

**THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN COUNTERTERRORISM MEASURES IN
THE HORN OF AFRICA REGION: A CASE OF SOMALIA DEFENSE FORCES.**


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UNIVERSITY.**

APRIL 2021

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis and the research it describes are my original work and that they have not been presented in any other university for examination.


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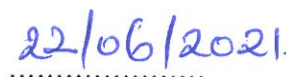

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This research was conducted under our supervision and is submitted with our approval as the appointed university supervisors.


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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late father Mohamed Hussein, my dear mother Khadra Ismael and my loving wife Najma Hassan Ahmed who have provided me with a lot of encouragement, love and moral support throughout my studies; I could not have completed this work without them

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ABSTRACT

The rise in terror attacks in many regions across the globe has caused national defense forces to rethink their tactics and strategies in the fight against terrorism. Somalia has been listed as a terror prone state because of among other factors the presence of the Al Shabaab terror group and the presence of a minimally functional and well established government system. This study sought to examine the role of the military in counterterrorism measures in Somalia. The specific objectives anchoring the study were: to determine the extent of training of the military to carry out counterterrorism efforts in Somalia, to examine the utility of the military in counterterrorism efforts in Somalia and to explore the domestic contextual problems arising from the military's involvement in counterterrorism in Somalia. The study was guided by the Clausewitz's war theory and the counterinsurgency theory developed by David Galula. The study targeted military officers from Somalia's Defense Forces, cutting across the different ranks and adult residents from Mogadishu's Hodan district. The total target population was 135348, comprising of 21,000 military officers and 114,348 civilians. From this target population, a sample size of 204. The sample was obtained using purposive and stratified simple random sampling. A descriptive research design, that incorporated qualitative and quantitative approaches was used to guide the study. Statistical data obtained from the questionnaires administered on the respondents was analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. The content of the qualitative data was organized into themes and analyzed to answer the study questions. The data collection exercise registered a response rate of 95%. In terms of extent of training, the results of the study revealed that the military officers received regular training, with 84% indicating that they were receiving the training every three months. Instructively, 92% of the respondents indicated that the training received didn't equip them well for the dynamics of countering terrorism by a known yet invisible enemy. Results also showed that the utility of the military had a low potential 93% in as far as counter terrorism was concerned. A further 93% of the respondents indicated that contextual problems such as some military officers and civilians losing lives were common, and they have had to endure the trauma. A p value of 0.000 after testing the hypothesis led to a rejection of the null hypothesis. The study concluded that the nature of training offered to the military officers was not helping them much in their counter terrorism roles and this calls for the policy makers within the military to reconsider their training curricular to equip the military with the necessary skill set for counter terrorism. This will allow the military reduce fatalities and better protect civilians losing their lives to terrorism. The study thus recommends a review of the training given to the Somalia defense forces to better equip them for counter terrorism, and especially in a domestic context where the terrorists are home grown and understand the dynamics and terrain in more or less the same manner as the military. The study suggests further research on preparedness of the Somali Defense Forces with a focus on the laws governing warfare, the possibility of devising a multiagency approach in the fight against terrorism.

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OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS

Counterinsurgency- A military or political action taken against the activities of revolutionaries or threat perpetrators.

Counterterrorism- The range of activities and programs that are designed to thwart, prevent and fight terror groups in order to protect civilians and foster freedoms.

Defense Forces- Armed forces of a country, also known as the military responsible for its defense.

Deterrence- The action of discouraging an action or event by instilling fear or doubt of the consequences.

Military- The armed forces of a country that is highly armed and organized primarily for warfare and national defense.

Terrorism- Unlawful use of violence, intimidation and criminal activities by individuals or groups against civilians and governments, in pursuit of economic or political aims.

Utility- The state of being useful beneficial and profitable

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMISOM-	African Union Mission to Somalia
ASEAN-	The Association of South East Asian Nations
AU-	African Union.
DCAF-	Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance
GTD-	Global Terrorism Database
IEP-	Institute of Economics and Peace
MINUSMA -	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
NATO-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PTSD-	Post- Traumatic Stress Disorder
UN-	United Nations
SPSS-	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.1 Introduction

Military has become a key component in the fight against terrorism in the present time international systems. This study therefore examined the role of military on counter-terrorism in the Horn of Africa: A case study of Somalia. This chapter covers the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives, the research questions, hypothesis, significance of the study, scope, delimitation, limitations of the study, assumption, theoretical framework and the conceptual framework.

1.2 Background of the study

Globalization has created a platform where terror attacks can be organized, planned and executed easily especially with technological advancement. Due to this, terror menace is one of the major challenges facing many economies within the international community and has remained a huge threat to peace, security and development across the globe (Goldman, 2010). Terrorism could be defined as the unlawful act of using violence or force to coerce and intimidate a government and its citizens towards attaining certain social-economic or political objectives (Igor, 2004). Terrorism can either be domestic or international, where countries are faced with terror that is homegrown, with perpetrators being of the same citizenship as the victims. On the other hand, international terrorism is perpetrated by individuals across international borders. The idea behind terror is usually to cause extreme fear being a tactic to achieve a specified end, that leaves affected populations traumatized, with some choosing to flee their residences. In countries like Afghanistan,

Iraq, Indonesia and Somalia among others a week barely passes without news on terror making headlines.

The frequent terror attacks in most of the regions across the globe has awakened the call for National Defense Forces to intensify their tactics and strategies in the fight against terrorism. The United Nations and the Institute of Economics and Peace (IEP) observes that there have been over 190,000 terror incidences globally, between the year 1970 and the year 2018, with 95% of these incidences being in Africa, Middle East and South Asia (IEP, 2020). Global Terrorism Database (2018) shows that at least 411,868 fatalities have been recorded as a result of terrorism globally for the period between 1970 and 2017. Middle East & North Africa accounts for majority of these fatalities at 137,642, followed by South Asia at 101,319 and Sub-Saharan Africa at 78,376 for the same period of time. Countries like Afghanistan have recorded some of the highest number of deaths through terrorist attacks at 39,384 while Somalia has recorded about 10,273 fatalities from terrorism (GTD, 2018).

The defense forces, commonly known as the military, is an organized force that is established by the state whose main purpose is national defense against any internal or external threat. Additionally, the military is also mandated with other missions like responding to national disasters and emergencies, Peace keeping and peace building, law enforcement and maintaining public order, social and civic protection, research as well as developmental agendas among others (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2015). Military forces are comprised of different divisions like the Navy, the Marine Forces, Armed Forces, the Air Force and the Space Forces. A military strength index report by the Global Firepower (2020), placed USA and Russia as countries with the

strongest military in the world with Egypt being the only country in Africa among the top 10 countries with the strongest military in the world; Kenya at position 84 and Somalia at position 136 of out 138 ranked countries. The rankings show that Somalia defense forces have a lot of efforts to put in all areas of operations to improve their performance and strength; to combat terror and other military challenges that may face the country.

According to Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (2015), military is the backbone of both state and human security and therefore it must be well equipped in skill, training, equipment, tactics and management capacity for their roles to be successful. Even though the military is treated as a special force and are allowed to use lethal force in their operations, it is guided by principles and code of conduct that aims at protecting the state and the civilians. Of such principles include protecting and maintaining honor of their nations, patriotism, protection of the civilian, self-conduct in an accountable manner as well as integrity and observing the work ethics and professionalism (Transparency International, 2011).

In most countries, the National Defense Forces have been mandated with a more prominent role of countering terrorism where rapid response and intelligence units have been formed within the forces to specifically contend with terror threats. Governments have therefore invested heavily on equipment, training and technology to strengthen the forces in the fight against any security concern. However, countries like Somalia are still struggling to establish an enabled defense force that would be well equipped to combat terror attacks, particularly with minimal international support (Robinson, 2019).

Modern technology gives governments and their investigative agencies leeway by providing a wide range of investigative techniques on the fight against terrorism as such

institutions make use of technological tools and software to identify and tap any suspicious activities (Mallone, 2017). Counter-terrorism as a means of preventing and combating terrorism has been used by many governments and non-governmental organizations like United Nations by use of military tactics and power, military law enforcement, government and non-governmental strategies as well as intelligence intervention all with an aim of neutralizing terrorists, terror acts and their networks (Lemay, 2017).

The United Nations' General Assembly ratified the counter-terrorism strategy in September 2006, whose mandate is to assist and equip its member states with instruments that enhance global efforts in combating terrorism. The 4-pillar strategy aims at addressing conditions that encourage terrorism, preventing and combating terrorism, building member states' capacity against terrorism and adherence of human rights for the fight against terrorism (United Nations, 2019). Additionally, in Somalia, the United Nations in collaboration with other international bodies have worked together to ensure that a transition framework is in place, where Somali Defense Forces and police can take full charge of the country's security operations; mainly to combat terror in the country (International Peace Institute, 2019).

In the year 2016, several terror incidences were reported in Germany where a man blew himself up while another shot people in-discriminatively and in another incidence in the same year a man attacked and hacked passengers to death while traveling on a train. In the year 2017, a man in Spain killed scores of people when he ploughed a truck van into a crowd of people (Foster, 2017). In these attacks, groups such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS have claimed responsibility while others have been carried out by individuals. Africa has equally suffered terror attacks for as much as international groups such as ISIS have planned,

coordinated and executed such attacks, local groups like Boko Haram and Al-Shabab have fiercely claimed lives through terror attacks and activities (Beri, 2017).

The Horn of Africa has been considered as a major source of terrorism globally, as most known terror groups have been associated with the region. This has therefore seen most international governments and communities embark on fighting the vice in the region where military from different countries have been deployed in counterterrorism missions since the year 2001 to date; with America terming the region as a strategic focal point in its war against terrorism (Neil, 2019). As a safe haven for terrorists, the Horn of Africa region, which consists of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Djibouti, has over the years been a battle field between the military and the terror groups; and has left many casualties be it civilians, military officers as well as the terrorists. However, international interventions on the war against terror in the region has not been sustainable as a result of unstable governments and corruption among government agencies.

Since Global War on Terror (GWOT) was declared in the year 2011, both the local and foreign military has played a crucial role in the Horn of Africa region countering terrorism, even though the menace is still a major challenge. Countries from Europe, America, Central Asia and the Gulf have established military base in countries in the region which have been used in training for both local and international military officers on counterterrorism (Neil, 2019). Besides training, the facilities have been put to use on gathering intelligence related to terror and other regional and global security concerns. However, as the region has experienced an escalation of foreign military officers and military facilities over time, question ringers on the future sustainability and stability of the local military officers in the region, especially on counterterrorism measures.

In Kenya, the counter terrorism center was established in law in the year 2014 with a sole mandate of creating public awareness on terrorism, coordinating national efforts to counter terror activities and to develop strategies and build capacity in combating terrorism and radicalization. This is after a series of major terror attacks in the country from the year 1998. According to Alenga (2019), the measures that a government takes to fight against terrorism should not escalate to infringe on human rights and especially those of its citizens. As such, Alenga (2019) argues that coercive execution of counter-terror attacks has at times slowed the fight against terror and terror groups in Kenya; as this is always faced by a lot of interference from the civil societies. Through the 'Linda Nchi' and the AMISOM initiatives initiated in the year 2011 and 2012, the Kenyan defenses forces have partnered with Somali defense forces; together with other neighboring countries to form joint operations in fight against terror within and across the borders.

Extremist groups have been a great threat to peace and survival of the people of Somalia and the neighboring countries since early 1990s, with the main groups being Al-Qaeda, Al-Itihaad and the Jihadist network, Al-Shabaab. Jihadism has been on the rise in Somalia since the year 2003 as the extremist group uses the country to hide and also to plan of any terror execution in neighboring countries like Kenya. Additionally, Al-Qaeda has been noted as one of the most dangerous extremist groups across the globe- for having executed some of the deadliest attacks, for instance the 1998 US Embassy bombing in Kenya. This rise in these groups has prompted international communities, mainly the western governments and the neighboring countries to respond strongly to the group through integrated security to avert the intensified threats (ICP, 2005).

Somalia has been seen as a hideout for terrorists mainly because the country lacks a functional and well established government and hence such terror disasters lie at the heart of developments with internal governance systems in the country. The year 1991 marked the start of an endless deadly civil war, and it paved way for the emergence of contemporary terrorists in Somalia. For the last two decades, terror in Somalia has been continually featured in international headlines; mainly state-terror, domestic-terror and international-terror. The state-terror has mainly been due to clan warfare and humanitarian snags while domestic-terror featured due to failure of the State to secure the State's geographical boundaries from becoming a terror breeding site, and international-terror, where most international terror attacks are coordinated from; for instance, the 1998 US embassy bombing and the ensuing attacks in Kenya (Gatuiku, 2016).

The Somali Defense Forces was constitutionally established and mandated with protecting the nation and its territories where it remained as one of the strongest armies in Africa until the year 1991, after the collapse of the central government of Somalia. The Federal Government of Somalia was later formed and it has instilled relentless efforts to re-establish the army, after receiving a lot of support from the international community (Waal, 2019). The Somalia government has greatly succeeded in coordinating these international partners in training the Somalia Army and by mid-2018, transition plans to hand over security responsibilities to the Somalia Army from AMISOM was on course. In line with this, the Somalia Army has already taken to the front line in carrying out security measures and enforcement within the country.

One of the main mandates the Somalia Defense Forces has embarked on is leading and conducting counter-terror attacks primarily against the Al-Shabab group. This move has

seen the country make remarkable progress in terms of human rights, politically, socially and economically; and the country is making optimistic strides in improving its security after decades of terrorism, internal and external conflicts. However, various attacks are still being reported in the country where dozens have been injured and several killed (United Nations, 2018). The United Nations (2018) further insists that use of military strategy is vital in ensuring sustainable peace in Somalia and fight against terrorism.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The Federal Republic of Somalia has gone through decades of instability and insecurity for nearly three decades following the fall of the Siad Barre government in 1990. The contestation for power and control has over the years given to the rise of armed groups, which have metamorphosed into the Al Shabaab, one of the most resilient terror groups in Africa. The terror spread from Somalia to neighbouring countries, necessitating the African Union to second a mission to Somalia to fight alongside the Somalia Defense Force (SDF) to counter the terror group. Hundreds of thousands of civilians and military personnel have lost their lives, besides loss of millions worth of property to the terror attacks orchestrated by the Al Shabaab. This begs the question on the efficacy of the defense forces in protecting the people and property. This is against a background of the immense support offered to SDF by various countries within and outside the continent.

According to Radin (2019), the strength of military lies primarily on the level of trainings undertaken by the military; which are always strategic with a focus to strengthen the force. Available studies have not devoted any research to the relevance and extent of training offered to SDF to enhance its efficacy in fighting terrorism. Williams (2019) argues that Somalia has greatly over relied on the AMISOM team; and hence has lacked the

seriousness of investing heavily on the training of the military officers in the country. Moreover, the contextual dynamics have not been attended to in so far as counter terrorism is concerned in the Federal republic of Somalia. These are the gaps that these study seeks to fill and by so doing contribute to policy and practice on counter terrorism in Somalia, as well as enrich the literature on the phenomenon of counter terrorism in Somalia.

1.4 Purpose of the study

The purpose of a study highlights to a reader the primary goals of a study by explaining why the study is being carried out (Simon, 2011). Since the last UN mission left the country in 1995, There has not been so much attention given to Somalia in relation counter terrorism. This has now changed and there is considerable international interest in Somalia, centered on the possibility that the country may become part of the global war against terrorism. The main aim of this study was to delve deep into what Somali Defense Forces are doing as a way of countering terrorism in Somalia.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

1.5.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study was to investigate the role of Somali Defense Forces on counter-terrorism measures in Somalia.

1.5.2 Specific Objectives

- i. To determine the extent of training of the Somali Defense Forces to carry out counterterrorism efforts in Somalia.
- ii. To examine the utility of the Somali Defense Forces in counter terrorism efforts in Somalia.
- iii. To establish how the domestic context is impacted by the involvement of the Somali

Defense Forces in counterterrorism efforts in Somalia.

1.6 Research Questions

1. What is the extent of training of the Somali Defense Forces to carry out counterterrorism efforts in Somalia?
2. In what ways is the Somali Defense Forces being utilized in counterterrorism efforts in Somalia?
3. What are the domestic context problems arising from the involvement of the Somali Defense Forces in counterterrorism role in Somalia?

1.7 Hypothesis

A hypothesis is what any researcher is expected to explain as the opinion regarding the research study that is being carried out (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2012).

This study was guided by the following hypothesis;

H₁. The Somali Defense Forces has a statistically significant role in counter terrorism efforts in Somalia

H₀. The Somali Defense Forces has no statistically significant role in counter terrorism efforts in Somalia.

1.8 Significance of the study

The significance of a study refers to the rationale behind the practical and scholarly significance of the research problem (APA, 2003). Firstly, this study is of significance to the Somali Defense Forces and it will help them grasp a better understanding of their role in countering terrorism in Somalia. The study is also of significance to the Defense Forces

and the Ministry of Defense as it will give an insight on the training levels of the defense officers and bring out any gaps that may be existing in their training.

Secondly, this study will be useful to the policy makers especially the Ministry of Defense, for it will bring to light the various mechanisms that can be employed to combat terror by maximizing the utility of defense forces in preventive, interdiction and retaliation roles of the forces in fight against terror. Additionally, the findings of this study are of significance to the academic realm as it will contribute to academic knowledge to scholars more so those that are working on formulating strategies of security personnel and the military in both government and non-government operations.

Further, the findings provide current literature and data for researchers and academicians and it will also be used as the basis of further research; as there is lack of sufficient information and data on the role of the military on counter terrorism efforts. This study will therefore play a role in filling a research gap as depicted by Pellini, et. al (2020), on their report on research opportunities in Somalia.

1.9 Scope of the Study

Scope of a study refers to the parameters under which the study will operate on (Wiersma,2000). This study was conducted in Somalia, Mogadishu, as this is where the Somali Defense headquarters are located. It focused on the role of military in counterterrorism measures in Somalia. The researcher made reference on terror incidences that have happened in Somalia for the last ten (10) years and the intervention measures that have been taken to combat terror for the same period of time. The training of the military

was examined. Some of the roles that were considered in the study included deterrence measures, rescuing of hostages, interception of terrorist personnel and shipment.

1.10 Delimitations of the Study

Delimitations are defined as those factors that limit the scope and define the boundaries set for the study (Orodho, 2005). This study only focused on the role of the military in counter terrorism measures in Somalia and it did not focus on other parties playing vital roles in countering terrorism in Somalia. It investigated the training capacity of the military officers, the utility of the military and the challenges faced by the military officers in combating terrorism in Somalia; and hence it left out other measures employed by the military in counter terrorism efforts due to time and financial constraints.

1.11 Limitations

According to Orodho, (2005), limitation is a feature of study that the researcher feels it may have an adverse effect on the results of the general study, but over which he or she has no direct control. This study was faced with a challenge of access to respondents to participate in the study, as the Defense Forces are highly secured and guarded where most senior military officers were not available for the interviews. Additionally, most civilians were afraid of opening up on the questions on the research topic as it is highly sensitive and it touches on the security of Somali as a country. The researcher overcame this challenge assuring the Major Generals, the military and civilian respondents of the confidentiality of the information they provided during the study, and the assurance that the information collected will be for purposes of study only. The researcher presented research permits and letter of authorization from Africa Nazarene University to assure the

respondents that the study is solely conducted for academic purposes. The researcher was also faced by financial constraints, as finances were needed for travel, to prepare and administer research materials and data collection tools and also to pay a research assistant to assist with data collection. However, the researcher reached out to family for financial assistance where there was need.

1.12 Assumptions

These are the events or the circumstances that the research inquiry takes for granted although they might affect the outcome of the researcher (Mugenda, 2008). The study assumed that the role of the military in combating terrorism in Somalia is not well defined, and that there are gaps in training of the military officers in equipping them to combat terror activities. The researcher also assumed that the respondents will be willing to participate in the study and that they will be cooperative. The study was conducted with the assumption that the military are already having some efforts towards countering terrorism in Somalia.

1.13 Theoretical framework

Theoretical framework aims to examine important theories that explain a research problem (Kreuger, 2000). This study was guided by the Clausewitz War Theory and the Counterinsurgency Theory. These theories have developed an insight on counterterrorism and the strategies that the military can employ in their role of counterterrorism.

1.13.1 The Clausewitz War Theory

The emerging insecurity environments across the globe has seen many scholars employ and expand the war theory, which is majorly applied by military experts across the globe. The War Theory was first published by Clausewitz in 1832 in the book “*on war*”, which

came a year before his death. Clausewitz argues that war brings with it uncertainty, danger, fear, courage, chance and friction. In his theory, Clausewitz puts that strategizing and planning for war is more important than participating in war itself, as engaging in war without any plan would only see the defeat of the army. Available resources in both personnel and equipment must be strategized and put to plan to effectively meet the participated need. According to him, there are no limited or scarce resources as long as there is good planning.

As being in war involves physical force and is a blood sport, Clausewitz emphasizes that one most important thing needed in war is to destroy the enemy's spirit and the will to fight. He further adds that an army that is successful in the battle field, is an army that has the backing and support of the citizens back home as this clears out any self-doubt and brings about motivation to fight the enemy. This theory lays out strategy and defines it in five key words; Identify, the decisive point, concentrate, remove and ignore. In this, Clausewitz (1832) shows that the starting point of any war strategy is by identifying the situational analysis, come up with an idea and organize your decisions and activities around it and then concentration of mind, body and heart in those decisions and activities. Further, he advises the importance of identifying and choosing out what should not be done and finally ignoring distractions and sideshows that may come in the process of planning and executing war.

The objective of any troop in war is to defeat and destroy the opponent and as this involves physical force and shedding of blood, and this theory lays out strategy and defines it in five key words in effective strategy; Identify, the decisive point, concentrate, remove and ignore. In this, Clausewitz (1832) shows that the starting point of any war strategy is by

identifying the situational analysis, come up with an idea and organize your decisions and activities around it and then concentration of mind, body and heart in those decisions and activities. Clausewitz (1832) therefore points out that it is important to identify and choose wisely and in a well laid out strategy what need be done and what ought not be done. Soldiers at war must always ignore distractions and sideshows that may come in the battle field.

As this study explored the role of the military in counterterrorism, The War Theory by Clausewitz therefore related to the objectives of this study as it depicts how the military need to wisely utilize its resources in both equipment and personnel in war against the opponent. Further, the strategies laid in the theory applies to the training needed for the military in skill and tactics as well as how the military ought to be prepared before war; both physically and psychologically.

Theorists have however criticized the war theory by Clausewitz in that the theory fails to address the modern situations and new wars as it was based on the Napoleon and the Prussian wars and hence it is not relevant in the modern wars like terrorism (Olson, 2013). It has however been argued that Clausewitz died one year after publishing the theory and therefore left many gaps unaddressed as he did not live to improve on his theory.

1.13.2 The Counter-insurgency Theory

The counterinsurgency theory has been defined as the comprehensive efforts employed by both the military and the civilian in containing and defeating insurgencies as well as addressing the root courses. The theory was first published by Santa Cruz de Marcenado in the year 1726 in his publication “*reflections militares*” where he discussed how to unearth, prevent and counter insurgencies. This would later be theorized by Liddell Hart in

his book "*Strategy: The Indirect Approach*" and later by David Galula in the year 1964. In the insurgency theory, an insurgence is seen as a rebellion against an authority or government where the participants in the rebellion organize themselves by use of violence with their main aim being control of territories or regions.

David Galula (1964), describes insurgency as a revolutionary warfare and looks at terror perpetrators as some of the insurgents. The insurgents, mainly militants that target to attack civilians, governments, the police as well as diplomats are described as an organized political-military protracted struggle that aims to weaken the occupying power of an established government. They use both political and violence means to attain their goals. Theorists are therefore of the view that counterinsurgency can help overcome such militias as they rely on several modes of warfare and strategies of struggle.

The counterinsurgency theory emphasizes on the combined efforts of both the military and the civilians. With David Galula (1964) being the pioneer in counterinsurgency studies, he laid these studies from experience having been a former colonel in the army. In his theory, Galula (1964) labels that for soldiers to be successful in war and in any battle field, three things are needed; Firstly, is the support of the local population or the citizens back home as this increases morale and motivation of the soldiers. Secondly, there must be good governance and this increases the government support to the troops at war, as poor governance and corruption weighs down efforts of defeating the insurgents. Thirdly, the government should maintain a sufficient number of soldiers in the field that are well trained, fully utilized and capacitated to face and overpower the insurgents. This theory therefore enriches this study on the importance of training and full utilization of military officers, as well as gathering maximum support from both the government and the citizens.

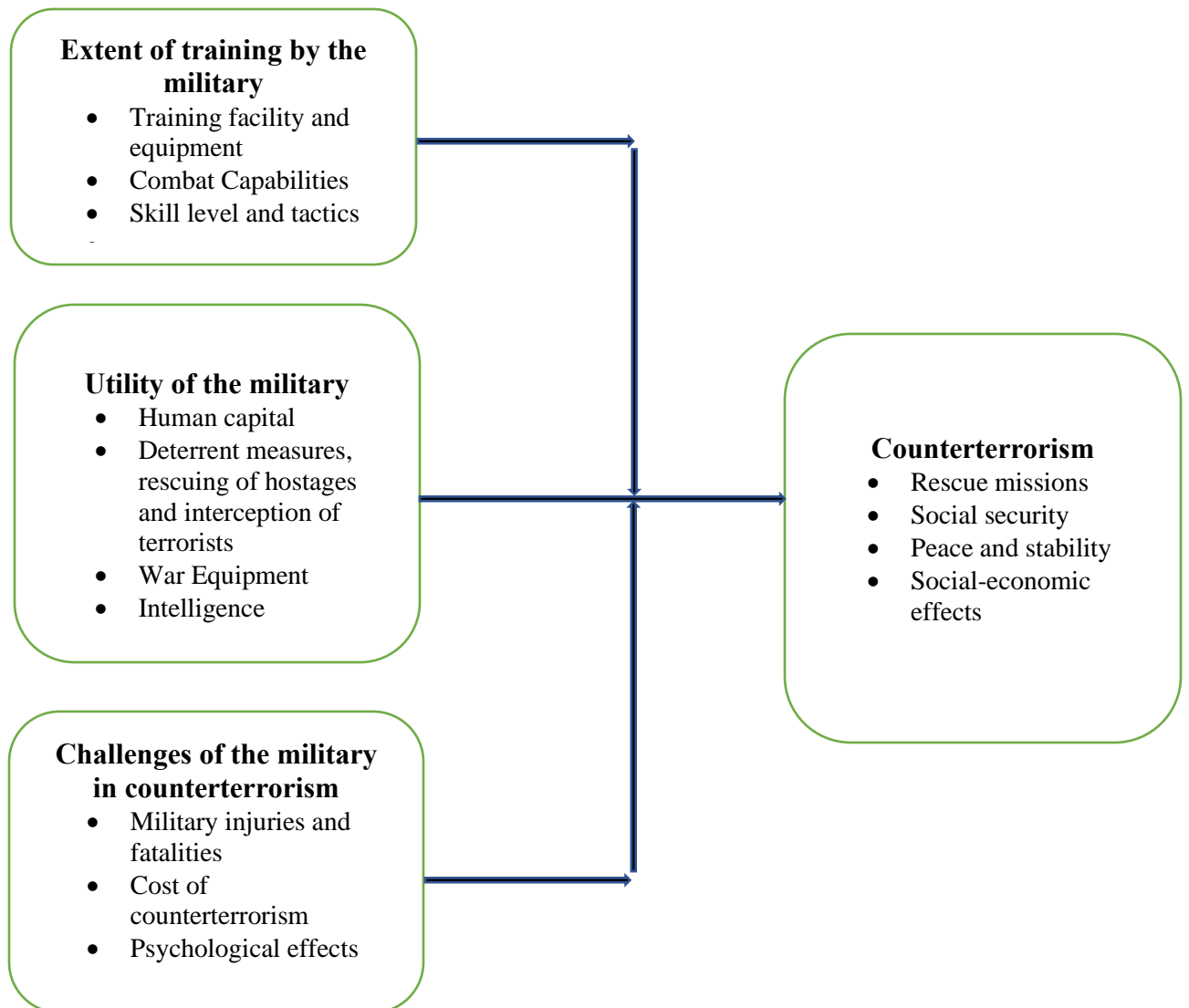
In the modern world, counterinsurgency efforts are aimed at supporting the governments and security agencies through civic participation and eliminate any organized insurgencies. As these terror attacks are usually politically motivated or socio-economically motivated, the use of terrorism tactic to achieve such desired goals can be thwarted by use of counterinsurgency strategies; thus, a collaboration of both the military and the civilians in playing the role of countering terrorism within the society. The AMISOM operation in Somalia by the military has been described as an international counterinsurgency where strategies and tactics of the theory have been heavily employed in counterterrorism in Somalia (Ocko, 2014).

However, the counterinsurgency theory has been criticized in that it has failed to address the modern threats of terror that requires hybrid war techniques. Boyle (2010) argues that modern terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda should not be classified as an insurgent but as a lethal and resilient group that requires governments to form new, modern and hybrid techniques of war, and that counterinsurgency strategies may not help much in fight against such a group. Additionally, Ocko (2014) depicts that the theory has failed in most operations where it has been applied, and has been described as not a good strategy; as in the case of fighting the Taliban in Afghanistan. The theory is further critiqued as a strategy that has brought more evil and bloody outcome in the few successful operations. Further, Gventer, Jones and Smith (2014) argues that counterinsurgency is not indeed a war strategy as presented and that if the world continues to mistake it as one, then it is doomed to fail.

1.14 Conceptual framework

Conceptual framework has been referred to as a tool that is used by a researcher to help in comprehending a situation that is being investigated. (Cohen, Manion and Marrison 2013).

In this study, the researcher identified the independent and the dependent variables and their interaction as elaborated on figure 1.1. the study argues that the success of counter terrorism measures is dependent on the extent of training of the military, their deployment in the right places and the right time and close collaboration with the security agencies. A well trained military has the capability for operational effectiveness to protect lives and property and this enhances its standing among the populace who will in turn cooperate with it in various ways including sharing any intelligence information they may have, hence their operations become more successful.

Independent variables**Dependent variable**

Source: Researcher (2020)

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents both theoretical and empirical literature reviewed on the role of military in counterterrorism measures in Somalia. The first section will cover the extent of training by the military to carry out counterterrorism efforts, the utility of the military in counterterrorism and the challenges arising from involvement of military in counterterrorism role in Somalia. The section presents a theoretical review on the subject under study. This is followed by a review of empirical literature based on themes derived from the objectives under study. Finally, the chapter ends with a summary of the review and a discussion on the research gaps.

2.2 Theoretical literature Review

Counterterrorism can only be achieved through war, as the main tool of the terrorists is war and violence. In this regard, it is paramount to understand the war theories and strategies that the military officers need employ in their counterterrorism efforts. The Clausewitz theory of war has predominantly been used by the military strategists and experts to plan and strategize warfare. Additionally, the Counterinsurgency theory has also been applied particularly in Somalia on the war against terror.

The Somali Defense Forces was among the largest armies in Africa between the year 1961 and 1987 only to start disintegrating in the year 1988 and was dissolved in the year 1991 as most military officers dropped the defense forces and joined clan militias in Somalia (Mohamoud, 2006). Counterinsurgency efforts were defeated as military men who had

military training and intelligence were now working against the Somali government. This greatly affected the role of the defense forces in security and peace keeping in Somalia, but both the local and international governments started rebuilding the defense forces in the year 2000. In the year 2007, AMISOM troops joined the Somali defense forces and the military forces have worked together in fight against terror as well as in rebuilding and strengthening the Somali defense forces (Williams, 2009).

The application of the War Theory has greatly been of significance in Somalia, where the Somali defense forces in collaboration with the AMISOM troops applied different war strategies that saw defeat of the Al-Shabaab group; where in the year 2011, the Somali defense forces and the AMISOM troops managed to recapture the city of Mogadishu from the Al-Shabaab and other territories like El Bur and Balad by the year 2012.

Security reforms and peace building efforts are at the center of discussions in Somali's Transition Plan, that will see more collaboration between the Somali military, other security forces and the civilians, in building lasting peace and improve on the nation's overall security. Successful implementation of the Transition Plan will form the basis for Somalia's state structures by building the institutions, processes, and government apparatus to sustain security and resume wider functions of governance, including service delivery.

The operational activities that will see the Transition Plan from AMISOM to Somalia security forces will involve prioritizing and identifying locations that Somali security forces will be fully responsible for AMISOM's handover, and deployment of Somali security forces as laid out in the National Security Architecture. This will therefore mean that, as AMISOM scales down its operation in Somalia, Somalia security forces will take center stage in leading security operations of Somali's national infrastructure, towns and

cities as security mandate is progressively transferred (International Peace Institute, 2019). On the other hand, the Transition Plan will also involve institutional capacity building on both programs and plans that will address justice, policing and civil service reforms; that will enhance generation of security forces and heightened trainings. Additionally, the plan will also involve support activities of the security forces other than military oriented activities like building lasting and sustainable peace in the country, improved socio-economic environment and activities, ad local governance among others. This will see a holistic transition of the country that will enhance economic growth and political stability. (International Peace Institute, 2019).

The Somali defense forces will be expected to apply the Counterinsurgency Theory after the Transition Plan, and involve the civilians more in their counterterrorism and peace building efforts. This contemporary application of the counterinsurgency theory will bring about liberal interventions in security measures, peace building and counterterrorism in Somalia and hence see a turnaround of events in the country (Moe, 2018).

2.3 Empirical Review of Literature

This section covers the existing literature on the role of military in counterterrorism in Somalia. It will cover existing literature across the globe, the region as well as in Somalia. Literature review in this section is organized thematically around the three specific objectives guiding this study: to determine the extent of training by the military to carry out counterterrorism efforts in Somalia; to examine the utility of the military in counterterrorism and to explore the challenges arising from the military's involvement in counterterrorism role in Somalia.

2.3.1 The extent of training by the military to carry out counterterrorism efforts

When defense officers go for war, particularly war against terror, they are usually faced with challenges of physical privation, death as well as fear of facing the enemy that is determined to kill them. Training for the military is paramount as it provides them with the skills and tactics to overcome such challenges and fight terror, both domestically and internationally. An army that is well prepared and that uses intelligence and heavy-handed tactics contributes greatly to their effectiveness in their missions. Military requires intense and time consuming training to gain tactical and psychology preparedness in their missions. According to Spiker and Johnston (2012), training officers in behavioral measures and skills is a necessary element on counterterrorism. Such measures may include situational judgement, structuring behavioral observations and assessment of specific attitudes. This, together with physical training of skills and tactics empowers military officers in law enforcement and handling insurgencies like terror in a superior way. The training should be conducted sufficiently as insufficient military training can cause the troops to fall back on instructions and hence loose the warfare to the adversary.

As warfare will keep advancing, evolving and changing with technological advancement, training of military officers should change, evolve and advance from time to time to ensure that the officers remain relevant in the battle field and that they are not overpowered. Collins (2018) points out that military training must be forward-thinking with continuous innovation on the training of the defense officers in tactics, physical defense as well as intelligence. Further, Collins (2018) argues that there is no activity that can prepare military troops and equip them better for combat than the combat itself. Therefore, military training should be conducted in environments that are real and hence calls for training realism in training effective defense forces for successful operations. He outlines three components

that effective and realistic training should encompass; being the conditions and circumstances, the task itself and the standards and the level of competence in which the task is intended to accomplish.

The United States of America (USA) launched new methods of training for its Army officers after suffering series of terrorists attacks in the year 1997 and 1998, where a four-tier mandatory training for all defense officers was introduced. This was aimed to equip all army officers working within the USA borders as well as internally, to help them combat terror. The training was mainly geared towards safety and protection of the officers and awareness on terrorists and acts of terror; from individual level training, train a trainer level, commanders level and the executive level training. In the current deployment of US army in Afghanistan to fight terror attacks by the Taliban, the US government has invested heavily on training of its officers as the equipment used is of high innovation and quite robust.

In an assessment study on counterterrorism field training by Spiker and Johnston (2013), findings show that US emphasizes on three major areas of field training on its army officers. Tests on situational judgement, structured checklists on behavioral observations and qualitative assessment on knowledge based skills and attitudes are majorly applied during the routine field trainings that are aimed at sharpening behavioral recognition and analytical skills of the officers besides other forms of trainings. Routine trainings of the US army have added to their military strength where the army has continued to lead as the strongest army in the world (Global Firepower, 2020).

In Russia, results of a study conducted on Russia's military exercises in training to fight by Norberg (2015) reveals that the second strongest military in the world carries out annual

inter-service military trainings under annual strategic trainings and surprise inspections. The surprise inspections are aimed to check on the readiness of the troops while the strategic trainings are aimed at strengthening the power of the military to fight through skills, professionalism and tactics. Strategy is the key word in Russia's training exercises. Additionally, a study conducted by Radin et.al (2019) shows that the strength of Russia's military lies primarily on the level of trainings undertaken by the military which are always strategic with a focus to strengthen the force.

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) has brought together more than 800 military officers from 18 member states for training so as to enhance their skills on counterterrorism measures. The joint command operation is on field trainings focusing on counterterrorism exercises and it will see the region enhance its military capability in combating terror threats (Zhuo, 2019). The joint command has exposed military officers from different nations to learn from each other in skills and tactics, build trust among officers and facilitate cooperation and exchanges among member states on multinational counterterrorism missions.

An analysis on the Ethiopian army: from victory to collapse- 1977-1991 by Badassy (2016) shows that Ethiopian army lacked proper training especially on war equipment. The report shows that the army deployed new war equipment without any knowledge on how to operate and maintain them; and hence had to rely on the support of technicians from Cuba to operate and maintain the military machines. Eventually, the Cuban technicians withdrew their services from Ethiopia and this greatly contributed to the collapse of the army in the year 1991.

The Ministry of Defense in Kenya conducts training for its soldiers through the National

Defense College in Nairobi. Even though the college is well equipped and facilitated, with a well allocated budget by the Kenyan government, Kaberia (2011) shows that the Kenyan army is still being faced by challenges in training and capacity building of the officers. In the study, Kaberia (2011) points out that the Kenyan army has failed to embrace technology in training and hence not keeping up with the security dynamisms within Kenya and across the globe. She further notes that it is paramount to ensure that the defense forces officers in Kenya receive both academic and professional training so they are equipped all round as they enforce law and protect the country.

Training levels of defense force officers is still wanting in most developing economies. According to Greer (2018), training budgets for most defense departments in these countries are constrained, and this has therefore posed a great challenge as most officers are do not attain the desired and recommended training. This challenge has weighed down efforts of countering terror in such economies. For instance, Somalia has been faced with security and political instability for many years and this has threatened any conducive environment for training of defense forces officers. As such, the country has received collective efforts from various member states, with the support of the African Union and the United Nations through the AMISOM group.

In Somalia, the defense forces are still in dire state as the army lacks enough frontline personnel, while those available are greatly lacking in training. This, according to Williams (2019) has greatly been contributed by the country over relying on the AMISOM team and hence has lacked the seriousness of investing heavily on the training of the army officers in the country. Terror groups have therefore taken advantage of the unpreparedness of the defense forces and hence the continued terror attacks in the country. Additionally, Williams

(2019) argues that the high levels of corruption in the country has discouraged international partners from providing assistance in training and equipping the Somali Defense Forces.

Literature reviewed reveals that Somali defense forces officers have not received adequate training to enable them tackle the terrorism menace appropriately, as this makes them unprepared for any eventualities in counterterrorism efforts. This study will therefore come up with strategies that will advise policy makers in security department within the Somali defense forces that will help the forces improve on their training in tactics, knowledge and use of equipment so as to be effective in counterterrorism efforts.

2.3.2 Utility of the Military in Counterterrorism

The subject of utility of the defense forces is usually mentioned on a low profile as the defense arm is considered the most powerful in the security realm; and hence a mention of their utility may seem suspicious due to their heavily equipped operations and security procedures. This can be mainly due to a communication gap or lapse between the government and the public due to the sensitivity and strictness of the security procedures and operations. According to Strachan and Harris (2020), proper strategic development on the potential of defense forces is paramount in empowering the troops. Economies need employ military force to achieve their political objectives and targets, should be consistent with the norms of the international community but a reduced cost by comparison to the other elements of the national power. The success of the utilization of military force depends on the alignment of means, ends and ways in which the force adjusts to the surrounding risk levels.

Military is utilized in different roles in their line of duty of enforcing security and national protection. On the military guide to terrorism in the 21st century, the US Army Training and

Doctrine Command (TRADOC), (2008), outlines the role of the US Army in capturing hostages and kidnappings as vital in combating terrorism activities. In their missions and activities to capture hostages, the military need be well equipped with skill, tactics, intelligence and professionalism as these missions overlap on the defensive and offensive roles of the military; as human rights to protect the hostages should be their priority.

The Swedish Defense Research Agency (FOI), (2018) did an analysis of the Russian military on its annual operational strategic trainings and the findings shows that the military strength has increased in both size and scope and this is largely contributed to proper allocation and utilization of resources. The Russian government has increased the military budget every year and the military has put it in good use where it has engaged in trainings across all departments of the military for the common good of their service.

In India, a study conducted to review the milestones of the Indian military since the Mumbai attack in the year 2008, Mahadevan (2019) shows that India's military has since been strengthened to become the second largest in personnel and fourth strongest military in the world, where the military has been allocated one of the largest budgets across the globe. The military has also increased its personnel on both volunteer and permanently employed officers and this has strengthened operations of the military to date, with more than 1.4 million active personnel.

A study conducted by Joshi (2018) shows that most developed economies have highly invested in use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) to enrich their forces in counterterrorism. The AI technologies such as surveillance and striking drones, robots and intelligence systems have greatly been incorporated in the defense forces to maximize utility and operations of the forces. This has witnessed a lot of revolution the face of defense and operations of

defense forces officers as it has increased their capacity and target precision (Joshi, 2018). In such, surveillance of the organization of the terror groups has intensified and hence successful missions by the forces in counterterrorism.

In Mali, the Operation Serval by the French military in conjunction with the Mali defense forces is one of the military partnership in Africa that has proved to reach its potential through effective utilization of the forces (Traore, 2017). Through the support of the United Nations (UN), Operation Serval's main aim was to oust militia groups in the country. The successful operation lasted for a few months between the year 2013 and 2014, and the forces had countered terror perpetrators and organizers and recaptured all the northern cities of Mali that had been taken captive by the terrorists. The operation was named as "a model for designing and operating an expeditionary force," that effectively utilized its troops and other resources in counterterrorism within a short period of time. However, the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), took over from the Operation Serval, but failed terribly due to low utilization of the forces and poor coordination. During the MINUSMA operation, hundreds of UN peacekeepers were killed and the objective of the mission was not achieved (Traore, 2017). In an assessment study conducted by Robinson (2019), the Somali Defense Forces lacks proper composition and dispositions. Results of the study brings out that the Somali military is composed of some of the ex-militias that had previously been involved in terrorizing Somali government and the citizens for long. Therefore, most of such officers are not reliable and may be committing crimes along with other atrocities as much as they are officers within the defense forces. Therefore, a number of officers within the Somali military are not utilized for the rightful purpose and that has greatly contributed to the

massive failures of the force and dysfunctional in their efforts on counterterrorism.

Further, Mugisha (2018) in a report on AMISOM's operations in Somalia between the year 2011 and 2012 shows that Somali military is poorly utilized in both personnel and facility. The report depicts that the Somali military is poorly organized and lacks coordination of the military personnel; as officers in the Somali military are not committed to both training and duty. This, according to the report contributed to failure of the entire AMISOM team as they lacked support from the local military team.

As findings from various literature on utilization of the military on counterterrorism shows that there are huge gaps to be filled, this study therefore implores on mitigation measures that can be put in place to help improve utility of the Somali defense forces; as full utilization of the defense forces will help realize better results in counterterrorism efforts in Somalia.

2.3.3 Domestic context problems arising from Somali Defense Forces involvement in counterterrorism role

Every warrior prepares and goes to war with an aim of defeating the adversary. However, fatalities and casualties are common occurrence in any battle field and so is in any fight against terror. Even though army officers are always trained and well equipped in fight against terror, there has been instances where they have been overpowered by terror perpetrators and organizers, leaving some of the officers wounded and others dead. Physical incapacitation and deaths are some of the major challenges faced by defense force officer involved in the role of counterterrorism all over the world.

Globally, Afghanistan tops the list with the highest number of fatalities through terror for both civilians and military officers, while in Africa, Somalia and Nigeria are the countries that have recorded the highest military deaths through counterterrorism. Research

conducted by the Brown University (2019) reveals that more than 7,000 US military officers have been killed through their efforts in counterterrorism since the terrorist war was launched in the year 2001 to the year 2018. More than 50,000 US military officers have been wounded and others incapacitated following their involvement in fighting terror across the globe.

Additionally, the cost of combating terror has increasingly escalated due to the intensity of the equipment and tactics that the terror perpetrators are using currently. The Brown University (2019) shows that an estimated \$5.6 trillion has been spent on operations to combat terror between the year 2001 and 2018. This cost is expected to heighten as the terror groups are becoming more organized and sophisticated by day, and hence the need for governments and non-governmental organizations to invest highly so as to succeed in counterterrorism. Also, the projected obligation for the care of the veterans who have previously been involved in counterterrorism or affected in the process is expected to go up.

The European and Northern American Army has not been without hurdles as keeping and maintaining the NATO alliance together has been a challenge. A study conducted by Ruyt (2019) shows that the members of the treaty have lacked unity mainly due to political disharmony amongst members. This has greatly affected operations of NATO military troops in the recent times as there has been minimal cooperation in maintaining peace and security of the region.

Military officers mainly get a lot of criticism especially when they lose on a battle. Army officers have been termed as ineffective whenever they are overpowered by the militia groups, while others have blamed the military when civilians during efforts of

counterterrorism. Majorly, human rights groups have in most cases criticized the military arguing that killing of suspected terror perpetrators is against the law of humanity and an infringe of human rights. In a study conducted by Stigall, Blakesley and Jenks (2014) human rights law has increasingly inflicted the efforts of peace building and security management; as human rights law applies universality application and that human rights should be granted to everyone irrespective of the legality of their affiliation and allegiance. The study therefore revealed that military operations and human rights law have had conflicts as one cannot be addressed without affecting with the other.

Most officers have suffered from psychological trauma as a result of their involvement in counterterrorism role. They carry the endless stress of the horror experiences they go through in their efforts to counter terror. A study conducted by Stern (2013), the modern war techniques and trends have greatly increased psychological injuries on military troops especially those that are deployed in a single battle field for long. Battle fatigue, 'shell shocks' and war neurosis are some of the labels that bring about post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) among military officers in the counterterrorism role. However, Stern (2013), points out that most military officers do not seek treatment for fear of prejudice and this has posed to be a big risk to them; as most of them end up committing suicide. The study advises continued moral and psychological support for military officers, before, during and after war, as well as making treatment available to those that may suffer from PTSD.

In Nigeria, the International Crisis Group (2016) shows that the military is in distress, mainly because the military has over a period of time experienced poor leadership that is covered by corruption. Results of this study shows that poor management and leadership

of the Nigerian military has created an avenue for the Boko Haram insurgents to carry out countless attacks in northern Nigeria where many lives have been lost. In the report, the International Crisis Group (2016) recommends to the government to have an overhaul of the military leadership in Nigeria, and have a management team and senior officers that are more accountable and strategic in operations of the military.

A study conducted in Somalia (Williams, 2019) shows that the main challenge that the Somali defense forces has faced over the time has been building the military and empowering the officers and at the same time facing the war against terror. Williams (2019) points out that it is difficult for a military that is not well organized and well formed to win any battle as the force is not well integrated. In a separate study by Williams (2019) on impacts and challenges facing AMISOM in Somalia, results show that there have been little results because AMISOM has not addressed integration issues of the Somalia Army, and that it should have first worked on stabilizing the military and have it well organized.

In a report by Mugisha (2018) on AMISOM's operations in Somalia, it is depicted that disorganization of the Somali defense forces and lack of cooperation created a pathway for the al-Shabaab insurgents to succeed in some of their attacks against the military troops; and hence injuries and fatalities were recorded among the AMISOM troops for the period of their operation in Somalia.

2.4 Summary of Literature Review and Research Gap

Since the launch of war against terror in the year 2001, a lot has been achieved through combined efforts of governments across the globe as well as non-governmental organizations, particularly the United Nations and the African Union. War against terror must continue until the terrorists are overpowered and defeated as they pose a great risk to

economies, governments and the entire population across the world. Equipping and training of the military soldiers is therefore of great importance in their role in counterterrorism. However, Kaberia (2011) and Greer (2018) shows that the military soldiers in most African economies are disadvantaged as they lack sufficient training and capacity building; mainly due to constrained budgets. Williams (2019) concurs with this and argues that most African economies have relented on the war against terror and have over relied on the support of international organizations and donors.

In as much as defense forces look at maximizing utility of their military troops, most of them have been faced by challenges of sufficient personnel. Joshi (2019) shows that there is minimal commitment by a number of soldiers within the Somali defense forces, as most of them are not royal. In addition to this, in occurrences where soldiers die during war, others become incapacitated while others suffer from post war trauma; and hence not able to perform their roles in counterterrorism, defense forces have been greatly affected as the number of trained and experienced officers has been on the decline.

On the other hand, the theory of war by Clausewitz concurs with the counterinsurgency theory in that there is need for citizens to support the soldiers as this increases the rate of success in both planning and in the battle field. The two theories show that joint efforts by both the military and the civilians in counterterrorism is paramount as it gives the soldiers self-confidence and motivates them during war.

From the literature reviewed, it is evident that counterterrorism efforts are paramount in maintain peace and order across the globe. Studies reviewed by Norberg (2015), Zhuo (2019) and Spiker and Johnston (2013) from Russia, US, India and ASEAN shows that military officers must be well trained to succeed in their operations, and that heightened

training of military officers in these regions has placed the nations with the strongest military forces across the globe. In contrast, Greer (2019) and Kaberia (2011) agrees that most African economies are lacking in proper training and equipment in fight against terror.

Literature has also shown that the war on terror is gaining momentum with the terrorist groups upgrading their tactics by use of modern technology and innovation. Traore (2017) shows that poor coordination and low utilization of troops can cost lives as the militia groups will always identify and take advantage of such gaps. On the other hand, Mahadevan (2019) and FOI (2018) reveals that countries like India and Russia whose military resources have been well utilized in both personnel and equipment, have recorded great success in war against terror and at the same time strengthened their military forces on war against terror. However, Mugisha (2018), Traore (2017) and Joshi (2018) concurs that most African economies like Somalia and Mali lacks accountability and proper management of their military resources and have therefore failed to maximize utility off their military forces and other military resources.

On overall, all military officers across the globe are faced by similar challenges though some are unique to certain regions and nations. Psychological trauma, military fatalities and injuries, conflict of human rights and high cost of running military operations are some of the challenges faced by most military forces across the globe as depicted by Brown University (2019), Stern (2013), Ruyt (2019) and Stigall, Blackesley and Jenks (2014). However, Williams (2019) and Badassy (2016) shows that poor coordination, lack of accountability and corruption as some of the challenges witnessed by military forces in countries like Ethiopia and Somalia.

However, there is limited data and information on preparedness of the military in their counterterrorism roles as depicted by Pellini (2020) on research opportunities in Somalia. The level of training by the military officers is not clear as well as the extent of their utilization in their role in counterterrorism. This study sought to fill the gap and provide data and information on the extent of training of the military as well as their level of utilization in their role in counterterrorism. This study also sought to add to knowledge on the challenges that the defense officers face on their involvement in counterterrorism and come up with strategies on how these gaps can be addressed particularly in African and other developing economies.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design and methodological procedures that the researcher used in data collection and analysis. It includes the study design, study location, study population, sampling procedures, the sample size and instruments that used in collecting data, the analysis procedures and tools.

3.2 Research Design

Research design can be described as a strategy that a researcher chooses to structure a study in a coherent way, by examining how the research questions can be answered and how the research problem can be addressed. It describes how data can be collected and analyzed, where to be collected and when to be collected and analyzed; and it gives an appropriate framework for the study (Sileyew, 2019).

This study adopted a descriptive case study research design as the researcher sought to gather in-depth information from Defense Forces Officers working in the Somalia National Army in regard to their role and preparedness in counterterrorism. Mugenda & Mugenda (2012) observes that, a case study research design aims at helping a researcher gain understanding of complex matters that can expand research experience, add to knowledge or strengthen knowledge that is already existing. Additionally, Trochim (2006), affirms that it is through research design, any research work attains some form of organization as it allows a researcher to use a descriptive design such that information or data can be collected without changing the environment of the study population.

Descriptive study design has proved to be a reliable method of gathering data and information for research works that require both qualitative and quantitative analysis. According to Pollard (2005), qualitative approach helps the researcher to gather views, opinions and sentiments of the respondents as it provides the researcher with strategies of the inquiry being investigated. In this regard, this study applied both quantitative and qualitative approaches as it sought to gather in-depth information that describes issues related to the research problem as well as organize, tabulate and describe the gathered data. The qualitative approach enabled the researcher to collect data in form of words besides numbers and verbal descriptions which was grouped into categories for ease of analysis. On the other hand, the researcher made use of quantitative approach to analyze both the descriptive and inferential statistics. This helped make reliable conclusions and inferences.

3.3 Research Site

A research site can be described as a geographical area that is applicable to the research questions and objectives and for which data is analyzed in a report; that is convenient for both the researcher and the respondent (Kothari, 2003). This study was conducted in Mogadishu, Somalia, which is the capital city of the country, and where the Defense Forces headquarters are housed. The defense forces headquarters and the relevant departments formed the data collection points. The map of the research site is attached (see appendix 5).

3.4 Target Population

Kombo and Tromp (2006) indicates that a target population is a set of people, elements or objects that have the traits and characteristics that interests a researcher in a given study; a

specific population from which a researcher gathers data or information from. In this study, the researcher targeted Somalia Defense Forces Officers working in various department of the Armed Forces. The study also targeted to interrogate civilians living in Hodan district of Mogadishu as it is one of the district that has been most affected by terrorism in the city. UNFPA (2016) estimates that there are 114,348 adults living in Hodan district. It is estimated that there are 21,000 officers working with the Somalia Defense Force, spread across nine ranks viz. Lieutenant General, Major General, Brigadier General, Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, Major, Captain, First and second Lieutenant officers.

3.5 Determination of Study Sample

A sample size should neither be too small nor too large (Kothari, 2004). Determination of sample size is usually drawn from various scopes and dimensions, and involves selection of the number of observations to include in a study sample. In this study, the researcher employed two main scopes; the sampling procedure and the sample size. This helped the researcher in ensuring that data collected is accurate and reliable and so the inferences and conclusions drawn from it. Kothari (2004) suggests that a researcher can use at least 10% to 30% of the study population as the sample size.

3.5.1 Sampling Procedure

Sampling is the process of describing study features and characters that represents a population (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). In this study, the researcher used both purposive and stratified simple random sampling to ensure that the collected data is of purpose and useful to the study. The purposive sampling procedure was used mainly due to the nature of work and involvement of the respondents, particularly the defense forces officers. Purposive sampling was used in the study on the understanding that given the

hierarchical chain of command in the disciplined forces, it was highly likely that some officers especially those in command could have some information needed for the study, and which was not available to their juniors. Thus the purposive approach would allow the researcher access such officers, whose possibility of participating in the study cannot be guaranteed in the random approach. On the other hand, Cesar and Carvalho (2011), points out that stratified random sampling is a technique where the researcher divides the population into subgroups or strata, as defined by the characters in the study population. The researcher therefore used the military ranks within the Somalia Defense Force as strata to enable seamless and proportional allocation of respondents for collection of data. Officers not purposively identified for data collection were randomly picked from the strata.

The civilians in Hodan district were treated as a single stratum from which community members comprising of both men and women were randomly selected as respondents to aid with data collection.

3.5.2 Study Sample Size

A sample size is a fraction of population that defines the number of elements or objects that are to be included in a sample. It is a very vital part of a study as it determines the significance and reliability of study results. It is estimated that there are about 21,000 officers within the Somalia Defense Forces with their headquarters in Mogadishu (Global Firepower, 2020). The researcher purposed to draw the sample size from the headquarters only for security reasons. The researcher also drew a sample size from civilians living in Hodan district, and it is estimated that the area has an adult population of 114,348 (UNFPA, 2016).

The researcher targeted the entire population of 21,000 defense forces officers where the sample size drawn was proportionally distributed across the rank and file of the forces.

Thus, the total population targeted in this study was 135,348.

To calculate the sample size, the researcher used Yamane (1967) formula:

$$n = \frac{N}{1+Ne}^2$$

where:

n = the sample size

N = the population size

e = the acceptable sampling error of 7% at 93% confidence level

therefore,

$$n = \frac{135348}{1+135348(0.07)}^2 = 204$$

The sample size was therefore 204 male and female defense forces officers and civilians.

The distribution of the respondents was as represented in table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Distribution of sample size

Stratum	Respondents' representation	Sampling procedure
Lieutenant General	1	Purposive Sampling
Major General	1	Purposive Sampling
Brigadier General	3	Purposive Sampling
Colonels	3	Purposive Sampling
Lieutenant Colonels	10	Simple random sampling
Major	23	Simple random sampling
Captain	50	Simple random sampling
First and Second Lieutenants	63	Simple random sampling
Civilians	50	Simple random sampling
TOTAL	204	

Source: Researcher, 2020

3.6 Data Collection Measures

The researcher used primary data which was collected by use of questionnaires and interview guides (See appendix 3 and 4). Secondary data was obtained from national surveys conducted by the Somalia government and other actors. The tools were structured and ordered according to the objectives of the study and the research problem under investigation.

3.6.1. Development of Research Instruments

3.6.1.1 Interviews

An interview guide is a tool used to collect primary data where a conversation between the interviewer and interviewee is involved. The purpose of using interview guide is to help the researcher gather in-depth information that is rich and sufficient. The interview guide can be either Structured or semi-structured where Marshall and Rossman (2006) observes

that semi-structured interviews are a good instrument of collecting primary data as they provide flexibility and hence helps the researcher to investigate the problem under study deeply. In this study, the semi-structured interviews were administered on the purposively identified respondents. This tool helped the researcher maximize on this flexibility to gather and obtain in-depth information, views and opinions from the respondents 8 senior officers holding command responsibilities were thus interviewed, through face to face sessions with the researcher. The rest of the officers in the sample had questionnaires administered on them.

3.6.1.2 Questionnaires

Questionnaires are an essential tool of gathering data as they allow the researcher to explain the objectives of the study and clear out areas of the study that may seem vague to the respondents. They are an important tool of collecting data as they have the potential of reaching out to large numbers of the target population within a short period of time. According to Dornyei (2007), good questionnaires provides both open ended and closed questions, to help the researcher generate the necessary data that responds to the study questions.

In this study, the researcher designed a questionnaire comprising of both closed and open-ended questions to ensure particular information that was required was obtained and to also give the respondents the leeway to give insights based on their experiences with regard to the study questions. Due to the fairly large number of respondents participating in the study, the researcher was assisted by well-trained research assistants in administration of the questionnaires and both the researcher and the assistants clarified on any areas that the respondents sought clarification on. The questionnaire was administered on Somalia

Defense Officers not purposively sampled for interviews and the civilians sampled from Hodan district. The questionnaires were in English language as it was assumed that all military officers are conversant with the language and could understand and interpret on their own. As anticipated, during the actual data collection exercise, it turned out that most officers could not speak in English and so were the civilians and therefore the questions were read out and interpreted in Somali language by the researcher and his assistants.

3.6.2 Pilot Testing of Research Instruments

In any research, it is crucial to examine the trustworthiness of research instruments in ensuring reliability of the research and hence the need to carry out a pilot study to this effect (Haulman, 2008). In this regard, the researcher carried out a pilot study to test the research instruments to ensure reliability of the study. Questionnaires were therefore administered to a smaller group of the population that was separate from the sample size selected in this study. The researcher also interviewed a few respondents not listed in the sample size so as to test the reliability of the instrument. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2012), a pilot study with at least a tenth of the total sample is applicable. The researcher interviewed 10 defense forces officers and 10 civilians for the pilot study. The defense forces officers were drawn from the Jazeera defense forces training camp and the civilians from the Waberi district as they are both near the research site.

3.6.3 Instrument Reliability

According to Kothari (2017), Reliability is the constancy of measurement by research instruments or tools if replicated. Research instruments are termed as reliable if a test is administered twice on a subject and gets the same results on a second test as of the first one. If the results are different on the two tests, then the research instruments on use are not reliable and will therefore not give accurate results.

The researcher tested the reliability of the research instrument using Cronbach Alpha test and this was performed through SPSS on the data collected during pilot stage. A cut-off of 0.801 was obtained and this indicated that the instrument was 80% reliable for data collection.

3.6.4 Instrument Validity

Instrument validity is the ability of the research instruments to measure what they are intended meaningfully and also describe the construct meaningfully (Cooper & Schindler, 2014). It is the significance and accuracy of study conclusions based on the outcome of the study. Validity is mainly used to monitor the extent in which a research instrument is executing what is expected to deliver, and if this is achieved, the research instrument is considered valid (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2008). To measure the degree in which the questions administered reflects the objectives of the study, the researcher made use of content validity to validate the instruments being used in all the areas under investigation in this study.

As validity addresses the observed scores and what the researcher hopes to measure, the researcher employed the four main steps of content validity to validate the instruments used. Firstly, the researcher defined the purpose of the test and construct what is to be measured. The researcher then defined the content of the study based on the characteristics of study population. Thirdly, the researcher used the defined content to create a research model and finally evaluate the efficiency of the instruments and if the created model captures all areas expected in the study (Halek, Holle and Bartholomeyczik, 2017).

3.6.5 Data Collection Procedure

Prior to the commencing on collection of data, the researcher obtained all the necessary documents, including an introduction letter from Africa Nazarene University and a research

permit from Ministry of Education in Somalia. The researcher sought authority to collect data from the Somali defense forces headquarters prior to commencement. So as to clarify the purpose of the study, the researcher sought audience of the targeted civilians in the sampled population. Once clearance to conduct the study was given, the researcher trained two research assistants on the purpose of the study and how to administer research questionnaires to the respondents. Interviews were conducted by the researcher in person, but the interviews were not recorded due to security reasons. The researcher was only allowed to take notes from which he made references during the data analysis stage. The researcher and the research assistants explained the purpose of the study to the respondents to eliminate any fear they had in responding to the study questions.

3.7 Data Processing and Data Analysis

Data analysis is the procedure of giving meaning and order to raw data. It is the process of organizing, and verifying data so as to test hypotheses and draw explanations. Xia and Gong (2015) depicts that as today's world relies on data to make decisions, it is paramount that researchers use current data to internalize various issues and to meet the primary target of any substantial investigation. This also helps in making the analysis easier, accurate and more precise to apply.

The information that the researcher gathered examined by use of both qualitative and quantitative analyses. Descriptive statistics were applied to analyze quantitative data. Various responses were analyzed by making use of descriptive statistics and frequencies and it was presented in charts, tables and graphs. The researcher made use of Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS 21) to code and analyze quantitative data. Inferential statistics were also used. Inferential processes and interpretations obtained from the

statistics were provided and used for better understanding of the obtained statistics. To test on the hypothesis, a one sample t-test was conducted to determine whether the Somali Defense Forces had a clear role in counterterrorism efforts in Somalia. Thematic discussions were used to analyze the qualitative data.

3.8 Legal and Ethical Considerations

In modern research, legal and ethical considerations form an important component and are described as the principles of conduct that that differentiates acceptable and unacceptable conduct and behavior within the process of research and other forms of investigations (Yip, Han and Sng, 2016). Therefore, guidelines on confidentiality and informed consent should be put into consideration in any research, as the researcher has the responsibility of careful assessment of the welfare of the research participants (Bryman, 2012). The researcher should take precautions to ensure that the respondents are protected from any harm, coercion, or intimidation.

In this study, the researcher ensured that clearance from all regulating institutions were attained, both in Kenya and Somalia, and also from Africa Nazarene University. The researcher got a clearance letter from Africa Nazarene University, through the department of Governance, Peace and Security. The researcher also sought a research permit from the Ministry of Education in Somalia, and also permission to conduct study from the Somalia Defense Forces, through the Ministry of Defense in Somalia. Additionally, the researcher sought consent of Defense Officers at the Mogadishu headquarters through the office of the General Brigadier.

APA (2010) shows that any research in education must be governed by ethical issues,

especially when a research involves humans who are subject to stressful experiences. The researcher therefore observed research ethics where firstly, the purpose of the study was well explained to the respondents. Secondly, the respondents were explained to the fact that the study was purely academic and that they would remain anonymous. Assurance was further given that the information would remain confidential and not be used for any other purpose. Thirdly, throughout the study, the researcher ensured that data collected was treated with total confidentiality and was not exposed to third parties.

This therefore ensured that the researcher observed and adhered to the main principles of research ethics by ensuring the safety of the respondents, their confidentiality and anonymity and also ensured the rightful use of the data collected. This is because the researcher sought the consent of the respondents and allowed them the right to withdraw from the research whenever they felt uncomfortable. The researcher did not conduct any deceptive practices throughout the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The main objective of this research was to evaluate the role of military in counterterrorism measures in the horn of Africa. The researcher examined three objectives; the extent of training by the Somali Defense Forces to carry out counterterrorism efforts in Somalia, the utility of the Somali Defense Forces in counter terrorism efforts in Somalia and the domestic context arising from the involvement of the Somali Defense Forces in counterterrorism role in Somalia. The results of the study are as presented in the sections below.

4.2 Response Rate

Response rate indicates the total number of questionnaires that were filled and submitted back for analysis against the number of questionnaires distributed. The researcher targeted 196 respondents, 146 within the Somali Defense Forces and 50 civilians. Table 4.1 below shows that a response rate of 95% was achieved and therefore the data was excellent for analysis; as according to Kothari and Gang (2014), a response rate of 50% is adequate, a rate of 60% is good and above 70% is excellent. This high return rate was attributed to the fact that most of the respondents were assisted with filling the questionnaires by the researcher and his assistants.

Table 4.1 Response Rate
Returned

	Military	148	
	Civilians	39	
	Total	187	95%
Not-Returned			
	Military	3	
	Civilians	6	
	Total	9	5%
	Sub Total	196	

Source: Field Data, 2021

4.3 Reliability of Results

The study sought to test the reliability of the research instruments to ensure the results were reliable. Table 4.2 below shows results of the reliability test conducted.

Table 4.2 Reliability Test

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.801	40

Source: Researcher, 2021

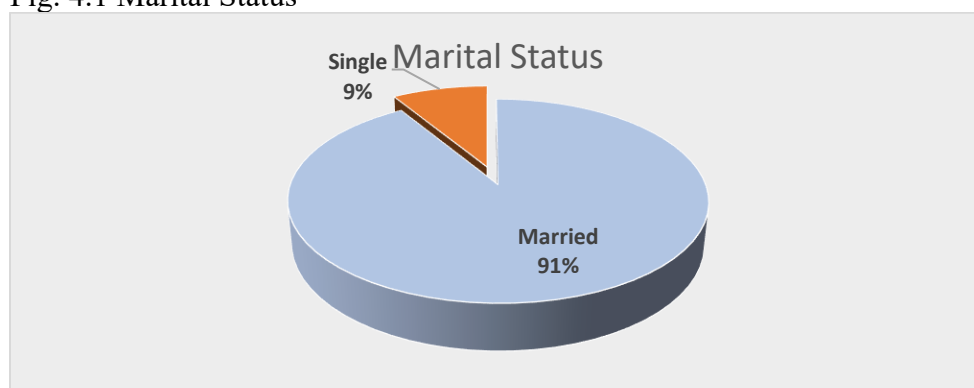
A reliability test was conducted on all the 40 variables and results showed that the research instruments were reliable as the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient was at 0.801 showing that the data is 80% reliable.

4.4 Demographic Characteristics

Table 4.3 below shows demographic characteristics of the military respondents who participated in the study. Results revealed that 48% of the respondents are between the age of 21 to 30 while 37.2% are aged between 31 to 40 years. Only 6.8% of the respondents are between the age of 41 to 50. Additionally, 87.8% of the respondents are male while 12.2% are female, with 91.2% of the respondents being married and 8.8% single as shown

in figure 4.1.

Fig. 4.1 Marital Status



Source: Field data, 2021

Table 4.3 Demographic Characteristics- Military Officers

Age	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
15-20	12	8.1	8.1
21-30	71	48	56.1
31-40	55	37.2	93.2
41-50	10	6.8	100
Total	148	100	
Marital Status			
Married	135	91.2	91.2
Single	13	8.8	100
Total	148	100	
Gender			
Male	130	87.8	87.8
Female	18	12.2	100
Total	148	100	
Education Level			
Primary	82	55.4	55.4
Secondary	58	39.2	94.6
College/tertiary	8	5.4	100
Total	148	100	
Military Rank			
Major	4	2.7	2.7
Captain	6	4.1	6.8
First Lieutenant	12	8.1	14.9
Second Lieutenant	122	82.4	97.3
Others	4	2.7	100
Total	148	100	
Military Experience			

1-10 years	129	87.2	87.2
10-20 years	9	6.1	93.2
20-30 years	10	6.8	100
Total	148	100	

Source: Field Data, 2021

Results also showed that majority of the respondents (55.4%) had at least attained primary level education while 39.2% had secondary education. Only 8.4% of the respondents had College or tertiary education.

The study also sought to find out the military ranks of the respondents and their working experience as military officers and results revealed that majority of the respondents are Second Lieutenant Officers (82.4%) with only 2.7% were in the rank of Major. 87.2% of the respondents have worked with the military for a period of between 1 and 10 years. Results therefore showed that respondents had a maximum working experience of up to 30 years.

Results on demographic background therefore shows that the Somali Defense Force is comprised of a youthful workforce with an average military experience of 15 years. However, most military officers have not attained secondary education, and this was a big challenge as most of the respondents could not speak in English.

Data collected from civilians revealed that 82.1% of the respondents were married and 17.9% single with 46.2% aged between 21 and 30 years, 25.6% between 31 and 40 years whereas 23.1% were between 41 and 50 years. There was no respondent aged above 50 years and only 5.1% were aged between 15 and 20 years. 48% of the respondents were male while 51.3% were female. Majority of the civilians indicated that they are self-employed (46%), while 31% are not employed. Only 23% of the civilians indicated that

they are employed. The demographics showed that female civilians were more willing to provide information as their male counterparts. The analysis is as presented in table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Demographic Characteristics- Civilians

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Age	15-20	2	5.1	5.1
	21-30	18	46.2	51.3
	31-40	10	25.6	76.9
	41-50	9	23.1	100.0
	Total	39	100.0	
		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Marital Status	Married	32	82.1	82.1
	Single	7	17.9	100.0
	Total	39	100.0	
		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Gender	Male	19	48.7	48.7
	Female	20	51.3	100.0
	Total	39	100.0	
		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Education Level	Primary	23	59.0	59.0
	Secondary	9	23.1	82.1
	College	7	17.9	100.0
	Total	39	100.0	
		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Economic Status	Employed	9	23.1	23.1
	Self-Employed	18	46.2	69.2
	Not Employed	12	30.8	100.0
	Total	39	100.0	

Source: Field Data, 2021

4.5 Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics are presented in both quantitative and qualitative data and results in this section describe study variables in light of the collected data.

4.5.1 Extent of Training by the Somali Defense Forces to Carry out Counterterrorism Efforts

The first objective of this study sought to determine the extent of training by the military officers to carry out counterterrorism role in Somalia. Results revealed that 98% of the military respondents indicated that they have received some training on counterterrorism while 2% indicated that they have not received any training on counterterrorism. 84% indicated that they receive the training every 3 months and 16% on a monthly basis. Only 8% of the respondents believe that the training received equips them better to play their role in counterterrorism while 92% believes that raining does not equip them in their counterterrorism efforts. All respondents indicated that they have received physical, tactical and theoretical training. None of the respondents indicated to have received psychological training.

Respondents were also asked if there are any challenges they face during military training, and majority (48%) indicated that the trainings are usually very hard and strenuous. Additionally, 89% indicated that the Somali government is not committed enough to facilitate the military officers with the relevant training required in their counterterrorism role.

Table 4.5 Training on handling military equipment

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very advanced	6	4.1	4.1
Advanced	4	2.7	6.8
Moderately advanced	138	93.2	100.0
Total	148	100.0	

Source: Field Data, 2021

From the results in table 4.6, it can be concluded that the military officers in Somalia have

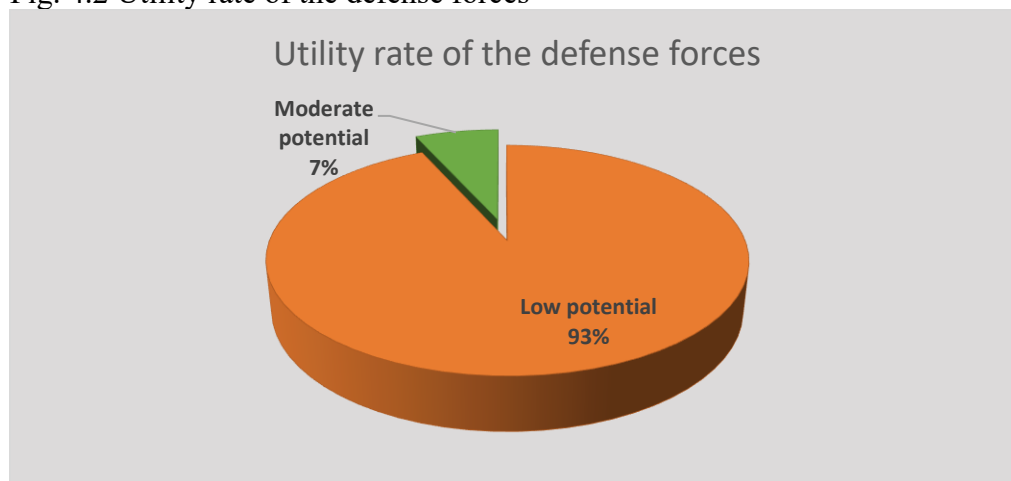
been trained on how to handle military equipment even though 93% of the respondents felt that the training is moderate.

These results therefore conclude that even though military officers within the Somali Defense Forces frequently receive training on counterterrorism efforts, the training is not sufficient to equip them well to play their role in counterterrorism efficiently. Results also revealed that the officers have not received any psychological training which is crucial in their role against terror.

4.5.2 Utility of Defense Forces in Counterterrorism

All the respondents (100%) indicated that the Somali Defense Forces is not well equip to combat terror in Somalia. Results also showed the Somali Defense Forces utility as moderate potential (7%) and 93% as low potential as presented in fig. 4.2.

Fig. 4.2 Utility rate of the defense forces



Source: *Field Data, 2021*

Results showed that the utility of the war equipment by the Somali Defense Forces is moderate while utility of the military officers in rescue mission fairly utilized (93%).

Table 4.6 Utility of defense forces in counterterrorism

		Frequency	Percent
Utilization of war equipment	Moderate utility	148	100.0
		Frequency	Percent
Utilization of military officers in rescue missions	Moderately utilized	10	6.8
	Fairly utilized	138	93.2
	Total	148	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2021

These results therefore revealed that the Somali defense forces are not fully utilized in their counterterrorism role as their use of the military equipment was moderately rated while their utility in rescue missions was fairly rated as presented in table 4.6.

4.5.3 Domestic Context Problems Arising from Involvement in Counterterrorism

The role of the military in counterterrorism has not been without challenges as indicated by the respondents.

Table 4.7 Domestic context problems arising from involvement in counterterrorism

	Mean	Std. Dev		Frequency	Percent
Death of civilians	1.05	.213	Highly common	141	95.3
			Common	7	4.7
			Total	148	100.0
Death of military officers	1.04	.198		Frequency	Percent
			Highly common	142	95.9
			Common	6	4.1
			Total	148	100.0
Injuries on civilians	1.08	.274		Frequency	Percent
			Highly common	136	91.9
			Common	12	8.1
			Total	148	100.0
Injuries on military officers	1.06	.240		Frequency	Percent

			Highly common	139	93.9
			Common	9	6.1
			Total	148	100.0
Psychological trauma	1.09	.284		Frequency	Percent
			Highly common	135	91.2
			Common	13	8.8
			Total	148	100.0
Financial constraints	1.11	.312		Frequency	Percent
			Highly common	132	89.2
			Common	16	10.8
			Total	148	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2021

Table 4.7 shows that death of civilians and military officers, injuries on civilians and military officers, psychological trauma on both civilians and military officers are highly common in Somalia in counterterrorism efforts. The respondents were asked to rate domestic context problems as either highly common, common, or not common. On average, 93% of the respondents indicated that such domestic context problems are highly common while 7% indicated that the domestic context problems are common. None of the respondents indicated the problems as not common.

At least 99% of the civilians interviewed indicated that they have experienced some challenges as the military officers carry out their counterterrorism role. According to respondent 93,

“as terror attacks happen every other day, these problems are always with us. Unfortunately, there are no strategies to mitigate these problems and the support we receive from the government of Somalia is minimal. Sometimes, international bodies have offered us a lot of help.”

Further, respondent 101 stated that these domestic context problems are very terrifying.

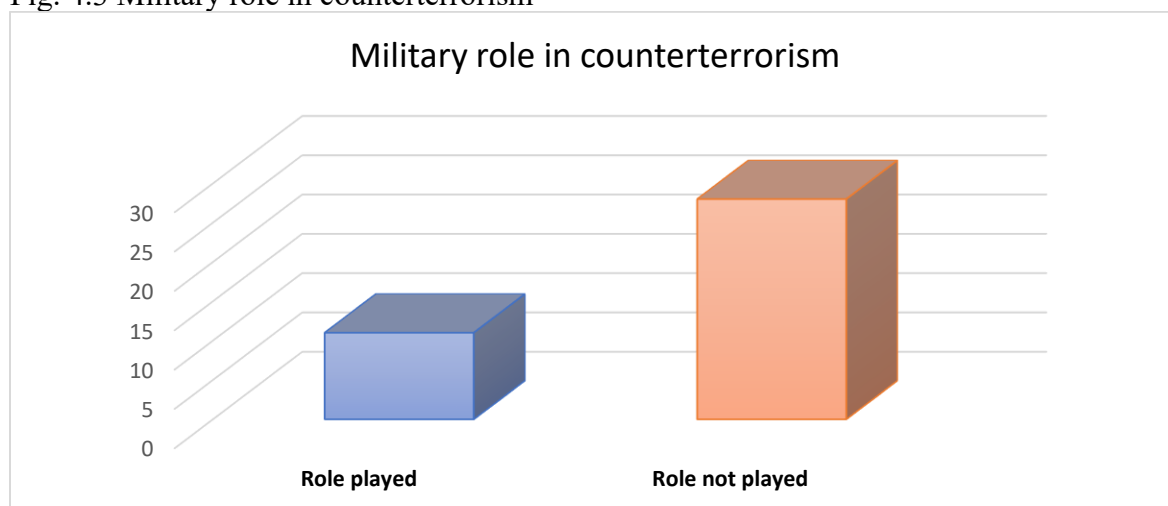
“Our children hardly sleep at night, sometimes they miss school for long. I don’t think there is a family in this district without a member who’ve sustained injuries from terror and counterterror attacks.”

Results therefore concluded that both the military and the civilians are faced by numerous challenges that arise from involvement in counterterrorism. These problems are psychological, physical, financial and social and they have affected activities of both the military and the civilians in those circles.

4.5.4 The Role of the Military in Counterterrorism

Generally, results of the study showed that the role of the military in counterterrorism is very crucial and that the non-military officers, the government and civilians need join hands and fight the menace. However, results showed that there is minimal cooperation from the civilians and the non-military officers, and that the government support is wanting. Inasmuch as only 23% of the civilians indicated to have supported the military in one way or another in their role in counterterrorism, 77% have not put any effort to play any role to assist the military combat terror in Somalia. On the other hand, 72% of the civilians indicated that the military has not played its role effectively in counterterrorism efforts as presented in fig. 4.3.

Fig. 4.3 Military role in counterterrorism



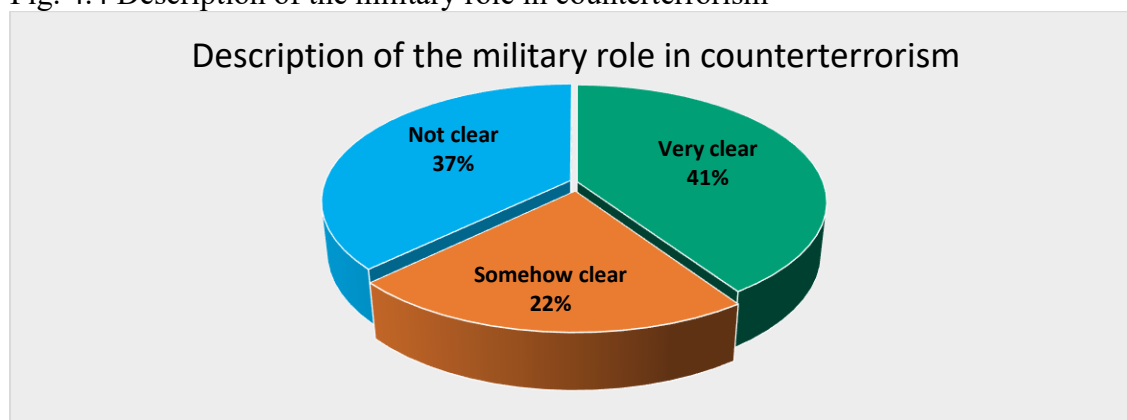
Source: Field Data, 2021

Even though results showed that the threat level of terrorism is critical (highly possible and likely to occur), 37% of the respondents indicated that their role in counterterrorism is not clear. At least 41% indicated that their role in counterterrorism is very clear with 22% indicating that their role is somehow clear as presented in fig. 4.4.

Respondents further indicated that international governments and organizations have been of great support to their role in counterterrorism, though a lot need be done to ensure that the military is well facilitated and that their role in counterterrorism is very clear. According to respondent 54,

“sometimes we are just asked to get ready for an operation and it is never clear on what kind of an operation we will be carrying out.”

Fig. 4.4 Description of the military role in counterterrorism



Source: Field Data, 2021

Results of this study therefore revealed that the role of the military officers in counterterrorism is not very clear. They lack information on their role and this has played down their efforts in fight against terror in Somalia.

4.6 Normality Test

A normality test was conducted on the data to test the normality of the variables for analysis. Shapiro-Wilk test was used to test the normality as outlined in table 4.8.

Table 4.8 Normality Test

Variables	Statistic	Shapiro-Wilk	
		df	Sig.
Military Role Training	.806	14	.006
	.853	6	.167
Utility	.824	12	.018
	.665	8	.001
Domestic Problems	.819	16	.005
	.729	4	.024

Source: Field Data, 2021

The Shapiro-Wilk test revealed that all variables were normally distributed as tests for all variables were > 0.05 .

4.7 Hypothesis Testing

One sample t-test was conducted to determine whether the Somali Defense Forces has a clear role in counterterrorism efforts in Somalia and results are presented in tables 4.9 and 4.10 below.

The observed sample mean was compared to the hypothetical value and results revealed a mean score of 1.97 which was higher by 0.27 than the hypothesized mean of 1.7. Results further revealed a $p < 0.005$ and it was therefore concluded that the sample mean was significantly different from the hypothesized mean.

Table 4.9 Statistical Analysis

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Military Role	148	1.97	.884	.073

Source: Field Data, 2021

Results showed a t statistic of $t = 3.664$ from the mean difference of 0.266 and standard error mean of 0.073, at 95% confidence level.

Table 4.10 Statistical results

	t	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Test Value = 1.7		
				Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Military Role	3.664	147	.000	.266	.12	.41

Source: Field Data, 2021

Since $p < 0.005$, we reject the null hypothesis that the Somali Defense Forces has a clear

role in counter terrorism efforts in Somalia and accept the alternative that the Somali Defense Forces has no clear role in counter terrorism efforts in Somalia. The results can therefore conclude that the role of the Somali Defense Forces on Counterterrorism is not clear and this maybe one of the reasons why terror attacks in Somalia have not declined for the last two decades.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the role of the military in counterterrorism measures in the horn of Africa. Specifically, the study sought to evaluate the extent of training by the Somali Defense Forces to carry out counterterrorism efforts in Somalia, the utility of the Somali Defense Forces in counter terrorism efforts in Somalia and the domestic context arising from the involvement of the Somali Defense Forces in counterterrorism role in Somalia. A summary of the study findings, discussions, conclusions and recommendations are as discussed in the sections below.

5.2 Summary of Major Findings

The major findings of this study are presented based on the general and specific objectives and the research questions: to investigate the role of Somali Defense Forces on counterterrorism measures in Somalia, to determine the extent of training by the Somali Defense Forces to carry out counterterrorism efforts in Somalia, to examine the utility of the Somali Defense Forces in counter terrorism efforts in Somalia and to explore the domestic context arising from the involvement of the Somali Defense Forces in counterterrorism role in Somalia.

5.2.1. The role of the Somali Defense Forces on counterterrorism measures in Somalia

The main objective of this study was to investigate the role of the Somali Defense Forces on counterterrorism measures in Somalia, and results revealed that the role of the military on counterterrorism in Somalia is not very clear. This has been contributed by lack of sufficient support from the Somali government, despite the great support received from

international governments and organizations.

5.2.2 The extent of training by the Somali Defense Forces to carry out counterterrorism efforts in Somalia

Results of the study revealed that the military officers in Somali Defense Forces receive some training on counterterrorism every quarter of the year. The trainings are mainly theoretical, physical or tactical. Results however revealed that the officers have not received any psychological training to empower them in their counterterrorism role. This training was rated as moderately advanced. These results therefore suggest that the military officers in Somali Defense Forces have not received adequate training to carry out their role in counterterrorism.

5.2.3 The utility of the Somali Defense Forces in counter terrorism efforts in Somalia

Results indicated that both the military officers and the military equipment are not fully utilized in the counterterrorism role in Somalia. The military equipment is moderately utilized while the military officers are fairly utilized. Generally, results revealed that the utility of the military officers in Somali Defense Forces is of low potential.

5.2.4 The domestic context arising from the involvement of the Somali Defense Forces in counterterrorism role in Somalia

Results of the study revealed that there are deaths and injuries on both the military officers and civilians that arise from involvement of the Somali Defense Forces in counterterrorism role in Somalia. Additionally, results indicated that both the military officers and the civilians live with trauma because of the experiences of countering terror in Somalia. These domestic context problems have posed a lot of socio-economic challenges to the people of Somalia and it's an issue that they are currently struggling with.

5.3 Discussion of the Findings

Results of this study agree with the literature reviewed in this study that the role of the

Somali Defense Forces is not very clear. Even though the role of the military in counterterrorism is very crucial, results of the study revealed that there is minimal cooperation between the military officers with the non-military officers, civilians and the Somali government. For instance, 77% of the civilians indicated that they have not supported the military at all in their counterterrorism role even though they feel that the military has not played its role in war against terror.

Generally, military groups across most African countries are highly disadvantaged as they lack proper support from the government and cooperation from the civilians and non-military officers. Kaberia (2011) and Greer (2018) agrees with the findings of this study that most African economies have not invested much in countering terror mainly due to overreliance on international support. Stigall, Blakesley and Jenks (2014) shows that the Somali military is always criticized whenever they lose a battle, yet they are not well supported. The Somali Defense Forces may therefore continue to perform dismally in the counterterrorism role, until when the government will offer its full support, and also receive maximum cooperation from the non-military officers and the civilians.

The Somali military officers have not received sufficient training to carry out their counterterrorism role and as results would concur with Greer (2018), Somalia, as one of the African countries lacks sufficient training and capacity building; mainly due to constrained budgets. As depicted by Spiker and Johnston (2012) that effective and sufficient military operations require combined training in tactical skills, behavioral measures, psychological and emotional awareness as well as physical training; findings of this study concur with the literature reviewed as results showed that the military officers have not received any psychological training or emotional awareness to prepare and help

them handle their counterterrorism role effectively.

Further, Collins (2008) has urged for a forward-thinking training for military officers that should be consistent with innovation to prepare and equip them better for combat. This is because warfare evolves and advances with changes in technology and hence military training should be at par with the innovations. Results of the study however revealed that the Somali Defense Forces has not received tech-savvy training as 98% believe that the training offered has not equipped them sufficiently to combat terror in Somalia. This concurs with Williams (2019) that the Somali Defense Forces is lacking in frontline military personnel with sufficient training and hence the overreliance in the AMISOM team. This according to Williams (2019) is because the Somali Government has lacked the seriousness of investing heavily on military training; the main reason why the military is constantly overpowered by the terror groups.

Results of the study further revealed that the military officers in Somalia have not received training at an advanced level; as 93% of the officers indicated that the training received is just moderate. This therefore reveals that the training received is not advanced at all, yet the extent of terror attacks in Somalia are highly advanced in both technology and tactics. It is therefore an emergency call for the Somali government and other security stakeholders in the country to prioritize training and ensure that it is advanced, sufficient and all inclusive, in order to efficiently combat terror in the country.

Additionally, Mugisha (2018) in a report on AMISOM's operations in Somalia between the year 2011 and 2012 shows that Somali military is poorly utilized in both personnel and facility. Results of this study therefore agrees with the literature reviewed as the results indicated that both the military officers and the military equipment have moderate and low

utility.

Instructively, 100% of the military officers indicated that both the military equipment and the military officers are not well utilized in fight against terror. This may therefore explain the constant terror attacks in Somalia that has caused a lot of social-economic damage and fatalities. Robinson (2019) indicates that a number of military officers in Somalia are not utilized in their rightful roles and hence the immense failures in the fight against terror in the country.

Results further revealed that the utility of the military officers and the military equipment is of low potential (93%). Results therefore agree with the literature reviewed where Mugisha (2018) shows that low potential on utilization of the military in Somalia has greatly contributed to the failure of the entire AMISOM team, as it has lacked support from the Somali army due to low utility. Low potential in utilization of military equipment and military officers in Somalia has put the national and social security of the people of Somalia at jeopardy as outline in the literature reviewed by TRADOC (2008). This further concurs with Robinson (2019) that the Somali Defense Forces lack proper composition and utilization to efficiently handle terrorists in the country.

As fatalities and casualties are common in any battle field, results of the study showed that both the military officers and civilians in Somalia have suffered greatly in efforts of countering terror in the country. Both the military officers and the civilians have lost lives, have been injured, have lost their economic muscles and majority live with trauma; all these arising from involvement in counterterrorism efforts. Injuries and fatalities are high in Somalia and results of this study agree with the reviewed literature where Mugisha (2018) shows that the high fatality rates in Somalia are due to the disorganization of the

Somali defense forces and lack of cooperation; that has created a pathway for the al-Shabaab insurgents to succeed in their attacks against the military officers and the civilians. On average, 93% of both the civilians and the military officers indicated that fatalities and injuries are highly common, showing that any terror attack that happens in the country leaves behind some injuries and fatalities; besides other social economic and psychological damages. Results showed that 99% of the civilians have experienced some injuries or fatalities through terror attacks in the country; either directly to themselves or indirectly to their friends and relatives.

Health psychology is paramount according to Stern (2013) indicates that military officers suffering from post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) will not deliver to their roles at all. In the literature reviewed, Stern (2013) called for maximum support for the military officers, most importantly morally and psychological as they prepare for war and after war. On the contrary, 91% of the military officers indicated that even though they suffer psychologically in their counterterrorism role, the government has offered dismal support in this regard and that most officers are overpowered by distress arising from their involvement in war against terror.

Results further indicated that the Somali Defense Forces do not receive enough support from the Somali government in their counterterrorism role, though they have been highly supported by other international governments and organizations. Results of this study therefore agrees with Williams (2019), who argues that most African economies have relented on counterterrorism efforts and instead over relied on the support of international governments, organizations and donors.

Proper organization and composition is key to success of any military group. Results of the

study and literature reviewed concurred in that the Somali military is not well organized and poorly composed. Williams (2019) places the blame squarely on the AMISOM, as according to him, it did not focus on integrating the Somali Defense Forces with the AMISOM team. This is the main reason why the Somali army is unstable and not well organize; and this has greatly contributed to the constant failure of the war against terror in the country. Results of the study further indicated that one of the main reasons that the Somali Defense Forces is not well supported and equipped, is because the Somali government is fully dependent on the AMISOM team. What would then follow once the AMISOM team is fully withdrawn from the country in terms of fight against terror?

5.4 Conclusions

Based on the results obtained, this study therefore concludes that the war against terror may not be successful and may remain as a menace in Somalia as the basic requirements to combat the vice are lacking, until a time when the Somali Defense Forces will be empowered to combat terror in Somalia. Results of the study revealed that the military officers have not received sufficient training to empower them in their role in counterterrorism, there is low potential in utility of the military officers in Somalia, and that they are faced by numerous domestic context problems in their involvement in counterterrorism role.

The study contends that proper training on various aspects of warfare such as manoeuvre, use of modern equipment, hostage rescue missions among others will significantly contribute to improving the capabilities of the defense forces in Somalia to effectively counter acts of terrorism and minimize their impact on the population. A capable and expanded force will be better placed in overwhelming the Al Shabaab in terms of force and

the effect of this will be significantly reduced acts of terrorism at home and abroad.

Where war is involved, there are always domestic context problems entangled. However, the prolonged war and persistence of terror and counterterror activities in Somalia have negatively affected the Somali Defense Forces as well as the civilians in Somalia economically, socially, psychologically and physically. Officers and civilians alike have been maimed or killed either as collateral damage or victims of deliberate targeting especially from the terrorists. Destruction of social facilities such as schools and hospitals would only mean that the residents of the affected areas do not get an education or medical care, thus overwhelming the facilities meant for the military and in some cases being left to die due to diminished capacity to care for them in the holding facilities.

5.5 Recommendations

As the results of the study revealed that the military officers are not well trained to enable them carry out their role in counterterrorism, this study therefore recommends that the training curriculum needs to be reviewed to provide an all-inclusive training, that is; physical, tactical as well as psychology to prepare the military officers undertake their role against terrorists in an efficient manner. The training should incorporate use of modern war equipment and how to use it in a terrain that the enemy is fully acquainted with.

Additionally, the government of Somalia should prioritize and invest in countering terror, as this is the major challenge that is currently facing the country; and unfortunately affecting its political, religious and socio-economic operations. This investment should include expanding and creating specialized segments within the defense forces with the skills necessary to fight home grown terrorism. Further, instead of the government of

Somalia over relying on the support of the international governments and other organizations, it should make good use of this support to empower the Somali Defense Forces and to improve the operations of its military officers in the war against terror.

Finally, the study recommends that the military needs to find a better working relationship with the citizens. This will go a long way in enabling the military to get any intelligence information that the civilians are aware of and which could be used in counter terrorism operational planning to neutralize and defeat the Al Shabaab.

5.6 Areas for Further Research

This study recommends further research on preparedness level of the Somali Defense Forces in their role in counterterrorism with a focus on the laws governing warfare, the possibility of devising a multiagency approach in the fight against terrorism. Other study areas could include aspects on the nature of collaboration between Somali Defense Forces and the Africa Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) to identify areas of weakness and improvement in the war against terrorism.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Introduction Letter

Dear respondent,

**RE: THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN COUNTERTERRORISM MEASURERS
IN SOMALIA: A CASE OF SOMALIA DEFENSE FORCES.**

I am a student undertaking a masters program in Peace, Governance and Security at Africa Nazarene University in Nairobi, Kenya. I am currently carrying out research for my graduate research project and in the process of collecting data as it is a requirement to fulfil my course of study. This is therefore a kind request to contact you as my respondent to gather in-depth data and information on my research topic.

Enclosed is a copy of my questionnaire for you to fill. Kindly note that all information that you will give will be used entirely for the purpose of this research project and will not be altered for any reasons or used for a different purpose. Please do NOT indicate your name.

Thank you for your assistance.

Abdirashid Mohamed Hussein.

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Dear respondent, my name is Abdirashid Mohamed and I am a student at Africa Nazarene University. I am currently conducting a study for my research project on the role of the military on counterterrorism in Somalia. I am kindly requesting for your few minutes so can assist me gather information for the research project by responding to a few questions that I will ask you. All the information that you will give will be sorely used for purposes of this study only.

- 1) What military rank do you hold in Somali National Army?
- 2) For how long have you served in the military?
- 3) Are you involved in any way of counterterrorism efforts in Somalia?
If yes, what role do you play in countering terror in Somalia?
- 4) How would you describe the role of the military in counterterrorism in Somalia?
- 5) In your own opinion, do you think the government in providing necessary support to the military in counterterrorism efforts in Somalia?
- 6) How would you describe the involvement of AMISOM in fight against terror in Somalia?
- 7) In your line of duty, have you ever been involved in any rescue mission like capturing hostages from terrorists? How would you describe the experience?
- 8) In your own opinion, do you think the Somali military has received the necessary and adequate training to combat terror?
If yes, kindly state some examples of training exercises conducted on the military officers to equip them on counterterrorism
- 9) How would you compare the level of military training in Somalia and that of other forces regionally and globally?
- 10) How would you rate the military facility and equipment that is currently being used by the Somali Army in counterterrorism efforts?
- 11) Do you think that the Somali military is fully utilized in combating terror in Somalia?
If no, what areas do you think are not fully utilized and what recommendations would you give to maximize utility of the Somali military on counterterrorism?
- 12) What are some of the challenges faced by the Somalia military in their involvement in counterterrorism efforts?
- 13) Are there any measures that the military has put in place to address these challenges? If yes, what are some of these measures?
- 14) In your own opinion, do you think the Somalia military is well motivated to combat terror in Somalia?
- 15) What improvements would you recommend to improve on the motivation of the military officers in Somalia?
- 16) What recommendations would you give to improve the involvement and participation of the military in counterterrorism efforts in Somalia?
- 17) Any other comment?

Appendix 3: Research Questionnaire for Defense Forces Officers**SECTION A: Demographic and Background Information**

1. Age

- a) 15 to 20 years
- b) 21 to 30 years
- c) 31 to 40 years
- d) 41 to 50 years
- e) 51 to 60 years

2. Marital Status

- a) Married
- b) Single
- c) Others (Please indicate) _____

Male Female

4. Educational level

Primary Secondary College/ Tertiary University

5. Military Rank

Brigadier Major Captain First Lieutenant Second Lieutenant Others
(please indicate)

6. Years of military experience

0- 1 1-10 10- 20 20- 30 40-50 Above 50

SECTION B: Extent of training by the Somali Defense Forces to carry out counterterrorism efforts

7. Have you received any military training on counterterrorism?

YES NO

8. How often do you receive training?

a) Once a month

b) Every 3 months

c). Every 6 months

d). Once a year

e). Others (please indicate) _____

9. In your opinion, do you think the training received equips you well to play your role on counterterrorism?

a). YES

b). NO

10. If your answer is YES above, what kind of training do you always receive? Tick all applicable

a). Physical

b). Tactical

c). Psychological

d). Theoretical

e). Others (Please indicate)

11. What branch of defense forces are you specifically trained in? Tick all applicable

a). The Army

b). The Navy

c). The Air Force

d). The Marine Force

e). Others (Please indicate)

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12. Have you received any special training on rescue missions like capturing hostages from terrorists?

a). YES

b). NO

13. How would you rate the training you have received on handling military/war equipment?

a). Very Advanced

b). Advanced

c). Moderately Advanced

d). Basic

14. Do you face any challenges or difficulties during military training?

a) YES

b) NO

If YES, kindly explain.

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15. Which statement(s) below depicts the level of training received in your role in counterterrorism? *Please tick appropriately.*

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I always receive refresher training on counterterrorism					
I usually receive my training through a defense college that is well equip to empower me with counterterrorism knowledge					
My employer prioritizes training as the main tool in counterterrorism					
The training offered is on both individual and leadership level					
With the training received I can comfortably command an army in a war against terror					
I have received intermediate and advanced military training on counterterrorism					
The training received is applies use of modern technology and modern war equipment					

16. Do you think the Somali government is committed enough to support military officers attain the required level of military training on counterterrorism?

Strongly agree Agree Not sure Disagree Strongly disagree

17. Besides the national government of Somalia, are there other non-governmental bodies and organizations that have offered support in your military training?

YES

NO

If YES, kindly state

18. What areas would you like included in the training to equip you better in your role on counterterrorism? Please indicate

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SECTION C: Utility of Defense Forces in counter terrorism

19. How would you rate the utility of the Somali defense forces in the war against terror?

- a) High potential
- b) Moderate potential
- c) Low potential

20. Do you think you are fully utilized as a defense forces officer in the counterterrorism role?

- a) YES
- b) NO

21. In your own opinion, is the military well equipped to combat terror in the country?

- a) YES
- b) NO

22. How would you describe the level of utilization of war equipment within the defense forces in combating terror in the country?

- a) Maximum utility
- b) Moderate utility
- c) Low utility
- d) Not utilized at all

23. How would you rate utilization of the military officers in rescue missions like capturing hostages from the terrorists?

- a) Fully utilized
- b) Moderately utilized
- c) Fairly utilized
- d) Not utilized at all

24. Are there any strategies put forward by the ministry of defense in Somalia to ensure that military personnel and equipment are well and fully utilized in counterterrorism?

- a) YES
- b) NO

If YES, kindly describe

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SECTION D: Domestic context problems arising from involvement in counterterrorism role

25. Do you face any challenges in your role in counterterrorism?

- a) YES
- b) NO

26. Kindly tick as applicable on some of the domestic context problems you have encountered in your role in counterterrorism

Domestic context problem	Highly Common	Common	Not Sure	Not Common
Death of civilians during counterterrorism operations				
Death of military officers during counterterrorism operations				
Injuries on civilians during counterterrorism operations				
Injuries on military officers during counterterrorism operations				
Psychological trauma during counterterrorism operations				
Psychological trauma after counterterrorism operations				
Financial constraints in counterterrorism efforts				

27. Are there any strategies in place to mitigate such domestic context problems?

- a) YES
- b) NO

If YES above, what are some of these strategies?

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28. In your own opinion, what measures do you think should be put in place to address such challenges and to improve your work environment as a defense forces officer?

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SECTION E: The role of military in counterterrorism

29. How would you describe the threat level of terrorism in Somalia?

- a) Critical (Highly possible and likely to occur)
- b) Severe (Highly likely to occur)
- c) Substantial (Likely to occur)
- d) Moderate (Possible but not likely to occur)
- e) Low (Unlikely to occur)

30. How would you describe the role of the military in counterterrorism in Somalia?

- a) Very clear
- b) Somehow clear
- c) Not clear

Kindly explain.

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31. Are all branches of the Somali defense forces involved in counterterrorism efforts?

YES NO

32. How would you describe cooperation of the military on the fight against terror with
a) Non-military security forces

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b) Civilians

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SECTION F: Recommendations

33. What recommendations would you give to elevate the role of defense forces in counterterrorism in Somalia?

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34. Any other comment

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Thank you for your time!

Appendix 4: Questionnaire for civilians**SECTION A: Demographic and Background Information**

1. Age

- a) 15 to 20 years
- b) 21 to 30 years
- c) 31 to 40 years
- d) 41 to 50 years
- e) 51 to 60 years

2. Marital Status

- a) Married
- b) Single
- c) Others (Please indicate) _____

3. Gender

Male Female

4. Educational level

Primary Secondary College/ Tertiary University

5. Economic status

Employed Self-Employed Not Employed

SECTION B: Counterterrorism in Somalia

6. How would you describe the threat level of terrorism in Somalia?

- a) Critical (Highly possible and likely to occur)
- b) Severe (Highly likely to occur)

- c) Substantial (Likely to occur)
- d) Moderate (Possible but not likely to occur)
- e) Low (Unlikely to occur)

7. Have you or any one close to you been a victim of terrorism in the last 10 years?

YES NO

8. If YES above, what kind of terror threat was experienced?

- a) Kidnapping by terrorists
- b) Bombings
- c) Assassinations
- d) Armed assaults
- e) Others (Please indicate)

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9. In your own opinion, do you think the Somali defense forces have played their role effectively in counterterrorism efforts?

YES NO

10. As a civilian, is there any role that you have played to assist the defense forces in counterterrorism efforts?

YES NO

If YES above, kindly state

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SECTION C: Domestic context problems arising from involvement in counterterrorism role.

11. Have you experienced any challenges as the defense forces officers carry out their role in counterterrorism?

YES NO

12. Kindly tick as applicable on some of the domestic context problems you have encountered as a civilian.

Domestic context problem	Highly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I am always afraid when I see military officers in the streets fighting terrorists					
I live in fear of being attacked by terrorists					
There are many military officers who have lost lives while in their role on counterterrorism					
There are many civilians who have lost lives while in their role on counterterrorism					
I have sustained injuries from terrorists attack					
I have friends and relatives who have lost lives through terror					
Terrorism has affected my socio- economic wellbeing and that of my society					
I have incurred huge monetary costs due to terror					

SECTION D: Recommendations

13. What strategies would you recommend in counterterrorism efforts in Somalia?

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14. Are there any recommendations you would give to the Somali defense forces officers in their counterterrorism role?

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15. Any other comments?

Appendix 5: Somalia Ministry of Education, Culture & Higher Education Authorization Letter



Ref: MED/734/20

Date: 16/08/2020

This is to certify that Mr. Abdirashid Mohamed Hussein of Africa Nazarene University has been licensed to conduct research in Mogadishu on the topic: **THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN COUNTERTERRORISM MEASURES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA REGION: A CASE OF SOMALIA DEFENSE FORCES.** For a period of one year.

Mr. Abdi Ahmed Ali
 General Director



Appendix 6: ANU Authorization Letter

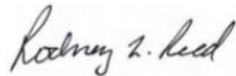


13th August, 2020

RE: TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Hussein Abdirashid Mohamed (18M03EMGP022) is a bonafide student at Africa Nazarene University. He has finished his course work and has defended his thesis proposal entitled: - *“The Role of the Military in Counterterrorism in the Horn of Africa Region: A Case Study of Somalia Defense Forces”*.

Any assistance accorded to him to facilitate data collection and finish his thesis is highly welcomed.



Prof. Rodney Reed.

DVC, Academic & Student Affairs

Appendix 7: Map of Mogadishu



Source: Maps of World