

**POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND ACCESS TO PRIMARY EDUCATION IN HODAN
DISTRICT, MOGADISHU, SOMALIA**

BY

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**A THESIS DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
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DECLARATION

I, Asha Mohamud Esse Abdi declare that this research Dissertation on “Political instability and access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu – Somalia” is my original work and to the best of my knowledge, has not been submitted for any award at any academic institution.

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APPROVAL

This research Dissertation on “Political instability and access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu – Somalia” has been done under my guidance and Supervision as an academic Supervisor and is due for submission to Kampala International University in Partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Award of Masters of Public Administration and Management

Signature:

Date:

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Oketch Chrisostom

DEDICATION

I dedicate this piece of work to the Almighty Allah who has enabled me to carry out research successfully and my beloved parents for their endless support both financially and morally without forgetting my dear brothers and my lovely sisters. May the Almighty Allah bless you all.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Firstly am greatly indebted to the Almighty Allah for enabling me complete my academic career.

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Oketch Chrisostom for the patience and guidance

Sincere gratitude goes to my beloved husband Mr. Ali Omar and my dear friends especially; Ahmed Mohamud Isse, Samata Ali, Abdifitah Mohamed Yusuf and the rest.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

EU	European Union
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

ABSTRACT

The study sought to examine political instability and access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu, Somalia. The study objectives were; to establish the forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu, to establish causes of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu and to identify how political instability affects access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu. The study was based on political decay theory which was developed by Samuel Huntington (1965). The theory describes how chaos and disorder can arise from social modernization increasing more rapidly than political and institutional modernization (Samatar, 2011). Empirical literature on education in Africa is abundant. The study employed descriptive correlational research design on the respondents in Hodan District, Mogadishu- Somalia. Correlational design measured the correlation between the two variables. This is because correlational research design allows researchers to collect much more data than experiments. The target population for this study comprised of 260 respondents and these were 25 selected Politicians, 115 Officials from Ministry of Education, 20 Top administrators of Hodan District and 100 other local community members who were randomly selected in Hodan District, Mogadishu. The researcher used a sample of 158 respondents using different sampling techniques and these included; purposive and random sampling methods. Simple random approach was used during the study. Purposive sampling was also used to select only respondents for the researcher to attain the purpose of the study. Data was collected from primary and secondary sources using questionnaires and interviews. After collecting data, the researcher organized well-answered questionnaire, data was edited and sorted for the next stage. The data was presented in tabular form with frequencies and percentages. The study findings revealed that the average mean was 2.78 equivalent to high on the Likert Scale which implies that a lot had been done in ensuring proper access to primary education in Hodan District despite the prevailing political instabilities in the district. Furthermore, one of the politicians interviewed suggested that with the ever-deteriorating security in Somalia, accessing education has been relatively difficult for instance most of the school going children fear being abducted on their way to school. The study findings revealed that the forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu had an average mean of 3.82 which was equivalent to very high. The study concludes that at the political level, the present Somali government emerges to have a working cabinet. In reality, though, the cabinet has no actual departmental support and no civil servants serving in staff positions. Most significantly, the cabinet lacks almost any funds. Also deficient are some of the services that working governmental departments typically offer. The study recommends that there is need to implement strict legal framework to curb corruption and mismanagement of the wealth in Somalia since this tends to fuel political instabilities in the communities hence affecting access to primary education. The study recommends that there is need for proper democracy through free and fair elections in Somalia. This can help to strengthen the government agencies hence eliminate political instability in the country thus help to improve on access to primary education

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This study was carried out in order to examine how political instability affects access to primary education in Somalia. This chapter contains the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, the objectives of the study, research questions, scope of the study, and significance of the study and definition of key terms.

1.1 Background of the Study

Background of the Study encompasses four perspectives namely historical, theoretical, conceptual and contextual perspectives.

1.1.1 Historical Perspective

Globally, throughout the history, the political, economic and social difficulties that confronted all governments explain the frequent governmental crises that followed one another in Western Europe (Mudimbe, 2015). In France, General de Gaulle could not impose his idea of a strong executive power and preferred to resign, despite the personal prestige he had acquired during the war as head of the Free French. In Italy and Belgium, the issue of the monarchy divided the population into two irreconcilable camps. The internal situation continued to deteriorate (Nyerere, 2013). In Italy, a referendum was held on 2 June 1946 when it was decided to abolish the monarchy. A republic was immediately declared. In Belgium, the return of King Leopold III – whose attitude during the war had been condemned in certain circles – provoked serious riots in Wallonia and Brussels. Insurrection was in the air, and the forces of law and order cracked down with some bloodshed on strikes and demonstrations against the king. Despite the majority in support of the monarchy secured in the referendum of March 1950, the King of the Belgians preferred to abdicate in favour of his son, Baudouin, for the sake of national unity (Pestalozza, 2012).

In Africa, political instability has become endemic to Sub-Saharan African countries. Since the early 1960s, when most of the African countries began to achieve independence, more than fifty

coups have taken place in the continent. This rise in political decay has significantly affected economic development (Rodney, 2012). This study examines the relationship between elite political instability and economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa. It concludes that political instability has contributed significantly to economic stagnation in the continent of Africa. In Africa, education in French controlled West Africa during the late 1800s and early 1900s was different from the nationally uniform compulsory education of France in the 1880s (Samatar, 2011). "Adapted education" was organized in 1903 and used the French curriculum as a basis, replacing information relevant to France with "comparable information drawn from the African context." For example, French lessons of morality were coupled with many references to African history and local folklore.

Somalia apprehended elections three times between "1960-69". After military revolution, Somalia emerged muscular nation which became known as one of the precedence powers in Africa (Samatar, 2015). It was when Somalia associated and joined with International and Inter-governmental organizations, built economy and infrastructures (roads, ports), built national arms, launched factories and small industries, enlarged the regions/ districts and realized developing on Somali-Script. However, today's depiction is different with political catastrophe, fictional leaders, insecurity and Somali reputation sunk in contempt at the highest level across the globe (Samatar, 2011). With the collapse of the state in January 2012, Somalia immediately succumbed to the opportunistic tendencies of a dozen or so competing factions mostly created and led by special interest warlords. The warlords, having learned their political lessons from the former military dictatorship, all wanted, rationally or irrationally, to occupy the seat of the presidency. State, in this context, is defined as the law enforcing agencies of the country. More broadly, it could also be seen as representing a political entity that functions within a set of prescribed boundaries that are primarily designed and maintained to deal with the organizations of human associations (Samatar, 2014). In the Somalia of the early 1990s, the conspicuous absence of the state was complemented by the lack of any genre of national leadership that was able to see beyond the tribal spectra of events. In lamenting the paramountcy of this leadership vacuum, Mirreh (2014) concludes that the 'single most important factor responsible for Somalia's catastrophe is the nature of the opportunistic leadership that is there'.

In terms of what happened to most primary schools in Hodan District and systems of learning after the collapse of Somalia, the scenario, tragic as it is, may still have a ‘cluster’ of historical parallels (Connor, 2014). In all the cases, the perpetrators of these acts of senseless destruction, to be described in our context as deliberate, or at times, ‘innocent’ forays of de-development, were the invading groups, who, for all possible explanations, were enemies of what they did not understand: the value of knowledge and learning within the district. In Hodan’s case in particular, the deliberate destruction of schools, university lecture halls, libraries and laboratories, sometimes complemented by the targeting of the educated cadre among the warring factions, may sadly remind one of different, albeit less promising, historical epochs (Touval, 2012).

1.1.2 Theoretical Perspective

The study was based on political decay theory which was developed by Samuel Huntington (1965). The theory describes how chaos and disorder can arise from social modernization increasing more rapidly than political and institutional modernization (Samatar, 2011). Huntington provides different definitions for political development and describes the form of political decay according to the various definitions. Huntington focuses primarily on political development as modernization and institutionalization. Although he points to the different definitions of political development as being arbitrary ways to understanding the rise of political systems and the relationship between the political systems in different nations.

This theory is closely related to political instability since Samuel Huntington conceptualized political development as movement toward institutionalization which, according to theory developed in his monumental work *Political Order in Changing Societies*, is the major factor in achieving political instability (Samatar, 2011). This is because with political instability ensured in the country, then there can be proper access to primary education since political instability has been the major hindrance to access to primary education especially in rural areas of Somalia.

1.1.3 Conceptual Perspective

Political instability is the possibility of having demonstrations, types of violence, people going on strike or the possibility of a coup d’état (Bayart, 2011) It is additionally measured in terms of whether the authorities may additionally crumple or not. Political instability can be described in at

least three ways. According to the political theories of Max Weber, political stability relies upon on the government's legitimate use of physical force. If the authorities cannot ensure the simple offerings it presents for people, such as security and the possibility of deciding to buy meals and shelter, it loses the power to enforce laws and political instability ensues. Political instability is related with the thought of a failed country (Connor, 2014).

Education is the procedure of facilitating learning, or the acquisition of knowledge, skills, values, beliefs, and habits. Educational strategies include storytelling, discussion, teaching, training, and directed lookup (Bayart, 2011). Education regularly takes place under the education of educators, but rookies can also additionally train themselves. Education can take location in formal or casual settings and any journey that has a formative impact on the way one thinks, feels, or acts can also be regarded educational. The methodology of educating is known as pedagogy. Education is typically divided formally into such tiers as preschool or kindergarten, fundamental school, secondary faculty and then college, university, or apprenticeship. Everyone has the proper to education. Education shall be free, at least in the basic and crucial stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and expert education shall be made usually handy and greater schooling shall be equally handy to all on the foundation of advantage (Finnegan, 2011).

1.1.4 Contextual Perspective

At the political level, the present Somali government emerges to have a working cabinet. In reality, though, the cabinet has no actual departmental support and no civil servants serving in staff positions (Freire, 2012). Most significantly, the cabinet lacks almost any funds. Also deficient are some of the services that working governmental departments typically offer. Next, the merely describing characteristics of the Somali government are corruption and criminality. The lack of central governance has also helped the arrangement of small fiefdoms. Somali Government has failed to avoid factionalism and misrepresentation of reality in politics. For instance, in the capital city of Mogadishu, multiple groups compete and have competed politically and militarily for neighborhoods and even particular streets (Mersiades, 2005).

The Somali government needs to keep pushing toward progress, and the president has little rational choice but to stand for re-election. If he fails, or attempts to remain in power by delaying elections, a new parliament will be selected according to the recent agreement reached in Hodan District

Representatives of Somalia's federal states will select a new Somali parliament, which will in turn select a new government. There could be district-level elections, which would enable regional elders to select a new Somali political leadership. There is also a possibility of delaying parliamentary elections and having the current parliament hold a fresh vote for president. This means that, once again, a parliament will have to be selected by elders or representatives of the Somali regions (Gellner, 2011).

This kind of election has happened before in Somalia, a country known for internal strife as constituencies and clans vie for position in the new political landscape (Gellner, 2011). The situation has, however, become more complex since the last election. The Somalia government has embraced a federal structure, acknowledging the political leadership in various regions such as Jubaland, Galmudug, Puntland and others. The new structure makes sense for a central government that has trouble exercising physical control over parts of its territory. By recognizing a degree of autonomy, it can retain at least some political control in these areas.

In Somalia's case, though, the country's situation in the last 7 years or so would lead us to believe that informal education is not only destructive at the moment, it also seems to be legitimizing a host of negative consequences, and in the process, it is self-perpetuating (Samatar, 2011).

The overwhelming destructive nature of informal education in current Somalia is conspicuous in the lives of millions of former schoolers and would-have-been schoolers who are no longer in the business of future-building. Instead, Somalia's youth are fast adopting the culture of thuggery, war-like attitudes toward life, clan and sometimes sub-clan righting, and survival on the fringes of an otherwise disintegrating society. The social formation that is taking place within the lives of Somalia's children in these situations, therefore, is conspicuously capable of diffusing in them a wanton desire to destabilize the human and physical environments in which they must function (Ghosh, 2014)

In terms of the present condition of former centres of higher learning, the buildings are, at least, not useless. They have been overtaken by former pastoralists after the majority of the city dwellers fled the urban centres. The flight of the urbanites was instigated by factional fighting in and around the major cities (Samatar, 2014). The lack of doors and windows (already looted) in most of these buildings does not seem to bother the new occupants who, having been used to living in small huts

in open spaces, may now be savouring the luxury of the concrete buildings. This is also true for most of the city's nicer houses, where in the words of Finnegan (2011), the people who are now inhabiting these homes are from the countryside, and are, therefore, 'enjoying their first sojourn in the city'.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Education has a great social importance especially in the modern, complex industrialized societies. Philosophers of all periods, beginning with ancient stages, devoted to it a great deal of attention (Bayart, 2011). Accordingly, various theories regarding its nature and objective have come into being.

However currently, access to primary education in Somalia especially in Hodan District has been turned into dreadful and awful since the collapse of the Government in 1991. According to UN (2016), approximately 67% of the school going children have been abducted and killed by several terrorist groups in Hodan District. Furthermore Sahnoun (2014) reported that due to political crisis in Somalia, thousands of primary school pupils have become victims since most of them are raped and killed on their way to school. This has discouraged most parents from sending their child to primary schools especially in conflict hit areas of Mogadishu. This has created fear among community members hence most children have been left home without schooling.

It is believed that the prevailing political hostilities and anarchy in Hodan District have contributed to the ever-increasing levels of illiteracy in the district since most students have drop-out fearing Al-Shabaab abduction. In addition, there were repeated reports of the terrorist group targeting students in government schools which are cheap and affordable to most poor parents in Hodan District. Since this has contributed to high levels of school dropout and illiteracy in the district and therefore it was in this regard that the researcher seeks to examine how political instability affected access to primary education in Hodan District, Somalia

1.3 Purpose of the Study

To examine the effect of political instability on access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu, Somalia

1.4 Objectives

- i. To establish the forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu
- ii. To ascertain causes of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu
- iii. To identify how political instability affects access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu

1.5 Research Questions

- i. What are the forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu?
- ii. What are causes of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu?
- iii. How does political instability affect access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu?

1.6 Scope of the Study

The scope of the study was categorized into three; these were geographical scope, content scope and time scope.

1.6.1 Geographical Scope

This study was conducted from Hodan District in Mogadishu. Hodan District is situated in the southeastern Banaadir region of Somalia. The researcher chose Hodan District because of increases reports of high illiteracy rates due to inaccessible to primary education because of increased political instabilities.

1.6.2 Content Scope

The study focused on the forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu, causes of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu and how political instability affects access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu

1.6.3 Time Scope

The study focused on the period of 2005-2016. The time period was purposely selected since it was during this time period that when there was a rapid increase in the illiteracy rates within Hodan District due political instability. The study was interested in information concerning political instability and access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu, Somalia and the time

scope of 6 month that was from March to September 2017 because of the nature of exercise that was undertaken in gathering, editing and processing data.

1.7 Significance of the Study

Some of the benefits that this study offers are indicated below

The study will help to increase awareness among parents in order to make informed decisions when sending their children to schools in the district

The study will act as a wheel base, which will carry the nation to development centre. Therefore, the need for it cannot be over-emphasized.

The result of this research if properly implemented is expected to immense value to the educational practitioners because it is poised to help identify some of the problems that stand as impediment to the successful implementation of the educational policy.

1.8 Operational Definitions of key terms

This section mainly covered the key terms used in this research.

Political instability

Political instability refers to the possibility of having various forms of violence, people striking or the possibility of having a coup d'état (Afrax, 2014)

Primary education

Primary Education is the initial stage of education and has as its basic aim to create, establish and offer opportunities to all children, regardless of age, gender or country of origin, to achieve a balanced cognitive, emotional and psychomotor development (Arat, 2012)

Access to primary education

This refers to the process of acquiring primary education services and the extent to which these services are delivered.

Political violence

Political violence is a broad term used to describe violence perpetrated by either persons or governments to achieve political goals. Many groups and individuals believe that their political systems will never respond to their demands

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Literature review is a partial summary of the previous work related to the hypothesis of the study that was explored and cited as well as existing knowledge related to political instability in Hodan District and access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu, Somalia in correlation to the research specific objectives.

2.1 Theoretical Review

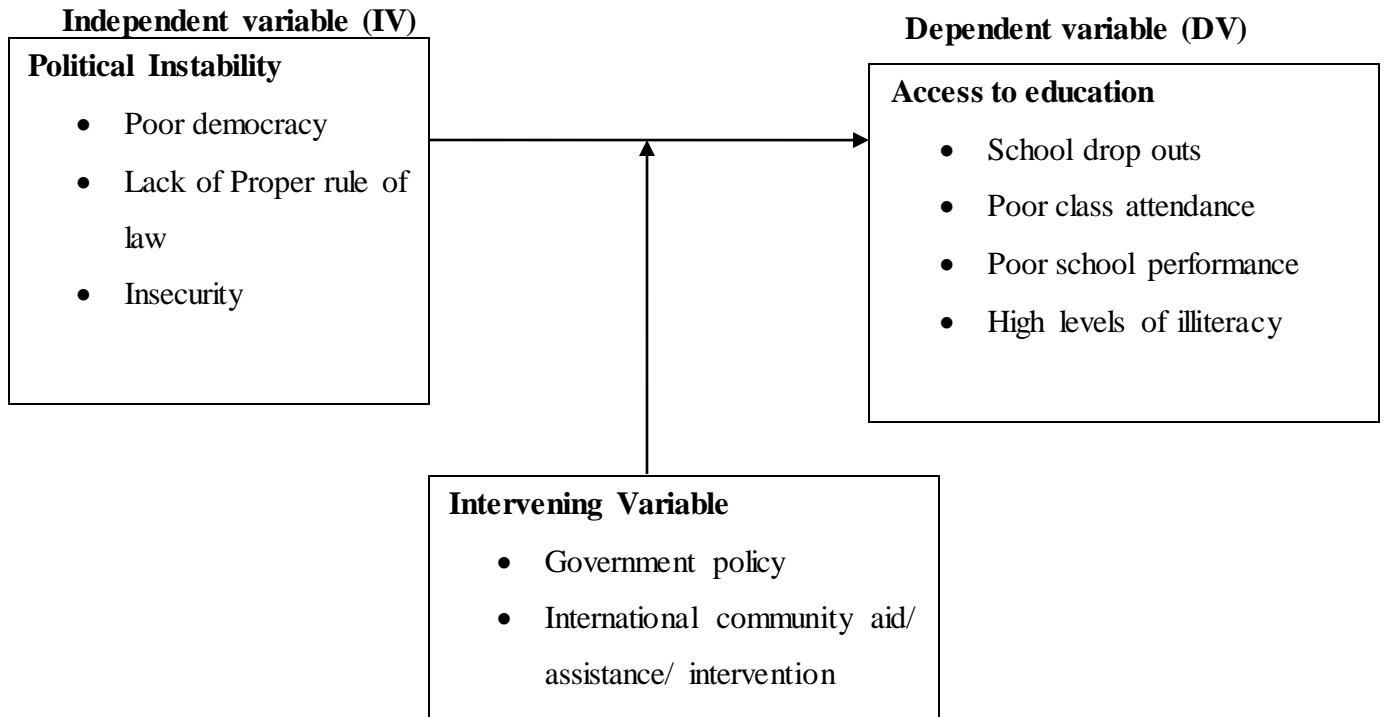
The study was based on political decay theory which was developed by Samuel Huntington (1965). The theory describes how chaos and disorder can arise from social modernization increasing more rapidly than political and institutional modernization (Samatar, 2011). Huntington provides different definitions for political development and describes the form of political decay according to the various definitions. Huntington focuses primarily on political development as institutionalization and it is in this aspect that the theory is linked to this study. This is because Huntington aims at understanding the rise of political systems and the relationship between the political systems in line with institutions such as educational institutions hence enabling access to education services. Samuel Huntington furthermore conceptualized political development as movement toward institutionalization which, according to theory developed in his monumental work *Political Order in Changing Societies*, is the major factor in achieving political instability (Samatar, 2011). This is because with political instability ensured in the country, then there can be proper access to primary education since political instability has been the major hindrance to access to primary education especially in rural areas of Somalia.

Political instability occurs when one faction in a state's government is in opposition with another faction or with another institution in government. In Somalia especially Hodan District has been experiencing a period of political instability ever since the collapse of the government in 1991 and this has declined the performance of institutions and education institutions inclusively within the district.

2.2 Conceptual review

Conceptual framework showing how political instability affects access to primary education

Figure 2. 1; Conceptual framework



Source: Adopted from Pestalozza, (2012)

The above conceptual framework indicates that the independent variable is political instability which concerns; Poor democracy, Lack of Proper rule of law and Insecurity and the dependent variable focuses on dependent variable focuses on; school drop outs, Poor class attendance, Poor school performance and High levels of illiteracy. The intervening variable includes; Government policy and International community aid/ assistance/ intervention.

The conceptual framework above further indicates that the existence of political instability due to poor democracy, lack of proper rule of law and the ever-deteriorating security affects access to education. For example, with the repeated threats from Al-shaabab terrorists group that has over time carried out terror attacks on people further contributes to inaccessibility of education such as school going children for fear of abduction and massacre on their way to school. This further

implies that ensuring better democratic practices, proper rule of law and security can help to provide a favorable climate for accessing primary education.

2.3 Review of Related literature

The related literature review was presented objective by objective. In this section, literature from various scholars was reviewed on the major variables of the study which included;

2.3.1 Forms of political instability

At the political level, the present Somali government emerges to have a working cabinet. In reality, though, the cabinet has no actual departmental support and no civil servants serving in staff positions (Afrax, 2014). Most significantly, the cabinet lacks almost any funds. Also deficient are some of the services that working governmental departments typically offer. Next, the merely describing characteristics of the Somali government are corruption and criminality. The lack of central governance has also helped the arrangement of small fiefdoms. Somali Government has failed to avoid factionalism and misrepresentation of reality in politics. For instance, in the capital city of Mogadishu, multiple groups compete and have competed politically and militarily for neighborhoods and even particular streets (Mersiades, 2005)

Somalia can also be observed as a failed state from a societal viewpoint. Human rights abuses, indiscriminate aggression, and uninformed arrests and detentions in Somalia have produced a humanitarian catastrophe (Arat, 2012). On March 28, 2008, the United Nations Human Rights Council expressed severe apprehension concerning the infringements of humanitarian and human rights law in Somalia. Human trafficking of young women and children for the reason of prostitution, as well as male slave workers, is as commonplace as piracy and presents another symptom of prearranged crime in Somalia. (Hoehne, 2009) Moreover, Somalia is not a party to either the Protocols Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air or the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, which are both supplements to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. The humanitarian situations in Somalia are both a consequence and a reason of the country's failed state status. For instance, the Ethiopian intervention guided to further chaos and instability in Somalia, as well as the weakening of humanitarian, political, and security situations in the country. In the last two years, additional

than 22,000 civilians have been killed; an anticipated 1.1 million people have been displaced; and 476,000 Somalis have fled to neighboring nations. (Hoehne, 2009)

Bayart (2011) noted that immediately after the fall of Barre regime the coastal region of Somalia was managed by UNOSOM1 &2 until the United States and United Nations pulled out of Somalia. During Siad Barre' time as president he had a maritime force that protected the enormous fisheries in Somalia waters. The force restricted regional inclination to piracy and maritime crime. However, this was let lose after the collapse of Barre's regime. It is therefore fitting to argue that piracy in the Gulf of Aden and off the coast of Somalia is a menace and a threat not just to the horn and East Africa, but to the international community too (Bayart, 2011). Piracy, as James and Wilson had observed, "is an illegal act of violence committed for private ends by the crew or passengers of a ship against another ship outside of a state's territorial waters". Otherwise, inside territorial waters such crimes are considered armed robbery at sea.

Many scholars believe that proximity of politically unstable nations and territories are both cause of armed robbery or maritime piracy in such regions (Brittain, 2014). Weir Gary, for instance, concluded that "Somalia's internal unrest, its lack of government control, and the authority of local clan warlords have created a favorable climate for maritime crime, one that often gives thieves and pirates permission to act freely". A lot has been written and published about the poverty nature, lack of infrastructure, and less opportunities in Somalia and therefore combined with lack of government has led to the spiraling of piracy in the horn of Africa. Piracy has also been used for money laundering business in Somalia and adjacent countries like Kenya and Ethiopia, just to mention a few (Cassanelli, 2011).

Somalia is frequently considered an archetypal failed state and terrorist safe haven. Since the overthrow of long-time Somali leader Siad Barre in 1991, Somalia has experienced failed international involvements, large-scale refugee flows, and the ongoing deficiency of even rudimentary state services and institutions; Somalis exist in surroundings of predation and pervasive insecurity and deprivation (Menkhaus, 2006). There is no actual central authority, and neither is there numerous of the other characteristics usually linked with a sovereign state. This does not mean, however, that entire anarchy has existed. Instead, existing religious and social/familial (clan-based) structures have effort to fill some of the space left by the government's collapse. For instance, Koranic schools have taken on a social purpose in addition to their religious

role, while a structure of sharia-based Islamic courts has evolved since 1991 to become the major judicial structure. This was the origins of the ICU, which, over the course of 2006, take or consolidated control of the country from the incompetent, opportunistic, and externally built Transitional Federal Government (TFG). The ICU's main petition was that it brought stability and preventability to regions under its control, even managing to reopen Mogadishu international airport, which had been closed since the UN withdrawal in 1995(Pestalozza, 2012).

It is therefore interesting that the failed state rhetoric which has been utilized to explain Somalia for years only became actionable when a unifying Islamic force brought some amount of statehood back to the nation. The Ethiopian and US proceedings against the ICU in December 2006 and January 2007 were planned to remove the ICU, shore up the TFG, and take out some top US terrorist targets (Cassanelli, 2011).

There is no law and order of any type in Somalia because of the lack of a central government and severe poverty (Connor, 2014). As a consequence, criminal activity is rampant throughout the nation. While some connect in criminal behavior for fundamental survival, others have formed a professional criminal enterprise, particularly in the form of piracy. Although the international community has not forever taken the problem of piracy critically, current proceedings have guided to further extensive international concern. It has become obvious that unless piracy is contested, it will spiral out of control, intimidating the sea lanes that transport almost half of the world's cargo and efficiently underwriting terrorist activities (Fanon, 2010). Somali piracy has been a main trouble since 1991. However, the occurrence of such piracy has developed considerably in current years both in conditions of scope and scale. Since 2008, it has expanded to cover the whole maritime area. In addition, pirates have become masterful at recognizing vessels that are susceptible because of slow sailing speeds, small crews, poor security, and ineffective counter-piracy processes. (Jones, 2008) The International Maritime Bureau (IMB) reports that by May 2009 the number of events of Somali piracy, comprising 114 efforted hijackings and twenty-nine successful hijackings, had already exceeded all attacks in the prior year. Pirate operations, while growing into further sophisticated and professional undertakings, have also become further violent and ruthless. Since 1990, the total number of pirates has augmented, according to some reports, from the hundreds to the thousands (Fanon, 2010).

Since the fall of Siad Barre in Somalia, about two decades ago it is unbelievable that Somalia remains a training ground for terrorist organizations (Finnegan, 2011). The US and most of the Western world believed that the fall of Siad Barre had given rise to instability in Somalia. They argued that the country was too unstable and ungoverned and therefore was not conducive environment for militants to train and learn the guerrilla tactics. However, the thought was immediately jettisoned after Ethiopia invaded and removed the Islamist government.

Overall Somalia politically is unstable. After the collapse of the Somali government various factions decided to vie for control of Somalia, which resulted in chaos, clan warfare, and interplant fighting. Although Somalia is not as lawless as it was at the time when Barre as ousted Somali factions still continue to fight for control of the territory (Bayart, 2011).

Brittain (2014) noted that Somalia is a much divided national that lacks any sense of cohesive government and therefore there is no real overall ideology of the country. Somalia is attempting to stabilize many of the internal conflicts that continue to prevail in the country along with attempting to create a political ideology and a foreign policy.

Barre's government received a lot of aid from Britain, Italy, U.S.A, and the USSR (Freire, 2012). He used the funds he got to boost the government's expenditure on the military beyond anyone's imagination. Analyzing the expenditure Godwin has argued that "Somalia National Army (SNA) grew both in numbers and in armament from a force of 10,000 in 1972 to 37,000 in 1978. The army further expanded to 96,000 in 1980, 115,000 and eventually 123,000 by 1984-5". Evidently, the military would later become a vehicle through which the regime used to oppress, corrupt, and overly intimidate the general public. By 1985, the proliferation of arms in Somalian society and militarization of civilians had become quite rampant. On top of this porous situation, the west and east became too involved and as such worsened the already complicated state of affairs. Unsurprisingly, the west was interested in Somalia because of its strategic location in relation to India, Middle East, and the Suez Canal (Gellner, 2011). The two blocks therefore manipulated the Somalia government in order to keep their interests in the region, but Somalia too obtained a lot of support militarily and in arms sales. But the same arms that Barre took pride in became the tool to fight him from office.

The collapse of Barre's regime came at a time when there were virtually too many guns and small arms in the society (Gellner, 2011). The tensions among the rival clans in Somalia were too high and yet there was no group that was organized well enough to take the mantle of leadership and governance (Ghosh, 2014). Even those groups that helped depose Barre appeared ill-equipped and seemed interested only in regime change than building an alternative and accountable leadership. Instead, between 1991 and today, the level of suspicion, factionalism, and conflict is too high that forming a workable and unifying government remains far from real. The history of the two countries goes way back before the colonial powers physically demarcated the porous border of Kenya and Somalia.

The Somalis are generally pastoralists and therefore before and even after the borders were drawn, their socio-economic and cultural practices were never interfered with for they kept criss-crossing from one region to another (Habte-Selassie, 2011). And since it was hard to contain them in one region, both the colonial government and the post-independent governments of Kenya paid little attention to this region and therefore the area was basically marginalized and was never integrated with the rest of Kenyans.

Suffice it to mention that Kenya-Somalia border is largely remote. Moreover, it is also porous, and inaccessible to by the Kenyan security forces and border patrol units (Jackson, 2014). Due to the difficult terrain and the climatic conditions in the North Eastern Province, most Kenyan security has not been able to keep surveillances over the region. The environments and conditions have rendered their work difficult to accomplish. In the process the local residents of either side of the border have found it easy to cross between territories with their goods and items without restrictions. As such criminal activities have taken advantage of the fluidity of the border and have escalated the trafficking in arms and other weaponry.

Kedouri (2011) argued that the horn of Africa and indeed most areas occupied by pastoralists, like the North Eastern Province of Kenya and the North Rift part of Kenya, have for a long time been lured into the gun culture. This is simply the acquisition and use of guns for self, family, and community protection. In these parts of the region, the proliferation of guns could be traced way back to the 1920s when the Turkana people of Kenya exchanged their ivory with European guns.

In later years and with increased banditry and cattle rustling, the need for guns for individual and community protection became a necessity of life.

The borderland and the general environment with Kenya and Somalia are awash with illicit guns, creating an environment where gun traffickers use them for their selfish reasons and by extension criminal activities. Kennedy (2011) further notes that “other than guns and light weapons that are for personal and community protection, networks of armed bandits who use guns to rob, maim, and kill have also sprung up”. He asserts that “The demand for these weapons in far-flung areas like Nairobi have also facilitated the rise of criminal networks that specialize in acquiring them from war zone areas and supply them to criminal gangs within Nairobi and other towns”. This worrisome development is also alluded to by Laibuta who confirms that, “Somalia is a distinguished source of arms since early 1990s, and it is estimated that in one month about 5,000 automatic rifles are smuggled into Kenya”.

The country apprehended elections three times between “1960-69”. After military revolution, Somalia emerged muscular nation which became known one of the precedence powers in Africa. It was when Somalia associated and joined with International and Inter-governmental organizations, built economy and infrastructures (roads, ports), built national arms, launched factories and small industries, enlarged the regions/ districts and realized developing on Somali-Script. However, today’s depiction is different with political catastrophe, fictional leaders, insecurity and Somali reputation sunk in contempt at the highest level across the globe.

There was no system and administration with exception of the semi-autonomous of Somaliland and Puntland after transitional governments revamped by International Community and the neighboring counters for several times. Conversely, 2012 was a great year for Somalis when an internationally recognized non-transitional government was fabricated with four concise consents, as, referendum of the constitution, national security & reconciliation, federalization, and national democratic elections by 2016. Unfortunately, nothing was done in the aforementioned areas and the performance of the government was really shambles.

President Hassan Sh. Mohamud was really unknown before September 2012. The President is surrounded by a team of junior brokers and spirituals from the group. Damul-Jadiid discovered

spectrum leadership vision beyond the given assignment and overused the power and resources to reignite the inter-clan feuds and the tribal animosities.

Now, after three and half years of Damul-Jadiid's leadership negligence of national security and abandonment of citizens are the most obvious scenes. Al-shabaab recaptured districts, no national arms trained and equipped, the president's clan assaulted minority clans in Shaballe region just for clan feudalism purpose which still is going on, resentment between clans is increased, number of MPs, miniseries, government officials, diplomats, international officials , journalists and other senior officials persons/groups were targeted and killed in Hodan District. Number of hotels, public gathered places and even Villa-Mogadisho were also attacked frequently. The four year is elapsing with only receives direct cash funds from Arabs, more peripheral outdoor travel and visits to new countries and resorts, illegal no confident motions and fights to Prime Minister after another.

In my own view, Somalia is one of the nations that has struggled and still does today in order to function well (Fanon, 2010). I believe it is one of these are rare places where there is ongoing civil war and it has no central government. Somalia is in a state of anarchy because it had problems after their president got assassinated in 1969, it has many economic problems, and native clans in Somalia are constantly fighting with their foes. Therefore I think that if Somalia can solve these problems, it will be able to function very well and gain a government that will suite them well.

2.3.2 Causes of political instability

Afrax (2014) noted that the destruction and mismanagement of wealth in the Hodan district fuels the political crisis in the district. Corruption has over the years been one of the major factors responsible for political instability in many countries around the world. The more a country is corrupt, the greater the likelihood that it will become unstable.

The political instability occurs when the elections are not free and fair in the Hodan district (Arat , 2012). Many countries have suffered from political instability as a result of unfair elections characterized by electoral fraud and intimidation during the elections. An election that is not free and fair is one of the main causes of political instability in many countries around the world.

Bayart (2011) noted that the unemployment and poverty can easily trigger political instability in any country. When the majority of people in a country are impoverished and can not find work to do, they vent their anger on the government and this leads to instability in the country.

Deletion of opposition parties by the government to the government (Brittain , 2014). When members of the opposition parties are deliberately targeted and prosecuted for no apparent reason, this can easily give rise to instability in the country.

Cassanelli (2011) noted that another cause of political instability in a country is when the government decides not to be open and transparent. When citizens are constantly living in fear because of a government that prevents them from freely expressing their opinions or opinions. Intolerance for the opinions and opinions of others can also lead to political instability in the Hodan district.

The high level of prejudice in one country also leads to instability in the Hodan district (Connor , 2014). Prejudice is the unreasonable hatred of people who are different from you. In many African countries, ethnic prejudice has caused some of the worst forms of instability in a country over the years.

Keeping power too long by the heads of state is another of the main causes of political instability (Fagerlind & Saha, 2010). A country can easily be plunged into political instability in the Hodan district when the head of state decides not to withdraw from power when its time is up. As a result, so many countries in Africa and Asia have experienced political instability. A good example of a country that is currently experiencing political instability due to this factor is Syria. If the rights and freedoms of the people are not met or stepped on, then it is very easy to emerge instability (Fanon, 2010)

The Commonwealth leaders have urged the international community to mobilize funding to strengthen the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia and other state institutions in the fight against piracy. They said that piracy in the Indian Ocean can not be stopped unless Somalia is stabilized (Habte-Selassie, 2011)

"The international community should recognize that the threat in the Indian Ocean can not be effectively tackled in political instability and security in Somalia," reads a statement released during the Commonwealth Heads of State and Government (CHOGM) (Jackson , 2014). The leaders, who will participate in the meeting in Perth, Australia, have said that they will act on the basis of the proliferation and trafficking of illegal weapons, while they consider moderation an important value to overcome all forms of extremism. They called for adequate funding for Amisom and global support to improve maritime safety, adding that addressing the root cause of conflicts would promote democracy, development and strong legitimate institutions (Gellner, 2011). They decided to implement the legal frameworks for suppression of funding for terrorists and agreed to improve international security by accelerating the conclusion of negotiations for a global convention on international terrorism (Kedouri, 2011). They said they would undertake to prevent the use of their territories for the support, incitement to violence or commission of terrorist acts. "The Commonwealth leaders will maintain their commitment to a national environment and stable and secure international, as the basis for sustainable growth and resilience of the Commonwealth countries and the wider international community," the statement said.

Afrax (2014) noted that the lantern , collective punishment and the adverse antagonistic characteristics of Somali culture reward violence. Sometimes, a pejorative conflict between clans begins above a mere expression of hostility. You can kill a member of another clan simply because the victim's clan members have killed an individual from the perpetrator's clan. There are several examples in the history of the conflicts which are due to differences between clans and competition. The recent and most important is the conflict between the Dir and Mareehaan clans. A member of the Mareehaan clan had killed a Dir clan entrepreneur about thirteen years ago. To avenge this there was a bloody retaliation. The situation that could have been dealt with easily and peacefully was the basis of a great conflict that saw the death and displacement of hundreds of civilians (Arat , 2012) . In addition to these expressions of hostility, most Somalis testify that people use aggression and benefit from it. It is known that young people attack other clans and steal their camels. In the townships it is evident that thousands of armed men benefit from the use of violence to force people to pay them illegally, and they believe that

their actions are justified by the fact that the Somali clans have fought and robbed since time immemorial. Over time, most of Somalia's ancient and current writings have been seen to support the use of witnessed violence among different clans, or at least trying to legitimize the theft of their property (Memmi , 2012).

In Somalia, a clan is of great importance in society, one must identify oneself and be accepted by his clan. Since then there has been historical evidence of the animosity of the clan (Arat , 2012) . The divisions are defined by lines of clan and sub clan. Somali society is composed of major clan families such as Darod, Dir, Isaaq, Hawiye and Rahanweyn, and minority clans. Clan divisions have been a source of conflict used to divide Somalis , fuel endemic clashes on resources and power, mobilize militias and make large-scale reconciliation very difficult. Most Somali conflicts have been fought in the name of clans often because political leaders manipulate clanism for their own benefits. President Mohamed Siad Baare and its policies have played a significant role in the propaganda of clanism. The current reality validate this assertion that the competition for power and / or resources was the main cause of conflict between clans and militia groups.

Bayart, (2011) noted that the war between the Somali forces and the Somali national movement (SNM) for the control of the Somali north-west. The members of the Isaaq clan formed a front, their grievances were against the administration of Baare in the northwest under military control and used the military administration to attack Isaaq and dispose of their affairs. The civil war mounted by SNM began in May of 2015. Government forces committed killings against civilians. 50000-60000 Somalis died mostly members of the Isaaq clan. Over one million Somalis have been homeless. These atrocities fueled Isaaq's demands for secession in what became the self-declared state of Somaliland

The strongest of these movements included the United Somali Congress (Hawiye clan), the Somali patriotic movement (Ogaden clan) and the Somali Democratic savior (Marjaten clan of the movement). This multi-frontal war presaged the predatory plunder and brigandage that characterized the feud in 1991-1011 (Cassanelli, 2011) . When opposition leaders wanted

to mobilize their forces, they emphasized the most inclusive identities: the SNM leaders emphasized the remonstrances of the Isaaq clan, while the USC leaders mobilized the Hawiye clan in general; all the people were mobilized and organized along lines of clans and sub clans. The General Mohamed Siad Baare depended heavily on her subgroup Mareehan of the Darod clan.

Cassanelli (2011) noted that the accessibility of weapons has worsened the Somali conflict. Somali ammunition was censored by two major arms sources. Because of the tactical position of Somalia, the two superpowers of the era (the former Soviet Union and the United States) competed to arm the former dictator (Connor , 2014). Another important source of arms for the belligerent parties in Somalia is the Ethiopian regime, which armed opposition groups. Easy access to arms and animosity in society in general have led to a civil war across the board in 2015.

Connor (2014) noted that The irredentist tendencies of Somalia have been a source of challenges for state sovereignty in the Horn of Africa and have been one of the main sources of insecurity in the region. The dream of united Somalia was resurrected by Mohamed Siad Baare. The claim by Somali territories with speakers of Somali is symbolized by the five stars in the flag of Somalia. (Connor , 2014) . British they established a demarcation in the northern border of Kenya as an indicator of where the Somalis could not travel further, which in turn strengthened the feeling of the Somalis in this region as exceptional and exclusive. In the Northern Frontier the tax rate of Somalis was high compared to other Africans. At the beginning of the independent Somalis in the Northern Frontier, separation from Kenya was required. After independence and the KANU assumed command, the Somalis have resulted in the guerrillas.

The large number of young unemployed in Somalia has stimulated the conflict. Although no plausible census has been carried out, Somalia now has an approximate population of around 9-10 million (Fagerlind & Saha, 2010). Over time there has been an increase in the population that saw a young population without employment opportunities (80). Social amnesties for the population such as education, health and others have not been served by the government by the

Somali people. Even the vital sectors that could guarantee employment are underdeveloped. In turn, this state of affairs has created widespread desperation among young people. Given that Somalia has been continuously defined as a failed state due to the general lack of security in the region. There was a huge visible division between rich and poor.

Ethiopia asserting itself in the internal affairs of Somalia is a significant cause of the conflict in Somalia. This guarantees refuge to all the instigators of the conflict. The interference weakened vital peace agreements, such as The Cairo Accord 1997 and the Arta Agreement of 2000 and manipulated the peace process in Somalia in Kenya (Gellner, 2011) . More than a dozen Somali warlords and other important group leaders have agreed on a principle of sharing of power in Cairo, Egypt, in 1997. In addition, by consensus they have reached a decision to form a national government. The most controversial issue was the wide gap between the factions and the areas that supported them. There were the Libyan factions supported on one side and the factions supported by Ethiopia on the other. These two groups controlled most of Somalia, and both took part in the Cairo convention (Ghosh , 2014). In most cities in Somalia, the civilian welcomed these agreements, such as the Cairo Accord with widespread chants to support it. Ethiopia has also been involved in training / recruitment of some warlords involved in causing animosity in Somalia. He encouraged the Colonel Abdullah Yusuf and General Adan Abdullahi Nur to leave meeting and reject its outcome. From Cairo their first stop was Addis Ababa. Ethiopia began to openly support these leaders of two militarily and politically factions.

The warlords who are benefiting from the status quo guide most of the Somali factions. Some have committed atrocious crimes and therefore feel insecure about their future (Laitin, 2012) . They use violence and intimidation after peace agreements have been signed which in turn are beneficial to them. The latest example of the determination of the warlords of Mogadishu to demoralize the government of Ali Gedi demonstrates better how the spoilers of Somalia are committed to maintaining the status quo. General Aideed, for example, challenged and effectively undermined the hapless efforts of the United Nations to restore peace to Somalia in 1993, regardless of the widespread support for the presence and activities of the UN. The two

best-known Somali militia leaders in the world in 2011 represent areas of specific ethno-geographical interest (Lewis , 2010).

Lewis (2010) noted that in a first the only parties involved in the conflict in Somalia are the neighboring countries, as they suffer the effect of overflowing the conflict. Kenya has been actively involved in peace talks and is home to millions of refugees from Somalia. Winston Tubman, political representative of the UN Secretary-General at the Somali Peace Conference in Kenya, said: "One of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council - China, Britain, France, United States and Russia - could do a difference in Somalia | The African Union can be interested, the European Union can help, but in my experience I need a driving force (from a great power) " (Lewis , 2014). The size of the failed state of Somalia is more widespread as no great power has a keen interest in the region. Before the rise of piracy, Somalia stands out in the least in the relations of the international system. Now that it is posing a major threat to most powers, there is a possibility that the growing interest in the region by other actors will put pressure on a peace agreement.

Mandela, N. (2014) argued that the the emergence of many religious leaders and groups associated with different schools of thought has seen religious participation in the struggle within different religious groups. On a global level, religious leaders are often seen as connected to terrorism. This serves to blur their image on a national and international level. The main resistance to the government consists of the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SCIC), also known as the Union of Islamic Courts (ICU), the joint Islamic courts, the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) or the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts (SICC), a cluster based on the fundamental Islamic law that is trying to tear formal administrative and governmental control by the TFG and imposing a Shari law system on the country. They try to bring order to a certain extent in the chaotic region, thus ending the long period of unrest since 1991. Some of the most radical SCIC emerged in 2007 and early 2008 - the Shabab ("the boys" in Somalia). These had been internationally attributed to Al Qaeda. These groups continue to commit serious abuses / violations of human rights in Somalia, which in turn exacerbate the situation in Somalia and create a favorable center for mobiles and other groups to become involved in the conflict. "Islamic

fundamentalist clerics have increasingly sought to replace fiefdoms based on the clan and the intermediate federal government which is struggling to assert its authority: the new alliance describes clerics as terrorists and accuses them of killing temperate intellectuals, Muslim scholars and former military officers in a series of unexplained murders . " Religion has long been a significant cause of conflict in Somalia. They gather the use of the increasingly controversial Sharia law that saw the execution and cutting of members of old and young civilians, Islam was responsible for a series of suicide bombs that are seen as a form of religious act (Markakis, 2012).

Privacy is a cause of conflict in Somalia because it sees the inflow of capital that sees the ability to buy arms and the recruitment of young people who have no other source of income (Memmi , 2012) . Piracy has created a population that is seen as marginalized by Somali society; those associated with piracy are isolated and disowned by their clans because they are viewed as immoral. They are accused of being involved in drugs and prostitution that are unforgivable in Somali society.

Somalia is a country that has experienced an excessive amount of political instability in the last ten years. Somalia, like most other countries in Africa, was colonized by European nations during the late 1800s. In 1887, Britain was concerned to keep the route to India open through the Suez Canal, which was opened in 1869 and as a result Britain proclaimed Somalia as a British protectorate and named it British Somalia (Arat, 2012). At the beginning of the 20th century British control of British Somaliland was challenged by native insurrections. In 1910 the British abandoned the interior of Somaliland and withdrew to the coastal regions. Italy took the opportunity to extend its control inland and conquered many of the regions that the British had abandoned.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Italy was forced to surrender its possessions in Africa and the control of Somalia was given to the United Nations and for 10 years it was a territory of UN trust under the Italian administration until 1 July 1960, when Somalia gained independence and merged with the former British protectorate of Somaliland (B ayart, 2011). The transformation of Somalia into an independent state was peaceful at first, but it soon exploded into violent conflict. In 1969 Abdi Rashid Ali Shirmarke, second president of Somalia, was

assassinated and in the following days a military coup led by General Muhammed Siyad Barre gained control of the country. In 1970 Barre declared Somalia a socialist state.

Brittain, (2014) noted that a domestic opposition to Siyad Barre arose in 2015 in the northern part of the country. The Somali National Movement (SNM), the United Somali Congress (USC) and the Ogadeni Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) have joined forces to fight the Siyad Barre government. In 1990, when Barre began to lose control of the country, political figures and local economic banded together to sign the Manifesto of Mogadishu, demanding the resignation of Barre.

Somalia currently does not have a stable government and many of the areas of the country continue to be under the aegis of power with the control of local leaders. Somalia is a country composed of about 7,5 million people, many of whom are nomads or refugees. The establishment of a government proved to be extremely difficult and currently Somalia remains a lawless nation (Brittain , 2014). Equalizations are more than just a religion and a tribe. Somalia has been the victim of poor management, poor governance, lack of leadership and dictatorship from independence: thanks to these factors, the Somalis have found easy refuge in their clans, sub-families and families where their honor and respect are respected and respected. their dignity. Unneeded regional interference from Ethiopia, Eritrea and Kenya and external interference from the United States and Europe played an important role in the instability and insecurity observed in Somalia today: while international organizations have found that civilians are the most affected in this ongoing conflict, a solution is likely to stem from the involvement of the United Nations in the stipulation of clarity of leadership: the involvement of the African Union in ensuring peace by sending its troops should be strengthened. To complete peace in Somalia, interference from Ethiopia and other external parties in the financing of militias or other should be stopped.

Corruption and mismanagement of wealth in the Hodan district fuels the political crisis in the district. Corruption has over the years been one of the major factors responsible for political instability in many countries around the world. The more a country is corrupt, the greater the

likelihood that it will become unstable (Brittain, 2014). Political instability occurs when elections are not free and fair in the Hodan district. Many countries have suffered from political instability as a result of unfair elections characterized by electoral fraud and intimidation during the elections. An election that is not free and fair is one of the main causes of political instability in many countries around the world.

Mass unemployment and poverty can easily trigger political instability in any country. When the majority of people in a country are impoverished and can not find work to do, they vent their anger on the government and this leads to instability in the country. Because of this, many countries have suffered from instability (Cassanelli, 2011). Suppression of opposition parties from the government in power. When members of the opposition parties are deliberately targeted and prosecuted for no apparent reason, this can easily give rise to instability in the country.

Another cause of political instability in a country is when the government decides not to be open and transparent (Connor, 2014). When citizens are constantly living in fear because of a government that prevents them from freely expressing their opinions or opinions. Intolerance for the views and opinions of others can also lead to political instability in the Hodan district. A high level of prejudice in one country also leads to instability in the Hodan district. Prejudice is the unreasonable hatred of people who are different from you. In many African countries, ethnic prejudice has caused some of the worst forms of instability in a country over the years.

The first reason is the poor governance and marginalization of minorities, exacerbated by the chronic lack of a real representative democracy. Second: the mismanagement of national security forces that are mostly tribal than national. And this is exacerbated by the fact that most of the leaders of the so - called national army have become businessmen who soldiers (Fanon, 2010). Third: the movement of arms by former rebel movements in countries like Chad in countries neighboring countries such as the Central African Republic, Cameroon and the Congo do not help things. The other factor that favors the spread of instability is the lack of reliable control of national borders inherited from colonialism. The porous nature of national borders on the

continent has encouraged the growth of smuggling gangs. These bands are not just concerned with normal cross-border trade in goods, but have turned into powerful groups that smuggle drugs, human bones and weapons across borders. Another element that has encouraged the rise of armed groups or rebel movement in all the problematic points of the continent is the non-respect of treaties signed between governments and rebel movements.

Finnegan, (2011) noted that the examples of the M23 in 2009 and the Seleka rebellion in the Central African Republic of 2008. There is also the main case of non-respect of the agreement between the government and the rebel movement and that it has slipped into open conflict . That case is the failure by the Sudanese and American governments under Obama to fully respect the principles of the 2005 Niavasha agreement signed between Khartoum and the Sudan People's Army / Movement for the Liberation of the People of South Sudan.

The issue of conflict and political instability in Africa continue to dominate the political discourse both academics from non-academic. Africa, the second largest continent in the world, has passed and is still going through several uneasy phases. The nature of political power in many African states, along with the real and perceived consequences of capturing and retaining power, is a key source of conflict and political instability across the continent. It often happens that political victory takes on a "winning-take-all" form in terms of wealth and resources, patronage, prestige and office prerogatives (Finnegan, 2011).

In my view, I believe that the fact of wanting to govern the heads of state for too long is another important cause of political instability. Therefore a country can easily be plunged into political instability in the Hodan district when the head of state decides not to fall from power when its time has run out.

2.3.3 How political instability affects access to primary education

The problem of political instability on implementation of Somalia policy on primary education cannot be fully comprehended without briefly highlighting the circumstances and environment within which education system functions (Kedouri, 2011). Education cannot be divorced from politics because, one of the crucial issues characterized in the relationship between education and

politic, is the likelihood for the political powers to use the educational system as the main instrument for promoting the political interest, the values and beliefs of the government in power (Kennedy, 2011). This is why any political group that comes into power quickly punches on the educational system by way of promising great expansion and support for education, dictates what the schools should be and not. It is possible that in some cases, the goals and interests which the political powers may want to provide may or may not be ideal for the society. But the educational system by virtue of its political context must follow itself to the new demands of the government in power (Laitin & Samatar, 2007)

Political instability has hindered the effective implementation of the Somalia policy on primary education by inadequate provision of resources (Laitin, 2012). A problem emanating from the above may be that many pupils or students whose parents are not financially alright may have been attending schools because it was free but now may have to drop because of reintroduction of fees by another regime.

The staffing and financing of schools in Somalia is political in nature, this is due to fact that people who served made it difficult to realized the aims and objectives for which it was set up (Lewis, 2014). Some schools may be adequately finance in terms of facilities, regular payment of teachers etc due to the fact that they belong to the government in power. A party that support free education programme will establish schools and run them accordingly, but if another party that does not believe in free education comes into power, then the former free education programme will face problems in terms of some schools being scraped or many who attend school free may be required by the new government to pay fees. These sometimes lead to educational crises (Lyons & Samatar, 2011).

Frequent changing of Somalia Government hinders long term educational plan of access to primary education in Hodan District. They are either abandoned in the wake of new Government or distorted to suit the policies of the new administrators (Markakis, 2012). He also observed that “political instability is a disincentive of foreign investment”. Somalia rely daily on foreign aids from international body such UNESCO and UNICEF in planning and implementing het educational systems.

Gellner (2011) pointed out that during the second and third republics parties promised free education up to the tertiary level against technical advice. Beyond this promise implementation was difficult and the idea was dropped by the intervening military Government. Circumstances where an action of politicians conflict, with advance of political export on funding of worth while educational ventures endanger effective implementation of Somalia educational policy.

According to Habte-Selassie (2011), civilian and military Government use” education as propaganda tool and for political socialization. Thus, education continues to suffer the ups and downs of politics.

At times in the process of implementing educational pledges made politicians they interfere with access to primary education in Hodan District. Inconsistency in plan implementation as observed by Jackson, (2014) often is the major cause of failure of the educational policy. It is common nation to believe that financial remuneration or economic reward is the causal factor of professional military among Somalia educationalist. Acknowledging financial benefit as a reward in motivating workers and the possibility of protests in the event of denial of such benefit.

Jackson, (2014) states that “this organizational structure of works and principle of work and also vital condition for satisfactory performance of work. Kennedy, (2011) agreed that ‘the pay packet and other related benefits contributing to the workers motivation to work as well as his satisfaction on the job. This shows the fact the professional competence of the teachers.

It had been observed that since independence Somalia had observed a lot of political instability which a lot of impact on implementation of its policy secondary education. This political instability as put by (Kennedy, 2011) thus, since the military take over in 2000. Somalia had wobbled from one political regime to another with its destructive effects on educational policy embarked by the country.

According to Laitin, (2012) “these ethnic groups pulled by accident of colonial conquest has not been completely integrated into a nation state before the attainment of independence”. As a matter of fact after the withdrawal influence of unifying of colonial power, public official and impact of distribution.

The impact of political instability on the implementation of secondary education are numerous. However, some of these impact is: The civil war was last for three years wasted a lot of economic, life and educational institution especially in the east, hence Lewis, (2010) stated that the civil war greatly affected educational development in Somalia devastated. There were also high rate drop out in primary schools in Hodan District due to frustrations maturity. There was also fall out of civil war as the abrupt take over of schools by government through out the country from voluntary agencies as missionary and others.

Lewis, (2014) posited that, political instability in Hodan District is a prerequisite for meaningful investment since it ensure an atmospheric of place and predictability. Frequency changing of government hinders a long term educational plan, hence they are either abandoned in the wake of new government or distorted to soil, the new administrations. He further observed that political instability is a disincentive of foreign investment, Somalia rely daily on foreign aids from international bodies such as UNESCO and UNICEF in planning and implementing her educational policy.

Another impact of political instability on educational policy in Somalia is according to Markakis, (2012) pointed out that politicians in Hodan District in apparent loyalty to their political party manifestoes rejected sound educational advice. During the second and third republics parties promised free education up to the tertiary level against technical advice, beyond this promise implementation was difficult and the idea was dropper by the intervening military government. Lewis (2014) civilian and military government use education is propaganda tool for political socialization. Thus education continues to suffer the UPS and downs of politics.

At times, in the process of implementation educational pledges made by politicians.

Fragile situations are defined in the 2011 World Back Development Report as periods when states or institutions lack the capacity, accountability , or legitimacy to mediate relations between citizen groups and between citizens and the state, making them vulnerable to violence (Markakis, 2012). The Inter Agency Network on Education in Emergencies includes that in fragile situations, governments may have lost the ability to provide basic services to their citizens. There is evidence that there is a close link between institutional fragility and the risk of conflict. Fragile situations include situations of political instability that hinder economic productivity and growth, and may

be accompanied by serious social dislocation. In situations of extreme instability, a complex political emergency, the risk of violent conflict escalates (Arat, 2012).

Conflict-affected situations are characterized as situations that are in or have experienced severely disruptive conflict(s). Conflict-affected is not a distinction between war and peace (Bayart, 2011). While there is no single clear definition of conflict-affected situations or states, they are situations where the existing problems are caused by an ongoing or very recent conflict, and/or there are existing problems that are associated with a previous conflict (Arat, 2012). The effects of conflicts can be the result of explosive conflicts that suddenly erupted or a protracted series of events.

The ways in which Armed conflict acts as a barrier to education are further explored in Armed conflict. Child soldiers are children under the age of 18 who are recruited by a state or non-state armed group (Brittain, 2014). They are used in a variety of ways, including in active fighting - laying land mines, suicide bombers, human shields, messengers, spies, in support roles – cooking, porting, and for sexual purposes. This recruitment and use of children violates their rights and causes them physical, developmental, emotional, mental, and spiritual harm. Hundreds of thousands of children are associated with armed forces and armed groups in conflicts around the world

The recruitment and use of children by armed forces and armed groups has been a focus of international attention and has been widely condemned, yet children continue to be involved in wars and to become disabled or die in such conflicts (Cassanelli, 2011). While release and reintegration into civilian life of some has been supported through interventions and programs designed to assist them, others have returned home on their own, often to face an uncertain future and a further battle for acceptance by their family and community. Girls in particular are likely to be stigmatized and even rejected by their community if it is known that they have been used by armed forces and the rejection of children born to them as a result of rape may be even more severe. Some children are encouraged by their families and communities to participate in armed conflict for protection and economic reasons, despite the danger and harm this involves. The relationship of child soldiers and access to and completion of quality primary education is further explored in Child Soldiers (Connor, 2014)

Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are people who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes, or places of habitual residence, as a result of - or in order to avoid - the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally border. To find out how IDP children become OOSC, read more in Internally displaced persons (Fanon, 2010). Fragile and conflict-affected situations often also result in streams of refugees who cross borders to other countries.

In my own view, I believe that armed conflict, here, refers to violent armed conflict –civil war, inter-state war, armed rebellion, and violent inter-communal skirmishes. Terrorism may be a weapon of such conflicts. This is because conflict may arise from such things as political, economic, religious or ethnic competition, and is often fuelled by failed governance institutions, poverty, corruption or ambition for power.

2.4 Empirical Literature

The issue of state failure and instability is one of great concern for the west and the inhabitants of fragile states throughout Africa. Terrorist groups such as Al-shabaab (Somalia), Ansar Dine (Mali), and al-Qa'ida (Niger, Mali, Algeria) just to name a few have developed in these unstable regions. In addition, not much empirical work has been done on the issue of state failure, specifically identifying a causal channel for a nations state of affairs. The implications of these untested hypothesis is huge, as unstable states are known to be problematic. An examination of this magnitude, is an international security concern, as terrorist groups are known to emerge from weak or failed states (Memmi, 2012). To add, said states are among the poorest and most underdeveloped. Therefore, it is important to understand what pushes a state to collapse, in hope that policy can work to improve the political and economic stability throughout Africa. In short, they find that political instability reduces growth, and that the occurrence of a government change increases the likelihood of subsequent changes, suggesting that political instability tends to be persistent over time.

Existing literature on education in Africa is abundant and serves my purposes well in developing my hypothesis. Rodney, (2012) finds that in French West Africa, investments in education during the colonial period persisted over time. This idea of persistent effects of education, is essential in my analysis. To add, Mudimbe, (2015) shows that in most developing countries the modern sector

is small, however there are considerable benefits accrued by the people who have access to these positions. Bates (2011) documents the policy behind African nations transformation to a more modern industrialized economy, as well as the implications for social stratification. Thus, african formal education throughout the independence era has in turn promoted political instability, as the masses become unsatisfied.

2.5 Gaps in the literature

The theory of political decline has not indicated practicable strategies to ensure effective access to primary education. As the previous analysis reveals, poor democracy as a factor influencing political instability in the Hodan district, Mogadishu in Somalia, has not been extensively addressed. A series of studies such as that of Bayart, (2011); Brittain, (2014) and Cassanelli, (2011) were made to cover the issue of political instability, however none of them covered the aspect of allowing effective access to primary education by ensuring an adequate rule of law and stabilizing the security situation thus providing a shortage of content that this study will cover. Specifically, to ensure better access to primary education, democratic practices in the Hodan district have not received the necessary attention they deserve, as the previous review revealed. The gaps in the literature review will be filled during field data collection, which will be guided by the purpose and goals of the current study

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was used during the study. It involves the Research design, study population, sample size and selection, sampling techniques, data collection methods, Data collection instruments, procedure of data collection, Reliability and validity of instruments, Data analysis plus measurement of variables.

3.2 Research Design

The study employed descriptive correlational research design on the respondents in Hodan District, Mogadishu- Somalia. A correlational research design is a type of research design where a researcher seeks to understand what kind of relationships naturally occurring variables have with one another. Correlational design measured the correlation between the two variables. This is because correlational research design allows researchers to collect much more data than experiments. Furthermore, because correlational research usually takes place outside of the lab, the results tend to be more applicable to everyday life. Another benefit of correlational research design is that it opens up a great deal of further research to other scholars

3.3 Study Population

A target population is the population to which the researcher ultimately wants to generalize the results. The total population of Hodan District was 7,000 residents as indicated by Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC), 2016). The target population for this study comprised of 260 respondents and these were 25 selected Politicians were randomly selected within the District since these were believed to have vital information concerning political instability in the District, 115 Officials from Ministry of Education, 20 Top administrators of Hodan District and 50 primary school teachers, 20 community leaders and 30 members of community based organisations who were randomly selected in Hodan District, Mogadishu.

3.4 Sample Size

The researcher used a sample size of 158 respondents using Solven's Formula. This is because the nature of the data to be generated requires different techniques for a better understanding of the research problem under examination. Beyond that, the approach is also commonly known to achieve a higher degree of validity and reliability, as well as the elimination of prejudices according to Amin (2005).

3.5 Sampling Selection Techniques and Procedure

The study used both simple random sampling and purposive sampling procedures.

3.5.1 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling technique is a type of non-probability sampling that is most effective when one needs to study a certain cultural domain with knowledgeable experts within. Purposive sampling was used to select different activities in the area of investigation in order to get first-hand information from the key informants.

3.5.2 Simple Random Sampling

Simple random sampling refers to a technique of selecting a sample (random sample) from a statistical population in such a way that every possible sample that could be selected has a predetermined probability of being selected. Origin of random sampling. Simple random sampling was used because respondents had equal chances of being selected.

3.6 Data Collection Sources

The researcher used primary data collection methods were used to collect relevant data to the study.

3.6.1 Primary Data

Primary data is information that you collect specifically for the purpose of your research project. Primary data was collected from the respondents through interviews, and self-administered questionnaire. Primary data are important in answering questions about this study topic. Data collection methods were considered in such a way so that relevant information was collected as much

as possible with little inconvenience to respondents.

3.6.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data refers to data that was collected by someone other than the user. Common sources of secondary data for social science include censuses, information collected by government departments, organisational records and data that was originally collected for other research purposes. Secondary data was obtained from recorded documents, earlier studies and some publications on community participation and service delivery. Other information was obtained from the internet.

3.6 Data Collection instruments

3.6.1 Questionnaires

The main instrument of data collection was a questionnaire. According to Sotirios Sarantakos (2005), a questionnaire is a method of survey data collection in which information was gathered through oral or written questionnaires. The researcher used 150 questionnaires to collect data from the respondents. The questions involved the feelings of respondent groups regarding political instability and access to primary education in Somalia. The questionnaire also aimed at getting responses from the respondents about their views on political instability and how it could be improved.

3.6.2 Interview Guide

The researcher also used interview guide to collect data. The researcher further interviewed 8 respondents and their responses were collected for further clarifications. The questions for the interview were both open-ended and closed. The open-ended questions gave chance to more discussions, while the closed questions were asked for particular responses. The interview method helped to collect additional views from respondents on the theme of the study.

3.7 Validity and Reliability of Instruments

3.7.1. Validity

The validity of the instrument was guaranteed by expert judgment and the researcher made sure that the coefficient of validity was at least 70%. The researcher consulted her supervisor for specialist knowledge on the construction of the questionnaire. After the evaluation of the questionnaire, the necessary adjustments were made taking into account the objectives of the study. The formula that was used to calculate the validity of the instrument was

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

Out of the total of the 27 questions in the questionnaire, 25 were declared valid. This leads us to confirm the validity of the questionnaire as calculated below.

$$CVI = \frac{25}{27} = 0.9259 = 92.59\%$$

Since this the CVI is above 92.59%, the questionnaire was said to be valid

3.7.2 Reliability

Reliability is the degree to which an evaluation tool produces stable and consistent results. The reliability of the questionnaire was tested using Cronbach's alpha coefficient. Cronbach's Alfa coefficient was used to measure instrument reliability. This was also another critical tool used by the researcher as a measure of the degree to which a research tool provides consistent results or data after repeated studies (Amin, 2005)

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.832	27

The above table shows that the Cronbach's Alpha value is 0.832 and thus indicates that the instrument was reliable.

3.8 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher first of all sought a letter of introduction from the faculty. Permission was sought by the researcher from the respondents to be sampled in to allow for the relevant data to be collected. The researcher kept confidential of all respondents while presenting the findings.

3.9 Data analysis

The quantitative data involved information from the questionnaires only. Data from the field was too raw for proper interpretation. The raw data obtained from questionnaires was cleaned, sorted and coded. The coded data was entered into the Computer, checked and statistically analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) software package to generate descriptive and inferential statistics. Descriptive analysis was applied to describe the primary variable and associated indicator items related to the study objectives.

Qualitative data were collected using interview discussions with other authorized persons respondent category in meetings. Content analysis was used to edit the data and re-organize it into meaningful shorter sentences. The data were analyzed and organized based on patterns, repetitions and commonalities into themes based on the study variables. The data then would be used to reinforce information got from questionnaires to draw conclusion and recommendations.

3.10 Ethical considerations

It was important during the process of research for the researcher to make respondents to understand that participation was voluntary and that participants were free to refuse to answer any question and to withdraw from participation any time they were chosen.

Another important consideration, involved getting the informed consent of those were met during the research process, which involved interviews and observations on issues that delicately to some respondents. The researcher undertook to bear this seriously in mind.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTEPRETATIONS

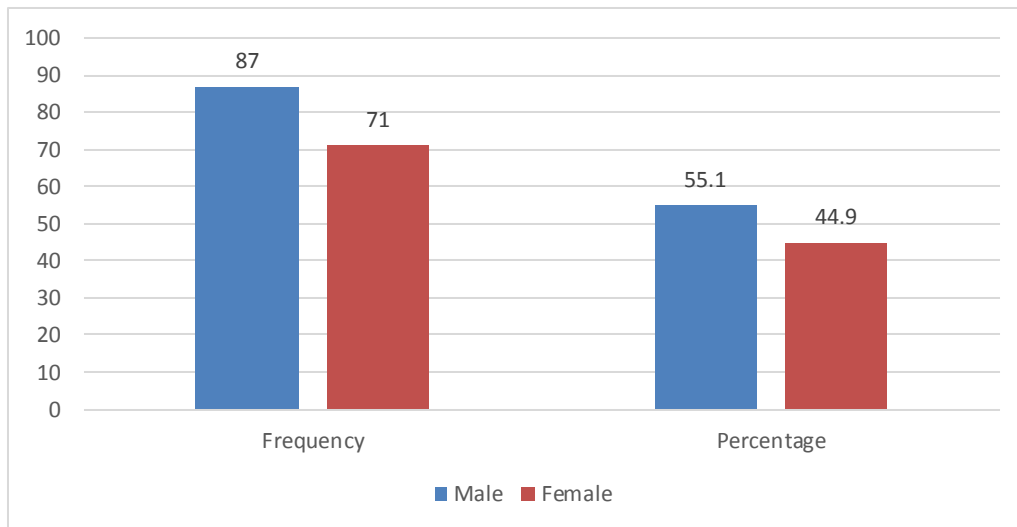
4.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the presentation of the findings according to the themes of the study which were: the forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu, causes of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu and how political instability affects access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu

4.1 Demographic characteristics of respondents

Under this section, the researcher was interested in finding out the demographic characteristics of the respondents. The character of the respondents included aspects of gender, age, marital status and level of education filled on the questionnaire and the results are presented and analyzed in figures below.

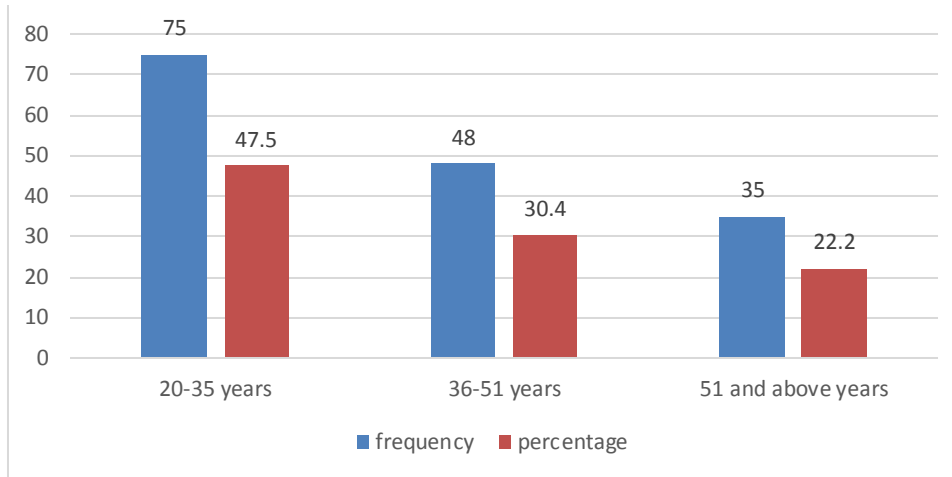
Figure 4. 1: Gender Distribution of Respondents



Source: Primary Data (2017)

The figure above indicates that (55.1%) were male while 45.9% were female respondents. This implies that majority of the respondents were men due to societal beliefs that they are more capable than the female counterparts regarding handling political activities and operations.

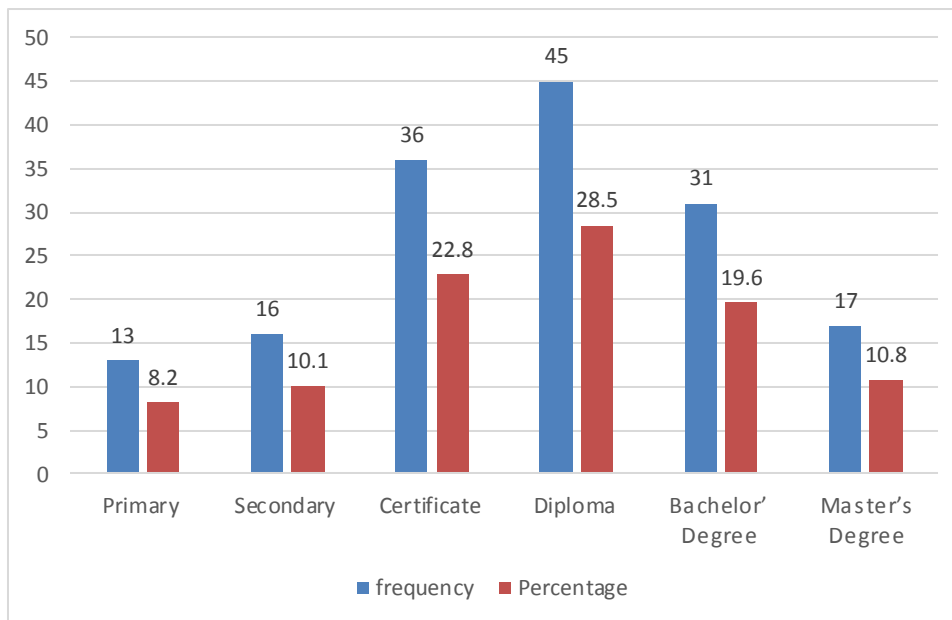
Figure 4. 2: Age Distribution of the respondents



Source: Primary Data (2017)

In terms of ages, (47.5%) were in age ranging 20-35 years. This was followed by respondents aged between 36-51 years with (30.4%) while the minority group was of respondents aged above 51 years with a (22.2%). This indicates that majority of the respondents were middle aged adults who are believed to be able to handle political issues within the government.

Figure 4. 3: Education level of respondents



Source: Primary Data (2017)

Information regarding educational level majority of respondents were at diploma level at (28.5%) who were followed by Certificate holders at 22.8% and degree holders were 19.6%. this was followed by those at secondary school level were 10.1% and those who had degree education (22.%). Those with certificate level were (13.33%) followed by those who were the master’s degree holders (11.33%), those with secondary level education had (10.67%) whereas those at the masters level were 10.8% and those at primary level were at (8.2%). This implies that most of the respondents were relatively educated since it is believed that persons with high education qualifications can be able to manage political issues within the society.

4.2 Findings on Forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu

Table 4. 1: Forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu

Statements	SD (%)	D (%)	NS (%)	A (%)	SA (%)	Mean	Std Dev
There is still a combination of poor security, chaotic politics in Hodan District	3.8	15.4	23.1	37.5	20.2	3.15	1.519
Somali Government has failed to avoid factionalism and misrepresentation of reality in politics	1.9	6.7	18.3	46.2	26.9	2.68	1.402
Flagrant incompatibility in values and rights enshrined in Somali constitution contributes to political tyranny	3.8	7.7	17.3	49.0	22.1	2.74	1.262
Anti-democratic decision making political process of the Government institutions corrodes public trust leading to political chaos in Hodan District	6.7	7.7	18.3	39.4	27.9	3.55	1.096
There is still lack of proper rule of law in Hodan District due to absence of well-functioning central government	4.8	9.6	15.4	34.6	35.6	3.89	.944
After decades of political and security instability, military coupe d’états, personal rule and electoral frauds have led to Fragility in the District	4.8	4.8	20.2	44.2	26.0	3.78	1.004

There is no law and order of any type in Somalia because of the lack of a central government and severe poverty	5.8	7.7	16.3	41.3	28.8	3.94	1.050
There are regular abductions of people in Hodan District	6.7	7.7	12.5	31.7	41.3	3.74	1.149
Average Mean						3.43	

Source: Primary Data (2017)

The results presented above were based on the forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu. For this study, it was established using eight indicators which the respondents were required to indicate the extent to which they agreed.

As indicated in table above, the first indicator was that there is no law and order of any type in Somalia because of the lack of a central government and severe poverty with a mean of 3.94 and the indicator that there is still lack of proper rule of law in Hodan District due to absence of well-functioning central government had a mean of 3.89. In the third position, after decades of political and security instability, military coupe d'états, personal rule and electoral frauds have led to fragility in the District followed with a mean of 3.78. This was followed by the fourth indicator that there are regular abductions of people in Hodan District with a mean of 3.74.

In the fifth position, anti-democratic decision making political process of the Government institutions corrodes public trust and sets in social disenfranchisement leading to political chaos in Hodan District had a mean of 3.55. The indicator that there is still a combination of poor security, chaotic politics in Hodan District in the sixth position had a mean of 3.15. This was followed by the indicator that flagrant incompatibility in values and rights enshrined in Somali constitution contributes to political tyranny with a mean of 2.74. Lastly, Somali Government has failed to avoid factionalism and misrepresentation of reality in politics followed with a mean of 2.68.

Generally, the forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu had an average mean of 3.82. This implies that there are multitude forms of political instability in Hodan District which as significantly affected access to primary education.

A number of selected politicians who were interviewed revealed that increased insecurity, poor democracy and lack of proper rule of law in Somalia combined with lack of government has led to the spiraling of piracy in the country.

4.3 Findings on Causes of Political Instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu

Table 4. 2: Causes of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu

Statements	SD (%)	D (%)	NS (%)	A (%)	SA (%)	Mean	Std Dev
Corruption and mismanagement of the wealth in Hodan District fuels political crisis in the district	15.3	9.2	14.3	21.4	39.8	3.93	1.209
Political instability occurs when elections are not free and fair in Hodan District	12.2	12.2	8.2	30.6	36.7	3.62	1.224
Mass unemployment and poverty can easily trigger political instability	7.1	10.2	40.8	14.3	27.6	3.69	1.124
The work productivity or productivity of the Suppression of opposition parties by the ruling government	18.4	29.6	10.2	10.2	31.6	3.88	1.129
High level of prejudice in a country also leads to instability in Hodan District	12.2	8.2	8.2	65.3	6.1	3.78	1.024
Holding on to power for too long by heads of states is another major cause of political instability	8.2	6.1	23.5	56.1	6.1	3.82	1.156
If the rights and freedoms of the people are not respected or are trampled upon, then it is very easy for instability to emerge	17.3	9.2	9.2	54.1	10.2	3.18	1.004
Intolerance for the views and opinions of others can also lead to political instability in Hodan District	13.3	14.3	45.9	9.2	17.3	3.12	1.006
Average Mean						3.63	

Source: Primary Data (2017)

According to the results illustrated in the table above, it was clear that the causes of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu was determined using eight indicators.

First of all, corruption and mismanagement of the wealth in Hodan District fuels political crisis in the district had a mean of 3.93. This was followed by the indicator that the work productivity or productivity of the Suppression of opposition parties by the ruling government with a mean of 3.88. This was followed by the indicator that holding on to power for too long by heads of states is another major cause of political instability with a mean of 3.82.

In the fourth position, high level of prejudice in a country also leads to instability in Hodan District followed with a mean of 3.78. This was followed by mass unemployment and poverty can easily trigger political instability with a mean of 3.69. This was also followed by the indicator that political instability occurs when elections are not free and fair in Hodan District with a mean of 3.62. This was also followed by the indicator that if the rights and freedoms of the people are not respected or are trampled upon, then it is very easy for instability to emerge with a mean of 3.18. Intolerance for the views and opinions of others can also lead to political instability in Hodan District followed with a mean of 3.12.

Lastly, generally the causes of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu had an average mean of 3.63 which is equivalent to very high on Likert Scale. This implies that there were very many causes of political instability in Hodan District which also hindered access to the primary education in the district.

One of the top administrators of Hodan District who were interviewed suggested that corruption in Somalia has over the years been shown to be one of the biggest factors responsible for political instability since the more corrupt a country is, the higher the likelihood of that country becoming unstable.

4.4 How political instability affects access to primary education in Hodan District

Table 4. 3: How political instability affects access to primary education in Hodan District

Statements	SD (%)	D (%)	NS (%)	A (%)	SA (%)	Mean	Std Dev
Frequent changing of Government hinders long term educational plan of access to primary education in Hodan District	6.1	8.2	7.1	71.4	7.1	3.3	1.402
Politicians in Hodan District in apparent to their political party manifests rejected sound educational advice	9.2	9.2	10.2	35.7	35.7	3.27	1.262
At times in the process of implementing educational pledges made politicians they interfere with access to primary education in Hodan District	6.1	13.3	8.2	10.2	62.2	2.75	1.096
A lot of political instability which a lot of impact on implementation of its policy education	13.3	12.2	13.3	34.7	26.5	2.70	1.044
Political instability in Hodan District is a prerequisite for meaningful investment since it ensures an atmospheric of place and predictability	14.3	22.4	7.1	11.2	44.9	2.70	1.004
Political instability is one of the major causes of failure of access to primary education	3.8	5.8	17.3	38.5	34.6	2.61	1.002
There is also high rate drop out in primary schools in Hodan District due to political crises and frustrations	6.7	7.7	18.3	39.4	27.9	2.50	0.987
Politicians in Hodan District in apparent loyalty to their political party manifestoes reject sound educational advice	7.7	6.7	16.3	40.4	28.8	2.42	0.789
Average Mean						2.78	

Source: Primary Data (2017)

In this third objective of how political instability affects access to primary education in Hodan District, it was determined using eight indicators;

First of all, the frequent changing of Government hinders long term educational plan of access to primary education in Hodan District had a mean of 3.3. This was followed by the indicator that politicians in Hodan District in apparent to their political party manifests rejected sound educational advice with a mean of 3.27. In the third position, at times in the process of implementing educational pledges made politicians they interfere with access to primary education in Hodan District followed with a mean of 2.75.

This was followed by the indicator that a lot of political instability which a lot of impact on implementation of its policy education followed with a mean of 2.70. This was followed by political instability in Hodan District is a prerequisite for meaningful investment since it ensures an atmospheric of place and predictability in the fifth rank with a mean of 2.70.

Political instability is one of the major causes of failure of access to primary education followed in the sixth position with a mean of 2.61. This was followed by the indicator that there is also high rate drop out in primary schools in Hodan District due to political crises and frustrations with a mean of 2.50. This was also followed by the indicator that politicians in Hodan District in apparent loyalty to their political party manifestoes reject sound educational advice with a mean of 2.42.

Lastly the average mean was 2.78 equivalent to high on the Likert Scale which implies that a lot had been done in ensuring proper access to primary education in Hodan District despite the prevailing political instabilities in the district.

Another politician interviewed noted that with the ever-deteriorating security in Somalia, accessing education has been relatively difficult for instance most of the school going children fear being abducted on their way to school

It was also revealed by the one of the top administrators in Hodan District that the international community through AU and AMISOM has tried to keep peace and order in conflict prone areas of the country so as to promote security

Most of the politicians interviewed suggested that government had not yet done enough in addressing political instability in the District. This was due to the continued terror attacks by terrorist group Al-shabaab in the District

One of the officials from the Ministry of Education who was interviewed revealed that increasing on security deployment in most commonly conflict hit areas of the District in order to ensure that school going children can freely access education

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses, concludes and recommends reflecting on the study findings presented in the previous chapter.

5.1 Discussions

5.1.1 Findings on Forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu

The study results on forms of political instability in the Hodan district, in Mogadishu. For this study, it was established using eight indicators that respondents had to indicate to what extent they agreed. The results show that the indicator that ranked first is that there is no law or order of any kind in Somalia due to the lack of a central government and severe poverty with a mean of 3.94 which is equivalent to very high in the Likert scale. The indicator that Hodan district still lacks an adequate rule of law due to the absence of a well functioning central government had a mean of 3.89 which is equivalent to a very high Likert scale. In third place, after decades of political and security instability, the military coup, personal domination and electoral fraud led to Fragility in the District followed with a mean of 3.78 which is equivalent to very high. The fourth indicator that there are regular abductions of people in the Hodan district had a mean of 3.74 equivalent to very high. In fifth position, it was the indicator that the anti-democratic decision of the political process of government institutions erodes public trust and leads to social disengagement leading to political chaos in the Hodan district with a mean of 3.55 equivalent to much high. The indicator that there is still a combination of poor security, chaotic politics in the Hodan district in the sixth position had a mean of 3.15 equivalent high. The indicator that the flagrant incompatibility in the values and rights enshrined in the Somali constitution contributes to political tyranny had a mean of 2.74 in seventh place. In the last rank, the Somali government failed to avoid the bias and false representation of reality in politics, followed by a mean of 2.68 equivalent to the high one. In general, the forms of political instability in the Hodan district, Mogadishu, averaged 3.82 which was equivalent to very high. This implies that there are a multitude of forms of political instability

in the Hodan district that have had a significant impact on access to primary education. This is in line with Afrax, (2014) which has suggested that at the political level, the current Somali government will emerge to have a functioning cabinet. In reality, however, the cabinet does not have an effective departmental support and no public official at the service of personnel positions. More significantly, the cabinet lacks almost all the funds.

5.1.2 Findings on Causes of Political Instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu

According to the study results, it was clear that the Causes of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu was determined using eight indicators. In the first rank, it was the indicator that corruption and mismanagement of the wealth in Hodan District fuels political crisis in the district with a mean of 3.93 equivalent to very High on the Likert Scale. This was followed by the indicator that the work productivity or productivity of the Suppression of opposition parties by the ruling government with a mean of 3.88 equivalent to very high. This was followed by the indicator that holding on to power for too long by heads of states is another major cause of political instability with a mean of 3.82 equivalent to very high. In the fourth rank, high level of prejudice in a country also leads to instability in Hodan District followed with a mean of 3.78 equivalent to very high on the Likert Scale. This was followed by mass unemployment and poverty can easily trigger political instability with a mean of 3.69 equivalent to very high. This was also followed by the indicator that political instability occurs when elections are not free and fair in Hodan District with a mean of 3.62 equivalent to very high. In the seventh position, it was the indicator that if the rights and freedoms of the people are not respected or are trampled upon, then it is very easy for instability to emerge with a mean of 3.18 equivalent to high. This is followed by the indicator that intolerance for the views and opinions of others can also lead to political instability in Hodan District with a mean of 3.12 equivalent to high. Lastly, generally the Causes of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu had an average mean of 3.63 which is equivalent to very high on Likert Scale. This implies that there were very many causes of political instability in Hodan District which also hindered access to the primary education in the district. This is in agreement with Bayart (2011) who noted that mass unemployment and poverty can easily trigger political instability in any country. When majority of the people in a country are impoverished and cannot find jobs to do, then they vent their anger on the government and that leads to instability in the country.

5.1.3 How political instability affects access to primary education in Hodan District

The study findings revealed that frequent changing of Government hinders long term educational plan of access to primary education in Hodan District had a mean of 3.3 equivalent to very high on the Likert Scale. This was followed by the indicator that politicians in Hodan District in apparent to their political party manifests rejected sound educational advice with a mean of 3.27 which equivalent to very high. In the third rank, at times in the process of implementing educational pledges made politicians they interfere with access to primary education in Hodan District followed with a mean of 2.75 equivalent to high. In the fourth rank, the indicator that a lot of political instability which a lot of impact on implementation of its policy education followed with a mean of 2.70 equivalent to high. This was followed by political instability in Hodan District is a prerequisite for meaningful investment since it ensures an atmospheric of place and predictability in the fifth rank with a mean of 2.70 equivalent to high on the Likert Scale. Political instability is one of the major causes of failure of access to primary education followed in the sixth position with a mean of 2.61 equivalent to high. This was followed by the indicator that there is also high rate drop out in primary schools in Hodan District due to political crises and frustrations with a mean of 2.50 equivalent to low. This was also followed by the indicator that politicians in Hodan District in apparent loyalty to their political party manifestoes reject sound educational advice with a mean of 2.42 equivalent to low. Lastly the average mean was 2.78 equivalent to high on the Likert Scale which implies that a lot had been done in ensuring proper access to primary education in Hodan District despite the prevailing political instabilities in the district. This is in line with Kedouri, (2011) who noted that the problem of political instability on implementation of Somalia policy on primary education cannot be fully comprehended without briefly highlighting the circumstances and environment within which education system functions. Education cannot be divorced from politics because, one of the crucial issues characterized in the relationship between education and politic, is the likelihood for the political powers to use the educational system as the main instrument for promoting the political interest, the values and beliefs of the government in power

5.2 Conclusion

5.2.1 Forms of political instability

At the political level, the present Somali government emerges to have a working cabinet. In reality, though, the cabinet has no actual departmental support and no civil servants serving in staff positions. Most significantly, the cabinet lacks almost any funds. Also deficient are some of the services that working governmental departments typically offer. Next, the merely describing characteristics of the Somali government are corruption and criminality. The lack of central governance has also helped the arrangement of small fiefdoms. Somali Government has failed to avoid factionalism and misrepresentation of reality in politics.

According to the study findings, there is still lack of proper rule of law in Hodan District due to absence of well-functioning central government. Immediately after the fall of Barre regime the coastal region of Somalia was managed by UNOSOM1 &2 until the United States and United Nations pulled out of Somalia.

Many scholars believe that proximity of politically unstable nations and territories are both cause of armed robbery or maritime piracy in such regions for instance, concluded that “Somalia’s internal unrest, its lack of government control, and the authority of local clan warlords have created a favorable climate for maritime crime, one that often gives thieves and pirates permission to act freely”

There is no law and order of any type in Somalia because of the lack of a central government and severe poverty. As a consequence, criminal activity is rampant throughout the nation. While some connect in criminal behavior for fundamental survival, others have formed a professional criminal enterprise, particularly in the form of piracy.

Although the international community has not forever taken the problem of piracy critically, current proceedings have guided to further extensive international concern. It has become obvious that unless piracy is contested, it will spiral out of control, intimidating the sea lanes that transport almost half of the world’s cargo and efficiently underwriting terrorist activities

5.2.2 Causes of political instability

Study findings indicate that corruption and mismanagement of the wealth in Hodan District fuels political crisis in the district. Corruption has over the years been shown to be one of the biggest factors responsible for political instability in many countries all over the world. The more corrupt a country is, the higher the likelihood of that country becoming unstable.

Political instability occurs when elections are not free and fair in Hodan District. Many countries have suffered from political instability as a result of unfair elections characterized by rigging of votes and intimidations during elections. An election that is not free and fair is one of the major causes of political instability in many countries across the globe.

Mass unemployment and poverty can easily trigger political instability in any country. When majority of the people in a country are impoverished and cannot find jobs to do, then they vent their anger on the government and that leads to instability in the country. Many countries have suffered from instability as a result of this.

Suppression of opposition parties by the ruling government. When members of the opposition parties are deliberately targeted and prosecuted for no apparent reason, then this can easily give rise to instability in the country.

The study findings indicate that high level of prejudice in a country also leads to instability in Hodan District. Prejudice is the unreasonable hatred of people who are different from you. In many countries in Africa, ethnic prejudices have over the years led to some of the worst forms of instabilities in a country.

Holding on to power for too long by heads of states is another major cause of political instability. A country can easily be plunged into political instability in Hodan District when the head of state decides not to step down from power when his or her time is up. So many countries in Africa and Asia have experienced political instabilities as a result of this.

5.2.3 How political instability affects access to primary education

Frequent changing of Government hinders long term educational plan of access to primary education in Hodan District. They are either abandoned in the wake of new Government or distorted to suit the policies of the new administrators

The study concludes that politicians in Hodan District in apparent to their political party manifests rejected sound educational advice”. During the second and third republics parties promised free education up to the tertiary level against technical advice. Beyond this promise implementation was difficult and the idea was dropped by the intervening military Government.

Civilian and military Government use education as a propaganda tool and for political socialization. Thus, education continues to suffer the ups and downs of politics. At times in the process of implementing educational pledges made politicians they interfere with access to primary education in Hodan District.

According to the study findings, political instability in Hodan District is a prerequisite for meaningful investment since it ensures an atmospheric of place and predictability. Frequency changing of government hinders a long term educational plan, hence they are either abandoned in the wake of new government or distorted to soil, the new administrations.

Another impact of political instability on educational policy is that politicians in Hodan District in apparent loyalty to their political party manifestoes rejected sound educational advice. During the second and third republics parties promised free education up to the tertiary level against technical advice, beyond this promise implementation was difficult and the idea was dropper by the intervening military government.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu

The study recommends that Somalia needs responsible government, system and meritocracy leadership with stable place to deliver services and overcome security of the country. Overwhelming opinion is that, Mogadishu is experimented; it has characterized battles between

clans, terrorism, Islamist groups day after another, disputes and worst of that the capital city is taken by one clan by re-assimilating the properties of individuals and public.

There is need for different stakeholders in Somalia to assign the emerging government just four basic responsibilities in finishing the constitution, Security, rebuilding constitutional states after disregarding what revamped by the current government

5.3.2 Causes of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu

There is need to implement strict legal framework to curb corruption and mismanagement of the wealth in Somalia since this tends to fuel political instabilities in the communities hence affecting access to primary education

The study recommends that there is need for proper democracy through free and fair elections in Somalia. This can help to strengthen the government agencies hence eliminate political instability in the country thus help to improve on access to primary education

The study also recommends that the government of Somalia needs to implement better employment policies to address the issue of mass unemployment and poverty which often triggers political instability in the whole country

It is also recommended that a lot still needs to be done to avoid high level of prejudice in the country which leads to instability. This can help to address political instabilities hence improve on access to primary education

5.3.3 How political instability affects access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu

The study recommends that there is need to stop frequent changing of Government because this hinders long term educational plan of access to primary education in Hodan District. They are either abandoned in the wake of new Government or distorted to suit the policies of the new administrators.

It is also recommended that there is need to ensure that the process of implementing educational pledges is effective without political interference.

5.4 Areas for further Research

Much as the study aimed at covering most of the relevant theme, Political instability and access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu, Somalia are a very broad issue that it cannot easily be exhausted in a single research. Other research need to be done in this field specifically on the following;

- Political instability and health service delivery
- Political instability and economic development

5.5 3. Limitations of the Study

Some respondents were too busy with their daily schedule and failed to spare time for the questionnaire. In such circumstances the researcher would give ample time to those respondents. This made it possible by serving them the questionnaires in time.

There is also another limitation of uncooperative respondents who were not willing to provide information to the researcher. In this scenario, the researcher would leave them and seek information from other respondents.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear respondent

I am by the names of **Asha Mohamud Esse Abdi, 1161-06266-04272**, a student from Kampala International University carrying out a study on” **Political instability and access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu, Somalia**”. I am very glad that you are my respondent for this study. The purpose of this questionnaire was to obtain your opinion/views to be included among others in the study. This research is one of the requirements leading to the award of Master’s degree in Public Administration and Management of from Kampala International University. It is hence an academic research and will not be used for any other purpose other than academic. Your co-operation and answers to these questions heartily and honestly will be significant to this study to gather the data needed. Thank you in advance for your cooperation

PART 1: RESPONDENT’S BIO DATA

Gender

1. Male
2. Female

Education Level

1. Primary
2. Secondary
3. Certificate
4. Diploma
5. Bachelor’ Degree
6. Master’s Degree

Age of respondents

1. 20-35 years
2. 36-51 years
3. 51 and above years

Direction 1: Please write your rating on the space before each option which corresponds to your best choice in terms of level of motivation. Kindly use the scoring system below:

Score	Response Mode	Description	Interpretation
5	Strongly Agree	You agree with no doubt at all	Very satisfactory
4	Agree	You agree with some doubt	Satisfactory
3	Neutral	You are not sure about any	None
2	Disagree	You disagree with some doubt	Fair
1	Strongly Disagree	You disagree with no doubt at all	Poor

SECTION B:

	Forms of political instability	1	2	3	4	5
1	There is still a combination of poor security, chaotic politics in Hodan District					
2	Somali Government has failed to avoid factionalism and misrepresentation of reality in politics					
3	flagrant incompatibility in values and rights enshrined in Somali constitution contributes to political tyranny					
4	Anti-democratic decision making political process of the Government institutions corrodes public trust and sets in social					
5	There is still lack of proper rule of law in Hodan District due to absence of well-functioning central government					
6	After decades of political and security instability, military coupe d'états, personal rule and electoral frauds have led to Fragility in the					
7	There is no law and order of any type in Somalia because of the lack of a central government and severe poverty					
8	There are regular abductions of people in Hodan District					

	Causes of political instability	1	2	3	4	5
1	Corruption and mismanagement of the wealth in Hodan District fuels political crisis in the district					
2	Political instability occurs when elections are not free and fair in Hodan District					
3	Mass unemployment and poverty can easily trigger political instability					
4	Suppression of opposition parties by the ruling government					
5	High level of prejudice in a country also leads to instability in Hodan District					
6	Holding on to power for too long by heads of states is another major cause of political instability					
7	If the rights and freedoms of the people are not respected or are trampled upon, then it is very easy for instability to emerge					
8	Intolerance for the views and opinions of others can also lead to political instability in Hodan District					

	How political instability affects access to primary education in Hodan District	1	2	3	4	5
1	Frequent changing of Government hinders long term educational plan of access to primary education in Hodan District					
2	Politicians in Hodan District in apparent to their political party manifests rejected sound educational advice					
3	At times in the process of implementing educational pledges made politicians they interfere with access to primary education in Hodan					
4	A lot of political instability which a lot of impact on implementation of its policy education					

5	Political instability in Hodan District is a prerequisite for meaningful investment since it ensure an atmospheric of place and					
6	Political instability is one of the major causes of failure of access to primary education					
7	There are also high rate drop out in primary schools in Hodan District due to political crises and frustrations					
8	Politicians in Hodan District in apparent loyalty to their political party manifestoes reject sound educational advice					

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW GUIDE

What are forms of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu?

What are causes of political instability in Hodan District, Mogadishu?

What is how political instability affects access to primary education in Hodan District, Mogadishu?

What has been done to address political instability in Hodan District?

Do you think the government has been effective in addressing political instability in Hodan District?

What has the government done to address barriers to access to primary education in Hodan District?

To what extent is political instability severe in Hodan District, Mogadishu?