correction Services; Somalia National Armed Forces :**

Capacity Building refers to “the ability of people, organizations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully” (OECD 2006, p. 12). For Omeka & Njoroge (2020) capacity building is central to achieving good governance and effective institutions as it plays a crucial role in local ownership of security sector reforms, enhancing civil society and security forces' capabilities. Capacity building in the context of security sector reforms involves a number of security tasks such as establishment of safety and security, rebuilding, strengthening of security forces and the judicial system (Mearger, 2005).

**Table 1: Capacity building core security tasks and activities**

<p><b>1. Establish safety and Security</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demobilize, disarm, -re-integration of ex-combatants.</li> <li>• Ensure public safety and order</li> <li>• Reduce crime.</li> <li>• Protect infrastructure and public facilities.</li> <li>• Secure national borders.</li> </ul>
<p><b>2. Rebuild strengthen security services &amp; law and order sector</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reorganize/strengthen National armed forces.</li> <li>• Strengthen/rebuild Police forces and related infrastructure.</li> <li>• Establish/strengthen oversight of police forces.</li> <li>• Strengthen/rebuild criminal justice system.</li> <li>• Protect basic human rights and property rights. Strengthen/rebuild - corrections system and facilities.</li> <li>• Strengthen/rebuild judicial systems and related infrastructure</li> </ul>

*(Source: adopted from Meager: 2005)*

Capacity building interventions in transitional societies have drawn scrutiny regarding their effectiveness in improving security outcomes. Denny & Volters (2015) question the impact of such interventions, arguing that while capacity building is crucial for enhancing the performance of government agencies and armed forces, its sustainability is undermined by heavy reliance on external funding. There are two main approaches for explaining capacity building: (1) the planned approach, which involves international actors imposing specific objectives based on best practices, and (2) the emergent approach which emphasizes adapting interventions to local dynamics through a bottom-up engagement (Baser, 2011).

In the case of Somalia, various multilateral missions have undertaken programs to mainstream security forces and build capacity since the 1990s when the central government collapsed. However, several challenges including the lack of political will on the part of FGS (Reno, 2019) the over reliance on external funding and the proliferation of weapons (UN, 2015) continue to undermine capacity building endeavors.

For Lozte & Williams (2016), whereas the mandate of AMISOM/ATMIS military component focuses on defeating the Al-Shabaab insurgency and facilitating institutional building, these efforts have been hampered by inadequate local capacity and lack of political support by International partners, including EU. Ozkanca & Frolick (2012) and Williams & Ali (2020) argue

that support for security sector reforms through training and capacity building initiatives to aid force generation and facilitate the exit strategy of ATMIS is in decline indicating a failure of capacity building efforts.

### **Security Sector Governance (SSG) and oversight**

Apart from SSR and capacity building initiatives, vital to ensuring sustainable long-term peace and development of post conflict states is Security Sector Governance (SSG). Governance encompasses the exercise of power and authority, both formally and informally, to shape the provision of public goods (DCAF, 2015). However, SSG refers to structures, processes, values and attitudes influencing security-related decisions and their implementation (DCAF, 2009). Since the 1990s, the notion of security sector governance (SSG) has evolved into an essential component for preventing conflict relapse, early warning, crisis management, post-conflict rehabilitation and peace building (OSCE, 2022).

Within the context of multilateral interventions, SSG has gained traction as a precondition for ensuring effectiveness of development assistance in conflict-affected states. Ball et al. (2003) argue that sound governance of the security sector is not only essential for consolidating security but also for ensuring democratic progress and development.

Brayden & Olonisakin (2010) on the other hand contend that promoting greater security sector oversight and accountability has not been attractive to political and security elites in Africa hence creating ineffective security sectors in developing countries. Resultantly, the failure to address dysfunctional security sector governance undermines SSR with wider negative implications for consolidation of institutions, political stability and economic development.

It follows that in order to positively influence the security sector, various stakeholders need to be engaged, including agencies authorized to use force, civilian oversight institutions, judicial and law enforcement agencies, non-state security institutions, and civil society organizations. Equally, successful SSG requires government ownership, engagement with external actors, public, and coordination of policies and actions (England & Center, 2009). However, challenges exist, especially in post-conflict or failed states, where political factions may struggle to provide critical essential services including security (Ball & Fayemi, 2004).

In the case of Somalia Kabede (2014), notes that SSG is faced with multiple challenges because the liberal peace building approach to stabilization has not only failed to address the root causes of insecurity but also left the Somali government incapable of monopolizing the means of violence. Despite efforts by AMISOM/ATMIS to defeat Al-Shabaab and revive state institutions, internal actors such as FMS and clans have not comprehended the co-benefits of a state consolidation argues (Reno, 2018).

Moreover, traditional non-state actors in Somalia play a significant role in shaping security governance due to their accessibility and legitimacy (Kabede, 2014). Managing the politics of security in Somalia requires a comprehensive approach, including engagement of both formal and informal institutions to ensure national and local ownership of security policies and practices (Keating & Abshir, 2018).

In summary, while good SSG draws on core principles of participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, effectiveness, efficiency, and accountability, the hybridity of liberal and traditional systems in Somalia presents paradoxical challenge for long-term stability and swift implementation of SSG.

### **2.2.2. Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD)**

Post-conflict reconstruction and development (PCRD) advocates for interventions to revitalize various sectors of failed or failing states to full functionality. Since the end of world war II, international agencies such as UN, UNDP, IMF, WB, donor countries, and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have been actively involved in PCRD efforts beginning with the Marshall Plan which followed Allied occupation of Nazi Germany and Japan in 1945 (Sultan, 2005). This historical precedent set standard for post-conflict reconstruction and state building although modern intrastate conflicts have necessitated adaptations in PCRD initiatives (Jabareen, 2012).

Like SSG, PCRD is recognized as a critical element for preventing conflict and ensuring long-term development and stability of post conflict societies. This is because according to (Bertasi, 2013) it encompasses addressing immediate post-conflict challenges and sustaining efforts to transform conflict situations into peaceful and sustainable environments. Despite undertaking ceasefires, negotiations, and establishment of new political dispensations, peace may not be guaranteed without addressing underlying issues and restoring harmonious human relations

(Cochrane, 2008). Yet, war-torn societies face significant challenges including weakened or nonexistent capacity, destroyed institutions, lack of democratic culture, governance deficits, and pervasive poverty (Boyce, 2011). International assistance is vital in addressing pressing needs including reconstruction of collapsed systems for sustainable peace (AU, 2006).

### **Reconstruction:**

A reconstruction process involves three major phases; the initial response phase, characterized by humanitarian assistance and peacekeeping deployment; the transformation or transition phase, focuses on revitalization of local capacities, economy and undertaking reconstruction projects; and the final phase which is centered on consolidating recovery efforts for sustainability (CSIS/AUSA, 2002). To Balaji & Wallach, (1999) the above phases not only underscore the importance of political, economic, and military elements in post-conflict state building but also emphasize the role of effective coordination among multiple stakeholders and avoidance of duplication, mismanagement and misallocation of resources (Adong, 2021). On the other hand, Driscoll (2018) calls for prioritization and involvement of local populations and civil society as a way of enlisting their full participation in reconstruction processes.

Key frameworks for PCRD in Somalia include; the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) and its successor program, the Somalia Development and Reconstruction Facility (SDRF). The main priorities of SDRF include; peace building, institutional development, human rights, and gender equality (SDRF, 2017).

However, it is important to highlight that while UN acknowledges peacekeepers' role in PCRD activities with a caution for temporary engagement in such efforts before transitioning main functions to specialized UN agencies (Dwan & Wiharta, 2004), multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions have become increasingly integrated with broader stability, recovery, and reconstruction activities (Muggah & O'Donnell, 2015).

Challenges to reconstruction efforts however arise when intertwined with counter-terrorism operations potentially undermining long-term development goals (Institute for Security Studies, 2007). For instance, Williams (2018) and ATMIS (2023) argue that despite the adoption of the "cluster-based approach" by AMISOM/ATMIS in 2014 to facilitate civilian components in political processes, early recovery, and security sector reforms, concerns persist regarding the

alignment of military operations with social-development initiatives that are beneficial to ordinary Somali people.

In summary, the centrality of PCRCD as a constituent part of state building in Somalia underlies the prevention of conflict relapse and the mapping of development activities to ensure sustainable peace and development.

### **Transitional Development Assistance**

Transitional development assistance as defined by the OECD (2018), is a form of assistance provided to developing countries to address humanitarian needs and promote economic development. Development assistance during conflict differs from traditional development aid, which is disbursed in stable environments.

Generally, post-conflict assistance, as identified by Koma et al. (2002) serves two main purposes: providing humanitarian aid for populations affected by conflict and reconstruction to regenerate damaged public infrastructure. Development aid in stable environments on the other hand aims to supplement domestic savings, foster long-term economic development, and promote self-sustainability in low-income countries (Tarnoff & Norwel, 2004).

The effectiveness of development assistance in post-conflict states remains a subject of intense academic debate. While a study by Coellier & Hoefler (2004) suggests that post-conflict aid stimulates economic growth thereby reducing the risk of conflict recurrence, Berrebi & Thelene (2011) argue that aid may not translate into poverty reduction and enhanced provision of social services. Meanwhile, (Chandy & Linn, 2011) conclude that the effectiveness of aid hinges on its appropriate targeting, design, and delivery, tailored to local conditions. Nielsen et al. (2011) and Easterly (2001) go as far as to caution against potential destabilizing impacts of foreign aid in fragile states. They argue that while aid plugs foreign exchange and savings gaps, aid shocks or its severe sudden decrease may increase the probability of conflict recurrence, thereby exacerbating poverty and suffering.

In the case of Somalia, despite a significant increase in development assistance over the years, poverty remains pervasive with the country characterized as highly aid-dependent (FGS MOPIED, 2019; WB, 2019). Corruption has plagued effective utilization of aid in Somalia. To (Ibrahim, 2017) a significant portion of development aid was misappropriated hindering progress

in poverty alleviation and institutional strengthening.

In summary, while development assistance aims to accelerate socioeconomic development, its impact in Somalia falls short of expected outcomes. Corruption, political instability, and mismanagement have hindered the effective utilization of aid thus perpetuating poverty and undermining state-building efforts.

### **2.3 Governance & Democracy**

Governance encompasses the interaction between formal state structures and informal institutions to shape policies and power dynamics in order to enhance the functioning of democratic political systems (Zamora et al, 2022). For Francis (2013) governance is the state's ability to make and enforce rules and deliver services, irrespective of its democratic status. This perspective however challenges traditional notions of democracy and good governance by emphasizing the importance of state capacity over democratic ideals (Mann, 1984; Fukuyama et al., 2024). To Rhodes (1996) the over focus on governance rather than governments, suggests that effective governance can exist independently of specific governmental structures.

However, for Elise et al., (2019) good governance entails effective and legitimate institutions, political inclusion, low corruption levels, and equitable resource distribution, fostering stability and development. Accordingly, weak institutions, corruption and inequality are seen as exacerbating conflicts and impeding development, hence undermining state consolidation (Moor, 2000; Wilkins, 2011, Clause, 2013). Effective governance is therefore vital for stabilizing war-torn countries as it promotes social cohesion (Denis, 2007; Walter, 2014).

According to Abdirizak (2021) Somalia has faced governance challenges for the last three decades leading to rampant corruption and political instability. Complex clan dynamics and a fragile security environment have further complicated the governance trajectory (Afyare & Abdulahi, 2006). The emergence of militant political Islam coupled with clan-based conflict has perpetuated Somalia's status as a collapsed state (Peter, 2024; Mankaus, 2008). To Douglas et al. (2009) the country exemplifies a governance model characterized by limited order, where access to state resources is monopolized by clan based elites, and the rule of law is weak or absent.

In summary, while effective governance is essential for state building agenda, governance challenges, rooted in clan politics and Islamic militancy, continue to hinder attainment of sustainable peace in Somalia. The federal political system adopted in 2012 to enhance political participation and foster peace has not achieved its intended objective of creating a viable Somali state.

### **2.3.1 Federal Political Structure and Democratization**

The term Federalism generally refers to a system of government where power is shared between the central Government and regional or constituent governments (Celine, 2005). Although Daniel (1987) prefers to adapt a simpler definition of “self-rule” plus “shared rule” within a polity. Heywood (2009) & Montana (2017) stress the essence of federalism as sharing responsibility and power between two or more governments over the same people and territory.

In Africa, the federal system of government gained traction in the 1990s as a model for holding together highly divided communities (Dickovick 2014; Alemante 1994; Rudolph & Rudolph 2010; Stepan 1999). However, Taye (2016) is of the view that when implemented in an authoritarian and undemocratic context, federalism tends to exacerbate ethnic, racial or clan rivalries and disagreements leading to a total breakdown of national cohesion.

In the case of Somalia, the implementation of the federal system of governance is not a new phenomenon having been first discussed as a model of administration during the UN-Italian trusteeship over the country between 1950-1960 (Abdinor & Ali, 2021). Its final implementation as a model of governance however occurred in 2012 following the passing of the provisional constitution which established FMS and the FGS (Abdnor & Ali, *ibid*).

Despite being lauded as a solution for Somalia’s clan based divisions, the federal political system has not delivered its intended objective (Rosella, 2016; Kajoba & Ahamed, 2021; Mohamed, 2021). The system remains plagued by disagreements over power, economic and financial resources between FMS and FGS. This has prompted policy analysts to caution that federalism is perhaps unfit for Somalia (Kimenyi et.al, 2010; Mumin.2023). A study by Hashi and Barasa (2016) on the impact of intergovernmental relations between the FGS and FMS on the civic state building project in Somalia found that federal and state apparatuses lacked

specific clauses to delineate respective spheres of authority with conflicting constitutions and competing clan interests.

### **2.3.2 Consolidation of social political landscape**

In addition to the fragile federal political system, society-state relations in Somalia remain complex and overlapping mainly shaped by alternative authorities through the clan system, Militias and FMS (Matheiu, et.al 2022). Extended family networks embedded within the clan and sub clan setting constitute a defining principle of social cultural and political organization (Lidwin, 2011). According to Mohamad (2020) belonging to a specific clan lineage has substituted governance and the rule of law with the clan emerging as a social-political unit of organization (Florence, 2003).

For Alex (2007), the importance of clans lies in the fact that the clan unit is a locus for security and Military mobilization in modern Somalia. On the other hand, Abdi (2013) contends that clanism as a political ideology determines access to power, resources and influential positions in government. The adoption of the transitional federal arrangement on the basis of 4.5 clan power sharing model in 2012 entrenched the clan system granting four major clans “Samale clans” (Darod, Dir, Hawiye and Isak) political dominance over the minority clans. Clannism therefore represents a major obstacle inhibiting the consolidation of the Somalia social political landscape.

To Lumungu (2013) the intellect of clans in Somalia is so mighty and mysterious that it makes it difficult to achieve a united and durable Somali state. Afyare (2010) and Faud (2016) concur that the Somali clan system negates any attributes that transcend clan identities. The pursuit of modern governance which prioritizes state building over and above the clan system cannot therefore succeed. The clan has a strong dogma that advocates for political ascendancy there by negating nationalistic interests.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0. Introduction**

This chapter outlines the methodological framework that was employed in this study. It details the research design, study setting, target population, sampling procedure, and data collection methods. These choices were guided by the research objectives and the need to ensure the reliability and validity of the findings.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

This study adopted the pragmatic approach by relying on the mixed study methodology (Howe, 1988, p. 10). This approach allowed the researcher to select strategies, variables, and units of analysis that are most useful for answering the research topic (Morgan, 2014). To better grasp the study problem, numerical and text data was gathered simultaneously. Descriptive surveys and correlation study designs were employed, supporting both types of research. The correlation design was used to determine associations between variables (Malunda & Atwebembeirwe, 2021).

In order to integrate quantitative and qualitative findings, the researcher adopted a convergent design where both quantitative and qualitative data was collected simultaneously and analyzed to draw deeper insights on the study topic. According to (Creswell et.al 2003) utilizing this approach allows the researcher to conduct independent evaluation of each method and integrate findings.

#### **3.2. Target Population**

A population refers to “all people with related characteristics who qualify to be respondents in a given study” (Malunda & Atwebembeirwe, 2021, p.93). The target population for this study included; Somali refugees in Uganda, ATMIS Uganda contingent returning militants and police officers, as primary source of quantitative data. While Somali Embassy staff, former and current AMISOM/ATMIS commanders and Force and mission Headquarter staff provided qualitative data.

### 3.3 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

A sample size, according to Kothari (2017), is the number of items taken from the natural world to make up a sample, whereas a sampling procedure is the method used to select the sample size. Sampling in qualitative research is to choose relevant categories from a limited group of informants who represent various social worlds.

In this case, the Yamane sample size formula was applied to determine the sample size and the desired margin of error estimate within which the  $p$  lies at 95% level of significance (Chaokromthong, & Sintao. 2021).

In addition, the number of survey respondents was determined using data the of refugees from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) office in Kampala. As of January 2024, there were 41,606 refugees from Somalia living in Uganda (UNHCR. 2024). By August 2023, there were 10, 3523 asylum seekers living in Uganda from Somalia registered in Kampala (Relief Web. 2023). Thus, the researcher went to Nakivale Refugee Settlement that had approximately 385 Somali refugees from which the actual sample size was drawn using Yamane sample size determination. Therefore, from a population of 385 Somali refugees, the sample size was drawn and calculated as follows;

$$N$$

---

$$1+Ne^2$$

Where:  $n$  is the sample size.  $N$  is the population size.  $e$  is the desired margin of error (0.05).

$$n = \frac{385}{1 + 385(0.05)}$$

$$n = \frac{385}{1 + 0.9625}$$

$$n = \frac{385}{0.9625}$$

$$n=196$$

Thus, the sample size for the survey participants included 196 respondents from a population of 385 as shown in the table 3.1 below.

**Qualitative sample size determination:** According to Neuman (2014), there is no fixed rule for sample size in qualitative research, and it often depends on the specific characteristics of the study. Thus, a random assumption of the sample size needed for key informants was made as shown in table 2 below;

**Table 2: Showing Study Sample Size**

<b>Classification</b>	<b>Population (N)</b>	<b>Sample Size (S)</b>	<b>Sampling Procedure</b>
Somali Asylum Seekers	385	196	Simple Random Sampling
Police Officers	50	2	Purposive Sampling
Army officers	50	2	Purposive Sampling
Defectors	50	2	Purposive Sampling
Total	535	202	

### **3.4. Sampling Methods**

The sample techniques used in this mixed-methods study considered both representativeness and relevance (Cohen et al., 2018). Due to the discreet nature of the target population, two non-probabilistic sampling techniques were employed.

**Simple Random Sampling:** In this study, the Probabilistic Sampling method, specifically simple random sampling, was chosen as illustrated above. Neuman (2014) states that simple random sampling allows every member of a given population an equal opportunity to participate in the study. Using this method, a lottery technique was employed to select participants randomly (Malunda and Atwebembeirwe, 2021).

**Purposive sampling:** was employed to select key informants for the study. The respondents were chosen because the researcher considered that they may provide important information for this study (Chawla & Sondhi, 2018). Thus, police officers, army officials were selected to

inform the study because researcher believed that they possessed key information. In addition, persons who defected from Al-Shabaab were purposively selected to inform the study (See table 3.1 above for more information).

### **3.5. Data Collection Methods**

This project sought to collect data using both quantitative and qualitative methods, including questionnaire surveys, Key Informant Interviews, (KIIs), document reviews and focus group discussions.

#### **3.5.1. Questionnaire Survey Technique**

A questionnaire survey is a quantitative tool for gathering data from a large group of people. To Bougie and Sekaran (2020), a questionnaire consists of a series of questions meant to elicit controlled responses from respondents. The questionnaire method was chosen because of the wide range of individuals targeted in this study and the quantitative nature of the information sought.

This technique was preferred since it takes less time and protects the interviewees' privacy. The questionnaire included both open-ended and closed-ended questions, and it was used to elicit responses from the sampled respondents (Cohen et al., 2018). Since the author was not able to predict respondent reactions, open-ended questions were chosen. Closed ended questions on the other hand, are Likert scale questions that were utilized to answer fixed category questions that informed the descriptive analysis (Chawla & Sondhi, 2018).

The study targeted Somali refugees living in Nakivale refugee settlement camp in western Uganda, because of the delicate nature of the study topic, informants were guaranteed privacy and anonymity when sharing their ideas (Neuman, 2014).

Equally, the questionnaire survey method was considered suitable for study because in another study, Gordon and Collins (2013) found that people are scared to express their thoughts and experiences via open discussions. However, since the questionnaire method does not give room for probing, the study adopted Key informant interview method (KIIs)

### **3.5.2. Interview Method**

“Interviews are face-to-face interactions between the researcher and informants” (Malunda & Atwebembeirwe, 2021, p.114). Thus interviews were conducted with people who have important information about this study due to their crucial positions in AMISOM/ATMIS and Uganda’s security sector. They included; police officers, army officials as well as persons who defected from Al-Shabaab. However, this strategy can introduce bias, particularly if the interviewee wishes to impress the interviewer (Flick, 2014). Thus document review method was also chosen to back up information given by key informants and minimize bias.

### **3.5.3. Document Review Method**

This method was used to collect data from both online and offline sources (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). This method involved reviewing current documents such as reports, records, publications, and meeting minutes from the United Nations, Somali Parliament, and scholars. Primary data from questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups were used to supplement this method. As a result, before beginning the document review procedure, the researcher first selected the list of vital records that were reviewed.

### **3.5.4 Focus Group Discussions**

According (Velider Dzino,2018) a focus group discussion (FGD) is an engagement with a group of 6-12 people with similar characteristics and having pertinent knowledge on the topic of study or discussion. To Bloor et.al,2012) FGD is traced back to the 1960s, when it was first used as a tool for market research. A key attribute of FGD is the open interaction among selected participants under a moderator who guides the discussions (Hennink,2014). FGD is a cheaper method of generating views through open discussions to explore un anticipated opinions through participant interactions.

To gain a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics surrounding AMISOM/ATMIS role in the Somalia state-building process, focus group discussions were employed as a complementary data collection method. This qualitative approach facilitated in-depth exploration of participants' perspectives, experiences, and shared understanding of the study topic. By use of typical case sampling technique, a homogeneous groups of Somali refugees were selected for engagement in order to elicit nuanced data.

Focus group discussion provided a platform for participants to engage in dynamic discussions, building upon each other's insights and generating new perspectives. This interactive format allowed for the exploration of underlying assumptions, contradictions, and complexities that might be overlooked in individual interviews or surveys. Moreover, observing group dynamics offered valuable insights into social norms, power relations, and consensus-building processes within the respective communities.

### **3.5.5. Document Review Checklists**

As a qualitative technique, a document review checklist was used to collect secondary data from physical and online sources (Merriam and Tisdell, 2015). Journals, reports, and meeting minutes were among the papers obtained by the scholar. The researcher undertook physical investigations using documents and other materials connected to the sampled groups and the multi-dimensional missions.

### **3.6. Pilot Testing of Research Instruments**

According to Thomas (2017) pilot testing allows the researcher an opportunity to test the efficacy of his research tools. However, for Lowe (2019), a pilot study is comparable to a limited scale feasibility study intended to evaluate the adequacy of planned research methods and procedures. Generally, pilot studies assess the usefulness of the tools such as questionnaires and guides for interviews R, Tate et.al (2023).

For this study, questionnaires and interview guides were examined for validity and reliability by employing non-participants to the study. This was done with the supervisor's approval and the results are presented below: In this study, validity of the questionnaire was ensured during its design phase. An extensive review of the literature helped refine the questionnaire and feedback from the supervisor was incorporated to make necessary improvements. Similarly, to ensure the interview guide's validity, feedback was obtained from the supervisor, resulting in adjustments to both the questionnaire and the interview guide. Additionally, three peers were asked to review and rate the statements on the questionnaire using a five-point Likert scale, and the content validity index was calculated. For the interview guide, meticulous note-taking and recording procedures were implemented to maintain accuracy. Respondent validation was also employed, wherein key informants, who were peers, reviewed the transcribed data to ensure its accuracy.

The data was rated using the Content Validity Index (CVI), which was calculated using the formula:

$$\text{Average of CVI} = \frac{\text{Number of Items considered Valid}}{\text{Total Items in the Questionnaire}}$$

According to the recommended validity in Malunda & Atwebembeirwe (2021), the Content Validity Index for the questionnaire was calculated and presented in the table 3 below;

**Table 3: Validity Tests**

Variables	No of Items	CVI Review 1	CVI Review 2	CVI Review 3	Average CVI
Security Sector Reforms	6	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.77
Reconstruction and other Development Initiatives	6	0.8	1.0	0.9	0.90
Somali Federal System	4	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.90
Total	27	0.8333	0.85	0.85	0.8425

The findings obtained from the content validity index yielded a score of 0.8424. This suggested that the items utilized to assess the variables were considered valid, as outlined in Malunda & Atwebembeirwe (2021). They highlighted that a content validity index exceeding 0.7 was advisable to deem a tool valid for measuring its intended targets.

## Reliability

The researcher employed the test-retest method, administering the instruments to ten respondents. Subsequently, the responses were analyzed for reliability using Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) software. This facilitated the calculation of Cronbach's alpha, an indicator of reliability, which is associated with the variations observed in the actual results of the primary construct, as noted by Kothari (2017). A scale is deemed reliable if its Cronbach's alpha exceeds 0.7, and minimally acceptable if it surpasses 0.6. To assess the reliability of the research tools, the researcher employed the Spearman-Brown formula, where  $R = 2r / (1 + r)$ .

In this context, R=the estimated reliability of the entire test, while r= the association between two splits assumed to be closely parallel. The study yielded an overall reliability test score of 0.738, along with the reliability outcomes for other variables detailed in Table 4

**Table 4: Reliability Tests**

Variable	Number of items	Cronbach's alpha co-efficient
Security Sector Reforms	6	0.652
Reconstruction and other Development Initiatives	6	0.780
Somali Federal System	4	0.784
Composite Cronbach's alpha coefficient		0.738

### 3.7. Data Collection Procedure

Following the supervisor's approval of the study proposal and instruments, the researcher was authorized to collect data by graduate school and Prior to the collection of data, respondents were informed about the study's topic and objectives, and their permission to participate was dully obtained.

### **3.8. Data Analysis**

To test the study hypotheses, descriptive and inferential statistical analysis was used. The non-parametric test was used to conduct a descriptive analysis of the data by calculating its measures of dispersion and central tendency. To analyse the data descriptively, means and standard deviations were used. The Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient ( $r$ ) created by Karl Pearson was used in the analysis of metric data. Correlation analysis is recommended because it measures and explains the relationship between dependent and independent variables (Neuman, 2014)

The qualitative data from key informant interviews (KII), was categorized and structured first by identifying important themes via coding. The research's primary themes were used to conduct the analysis.

### **3.9. Ethical Considerations**

Ethics in research is concerned with the researcher's expected code of conduct in terms of approvals, constraints, and boundaries (Cohen et al., 2018).

Because this study involved humans, their rights were respected, and hence ethical concerns were followed throughout the investigation. Firstly, since some of the respondents were refugees and those who had defected from Al-Shabaab, permission to allow the researcher to gather data and information regarding the study was got from the Office of the Prime Minister before interviews were conducted.

During data collection, the researcher requested respondents' consent, and objectivity and confidentiality rules were followed. Those who wished not to respond to some questions were not forced to do so. Respondents' anonymity was protected during the KII sessions by not using their names or bio data during the discussion.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTEPRETATION OF FINDINGS

#### 4.0. Introduction

This chapter examines survey data to measure public perception on the role of ATMIS multi-dimensional components in fostering state building efforts in Somalia. The findings are presented in line with the objectives of the study which were centered on examining the influence of security sector reforms; reconstruction and development assistance initiatives; as well as the role of the federal political system in revitalizing the Somali state.

For the purpose of this study state building parameters include; Institutional growth, economic growth and development and political stability. Foremost, the chapter presents an analysis of respondent profiles and demographics. This is followed by a presentation of major findings on the efficacy of ATMIS multidimensional components in delivering Somalia state building agenda vis-avis-expected out puts.

#### 4.1. Response Rate and Respondent Demographics

A total of 196 questionnaires were distributed during the study. The researcher directly interacted with the respondents elaborating and clarifying requirements of some of the questionnaires well as focusing discussions during interviews and focused group discussions. Overall, (188) questionnaires were returned representing 95.92% response rate.

**Table 5: Response Rate**

Instruments Used	Population	Sample Size	Actual Number of Respondents	Response Rate
Questionnaires	Somali Refugees in Uganda, UN staff, AMISOM/ATMIS former and current commanders, combatants and staff from ATMIS Force and Mission Hqs in Somalia ,	196	188	95.92%.

**Source:** *Primary data from the field.*

The above response rate of 95.92%, which is relatively high indicates a good level of engagement from the respondents. According to Neuman (2014) a response rate of above 70% is generally considered superior and suggests that findings can be considered reliable and representative of the target population.

#### 4.2. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

**Table 6: Distribution of Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

Features	Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
<b>Sex of Respondents</b>	Male	94	50.0%
	Female	94	50.0%
<b>Age of Respondents</b>	21 – 30 years	22	11.7%
	31 – 40 years	97	51.6%
	41 – 50 years	66	35.1%
	50 years and above	3	1.6%
<b>Highest Level of Education</b>	Primary school	11	5.9%
	Secondary School	9	4.8%
	Diploma	19	10.1%
	Bachelor’s Degree	10	5.3%
	Post Graduate	2	1.1%
	Master’s Degree	2	1.1%
	Non	12	6.4%
	College Certificate	28	14.9%
	Others	95	50.5%

**Source:** *Primary data from the field.*

In order to universalize the study, respondents Gender , Age and Status were considered as key factors in identifying the intersectionality of responses for better understanding of cross cutting issues to the study.

## **Gender**

From the findings, the gender distribution is evenly split, with 94 male respondents (50.0%) and 94 female respondents (50.0%). This equal representation ensures that the findings reflect the perspectives of both genders equally, avoiding gender bias in the results.

## **Age Distribution**

In regards to age distribution, the majority of the respondents fall within the 31-40 years' age range (51.6%), indicating that a significant portion of the sample consists of middle-aged adults. This age group likely had mature perspective of the issues being studied, and their responses reflected a stable stage in life with established career and family responsibilities.

## **Level of Education**

The highest proportion of respondents falls under the "Others" category (50.5%), which when asked to explain, respondents mentioned studying English language course which is common among refugees who enter Uganda. Other courses including computer lessons, home economics (Baking, tailoring and embroidery). A notable percentage (14.9%) have a college certificate, indicating a substantial portion of the respondents have received vocational or technical training. Those with diplomas (10.1%), bachelor's degrees (5.3%), and higher levels of education (postgraduate and master's degrees, both at 1.1%) represent the formally educated segment. A small percentage have only primary (5.9%) or secondary (4.8%) education, which may reflect limited access to higher education among some respondents. The presence of respondents with no formal education (6.4%) suggests a low range of literacy and educational attainment levels within the population particularly among refugees.

### **4.3. Empirical Findings on the Effectiveness of AMISOM/ATMIS in Delivering Robust State Building Initiatives in Somalia**

The study aimed to assess the effectiveness of AMISOM/ATMIS in delivering robust state building initiatives in Somalia. During the study, a mixed-method approach was employed incorporating qualitative data to complement and enhance the interpretation of quantitative findings. Empirical results were presented using frequency descriptive statistics, correlation coefficient inferential statistics, and linear regression analysis.

The primary objectives of the study included the following. (i) To assess to the impact of AMISOM/ATMIS led security sector reforms on the long-term stability of Somalia. (ii) To examine the contribution of reconstruction and development initiatives in peace building and poverty alleviation in Somalia. (iii) To evaluate the role of the Somali federal system in ensuring political consolidation and good public sector governance practices.

The above three factors were rated on a five-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly agree), 2 (agree), 3 (uncertain), 4 (disagree), and 5 (strongly disagree). Frequencies were expressed as percentages. For interpretation, responses of strongly agree and agree were combined as agree, and responses of strongly disagree and disagree were combined as disagree.

A mean score of 1 or 2 indicated general agreement, a mean score of 4 or 5 indicated disagreement, and a mean score of 3 indicated uncertainty. A standard deviation (**SD**) near zero indicated little variation in responses, while a standard deviation far from zero indicated significant variation.

#### **4.3.1. Study findings on Security Sector Reforms**

The impact of Security sector reforms was measured on the questionnaire using six statements where Respondents were required to opine whether they strongly disagreed, disagreed were neutral, agreed or highly agreed. The descriptive the study findings are presented in the table below:

**Table 7: Showing Descriptive Findings on Security Sector Reforms**

<b>Questionnaire statement</b>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
Citizens have confidence in the existing oversight structures of the security sector (SS)	26	49	37	43	24	6.809	7.44
	15%	27%	21%	24%	13%	6.809	7.44
The current level of governance of the security sector is transparent and accountable.	15	44	39	42	29	7	7.71
	9%	26%	23%	25%	17%	7	7.71
The security sector is sufficiently investing in the continuous training of its personnel (SNSF)	25	52	29	35	27	7.23	7.66
	15%	31%	17%	21%	16%	7.23	7.66

	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
The current level of capacity building in the SNSF is adequate.	26	58	28	29	34	7.28	7.66
	15%	33%	16%	17%	19%	7.28	7.66
Security sector reforms are effectively addressing the current Security challenges and threats	10	49	35	39	35	6.904	7.77
	6%	29%	21%	23%	21%	6.904	7.77
The ongoing security sector reforms are necessary for ensuring long term national safety and stability	10	36	34	69	39	7.190	7.691
	5%	19%	18%	37%	21%	7.190	7.691

**Source:** *Primary data from the field.*

### **Confidence in oversight structures of the security sector (SS)**

Regarding citizen confidence in oversight structures over the security sector, the findings show that only 37% (24% agree and 13% strongly agree) of respondents have confidence in the existing oversight structures over the security sector, while a combined 42% (15% strongly disagree and 27% disagree) lack confidence. The high SD of (7.44) suggests significant variation in responses, indicating a lack of consensus among respondents.

The low rating for oversight function over the Security Sector is partly attributed to lack of local ownership and contested legitimacy of security institutions. Oversight and governance of SNSF remains a shared responsibility between FGS, ATMIS and a myriad of International actors some with greater leverage on the Host Nation troop generation, training and funding which hampers proper Command and Control of formed SNSF Units. The above outcome is consistent with the findings of (Bellon, 2012, Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2013 & Paris, 1997) which suggest that liberal peace building approaches that seek to impose western style institutions in conflict states are doomed to fail because proposed strategies are not only subtle but also colonial in form.

### **Transparency and accountability**

Analysis of the findings on transparency and accountability in security sector governance domain suggests that 42% (25% agree and 17% strongly agree) of respondents believe that governance of the security sector is transparent and accountable, while 35% (9% strongly disagree and 26% disagree) do not share this belief. The high mean and standard deviation of (7.71) is indicative of dissenting opinions with no overriding majority opinion.

### **Investment in continuous training of SNSF**

On investment in continuous training for the SNSF, findings indicate that only 37% (21% agree and 16% strongly agree) think that the security sector is investing sufficiently in continuous training for its personnel, while a larger proportion, 46% (15% strongly disagree and 31% disagree), believe otherwise. The high standard deviation (7.66) reflects varied perceptions among the respondents regarding continuous training of SNSF.

### **Adequacy of capacity building interventions**

In regards to adequacy of capacity building in the SNSF, only 36% (17% agree and 19% strongly agree) of respondents feel that the current level of capacity building for SNSF is adequate, whereas 48% (15% strongly disagree and 33% disagree) do not find it sufficient. This high standard deviation (7.66) indicates significant disagreement among respondents. Generally, the low rating for capacity building initiatives point towards a critical strategic gap in the revitalization of Somalia's security institutions. Moreover, security capacity is seen as being distributed and shared among multiple actors and stake holders including ATMIS, International

actors/Partner Forces, FMS, Al-Shabaab terror group and informal institutions such as Clan Militias, private security companies yet the FGS is still incapable of monopolizing the means of violence.

### **The necessity of SSR**

In regards to necessity of ongoing security sector reforms, a more positive response is seen here, with 58% (37% agree and 21% strongly agree) believing that ongoing security sector reforms are necessary for ensuring national safety and stability. Only 24% (5% strongly disagree and 19% disagree) disagree. This indicates a more unified agreement on the necessity of Security sector reforms despite a high standard deviation (7.691).

In summary, analysis of the findings on the effectiveness of security sector reforms revealed that 44% (23% agree and 21% strongly agree) believe security sector reforms are effectively addressing current security challenges and threats, while 35% (6% strongly disagree and 29% disagree) think otherwise. The high standard deviation (7.77) points to a lack of consensus on the effectiveness of SSR in delivering state building objectives. The high means and SD indicate significant variability in opinions, suggesting a lack of strong consensus on most issues under study. However, the strongest agreement is observed regarding the imperative of security sector reforms whereas confidence in oversight structures and investment in continuous training was lowly rated.

#### **4.3.1.1. Testing Hypothesis 1**

The study proceeded to statistically evaluate whether there is a positive relationship between ATMIS led security sector reforms and state building in Somalia. This evaluation was directed by the following hypothesis **(i) there is a positive relationship between ATMIS led security sector reforms and long-term stability of Somalia.**

The hypothesis was initially tested at a 95% confidence level (two-tailed) using Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient. This test assessed the degree and direction of ATMIS led security sector reforms and state building in Somalia. The results are detailed in Table 8.

**Table 8: Correlation Analysis for between ATMIS led security sector reforms and state building in Somalia.**

<b>Correlations</b>			
		SSR	Somalia State Building
SSR	Pearson Correlation	1	0.304**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	189	189
Somalia state Building	Pearson Correlation	0.304**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	189	189
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

**Source:** *Primary data from the field.*

According to Table 8 above, there is a moderate positive correlation (Pearson correlation coefficient = 0.304, significant at  $p < 0.01$ ) between Security Sector Reforms and State Building in Somalia. This indicates that as efforts and reforms in the security sector increase, there tends to be a corresponding increase in the state building process in Somalia. The correlation coefficient of 0.304 suggests a moderate strength of association.

Since the p-value is less than 0.01, the correlation is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. This means there is strong evidence to suggest that the observed correlation is not a random chance. Accordingly, the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between ATMIS led security sector reforms and long-term stability of Somalia is accepted.

#### 4.3.1.2. Regression Analysis for ATMIS led security sector reforms and state building in Somalia

Regression analysis was further used to establish the extent to which ATMIS led security sector reforms contribute to long-term stability of Somalia. The coefficient of determination (Adjusted R Square) was used and the results are presented as below

**Table 9: Regression Analysis for security sector reforms and state building in Somalia**

<b>Model Summary</b>				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.304a	0.0922	0.0864	0.9552
a. Predictors: (Constant), Federal				

The regression analysis in Table 9 above indicates that R is 0.304, which indicates a moderate positive correlation between security sector reforms and state building in Somalia. The R Square of 0.0922 shows about 9.22% of the variance in state building in Somalia can be explained by security sector reforms. The Adjusted R Square is 0.0864, thus after adjusting for the number of predictors, approximately 8.64% of the variance is explained.

The Std. Error of the Estimate is 0.9552, meaning that on average, the actual values of state building deviate from the predicted values by approximately 0.9552 units.

In summary, the model indicates that Security Sector Reforms metrics explain a substantial portion about 9.22% of the variability in state building. This moderate positive highlights the importance of security sector reform metrics in influencing state building, though other factors not included in the model may also contribute to state building. To assess the overall significance of the model, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was done and the results presented in the table 10 below;

**Table 10: Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) of ATMIS led security sector reforms and Somalia state building**

ANOVA <sup>b</sup>						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	16.732	1	16.732	18.371	.000 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	164.495	187	0.879		
	Total	181.227	188			
a. Predictors: (Constant), SSR						
b. Dependent Variable: State Building						

*Source: Primary data from the field*

According to Table 10 above, Regression Sum of Squares is 16.732. This means that the independent variable; security sector reforms explains a portion of the total variation in the dependent variable; Somalia state building. Specifically, it accounts for 16.732 units of the variation. The Residual Sum of Squares is 164.495. This means that the remaining 164.495 units of variation in state building in Somalia are not explained by the model, indicating that there are other factors influencing state building that are not included in this model.

Total Sum of Squares is 181.227, This means that the total variation in state building in Somalia is 181.227 units, which includes both the explained and unexplained variation. The F-value is 18.371. The high F-value indicates that the regression model explains a significant portion of the variation in the dependent variable, suggesting that the model is a good fit for the data. The Significance p-value is 0.000. The p-value indicates that the regression model is statistically significant at the 0.01 level, meaning that there is strong evidence to conclude that ATMIS led security sector reforms significantly affect state building in Somalia. The regression analysis shows that security sector reforms have a statistically significant impact on state building in Somalia. However, while it explains a portion of the variability in state building (16.732 out of 181.227 units), a substantial amount of variation remains unexplained (164.495 units) indicating other factors also play a significant role in determining state building trajectory in Somalia. The

high F-value and low p-value confirm the model's overall significance. Therefore, the hypothesis that ATMIS-led security sector reforms have a positive influence on the long term stability of Somalia is accepted.

### **Qualitative Findings:**

Similarly on the qualitative side, results from coded data reveal that majority key informants appreciated ATMIS role in supporting security sector reforms which has led to strategic shift from the phenomenon of war Lord-ism which characterized Somalia in the early 1990s to the current process of rebuilding a unified Somali Security Forces. One respondent MPM-EO noted that *“ATMIS engagement in offensive and law enforcement operations by its Military and police components working hand in hand with (SNSF) has not only been crucial in pushing back Al-Shabaab out of their strongholds in central and southern Somalia but has also created pockets of stability in some areas allowing the re-establishment and functioning of Federal institutions and holding of successive elections even though a lot more needs to be done to expand government influence across the Country.”*<sup>1</sup>

A former commander of ATMIS currently working at the Uganda Rapid deployment capability center (URDCC) concurred that *“In the last 15 years, AMISOM/ATMIS has registered significant milestones in support of Somalia National Army, police and National Intelligence Agency (NISA) among other institutions and that from 2012 to 2023, its military actions greatly reduced Al-Shabaab's influence in Lower and Middle Shabelle regions thereby making those areas safer for the people living there.”*<sup>2</sup>

From the above qualitative perspectives, a key finding is that the AMISOM/ATMIS mandate under resolution 2741 (2024) of UNSC which provides for the swift implementation of the STP by degrading Al-Shabaab and other terrorist groups, deployment of Mission security elements to secure population centers, the opening up of main supply routes to hitherto isolated areas for humanitarian assistance and development of capacity for Somali security institutions has greatly transformed Somalia's security landscape.

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<sup>1</sup> Interviewed on 12<sup>th</sup> April 2024 in Mogadishu-Somalia.

<sup>2</sup> Interviewed on 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2024 at URDCC Jinja.

However, despite the above positive outlook, majority respondents also acknowledged challenges such as resource constraints and unintended dependencies on international support as negatively impacting the capacity of ATMIS to deliver its mandate.

One informant CC-RC at the Rank of Lt Gen from one of the ATMIS troop contributing countries expressed skepticism that *“Whereas ATMIS military efforts have been effective, persistent resource constraints have limited the missions ability to sustain and expand counter terrorism operations beyond initial controlled areas due to lack of force enablers potentially leading to a protracted standoff between Al-Shabaab and AMISOM/SNAF. He also noted that “the planned draw down of ATMIS Troop levels by December 2024 and the transition of security responsibilities to host Nation Forces due to donor fatigue in funding the mission potentially gifts Al-Shabaab new ground thereby undermining Somali state building agenda.”*<sup>3</sup>

### **Capacity building**

Regarding capacity building of SNSF, a Ugandan Military Commander who has worked at the highest level of the Uganda contingent in AMISOM/ATMIS noted that *“whereas there is political will by ATMIS Troop contributing countries to fast track capacity building programs for SNSF through training, equipping and mentoring of both low and high echelon commanders, military effectiveness alone cannot enhance national safety. Moreover, in some cases incidences of Civilian casualties during ATMIS operations have hastened humanitarian concerns resulting into displacement of communities”*<sup>4</sup>..... *“As a result some communities view ATMIS as a proxy force representing western interests, others as infidels and looters scheming for Somali wealth and resources”*<sup>5</sup>. ...*finally, while there is a concerted effort to bolster the SNAF through training and equipping, it is evident that military capacity alone is not sufficient to ensure long-term security.*

Perhaps, the most significant obstacle to the implementation of the SSR process in Somalia was identified by a key informant at the ATMIS Mission Headquarters who observed that

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<sup>3</sup> Interviewed on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2024 at Military intelligence headquarters -Kampala.

<sup>4</sup> Interviewed on 27<sup>th</sup> April 2024 at Bombo UPDF land forces headquarter.

<sup>5</sup> Interviewed on 27<sup>th</sup> April 2024 at Bombo UPDF land forces headquarter.

*“any reference to SSR in the case of Somalia is ill informed because apart from initial efforts which led to the disarmament of war lords in the early 1990s, Somalia remains a highly militarized Country with communities maintaining a myriad armed militias”. ...” Secondly the current Threat Forces (Al-Shabaab) still enjoy strategic advantage and unless they are engaged or militarily defeated and disarmed through a clear DDR program, the discourse on SSR is meaningless.”<sup>6</sup>*

The above skepticism not only highlights the challenges faced by ATMIS in delivering the state building agenda but also calls for more practicable multi-dimensional approaches to build a firm foundation for lasting peace and stability. In addition, there is need for Confidence building and greater transparency in SSR/ SSG process to consolidate population support in line with the UN Somalia report (2020) which acknowledged the primacy of SSR and SSG as key peace and state building objectives for the long term stabilization of Somalia.

#### **4.3.2. Impact of Reconstruction and Development Assistance Initiatives on state Building process**

The impact of reconstruction and development Initiatives on state building in Somalia were measured on the questionnaire using six statements where Respondents were required to opine whether they strongly disagreed, disagreed were neutral, agreed or highly agreed. The descriptive study findings are presented in the table below.

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<sup>6</sup> Interviewed on 17<sup>th</sup> April 2024 at the AMISOM/ATMIS mission Headquarter-Somalia.

**Table 11: Findings Reconstruction and Development Initiatives**

	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
Access to social services and public utilities has contributed to a reduction in poverty levels within the community.	30	26	21	70	35	6.95	7.29
	<b>16%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>6.95</b>	<b>7.29</b>
Public services such as education and healthcare have significantly improved in our community with the arrival of AMISOM/ ATMIS	12	29	30	74	34	7.04	7.405
	<b>7%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>7.04</b>	<b>7.405</b>
The allocation of development funds has been transparent and accountable, fostering trust between the assisting organizations and local authorities	14	41	41	48	34	6.85	7.80
	<b>8%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>6.85</b>	<b>7.80</b>

The development assistance received has effectively addressed key social and economic challenges in our community.	16	32	42	59	32	7.14	7.68
	<b>9%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>7.14</b>	<b>7.68</b>
The level of trust between ATMIS and the local population in Somalia is conducive for sustainable peace and development.	9	28	27	71	44	6.71	7.35
	<b>5%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>6.71</b>	<b>7.35</b>
The reconstruction initiatives led by ATMIS have positively contributed to the overall peace-state building process in Somalia.	7	19	29	77	51	7	7.70
	<b>4%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7.70</b>

**Source:** *Primary data from the field.*

### **The relationship between access to social services, public utilities and poverty reduction**

The study findings on the impact of access to social services and public utilities on poverty levels, **30%** (16% of respondents strongly disagree, 14% disagree) disagreed. 12% were neutral, while **57%** (38% agree, and 19% strongly agree) agreed. The mean score of 6.95 suggests a

general agreement that access to social services and public utilities has contributed to poverty reduction within the community. The standard deviation of 7.29 indicates moderate variability in the responses.

### **The state of social services upon AMISOM/ATMIS deployment to the Mission Area**

Analysis of the study findings on the improvement of public services upon the deployment of AMISOM/ATMIS shows that 23 % (7% strongly disagree, 16% disagree) disagreed. 17% were neutral, while 60 % (41% agree, and 19% strongly agree) agreed. The mean score of 7.04 indicates a general agreement that public services, such as education and healthcare, have significantly improved in the community. The standard deviation of 7.405 suggests moderate variability in the responses.

### **Transparency in allocation and utilization of development assistance**

From the study findings on the transparency and accountability in the allocation of development funds, 41% (8% strongly disagree, 23% disagree) disagreed. 23% were neutral while 46 % (27% agreed, and 19% strongly agree) agreed. The mean score of 6.85 suggests a slight leaning towards agreement that the allocation has been transparent and accountable, fostering trust between assisting organizations and local authorities. However, a standard deviation of 7.80 indicates considerable variability in the responses.

### **Effectiveness of development assistance in addressing key social economic challenges**

Analysis of the study findings on the effectiveness of development assistance in addressing key social and economic challenges shows that 27% (9% strongly disagree, 18% disagree) disagreed, 23% were neutral while 51 % (33% agreed, and 18% strongly agree) agreed. The mean score of 7.14 indicates a general agreement that the development assistance received has effectively addressed these challenges. The standard deviation of 7.68 suggests moderate variability in the responses.

### **Assessment of the level of trust in AMISOM /ATMIS to provide a conducive enabling environment for social economic transformation**

From the study findings on the level of trust between ATMIS and the local population, **21%** (5% strongly disagree, 16% disagree) disagreed, **15%** were neutral, 65% (40% agreed, and 25% strongly agree) agreed. The mean score of 6.71 suggests a general agreement that the level of trust is conducive to sustainable peace and development. The standard deviation of 7.35 indicates moderate variability in the responses.

### **Impact of AMISOM/ATMIS led reconstruction efforts in Somalia peace and state building process.**

Analysis of the study findings on the contribution of ATMIS led reconstruction initiatives on state building process shows that **14%** (4% strongly disagree, 10% disagree) disagreed, **16%** were neutral, while **70%** (42% agreed, and 28% strongly agree) agreed. The mean score of 7 suggests a general consensus that reconstruction initiatives have a positive contribution to the overall peace-and state building process in Somalia. The standard deviation of 7.70 suggests moderate variability in the responses.

#### **4.3.1.3. Testing Hypothesis 2**

The study proceeded to statistically evaluate whether there is a positive relationship between reconstruction and development initiatives and state building initiatives in Somalia. This evaluation was directed by the following hypothesis (ii) there is a positive relationship between reconstruction and other development efforts undertaken to deepen peace and reduce poverty as a driver of conflict in Somalia. The hypothesis was initially tested at a 95% confidence level (two-tailed) using Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient. This test assessed the degree and direction of reconstruction and development assistance initiatives and state building in Somalia. The results are detailed in Table 12

**Table 12: Correlation Analysis for between reconstruction and development initiatives and the Somalia state building process.**

Correlation analysis presented in a table format with rows and columns:

Variables	Reconstruction and Development Initiatives	State Building
Reconstruction and Development Initiatives	Pearson Correlation	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	188
State Building	Pearson Correlation	0.261**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001
	N	188
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).		

**Source:** *Primary data from the field.*

From table 12 above, the correlation analysis shows a positive correlation (0.261) between Reconstruction and Development Initiatives and State Building, which is significant at the 0.01 level. This suggests that there is a moderate positive relationship between these two composite variables. As efforts in reconstruction and development assistance initiatives increase, there tends to be a corresponding positive impact on state building indicators. The strength of this relationship, while not very strong, is statistically significant, indicating that improvements in reconstruction and development efforts are associated with better state building outcomes. Thus, the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between reconstruction and other development efforts undertaken to deepen peace, reduce poverty and drivers of conflict in Somalia, was accepted.

## Regression analysis

Regression analysis was further used to establish the extent to which reconstruction and other development efforts have enhanced peace building and poverty reduction in Somalia for sustainable peace. The coefficient of determination (Adjusted R Square) was used and the results are presented below,

**Table 13: Regression Analysis of reconstruction and development initiatives on Somalia state building**

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	0.261	0.068	0.063	0.538

a. **Predictors:** (Constant), Reconstruction and Development Initiatives.

Table 13 above of regression analysis indicates the adjusted  $R^2$  value of 0.063. This means that approximately 6.3% of the variability in the state-building outcome can be explained by the predictor variable, which is Reconstruction and Development Initiatives. This suggests a relatively weak explanatory power of the model in relation to state-building.

The correlation coefficient (R) of 0.261 indicates a positive but modest linear relationship between Reconstruction and Development Initiatives and the state-building indicator. This suggests that as Re-construction and Development Assistance Initiatives increase, there tends to be a positive impact on state-building outcomes, although the strength of this relationship is not very strong.

The standard error of the estimate, which is 0.538 in this case, represents the average amount that the observed values deviate from the predicted values by the regression model. It serves as a measure of the accuracy of the predictions made by the model.

In summary, while there is a statistically significant relationship between Reconstruction and Development initiatives and state-building in Somalia, the model indicates that these initiatives

explain only a small portion (about 6.3%) of the variability in state-building outcomes. Other factors not included in the model may also play a significant role in shaping the state-building process in Somalia. Thus, there are other variables apart from re-construction and development assistance initiatives that could contribute to state building trajectory in Somalia. To assess the overall significance of the model, analysis of variance (ANOVA) was done and the results are presented in the table 14 below:

**Table 14: Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) of reconstruction and development and state building in Somalia**

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	3.688	1	3.688	12.743	0.001
Residual	50.109	187	0.269		
Total	53.797	188			

**Source:** *Primary Data from the field*

The regression model has a sum of squares (SS) of 3.688. The associated p-value (Sig.) is 0.001, which is less than the typical significance level of 0.05. This suggests that the regression model is statistically significant. These findings indicate that the regression model has a significant effect, but there is still substantial variability in the data that is not explained by the model. The conclusion is that there are other variables apart from Reconstruction and Development Initiatives that lead to state building in Somalia.

**Qualitative findings on the impact of PCRD initiatives on state building outcomes.**

This section reports on responses of the interviewees on the role of reconstruction and development programs in peace building and strengthening the of the Somali state. The study findings are premised on the fact that during and after conflict, states face enormous challenges without the most basic infrastructure and services. Resource scarcity and access to capital becomes difficult heightening the likelihood conflict relapse (Onyango, 2012).

The rebuilding of political, security, social and economic dimensions of societies emerging or involved in conflict is not only key to preventing conflict recurrence but also fostering long term development (Brahim,2007). For the purpose of summarizing key qualitative findings on PCRDR the following themes are used.

### **Relationship between reconstruction, development assistance initiatives and poverty reduction as a pathway for conflict resolution and state building.**

Qualitative findings on reconstruction and development assistance initiatives show mixed results in poverty reduction, despite noticeable improvements in infrastructure and governance institutions. According to key informant at the Somali Embassy in Kampala, *“Development efforts have brought visible improvements in infrastructure, but their impact on poverty reduction varies across regions, influenced by local economic dynamics and ongoing conflict cycles. While development initiatives have visibly enhanced infrastructure in cities like Mogadishu and Hargeisa, their impact on poverty is constrained by local economic conditions and ongoing conflicts in regions like Gedo and Lower Juba.”*<sup>7</sup>

Another key informant working with ATMIS Mission HQ. noted that *“whereas official figures for development aid disbursements in Somalia are conflicting, the Country remains highly aid dependent” ... “Having received about 2 Billion USD in official development Aid (ODA)2020 under the frame work of Somalia Reconstruction and Development facility (SDRF) there is still little to show on ground in terms of improvements in daily livelihoods of ordinary Somalis. rather than supporting and empowering the FGS and FMS with resources, the international community should have focused on programs aimed at emancipating the local population such as the youth. This will address the problem of corruption and abuse of Aid funds by those in Government. because of the over ridding nature of clan and sub clan interests, Somalis are generally very apprehensive towards the central authority and are highly skeptical about its ability to serve popular interests although this could change in future.”*<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Interviewed on 10<sup>th</sup> May 2024 at the Somali Embassy in Kampala.

<sup>8</sup> Interviewed on 13<sup>th</sup> April 2024 in Somalia

## **Overall impact of reconstruction and development aid on the Somali state building**

On the impact of reconstruction and development assistance programs, the head of AMISOM Mission headquarter observed that *“even though reconstruction efforts and aid has led to economic recovery, evaluating the impact of reconstruction efforts and development aid is difficult in a conflict environment where Al-Shabaab still enjoys freedom of movement in about 60% of the country. Secondly public institutions that are engaged in reconstruction and Aid management are only functional in Government controlled areas which is a major constraint to service delivery. Because of this, the legitimacy of FGS is negatively impacted particularly in areas under Al-Shabaab control where social services are provided by the insurgent group.”*<sup>9</sup>

### **4.3.3. Impacts of Federal Political System and State Building Process in Somalia**

Federal Political Structures and Democratization were measured on the questionnaire using four statements where Respondents were required to opine whether they strongly disagreed, disagreed were neutral, agreed or highly agreed. The descriptive the study findings are presented in the table below.

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<sup>9</sup> Interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> April 2024 in Mogadishu-Somalia

**Table 15: Findings on Federal Political Structures and Democratization**

Impact of federal Political System on the Somali state building process							
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Standard Deviation
The federal government actively support initiatives that foster National cohesion	32	29	26	66	29	5.90	6.57
	<b>18%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>5.90</b>	<b>6.57</b>
Government efforts to consolidate the social-cultural landscape have contributed to a sense of national identity.	18	38	29	72	26	5.47	6.14
	<b>10%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>5.47</b>	<b>6.14</b>
Citizens have confidence in the ability of the federal system evolve and improve democratization and other governance practices	17	43	32	56	32	6.04	6.42
	<b>9%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>6.04</b>	<b>6.42</b>
The Federal system has strengthened inter FMS relations for the good of the Country	16	44	35	55	35	5.66	6.32
	<b>9%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>5.66</b>	<b>6.32</b>

**Source:** Primary data from the field.

From the study findings on the federal government’s support for initiatives that foster national cohesion 34% (18% strongly disagree, 16% disagree) disagreed, 14% were neutral, while 52% (36% agreed, and 16% strongly agree) agreed. The mean score of 5.90 suggests moderate

agreement on the government's support for initiatives that promote national cohesion. The standard deviation of 6.57 indicates significant variability in the responses.

Analysis of the study findings on efforts to consolidate the social-cultural landscape and foster a sense of national identity shows that 31% (10% strongly disagree, 21% disagree) disagreed, 16% were neutral while 53% (39% agree, and 14% strongly agree) agreed. The mean score of 5.47 suggests a general agreement that these efforts have positively contributed to national identity. The standard deviation of 6.14 indicates considerable variability in the responses.

Regarding public confidence in the federal system to evolve and improve governance practices in the Country, 33% (9% strongly disagreed, 24% disagree) disagreed, 18% were neutral, while 49% (31% agreed, and 18% strongly agree) agreed. The mean score of 6.04 indicates a positive outlook on the Federal systems potential to evolve and improve the overall governance trajectory in the Country although the standard deviation of 6.42 suggests a significant variability in confidence levels among respondents.

From the study findings on the Somali federal system's effectiveness in promoting political unity among FMS, 33% ( 9% strongly disagree, 24% disagree) disagreed, 19% were neutral, while 49% (30% agreed, and 19% strongly agree) agreed. The mean score of 5.66 suggests a moderately split opinion regarding the effectiveness of the Federal system in promoting unity among FMS. While the standard deviation of 6.32 indicates considerable variability in the responses.

#### **4.3.1.3. Testing Hypothesis 3**

The study proceeded to statistically evaluate whether there is a positive relationship between the federal political structures, democratization and state building in Somalia. This evaluation was directed by the following hypothesis (iii) has the structure and nature of the Somali federal system has contributed to political consolidation and good public sector governance practices. The hypothesis was initially tested at a 95% confidence level (two-tailed) using Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient. This test assessed the degree and direction of federal political structures and democratization and state building in Somalia. The results are detailed in Table below:

**Table 16: Correlation Analysis between federal political structures and democratization and state building in Somalia**

	Federal Political Structures and Democratization	State Building
Federal Political Structures and Democratization	Pearson Correlation	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	188
State Building	Pearson Correlation	0.276**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000
	N	188
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).		

**Source:** *Primary data from the field.*

The finding of 0.276 the Pearson Correlation coefficient indicates a moderate positive correlation between federal political structures and democratization and state building. The correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (as indicated by the double asterisks and the p-value of 0.000). This means there is a statistically significant relationship between the two variables, although the strength of this relationship is moderate. However, the hypothesis that the structure and nature of the Somali federal system has contributed to political consolidation and good public sector governance practices is accepted.

Regression analysis was further used to establish the extent to which federal political structures and democratization have enhanced state building in Somalia. The coefficient of determination (Adjusted R Square) was used and the results are presented below:

**Table 17: Regression Analysis of federal political structures and democratization and state building in Somalia.**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	0.276	0.076	0.071	0.934

**Source:** *Primary data from the field.*

The regression analysis indicates that the Adjusted R Square value of 0.071 suggests that approximately 7.1% of the variability in state building outcomes can be explained by the predictor variable, which is federal political structures and democratization. This indicates that the model has a relatively low explanatory power regarding state building process in Somalia.

The correlation coefficient (R) of 0.276 indicates a moderate positive linear relationship between federal political structures and democratization and state building. This suggests that as federal political structures and democratization increase, there tends to be a positive impact on state building outcomes, although the strength of this relationship is weak. The standard error of the estimate, which is 0.934 in this case, represents the average amount that the observed values deviate from the predicted values by the regression model. It serves as a measure of the accuracy of the predictions made by the model.

To assess the overall significance of the model, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was done and the results presented in the table 18 below;

**Table 18: Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) of federal political structures, democratization and state building in Somalia.**

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	5.698	1	5.698	12.905	0.000
Residual	69.121	187	0.372		
Total	74.819	188			

**Source:** *Primary Data from the field*

The ANOVA results in table 5.5.3 above show that the regression model is statistically significant (p-value = 0.000). This means there is a statistically significant relationship between federal political structures and democratization and state building. The F-value of 12.905 indicates that the regression model explains a significant portion of the variability in the state building outcomes compared to what would be expected by chance alone. However, the model explains only a small portion of the total variability, as indicated by the low R-squared value (0.071). Other factors besides political structures and democratization likely play a significant role in influencing state building outcomes in Somalia.

### **Qualitative Findings**

Using an interpretive paradigm (Nikerson,2024) respondents with different backgrounds and key informants were asked to elucidate on the overall effectiveness of the federal system of government in Somalia as supported by ATMIS and its role in revitalizing nascent Somali state institutions. Majority respondents acknowledged while AMISOM/ATMIS has been at the fore front of fast tracking political efforts in the country including facilitating periodic parliamentary and Presidential elections, the structure of the federal system which operates at two levels of government (FGS and FMS) with disparate security and political orders is marked by serious implementation challenges.

Majority respondents opined that the federal political structure not only poses an inherent obstacle to building a strong central authority but also serves to reinforce regional clan based political entities. The strongest contention was that the system federalizes clans rather than Citizens and hence weakens Somalia's overall cohesiveness.

A Ugandan contingent AMISOM/ATMIS base commander observed that *“The Somali federal system operates like a federal parliamentary republic. It has two levels of government: the federal government and the federal member states (FMS). Each level has its own armed forces which undermines the ability of the FG to exercise power over FMS which creates political competition hence affecting service delivery to the suffering population.... There is no a clear way for the center and the periphery to work together and in harmony with each other.”*<sup>10</sup>

### **Federal system and the evolution of good public sector governance practices**

Perceptions regarding the contribution of the federal system on good public sector governance are mixed. On one hand, the system is seen as viable strategy for accommodating diverse Clan interests through regional governments while it also separates and exacerbates center-peripheral disagreements.

An Interviewee from FGS appreciated the role of the federal system by noting that *“Federalization empowers regional governments to handle problems more efficiently. By considering the specific circumstances of their communities, they can customize public services to better serve the people. This localization promotes greater participation, transparency, and accountability, which are key components of good governance which can be replicated at national state level.”* Another respondent from the ATMIS mission headquarter Mogadishu noted that *“competition between FMS is healthy for growth and development as it encourages FMS to adopt workable solutions hence raising the standard of public sector governance in the Country.”*<sup>11</sup> For instance, according to the UN, the Puntland Disaster Management Agency (PDMA), established under the federal system, played a key role in responding to floods during heavy rains. The agency organized evacuation efforts, distributed

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<sup>10</sup> Interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> April 2024 in Singo-Uganda

<sup>11</sup> Interviewed on 15<sup>th</sup> April 2024 in Mogadishu

emergency supplies, and set up temporary shelters for displaced residents. The ability to act independently and leverage local knowledge and resources significantly improved the effectiveness of the disaster response, demonstrating the benefits of the federal system in handling such crises (United Nations, 2020).

### **Challenges of the Federal structure and state building**

However, during focus group discussions a section of respondents stated that *“Federalism is externally imposed and cannot address Somalia’s state building agenda ....A big challenge is the unclear division of powers between the FGS and FMS which has caused conflicts thereby slowing down political progress”*<sup>12</sup>...They concluded that in order to overcome state failure and ensure long term stability, *“Somalia needs a democratic, strong unitary decentralized state that can restore security across the country, enhance inter-regional relations and improve the economy for the good of the Somali people.”*<sup>13</sup>

Other Secondary sources concur with the above finding. For instance, a study by (Afyare Elem, 2015) found strong support for decentralization among Somali Communities largely influenced by inter communal mistrust trust, legacy of apprehension to a strong centralized state, the need for effective social service delivery and democratic political participation as some of the push factors for a centrifugal authority. Meanwhile (Sheik Ali & Nor Isak, 2019), contend that the lack of adequate knowledge about the functioning of the federal system has created rather than resolved governance challenges amid the lack of a comprehensive frame work for power sharing, economic resource management and fiscal aspects of the national economy thereby creating a drawback on the process of rebuilding a viable Somali state.

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<sup>12</sup> Interviewed on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2024 in Nakivale Refugee settlement.

<sup>13</sup> Interviewed on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2024 in Nakivale Refugee settlement.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed discussion of the study findings, conclusions and recommendations for future research based on the study objectives. The overarching objective of the study was to assess the effectiveness of AMISOM/ATMIS components in rebuilding the Somali state to ensure long term stability.

#### 5.1. Discussions of the Findings

According to (R. Dunton,2019) discussions help to review and put findings in the context of the overall research. However, for (Hess, 2002) explaining the meaning of results and findings is at the core of discussion of findings to make the reader easily comprehend the meaning of the study in relation to other studies on the subject. In line with the above, this section provides discussions on the effectiveness of AMISOM/ATMIS multi-dimensional components in supporting the state building process in Somalia.

The discussion of findings is based on three specific study objectives which were (1) To assess the impact of AMISOM/ATMIS led security sector reforms in bolstering the capacity of the Somali state to ensure long-term peace and stability (2) To examine the impact of reconstruction and development assistance initiatives in reducing poverty as a driver of conflict and (3) To evaluate the prospects of the Somali federal system in ensuring political consolidation, National cohesion and evolution of good public sector governance practices.

Further, the findings are discussed in relation to three indicators of the Somali state building process i.e (1) development of robust institutions to ensure state resilience to conflict relapse (2) Economic growth and development (3) Long term political stability.

##### **5.1.1 The impact of AMISOM/ATMIS led security sector reforms in bolstering the Somali state to ensure long term peace and stability**

Regarding whether AMISOM/ATMIS-led security sector reforms have strengthened state building process. The study found that SSR interventions have a positive relationship to the state building process in Somalia, The Pearson correlation ( $r = 0.304$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ) indicated a moderate

positive relationship between security sector reforms and state building outcomes, with undertaken reforms accounting for 9.22% Variance on state building following Regression analysis ( $R^2 = 0.0922$ , Adjusted  $R^2 = 0.0864$ ) which is a moderate influence. On the other hand, the ANOVA ( $F = 18.371$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ) test confirmed statistical significance of security sector reforms on the state building however there was a substantial portion of the variability an indicator that other factors beyond SSRs have to be explored to fully achieve state building outcomes.

The above finding is relevant in as far as it accounts for the relative ATMIS gains in the security sector. For instance, (G. Jamal, n,d) avers that since 2007, AMISOM/ATMIS multi-dimensional components have contributed to the state building agenda by protecting Transitional federal institutions (TFIs) including parliament and the presidential office in Mogadishu. Meanwhile (IPI Report, 2024) notes that ATMIS capacity building programs including training and mentoring of Somalia National Security Forces have bridged security gaps allowing ATMIS/SNSF to conduct pacification operations thus providing the breathing space for FGS institutions to carry out their functions. Equally, a WB report (2020) acknowledges that SSR has yielded significant results with visible reforms in the public finance management domain coupled with thrift accountability leading to improvements in the Somalia defense sector spending.

On the qualitative side, the role AMISOM/ATMIS in enhancing the capacity of Somalia security forces and fostering growth of other institutions including the justice law and order sector was strongly highlighted signaling a convergence on the necessity of strengthening security institutions as part and partial of the state building process. Majority Key informants interviewed noted that through broader mandates including mentoring, training and fighting “shoulder to shoulder” with SNSF including Somali Army, Somalia National Police Force and National Intelligence Agency (NISA), AMISOM/ATMIS led counter terrorism operations have been crucial in reducing Al-Shabaab’s influence and attacks in populated areas thereby creating a safer environment for civil institutions to flourish.

Moreover, the United Nations (2024) report re-affirms that the FGS and ATMIS have achieved significant milestones, including completing a critical security road-map in line with the Somalia Transition Plan (STP), joining the East African Community (EAC) and lifting the arms embargo.

These developments underscore the role of security sector reforms in revitalizing the Somali state and ensuring that SNSF have the wherewithal to monopolize means of violence.

Finally, the finding that ATMIS components have contributed to state building outcomes aligns to the liberal peace building theory which according to (Lake, 2010) embodies the rebuilding of legal, rational and accountable institutions, monopolization of means of violence, the rule of law and democracy as a foundation for state rejuvenation in post conflict societies. Fearon & Laitin, (2003) caution that within the context of fragile states like Somalia, none inclusive institutions have potential to exacerbate conflict relapse hence obstructing state building outcomes.

On negative side, challenges such as resource constraints and unintended dependencies on international support which were acknowledged by majority respondents as potentially impacting command and control of the SNSF correspond with other studies by (Rwengoba, 2014, Cook et.al 2014 & Mohamud Mohamad) which underscore insufficient resources, training infrastructure and negative social political dynamics as hampering SNSF operational readiness. By 2024 reports indicated, that only 30% of SNSF were effectively trained (Muhamad, Ibid).

Social cultural and political nuances including the overbearing influence of clans and persistent competition between the FGS and FMS also tend to undermine efforts to build reliable state institutions including security forces. According to (Aju, 2024 & Sigatu, 2024) a complex social political landscape in Somalia has negatively impacted ATMIS Security efforts thereby undermining the mission's legitimacy. In some cases, local stake holders often withhold cooperation from ATMIS components on ground for fear of losing their influence or disrupting existing power dynamics (Abrehehold et.al, 2023).

In summary, in spite of the deficiencies affecting SSR and skepticism regarding the level of transparency in SSG and oversight functions over the security sector, the study found that that SSRs have a significant positive statistical relationship to the state building process in Somalia. On the other hand, the persistence of Al-Shabaab terror threats in South and Central Somalia and chronic incapacity of Somalia National Armed Forces (SNSF) to effectively hold ground and counter such threats, reinforces the finding that (ATMIS) led SSR process still faces lingering

challenges and unless a comprehensive DDR program is undertaken, the state building enterprise is likely to remain in jeopardy.

### **5.1.2. Reconstruction and development assistance initiatives as a pathway for poverty reduction, development and state consolidation.**

Regarding objective (2) which was to assess the impact of reconstruction and development initiatives in relation the state building outcomes, the study found that reconstruction and development assistance initiatives have a positive statistically significant contribution on state building agenda. The Pearson correlation ( $r = 0.261$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) and regression ( $R^2 = 0.063$ ) revealed a moderate positive relationship between Reconstruction and Development Initiatives and state-building outcomes, albeit explaining a small percentage of the variability. Meanwhile, ANOVA results ( $F = 12.743$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ) test confirmed statistical significance although it underscored the limited explanatory power of these initiatives. The investigation thus concluded that while reconstruction efforts and development assistance shows promise in enhancing peace and development as a pathway to state building, other factors beyond Post-Conflict Reconstruction are crucial for achieving sustainable state-building outcomes.

The above finding corresponds to Developmental peace mission theory (Guel& Liebenberg,Ibid) which calls for simultaneous actions and integration of development programs with other interventions to bolster state building outcomes. According to ACCORD (2006) military security alone cannot guarantee long-term peace and stability in conflict states unless combined with other peace building activities. Similarly, Guel et.al (2006) argues that peace keeping needs to be quickly linked to peace building to avoid sliding into a “reconstruction gap” which occurs as a result of the disjuncture between the end of conflict and the commencement of development and reconstruction efforts.

A review of development assistance-aid flows into Somalia between 2017-2018 indicates that the Country was recipient to USD 2 Billion in official development assistance marking a 57% increase in aid flow compared to previous five years (FGS Ministry of finance planning and economic development, 2019). However, whereas the main purpose of aid disbursements is to restore collapsed institutions such as schools, hospitals, roads and government infrastructure (Hamid,2025) and whereas there is remarkable improvement in the provision of social

services in some areas (SNDP,2020-2024). Generally, economic growth trends have not uplifted living standards of ordinary Somali people. Multi-dimensional poverty remains highly prevalent among rural and nomadic communities with 75% and 81.5% of either category severely affected while the intensity of deprivation of all persons stands at 54.3 % (Somalia MPI, 2024).

The above data is consistent with the findings of the qualitative study which revealed mixed opinions regarding the efficacy of PCRD initiatives in improving livelihoods and reducing poverty as a driver of conflict. Majority of Key Informants noted that while reconstruction and development projects have led to visible improvements in infrastructure and social services. Their impact on poverty reduction varies across different regions. Conflict activities generally continue to impact the development trajectory with infrastructure improvements and social services being pronounced in urban areas like Mogadishu and Hargeisa, while regions such as South Lower Shebelle, Gedo and Lower Juba have experienced limited impact.

In summary, the study found a statistically significant positive relationship between PCRD initiatives on one hand and state building outcomes although it underscored the limited explanatory power of these initiatives in rebuilding the Somali state. Alongside monetary poverty, Somali people remain vulnerable to other forms of deprivation resulting from (1) lack of physical safety due to insecurity and (2) economic exclusion; of Displaced communities, youth and women etc.(SNDP,2024) implying economic and development interventions have not necessarily transformed the situation.

### **5.1.3. The prospects of the Somali federal system in ensuring political consolidation, democratization and good public sector governance practices**

In line with objective (3), the study examined the impact of federal political structures on democratization, evolution of good public sector governance practices. Accordingly, the Pearson correlation ( $r = 0.276$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ) indicated a moderate positive relationship between federal political structures and state-building, statistically significant at the 0.01 level. Meanwhile Regression analysis ( $R^2 = 0.076$ , Adjusted  $R^2 = 0.071$ ) revealed that federal political structures explain approximately 7.1% of the variance in state-building outcomes, indicating relatively very

low explanatory power. Thus the hypothesis that the federal political structure has undermined the consolidation of the Somali state was accepted.

Similarly, qualitative investigations revealed split opinions on the role federal structure in fostering political consolidation. On one hand, federalism is seen as a viable strategy to accommodate disparate Somali clan political interests and as a system for bringing services closer to the Population. Confidence in the system's ability to improve and evolve good governance practices and localized decision-making was generally positive. Majority respondents highlighted examples of unfolding good governance practices brought about by the federal system such as; disaster management and response, the provision of public services such as health care and education services. The above finding aligns with other studies by (Dahir & Sheik ,2021, Abudalla & Abubakar ,2021) which contend that the federal system in Somalia is cushion for clan interests and helps unite the country by sharing of power between the center and the peripheral structures.

However, during focus group discussions and engagement with key informant interviewees, there were strong voices against the federal system as a viable political strategy for the Somali state building agenda. They highlighted persistent political disagreements between the center and peripheral units (FMS) and emergency of clan based territorial units as affecting political progress of the Country.

Similar views find home in the works of critics of Liberal state building theory. For instance, (Aliyev,2024, Malito,2011 & Marangio, 2012) contend that externally designed and imposed governance frame works in conflict or crisis states are deemed to fail because they lack local context and cannot create sustainable peace. Meanwhile another study by Hashi & Barasa (2023) affirms that despite the existence of a federal structure, tensions and conflicts characterize FGS /FMS relations. Moreover, the federal and state apparatuses lack appropriate provisions in the constitution to harmonize their working relationship. Accordingly, (Bishar, 2019; Hussein, 2023; Ali, 2023) suggest that since the federal system has failed, there is need for a broader political framework which fosters political inclusiveness and a comprehensive review of the constitution to clarify the exercise of authority between the FGS and FMS.

## 5.2. Conclusion

For the past three decades, the international community and the African union (AU) have responded to the problem of state failure in Somalia through various approaches; including military interventions, diplomacy, humanitarian assistance and state rebuilding programs (Bradubury,2010). However, despite the deployment of AMISOM/ATMIS in 2007 the social political and security landscape in the Country remains precarious. This study therefore sought to investigate the effectiveness of AMISOM/ATMIS multi-dimensional peace keeping model in delivering the Somali state building agenda.

The study was conducted through a mixed research methodology and relied on two theoretical frameworks; the liberal peace building theory (E. Newman,2009, Gamboa vesga, et.al 2025) and the Developmental peace mission theory (Laurens peek, 2016, John Glendhill, 2021, weting Meng, 2023).

Based on three research questions i.e. (1) the impact of security sector reforms on the long term stability of Somalia; (2) the role of reconstruction and development assistance initiatives in peace building and reduction of poverty as a driver of conflict and (3) the prospect of the Somalia federal political system in ensuring political consolidation, democratization and evolution of good public sector governance practices, the study proceeded to evaluate the efficacy of ATMIS components in delivering three state building indicators; (1) institutional growth and capacity (2) economic recovery, growth and development (3) political stability.

Accordingly, the study found a statistically significant positive relationship between SSRs, PCRDR initiatives and Federal political structures on the state building process in Somalia albeit with a limited explanatory power suggesting that the above elements alone cannot be relied on alone as baseline factors for fostering the complete revival and consolidation of the Somali state.

The study thus concluded that in line with the developmental peace mission theory which emphasizes simultaneous interventions and actions (Guel et.al, *ibid*) Other factors such as negotiated settlement between the FGS and Al-Shabaab terror group, adoption of transitional justice mechanisms including DDR programs, poverty alleviation interventions, development of

public-private sector partnerships and political reforms have to be considered as part of the broader ATMIS/AUSSOM mandate.

The study also noted that sustainable state building outcomes including; institutional growth, economic recovery, growth and development and long term political stability not only hinge on addressing the challenge of persistent insecurity perpetuated by Al-Shabaab and other armed groups but also attending simultaneously to all other social, political and economic ills affecting the Somali society. This is particularly significant because the success of multidimensional peace keeping model is dependent on the mission's capacity to address the full range of root causes as well as prevailing unique social, political, economic and security circumstances within conflict states (Munroe, n.d).

Therefore, since goal of MDPKM is the re-vitalization of collapsed institutions and addressing all elements of conflict and state failure Herman (2009). By performing a multiplicity and complexity of functions other than the traditional observation function seen in old generation peace keeping (Goldieng,1993 Diel 2008 & Durch,2006) multi-dimensional missions such as ATMIS/AUSSOM are well suited to address longstanding conflicts due to their ability to leverage hybridity and integration (Aboagye,2007) in order to achieve long term peace and stability. However, specific mandate review and strategy reformulation is key to making interventions more responsive.

### **5.3. Recommendations:**

According to (Nair, 2024) recommendations ought to be action oriented and provide strategic direction on solving the research problem in cognition of the research findings the purpose of which is transfer of researched knowledge to practitioners, policy makers and other stake holders (Hassan, 2002).

In light of the research findings, the following specific recommendations are provided.

### **Enhancing Somalia national security capacity**

There should be swift prioritization of Capacity Building programs: ATMIS, the international community (EU, AU) and regional member states need to fast-track support for a Somali owned capacity building efforts, to include investment in the continuous training and mentoring of Somali National Security Forces (SNSF) in crucial areas including among others; marine operations, counter terrorism, law enforcement and intelligence gathering coupled with military and police infrastructure developments to improve the overall functioning and welfare of the security Forces. The other area of improvement entails evolving an SNSF military doctrine which streamlines and ensures interoperability of Military forces under the FGS and FMS to foster unity of command and effort. The lifting of the arms embargo provides an opportunity for the FGS, ATMIS and other international Partners to strengthen the Somali national security architecture while on the other hand ensuring border controls to limit the inflow of illegal arms.

### **Review and strengthen security sector governance and oversight mechanisms:**

In relation to above, ATMIS/AUSSOM and FGS ought to conduct a comprehensive review of security sector oversight mechanism to ensure transparency, accountability and efficiency. This could involve establishing independent oversight bodies, empowering civil society and the legislative arm of government to monitor security sector activities. Lawmakers should have access to information, power to conduct inquiries and the authority to hold security officials accountable including **informal armed groups** through regular oversight hearings and the establishment of specialized security sector committees so as to enhance legislative oversight. In addition, a comprehensive DDR program is essential and needs to be considered as part and partial of the ATMIS/AUSSOM Multi-dimensional military-security strategy.

### **Political and legal reforms**

There is need for ATMIS and the international community to facilitate the FGS to build consensus on key political reforms including the requirement to delineate powers and responsibilities of FG and regional states to prevent overlapping functions and conflicts. A clear delineation of powers and responsibilities between federal and state levels is paramount for effective governance to prevent jurisdictional overlap, conflicts and ensure efficient service

delivery. Such a framework can foster intergovernmental cooperation, prevent resource duplication, and enhance accountability. In addition, there is need to build consensus on political legal reforms which allow for transitional justice and broader political participation of all political forces.

### **Aligning PCRD initiatives to local needs**

There is need to align reconstruction and development assistance initiatives to local needs and priorities in line with the AU PCRD policy (2006) which calls for enhanced coordination among all stake holders and an integrated approach across all dimensions including peace building projects. This modal foster innovation, adaptability, and ownership of development processes. Moreover, it contributes to building capacity of sub-nation governments and the community thereby stimulating growth and development which benefits a broad segment of the population.

### **Expansion of multi-dimensional ATMIS mandate and closing of funding gaps**

In addition to broadening the mandates of ATMIS beyond the military line of effort, the international community needs to provide tailored assistance aligned to enabling the Mission to accomplish Somalia national development priorities and capacity building programs. This can be done by avoiding a one-size-fits-all approach with interventions being supported to contribute to long-term stability and sustainable development. State building is broad undertaking involving multiple aspects of interventions and synergies between different stake holders.

### **Sustained political support is indispensable for Somalia's state-building trajectory**

Regional, continental and international partners need to ensure support for the FGS in the mobilization and upscaling of resources for stabilization and state building priorities as well as supporting FGS to implement critical policies which enhance the Somali state legitimacy.

#### **5.4 Areas for further Research**

In view of the findings of the study and the degree of variability of responses regarding the contribution of security sector reforms, PCRDR initiatives and the Federal political structure on the Somalia state building process, further research could focus on the following areas;

- (1) Exploration of the socio-political, economic, and ideological factors underpinning Al-Shabaab's resilience in Somalia.
- (2) The role of transitional justice mechanisms and state building in Somalia.
- (3) Examination of the historical, political, and socio-economic factors that have contributed to Somalia's protracted state failure.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Questionnaire

#### Introduction

The purpose of this Questionnaire/ Interview Guide is to collect information on Multidimensional Peace Keeping Missions and State Building in Conflict States: The Case of the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS). The study is carried out for only academic purposes and your responses to questions was treated with full anonymity. There are no direct benefits like money or incentives given because you participated in this study. It is expected that the findings from this study will make a significant contribution towards enhancing performance of multidimensional peace keeping missions in conflict states.

Your participation in the study is of high value and confidentiality in regard to your response is guaranteed. Your participation is voluntary, and you can withdraw from the survey after having agreed to participate. You are free to refuse to answer any question that you do not feel comfortable with.

Do you agree to participate in the study? Yes..... No.....

#### SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION Personal Information for Respondents

Please tick the most appropriate information about yourself

##### Q1: Gender

Male	Female
1	2

##### Q2: Designation

AMISOM/ATMIS Force HQ command echelons	Troop contributing contingent commands	United Nations Mission support elements	AU representative offices in the mission	Others Please Name
1	2	3	4	5

**Q3:** Your highest level of education

College Certificate	Diploma	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Others
1	2	3	4	5

**Q3:** How long have you been involved in AMISOM/ATMIS

Below 5 years	5-10year	Over10years
1	2	3

### **SECTION B: SECURITY SECTOR REFORMS**

This section contains items measuring Security sector reforms Kindly rate the following statements using the five-point Likert scale of; 1- Strongly disagree; 2-Disagree; 3- Neutral; 4- Agree;5- Strongly agree

QN	Parameters Measuring Security Sector Reforms	Scale				
		5	4	3	2	1
	<b>General Security Sector Reforms</b>					
QB1	The on going security sector reforms are necessary for ensuring national safety and stability					
QB2	The security sector reforms are effectively addressing the current challenges and threats					
	<b>Capacity Building (Police, Military, Corrections)</b>					
QB3	The current level of capacity building in the police force is adequate.					
QB4	The security sector is sufficiently investing in the continuous training of its personnel					
	<b>Security Sector Governance and Oversight</b>					
QB5	The current level of governance in the security sector is transparent and accountable.					
QB6	Citizens have confidence in the existing oversight structures of the security sector.					

## SECTION C: RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

	Parameters measuring Reconstruction and Development Initiatives	Scale				
		5	4	3	2	1
<b>Reconstruction and Development Initiatives</b>						
QC1	The reconstruction initiatives led by ATMIS have positively contributed to the overall peace-building process in Somalia.					
QC2	The level of trust between ATMIS and the local population in Somalia is conducive to sustainable peace and development.					
<b>Development Assistance</b>						
QC3	The development assistance received has effectively addressed key social and economic challenges in our community.					
QC4	The allocation of development funds has been transparent and accountable, fostering trust between the assisting organizations and local authorities					
<b>Social Services and Public Utilities</b>						
QC5	Public services such as education and healthcare have significantly improved in our community with the arrival of AMISOM/ ATMIS					
QC6	Access to social services and public utilities has contributed to a reduction in poverty levels within our community.					

## SECTION D: FEDERAL POLITICAL STRUCTURES & DEMOCRATIZATION

	Parameters Measuring Federal Political Structures and Democratization	Scale				
		5	4	3	2	1
<b>Federal Political Structures &amp; Democratization</b>						
QD1	The Somali federal system has effectively promoted political consolidation and unity among diverse regions within the country					
QD2	Citizens feel confident in the ability of the federal system to continue evolving and improving governance practices in the future.					

	<b>Consolidation of the social -cultural land-scape</b>					
QD10	Efforts to consolidate the social-cultural landscape in our region have positively contributed to a sense of national identity.					
QD13	The federal government actively supports initiatives that preserve and promote cultural heritage within our society.					

## **Appendix 2: Key Interview Guide**

### SECTION A: Demographic information

1. Your role in the organisation
2. How long have you been involved in ATMIS/AMISOM?

In your opinion, how has ATMIS contributed to the long-term stability of Somalia through its security sector reforms?

What specific changes or improvements have you observed in the security landscape as a result of ATMIS-led initiatives?

How do you perceive the impact of ATMIS-led security sector reforms on the relationships between different security agencies in Somalia?

Are there any challenges or unintended consequences associated with ATMIS-led security sector reforms that you have observed?

From your perspective, how has the local population responded to the security sector reforms led by ATMIS?

Can you share insights on the sustainability of the changes brought about by ATMIS in the security sector?

### **Objective 2: Reconstruction and Development Efforts**

What types of reconstruction and development initiatives have been undertaken in Somalia in recent years?

From your experience, to what extent have these initiatives contributed to peace-building efforts in Somalia?

How have development efforts impacted poverty reduction within the targeted areas?

Can you highlight specific success stories or positive outcomes resulting from reconstruction and development projects?

In your view, are there any challenges or limitations associated with the implementation of reconstruction and development initiatives in Somalia?

To what extent do you believe the local communities have been involved in decision-making processes related to reconstruction and development projects?

How has the international community's support influenced the success of reconstruction and development efforts in Somalia?

**Objective Three: Somali Federal System and Public Sector Governance:**

How would you describe the functioning of the Somali federal system in terms of political consolidation?

From your perspective, how has the federal system contributed to the evolution of good public sector governance practices in Somalia?

Are there specific policies or mechanisms within the federal system that have positively influenced public sector governance?

What challenges, if any, have been encountered in the process of political consolidation under the federal system?

How do you assess the transparency and accountability of public sector institutions within the federal structure?

Can you provide examples of successful governance practices that have emerged as a result of the federal system?

In your opinion, what role has the federal government played in ensuring the effectiveness and efficiency of public sector services?

### Appendix 3: Work Plan and Budget

Task/Activity	March	April	May	June	July	Aug
<b>1. Preparing of Research Proposal</b>						
Editing of research proposal and submission for approval						
Getting Formal letter/ Approval from university to collect data						
Ensure Validity of tools with supervisor						
<b>2. Preparation for the Evaluation</b>						
Getting ethical approval and research approval form office of higher education Kampala						
seek permission to collect data from AU, UPDF, etc						
Train Research Assistants						
Pilot Testing of tools to ensure Reliability and validity						
<b>3. Conducting Data Collection</b>						
Administer the questionnaire to selected respondents						
Conduct KIIs						
Qualitative Data management, cleaning and entering into SPSS						

Qualitative data cleaning, coding and analysis						
<b>4.Report Preparation and Submission</b>						
Draft report preparation and submission						
Final report preparation and submission						

#### Appendix 4: Budget

<b>Item</b>	<b>Total price (UGX)</b>
Stationery and secretarial services	1,500,000
Travel to seek appointments etc.	5,000,000
Transport refund for KII respondents	1,000,000
Training of Research Assistants	1,000,000
Remuneration for Research Assistant	2,000,000
Dissemination of research	2,000,000
Other (miscellaneous)	1,000,000
<b>Total costs</b>	<b>11,500,000</b>

## Appendix 5: Introductory letter

**MAKERERE**

P.O. Box 7062, Kampala, Uganda  
Cables: MAKUNIKA



**UNIVERSITY**

Tel: 256-41-531499

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

Your Ref:

Our Ref:

12<sup>th</sup> April 2024

To Whom It May Concern

Dear Sir/Madam,

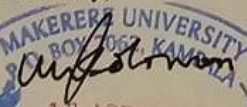
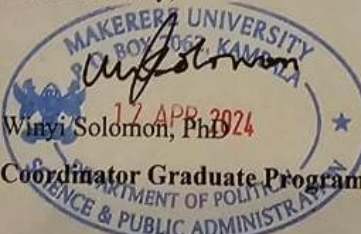
**Re: DATA COLLECTION**

This is to introduce Wairindi Ronald Mugisha (2022/HD03/1278U), a second year graduate student enrolled in the Master of Arts in International Relations and Diplomatic Studies of Makerere University.


Mr. Wairind has completed the process of developing his research proposal. His research topic is **Multidimensional Peace Keeping Missions and State Building in Conflict States: The Case of the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia(ATMIS)**.


The letter authorizes him to collect data for his dissertation. Any assistance rendered to him will be highly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

  
Winyi Solomon, PhD  
Coordinator Graduate Programs  


## Appendix 6: Permission to access Nakivale Refugee Settlement

  
THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

  
Uganda  
Vision 2040

**OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER**  
MBARARA REFUGEE DESK, PLOT 7 STANLEY ROAD, BOOMA HILL. P.O BOX 468, MBARARA - UGANDA  
TELEPHONES: General Line 0417 770500, 0485 21241, Web: www.opm.go.ug, E-mail: ps@opm.go.ug

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In any correspondence on this subject, please quote No. OPM/MBR/ED 3

April 26, 2024

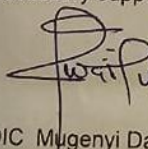
Mr Ronald Mugisha Wairindi,  
Makerere University,  
P.O Box 7062,  
**Kampala**


**RE: PERMISSION TO COLLECT DATA FROM NAKIVALE REFUGEE SETTLEMENT**

Reference is made to your letter dated April 26<sup>th</sup> 2024, in regard to the above subject matter.

This is to authorize you to collect data on research topic "*Multidimensional peace keeping missions and state building in conflict states*" in Nakivale Refugee Settlement for a period of two week from 29<sup>th</sup> April to 13<sup>th</sup> May 2024.

You are requested to observe the rules and regulations governing the settlement. Office of the Prime Minister authorities in the settlement are hereby requested to accord you the necessary support.

  
PP OIC Mugenyi David



**For: REFUGEE DESK OFFICER / MBARARA**

**Copy: The Settlement Commandant – Nakivale R/S**

" File

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Vision: A Public Sector that is responsive and accountable in steering Uganda towards rapid economic growth and development.