

**IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**MASTER THESIS**

**TURKEY'S INVOLVEMENT IN SOMALI: HOW  
SOMALIS PERCEIVE TURKEY'S STABILIZATION  
EFFORTS IN SOMALIA?**

**YUSUF ABDI SHIRE**

**THESIS SUPERVISOR: ASSOC. PROF. TALHA KÖSE**

**ISTANBUL, 2019**

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**by**

**YUSUF ABDI SHIRE**

**A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in  
Political Science and International Relations.**

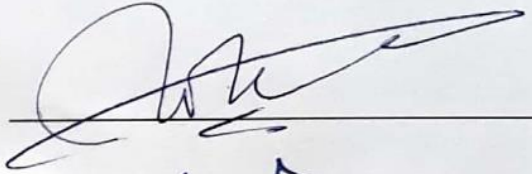
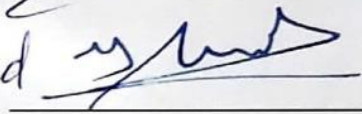
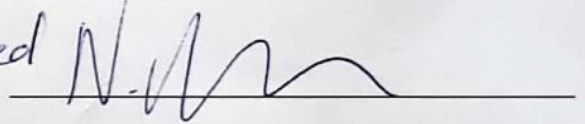
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**ISTANBUL, 2019**

APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of MA in Political Science and International Relations

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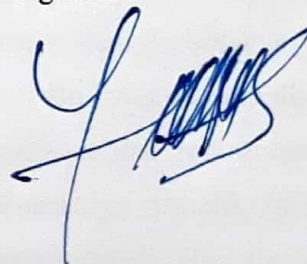


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## ÖZ

Türkiye'nin Somali'deki Varlığı: Türkiye'nin İstikrara Yönelik Faaliyetleri Somalililer tarafından nasıl algılanmaktadır?

SHIRE, Yusuf Abdi

Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Talha Kose

Eylül 2019, 96 sayfa

Somali'de devlet-inşası süreci, merkezi hükümetin 1991 yılında yıkılmasından itibaren hem Somalililer hem de uluslararası toplum için zor bir süreç olmuştur. Mevcut araştırmalar Somali'deki çatışmaların kaotik yapısı nedeniyle bölgeye yeni aktörlerin varlığını çekmeye devam ettiğini göstermektedir. Bu çalışma Somalilerin ülkelerindeki dış aktörlerin varlığını ve aktivitelerini nasıl algıladığını anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Özel olarak bu çalışma Türkiye'nin Somali'ye yönelik istikrar faaliyetlerinin Somalililer tarafından nasıl algılandığına odaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada ayrıca bu algının nedenlerini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Literatür taramasına dayanan ve kartopu örnekleme methodunu kullanılarak nitel bir araştırma yapıldı. Bu çerçevede, yirmi beş açık uçlu soru farklı bölgelerden ve farklı geçmişe sahip elli Somaliliye soruldu. Alınan cevapların analizi göstermektedir ki katılımcıların çoğunluğu Türkiye'ye ve onun Somali'deki sivil ve hükümet destekli programlarına karşı büyük bir güven ve sevgi duymaktadır. Katılımcılardan bazı eleştirileri olmasına rağmen, araştırma Türkiye'nin Somali'deki barış ve devlet-inşası operasyonlarının neden Somali barış sürecine müdahil olan birçok aktör arasında en fazla desteklendiğine odaklanmaktadır. Bulgular, geleneksel bağışçıların somut sonuçlara ulaşmada ve Somali'de faydalı projeler geliştirmedeki başarısızlığını ve Türkiye'nin 2011'deki başarılı yardım modelini, ortak kültür, tarih ve dinin Somalilerin Türkiye algısını etkileyen esas faktörler olduğunu göstermektedir. Somalililerin, barış sürecine müdahil olan diğer aktörleri nasıl algıladığını ve onların algılarını nelerin şekillendirdiğini belirlemeye yönelik olarak yeni araştırmaların yapılmasına ihtiyaç vardır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Algı, Barış Müdahalesi, Geleneksel Donörler, Somali Çatışması, Türk Varlığı, Yerel nüfus.

## ABSTRACT

### TURKEY'S INVOLVEMENT IN SOMALI: HOW SOMALIS PERCEIVE TURKEY'S STABILIZATION EFFORTS IN SOMALIA?

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MA in Political Science and International Relations

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The Somali state-building process has been a difficult task for both the Somalis and the international community since the fall of the central government in 1991. Research has shown that the chaotic nature of the Somali conflict continues to attract new actors that intervene in the Somali issues. This study aims to understand how Somalis perceive the presence of external actors in Somalia and their activities in the country. Particularly, this study asks how Somalis perceive Turkey's stabilization efforts in Somalia? The research is also interested in why they perceive the way they do.? Host population perception studies gained increased attention in the last two decades. Based on the literature review qualitative interview research was conducted, using a snowball sampling method, twenty-five open-ended questions were asked to fifty Somalis from different regions and backgrounds in Turkey. Analysis of the responses illustrated that the majority of the participants showed an enormous trust and love for Turkey and the projects it has been doing in Somalia both civil and government-led programs. Although there were a number of criticisms from the participants, the research focused on why Turkey's peace and state-building operations in Somalia were favored the highest among the multiple actors involved in the Somali peace process. The findings indicate that the failure of the traditional donors to achieve tangible results and bringing useful projects in Somalia, the successful Turkish aid model in 2011 and the common culture, history, and religion were among the main factors that contributed to the way Somalis perceive Turkey. Further research is needed to identify how Somalis perceive different actors involved in Somalis and what shapes their perceptions.

**Keywords:** Host-Population, Peace Intervention, Perception, Somali conflict, Traditional Donors. Turkish Involvement.

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my loving parents my Mother Sirad Nur and my father Abdi Shire whose words of encouragement and prayers allowed me to accomplish my goals. I also dedicate this to my other members of my family and many friends who have supported me throughout the process and made sure that I give it all it takes to finish that which I have started.



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Yusuf Abdi SHIRE

ISTANBUL, 2019



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## LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AKP- Justice and Development Party  
AMISOM- African Union Mission in Somalia  
ALNAP- Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action  
EU- European Union  
FDI- Foreign Direct Investment  
IDB- Islamic Development Bank  
ICG- International Crisis Group  
IGAD- Intergovernmental Authority on Development  
ICU- Islamic Courts Union  
ISIS- Islamic State of Iraq and Syria  
IHH- Humanitarian Relief Foundation  
LDCs- Least Developed Countries  
MSF- Médecins Sans Frontières  
NATO- North-Atlantic Treaty Organization  
NGOs- Non- Governmental Organizations  
ODA- Turkish Overseas Development Assistance  
SCIC- Supreme Council of Islamic Courts  
TFG- Transitional Federal Government  
TIKA- Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency  
TNG- Transitional National Government  
UN- United Nations  
UNITAF- Unified Task Force  
UAE- United Arab Emirates  
UN- United Nations  
US- United States

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background of the study

This study aims to present an overall image of how Somalis think of Turkish involvement in Somalia after eight years since their arrival. According to the Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action (ALNAP), perception studies is “a set of procedures and tools formally established and used to allow humanitarian aid recipients (and in some cases other crisis-affected populations) to provide information on their experience of a humanitarian agency or of the wider humanitarian system”. ( Bonino & Warner, 2014 p. 8). The target population is Somalis which are the recipients of international aid and a very important part of this feedback process, they will contribute their accounts and experiences on the external involvement to Somalia including the recent Turkish engagement in the country.

For decades the Somali conflict has been a global issue and unsolved puzzle in the international community, the country lacks a functioning central government since the Siyad Barre regime was ousted in 1991, this led to a devastating civil war after the clan rebels fought among each other for a control of the resources since then some scholars like (Venugobolan, 2017) consider Somalia to be a failed state. Some of the main sources of the Somali conflict is considered to be the twenty-one years of the dictatorial rule of Bare and the cold war politics where the superpowers at the time the Soviet Union and the US played their political chess game in the horn of African region especially in Somali to expand their influence in this strategic lands. The Somali civil war went through different phases from civil strife where rebels who overthrew Bare fought cross clan lines, this generated severe humanitarian crisis like famine, refugees, and crimes against humanity. At the turn of the century, the Somali civil war entered a new phase, this time Islamic fundamentalism became the biggest threat. Violent groups like Al-Shabaab and ISIS thrived under the political vacuum, the two phases of the Somali conflict attracted different actors, regional, international actors, and

NGOs. The current Somali context is an unstable federal government with six member states, the unfinished constitutional draft and undetermined powers and roles of the center and the member states create further power struggle and uncertainties while they all face bigger threats from terrorist organizations and external actors which benefit the current institutional collapse. However, both internal and external efforts have been made to rebuild the state and bring stability to the country but none have produced tangible results, most of the external intervention made the situation even worse. Apart from the traditional players in the Somali conflict mostly Western and some Arab countries, Turkey emerged as a new actor into the Somali affairs in 2011, Turkey has been a very influential player since. (Elmi & Barise, 2006) ( Mulugeta, 2009).

## **1.2. Brief History of Turkey-Somali Relations**

Turkey's engagement in Somali is mostly viewed in the broader context of its relations with the African continent, where Somalia represents a test and roadmap of Turkey's policy toward the continent. For centuries Ottomans had good trade and cultural relations with Africa, and ruled the north region of African and had influence and indirect control over other regions like East-Africa. (Ozkan, 2012). Furthermore, many analysts like (Ozkan & Orakci, 2015) ( İpek, 2014) divide the Turkey-Somali relation into three periods, the Ottoman period, the early republic period and the Justice and Development Party (AKP) period, Ipek argues that Ottomans reached the Horn of African region in 1517, when Ottomans helped Somalis fight against neighboring Christian power of Abyssinia currently (Ethiopia) and their ally Portugal. The Ottomans took control of coastal cities of Zaila and Berbera in the red sea and developed good relations with the other Muslim sultanates in the Horn of Africa. This rule continued until the British colony took over the control of the area in the last decade of the 19th century.

The republic period, this period which starts in 1923 Turkey's foreign policy was focused more on to the west, where Turkey later became a member of NATO. According to ( Aweis, 2018) a decade after Somalia took independence from Western colonialists (Britain & Italy) the country joined the Soviet bloc in the cold war politics, but in the 1977 Ethiopian Somali war, Somalia cut its relations with Moscow and shifted to Western block, following this development in 1979. Both Turkey and Somalia opened their embassies in Mogadishu and Ankara. After the 1991 civil war,

the Turkish embassy in Mogadishu was closed. However, that was not the end of their contact. Turkish troops participated in the UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia, General Çevik Bir a Turkish citizen became the commander of joint UN peacekeeping army in Somalia, although this mission failed Turkish NGOs like IHH remained to assist Somalis (ICG, 2012). Overall, the relations were low during the republic period until Turkey introduced Africa opening plan in 1998, the plan aimed to develop Diplomatic, Political, Economic, and Cultural spheres with the African countries, it succeeded its goals after the majority rule AK Party came to power. ( Çogen, 2016)

The Justice and Development Party (AK Party) period, due to the weak transitional government rule in Somalia which most of the world didn't recognize the relations were low at the beginning. Turkey had a limited relation with all the transitional governments, but in 2009 high ranking Somali officials including the Somali president at the time came to Turkey, Turkey also collaborated with organizations like African Union (AU) and the United Nations (U.N) and the “First Somalia Conference” was held in 2010. This prepared the base for major Turkish involvement in Somalia and led to the famous Erdogan visit to Mogadishu in 2011, which was a turning point of Turkish Somalia relations. (Ozkan & Orakci, 2015) argue that the relations flourished under the leadership of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), with their new foreign policy which favored cooperation with Africa, and the Turkish opening to Africa can be seen as a result of the domestic transformation, economic growth, and change in the global system.

The recent Turkish-Somali relations started in 2011 when the Turkish Prime minister at the time Recep Tayyip Erdoğan with his family and large business and diplomatic delegates visited Mogadishu. During this time, Somalia was in a devastated situation, natural and man-made disasters, ruinous war against Al-Shabaab and largest famine in Somali history which claimed the lives of 250,000 people according to the United Nations report (UN News 2013), these disasters put Somalia into a brink of sudden death. The historic visit of Erdogan and his ministers was the first by none-African leader since 1993, this broke the existing narrative which portrayed Somalia especially the capital Mogadishu as no-go zone due to the security threat posed by Al-Shabaab. According to Abdirzack, (2017), Erdogan's visit galvanized everything, it sent a huge message to the world and Somalis who felt forgotten by the international community.



Turkey has taken on a deeply influential role in bringing Somalia's situation to international attention.

Turkey played a critical role in providing an effective model to Somalia which includes humanitarian assistance and development. The development cooperation between Somalia and Turkey is multi-tiered and includes military, social, economic and infrastructural partnerships. In this framework, due to its activities in many countries like Somalia, Turkey can be seen as an emerging donor and a rising power in international affairs (Wasuge, 2016). Under the majority rule of the AK Party, the relations between Turkey and Africa grew faster, 2005 was named the year of Africa. "Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit" was held in Istanbul in 2008 and in Equatorial Guinea in 2014 (Rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011).

### **1.3. Brief Overview of Interventions in Somalia**

According to Dias, (2013) since the fall of the central government in 1991, Somalia has been the playground of "internationally sponsored political engineering" both the transitional governments from 2004-2012 and current federal government greatly rely on the support of external actors which pay government expenses and also finance the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in their fight against extremist groups in Somalia like Al-Shabaab and ISIS.

The long-going Somali conflict is mostly linked to countries history and socio-cultural characteristics, this created power vacuum and legitimacy problems, where warring parties did not find common ground, external actors also contributed to this fragmentation and disunity. Beyond the competition of both regional and international countries, Islamic extremism, corruption, and piracy also expatriated the situation of Somalia ( Marangio, 2012)

The foreign intervention in Somali has a long and unpleasant history which to this day shapes how Somalis perceive other states coming to their country. For example, like many third world countries in Africa and elsewhere colonialism is a very important factor that can't be separated from the politics and the history of the colonized. In the Somali case, colonial powers exploited the clan division to gain more economic benefits from Somalia. Partition of Somali speaking lands in 1884 by the European colonies, was a colossal trauma to the most of Somalis, the European colonies divided

the region into five parts. (British Somaliland, the Italian Somaliland the French Somaliland/Djibouti, Ogaden region was given to Ethiopia and Northern Frontier District (NFD) was given to Kenya.). ( Metz, H. 1992)

According to Venugopalan, (2017) The US intervention in Somalia started after USSR favored Ethiopia in the war with Somalia, America started supporting the Bare regime until he was ousted in 1991. After bloody civil war and famine came the US-led military intervention in Somali in 1992 which is one of the most important events in the intervention studies and in Somalia history, the results of this operation which was failure and led to the death of 18 American rangers affected the US intervention policies in general, (Fox, 2000) argues that American reluctance to intervene in the genocide in Rwanda and also its belated actions in Bosnian case is due to the traumatic experience of Somalia.

The chaotic situation and intense wars which followed after Bare was ousted from the office but the country in a dire situation, starvation, disease, lack of infrastructure, and a total broke of order, the consequences were worse than people predicted, this horrific news reached the international community, the UN security council issued UNOSOM I. to provide humanitarian assistance and to monitor ceasefire which the UN-brokered between Warlords in Mogadishu but this did not last, more fights started and small number of UN troops could not make changes on the ground (Laitin, 2001) The Unified Task Force (UNITAF) which carried resolution 794 was presented, this operation was aimed to create a secure area so the humanitarian assistant can reach the southern part of Somalia which were most affected regions. the US government decided to send food and medicine to Somalia, latter many reports indicated that the aid was looted by Somali warlords, the US decision-makers responded with full-scale military intervention with the name “Operation Restore Hope,” (9 December 1992 – 4 May 1993) in this operation the US and its allies explained as it to be “purely humanitarian.” And intend to create a secure environment so the food can reach the suffering people (UNOSOM I 1997). UNITAF was partially successful and created Addis Ababa agreement in 1993 it later handed over to UNOSOM II, but the agreement failed and intra-clan war started again, this caused heavy casualties of both the locals and the UN troops, in 1994 the US withdrew and 1995 the allied forces also were evacuated from Somalia, which signaled total failure since it didn’t reach its goals

which were to act barrier and mediator of warring parties in the coming years. (Cilliers, Boshoff, & Aboagye, 2010) ( Wennesland, 2013) argue that in relation to US operation in Somalia one of the main reasons it failed was the tension between principles and interest of the US. (Laitin, 2001) argues that there was no exit strategy and the military operation also could not cooperate with the civil organizations.

According to Lockyer, (2008) Foreign intervention can change or manipulate the balance of capabilities of wars by intervening, supplying resources to a group, siding with a group or ignoring and disengaging totally which can weaken one party. Throughout the Somali conflict, foreign actors did either of these three steps to different functions, for example, the Western countries supported Somali warlords against Islamic Union Courts (ICU) while Gulf countries supported ICU.

After the US-led mission failed the Western countries took hands-off policy toward Somalia since they had other actors in the region who will do their work in Somalia. For example, the US did not leave Somalia it continued to support Ethiopia to reach its goals, but the direct interventions appeared after 9/11 under the counterterrorism framework where the US was working with Ethiopia and Somali warlords to undermine Islamist movements in the country, however, the consequences were counterproductive and exacerbated the situation in Somalia. (Møller, 2009)

On the other hand, neighbor countries like Ethiopia and Kenya play a critical role in shaping the conflict dynamics and overall Somali politics. Ethiopia and Kenya control Somali speaking territories where many Somalis believe are parts of a Greater Somalia, Ethiopia, and Somalia fought on these disputed territories in 1964 and 1977. However, the situation changed after the central government of Somalia collapsed. Since then Ethiopia and Kenya intervened in Somali politics and territory multiple times, among these are Ethiopian invasion in 2006 and Kenyan invasion in 2011 where both countries claimed to fight against Al-Shabaab. However, both countries intervened in Somali domestic politics forcefully, these countries are considered to be spoilers that prevent the establishment of a strong Somali state. They also claim they are concerned about refugee flow and security issues. However, these interventions are unpopular in Somalia (Muhammed, 2014). Between 2006-2013 these countries committed human rights violations against Somalis in refugee camps and in Somalia (Marchal, 2012) (Human Rights Watch, 2013).

The Ethiopian invasion backed by the US aimed to stop the Islamist movements in Somalia. However, this invasion didn't end Islamists, it created more violent and radical groups like Al-Shabaab due to the destruction that the military action brought. Although the operation saved many lives its end was not desirable. The next year African Union mission in Somalia (AMISOM) troops were deployed at first in 2007 to assist and protect the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in Mogadishu and to create secure areas so humanitarian assistance can reach people in need, and finally to replace the Ethiopian troops. (Cilliers et al., 2010). Now the only internationalized group which function in Somalia is AMISOM which its mandate and work are questioned by Somalis and many experts. (ICG, 2012)



**Figure 1.1. Horn of Africa google map.**

The horn of African region carries great concern from international players which has been growing since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the region locates strategic area for maritime route where trade from far east and oil from the Gulf passes to reach Western capitals, this crucial route was threatened by pirates and growing terrorist groups in the region. After the number of ships hijacked by the Somali pirates increased, many actors intervened in Somali waters to protect the commercial routes,

including EU, NATO and other emerging powers, these activities dramatically decreased piracy attacks in the region. (Møller, 2009)

International organizations like the EU, AU, IGAD, and the UN have also great influence and impact on state-building and reconstructing the country. These organizations spent a lot of time and money in the post-transition period, especially, building institutions of the new federal system. A large number of NGOs were active in providing humanitarian relief to the Somalis some also provide development projects and assistance. (Norris & Bruton, 2011)

#### **1.4. Research Questions**

This part provides a short summary of the research question and the used method. Secondly, it examines how the engagement of different countries in the form of aid is perceived in the other parts of the world, we will analyze the popular African perceptions against the external actors like how many African countries like Zimbabwe reacted to Chinese intervention in Africa.

As a result of recent Turkish activism and involvement in Somalia in 2011 to rebuild the Somali state and the growing interest of many other actors in Somalia. This thesis raises a few questions that need attention and deep understanding.

The Main Question of this study is: *How Somalis perceive Turkey's stabilization efforts in Somalia?*

There are few other questions raised during the study including:

- How do Somalis perceive Turkish state-run and civic projects in Somalia?
- What are the factors that influence public perception of Somalis have on Turkey?
- To what extent Somalis believe that Turkey's efforts can help Somalia?
- How do Somalis formulate Turkish presence vis-à-vis the traditional donors?

The questions raised in this thesis are shaped and inspired by the increasing involvement of Turkey in Somalia, the unique relations that both countries share, and also the decline of the traditional donors in Africa and the emergence of new actors like China and Turkey in the region.

This study used a qualitative method of In-depth interviewing to achieve its objectives. Weiss (1994), argues that interviews are a good way to grasp and investigate the happenings of society. Our target population is Somalis in Turkey, this study uses snowballing, and convenience sampling methods, the collected primary and secondary data will be analyzed and interpreted using thematic narrative analysis. The post-conflict Somali situation demands studies like this one, a relevant study that contributes to contemporary studies of intervention and peace-building. (Elmi, 2010) To capture how Turkish involvement is perceived the research considers Turkey in isolation at first, while at the second it examines Somalis perception on Turkish presence and projects vis-a-vis the traditional donors (Western powers & Gulf countries). An in-depth interview with fifty Somalis in Turkey was used to go beyond the existing literature which ignores the local perspectives, the background of Somalis in this study is also very important. The respondents are from three major political parts of Somalia (Somaliland, Puntland and the Southern regions/Mogadishu), ethical concerns occupy a high position in this study and we are confident to declare this study is ethically possible and suitable. Furthermore, the answers of the participants do not only brighten our understanding of how Somalis perceive external actors in their country, especially Turkey, but also identifies key policy issues in Turkey-Somali relations. Finally, this thesis is not just interested in how Somalis think or perceive specific actors, but why they think like that and what shapes their positions, other important methodological issues are explained in detail in the fourth chapter

### **1.5. African Perspectives on China in Africa**

This study joins a growing literature of perception studies which look how local population perceives the external interventions in their countries, many of these studies were conducted in Africa since the continent experiences various types of interventions from military to aid. For example, Chinas inroads to Africa have been extensively discussed in the literature by academicians and policy-makers, especially the economic and political impact of China, there is also a growing literature that focuses the perception of Africans on rapidly growing China-Africa relations and its determinants. China has mounting trade and investment relations with Africa surpassing Western trade and investment, these developments met with different reactions from excitement to disappointment in Africa and in the international arena.

Perceptions and public opinions play a critical role in today's politics, decision-makers must observe how their role or policy is perceived by other communities to better see possible challenges and opportunities, different argument appeared on how China is perceived in Africa. For example, According to (Hanauer & Morris, 2014) African views on China are generally positive after a survey conducted in four African countries which 62% of the participants favored China in 2018. The study also argues that Chinese investment contributes to a positive perception of Africans although not all the time. Similar polls done by (Lekorwe & Okuru, 2016) Afro-barometer showed high positive attitudes of Africans toward the Chinese influence.

Gadzala & Hanusch, (2010) in their article analyzed the impact of Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) the trade relations and African response to Chinese presence in the continent. Based on the data set including twenty African states carried out by Lekorwe & Okuru, (2016), the results showed that the perceptions that Africans have against Chinese are close or equal to the views they have gains the US, the authors also argue that the negative rhetoric in the literature is highly influenced by the Western propagated stories on the media. On the other hand, Africans were also concerned about their market where massive Chinese low-quality products dominate. Similarly, Africans showed lower favorability to China if they believe in democracy and human rights. However, the writers argued that favors outnumber critics from two to one. The study also claimed that from the public views of Africans in the continent, Kenya leads the positive views on China where Nigeria and South Africa have a remarkable anti-china stance. A study done by (Maparure, 2014) argues that most Zimbabweans hold negative perspectives on Chinese for two reasons, the first is big Chinese companies preventing the local businesses to thrive, and China's ability to compromise the government officials, the author concludes that Zimbabwean experience which is large and controversial is likely to continue.

To sum up, two narratives dominate on how Africans perceive China. Firstly, China is an alternative to traditional donors it's a competitor player which tries to underline the imbalances of the global economic system where African states are marginalized by providing credit and investment projects. At the same time, China is also seen as an exploiting actor which only aims to dry the continent's resources. Although in general the broader Chinese image is positive it is interrupted by negative views on Chinese

low-quality goods, lack of employment in Chinese companies, working conditions at Chinese enterprises, the trade imbalance between China and African member states, and Chinese links to corrupt African officials.

### **1.6. The Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to understand how Somalis perceive Turkish efforts to stabilize Somalia? And at the same time to underline the factors that influence the local perceptions, and the impact or the results of the Turkish projects in Somalia so far.

The secondary objective of this study is to raise the local Somali voice by emphasizing their understanding and concerns which are absent in the debate of Turkish involvement in Somali politics, the study aims to broaden the debate from the wholly capture of bureaucratic narrative and include the local Somali perspectives. Furthermore, the study investigates the level of acceptance and satisfaction of Somalis on Turkish national and civil projects mainly (Trade, Aid, education, and Security). Finally, this study also tries to predict the future outlook of the two-state relations and the possible strategies needed to improve the relations between Somali and Turkey.

### **1.7. The Relevance and the Contribution of the study**

This study is relevant in two ways. Firstly, the Somali problem has been an international problem for almost three decades, as the international community tried to bring stability to Somalia through peace talks, state-building, financing, and peacekeeping missions. However, these attempts did not yield a strong government or stable security system in Somalia, the fragile situation of Somalia attracted new actors, like Turkey, China, and the UAE. New actors mean both new opportunities and new challenges especially, the Horn of African region became a target of both global and regional powers. This study will try to address the hopes, fears, expectations, and confidence that Somalis have on foreign interventions which are an overlooked area. Secondly, perception studies have recently gained increasing attention where it further explains how the beneficiaries or host country population make sense of donors and external actors coming to their countries, so this study will contribute to the growing literature of host country perceptions which earlier researchers failed to pay attention especially in the Somali conflict which has a long history of foreign intervention from governmental and non-governmental organizations. Finally, this study will analyze



how Somalis want others to approach problem areas, so this study is the first step to a wider research project which is to be initiated in the area of host country perception in post-conflict situations like Somalia.

The study claims that although there are mixed reactions from the people we interviewed the overwhelming majority of Somalis perceive Turkey as a true friend and honest ally who is serious about its stabilization efforts and contributions to the rebuilding the Somali state, participants encouraged Turkey's approach toward the aid in 2011 and development projects that followed since, education and security were the areas that proved Turkey willingness to invest in the capacity building of Somalis and its most important institutions. On the other hand, respondents pointed out the lack of enough investment of Turkey in Somalia and the rising competition of major middle eastern powers in the region. Finally, participants were quite optimistic about the future relations of Somali and Turkey and offered their recommendations to all involved parties.

### **1.8. Structure of the study**

This study is structured into five chapters with each focusing important part of the thesis, the first chapter is the introduction which is the key to understanding the following chapters, the chapter gives general knowledge of the study and it starts with the background of the study, the research problem which is the collapse of the Somali state, and the current situation of the country, other segment of the chapter is a brief historical background of the Turkish-Somali relations, this part explains the Turkey-Somali relation from the Ottoman period to the present day. Furthermore, the external interventions into Somalia which took place since the collapse of the central government are also presented here, including the US-led mission in the early part of the 1990s to the AMISOM mission which is now active in Somalia, and the interventions from the neighboring countries. Finally, the chapter also discusses how interventions in the form of aid are perceived by the local population, here we analyze the Chinese presence in Africa and the popular Local reactions to Chinese involvement, this part ends with the structure of the study.

The second chapter deals with the literature review and the theoretical framework, it is designed and divided into five major parts, the first part tries to connect this thesis

to the broader debates of international relations, the second part focuses on the literature on perception and how different scholars discussed similar cases in the different parts of the world, the fourth part examines the literature of the Turkish national and civic involvement in Somalia this part also presents the research gaps which are to be filled, and the fifth part emphasizes theoretical frameworks which are vital to the study which explains the intervention debates and rising power frameworks which together construct and complete the thesis, the chapter also touches the Turkish foreign policy toward Somalia and the policies of other countries which are present in Somalia.

The third chapter explains the research design and methodology of the study namely in-depth interview method, significance of the study and its contributions, another issue which is mentioned in this chapter is objectives both general and specific objectives, data collection tools, data analysis and finally ethical concerns. The fourth chapter analyses and discusses the collected data from the participants using narrative analysis, it also presents the results and the findings of the study. The final and fifth chapter concludes the study it summarizes the previous chapters inside this chapter we also present the recommendation part and the overview of the findings of the study.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter analyzes the Literature of the study and the surrounding debates, it starts with the broad debates that connect the study to the wider International relations debates. Secondly, the chapter discusses the literature on perception studies and how the relations between host-country and the intervening actors worked in other places in the world. Thirdly, the study presents the research gaps which are to be filled and how different scholars analyzed Turkish involvement in Somalia. Finally, the study presents the theoretical framework in which the study is built upon.

#### 2.1 Broader Debates

In general, there has been a great-debates about the nature of the international system and the relations between the actors in that system and the rules that govern them. However, such debates increased dramatically after the end of the cold war period when multiple conflicts emerged in different parts of the world, different theories and perspectives have contributed to and shaped the new world order and related studies. As the global conflict increased in the 1990s the new world system faced a huge dilemma of how to approach these problems, many debates emerged mostly in the US, these debates revolved around the concepts of international law, sovereignty, peace intervention, human rights, use of force, culture, identity and national interest under the flags of liberalism, Realism, and constructivism. However, the core of the debates regarding the concept of intervention is state system value and Human rights value. (Ramsbotham & Woodhouse, 1996) argue that this debate is between Pluralists and realists on one side and solidarists and cosmopolitanists on the other, the first group thinks intervention disables international world order, where the second group thinks that interventions are a necessary and moral obligation, the second group support justice and human rights over interest.

Liberalist thinkers like Nye, (2008) argue that liberalism and its different functions account for the ways institutions promote cooperation and peace in the international system, to reduce anarchy in the system. On the other hand, the Realist theory which stands on man and government promotes intervention when the national interest is at stake. Constructivism, on the other hand, became very popular after the Soviet Union collapsed, it claims that some aspects of International relations are historically and socially constructive and the world is our making, the theory got wider acceptance after the cold war ended peacefully. ( Nye, 2008) ( Waltz, K. 1959) (Smith, 2006).

There is also a considerable debate between the liberalists and realists over the ethical dimension of humanitarian intervention and the best way to defend the unprotected. (Smith, 2006) argues that neither parties can explain the morality and realities of the issue but both still play a fundamental role in providing theoretical and practical arguments dealing with the issue. Other scholars like Seay, (2007) underline the question of whether the intervention should lack motivation and intentions of powerful states the author argues most of the modern interventions are based on the interests of superpowers, but she emphasized the need to have ethical interventions and correct the past mistakes to better serve humanity. ( Viktorya, A. 2016) argues that in order for the intervention to be humanitarian it must be selfless and pure altruistic which cares more about the other than themselves, she also talks about the social norms which bush feelings to help others. and links these altruistic and norms to cosmopolitanism which advocate the common humanity.

To sum up, the literature on international relations theories tells us that since the cold war there has been a remarkable normative movement on humanitarian intervention. However, there seems to be a lack of consensus on the legitimacy and the conditions in which intervention is to be carried by the international actors, there is also a growing distrust of the UN security council and the current world order.

(Kardas, 2001) argues that the factors that drive countries to intervene the conflict and the affairs of other countries can be summarized as, geopolitical motives, when the level of conflict is high and causes a humanitarian crisis, and when the intervener has transactional interests like Economic military, national interests or historical linkage with the target country. Many countries like the US, Turkey, UAE, and Ethiopia intervened in Somalia for reasons similar to those that the author mentioned.

Similarly, the United States and the Soviet Union used Somalia to play their chess board game during the cold war competition, but soon after the cold war ended with a new world order, the US presumed a leading role in the region and intervened as a humanitarian actor, and in post 9/11 with the framework of the war on terror. A large number of international and regional organization like (the UN (UNOSOM I and II missions in 1992-95) AU, EU, and IGAD) have also intervened Somalia to stabilize the country and deal with increasing issues of piracy and extremist groups, (Mulugeta, 2009) argues that this made the situation in Somali worst then it was before their arrival, none-state actors like aid agencies and terrorist groups have also a feasible presence in Somalia.

Similarly, there is growing debate and literature which discusses the recent increasing interest of many global and regional powers on the Horn of African region, the strategic location of the region attracts foreign competition. Some of these actors are new to the region including China, Turkey, Qatar, and the UAE, the rising rivalry between these actors and already existing Western presence brings both opportunities and risks to the region. (Telci, 2018) talks about how the Gulf crisis affected the politics of the Horn of African region, he touches the aggressive policies that UAE took to balance Turkey in the region and the tough reaction that Somalia took against UAE which they accused of undermining their sovereignty. There is an increasing number of researchers who are engaged in this debate of international base race and the securitization of the horn of Africa, and whether it brings development or destabilization to the region.

Orakçı S. (2018) Argues that where the west is fading and portraying Africa as a backward continent the east is inspiring it, rising powers and regional actors like Gulf countries recognize the strategic importance of Africa, they see opportunities for cooperation and investment in the continent. China, for example, is challenging the Western interest and their values after it opened a military base in Djibouti. although most of the region do not have political and economic stability and are threatened by terrorist and interwar violence, still the region is experiencing a big configuration and reforms which attracts external actors. (Miftah, 2017)

The UAE became a very effective player in the Horn of African region with port deals and investment (International Crisis Group, 2018). However, the UAE and Saudis did

not play a constructive role in the Somali case, but in contrast, their clash with Qatar spilled into Horn of Africa Somalia particularly, this created a wide disagreement between the federal government in Mogadishu and the member states. this spoiled Somalia's relations with Abu Dubai, as UAE made direct contact with the federal members, (International Crisis Group, 2018).

## **2.2 Perception Studies**

According to Mac Ginty & Richmond, (2013) there has been an- increasing interest and shift in peace-building and state-building researches, in this turn new concepts like 'local ownership', emerged, a great interest is now given to the perceptions and views of the local population and their role in peace processes. They further argue that "community perceptions may be the most important variable in determining the outcome of a peacekeeping intervention" (Ginty & Richmond, 2013) p:66.

The increased attention to these types of studies came due to the nature of the new conflicts and difficulties that organizations encounter trying to reach the people in need Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) is one of the first organization that did this study to their own organization, since how they are seen by locals has direct influence of the safety of their workers and the quality of their operations, these perception projects were pushed by two incidents, the killing of five MSF staff in Afghanistan where they worked for a long time, and secondly, the war on terror paradigm which changed how NGOs mostly from the west are perceived in many countries like Iraq, Somalia, and Afghanistan where on the other hand, radicalization, politicization of aid increased. ( Abu-Sada, de Laat, W., & Schwartz, 2016)

Perception studies are quantitative studies carried out by interested groups of humanitarian activities such as aid organizations, think tanks, independent researchers and governments to account and analyze local population, to understand and assess their views on aid organizations and intervening actors, their practices and programs. (Nouvet et al., 2016). argues that the behavior of recipients and workers of aid organization is highly valued by humanitarian sector and intervening actors, this further helps the designing and monitoring of the intervention programs and their effects on the ground, it also increases accountability transparency and respect for the host community. The authors also indicated that this type of study is time-consuming

and requires intensive human resources, they also underlined one of the challenges of such studies which is it does not escape from biases and misconceptions from participant's views. I strongly agree with this point which shows that there are limitations to the data we receive from the locals.

Dijkzeul & Wakenge, (2010) underlined that it's very important to do practical research on whether humanitarian aid is perceived legitimate or not because humanitarian aid as understood by the locals can influence their attitudes toward the aid agencies expatriates and intervening actors in general. However, it is questionable whether the results of these researches can change and shape the mission agenda or even reach to headquarters of aid agencies. Some researchers like (Dijkzeul & Wakenge, 2010) found that people view the aid to have a political or economic agenda that violates the principles of aid and create legitimacy problems on the ground.

(Nouvet et al., 2016)). Linked the rise of the perception studies of the growing rejection of aid from many countries, and the failure of humanitarian interventions to assist the people in need after 1990s genocides and crimes against innocent people around the world, the image of the sector is also damaged by the Western project of war on terror which many people drew patterns between Western interests and humanitarian aid which became highly politicized. Ahmed told (Daljir Radio, 2012) in Somalia how their community was concerned with growing NGOs in Somali which he believed to have hidden agendas, many Somalis agree with this comment and distrust humanitarian aid. (Donini, 2015) Argues many people in the Middle-East also perceived the NGOs to have a hidden agenda so this shows the association of aid and donor agenda. The same questions were asked in Congo where the locals didn't always perceive that NGOs have hidden agenda but they mostly cared about the needs that organizations address and how much they deliver, this shows that perceptions change from one region to other and even inside a country, it also depends on the organization or the actor that is doing the work.

Chinese investment in Africa grew from 210\$ million in 2000 to 3.17\$ billion in 2011. One of the main soft power and foreign policy tools of China is an aid, and Africa receives most of the Chinese aid, which covers areas, such as agriculture, transportation, and communications. (Sun, Y. 2014). China also used its own version of humanitarian aid which doesn't promote human rights and democracy but works

mostly on mutual relations like building basic infrastructure and offering credits to many countries, and in return to gain access to African markets and resources. This Chinese model created many questions after it was deemed a success by many local and international observers, this also challenges the influence of the Western countries in the continent. (Wild, 2015).

Chinese belt and road initiative attracted many countries including Africans. However, the project is criticized of being “China club” and “debt diplomacy”, but the Chinese leaders denied such accusations, as Xi told to the South China Morning Post, critics also indicate that Chinese loans are burying some countries under a huge debt. However, (Matingwina, 2016) argues that the Chinese role in peace and security in the continent grew large in the last few years, China sells arms to many African countries and is active in peacekeeping missions.

The Chinese expanding influence met with a range of reaction from the Africans and from the west the African experience is filled with a mixture of hope and fear, in a way hope of what can China offer to the continent in the areas of development and investment which can be beneficial and different of that the west offered, but the suspicion and fear shadow over the Chinese need for energy and access to products and the extent they can harm the local businesses and weak institutions. The Western countries are afraid their influence on the continent will be diminished the Western democracy will be in ruins. (Cooke, 2009)

(Matingwina, 2016) investigates Sino-Zimbabwean relations which were growing since the independence China also supported the Zimbabwean armed struggle against Western colonies. Later Zimbabwe took “look East policy” which is both political and economic activity since the country couldn’t receive any donations and support from the west, this policy pushed the country to China. The trade and diplomatic relations between the countries took off. But the policy didn’t escape from local critics many people argued that the policy gives a preferential and extra chance to Chinese companies, they also don’t hire locals but instead, they bring their managers and workers from China. African leaders have also mixed reactions to Chinese some have praised for their economic and infrastructure assistance, where many other criticized Chinese to have neo-colonial ambition in the continent, the



Other study done in Harare the capital city of Zimbabwe shows that 98% of the participants don't see the relationship they have with China to be beneficial to Zimbabwe, they believed that China is exploiting their countries resources and economy to serve its growing economy, minority group of the respondent believed that China was helping their country after the Western embargo. (Mohan & Power, 2008). According to ( Sautman, & Hairong, 2009) "African views are not nearly as negative as Western media make out, nor as positive as official Chinese sources imply." P"11. China does not but conditionality with the aid they provide and it is also active in military assistance and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) these are the issues that resonate with many African elites. However, the locals care mostly about the Chinese investment and its contribution to the economy and whether it creates jobs or not, the quality of their products and the working condition in the Chinese factories. (Cooke, 2009)

Congo is one of the countries that experienced a number of interventions from both international and regional countries and organizations, the country receives billions of foreign aid and hosts the world's largest peacekeeping mission. According to (Griffen, 2013) While the country's elite and officials criticized international donors for undermining their sovereignty, a survey poll showed that 65% of Congolese people welcomed international intervention, the study also asked people which of the intervening countries has played a positive role, and the respondents favored international interveners over regional interventions. The study also claimed that most of the Congolese feel that they don't benefit from foreign investment and humanitarian aid, especially the regions that had a higher NGO presence showed the highest concerns.

Donini, (2007) investigated how assistance to Afghanistan is perceived by the locals, he found that there are deep worry and discomfort among interviewed Afghans against external interveners such as, aid workers and peace operations, they added that there is no connection between the locals and the outsiders and they don't see or understand peace and security similarly, Afghan respondents claimed their expectations have not been met and they feel 'wronged' they don't see impact that assistance brought, they showed distrust of the assistance project and that they were not in line with their needs. The study concluded that there is a huge gap between locals and the international

community in Afghanistan, there is also a culture of anti-empiricism and disconnection unless this problem is addressed and solved the state-building dream in Afghanistan is not going anywhere. I think the findings of this study are not unique to Afghanistan but it is a common perception and feeling local populations have in many third world countries where there are conflict and international programs which aim to encounter it.

Somalis have a negative perception of other countries intervening in their country, for example, the US-led operation in the early 1990s and the Ethiopian invasion in 2006 are perceived to have been intended to destroy and harm Somalis. Other Study done by (International Refugee Rights Initiative, 2017) showed that many Somalis have a negative perception about AMISOM presence in Somalia, respondents criticized that the decade-plus long mission yielded very limited results and that African Union mission in Somalia not only failed to protect civilians but also lacks accountability. I agree with this point and I think the problem lies at the objectives of the mission which are overshadowed by the interests of the neighboring countries.

Ayoob, (2004) has a fascinating article where the writers talk about the perspectives of Asia, Africa, and Latin America on northern interventions and international administrations, they conclude that the Asian and Latin American perspectives are not that different where they refuse to tolerate the northern intervention except very critical situations, the study argues that Latin American states are more flexible since they are more prone to US pressure. The Sub-Saharan African states on the other hand, since they are more prone to state failure and internal wars, the authors argue that they are more receptive of interventions, but they prefer intervention under the UN watch to diminish the human suffering caused by state failure and civil wars in the continent. However, the authors failed to show any alternative explanations to its findings methodological tools which helped him to arrive at that conclusion. Another article by (Birkholz, Scherf, & Schroeder, 2018) touches how intermediate actors in Côte d'Ivoire and Lebanon perceive and understand the northern intervention in their countries and what kind of relationships they share. Despite the differences between the two studied subjects both countries have similar storylines and perceptions against interventions, both groups believed that interveners are self-interested and bureaucratic.

To sum up, the research on perception studies and local views is getting wider acceptance from both humanitarian organizations and academics, but the field also does not escape from broader debates of state interest and human rights values. There should be further research on how both can work together to create a better world. Finally, the arguments above still shape the intervention and its outcome, and the findings add to already existing explanations of uneasy relations between locals and external actors. Interested groups should investigate more of what makes intervention success, failure or legitimate.

### **2.3 Turkish involvement in Somalia**

Different scholars have interpreted Turkish activism in Somali in many ways, there is a large scholarly literature available regarding this issue. In this part, I will try to bring the debates, arguments, and stories of four areas that I will focus on during this study, which are AID, EDUCATION, TRADE, and SECURITY. to specify and organize this part we will look at state-run programs and the contribution of NGOs separately.

On 16th August 2011, Turkish Prime minister at the time Recep Tayyip Erdoğan with his family and large business and diplomatic delegates visited Mogadishu, this high official visit became a symbolic and turning point for Turkish Somali relations.

According to (Özkan, 2014) “Turkey’s Somalia policy is of a multi-dimensional and multi-agent nature” p”26. After the Turks rushed to Somalia to do humanitarian relief in 2011, it was difficult to separate NGOs and relevant state organizations since they were cooperating to support the affected people, but now we can clearly see that the Turkey-Somali relations shifted from humanitarian assistant to bilateral relations where sectors like education, health, and state-building are paid to the most of the attention. Some of the Turkish state organs which are active in Somalia are, (TIKA, the Red Crescent, the Diyanet Foundation and Presidency of Religious Affairs, the Ministry of Health, the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities, and other state organizations)(Özkan, 2014). These state bodies mostly are engaged with development projects like health, education, infrastructure, and capacity building.

A large portion of the literature focuses on the Turkish humanitarian diplomacy strategy and aid model which involves around proactive human-centered approach as Davutoglu but it (Ozkan & Orakci, 2015). This approach is highly regarded as a

successful mission by the international community and most of the Somalis, there are large positive assessments and support from most officials who argue that the Turkish engagement brought the Somali situation into the international arena. Scholars like (Elmi, 2017) encourage the traditional donors mostly Western and some Arab countries to adopt the Turkish way which is a combination of aid and development, Turks went on the ground and started infrastructure development projects this is what gave Turkey widespread support from Somalis.

Although Turkish engagement in Somalia is praised and seen as successful it does not escape critics from both locals and the outside world. For example, Turkey has been criticized for not having enough knowledge about the Somali politics, especially when dealing with local power brokers according to (ICG, 2012), “security for Turkish NGOs was provided by private militias rather than government soldiers, and their office premises, residences, and other procurements were obtained through informal arrangements.” P:10. Turkey is also criticized by regional international players who for a long time have been present in Somalia, they argue that the financial support from Western donors exceeds Turkish support, furthermore, the AU mission in Somalia (AMISOM) which is supported by these traditional donors created a safe environment for Turks to arrive, had it not been the AU troops and Western resources, Turkish factor would have been absent in the Somali context ( Asiedu, M. 2017)

There has been also some local criticism within the federal government and autonomous regions. The former Planning and International Cooperation Minister, Abdullahi Godah Barre criticized Turkey for engaging in local politics in a critical time where elections were approaching (ICG, 2012). On the other hand, Turkish intervention in Somalia has been criticized as being Mogadishu-centered, officials from autonomous states like Puntland indicated that Turks and the international community should avoid imbalances which could deepen already existing grievances and distrust between Mogadishu and other regions.

Other scholars like (Cannon, 2016) look at it from the pragmatic point of view he argues that Turkish engagement in Somalia is not driven by common religious heritage or charity and development purposes, rather Turkey's aim is to gain political and diplomatic capital outside Somalia especially from the international community and also to locate a market for Turkish products. These opposing comments appeared after

the famine was over. The remaining pages examine some of the main areas in which Turkey is exceedingly invested and how the literature responds to it.

### **2.3.1 Aid**

Soon after the Turkish Prime Minister visited Somalia during the holy month of Ramadan Turkish government and its people donated millions of dollars to the famine-affected people. Turkey also opened its largest embassy in Mogadishu and started working with the most vulnerable people, sending their doctors and civil society organizations to Somalia. In the African continent, Somalia receives the highest Turkish aid and it's also the third recipient of Turkish aid globally after Syria and Pakistan, the Turkish policy toward Somalia for long has been to bring Somali issue into the eyes of the international community, the Turkish aid model in Somalia is multi-faced and consists of aid and development projects. (Mahad Wasuge, 2016)

Due to the Nature of Turkish foreign policy and the weight of the crisis both the state institution and the government worked together to end the famine, then state agencies like Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA) took most of the work in the same year (TIKA) drilled 37 wells all across Somalia in 2011 only, Red-crescent provided tents to thousands of Internally displaced Somalis, other agencies like AFAD played a critical role in helping underserviced Somalis. (TIKA, 2016)

Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA) opening its office in 2011 the organization made a remarkable change in areas of education, water and sanitation, administration and civil infrastructure, agriculture and economic production. Programs like rehabilitation of Mogadishu airport is a success story that benefits both countries. In 2011 only Turkey provided 22,000 tons of humanitarian aid to Somali consisting of food and medicine using both airlift and ships to reach the affected people. TIKA also drilled 37 water wells in Somalia the same year which thousands of Somalis benefited from. The Turkish Red Crescent similarly was active in assisting the IDPs around Mogadishu providing tents and other basic needs. Most of these NGOs and government institutions continue to help the disadvantaged Somalis in different places. (TIKA 2017).

Somalia's health sector was very poor since the fall of the central government, repeated wars and droughts made the situation worse, from 2011 to this day Turkish government institutions and NGOs took a huge role in providing health services in almost all parts of Somalia. Including Somaliland, Turkey renovated and built hospitals in Mogadishu and surrounding areas including Recep Tayyip Erdogan Hospital which provides new services that were not available before, the hospital is the most advanced hospital in East-Africa, Turkish ministry of health also contributed a lot to the health sector in the country. (TIKA, 2016)

### **2.3.2 Security**

Turkey opened its largest overseas military training camp in Somalia on September (30, 2017) inaugurated by Turkey's Chief of General Staff Gen. Hulusi Akar and Somali Prime Minister Hassan Ali Khaire in a ceremony held at the training facility. 50\$ million project signals the strong and close relations between Ankara and Mogadishu, officials from both countries told the media that the training school will house and train more than 1000 soldiers each time, the school plans to train 10,000 Somali soldiers to revive countries security sector, over 200 Turkish military personals are stationed at the base. Somali soldiers were also trained in Turkey and the two countries signed different military agreements (Maruf, 2017).



**Figure 2.1. Turkish Military training School Mogadishu source: Anadolu agency.**

The US and UAE also give training to Somali soldiers, the strategic location of the country attracts new actors, during an interview with some Somali officials raised their concern about the possibility of competition between foreign actors turning Somalia into a battlefield and proxy war state. ( Wasuge, 2016)

One of the biggest challenges that the region faces is terrorist group Al-Shabaab which labeled Turkey as an enemy country, ( Kasapoglu, 2017) argues that Turkish base benefits for both countries. However, regional players like Ethiopia and Kenya condemned the Turkish move, the self-independent declared state Somaliland also opposed the military base in Mogadishu. Which instead signed an agreement with UAE to open a military base in Berbera ( Asiedu, M. 2017). I think the arguments of both the neighboring countries and Somaliland are misplaced and should not be taken seriously, without a well-trained unified Somali army Somalia can't defeat extremist groups like Al-Shabaab which is not just obstacle to Somali state-building but also threatens the security of the Horn of African region. On the other hand, I also disagree with (Akpinar, 2013), who argues that there is a dilemma that Turkey must consider, which is in restoring peace in post-conflict countries like Somalia could trigger further destabilization and the security help from Turkey can be used for political gains. Although I think there are limitations to Turkish ability to bring peace in the country, still their willingness and dedications gained the support of Somalis and recognition from the international community, if the international community and Somali elite are serious about the state-building process in the country this time seems to be the best chance in decades.

### **2.3.3 Trade**

Turkey's engagement in Somalia also increased the trade volume between the two countries, in 2010 Turkish exports to Somalia was \$5.1 million in 2016 the trade relations rose to \$123 million, due to the long going civil war and lack of stability scared off many investors, Turkey sees business opportunity in the country's strategic location and natural resources. Somali-Turkish Businessmen's Association was established in 2012 which aims to contribute to the commercial relations between the two countries, another business conference was held in Istanbul in 2018. (Hurriyetdailynews, 2016)

Heritage Institute article by (Mahad Wasuge, 2016) which interviewed many Somali officials concluded that some of the interviewees raised their concerns which they some argued that the trade relations between Somalia and Turkey aren't balanced, a civil society member urged Turkey to open its market to some of the Somali exports. However, the Somali government generates revenues from each of the companies, this has increased the yearly government budget.

#### **2.3.4 Education**

Turkish government provides scholarship opportunities for many Somali students from high school to Ph.D. levels, there are about 4.000 Somali students in Turkey where half of them are Turkish government scholarship recipients, many other students also received private funding from Turkish institutions in 2011. Turkey also opened training schools in Somalia including nursing and technical schools in Mogadishu, vocational training centers were also built-in central Somalia and in Somaliland. Yunus Emre Institute has a language and culture center in Mogadishu, Turkish Maarif foundation also opened its first schools abroad in Mogadishu. (TIKA, 2016)

#### **2.3.5 Peace-building**

Turkey has been involved in most of the twelve peace processes of Somalia. However, Turkey increased its peace and mediation activities in 2012, after several Somali conferences were held in Istanbul, Turkey also tried to mediate between Somali warring functions including an attempt to mediate between the government and Al-Shabaab which failed, Turkey also held mediation talks between breakaway region Somaliland and Somalia in 2013, this resulted with "Ankara Communique" and was recognized successful were formal talks between two sides started, but Somaliland authority latter announced that Turkey cannot be mediator since it sided with Mogadishu. Olgan Beker Turkeys' former ambassador to Somalia was recently appointed to lead the Turkish mediation efforts to bring both Somalia and Somaliland into the table again. Turkey's peace-building approach dramatically changed in the last two decades from state-centric and security-oriented to multifaceted approach, but Turkey's economic performance especially the decline of the lira against dollar and



political uncertainty brought the question of whether Ankara can continue to fund their peace-building programs. (Charles T & Coning, 2017)

### **2.3.6 Turkish NGOs**

Turkish Non-governmental organization was known in Somalia before 2011, IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation was providing assistance to some parts of Somalia in the latter part of the 1990s, the organization increased its programs after 2011 famine. Other religious organizations came. For example, Gulenst organizations like Kimse Yok Mu provided food and sanitation to locals but were closed down after the 15th July coup attempt which the group perpetuated. Turkish NGOs which are mostly religious organizations, slaughtering animals in Muslim Eid holidays are among the activities that they are known to do, they are also praised for their cooperation with the local NGOs and transferring their knowledge and management practices, in collaboration with Islamic Development Bank (IDB). IHH provided free eye screening and cataract surgeries in different regions across Somalia. (Çogen, 2016)

The broader theories of international relations help us understand not only Turkey's involvement in Somalia but also its foreign policy attitude and shifts in the last two decades, New-classical realism explains the best in Turkey's involvement in Somalia. Neoclassical realism is a well know theory in international relations the theory explains the foreign policy of the state in the international system, it is not very popular as other branches of realism. In our case, it's the best lance to look and understand Turkey's involvement in Somalia especially in the framework of humanitarian diplomacy. (Gideon, 1998)

Neoclassical realism again proposes an important point which sheds light on Turkey's engagement in Somali and in general Africa this is the importance of ideology and political leadership, Here the local actors like decision-makers and elites who shape the foreign policy of the country are highly considered. For example, if we look at the Turkish elites and policymakers in the last two decades, one can clearly see the shift from classic Turkish foreign policy dominated by “Kemalism” which was the ideas and policies of Mustafa Kamal Ataturk the founder of the Turkish republic the policy was sustained and guarded by CHP (Republican People’s Party), Kemalist elites and

military cadres which Westernized the country, which changed its full sense after the AK party came to power (Cogen, 2016).

During the AK party period Turkish foreign policy expanded to other regions following Davutoglu's vision which played a very important role in directing and reframing the Turkish foreign policy since then. However, this shift isn't limited to Islamic countries but Turkey also aims to improve its relations with developing and underdeveloped countries. Turkish elites understand Turkish foreign policy as expanding Turkey's influence in the old-Ottoman ruled lands and beyond in the post-Arab spring politics using religion and culture (Akpinar, 2013)

## **2.4 Literature Gap**

As I have mentioned in the first chapter the Somali conflict is a protracted social conflict that attracts a number of modern state actors, international organizations and NGOs. For a long period of time international community has been trying to put an end to this disastrous conflict which went through different phases, among these actors is Turkey which increased its engagement in Africa especially in Somalia in the last decade. There is rich and expanding literature about Turkey's engagement in Somalia. However, the analysts of Turkey-Somali relations focused on three segments, historical links from past to the present, the recent engagement and its characteristics and the implementation of Turkish policies and projects, very few talk about the impact of the Turkish involvement in Somalia and more importantly the literature ignores how host country population or the recipients of the Turkish aid and development perceive the Turkish presence in their country or any other country which is providing assistance to post-conflict Somalia. The existing literature is dominated by the bureaucratic narrative which is a mixture of praise and critics. This study aims to investigate. How do Somalis perceive Turkish involvement in Somalia?. Finally, this study sheds the light on a new area a host country perception on external efforts to bring peace and stability, which in the Somali case is long ignored by the experts and interested groups.

## **2.5 Theoretical Framework**

Here we will define and explain view terms and concepts which we will be extensively using throughout the study, these concepts are the framework which this study is based on. The first framework which this study is based on is peace operations and Interventions, in other words, Turkey's involvement in Somalia. Other frameworks that we will discuss include the concept of host population perceptions and the research surrounding it. After defining key terms we also analyze how interventions are seen from below meaning how peace mission and aid programs are perceived in the local context. Finally, we look at the other countries that are also present in Somalia.

### **2.5.1 Peace Operations**

The concept of peace operations formally known as humanitarian intervention dates back to the 17th and 18th centuries in the classic writings of international law, since then the concept dramatically changed and its debates evolved especially when many states intervened in the affairs of other countries using justification such as, protecting human rights. The issue of peace intervention is related to many fields of activities and interests like international law, political science, morality and ethics, and international relations (Kardas, 2001) To this day there is no common definition. However, this study does not present any definition to the concept but agrees with (Ramsbotham & Woodhouse, 1996). Which argues that the whole debate revolves around actions conducted by the international community to prevent human suffering. The writers also underline that these actions consist of forcible interventions like direct military intervention and non-forcible interventions like economic sanctions or humanitarian and development assistant.

Peace intervention is mostly carried out to protect basic human rights in extreme situations, it also aims to create a safer environment where aid can be provided to less fortunate people and for peace-building purposes in conflict-ridden countries like Somalia. Turkey's activism in Somalia cannot be labeled as an intervention at its original meaning since the Turkish military isn't involved in the Somali conflict and its projects are dominantly civil and bilateral relations, which aim to stabilize the country while focusing on the state-building and peace-building processes of Somalia. As we have mentioned in the previous chapters Turkey's engagement in Somalia is

multi-track and multilayered activity where humanitarian assistance was deployed to ease the famine which threatened many Somalis followed by development projects which had long term plans to promote the welfare and the economy of the receiving country, programs from aid to education, or trade investment which all paved the way a friendly relations between Somalia and Turkey. (Dahir, 2018)

### **2.5.2 In the Eyes of the Other**

Getting local population perceptions is a very complicated and difficult task due to the lack of enough information and the differing experiences of recipient people or countries. This research field is growing rapidly because of the complicated donor-recipient relations, there is increased attention toward the studies which try to capture how local population of the receiving end of aid and development perceive donors and external intervention in general, these are also happening in the time where there exist increasing challenges facing both humanitarian agencies and state entities that try to help the needy people in conflict areas, issues like access, legitimacy, and attributes host people give to intervening actors both governmental and NGOs are discussed deeply and created big debates. The host perceptions are important because it directly affects the quality of the external operations whether civil or military, it also has impact on relations that host population will have with the workers of the civil organization both national and international, that's why NGOs and even state-level interventions should pay extra attention to the local perceptions of the countries and entities they aim to assist. (Nouvet et al., 2016)

To understand how interventions are perceived we must ask the host population which are the receiving end of different interventions from different countries, their accounts and perceptions plays an important role in understanding the impact of the humanitarian assistant and development projects presented by international donors, a survey conducted by ALNAP claims that in general aid recipients in 2017 reported high satisfaction, unlike the previous years which had less approval. This shows that the sector is improving and learning from its previous mistakes and shortcomings. Finally, this is overall data and if we consider a single-country case we might have different results. (ALNAP, 2018)

Different researchers contributed to perception studies such as, (Sabrow, 2017) Pouligny (2005) Donini & Minear (2008), underlined that there is a growing interest in the field and host populations have much to teach us about how they feel and resonate with external intervention in their countries, they also mentioned in their work that religion plays a critical role in shaping how societies perceive aid agencies as the countries and the communities they studies were very religious, locals also pointed out that there is low coordination between local actors and international donors, view respondents reported that they can not classify or distinguish the humanitarian actions and stabilization efforts like peacekeeping or military exercises made by the foreign actors in their homelands. According to research by (Donini, 2007), local people of Afghanistan perceive humanitarian action in their country to be a ‘northern enterprise’ and mostly carrying Western values that don’t correlate with the local beliefs.

Although in the old literature the aid recipients reactions were thought to be passive new increasing research shows that in contrast the beneficiaries have mixed reactions and they mediate and their perceptions influence their attitudes toward the donors, Nouvet, Abu-Sada, Wang and Schwartz (2016) offered large contribution of nine different perception studies and conclude that the growing distrust between the aid recipient and donors is bushing new perception researches. They stated in their studies that the host population in many parts of the global south questioned the motives of the international organizations and donor countries, they criticized these entities of having a hidden agenda and not here to help as they claim. But differently as in the case of Uganda beneficiaries welcomed the international aid and they are thankful they assisted, (Dijkzeul and Wakenge, 2010) (Buyle, 2016)

One might ask why the opinions of the host populations matter, but the UN agency emphasized that it is crucial to have local legitimacy and public confidence is key to build lasting peace and finally the feedback increases effectiveness. The UN and the US both emphasize the mission to be successful to have a local legitimacy in the eyes of the local people, as the missions depend on the support of the locals. (Karlberg, 2014) argues that two main factors influence or shape how locals perceive interveners, the first one is that the local people s legitimacy to the mission depends on its achievements like security. Secondly, they also consider closely whether the program or mission and its ideals and practices resonate with their way of life and preferences.

Their norms and values also came to light as they seemed to care about their culture and values, and breaking them might be more damaging than the real threat.

psychological researches have explored more into the reactions of the recipients than the other fields have done, these recent researches indicated that the outcome is mixed of positive and negative reactions toward the donors, it has self-threatening experiences where the recipient feels inferiority for being helped and being dependent on external actors and these can influence how they perceive the donor and their program, many times it is favorable and seen as a goodwill from the donor, so its mix they can develop an anti-aid feelings and cooperation and gratitude reactions in other times. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks that explain this relationship is mostly borrowed from social psychology, the author mentioned four major theories to explain how locals perceive their benefactors.

*Equity:* Being on the receiving end of aid can inflict tension sometimes it creates a sense of indebtedness this might make the recipient feel he or she owes a lot to the donor and they must repay they try to reciprocate the aid, we have seen that in many places many Somalis underlined that they are obliged to repay the Turks. Hassan, for example, promised that he will prefer Turkish Airlines whenever he plans to travel he want his money to go back to Turks not someone else. *Reactance:* This theory argues that people like to maximize their freedom of reacting how they like to the aid and its providers, and if the aid has sort of restrictions and multiple conditions recipients will react negatively if they perceive the aid is limiting of their reactions and behaviors. *Attribution Theory:* This theory focuses on the cognitive evaluations and recipient's perceptions it analysis how the recipient gives meaning to the help provided by the donor. *Threat to the Self-esteem:* This theory sees the aid help to have mixture of self-supporting like the close bond and donors generosity and self-threatening elements like feeling inferior and dependent so the host perception depends on the weight of these two elements if the aid is self-supporting it leads to positive reactions, but in contrast, if the aid is self-threatening a negative reactions are expected to increase.

Overall, the article argues that the host population perception and reaction to the donors are determined by the characteristics of the recipient and his/her self-esteem, and the type of aid amount and conditions donors attach and finally, the characteristics of the donor also shape how locals view them. (Nadler & Fisher, 1984)

Massive research on the host population perception of tourism is available and has been popular since the 1970s. Some of the arguments and underlying theories of this area can help us better understand how local perceptions are formed and formulated, such theories can lead to tremendous success or disaster to the economy of the host country cultures, scholars like (Ramchander, 2004) emphasized the economic, physical and social perceived impact of tourism which can be negative or positive.

In the wider tourism theories, some sociologist scholars study the social side of the tourists where the anthropologists look from the cultural perspective, they analyze the interaction between the host community and the tourists and possible outcomes of this interaction, where the other group focuses on the contact of the different cultures those of the tourist and the host community culture, this can be also applied in peace or aid interventions as they both send a lot of field staff and military personal and will result in contact of people and cultures. For example, different theories and models were presented to explain tourism affects and how locals perceive it including. Doxey's Irridex model (1975), this model underlines the local irritation of the locals toward the tourists as their number increases, Butler's Tourist Area Life Cycle (1980), his model is a four-stage cyclic model which starts exploration and ends with a decline, and finally social exchange theory. This famous theory is also used to explain wider local perception studies, it argues that when the exchange of resources for example between the two sides is balanced or high in-favor for the locals host population view it positively but if it is not balanced host community view the external impact it negatively. (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). (Ramchander, 2004)

The host population perceptions can be mixed in sometimes. In Bangladesh for example, people had mixed reactions to aid from Western countries they believed that it aims to improve the economy of Bangladesh and as a result will reduce poverty in the country and as a result, they will be included in the global political system. On the other hand, some of the locals thought that Western aid implements Western culture and they are also looking for a market for their products. The author sums up saying that in Bangladesh people perceive the donors and patrons and received as such. (Hossain, 2004)

Minasyan, (2013) argues that cultural similarities or differences play critical role in shaping the local perception and the aid effectiveness, cooperation increases, and aid

is more effective when the recipient and the donor have similar cultures, and reduces when the parties have different cultures so development plans will make an impact if the donor shares some cultural background with receiver. (Minasyan, 2013)

Religion has been regarded in international relations as divisive influence and a factor that promotes conflict between countries and communities, and faith-based development or aid organizations offering help has been criticized aiming to recruit new members and seeking more power and influence. This also fueled by past experiences and modern focus on extremist groups but experts on development claim that this tradition is very helpful and addresses basic social problems where they meet some of the needs. This underreported research area is gaining more attention today, the article found that religious organizations are leading and contributing to the social and economic developments in many parts of the world. (Heist & Cnaan, 2016)

Autesserre, 2014) argues that local reactions to peace interventions were mostly critical as she underlined many complaints she met while doing her fieldwork, local people criticized the expatriates to be bossy, arrogant and paternalistic, also imposing outside knowledge was seen to prevent local ownership, ideas like liberal values did not correlate with the African way of thinking and solving the local matters, these complaints were coming from both poor and more advanced countries around the world, locals sometimes feel excluded and there were reports of corruption from both sides, the interveners are ill-adapted to local circumstances and there is no change, local people feel humiliated and their negative perception grows and can be an obstacle in implementing an effective program to end a crisis.

Erdogan's leadership and politics led to a major shift in how many Muslim countries and societies view Turkey and its growing activism in the global south since he came to office in 2002. The framework of The Theory of the New Prince and Althusser's reading on Machiavelli gives as a theoretical understanding of Erdogan's popularity inside Turkey and outside. Today most Muslim countries found themselves in a situation similar to that of Italy in 16th century as we can see in Machiavelli's writings The Prince and Discourse, We have extreme formlessness, political vacuum, foreign intervention and dispersed societies in most of the Muslim countries this reality demands a new leaders, policies or serious reforms.



Erdogan challenges Western domination and global order which made him popular beyond Turkey especially in many less developed countries because he speaks for the people and stands against those who wish to oppress them. In Somalia many people praised his courage to stand to the west which many Muslim leaders could not speak up his famous quote “the world is bigger than five” and support for conflict-ridden countries like Somalia pushed many Somalis to perceive Turkey positively before even Turkish experience and presence was felt in the most of the country. (Yusuf, 2018)

## **2.6 Other Countries involved in Somalia**

Somali conflict is a protracted social conflict which is going on more than twenty years, the conflict and its disastrous results attracted the attention of international community different actors both NGOs and Governments were directly and indirectly involved in the conflict. These actors can be divided into three groups. Firstly, regional organizations like IGAD and the African Union (AU) and neighboring states, for example, Ethiopia and Kenya which most of the time are accused of not wanting the establishment of a strong Somali state. Secondly, Gulf countries this group is made of wealthy Arab states like Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Qatar, they were well known for charity donations and were seen as co-religion but lately, countries like Saudi Arabia and UAE were accused of bullying and undermining the sovereignty of Somalia by the Somali go. Finally, Western countries such as the US, the UK and EU, this group funds and supports the Somali federal government and regional states to fight against Al-Shabaab, they mostly put the extra emphasis on the discourse of democratization, transparency, human rights and fight against corruption. The Western countries and Gulf states are known as "traditional donors".

In the years of 2014 and 2015 Somalia received the highest donations from the USA with \$205.4 million, followed by the UK at \$195 million and Turkey, which provided \$194 million. This generous act with its soft power tools like historic ties with the region and visible work they have done on the ground, unconditionality, bilateralism, and non-securitization of aid gave Turkey more chance to be seen as a credible actor in Somali politics. being on the ground is less costly as it does not need brokers and the field workers can quickly respond to changing situations and monitor what is going on. These are some of the characteristics many Somalis and even international communities praised the Turkish aid model. (Dahir, 2018)

Different scholars compare the Turkish case with that of traditional donors, (Öniş & Kutlay, 2013) argues that a Turkish approach is a holistic approach and which not only provides aid but also contribute to security and the development of Somalia in the long run. Turkey does not attach to its assistance, unlike Western donors which give many conditions to the recipients, which hinders state-building in Somalia Turkeys frame on its Somalia relations under shared religion and culture. Turkey activism in Somalia in 2011 showed that emerging country like Turkey can make a huge impact, even more, them the rising powers and traditional donors which have more resources. But the authors also problematized this distinction between Turkey and the traditional donors this can prevent communication and cooperation between parties which can lead to rivalry.

The traditional donors are accused of being bureaucratic and ineffective which yielded very limited results in their long stay in Somalia, the way they function which is isolation and highly securitized and remote control from Nairobi is rejected by Somalis ( Wasuge, 2016)actors such as China and India are new actors are less effective than Turkey and Gulf countries. For example, Chinas relation with Somalia started in 2014 and it's based on Trade deals with regions like Puntland and Federal government (Garowenews, 2016) Somalis are very conservative population and due to that they look Turkish from the prism of fallow Muslims and brothers who came to help, Turkey also did not escape from some criticism, for example, some locals demanded that Turkish projects should give work chances to locals. (Charles T & Coning, 2017)

All in all, despite the existing limitations of Turkish rising power in the regional base and globally Turkey has presented itself as a willing partner and serious actor in Somali case, the country also advocates for just international order, Ankara wants also to play as a middle power between the east and west but different challenges limit these ambitions. it seems to me that cooperation between interested parties in Somalia is needed to tackle the bigger threats that Somalia is facing today. ( Dal P. & Gök, O. 2014)

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains the method used in this study, how it was developed and the type of research tools that were employed. The process of designing the methodology is divided into four major steps, 1) Construction and identifying the used method and why the study selected this method. 2) The administration which covers the population and the sample. 3) designing Questions, instrumentation, and data collection. 4) Data Analysis where we present the analytical tools and finally, ethics and the limitations of the study.

The unprecedented close relations and love affair between Turkey and Somalia, (Kaya K. & Warner j. 2012) the understanding and the cooperation of the ruling elites of the two communities of Somalia and Turkey showed toward each other inspired me to take a look into this research area, after I discussed it with my close academic circle, I have realized that the existing literature does not fully explain this extraordinary relationship, especially from the local perspective, so I turned to the local Somalis to guide me how they understand and resonate with Turkish arrival and stabilization efforts in Somalia and this is how my research question emerged.

This type of study fits within the constructivist paradigm, according to ( Charmaz, 2006) Constructivism theory argues that the meaning of experiences and events reconstructed by the individuals who experienced these realities, having said that this study aims to understand how Somalis in Turkey construct their individual realities or give meaning to the Turkish involvement in Somalia, the other fascinating side of constructivism is that the interpretation and the meaning made by the researcher in the discussion chapter is also construction itself meaning that my interpretation will not be independent of my experience and my understanding of reality. ( Charmaz, 2006).

(Neimeyer, 2012) claims that research methods can be considered social constructivist when it explains local issues as instead of universal and accepts that knowledge is a

product of a personal process of meaning-making, these can be understood with the three core techniques of constructivism, including Narrative process, discourse analysis, repertory grid, and their sub-variations. So this study can be considered as a constructivist approach because of its agentic, organization and narrative formation style process. (Neimeyer, 2012) argues that the narrative method can be used to discover framework and themes which underline or represent the local and provincial truths, where this thesis, for example, aims to identify the dominant narrative themes of Somalis against/for the Turkish projects, and these themes could be explained and explored deeper in relation to the participants live experience and social contexts of Somalia.

### **3.1 Research Design**

This study utilized qualitative research methodology because of its ability to discover and explain real-life events and the meanings humans give to these experiences with their own words, in other words (Merriam, 2009). says “Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” P:5. A qualitative approach is appropriate in conducting in-depth interviews, it listens and interprets the stories, believes and the experiences of the participants, the use of qualitative research is important in our case because of the structure and the nature of the research question which aims to grasp the social reality of Somalis and the specific understanding they attribute to external actors. As mentioned above the features of the qualitative research method make it a suitable tool that can lead to giving reliable answers to our research question.

This study uses In-depth interviews to achieve thesis objectives. In-depth interviews are commonly used in qualitative studies. These types of studies are used when the researcher wants to understand human behavior, culture, opinion, and experiences. It is also used to explore the respondent's point of view this allows the researcher to uncover the experiences of the respondent and how they give meaning to aspects in their everyday life (Adams & Cox, 2008). In-depth interviews are mostly conducted in face-to-face and include a deep conversation between the researcher and the interlocutors, they are useful and provide high-quality data when investigating a particular issue. ( Robson, C. & McCartan, K. 2016)

Rubin, H. J. (2005) also provide some key characteristics of the in-depth interview such as, its open-ended questions, unstructured or semi-structured Format, conversational, and usually longer time which all give the researcher opportunity to look for a deeper meaning of the interviewees, here the interviewed person is considered to be an expert and the researcher as a listener and to some extent outsider. The research questions of this study took the form of open-ended and semi-structured design, it was designed after extensive reading of the literature and revolve around the four concepts which emerged from the literature. The designing phase took more than just questions or conversation, it also operationalized tools such as, recording interviews, documenting taking notes, plus intense probing to get a full answers and the exact words that the participants used to express their feelings, this process is not like focus groups where the researcher chats with a group of people but a face-to-face one, where the researcher approaches every person separately and collects their stories.

Kvale, (2006) presents two alternative positions on in-depth interviewing "Miner Metaphor" and "Traveler Metaphor." According to him, "Knowledge is understood as buried metal and the interviewer is a miner who unearths the valuable metal." The second position is more of a constructivist approach. It argues that knowledge is already created. According to him again the interviewer in Traveler Metaphor, " Is seen as a traveler who journeys with the interviewee. The meanings of the interviewee's are developed as the traveler interprets them. Through conversations, the interviewer leads the subject to new insights..." p:48. In this sense, I can say I am "Traveler Metaphor." as this study tries to interpret how Somalis resonate with Turkish involvement in Somalia and why they took the position they took.

### Research questions

The main research question of this study is *How Somalis perceive Turkey's stabilization efforts in Somalia?*

The study also raised a few other questions including:

- How do Somalis perceive Turkish state-run and civic projects in Somalia?
- What are the factors that influence public perception of Somalis have on Turkey?
- why Somalis view Turkey the way they do?

-How do Somalis formulate Turkish presence vis-à-vis the traditional donors?

### **3.2 Target Population and Sampling**

According to unofficial sources, the size of Somalis living in Turkey is considered to be around ten thousand people, a staff member of the Somali embassy in Ankara told me that the Somali population in Turkey has dramatically increased in the last four years including some diaspora communities coming from the west and middle-eastern countries. However, the majority of Somalis are directly coming from Somalia, a large portion of whom are students who came here to study. My target population is Somalis in Turkey especially those who live in Ankara and Istanbul which together host more than half of the Somalis in Turkey. I have also chosen those two cities because of organized student associations and Somali community centers which allows me to gain greater access.

My target population includes the business community, Somali immigrants and university students which are mostly educated groups whom I think can understand the used terminologies, The majority of the participants of this study have been in Somalia before and after the Turks arrived. Similarly, most students and business respondents went back to Somalia multiple times, their observation and experiences can give us an insider view of what Somalis think of Turkish involvement in Somalia. Furthermore, our sample also represents the views of different Somali regions which participants are coming from, this is an opportunity that most researchers can't find in Somalia, security problems and high travel costs make it impossible for researchers to get the diversity which we will be able to present in this study.

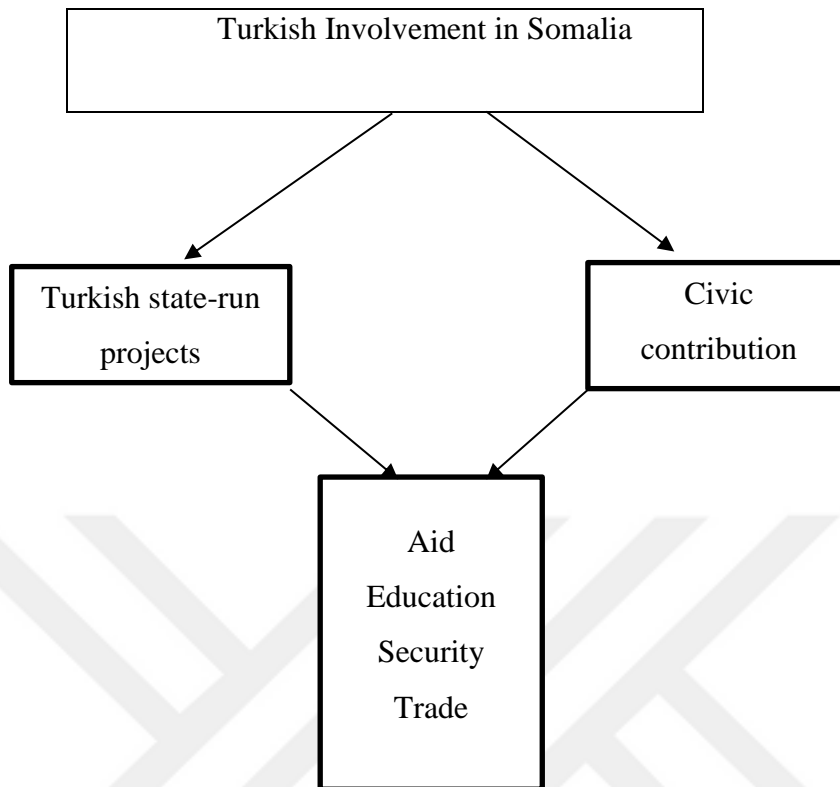
This study used snowballing sampling, I chose this sample due to the problem of availability and reliability which the study sample will overcome since this research was carried on a group which are homogeneous and share, kingship and close tribal relations, Somalis feel comfortable with opening up to one of their own, and the community members will also grant me further access and lead me to other potential participants, the issue of positionality and reflexivity was considered to be important part of this research as I explain my position and interactions with the respondents in the next chapter.

I have also contacted influential members from the community and organizations like the Somali Students Association in Turkey. (Creswell, 2014). Emphasized that building rapport and trust with the participants is crucial and helps the researcher to gain more participants in their studies. I am well versed in this topic it is an area of my interest, where I am eager to learn more and investigate deeper. The interviews will be cross-sectional, meaning they will be collected at one time, I chose this media for its accuracy were its results are stronger than using other tools. I consulted with the research experts in the university to examine the structure, clarity order, and wording of the questions.

Finally, the study conducted interviews with fifty Somalis in Turkey, the issues of gender and background of the participants occupy a special place in this study, the interviews were carefully and consciously conducted, I invested in trust-building and relationship between me and the interlocutor. The study understands that this method is labor-intensive and expensive which demands more time and possibly finance to cover my travels to Ankara. However, this methodology is the best tool possible to capture and collect views of a sample of the Somali population and how they perceive Turkey's stabilization efforts in Somalia.

According to Collier, LaPorte, & Seawright, (2008) Typologies serve important goals in social science research, to organize and analyze data especially in qualitative studies. Typologies are organized systems of types that provide a contribution to concept formation and building categories or Track the transformation of a concept and meaning that has been attached to by society. To specify the Turkish involvement in Somalia, Collier's argument helped me to create a table which categorizes and organizes my concepts in doing so I operationalized Turkish factor in terms of two main categories, Turkish state-run and controlled projects and Turkish NGOs contribution or civic activities. Furthermore, the study deducted four main areas where Turkey is highly active in Somalia from the existing literature.

**Tablo 3.1. Turkish involvement in Somalia and its focus areas.**



The above-mentioned table illustrates where the concepts and terms we used across the study came from, namely, trade, aid, security, and education, both the Turkish government and civic groups contribute most to these four areas as the literature indicates. However, it is difficult to distinguish who does what especially in the first four years Turkey operated in Somalia, and this has to do with Turkey's multitrack multifaced humanitarian policy where both government agencies and civil society groups acted collectively to assist the locals. It is only the security that the government dominates but the other three areas both the government and the civic organizations cooperated most of the time. This study does not aim to measure how much the government or the civil society contributes to Somalia, but the study wants to understand how locals resonate with these stabilization projects and think of whether the Turkish efforts are helping Somalia state-building or not.



### **3.3 Data collection procedures**

I obtained the primary data from the face-to-face in-depth interview method which I mentioned above, an audiotape was used to record the thoughts and experiences of the participants. Jane Ritchie & Jane Lewis, (2003) underlines about the importance of listening and patience while arriving on time, applying these suggestions helped me to establish a strong relationship and trust with the interlocutors. All the primary data presented in this researched were developed from recorded audio-type interviews conducted with fifty members from the Somali community in Turkey, the project was voluntary and flexible we met places which were convenient for the participant, the interviews lasted approximately between 30-50 minutes with each participant, and the data were collected between February 2019 to June 2019 during the spring semester. During the process of data collection, I have gained experience as a researcher and some of the participant's contributions allowed me to grow professionally and gain extra knowledge which encouraged me to think beyond the methodology texts.

I also contacted and got solid and updated secondary data from Turkish institutions like TIKA and IHH. I also extracted other data from Turkish-Somali Alumni Association, academic, Thinktank works, journals, and online sources.

Twenty-five open-ended questions were designed and asked the participants to evoke responses to the interview questions. The study took careful steps to manage the data throughout the process of thesis writing. including storing all the data in a computer, making other copies available in a drive and emails, and using reliable audio-tape applications and recorders to protect the data and save time.

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

The theoretical and conceptual framework of this thesis helped me to analyze and organize the data that I have collected. Firstly, the initial four concepts that I have explained in various ways throughout the research (Aid, Security, Education, and Trade) were used to analyze the data. As I have stated in the second chapter these concepts emerged from the political and historical ties of Turkey and Somalia from the past to the present. The interviews questions also consist of question which asked the participants how they view issues like security and aid and the answers that they provided mostly were not that far from what they have been asked. So it was

reasonable to organize the data and categorize it in four major portions (Aid, Security, Education, and Trade).

Secondly, to analyze the outcome of this type of research narrative analysis was used. Narrative analysis is an interpretive approach used by many fields in social science such as sociology, education, ethnography, history, and a number of other studies, many of which depend on accounts and lived experiences of the people and how they make sense of the world, its useful in understanding how people construct meaning of their attitudes, values, and ideas so individuals and how they perceive the world is the core of the narrative inquiry. (Riessman, 2008).

According to (Riessman, 2008) again different types of narrative analysis exist in the literature some people focus on meaning and some focus on content sometimes people merge those two depending on philosophical position and the question under investigation. She presented four popular types of analyzing narrative researches.

**Tablo 3.2. Riessman’s four narrative analysis approaches**

1.	Focuses on what people said instead of how?
2.	Assess the way a story is told, language and meaning are taken very seriously
3.	This type collaborative and focuses on the dialogue between the teller and listener were both are engaged in a conversation like a court case.
4.	Emphasis goes to doing instead of spoken words, here storytelling is like performance.

In analyzing narrative different approaches can be but together most of them are not mutually exclusive and they have blurred borders, (Riessman, 2008) claims. For

example, in the thematic analysis, we mostly look at the content what is said and look similarities across report cases, and analyze the comments of the participants. Structural analysis like thematic analysis focuses on the way stories are told the form although it gives more priority to language, both thematic and structural analysis are suitable in this study as they are very close to each other. Furthermore, since the study is interactional or a dialogue between a listener and a teller it can be analyzed as such without abandoning the previous analysis but interactional analysis helps the researcher create meaning together with the teller similar to structural approach here we pay extra attention to the spoken words and its complexities.

Reissman's model gave me ideas about how the narrative data can be analyzed, but the collected primary and secondary data need, a detailed and clear set of steps to make sense of it, there comes (Braun, V. and Clarke, 2006) and their contribution to thematic analysis according to them, thematic analysis is “ a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into, patterns of meaning (themes) across a dataset”p: 7. According to the authors, this is an accessible flexible method which allows the researcher to go deeper and focus on the meaning of the data set and shared experiences of the participants. Its flexibility stems from the fact that it can be conducted in several ways, for example, inductive analysis ( bottom-up approach), or deductive approach which is (top-down approach).

After a huge data was gathered from different sources, for example approximately 100 pages were produced from the transcript, to better organize the data documents were stored according to individual case, date and the city in which the interview took place. I did not use any major software tools but instead, I used traditional analytical techniques like hand drawing, sticky notes, highlights, and word document search to do cross-case analysis this process assisted my analysis phase as it allowed me to make a broader connection and extract deeper contextual ideas and frameworks. ( Paterson, L. & Krupa, 2012)

As the language of the interview, I told the interlocutors to choose either Somali or English, as a result, all the interviews were conducted in Somali except five respondents who preferred English instead of Somali. The Somali audio-tapes were later translated into English as I used dictionaries and consulted with Somali-English translation experts.

**Tablo 3.3. Braun & Clarke’s six-phase framework for doing a thematic analysis**

1.	Become familiar with the data
2.	Generate initial codes, Step
3.	Search for themes
4.	Review themes
5.	Name and Define themes
6.	Write-up.

This six-phase framework was useful and what I needed to breakdown and analyze the research data. I strictly flowed these six steps. I firstly started with familiarizing with the data as I read the field notes and listened to the audio-tapes multiple times until I was able to produce a rich English transcript, after I understood the tone and the content of the participants but forward, I was able to see differences and similarities across cases, I grouped the comments from the respondents into three groups positive, negative and neutral comments. Secondly, after looking inside each category initial codes emerged, for example, the majority of the students were using words like our brother, effective projects, honest and willing partner to describe Turkish projects. According to (Saldaña, 2009) the coding is “the process of reducing data into units to better manage it and divide them into meaningful phrases and drew patterns to connect. assigning a short word or phrase to capture or symbolize a portion of data” p:47. The study then combined all the codes generated from the data and tried to understand if they relate or differ and are pointing toward the same issue, this is the third step where we look for themes and patterns to connect the data and my research question, this process involves collapsing and shrinking the codes we already generated, the codes which overlapped or showed similarities were combined and were made a theme as the number of the themes grow we merged those that related and which we finally started to name define the themes and analyze each discovering how it relates to the data and our main question. The thematic procedure is a reduction to the qualitative text at hand, while we paraphrase and summarize the patterns that emerge from overall stories. In this study after a long process produced six themes four of which can be seen as very close to the concepts we employed when we started this research, and two new themes, all these themes will be explained in the discussion chapter.

### **3.5 Ethical concerns**

The study gives a higher priority to the ethical dimension of the study. Confidentiality and anonymity were given to all the participants, the participant's responses in any form were treated in strictest confidence, the study also obtained its approval from the ethical committee of the university.

The study took serious measures when I was approaching the participants, I informed about the project and its objectives, how this will affect their lives, all of the participants were given a choice to withdraw anytime without giving any reasons. During the analysis, pseudonyms were used to hide the full identity of those that prefer to stay anonymous. (Creswell, 2014)

Merriam B, (1988.) argues that ethical issues should not be admired only when engaging with humans but also while reporting the data. The study gives assurance of confidentiality, and I told the respondents that tapes would be erased after I analyze. I encouraged the students to explain what they think and engage in normal conversation to avoid misinformation and acting. I am confident that this survey is ethically possible as the topic is not a sensitive issue.

Research experts like (Dwyer & Davis, 2016) also talked about the importance of the relationship between the researcher and the studied community, This research underlines the importance of the researcher's duty to gather and interpret the data and his/her relations with the researched, the position they take and how they engage with the interviewees, the clothes the researcher wears, timing, trust-building, and encouraging the respondent to elaborate more comments is a crucial step of the whole research, they argue that the nature of the relationship the researcher and participants share influences what type of data the researcher gets and the depth of the questions he/she may ask to the researched and the answers that will be given to the researcher, this study can't be said to be a perfect truth or full representation of Somalis, but a one that explores and explains how the best sample we can possibly find thinks of efforts made by external actors like Turkey.

### 3.6 Demographic information of the participants

The study interviewed a total of 50 Somali origin participants in Ankara and Istanbul, 34 (68%) were male and 16 (32%) were female participants. During my research, I have realized that female Somali students got fewer scholarship opportunities than their male counterparts, and that is why we have less female participants, related government and civil institutions have been encouraging equal opportunities for all young students in Somalia in the last few years.

In addition to that majority of our respondents were from Southern regions mainly Mogadishu, (29) followed by Somaliland (11) and (10) from Puntland. Furthermore, (15) respondents were married were (35) were single. The third table illustrated occupation information about the respondents in this study, (22) persons were students were (19) respondents were economic and political immigrants, like refugees and (9) respondents who established their business here in Turkey. More detailed information about the respondent is attached as appendix 1.

**Table 3.4. Gender breakdown of the participants according to the region they are from.**

	Mogadishu	Somaliland	Puntland	Total
Male	22	7	5	34
female	7	4	5	16
Total	29	11	10	50

**Table 3.5. Martial status of the participants**

	Single	Married	Total
Male	25	9	34
female	10	6	16
Total	35	15	50

**Tablo 3.6. Occupation breakdown of the respondents.**

	Student	Business	Immigrants	Total
Male	14	6	10	30
female	8	3	9	20
Total	22	9	19	50



## CHAPTER IV

### DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the finding and the discussions of the research questions and the overall objectives of the study. As we indicated in the previous chapters this study aims to understand how Somalis perceive Turkish efforts to stabilize Somalis? and what shapes their perspectives? Of particular concern of this research is to analyze the overall perception of Somalis on Turkey's government-led and civic projects in Somalia mainly, Aid, education, security, and trade. This thesis also tries to assess challenges opportunities and future relations between Somalia and Turkey. The study employed Ankara and Istanbul as its bases to conduct interviews because of a large Somali community in these two cities. It seems to me that there is an urgent need for detailed and comprehensive studies that can throw a more informed light upon how post-conflict countries like Somalia which attract many members of the international community perceive foreign interventions of different kinds in their homeland? And more importantly why they perceive different actors the way they do?

As I mentioned in the methodology chapter our target population was a sample of Somalis in Turkey, the data in this study illustrates ethnographic research collected between February - June 2019 among Somalis in Turkey. The information was collected from 34 male and 16 female Somalis in Turkey using in-depth interviews, we identified our participants through a snowball sampling method, the study also applied Creswell's recommendations by considering the background of the participants, their age, sex, occupation, and the Somali region they are coming from, to get a diverse research project which represents different groups in Somalis.

The study carefully thought about the tools it will use to extract data and how it will analyze the collected data, In-depth interview was our prime data collection method where the respondents reflected on twenty-five open-ended questions which covered several issues including security, aid, trade, and education. asking these questions to



sub-community groups like students, refugees, and business people gave us rich insight into the study areas and analyzing procedure.

This study has a deductive tradition at the beginning as I relied on previous researcher's work to establish four major themes (aid, security, trade, and education) which are areas where Turkey is hugely invested in, similarly the interview questions were inspired by these concepts which I considered beforehand. However, the study does not only depend on deductive reasoning but also employed inductive reasoning as well, here the researcher analyses and interprets the collected interviews and discovers how Somalis perceive Turkish efforts and make conclusions and theorize the reasons they think that way. Ali and Birley, (1998) argue that instead of distinguishing inductive/inductive reasoning there is a middle ground where theory can be used as a construct rather than variables. So this thesis to some extent can be considered to combine the use of both deductive and inductive reasoning.

As I have also mentioned in the previous chapters this study stands upon a rich theoretical framework which their debates and discussion still continue to this day, throughout the study I have mentioned conceptual and theoretical frameworks such as, peace interventions and how host populations perceive them, donor-recipient relations, local reaction theories, to connect this chapter to the previous ones I decided to briefly underline some of the fundamental debates regarding with the four concepts and how Turkey implemented them to increase its influence in Somalia. As Turkey's economic ties with the world increased in the last two decades, Turkish authorities also made considerable effort to expand their diplomatic relation with non-traditional partners like Sub-Saharan Africa where they opened new embassies and trade links, Turkey's growing economy and membership of many multilateral organizations helped to expand its reach, Turkey also became an international donor as its overseas aid increased from US\$120 million in 1999 to US\$3.3 billion by 2013 (Shinn, 2015). This contributed to Turkey's image as an emerging actor which joins other actors like BRICS to reshape the international order. This comes under a crucial policy framework which is called humanitarian diplomacy this policy takes the human dignity and morale in the center by rejecting the mainstream real-politic stance. (Charles T & Coning, 2017)

Since the independence, Somalia received aid packages from different actors, for example during the cold war as Somalia's location attracted superpowers, both the US and the Soviet Union battled to bring Somalia to their side. After the cold war ended and the Somali state collapsed famine and insecurity threatened the Somali people which made the country dependent on external aid to fight against these challenges. The increasing number of Aid going to Somalia also created a dilemma of the possibility of aid being used to fund wars in the country. Experts like (Ginty & Richmond, 2013) believe that aid fuels conflict as the two issues relate closely since conflicts create need for aid in the first place. “that even when it is effective in doing what it is intended to do – to save lives or promote development aid too often also feeds into, reinforces and prolongs conflict” p 37.

Aid development began after the world war II and has been going through different stages and debates since aid and development assistance normally aim to prepare the country to heal and recover from the complex man-made or natural disaster so the country can rebuild and resume its place in the development pattern. dependence theory which claimed that economic aid and development assistance is an agenda which makes third world countries peripheral and dependent on the capitalist world system also emerged after the war. However, aid and development assistance is still a popular foreign policy mechanism that most states use to reach and help others and promote their interests. ( Adelman, H. 1996)

As I have mentioned in the methodology chapter to analyze that data that I gathered from the participants my theoretical framework gave me a conceptual discussion as I organized my data into four categories referring to four concepts (aid, security, education, and trade), then I looked into my transcripts and wrote down what participants have said about each area, I have noted and highlighted the words they used to describe their feelings and believes, after a long process of writing and rewriting their stories and perspectives I was able to get a solid data which needed a deeper interpretation and analysis. There I employed narrative analysis as my second analytical tool, (Lynam -Reflecting Society & TimLynam, 2017) argue that narratives are a form of communication which help us understand the world we live in while unfolding the past events and experiences, narrative inquiry is a good option when the context is clear and people understand it, the method is rich since humans are

storytellers. Narrative inquiry has also time dimension it reports changes that occur throughout time. For example, as we asked chronological order questions I have observed that participants stories changed as the relations between Turkey and Somalia improved and moved to bilateral relations instead of just aid provider and recipient, the accounts of some respondents also showed that the way they perceived Turkey changed after they came to Turkey and learned more about the society and their culture, where most of them claimed they found more developed and civilized country then they thought before coming to Turkey.

This study chose thematic analysis method to analyze the collected data, this qualitative approach is suitable for this research project due to its robustness and ability to identify and interpret narrative interviews and easily produce rich intuitive analysis which can answer this specific research question. the main conceptual framework which this study stands on is (Braun, V. and Clarke, 2006) six phases model of thematic analyzes. The study is also interested in the turning points of the lives of the participants. Concerning that our participants share similar stories and experiences, in their daily lives and their past, like the challenges they faced growing up in Somalia and how they reacted to the arrival of foreigners in their country both friend and enemy and its overall impact on society.

In the process of analyzing the data, the study also paid attention to the analytical model which is very close to that we used, (Creswell, 2014) famous three-step models which were 1. Organizing the data to analyze 2. Reading the transcript the gain information and 3. Finding themes from the stories. We will compare the narratives of the individuals and present the main perceptions and their underpinnings. The study analyzed data collected from fifty Somalis in Turkey consisting of students business people, transit migrants and residents in Istanbul and Ankara.

Since the 1960s the issues of positionality and objectivity were debated very often especially in qualitative research, the debate of insider/outsider which considers the researcher's race, gender, class and their advantages and disadvantages of conducting the research still continues (Flores, 2018) The study paid close attention to the issue of reflexivity because of both the researcher and the studied groups are from Somalia, furthermore, as I selected snowball sampling many of the respondents of this study were my friends or people they know, this demanded more detailed explanations and

reports of interactions and changes throughout the research. Although the boundaries of insider/outsider can be blurry sometimes, I consider myself as an insider, since I share a similar background with the researched. On the other hand, during my interview with the respondents, there were times that I felt like an outside researcher, and I think this stems from my experiences of growing up in the autonomous region of Puntland in North-Eastern Somalia. which has a stable local government since 1998. While the majority of the participants were coming from Mogadishu and surrounding cities and witnessed both extensive humanitarian and military intervention in the last three decades, this means that the researcher and most of the participants attach different meanings to programs like aid and security assistant from Turkey or from the west. However, I think it is appropriate to position myself as an insider. Thus, this study doesn't claim to be an objective or perfect representative of the Somali population.

This study is also interactional or a dialogue between a listener and a teller as I have mentioned before meaning that both the researcher and the researched from Somalia even some of the interlocutors are my friends and people they know, this shows that there are immense interaction and influence that they can have on each other.

After flowing (Braun, V. and Clarke, 2006) six-steps of analysis the study revealed six themes some of the themes have sub-themes which will be discussed considering the literature and the new information provided by the participants. The remaining parts of this research, therefore, try to achieve the objective of the study by answering the raised questions.

The main six themes that this study generated from its data after a cyclical process are (Turkish arrival (Aid), Useful Projects (Security), Turkey vis a vis the traditional donors (Education), Unbalanced Economic Relations (Trade), Religion and Future outlook)

## **4.1 Themes**

### **4.1.1 Turkish arrival**

To understand why there was a humanitarian crisis in Somalia in 2011, we have to shed light on some of the underlying causes of this problem. As I have mentioned in

the previous chapters Somalia lacks a strong central government since 1991, which means no government institutions or policies are in place to encounter national emergencies. For example, the Somali economy largely depends on the Livestock and Agriculture sectors which contribute the most to the economy and livelihood of Somalis, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) (FAO, 2019). Livestock is the most exported commodity in Somalia and, it is also a local consumption and the most common food for Somalis. Agriculture, on the other hand, is the second biggest economic activity that half of the population is engaged in. This means that if war or natural disasters disturbs these two sectors the country's economy will collapse and thousands will not have enough food and money to survive, this is what happened in 2011 both agriculture and pastoral life of Somalis were interrupted by droughts and famines. The history of famine and its causation is analyzed and discussed differently in the literature but an article published by (Oxfam, 2011) made a short and credible argument, the article claims that firstly, dry seasons and lack of rain create production failure, food inflation, and death of livestock. Secondly, the lack of access to the people in need and reliable data about the situation. Finally, response failure, local government, and international donors fail most of the time to respond to the problem effectively. These three factors are the main causes of deadly famines which kill thousands of people every five years.

2011 was a year unlike other, the majority of Somalis are Agro-pastoralist meaning their lives either depend on livestock or agriculture which makes rains so crucial to their survival in the years 2010 and 2011. The rainy season did not come as both groups expected which made the existing high malnutrition and mortality rate even worse, it caused starvation, animal death, and diseases. But the famine was just the tip of the iceberg.

One of the first questions we asked the participants of this study was to tell us how the situation in Somali in 2011 was like, and indeed it was a year unlike other, overwhelming majority of the respondents recalled the dire situation Somalia was in and attempts made by local and external actors to change the situation on the ground.

The situation of Somalia in 2011 was horrible, there were serious socio-political, economic, and security problems. Al-Shabaab was controlling most of the southern regions which suffered the most, there were widespread piracy attacks at the sea, tribal conflicts, severe food, and water shortages in most of

the country, it was hopeless and really scary times. There was no internationally recognized Somali government, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) controlled only one district in the capital Mogadishu. there were no external diplomatic representatives in Mogadishu, and the humanitarian organizations were stationed in Nairobi. (Mohamud)

Participants all over the country told me that the impact of the famine was felt by everyone. It was not only on the radios but it created waves of refugees into the big cities, economic challenges crisis followed as the major cities were dependent on livestock and agriculture, as the next respondents described.

The famine hit the most in people living in the remote area it was a disaster, people immigrated to big cities and the cities became over-crowded many camps were built in Mogadishu. I remember the local relief groups coming to our schools collecting food and money for the affected people. In 2011 famine the country was isolated and many countries that wanted to aid were afraid because of fragile security. Turkey dared to arrive at this critical time when Somalis needed the most, they responded with the humanity call and helped the society, they were caring and kind to Somalis. (Omar)

These memories of hard times of the famine and its impact could be seen on the faces of the respondent, a sense of appreciation and owing debt flowed these episodes, participants moved on to describe the Turkish arrival, aid model and its impact on the ground, they described Turkey to be a friend and a brother which came at the right time, and their aid model was seen as effective which saved the lives of many Somalis. In the theory section, I have mentioned Nadler and D. Fisher argue that the reaction of the host population is determined by the donor characteristics and the amount of the aid they provide, so the positive reaction of the participant toward the Turkish aid model is shaped by the fast and multitrack Turkish aid assistance in 2011.

2011 is not just a year of despair and negative stories of famine and starvation it is also a turning point of Turkish Somalia relations and Turkish-African relations in general, it's the same year Turkey tested its foreign policy and soft power toward the African continent, a year most Somalis remember the brave and bold move of Erdogan and very large delegation including his family to visit Mogadishu, a city most of the world considered to be the most dangerous city on earth. The 16th august 2011 visit was a new page in Turkish-Somali relations. Diplomatic, economic and cultural relations between Somalia and Turkey rapidly increased in the period after Erdogan's visit. For example, Turkey opened its largest overseas embassy in Mogadishu, many Somali students got a scholarship from Turkey, and Turkish-Somali business cooperation

summit was held in Istanbul. (TIKA, 2016). For the people, I interviewed many of which were in Mogadishu emphasized that it was full of hope, emotions, and expectations.

Erdogan's visit was a bold and brave decision despite the challenges like security he went and showed the world that Mogadishu can be visited which then many leaders found the courage to go to Mogadishu, it was an act of kindness and humanity. and that arrival chanced the situation in Somalia especially the humanitarian field. (Hodo)

The stories of Mohamud, Hodo, and Ahmed illustrate that an overwhelming majority of Somalis appreciate the Turkish move to intervene in the 2011 famine and provide humanitarian assistance, their story described a Somalia which was in a brink of death threatened by both man-made and natural disasters and a time the world seemed not to care much about the situation, and how a new actor came to the field and won the hearts of Somalis, by bringing new energy and aid model to fight the famine. The Turkish arrival also revived the historical relations between the two nations, it is an event which has a special position in the memories of many Somalis. Anna also argues that cultural similarities or differences play a crucial role of how local perceive the outside donor, in the Somali case Turkey and Somali have long historical ties which go back to 15<sup>th</sup> century, that common history and culture contributed to mutual understanding between the countries and their societies. As it increased cooperation and trust between the two parties.

#### **4.1.2 Useful Projects**

Turkey's assistance toward Somalia was a multilayered and multidimensional policy meaning that state and civil organs were both involved, and the assistance itself consisted of humanitarian and development projects, when asked the participants about how they perceive Turkish government-led and civil controlled projects in Somalia, most participants found these projects to be useful for Somalis and good investment for the Turks in the long run. The overwhelming majority of the respondents appreciated and welcomed the development projects which they perceived to be the only way out of the poverty and conflicts. Projects which focused on capacity building, infrastructure, agriculture, and support to state institutions were most favored since the civil war destroyed these initiatives which are the backbone of every state,

respondents appealed more of these projects and encouraged to be based on the local needs.

Turkish projects have been useful they reconstructed the main roads, rehabilitated the airport and big hospital in Mogadishu, but many people criticize to be Mogadishu centered other regions like Somaliland don't feel that positive about them. However, these projects changed the situation in Somalia it attracted other actors to involve in Somalia for example when Turkish airlines started operating to Mogadishu other airlines flowed suit some of them from UAE, Qatar, Ethiopian and this is just example of how Turkey has built the confidence of other countries to open diplomatic posts or to open trade relations with Somalia. (Ibrahim)

Ibrahim's concerns correlate with some literature arguments like ( Wasuge, 2016) which stressed out that Turkish projects being Mogadishu centered, some of our respondents who were mainly from Somaliland and Puntland emphasized the need to expand Turkish projects to the different regions of the country. On the other hand, the famous contested proverb which says " Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime". appeared multiple times throughout the interview, respondents again encouraged Turkey to avoid only focusing on aid delivery which is one of the basic critics against Western NGOs. (Fatima, Mohamud, and Adam)

Turkish projects can be seen Turkish investment in the horn of African which has very large natural resources which are yet to enter the global market (Fatima)

Although the majority of the participants underlined positive and welcoming attitudes toward Turkey some others also emphasized a mix reaction as they argued that there is no free lunch and Turkey has a big interest in the region as it started stretching its military muscles in the region using soft power tools like aid and culture.

Education and health are other projects that Turkey made a considerable change and contribution since 2011 many Somalis got scholarships from Turkey, hospitals were built and rehabilitated by TIKA and different NGOs also supplied medicine and equipment to a number of hospitals in Somalia. Participants strongly emphasized that these two sectors were the places Turkey mostly succeeded. A former student who is now the head of education and health consultancy company told me how Turkey became the favorite destination for students taking over India from the first place,



Turkish scholarships also attracted many self-sponsoring students, 2157 Somalis registered in 2017 compared to 1067 in 2015 according to YOK system, this is win for Turkey as these people will learn Turkish culture and language, and win for Somalia as well as these young people gain knowledge.

Education is so vital to Somali development it is always great idea to invest that sector, many Somalis learn in Turkey some scholarships some self-sponsored, in the future we will see many Somalis contributing peace processes and nation-building in Somalia, these students will also be the breach to connect the two countries in the future, Turkey now is a favorite destination for young Somalis to get education, I welcome this initiative many people benefited from this including me. (Abdallah)

Turkey is also engaged in contributing peace processes and reconciliation between Somali parties especially, Somali-Somaliland talks. Recently, Ankara appointed Olgan Bekar former Turkish ambassador to Somali to lead the case of mediation between Somaliland and Somalia. Our participants expressed their views on Turkey playing that role of mediation, although Turkey was seen as a credible and honest mediator, respondents pointed out two major challenges which stand in front of Turkey to succeed in this mission.

We welcome everyone who wants to mediate Somaliland and Somalia but Turkey is pro unionist and close to Mogadishu, as we know Somaliland administration did not express confidence to Turks they preferred other countries, this discourse has not been secret Turkish officials openly supported unitary government and it's difficult to see that this will lead any results. (Elmi)

Since Turkish-Somali relations are quite new people also raised the issue of Turkey not having enough knowledge about the underlying issues and the history of the conflict. Despite the challenges mentioned above, the majority of the respondents believed Turkey can facilitate the meetings and offer technical support but also encouraged neighboring countries like Djibouti and Ethiopia to join.

All in all, Turkey was not seen as an intervening actor and one of the reasons is Turkey projected itself as a new non-intervening actor which made enough efforts to get close to the community and their needs, unlike the traditional donors which have close bonds with the Somali elite and constantly intervene the local politics.

#### **4.1.3 Turkey vis a vis the Traditional donors**

“onlar konuşur Türkler yapar ( The Western donors speak but the Turks do the job)”

Before even asking respondents started to differentiate Turkish involvement from that of other donors in Somalia when the study asked how Turkey is different or similar to the traditional donors in Somalia mainly Western and Gulf countries which are engaged in humanitarian and state-building projects like Turkey, participants easily pointed out that Turkish projects were win-win and need-based which produced tangible results. Although both groups are contributing to the state-building and the development of Somalia the biggest difference between traditional donors and Turkey comes in prioritization and the channels they use to deliver their support.

Western countries invest the most in projects like good governance, human rights and women issues which Somalis did not gain any benefits from, but Turkey used different strategy and focused on most needed areas like infrastructure, capacity building, security, and education so we have different priority focus, the west was spreading their ideas and lifestyle. While Turks on the other hand, researched the urgent need and made considerable efforts to meet those needs, the west has a fixed agenda which mostly doesn't apply to the local needs and I think that is the sole reason many Somalis supports Turks over the traditional donors. (Sahra)

Similarly, Mohamed described the implementation difference of the two sides

Turkish government tried to avoid too much bureaucracy and they were able to go around it and go on the ground, it reduced the cost. The previous aid used to go through different hands this exchange was very costly, only a small amount used to reach people of Somalia. This has gained the Turks trust among Somalis, they did a lot with little with this policy. (Mohamed)

Turks did the projects they promised while Western initiated projects most of the time were too little too late. Western influence is visible they support the Federal government financially and contribute to the security but many people questioned the humanitarian side which made Somalia dependent on NGOs. Respondents encouraged the Somali government to put forward comprehensive and clear project plans which represent Somali needs so the interest groups can act accordingly. Traditional donors should include education, health, and infrastructure in their development projects which less attention is given to. Turks being on the ground gave the advantage to oversee the situation and report back to their seniors, where Western NGOs' evaluation process doesn't reach most of the regions.

Participants acknowledged the influence of Western countries like the US, the UK and international organizations like the UN, AU and the EU.

Western countries use a top-down method they are close to executive and parliament branches they lack a good connection with civil society groups they don't have much power on the community level. Western NGOs also give most of the jobs to foreigners, their actions also can't be held accountable. (Ahmed)

Ahmed argues that the Western actors made contributed to the peace processes and helped the government with the budget, but they were criticized of being a very bureaucratic, slow and interventions in the local politics on their benefit, most participants saw the west to have good relations with the corrupted Somali politicians.

Security is one of the biggest problems currently Somali government is facing is a security problem as the weak government forces are engaged heavy fights with East-Africa's bloodiest terrorist group Al-Shabaab, clan wars and piracy also challenge the overall stability in the country. Since 2012 Somalia and Turkey signed multiple security agreements, this resulted with many Somali military personals coming to Turkey for military training and the opening of Turkish military training school in Mogadishu in 2017, the project was welcomed by most of Somalis., The security cooperation theme emerged in the early parts of the study. However, this created view other questions as we tried to understand more about how aid provider quickly became a security provider in Somalia. We asked the participants how they make sense of the newly opened training school in Mogadishu and what kind of impact the training camp will have on the overall security of Somalia.

Every state is built on a strong military and other security forces, I welcome the training base, this program serves the interest of both countries, its peaceful program which will not create any problems. For the Turks, it's a place that they can protect the investment they made in the country and the region. Secondly, unlike the previous systems which soldiers were sent abroad which were difficult and costly now soldiers are trained in their country the familiar geography and weather, it is like you have a military factory in your city. (Omar)

Participants welcome the Turkish training base in Mogadishu, which will be the backbone for rebuilding the Somali national army and also and a place where Turkey showcases its military muscle and presence in the African continent especially the strategic location of the Horn of Africa. if they succeed in building a strong army it will promote Turkey's image in the international arena. Respondents claimed that the base will contribute to the stability of Somalia, in the long run, as illustrated in the evidence provided below.

We have not seen the fruits of the military base all we know is that students have been graduating from the center but we still don't see a change in the security, Mogadishu in particular, it's possibly a long-term project that will only pare fruits in next ten years. (Ali)

The location of Somalia and the arrival of Turkey and its increasing influence in the region attracted other regional and international actors among those actors is UAE which was influential donor in the last couple of years running hospitals and other services like training portion of Somali army until these programs were canceled in 2018 after a diplomatic quarrel with Somali government, the UAE which has ambitions to open a military base in Somalia. The respondents' reactions were clear they highlighted the need to build Somali army with the help of external actors, but showed reluctant to be part of broader regional disputes which can escalate to east Africa, they discouraged Somalia to accept UAE ambitions to open a military base in Somalia.

I don't want to see Somalia being the playground for powerful countries and the next proxy war, if the project is supporting Somalia and Somali army we support but not if there are other intentions, some countries are coming to Somali to only challenge Turkey, we should not have any agreements with such actors Somalia can't afford to host two countries which are in different sides of many hot political issues in the region. (Mohamed)

Similarly, Mulki argued that although the UAE influence in the Horn of Africa and can pressure the Somali authorities or bribe with their Petro-money still the locals don't trust and consider them as an ally. Some of the respondents also encouraged the Turkish government to focus on training the Somali army and not use the base for other purposes which could add Turkey a group of countries that Somalis consider to have neo-colonial agendas in Somalia.

UAE does not have confidence from the local population, it is known to intervene Somali politics, like inciting federal member states against the federal government in Mogadishu, it is also involved in corruption and bribing politicians even it happens it's not going to be welcomed by Somali people. (Mulki)

To sum up, the UAE was not a popular partner on the eyes of the people I interviewed, they accused UAE to working with corrupted politicians, undermining Somali sovereignty and bullying the central government to side with UAE and Saudi Arabia in their rivalry against Qatar.

#### 4.1.4 Unbalanced Economic Relations

Since there were no strong relations between Turkey and Somalia in the past, economic relations remained low, but according to Turkey Statistics institution (TurkStat, 2018) data, economic relations between Turkey and Somalia in different sectors increased since 2011. Today Turkey's exports to Somalia amount \$143 million, where at the same time total imports of Turkey from Somalia are \$1 million. We asked the participants how they view the economic relations between the two states Somalia and Turkey, the overwhelming majority thought that the economic relations are better than in the past but they are not balanced and both Somali and Turkey contribute to this deficit.

Turkey is a strong export and growth led economy which exports a lot abroad, so we are in a deficit position. Turkey did not take the Somali natural resources there seem to be restricting rules from the Turkish side, sesame fish and agriculture from Somalia need to enter the Turkish market. The Somali government should also try to broaden its market inside Turkey to sell its goods and create institutions for the process. (Ayaan)

Although its ideal to assume that Turkey and Somalia will have an equal economic relation since Turkey is among 20 most developed economies in the world where Somalia is one of the poorest countries in the world with no industries and low purchasing power, but the basic arguments were leading toward appealing to more Turkish investment as Somalia has the biggest cost line in mainland Africa and vast livestock, agriculture and other resources which could benefit much for the economies of both Turkey and Somalia.

When I started cargo-ship business Turks didn't believe Somalia can even afford to buy Turkish products, we faced many problems. But in 2017 and 2018 economic relations boomed Turkish products attained a new market in Somalia mostly Spaghetti, medicine food, Furniture, and Textile. Now in 2019, all Turkish factories know Somalis and their business. (Abdulkadir)

In general, economic relation is growing and Turkish products are present in almost every part of Somalia, Somalis are also taking Turkish products to other East-African countries it's expected to grow more and even better if both Turkey and Somali create trade vision and plan to expand this market.

Trade relations were criticized by many participants because Somalia's natural resources did not find a place in Turkish markets and as the statistics indicate the share

of the Somali benefit is quite low. The social exchange theory argues that when the exchange of resources for example between two countries is balanced or high in-favor for the locals, the host population views it positively but if it is not balanced host community views the external impact negatively. Although Turks are thought highly of among the Somalis I interviewed it could lead to perception shift in the future if not taken seriously. Somalis expectation is to gain access to the Turkish market and attract Turkish businessmen to invest in the natural resources of Somalia (Reisinger & Turner, 2003)

#### **4.1.5 Religion**

Religion has been an important factor in local politics and its place in the international affair and global politics has been growing in the last three decades, although it was denied in most of International Relations texts, in most of the times religion promotes values, good live, cooperation, and even works in borderless ways. It also has a normative and ethical dimension which allows different societies to work together, live together and help one and other. Despite the secular arguments which argue that religion promotes violence and undermines democracy it has been found that contrary to that religion encourages peace, reconciliation, and democracy. (Shuriye, 2011). Although the place of religion in politics local and international is discussed widely by mainstream international relations theories, we can see the increase of religious influence in recent years, and its ability to direct the foreign policy of nations and shape relations between states and communities. (Judis, 2005) in his famous article, the chosen nation analyzed how president George W. Bush explicitly used religious language like “calling” and “mission” to underline some initial foreign policy issues.

Heist & Cnaan, (2016)also concluded that religion does not create conflicts between countries and communities and religion-based NGOs do not seek more power and recruit as some claim but instead contribute to the social well-being and economic revival and crisis prevention many parts of the world. Turkish foreign policy since the Justice and Development Party came to power also adopted religious rhetoric and campaigned the Muslim voice to be heard in the international arena as they have done in the Somali case. I have also discussed the Turkish foreign policy and use of soft power in the second chapter where religion and culture played a crucial role in Turkey's foreign policy shift from Western-oriented to re-establishing its historic relations with

Africa and the Middle-East. During the interviews, the role of religion in Turkish Somali relations was one of our main questions, the findings also supported some of the existing literature.?

Religion plays an important role both people have long Islamic culture and relations which goes back to the Ottoman era, I think its the biggest motive that drove Turkey to take a humanitarian action in 2011, religion has benefits like social unity and cooperation between the two nations. (Abdisamad)

There were also accounts that it's not just Islam in general but the two countries share the Sunni branch of Islam and the ruling elites of both Somalia and Turkey have political Islam tendency.

Religion is a very important pillar in Somali culture, so they welcomed Turks with open hands seeing them as co-religion and brothers in Islamic. I remember on the 15<sup>th</sup> July coup attempt people were calling me from every-where praying for the Turks and their sitting government. (Abdirizak)

It was interesting to ask the participants if the religion is the backbone of the Turkish-Somali relations and the source of this much trust why Somalis don't feel the same toward the other Muslim countries like Saudi Arabia and the UAE which have been present in Somalia for a long time and have bigger religious influence than Turkey has.?

The Gulf countries intervened in Somali politics and civil war were Turkey avoided that and respected the Somalis sovereignty. The Gulf countries also inspired and nourished the radical ideologies which left many Somali youth radicalized and led to the rise of terrorist groups like Al-Shabaab. (Hodan)

Lastly, although both Turkey and Somalia adhere to the Sunni branch of Islam they practice and follow different Mezzhab and jurisprudence of Islam, we asked the participants how they perceive Turkish religious practices and their feedback suggested that there is much to learn from the Turks.

Religion should be interpreted peacefully, here they teach people values so person can take responsibility, we can learn from them things like the cohesion, fasting on the same day, tolerance, Turkey also has a secular system the perception of Islam among the Turks and Somalis are different, in Somalia body cover and hijab is seen very important if you don't wear you are seen not fully Muslim. Turkey can help Somalia cope with its fight against radicalization as the country battles with extremism. (Abdirahman)

Despite the differences of Islam in the social sphere of Turkey Somalia, Somalis admire Turkish people's cohesion, tolerance, and respect for different opinions. Respondents thought that Turkey can work with Somalia in its fight against radical ideologies which is a serious problem in Somalis. What was clear also in the accounts of most participants was that the role of religion in Turkish Somali relations is undeniable and quite strong.

The number of Somalis in Turkey dramatically increased in the last five years, the unprecedented relations between Ankara and Mogadishu brought two societies closer, Somalis which has a large diaspora presence in many regions now Turned their attention to Turkey, Somalis in Turkey came from three different geographical locations, the largest group came from Somalis, the second group came from the Western countries where the third group are coming from Middle-East, but mostly they have different reasons to be here in Turkey when asked many of them why Somalis prefer Turkey, their explanations started differently but finally gave us a unifying picture of how Turkey is constructed in the minds of the participants.

Somalis from Somalia are either students who want to study in Turkey or the political and economic elite who brought their families for safety. The second group is running from the strict immigration regime of many Arab countries and the third group which came from the west due to the rising Islamophobia in the west. Turkey became a favorite and preferred destination for Somalis since their visas are among the easiest in the developed world, and they share Islamic culture. (Omar)

The strategic location of Turkey and its Euro-Asian culture was a critical feature which attracted the Somalis, the country is also a trading hub, where many families also found good products and services which they can send, as the living conditions in many Arab countries became very tough, the west is also growing hostile to the immigrants especially, if you are Muslim and a person of color, families found religious tolerance and Islamic teaching here in Turkey, Somali parents send their kids to Imam Hatip schools the families who moved here argue they made a right choice and their children will grow up in a Muslim dominant region. A small number of these people are coming to use Turkey as a transit country to reach Western countries to find jobs and a better life.

Participants also described their experiences in living Turkey and what they expected before coming here, also as some of them go back to Somalia on holidays, they



described how Turkish cultural products are perceived in Somalia and how media in both countries project the Turkish Somali relations.

Most respondents said that they have met their expectations and liked the culture and the people. Turkish cultural products like Tv shows Turkish language and other products like food and clothes are very popular, most people did not find it difficult to the culture like food but Tv shows are criticized to be projecting un-Islamic culture.

Tv shows do not project the Turkish culture it presents more Western culture but it depends on the Tv show that you are watching, although Turkish government has tried to produce Tv series which project Turkish history like Ertugul and Abdulhamid which are getting audience in Islamic world, but mainstream Turkish Tv shows project Turkey which is Western, and it will have a negative impact over female in the house-hole indoors what they see in the Tv series affects their behavior and the way their relationship is constructed in the community. (Ayaan)

Turkish Tv shows were seen at least closer to the Somali culture than that of other countries like India. Students who graduated from Turkey and Turkish schools in Somalia will be an important source that will strengthen the two-state relation in the future. The dominant Turkish Tv topics were seen to not show the true culture and image of Turkey, other participants also problematized the increasing number of Turkish language centers in Somalia, which they question the intentions of such move.

Media was another issue that came up in our interaction and interviews with Somalis in Turkey.

Turkish media portray Somalia and Africa in general in a very limited picture a poor hungry place which needs immediate help, it should project Somalia not only the problems but also the potentials and richness of the country and stop this Eurocentric Western style. the relations should not be all about aid assistant and negative discourse but be teaching and spreading positive image and common future. (Abdukadir)

Participants highlighted that while Somali media projects Turkey as a brother and a close friend where they always present Turkey's strong image and successes in the international system, Turkish media focuses on the negative issues of Somalia.

#### **4.1.6 Future Outlook**

The current political context of Somalia is one which a lot of complexities where many local and international actors have their say on important issues, Somali now is a

federal-state which has six member states, and since the adoption of this governance system there has been continued standoff between the center Mogadishu and the federal member states, power-sharing, implementing previous agreements and foreign policy are among the critical issues that federal government and member states disagree. Furthermore, the international community and neighboring countries like Kenya and Ethiopia have been using this political struggle to further their influence and interests in Somalia, the terrorist organization Al-Shabaab, on the other hand, pose a huge threat to the wider horn of African region. Although East-African countries like Ethiopia and Eritrea recently signed a historic peace agreements which called further economic integration and stability, the region still has more challenges to overcome, among these is rival politicized ethnic tensions which can threaten the security of the region, secondly, major global powers like China and the US and regional actors like the Gulf countries and Turkey are increasing their influence and relations in the region, the unfolding both positive and negative changes create a situation where the future relations that the regions have with the interested countries is unpredictable. (International Crisis Group, 2018)

Especially in the Turkish Somali relations s we approached the end of each interview, we asked the participants about the challenges and opportunities in Turkish Somali relations and the future relations between the two states in the next decade, this produced mixed opinions of both optimistic and pessimistic views. For example, some of the challenges which exist now are the unstable Somalia politics and the external influence which is turning into a competition between regional and global powers over Somalia.

The constant change in the Somali ruling elite hinders the effectiveness of the government institutions. The Somali government does not have since the 1991 civil war a clear foreign policy for its country. (Ahmed)

The challenges and opportunities people touched on seemed to stem from the unstable political structure of Somalia and the pressure from external actors which are challenging Turkish influence in Somalia, economic challenges like long distances, closed Turkish market and lack of economic policy of Somalia are problems if are solved economic relation will take a positive turn. Still, opportunities outnumber challenges as both societies have great trust toward each other, and authorities of both Turkish and Somali expressed the importance of their relations.

Questions about the Future relations between Somalia and Turkey were asked to the all participants and their prediction were mostly optimistic full of hope but they depended on certain issues like how Somalia handles the increasing number of powerful actors who are interested in the region, and the ruling elites of either Turkey and Somalia because power shift in both governments ruling elites can change the nature of the relations very much, if the opposition party comes to power in Turkey, it can reverse or undo what AK party have done, similarly, if bro Gulf team comes to power in Somalia, it can slow down the relations.

In the future we will have equal partners, the brotherly relations will grow more, we will have Richer and stronger Turkey and stable Somalia, I have a lot of high hopes both countries will get closer, tripartite cooperation between Qatar, Turkey, and Somalia where Qatar finances projects in Somalia and Turkey builds them, the relations will grow from there. (Mohamed)

Horn of African region recently became a strategic location for superpowers and emerging regional powers who found their way into the region. The Red Sea region is an important commercial root where many powers want to have influence, Djibouti now is hosting powerful countries like the US, France, China, and Saudi Arabia who all have bases in that small East-African country, stable Somalia promises strategic ports and military bases, which causes many countries to compete for a greater influence in Somalia, this, of course, has negative and positive sides for Somalia. (Berg & Meester, 2018)

There are too many uncertainties it is unpredictable how this relationship will play, regional competition has both positive and negative sides, it is positive when Somalia has a clear policy to face these actors. It can be negative when the competition increases and different actors support different political actors in the region impacts but it depends who is running the country and cooking the policy which deals with external actors. (Mohamud)

People were challenging the Somali state and how it manages this competition which is a huge task, its great opportunity if taken seriously or disaster for Somalia if not played well, their conclusion was that Turkey and other interested groups know what they want and they have clear foreign policy doctrine and written agendas, Somalia doesn't, so it depends on Somali ruling elite to come up a good foreign policy which does not drag Somalia into a non-sense war and conflict between a powerful countries, a policy which also doesn't make Somalia a client state. Finally, participants predicted that Istanbul will be the next Dubai where Somali business persons establish an

economic base, and as a result, the economic relations between the two communities will grow and business will thrive.

I closely followed the changes in the stories of the participants, and some of the participants opened up when asked more probe questions and further explanations, female participants gave shorter answers than their male counterparts, some even clearly stated they don't have opinion on that question but provided what they heard from a friend or Tv news, the biggest change I observed was that people who have been to Turkey for more than four years were more critical of the newcomers, but both underlined that relations did not grow the same speed it grew in the first four years.

Overall, the quotes above and other paraphrased information show that there is a mix reaction of Somalis on Turkey and its stabilization efforts in Somalia. However, it is obvious that there is a high turn out of favor, trust, and love for Turks compared to a few critics, why is that the case? The next chapter explains that question.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Host populations perception studies are attracting the attention of researchers from different fields. However, it can be a difficult task if the research case involves protracted conflicts like the Somali case which has experienced multiple external interventions and lacks enough information about how the local population perceives it. The study joins with analysts like (Ginty & Richmond, 2013) and (Nouvet et al, 2016) who emphasize the importance of local ownership, public views on peace-building and conflict reconciliation process in many conflict-ridden regions like Somalia. Somali conflict has been an unresolved puzzle and protracted social conflict for the last three decades. Since 1991, there is no strong central government which provides services and the security Somalis need, this created a political vacuum and struggle for power, resulting in a humanitarian crisis this attracted peace operations, humanitarian assistance and military interventions from the international community and the neighboring states. Turkey emerged as a promising new actor which came to Somalia after a deadly famine devastated Somalia in 2011.

Despite the long historical relations Turkey and Somalia share, the recent relations which started in 2011 is believed to be an especial relation with increased diplomatic, economic and cultural relations compared to previous times. However, it's these recent developments that attracted the researchers and the experts on state-building and the humanitarian studies as Turkey implemented a unique multifaced policy which included effective humanitarian assistant model and development projects which both the locals and the international agencies considered to be successful projects that contributes to the state-building, security, and the development of Somalia. (Özkan, 2014)

Somalia is a country which has a lot of development problems and challenges which attracted different donors, the post-conflict Somalia is one of the Least Developed Countries (LDC) in Africa and aid-dependent country according to UN Human

Development Index (UNDP, 2010). However, Somali people showed eagerness to restore peace and stability as the country is fighting hard to come out of long civil war and terrorist attacks, it is these characteristics that make our case very critical and worth studying.

This thesis argued that Somalia has a long history of different foreign interventions from 19th-century colonialism of the west to post-civil war interventions which most of them created unpleasant memories and experiences for Somalis, these past events and today's peace interventions continue to shape how local population perceives external actors in Somalia. The Horn of African region carries important concern for international player as the region locates crucial maritime route this strategic location and region's growing market and population attract many emerging and super-power actors which aim to get the first-mover advantage and capture the best deals on the table, this competition carries extra meaning in today's politics where forming new alliances is growing rapidly as (Maru, 2019) discussed in his recent article named a new cold war in Africa where the horn of African region is the center of the growing challenge between west and China and emerging actors like Turkey and the UAE. Intervention is not just fixed to state actors, a large number of NGOs are stationed in Somali. (Muhammed, 2014)

The theoretical framework in which the study is based was analyzed and discussed in different areas, concepts like peace intervention which has a wide theoretical-discussions from different theories and scholars. Similarly, the study also analyzed how peace intervention is perceived by the host community, different researches like argued Pouligny (2005) Donini and Minear (2008), that aid and development recipient in the global south have uneasy relations with the donors, local respondents from Afghanistan to Congo and many other places underlined that most of the humanitarian assistances have a hidden agenda and spread the Western values. Similarly, Somalis showed their concern against mounting NGOs which have been in the country for a long time but failed to produce tangible results, majority of Somalis believed that foreign interventions in Somalia have not yielded the results they expected but contrary expatriated the security and economic problems of Somalia. Despite the numerous critics toward the donors and their intention many other recipients welcomed the peace interventions and assistance from external actors like in Uganda (Dijkzeul and

Wakenge, 2010). This shows that the perceptions change in the country to country and event in region to region in Some countries.

It also depends on the characteristics of the donor, the self-esteem of the receiver and the amount, the quality of the given aid. Social psychology and social exchange theory also contribute to understanding how people react to external cultures, assistances, and expatriates in their countries. Although religion is depicted as a negative influence on peace, researchers like (Heist & Cnaan, 2016) claimed that religion plays a constructive role in helping and dealing with social problems. Similarly, cultural similarities or differences also shape how people view the donor if the countries have similar cultures and common histories like Turkey and Somalia increased cooperation and trust between them is expected, and If the countries have different cultures the opposite is true.

This thesis emerged from the recent Turkish involvement in Somalia under the discourse of peace operation and state-building efforts. It also examines the declining role and reputation of traditional donors in Somalia and the emergence of new actors like Turkey in the region. This study tried to investigate and present an insider view of how Somalis think of Turkish government-run and civil led projects in Somalia, and what shapes their perspectives on Turkey vis a vis the traditional donors in general. Thus, the main objective of the study is to understand the public perception of Somalis on Turkish stabilization efforts in Somalia and the factors that influence their views.

The above-described study used in-depth interview of qualitative research methodology to achieve its objectives, the study employed face to face interview to collect the data, it preferred this method for its flexibility and ability to project real event and experiences of the respondent which produce high-quality data, the study population are Somalis living in Turkey, this research used snowball sampling to draw its sample, the study asked twenty-five open-ended questions to its participants, I also extracted secondary data from various institutions, online journals, and media. the collected data will be analyzed using the four concepts which I explained in most of the chapters, (Braun, V. and Clarke, 2006) six-phase framework of thematic analysis gave me a big advantage to organize and breakdown my data into different categories, by using intense reading reducing and coddling the text, I paraphrased and directly quoted the stories of the respondent which I finally generated six themes and sub-

themes which interpreted the overall views of Somalis in this study. This thesis flowed and applied the instructions of (Creswell, 2014) and ( Robson, C. & McCartan, K. 2016) famous research books.

The study presented similar studies which investigate how local population perceive external actors in their countries, the closest and most relevant examples were studies done in other African countries which are subject of many outside interventions, remarkable literature on Chinese intervention in Africa and local perception was analyzed and investigated in this study, Chinese inroad to African has been a hot topic as Chinese trade investment and relation with many African countries mounts. However, the public reaction to the growing Chinese engagement in Africa is interestingly mixed full of excitement and disappointment as it differs from one country to another. (Suter, 2017), (Gadzala & Hanusch, 2010). Afro-barometer research (Lekorwe & Okuru, 2016) argues that the African perception is shaped by the level of Chinese investment and the areas they are invested, low quality of the Chinese products, the political perspectives of the locals. The main argument seems that China is perceived either an alternative to Western economic and political dominance and willing partner which is investing Africa or exploiting resource-driven actor which cooperates with corrupted politicians of Africa and treat badly with African workers.

Since Turkey arrived in Somalia in 2011 vast number of researchers engaged in investigating the accomplishments, shortcomings and future the characteristics of Turkish engagement in African specifically its recent involvement in Somalia, in the literature review chapter the study employed a typology case where it divided Turkish involvement into Somali in two fronts Government-led projects and civil programs like NGOs and private companies, then we analyzed the impact each has on four major areas where Turkish activism mostly focused, AID, EDUCATION, TRADE, and SECURITY. (Özkan, 2014)

The literature on Somali-Turkish relations is missing an important aspect which is looking at the Turkish factor from the local viewpoint and trying to understand how the host population considers the Turkish projects, how these programs resonate with the public? and what are the factors that influence the public perceptions of Turkey, the current literature is filled with the narratives of the bureaucratic elite. Using



qualitative in-depth interviews with fifty Somalis in Turkey this study tried to go beyond that and broaden the debate by bringing the civilian voice to the table.

## **5.1 Research Findings**

This part presents the overall perception of Somalis and tries to answer the questions raised throughout the research project. Firstly, the 2011 famine and the Turkish response to the situation in Somalia hold a special position in the memories of Somalis, unlike other interventions they thought it was honest and courageous act which changed the situation in Somali for good, as the Somali crisis found wider audience in the international community after Erdogan's visit, in result, the imminent threat of the famine was eliminated and the Turkish aid model yielded positive results with collaboration of other local and international agencies. 2011 was a year unlike others as Somalia found a willing partner and Turkey expanded its influence in the region and secured ally which also showed promise to take further steps toward a bilateral-relations.

The findings of this study also showed that Turkish projects were considered useful and effective in general. However, the Turkish government led projects gained more approval than the NGOs and civil initiated projects from Turkey, majority of the respondents argued that as the civil war destroyed both government institutions and infrastructure of the country, and Somalia needs sustainable development projects more than aid assistance which many NGOs are doing in the country, education and health sectors where two areas where people thought Turkey has done the best. Turkish move to rebuild Aden Ade airport, hospitals and main roads in Mogadishu was welcomed and appreciated by all the Somalis that participated in this research. Furthermore, participants highlighted that Turkish government projects and investment decreased in the last two years, respondents encouraged Turkey to broaden its activities and reach regions outside Mogadishu and more importantly, expand its investment projects to the agriculture, livestock and fishing sectors which are main resources and economic activities most Somalis are engaged in. A considerable number of the respondents expected Turkey to do more in the investment programs and buying some of the Somali resources which Turkey imports from other countries.

In light of these findings, the study also tried to understand how Somalis perceived other actors mainly Western donors and Gulf monarchs which have a huge influence in Somalia, participants drew similarities and differences in these actors as all of them have interests in the region. However, Turkey was considered to be more honest and a willing partner who want the Somali people to heal and develop, participants praised Turkey for doing a lot of things with little money and time, where traditional donors although being present in Somalia for a long time only achieved little, they were accused of not being completely honest about the state-building and development assistant they provided to Somalia. The Turkish programs were believed to be based on the local need where the traditional donors had fixed programs which promoted only their ideologies and agendas, they were thought to be bureaucratic and had a strong communication with only the political elite, where Turkish programs were very close to the community as they went on the field and connected with the locals.

Moreover, security problems are the major challenges to the state-building as the country lacks strong security forces to battle against terrorist groups and local militias, Somalia signed different military training agreements with many countries and many of them were supporting and training Somali security forces. However, Somali signed the biggest security deal with Turkey, as the officials of both countries told the media, Turkey opened its largest overseas military training school in Somalia. All the respondents welcomed this project, they felt comfortable as far as the training base is used to train the Somali army but not to balance other actors in the region, they also emphasized that the training school will contribute to the security and stability of Somalia in the long run and will also enhance Turkish interest in the region. Respondents showed wariness and distrust to allow competing actors to have military bases in Somalia especially Gulf countries like Saudi and the UAE as they were accused of bullying Somali state and inciting the federal member states against the central government in Mogadishu.

It is worth mentioning that economic relations between Turkey and Somalia were growing since 2011 according to the figures and available data. However, this study found out that economic relations between Somalia are not growing equally where Somalia market is full of Turkish products and Turkish private companies make sizable revenues, participants acknowledged that Somalia is not getting enough of their

economic relations with Turkey. Although, Somalia is not a producing country which can have equal trade relations with Turkey respondents underlined the need for Turkey to invest in Somalia and open its market to Somali natural resources and exports like agriculture, livestock and fish commodities. Ankara's move to mediate between Somalia and Somaliland was welcomed but the majority of the interlocutors underlined that Turkey was very close to Mogadishu and favors united Somalia. Furthermore, respondents emphasized that Turkey lack of deep knowledge of the underlying issues between Somali and Somaliland case it is also Mogadishu centered.

Throughout the research, respondents highlighted the crucial role religion plays in Turkish Somali relations, Somalis believe religion plays a positive role which unites the communities of both countries and enhances cooperation and understanding between cultures, Somalia and Turkey share long historical relations as parts of Somali territories were under Ottoman influence for centuries, the current Turkish elite took measures to retouch the Islamic heritage of Turkey, most respondents argued religion is the source of trust and love between the two societies and the foundation of the Turkish-Somali relations. One of the most striking findings of this was that Turkey was differentiated from other Islamic countries in the Gulf as they were criticized for not being honest and deploying intervening policies and selfish agendas. Despite the secular characteristics of Turkish state Somalis which are very conservative considered Turkey to represent the interests of Islam and stands for Islamic rights in the world. Turkish help was seen as a win-win agenda where the traditional donor's assistance was depicted as and interest-based which did not aim to help Somalia at all. Also, most of our participants admired and respected Turkish tolerance, cohesion, and love for their country.

In addition to that, the number of Somalis in Turkey is increasing year after year, different groups from Somalia, Gulf countries and the west are preferring Turkey mostly because of, religion, good services, education and affordable life expenses, Turkey's assistance to Somalia is also attracting many people as Turkey also opens up to Africa and the Islamic world, Turkish cultural products were seen closer than that of west or India but still problematic as mainstream Tv shows don't project Turkish culture but mostly show non-Islamic picture of Turkey which could send a wrong image of Turkey to the rest of the world. Similarly, Turkish media was criticized to

focus only on negative stories of the broad relations they share with Africa, respondents though media projecting this limited image is Eurocentric and Western understanding of Africa, and encouraged Turkey to portray the potentials and the richness of Somalia and Africa in general.

Lastly, the study presented possible challenges and opportunities which exist in the two-state relations and the future outlook of Turkish-Somali relations, there were mixed reactions of hope and uncertainties surrounding the future relations of Somalia and Turkey, majority of the respondents were optimistic about the relations which they predicted will grow and take more win-win feature in the coming years. However, the only condition which could spoil further relations is if the current Turkish ruling party is replaced by any other opposition party and if a Somali president which is pro Gulf countries comes to power in Somalia, these two cases could weaken the future relations between Somalia and Turkey. Uncertainties arose as many regional and global powers are competing to gain larger influence and investment in the horn of Africa, which could have both negative and positive consequences such as, possible destabilization and development if managed very well. Unstable local politics of Somalia and lack of clear foreign policy of the country which became a victim of high pressure from third parties challenge Turkish Somali relations, but still, there are opportunities as trust between countries and their connections in different layers increase.

In conclusion, as the voices of the interviewed participants showed in the previous chapters there is enormous trust and love for the Turkish stabilization efforts in Somalia from the Somalis but the key question is why? Why the perception of many Somalis toward Turkey is more than positive? This thesis argues that there is no single explanation for our research data which despite a number of critics shows huge support and trust for Turkish efforts in Somalia. However, few factors can at least give us a clue of why Turkey which is a new actor in Somalia is ranked the highest among countries that Somalia has a relationship with. The factors that contribute to this immense trust include. Firstly, the failure of the traditional donors which most of their peace interventions did not reason with or helped most of the Somalis, secondly, the successful Turkish aid model, energy and activism which was new to the sub-Saharan region and finally, the common history religion and the support Ankara showed to Somalis when they were in a devastating situations. That meant a lot for Somalis this

study does not aim to generalize the findings of small sample to all Somalis but what we were interested where rather the meaning schemas and attributes Somalis give to certain actors like Turkey, the perception study is an increasing body of research and this study is one of the first that analyzes how Somalis perceive the actions of external actor in their country and why? The study encourages further research and a deeper analysis of donor-recipient relations in Somalia.

## **5.2 Study Limitations**

There are limits that this study has. For example, one limit to this study comes from the sampling as the raised question about the perception of Turkish involvement is answered by Somalis who live in Turkey, one may argue that since may study subjects are in Turkey they may not be a reliable resource or may not represent the direct views and interests of Somalis in Somalia, but I argue that most Somalis I interviewed came to Turkey in the last three or four years and also include participants coming from West and Middle-East. I think the study sample is strong and diverse. Furthermore

On the other hand, studies related to social constructivism has never been easy, the accounts of the studied groups can be questioned, and this study underlines the problem of equifinality which means that there can be other explanation and tools which can be used to reach the study outcome. However, one of the main objectives of this study is to open a new chapter and area where the previous researchers have not paid attention to. The study sheds light on new ways in which both the external actors and the local population can express their major concerns. Finally, the study suggests future research in this area which also can cover larger geographical areas and also question the perceptions of both the aid provider and the beneficiaries.

## **5.3 Recommendations**

The study offers recommendations and possible strategies to improve relations between Turkey and Somalia, most of which are presented by the research participants. These recommendations are given to the Somali government, the Turkish government, and the other actors involved in the Somali affairs.

## Turkey

- To maintain its image of impartiality Turkey should adopt a careful strategy to avoid the conflicting interest of Gulf countries in the region and the local political struggle. To accomplish that, Turkey should cooperate with the Federal government and African Union, and also use a fair distribution of humanitarian and development projects.
- To stay different from traditional donors Turkey should increase its investment in development projects like infrastructure and capacity building. The Turkish government should also try to inform its people about the cultural and civilization richness of Africa, and business opportunities which can benefit both groups.
- Turkish projects in Somali are popular of being need-based, the competition in the region should not divert Turkey to new directions which can diminish Turkish image on the ground, as Somalis have negative experiences of deep interventions and colonial past. The military training base should be only used to train the Somali army but never to balance and challenge other actors.
- Turkey's ambitions to be an influential actor in Africa is crippled by lack of deep knowledge about African affairs, Turkey should establish research centers and train Turkish experts on Africa while co-operating with African academia to produce alternative methods and discourses to the existing limited knowledge which is propagated by the west.
- As the East-African region attracts major investors across the world, there should be a new comprehensive and clear strategy for Turkey and Somalia to continue their friendly relations, Turkey should also investigate more on how it can benefit from the strategic location of Somalia which is a trade gate to a growing African market and population.

## International Community

- Cooperation between traditional donors and Turkey is vital to the development of Somalia, and the success of assistant programs, there should be consensus policies to manage the Somali crisis.

- To avoid destabilization of the Horn of African region countries in that region should work collectively to translate the competition in the region to economic and development benefits. And collaborate the International community to promote the peace and stability of the region.

#### Somalia

- To accomplish the objectives of the existing bilateral agreement between Somalia and Turkey, a follow-up protocol and committee should be assigned to analyze these agreements and give recommendations to the policymakers.
- In the wake of state-building, Somalia should create relations that go beyond clientelism and aid focused approach, relations with other countries should be based on strong economic relations and a common interest.
- Difficult task awaits Somali government, as it tries to balance conflicting interests of countries previous and new friends, Somalia needs to establish a clear foreign policy and agenda-setting which promotes the interest of the Somali state.
- To keep the already strong Turkish Somali relation Somali authorities should work closely with Ankara, and pay close attention to the actors which are undermining this special relation, the decision-makers from both nations should share advice and knowledge to increase their voice in the international arenas and multilateral forums.
- To improve its economic output Somali should produce a sound economic policy and prioritization map to expand its export market, attract investment and get access to international markets like Turkey which has a large population.

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## APPENDIXES

### APPENDIX A

	Name/Surname	Gender	Marital status	Age	Years in Turkey	Birth place
1	Mohamud	Male	single	26	4	Galkayo
2	Ahmed	Male	single	22	7	Galdogob
3	Abdullahi	Male	single	24	6	Mogadishu
4	Hanna	Female	single	22	6	Mogadishu
5	Shukri	Female	single	25	6	Buhodle
6	Mohamed	Male	single	27	7	Las-ano
7	Abdikarim	Male	single	24	7	Mogadishu
8	Abdirahman	Male	single	22	4	Galkayo
9	Ibrahim ali	Male	Married	30	5	Mogadishu
10	Mohamed	Male	single	24	4	Galkayo
11	Abdisamad	Male	single	30	4	Mogadishu
12	Anwar	Male	single	23	4	AbudwaK
13	Abdifitah	Male	Married	30	4	Burco
14	Yaxye	Male	single	22	4MN	Baidoa
15	Abdinur	Male	single	22	2	Jigjiga
16	abdiqadar	Male	single	27	3	Mogadishu
17	Mohamed	Male	single	26	4	Gardo
18	Abdirahman	Male	single	23	6	Bosaso
19	Yaxye	Male	single	25	3	Mogadishu
20	Abukar s	Male	single	26	6	Mogadishu
21	ibrahim	Male	single	27	3	Mombasa
22	Mohamed	Male	single	27	4	Gardo
23	Ahmed	Male	single	25	3	Bosaso
24	Abdirisak	Male	single	27	8	Mogadishu

25	Shukri	Female	single	27	3	Abu Dhabi
26	Rowda	Female	single	21	3	Hargeisa
27	Ifrah	Female	single	20	3	Mogadishu
28	Maryama	Female	single	22	7MN	Mogadishu
29	Sacdiyo	Female	single	21	1MN	Mogadishu
30	Abdulkadir	Male	single	24	7	Galkayo
31	Kasim	Male	single	26		Hargeisa
32	Cumar	Male	single	28	5	Kismayo
33	Xasan	Male	Married	30	4	Mogadishu
34	Mohamed	Male	single	25	8	Mogadishu
35	Khadra	Female	single	24	8	Hargeisa
36	Farah	Male	single	22	1	Hargeisa
37	Ayaan	Female	single	22	1	Burao
38	Safia	Female	single	22	2	Mogadishu
39	Jawahir	Female	Married	50	6	Jeda
40	Hodan	Female	Married	55	2	Columbus
41	Shamso	Female	Married	48	2	Riyadh
42	Saida	Female	single	29	2	Mogadishu
43	Sumaya	Female	Married	24	2	Mogadishu
44	Mulki	Female	Married	26	5	Jigjiga
45	Ahmed	male	single	28	3	Hargeisa
46	Abdulkadir	Male	Married	31	2	Mogadishu
47	Khadija	Female	Married	35	4	Kismayo
48	Khalid	Male	single	25	1	Burao
49	Adem	Male	Married	29	6MN	Borama
50	Jama	male	Married	30	1	Mogadishu

## CURRICULUM VITAE

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