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Perception of Somali People towards Federal System in Somalia

Case of Garowe city, Puntland State of Somalia

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Ethiopia

Statement of Declaration

I, the undersigned declare that this thesis entitled **"The Perception of Somali people towards Federal System: Case of Garowe city, Puntland State of Somalia"** comprises my own work. As a Public Administration graduate, I have duly acknowledged and referenced all materials used in this study.

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I certify that this thesis entitled **"The Perception of Somali people towards Federal System: Case of Garowe city, Puntland State of Somalia"** as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a Masters Degree in Public Administration has been undertaken independently by **Nouh Abdullahi Yusuf** under my supervision to the best of my knowledge and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, in any other university.

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Place: Diredawa, Ethiopia

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PERCEPTION OF SOMALI PEOPLE TOWARD FEDERAL SYSTEM CASE OF GAROWE PUNTLAND STATE OF SOMALIA

BY:

NOUH ABDULLAHI YUSUF

APPROVED BY BOARD OF EXAMINERS

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AMISOM	African Union mission of Somalia
CSO	Civil service organizations
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DV	Dependent variable
EPRDF	Ethiopian people's revolutionary democratic front
HDMS	Hizbia dastur al Mustaqiil Somalia
NSAO	Non state actors association
UNITAF	United task force
UAE	United Arab Emirate
TFC	Transitional Federal Government
UN	United Nations
PYAN	Puntland Youth Association Network
ICU	Islamic Union Court
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
FMS	Federal Member states
WB	World Bank
TNG	Transitional National Government
Art	Article

Abstract

This study aimed at determining the Perception of Somali People on Federal System with reference to Puntland, Somalia. The study sought to establish the perception of the Somali people on federal system, identify the drivers of Somali federalism, describe the federal system's viable option for Somali people governance and find out which system of federal governance prefer for the Somali people to be adopted and the challenges that hind back the Somali federalism. The researcher used Mixed Methods for this study which the investigator collects and analyses data then integrates the findings. The target populations were different actors from State Parliamentarian members, Admas University, PYAN and Horseed Associations. Kothari formula was used to draw the sample of the study which is 156. Data was collected through structured questionnaire to the wide respondents and interviews to collect data from the Key Informants. Quantitative data was analyzed through descriptive statistics and used mean, and standard deviation with SPSS analytical tool. Tables, figures and charts were used for data presentation through the help of Microsoft Excel package. Content Analysis with narrative technique was used to analyze the qualitative data. The finding of the study shows federalism as a solution to political instability in Somalia and that the systems ensure that all the clans are included in the governance of the country, the study also perceived that there is misunderstanding of the federalism its self and clash of clan interests which challenges federal system in the country, International community's different interests also trigger the obstacle that the federal system is not properly working in Somalia.. The study recommended that there is need for the political players to identify how they can changes the negative perception of federalism in order to ensure that it is able to be fully accepted among the citizen in Somalia; government through a proper implementation of federalism can ensure that all citizens are given an equal opportunity participate in Somalia's state-building process; Political players need to explore how best they can share political power through (4.5) formulae that is all inclusive of clan, gender and age; political players and power influencer should understand the why the previous the centralized system in Somalia failed in order to best understand to implement federal system. The international community needs to properly evaluate how best they can assist the federal government to attain high levels of success by helping in addressing the prevailing mistrust among the Somali political elites; there is need for increased sensitization on the merits and demerits of federalism in order for the people to understand that it is not only about clannish states or tribal affiliation but about the best system that can enhance both social and economic development; there is need for the political players and power influencers to identify the most appropriate form of federal system in order to identify the one which is most appropriate .

Keywords: *Federalism, Perception, Power sharing, state, Governance model, Somalia, Puntland, Challenges.*

CHAPTER ONE: INTRDUCTION

1.1. Background

Federalism is a system based upon-democratic rules and institutions in which the power to govern is shared between national and provincial/state governments, creating what is often called a federation. The term federalist describes several political beliefs around the world. Also, it may refer to the concept of parties; its members or supporters called the selves Federalists. Federalism is a system of government where the political territory is divided up into units endowed with their own governments, and these territories, or states, are united under a common government. Political scientists more formally done the complex intergovernmental relationship of federalism in one of two ways One emphasizes the distribution of authority between two levels of government, and the other emphasizes the relationship between the governments and the public. In the former category, Riker's definition is commonly employed: Federalism is a political organization in which the activities of government are divided between regional governments and a central government in such a way that each kind of government has some activities on which it makes decisions" (Riker W. , 1975).

More than 50 percent of the world‘s population live in countries are considered federal (Auer, 2005) In the African context, while some have argued that federalism has the potential to accommodate ethnic, religious, and racial diversity, others, including most of Africa’s independence heroes, have posited that federalism exacerbates division and enmity leading to fragmentation and ultimately the collapse of the nation state. However, it is debatable whether federalism may in and of itself contribute to accommodating diversity or exacerbating antagonism. (Baier, 2006).

It appears that, mainly due to the nationalist fervor that characterized post-independence Africa, the view that federalism is unnecessary and undesirable in the context of Africa has won the day (Bednar, 2006), although government power is decentralized to different levels in many states, the overwhelming majority of African countries have rejected a constitutionally sanctioned federal structure of government. (Brudney, 2003)

In Africa according to (Wheare, 1964) Federalism is the method of dividing powers so that the central and regional governments are each, within a sphere, coordinate and independent.

He said that the characteristics of this Federal Principle are the division of powers among levels of government, a written constitution showing this division of powers and co-ordinate not subordinate supremacy of the two levels of government.

The practice of federalism in Nigeria is one of the legacies the British colonial masters bequeathed to Nigeria. Local government is born out of federalism because federalism has to do with the division of power between the central and the component units local government is a component in a federal system, it is recognized as a third tier of government which is charged with the responsibility at the grass root (Wheare Kenneth, 1963).

In Ethiopia, in 1995 the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) adopted a new constitution that brought a fundamental transformation in Ethiopia's politics. The EPRDF adopted ethnic federal model, along with the right to self–determination, as a panacea to ethnic inequality and the challenges of ethno–national armed conflicts that beleaguered the old Ethiopian state (Amsalu, 2014)

Ethiopian citizens are categorized into their different ethno-linguistic groupings. Member units of the federation are molded by "settlement patterns, language, identity and consent of the people concerned as stated Ethiopian constitutions (Article 46(2)). Ethnic federalism is clearly expressed in the Preamble of the constitution which begins "We the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia." Whether minorities are specially acknowledged in the federal Parliament, or self-governed administrative units at the local level, the Nationality Right is a main feature of the constitution and also a factor in the determination of the division of power (Ibid).

The House of Federation is the sole custodian of the constitution. It has the exclusive right (Article 62(1)) and ultimate authority (Article 83) to interpret the constitution and this is its main function. The Council of Constitutional Inquiry was established in Article 62(2) to examine constitutional issues and to submit findings to the House of Federation. The Chief Justice of the Federal Supreme Court heads the Council. The House of Federation is not bound by the advisory opinion of the Council of Constitutional Inquiry.

The federal democratic republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) is comprised of the federal government and 10 member states (also referred to as "regional states") (Article 50). Member/ regional states are Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromiya, Somali, Benishangul/ Gumuz, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples, Gambella, and Harar (Article 47) although recently a new regional state Sidama has

voted for referendum as its sovereignty, The head of each member/regional state is called the President of the Region. He is head of the administration, Chief Executive and Chairman of the Executive Council of the state. The President of the Region is accountable to the Council of the Region (the name of each state legislature). The Executive Council is composed of the Chief Executive, Deputy Chief Executive and the members of heads of bureaus (Habtu, 2003)

In Somalia, Much of the discussion on future state dynamics evolved around the notion of federalism. It was recalled that the concept of federalism had been introduced into Somali politics during the 2002 to 2004 Mbagathi (Kenya) Peace Process, when it was largely uncritically adopted into the emerging draft constitution. The particular type of federalism that was to be adopted was left to be defined by the Transitional Federal Parliament at a later point in time. While there has been frustration that this task has not been achieved to date, it was recognized that the current government has an opportunity to shape this debate and move ahead (Farah, 2017)

1.2. Statement of the problem

Federalism as system has been a core problem that has raised debates and arguments among the Somali society. There is a lack of clear understanding and consensus about the concept of federalism in Somalia and how it will apply in the country among the Somalis. The state building process has been hard to be achieved due to mistrust among the Somali people. The failure of the 1960 unitary government and the 1991 civil war has put the country into protracted socio-political conflicts which lasted over a quarter century. The absence of a common understanding and consensus on the division and sharing of powers between the central government and the regional authorities has halted a speedy recovery and the reestablishment and rebuilding of Somalia as a nation (Khayre, 2016)

Although Federalism for Somalia has never been thoroughly debated among Somalis for their long term unity, stability and prosperity and Forced Federalism seem unworkable and counterproductive so that is why there is a need of legitimate consensus on the issue. Alternatively, there is quasi unanimous consensus on democratic system of governance with effective decentralization based on the distribution of finance, services, development and political power (Abdulle, 2016). It was recalled that the concept of federalism had been introduced into Somali politics for a long time Until now Somali people have confused It also

creates parallel federal, state and local systems of governance without national hierarchies and accountability this leads territory, Political and Resources Disputes. Because the people interpreted the federal system as clan based instead of Political System. If you look at Somali scholars, they are absolutely divided on which governance model is applicable in Somali politics. For example a well-respected Somali scholar Professor Hussein Adam argues that a con-federal system between Somaliland and Somalia should be used in order to keep them united since Somaliland proclaimed secession (Mohamed, 2020). On contrary, there are number of Somali intellectuals who had different take on than that Hussein. But the fact is that none of these models neither considered superior nor worse therefore the suitability of given model in a specific country needs to study deeply (Ibid). The overall research addresses on future state dynamics evolved around the notion of federalism. So the study investigates the assumption of the Somali people on Somalia's federal system.

1.3. Research Questions

1. What is the perception of the Somali people on federal system?
2. Does Somali federal structure is an internally driven one or externally imposed one?
3. Does the federal system is viable option and which system of federal governance is preferred by the Somali people?
4. Why federalism was not helpful to Somali people and what are the challenges?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

1.4.1. General objective of the study

The main objective of this study is to assess the Perception of Somali people towards the federal system that the country uses as a wheel from collapsed and transitional state to strong and viable nation.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives of the Study

1. To identify the perception of the Somali people on federal system
2. To identify the drivers of Somali federalism
3. To examine which system of federal governance is preferred by the Somali people to be adopted and to investigate viability of federal system to Somalia
4. To identify the challenges that subjacent Somalia's federal system

1.5. Significance of the Study

Each study has its worth. So this study discussed the Perception of the Somali people on federal system. The research provided information about community's Perception towards federal system, leaders, civil servants; civil society groups, decision makers and the wider community which helps them understand the concept of federalism and more specifically its applicability to the Somali context. It adds knowledge to the existing literature and filled the gap of a lack of enough knowledge of the federalism concept in Somalia giving deeper understanding to the society.

The study examined the federalism options and it is viability to Somali community which in turn increases the knowledge of the government institution which always prefers to know the perception of the community to the newly federal system in Somalia. It is also helpful for other researchers who are willing to make further research of federalism system, as well as students especially those at faculties of Politics, Social Sciences, Public Management and International Relations to use as reference for future study.

1.6. Scope of the Study

The study focused on the Perception of Somali people towards federal system, a case of Garowe Puntland Somalia between December, 2020 to October 2021, this time scope provides adequate information to the problem under investigation. The major variables which helped to investigate this research were the perception of federalism, drivers of the federal system in Somalia, the models of federal governance to be adopted and the viability of federal system in Somalia.

1.7 Limitations

The fact that federalism in Somalia is at its infancy and an ongoing subject, it is somewhat difficult to get adequate reference materials on the subject matter. Besides, time constraints and limitation of resources posed difficulties. Moreover, a number of institutions who have direct involvement in Somali affairs have failed to share their view on the subject understudy, again the tendency between those seeking central government and those searching decentralized system of governance scattered throughout all the regions and states, this limits the data boundaries in Puntland.

1.8. Operational Definitions of Key Terms

Federalism: a highly decentralized form of political decentralization of governmental authority, in which there is, shared rule in central government and self-rule in regional government.

Sensitivity: ability to react to stimuli or the quality of being sensitive.

Perception: a belief or opinion often held by many people and based on how things seem.

Unitary System: a sovereign state governed as a single entity. The central government is supreme, and the administrative divisions exercise only powers that the central government has delegated to them.

Centralized: a system of government usually practices partial liberal democracy and avails most of the powers for itself but delegates some petty powers and functions to municipalities e.g. Somalia in the 1960-1969.

Decentralized: a system of government practices liberal democracy and devolves adequate autonomous decision-making roles and powers to regions and districts to plan and carry out their socio- economic affairs.

Somaliland: the North-West region of Somalia, which is an unrecognized self-declared republic and internationally recognized as an autonomous region.

Puntland- This is the Northeastern region of Somalia officially known as Punt land, the communities in that area come together at 1998 and established that state in order to remain peace and prosperous character, this is the first state that established under the collapsed country which is not self-declared state as Somaliland and this state has wide influence towards the political arena of Somali country.

South West Somalia- Six regions in Southern Somalia make up the area of South west zone of Somalia which now consist two neighbored states.

1.9. Organization of the Study

The study was organized in five chapters. The first chapter insisted introduction, statement of the problem, questions that were answered in the study, objectives of the research, Significance of the research, scope and the limitation of the the study. The second chapter provided detailed review of literatures related to this topic among definitions, international federal systems African nations that inspire federalism, Ethiopia's federalism, political systems in Somalia, post civil-war Somali, the relevance of Federalism, drivers of federalism, options for decentralizations, importance of federalism and the conceptual framework of the subject matter to soften the understanding of the topic. The third chapter concerned with the description and the analysis of the study based on the data gathering from primary and secondary sources, research paradigm

and philosophical assumptions of the study, population study, sampling techniques and instruments of data collecting strategy, ethical considerations regarding the data collection instruments, techniques and validity of the study. Chapter four covered on data transferred in to information so it can be useful, it started by analyzing the data gathered and interpreting it in to meaningful way then reporting it in a tables and charts, the last chapter is conclusion and recommendations from the study.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Definitions and concepts of federalism

Federalism originally comes from the Latin word *foedus*, which means formal agreement.

"The definition of federalism is more contested and ambiguous. Some scholars of federalism define the term federalism in cultural and ideological terms while others incorporate to democracy and political stability" (Ziblatt, 1972)

Ziblatt defines federalism as the "relationship between a central government and its regional governments in strictly dichotomous terms" (Ziblatt, 1972)

Federalism as a concept has positive connotations for some and negative connotations for others depending on the context of the system. Federalism can be defined as a "combination of self-rule and shared rules" (Elazar D. J., 1987) while the classical narrow view of (Wheare Kenneth, 1963) is that federalism is "a method of dividing powers so that the general and regional governments are within a sphere of coordination and autonomy".

According to **Riker** (Riker, 1975) "Federalism is a political organization of government with set of activities that are divided for regional governments and a central government and each level of government has some activities on which it makes final decisions".

King (King, (1982))defines federalism as "a constitutional system that gives a division of authority between central and regional governments with good representation in the decision-making processes of the central government".

In this regard, however the concept of federalism seems to be ambiguous and federalism scholars find it impossible to agree on one common definition which varies from one country to another.

Mill specifically argues that, federal arrangements can accommodate minority nations who aspire to self-determination and the preservation of their culture, language or religion. Such autonomy and immunity arrangements are clearly preferable to the political conflicts that might result from such groups' attempts at secession. Central authorities may respond with human rights abuses, civil wars or ethnic cleansing to prevent such secessionist movements. Federal orders may increase the opportunities for citizen participation in public decision-making; through deliberation and offices in both member unit and central bodies that ensures character formation through political participation among more citizens.

Acton in support of federalism stated that federal arrangements may protect against central authorities by securing immunity and non-domination for minority groups or nations.

Constitutional allocation of powers to a member unit protects individuals from the center, while interlocking arrangements provide influence on central decisions via member unit bodies. Member units may thus check central authorities and prevent undue action contrary to the will of minorities:

"A great democracy must either sacrifice self-government to unity or preserve it by federalism. The coexistence of several nations under the same State is a test, as well as the best security of its freedom … The combination of different nations in one State is as necessary a condition of civilized life as the combination of men in society".

Acton further states that federal arrangements can also shelter territorially based groups with preferences that diverge from the majority population, such as ethnic or cultural minorities, so that they are not subject to majority decisions severely or systematically contrary to their preferences. Non-unitary arrangements may thus minimize coercion and be responsive to as many citizens as possible. Such considerations of economic efficiency and majority decisions may favor federal solutions, with "only indivisibilities, economies of scale, externalities, and strategic requirements acceptable as efficiency arguments in favor of allocating powers to higher levels of government".

Generally, federalism is a common word for countries that have adopted a federal political system but going down to the roots of the different federal systems, it is specified by the constitution of various nations. Comparatively, federalism is different in various countries and states and the type of federalism adopted by every country is stated in their constitutions and the form which they are going to use is dictated by the socio-economic, political and historical legacies of the country.

2.2. Political Systems in Somalia from 1960-1991

"In 1960, the former British and Italian territories merged by mutual agreement within days of independence to form the Somali Democratic Republic. Nationalists of both north and south united behind the leadership of the Somali Youth League. Most Somalis, however, saw this instance of unification as the only beginning" (Thomson, 2016)

"The country has embarked upon a parliamentary civilian political system as the country has experienced the first African democracy and four general elections were held based on a clan multi-party system in the first decade" (Ylonen, 2017) The civilian governments worked well

somehow, though they were marred by corruption, nepotism, misrule and tribalism which resulted in a lack of progress in the country. “Increased politicization of clan issues and stiff clan competitions in the politics became a result of a failed political system and gave rise to popular discontent and need for change.

In that regard, the political parties who were running for election have reached 64 clan based parties” (Kelly, 1999) Disappointment over the civilian government’s performance led to the assassination of president Sharmake and president Barre took over power in a bloodless coup d’état on 21st October 1969. The country’s fall into military hands led to one party system and a lifetime president.

Barre’s rule was marred by oppression and tyranny although in his tenure the country made progressive social programs and made tremendous change. However the speedy progress declined in the late 1970s. Due to the cruel acts of the tyrannical regime, the country’s unity has been disintegrating, political conditions deteriorated and clan loyalties came to the fore. Rebel groups emerged very soon and the country was mired in political waves and instability that led to the fall of Barre’s 21 year regime.

2.3. Post-Civil War Somalia

“As the major clans unified their opposition against Barre’s regime but had no common political vision for the future of Somalia” (Abukar, 2015) “The opposition groups promising Justice, equality and democracy took over almost all the parts of the country though their hopes turned into nightmares and armed conflicts resulted in the destruction of lives, properties and human displacement on its highest magnitude unheard in the Somali history. The SNM proclaimed independence of the Northern regions of Somalia” (Ylonen, 2017) the country went into turmoil and terrible clan disintegration.

According to Abukar, a “prolonged period of violence, lawlessness, power struggles, clan clashes and breakdown of institutions followed the removal of Barre’s regime” (Abukar, 2015)

International efforts of mediation and to ameliorate the humanitarian crisis were undertaken by regional and international partners as the crisis widened and deepened.

The country hosted the UN and US led the interventions UNISOM 1 and 2, and UNITAF which did not bear good fruits. Due to continued failed reconciliation conferences, there emerged faction leaders and warlords paralyzing the TNG. “In the light of Somalia collapse, the absence of law and order forced many Somali clans in the capital to form Sharia courts which gave birth to ICU and went to war against the TFG” (Ylonen, 2017)

As result of that war was the rise of Al-Shabab. Now, Somalia has a federal government and six other state government administrations as the country strives to defeat all forms of violence through decentralization.

2.4. The Relevance of Federalism

"The collapse of the nation-state project in many African countries in the 1980s and 1990s has been a recurring theme in many African countries and the enthusiasm to build new nations initially ignited in the wake of the anti-colonial movement" (Gana, (2003))

In recent years, "federalism has been increasingly viewed as an institutional solution to a broad range of problems" (Ziblatt, 1972) and therefore, "federalism is nevertheless one of the most important constitutional concepts and designs which enable legitimacy of political power to integrate and enhance the fragmentation of the society" (Fleiner, 2006)

Federalism solves political conundrums and helps disperse and separate power however it does not mean it is better than a confederal or a unitary system. Federalism has many advantages over centralism. Federalism allows flexibility and reduces conflicts while accommodating the interests of the citizens and diversities making the achievement of national policies and goals easier. On the other hand, federalism comes with diverse dilemmas that also make it a hard system. Federalism increases complexity and confusion whilst increasing conflict when jurisdictional lines are not clear in between the state and central government. Federalism as a system reduces accountability while reducing coordination in both state and central government (Smith, (2014).)

It is justifiable to contend that federalism is a viable political system that can create a sound unity and autonomy. In the US, independence wars and the American civil war created the concerns of creating a government which is strong enough to provide stability. They were also equally afraid of autocracy and mob rule in the country which led to the demand for a federal government and separation of powers (Vile, 2007)

The United States is not the only nation that embraced federalism but in fact, in the recent years, several nations have relied upon federalism as the middle ground for distributing political power (Gerston, 2015)

Malaysia has also adopted a constitutional monarchy with a prime mister that runs government affairs who is elected democratically and a king selected amongst the nine state rulers on rotation basis selected every five years by the conference of the rulers (Albar, 2014)

Ethiopia has adopted ethnic federalism as an instrument of managing complex ethno-linguistic diversity of the country and thus reducing conflicts. The federal restructuring of Ethiopia is related to failed nation-building due to tyranny and misrule from previous centralized governments (Kefale, 2013)

According to IRIN news, the major challenges of federalism in Somalia's context are the lack of civic education, distribution of resources between state and national governments, and the status of Garowe as the capital of Puntland state (IRINNews., 2014) the adoption of a federal system must necessarily have both autonomy and collaboration among the various groups that make up the state.

2.5. Drivers of Federalism

2.5.1. Domestic Drivers

According to Elmi, the first and the "most important domestic driver to decentralization is the prevailing mistrust in the Somali political elites" (Elmi A. A., 2014)however this mistrust is not only bound to the political elites but also there are wide mistrusting in and among the Somali people at large. This mistrust was created by pre-colonial clan conflicts, colonial legacies and post-independence clan grievances, conflicts and atrocities perpetrated by both government and non-government actors. The 1988 atrocities against the Somali civilians in Hargeisa by the military regime and the 1991 clan cleansing committed by General Aideed in Mogadishu and some other parts of Somalia reinforced the mistrust.

Secondly, "the previous centralized system in Somalia was the second domestic driver of decentralization. Somalis have been forced to travel to Mogadishu to acquire a passport and other vital services. The citizens outside the capital lacked essential government services and many communities outside the capital of the country were marginalized". The centralized system has also resulted in a lack of political participation and belongingness from people outside the capital. "The periphery regions lacked development programs while consistently prioritizing the development of Mogadishu and equitable sharing and distribution of resources was highly needed as profound demand for greater local autonomy and efforts to maintain centralized government was there" (Elmi A. A., 2014)

2.5.2. External Drivers

There are external drivers of decentralization; mainly that it was pushed by the neighboring countries and the international and donor community. First, the "neighboring countries particularly Kenya and Ethiopia have never avoided intervention and engagement in Somalia's national and sub-national politics". Both countries have the fear of the threat of a greater Somalia thus fueling instability in the country. Secondly, the international donor community has demonstrated their preference for a decentralized system of governance in Somalia.

"The donor community has been working with non-central state actors legitimizing the authority of the sub-national actors at the expense of the FGS" (Elmi A. A., 2014)

2.6. Options for Decentralization

2.6.1. Literature on Governance Models

Many countries have experienced civil wars since the end of the Cold War in 1990. Most ended either through a military victory for one group (e.g. Rwanda, Uganda, and Ethiopia) or through a negotiated settlement (e.g. South Africa and Mozambique). Regardless of the way civil wars ended, leaders have faced the difficult tasks of designing suitable institutions that would regulate political, economic and cultural conflicts within their societies. Somalia is no exception.

A team led by Ioan Lewis and James Mayall published *A Study of Decentralised Political Structures for Somalia: a Menu of Options* in 1995. The study briefly explained the four mechanisms that political scientists often propose when designing governance institutions for divided societies: Confederalism, federalism, consociationalism, and decentralized unitarism. In the following section, the report briefly revisits the main features of these four models and presents the arguments of Somali and non-Somali scholars prescribing them.

Inferences that can be drawn from the last 2 decades and half is that federalism as a formal binding agreement separating power of the national state and the local state is a solution. In fact, in this system states should give up some powers to the national and/or regional one while each one has to retain some power for itself. Federalism is, therefore, a way of sharing power between the two layers of governments. The two levels of states should basically agree on amendment in the constitution, as one level is not constitutionally empowered to so. However, as there are various forms of federalism Somalia would need to sort out the form that best fits her. According to Preston King, there are three ways in which federalism is categorized i.e. coming together,

holding together and putting together. Coming together; states independent of each other will join forces and agree on establishing a common state shared by all without losing identity and territorial integrity, while everything is mutually shared among partner states. United States of America and Australia are good example of it.

Holding together; is a situation in which a state divides power between central government and regional government. In this way, regions will be, democratically consulted on the degree of self-rule they will have. However the central government is more powerful than the peripheral one and the amount of power relegated could vary from region to another, Belgium is another example. Putting together federalism form, is form where centralized government might use force to institutes a state, some of these states might have been free before they were coerced to be part of the new one. USSR has done this (Adimassu, 2015).

2.6.2. Co federalism

Co federalism is loosely defined as a 'union of states'. Independent States 'confederate' to establish common and complimentary policies (Elazar D. J., 1987) The European Union is often provided as an example of a confederation. Constituent states retain sovereignty—thus making it a weaker union than that of a federation—but are obliged, by terms of the confederation, to adhere to particular polices on, for example, trade, fiscal policy, immigration, defense, and justice. Member states are also able to veto or 'opt-out' of policies that are considered harmful to their interests (Golove, 2003)

Hussein Adam, writing in 1994 in the edited volume *Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa: Federalism andit's Alternatives,* identifies confederalism as a possible path to maintaining ties between Somaliland and Somalia. "It is likely," Adam writes, "that internal and international circumstance may oblige the Republic of Somaliland, in time, to reconsider full independence and opt for some link with the nation’s capital in a confederal state" (1994).

Lewis and Mayall also considered the confederation system to be a potentially viable model explaining: European experience here may have potential relevance for Somalis: one of the motives inspiring European Union was to prevent a repetition of the two European wars that also engulfed the world in conflict earlier this century. At some point in the future, and in conformity with traditional political values, it would be possible for the different Somali regions or states to create common institutions and policies. Somalis could then work together in central agencies,

with representation from each state or region protected by the sovereign status of each region and by the right to veto, or opt-out of unwelcome proposals (Lewis, 1995)

Richard Dowden, in an article written for the African Arguments blog, agrees with Lewis and Mayall. Using the Swiss confederation as a model for Somalia, He argues that there are potential benefits of the opt-out clause: The way people live and are governed [in Switzerland] is decided locally. The Swiss confederation means that cantons [sub-divisions of the country] have joined the state willingly and can leave if they want. To allow the government in Mogadishu to run the cityn= perhaps the Benadir region, but no further. Negotiations should then take place region by region about the relationship between them and the capital, leaving power in local—not national—hands (Dowden, 2011)

Roland Marchal and Ken Menkhaus, responding to Dowden's article, disagree. Marchall identifies the growth of Islamism in the 1990s and early 2000s as, in part, "a nationalistic reaction to what many Somalis interpreted as a balkanization of Somalia… On [sic] should stop identifying [the] State-building process with a UNDP/NGO project," Marchal continues, "and see it as it is: messy, contradictory, often coercive and bloody, and much longer that a diplomatic assignment or a UN contract," (Marchal, 2011). Menkhaus' response, meanwhile, is more concerned about the inevitable rise of ethno-states in a federal or con-federal Somalia. Pointing to Somaliland and Puntland as examples of future con-federal states,

Viable recent examples of con-federalism, as a solution to conflict, do not exist. The Senegambia Confederation, established in 1982 between two previously independent states and dissolved in 1989, failed to bring the countries closer to one another as the Gambian government resisted what it perceived as Senegalese domination.

2.6.3. Federalism

According to ***Ronald L. Watts,*** Defined federalism as the "combination of shared-rule and regional self-rule within single political system so that neither is subordinate to another" (Watts, 1996) in a federal arrangement, sovereignty is divided between national and sub national governments along territorial lines (Wheare, 1964)

According to its proponents, federalism provides each member state with stronger defense against external threats, and boosts each member state's economies through an expanded trading

zone and labor pool. Citizens of federal states are given greater opportunity to participate in political developments through the election of multiple layers of authorities. Minority communities, when concentrated in particular locations in the country, can, in theory, govern themselves in cultural and linguistic areas that separate them from the majority without fear of domination (Schuk, 2006)

2.6.4. Co-socia nationalism

The term 'con-social nationalism' was popularized by ArendLijphart. It is commonly understood to refer to non-majoritarian or consensus democracy. Group representation along ethnic, religious, lingual or, in the case of Somalia, clan lines, is guaranteed. Majority domination is averted through power-sharing agreements and the formations of coalitions representing all groups in society are encouraged, (Andewag, 2000).

Governments adhering to consociationalist principles often provide minority groups with considerable autonomy. Consociationalism departs from other forms of decentralization by ensuring representation along non-territory specific lines. Minority groups are guaranteed representation in government regardless of territorial cohesion.

Somalia has practiced consociation list politics. The ***4.5 (four-point-five)*** clan-based power-sharing formula resulted from a meeting among factions under the umbrella of the National Salvation Council, also known as the ***Sodere Group***. The formula provides equal political representation to the four clan families in Somalia - the ***Darood, Digil and Mirifle, Dir and Hawiye-*** with a number of smaller clans receiving, cumulatively, half representation.

The 4.5 system is demonstrated in the House of the People of the Federal Parliament of Somalia in which, ***of 275 seats***, the four major clans are each guaranteed 61 seats, with the remaining 32 seats allocated to 'minority' clans. The 4.5 system is fiercely defended by the political and intellectual class coming from clans historically marginalized by the previously domineering Darood and Hawiye clans. When former Prime Minister and now current President Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo condemned the use of the 4.5 system at Muqdisho in 2010, he publicly criticized by Puntland parliamentarians, this in turn reflects that some states prefer 4.5 system while others may prefer federal system.

Somali scholars, including ***Mohamed Hajji Mukhtar*** have argued that the **4.5** arrangement was an important development in Somalia, though it should be considered as a temporary

mechanism, with free and fair elections ultimately offering a more sustainable system of governance (Mukhtar M. H., 2007). Critics of consociationalism and the 4.5 system alike have argued that it reinforces existing divisions is society by institutionalizing them (Samatar, 2007; Eno, 2009) Further, they argue that representation without cohesion or effective leadership among groups is meaningless

Con-sociationalism assumes the groups represented have a common agenda with strong leaders able to articulate that agenda. Some rights are thereby awarded to communities rather than individuals. Others have argued that the 4.5 arrangement is not representative enough, that the formula should be changed from 4.5 to 5 providing 'minority' clans with greater representation in national politics. Cabinet formations under President Hassan Sheikh have been based on the 5, rather than 4.5, distribution model.

Somali women, largely excluded from clan-based politics, were also given a 30% quota of parliamentary seats though they only secured 13% of the total MPs. Both the 4.5 and 5 power-sharing arrangements, arguably, also serve the political elite well, providing them with an excuse not to advance citizenship-based politics. Meritocracy is sacrificed in all government institutions for representation.

Further, in practice despite apparent equal representation between the four clan-families, Hawiye and Darood politicians continue to dominate the political landscape in Somalia with each clan assuming either positions of president or prime minister for the past decade. For the proponents, consociationalist politics have served a positive purpose in Somalia. Further policies to promote greater representation of minority and marginalized groups are widely encouraged. Women and youth groups continue to advocate for greater representation in national politics otherwise dominated by male elders.

Proportional representation and positive discrimination for marginalized communities may serve to increase the legitimacy of the current government. Consociationalist policies alone, however, are unlikely to result in significant progress toward democratization and inclusive citizenship beyond the status quo. A system that subordinates individual citizenship rights to group based collectivist entitlement is not sustainable as neither clans nor citizens are equal.

2.6.5. Devolution

Decentralization defined as "transfer of authority, responsibility and resources—through de-concentration, delegation or devolution—from the centre to lower levels of administration" (Cheema, (2007).)Devolution, Rondinelli asserts, is the most "extreme form of decentralization" in which the central government establishes "independent levels and units of government" (Rondelli, 1980) It also provides them with the authority, responsibility, and resources in order to make decisions and implement them. The United Kingdom provides the most relevant example of devolution in recent history. The central government in London devolved powers to the Scottish Parliament and assemblies in Wales, and Northern Ireland. Devolution transfers authority to defined entities which, together, are still united under one sovereign central government. Although some negotiations are involved, devolution is a top-down model of decentralization in which central governments delegate authorities to regional administrations or the private sector.

Decentralization is often criticized for establishing multiple interwoven layers of administration (Parker, 1995; Rodden, 2004)in the majority of cases of decentralization; authority is shared, either between the central government and local government, or between multiple layers of local governments. As Jonathan Rodden suggests, "when decentralization amounts to adding layers of government and expanding areas of shared responsibility, it might facilitate blame shifting or credit claiming, thus reducing accountability. Even worse, in countries already suffering from corruption, it might lead to competitive rent-seeking and "overgrazing" of the bribe base" (Rodden, 2004)

Article 86 of the 1960 Somali Constitution, *Administrative Decentralization,* states that, "whenever possible, administrative functions shall be decentralized and performed by the local organs of the State and by public bodies". Writing for Hiil-Qaran Political Party recently, Abdirizak Haji Hussein, former prime minister of Somalia (1964 to 1967), wrote that: …a decentralized unitary system, with guarantees of regional or local autonomy, would be more, much more, appropriate for the Somali Republic. The unitary decentralized system provides not only regional/local capacitating but it’s also more pragmatic and cost-effective. Though regional/local autonomy should be constitutionally guaranteed, its implementation should be contingent on each region’s demonstrable administrative ability to undertake such duties and

responsibilities. Once such capability is verified a transfer of such a mandate should be constitutionally delineated and put into action (Hussein, 2011).

Ali A. Hersi argues that the unitary system in Somalia is often wrongly conflated with military dictatorship. Rejection of over-centralization of the state, he contends, does not necessitate federalism. "Many Somalis, who apparently do not have an adequate grasp of what a federal system entails, are using this political concept rather loosely, to simply mean a form of administrative decentralization only" (Hersi, 2004)

Devolution occurs within a unitary state despite featuring decentralization. Sovereignty, ultimately, remains with the central government. The unitary state remains the most common form of governance worldwide with more than 75 per cent states worldwide maintaining unitary systems. The overwhelming majority of democratic states are unitary, the unitary state should, therefore, not be equated with authoritarianism and centralization.

2.7. Empirical Reviews

Peter H. Schuk identifies four distinct paths to federalism:

1) Pre-existing regions or colonies unite to form one federal state (e.g. the United States)

2) A colonialist or imperial force imposes a federal arrangement on a given nation-state (e.g. the United Kingdom imposing federalism on Australia)

3) A federal state is created through military conquest (e.g. Germany following World War II)

4) An existing nation-state decides to establish a federal system to accommodate different groups within that state (e.g. South Africa and Belgium) (Schuk, 2006)

According to its proponents, federalism provides each member state with stronger defense against external threats, and boosts each member state's economies through an expanded trading zone and labor pool. Citizens of federal states are given greater opportunity to participate in political developments through the election of multiple layers of authorities. Minority communities, when concentrated in particular locations in the country, can, in theory, govern themselves in cultural and linguistic areas that separate them from the majority without fear of domination (Schuk, 2006)

In Somalia, as Mohamed H. Mukhtar noted, the HizbiaDasturMustaqil al-Somalia (HDMS) political party, representing the historically marginalized Digil and Mirifle clan families, was the

first party to propose a federal structure for Somalia prior to independence in 1960 (Mukhtar M. , 1989). The proposal did not gain traction at the time with most of the political elite favoring the unitary model. Globally, of 202 recognized independent states in the world, just 25 have adopted federalism, though, according to the Forum of Federations, these states account for more than 40 per cent of the world's population (Forum of Federations, n. d.). Federal states often feature large populations. Each of the three existing federal states on the African continent—Nigeria, Ethiopia, and South Africa—are among the five most populous countries on the continent. Somalia's total population—approximately 15 million—is smaller than the population of some federal members states in Nigeria, Ethiopia, and South Africa.

Lewis and Mayall suggest that federalism may provide an effective compromise between groups seeking a centralized system of governance and those seeking a decentralized system of governance (Lewis and Mayall, 1995). In such a system, a central, federal government of Somalia will continue to exist alongside regional governments. The United Arab Emirates (UAE), they claim, may provide a useful model for Somalia.

Veteran Somalia observer Mohamed Abshir Waldo, likewise, sees federalism as a viable solution to the political crisis in Somalia. While explaining the establishment of Puntland state, he states that the verdict of the federalism choice was based on three considerations: 1) that this system of zonal self-governing was the best approach that Somali communities could, under the circumstances, heal and overcome the fear, hatred and distrust of the bloody civil war; 2) that it offered a middle solution between an autocratic, centralized system of governance and outright secession; and 3) that decentralization empowered district and regional communities and offered more balanced and more productive socio-economic development opportunities
(Waldo, 2010).

Federalism's viable option for Somalia:

Somalia is not a multicultural country with critical cultural and religious antagonisms and is not home to mutually exclusive ethnic or racial groups that earnestly desire to be separate from each other and would, therefore, require constitutional guarantees for their continued existence in separation in a secure multicultural political environment. There is hardly any part of this country that can stand by itself as a viable federal unit. Most likely, the only thing that will result from the plan to make Somalia federal is the break up the country into several clans based,

exclusive and economically non-viable units, and the creation of these clan enclaves will in all likelihood only exacerbate the clan hostilities that the civil war has generated. With the creation of these clan cantonments the trend towards national integration will be reversed and clan identities will begin to cast a menacing shadow over Somali ethnic identity, which under the circumstances is bound soon be gone with the wind. Federalism, therefore, is not the right choice for Somalia (Hersi, 2004)

According to the previous Transitional Charter and the current Provisional Constitution, Somalia has officially been a federal state since 2004. Transitional governments prior to the current Federal Government of Somalia, involving two presidents and number of prime ministers have all failed to implement effectively and efficiently.

2.8. Arguments for and against Federal System in Somalia

The notion to form decentralized power sharing Federal System in Somalia was came to known aftermath the collapse of the dictatorship of Siad Barre regime in 1991. Simply because the practical illustrations of the abortion and the length of the failure of 31 years Unitary State of Somali Democratic Republic became so apparent. The big question in here is, can the House be built without laying the appropriate foundation, and the answer is simply no, if establishment of the Federal Government of Somalia is an agreeable solution, we cannot put the **Horse before the Cart** meaning some of the public opinions against this notion of federalism are weakening the possibilities to form this federal system in the absence of building agreeable a central government of Somalia, so the imposition of this idea can justify the raising gestures of clan and regional irritations against one another due to this ambiguity of the state –building process in Somalia as this decentralization federalism model. However, Somalia has become a place that deserves to be reviled and described as an international disaster area due to the decades of insurgencies, civil wars, political and religious conflict, human disasters, natural disasters, piracy, heaven of terrorism, dumping the toxic waste as well as internal destruction that has engulfed the country in many ways, similarly the state building project in Somalia has suffered many incompatible and competing actors both at domestic, regional and international levels. Therefore, the state formation, and overall state-building process is hampered by those irreconcilable actors. “In the absence of a hegemonic group, Somalia depended upon the formation of a political settlement among the different violent actors.

On the other hand, the political struggles amongst the international community members themselves made Somalia the worsens case scenario because the solution of the problems of Somalia cannot be solved by internationally mandatory project, but diagnosing this chronic insecurity conditions in Somalia, locally driving and locally led approaches can be more effective instrument than the external interventions based on the neocolonialism, and realism concepts of the Western overriding platform of politics and security Thus, competing over the natural resources is an indicative measure that has no any proper legal accounts but it is more ad hoc or nullified process that can raise a new paradigm of conflict in Somalia."Somalia is slowly emerging from two decades of protracted civil wars but still carries numerous scars from a state collapse. External influence, particularly the Cold War contest over Somalia's strategic position on the Horn of Africa and its internal dynamics led to the collapse of the military Dictatorship of Siad Barre in 1991" (DANIDA, 2014)

Meanwhile the Somali Federal Government in South- central and its regional and wider international supporters have, until now, put most efforts into top-down political dealings giving cover for externally - driven military objectives, rather than working locally – won legitimacy (ICG, 2014. P. 20), this notion which has been described by the ICG is the central to all narratives towards Somalia's state-building process, because many domestic and even international actors do believe that the state- building of Somalia must be stimulated within the consent of the citizens in Somalia and decreasing the level of dependence of the external supports, Somaliland which is declared its independence in 1991 is classical example and champion as such an inspiring model of the bottom up state-building process.

Based on the above mentioned in depth analysis, there are arguments and counter- arguments about the possibilities and chances to form workable state structures in Somalia, notably, the possibilities to form a decentralized power sharing based on a Federal System of Somalia is not an authentic and valid choice at moment but may not be forever. Currently the attitude and assumptions of the entire society in Somalia is so hard to sort out due to many enclaves, brutality among vicinities, and possibility to identify community activists who are willing to defend or being devoted the harmony, and national identity of Somalia. In some extent both groups have plenty of justifications, but building the foundation of the central system based on the power sharing model deserves to be accentuated for and most elites in Garowe are encouraging such

opinion but in contrary the some states in the federal government are entirely vary from this perspective, because they have strong concentration on the federalism system that they are hopefully believe it is worthwhile and only credible representation that Somalia can today wish to survive on the expenses of internationally led efforts. Since the Transitional Federal Government up to date, there is some inconsistent of power sharing (4.5) because mainly President and Prime Minister mostly comes from Hawiye and Darood clans while speaker of the parliament comes from Digile/Mirifle the Southwestern largest populated groups, The rest clans Dir and Minorities known as the (five clan) are claiming for being avoided the high rank positions of the government since there is no first past post-election or One man One Vote Poll Multi Parties In the Country.

"The Somalia federal Government's new policy of doing away with the federalism that brought it to power poses a threat to the country's progress towards stability" (Mohamoud, 2015) The current administration of Somalia has a provisional constitution at hand without Implementation tools in place. Moreover, the constitution is not complete and has not been publically ratified except 850 constituents from the federal states those made amendments in July, 2012. This leaves the entire constitution wide open to disparate and divergent interpretations and as such could be corrupted by an administration that does not support key provisions in the current constitution. For example, according to Section 1 of Article 1 of the new provisional constitution adopted on August 1, 2012, Somalia is defined as a federal, Sovereign, and Democratic Republic founded on inclusive representation of the people, a multiparty system advised by social justice towards the country's different regions. Although, this constitutional framework has at least provided some demarcation between government officials but there are recurrent conflict based on power struggle between three constitutional bodies of the state as the President, the Prime minister and the Speaker, therefore, this is depicting a structural conflict must be inventible since former successive Prime Ministers Abdi Farah Shirdon and Abdiweli Sheikh Ahmed and recent Speaker Of the house of the Representatives lost their positions of the government." (Dr. Somane, 2018)

2.9. The Nature of the Society and Characteristics of the Federal System

It is indisputable that people of Somalia are egalitarian society who is mostly relied on pastoral and ecological resources, it is estimated that more than 90% are peasant society, who are below

under the poverty line – live Sub- Sahara – Africa, and Muslim Suni, social organization – so fragmented move from one place to another by seeking grace and water resources. Tribal affiliation, clan superiority, retaliations, individualism, stereotyping and clan politics dominated the entire spectrum of political settings and social demographic settlements.

It is worth to note that Somalia's model of federalism is merely theoretical, compared to the nature and characteristics of federal states which a small number of African countries practice. It is for this reason that one can argue how Somalia is far from fulfilling the required criteria for federalism; even the Somalia's Constitution which was approved in the late 2012 has not defined and outlined clearly the concept of federalism.

Moreover, countries that practice workable federal systems have qualified either through separate colonial systems of the federating parts or ethnic variations. Somalia has not attained these features due to the fact that it had two colonial experiences those were Italy of south and British of north Somaliland. "For instance Ethiopia has more than 85 ethnic communities; hence, ethnicity is the underlying organizing principle of Ethiopia's federal parliamentary democracy. Article one of the 1996 Ethiopian constitution states that Ethiopia is a federal State. The Parliament is made up of the House of Peoples' Representatives and the House of Federation, whose members are elected either by state councils or through popular elections. The highest executive authority in Ethiopia resides in the Prime Minister. Federal powers deal with issues of national concern, including economic and social development, national standards and policy criteria for health and education, defense, federal police, foreign policy, foreign commerce and immigration".(Forum for Federations). In contrast to Somalia, it is difficult to perform this criteria based on phenomena of advance decentralized power sharing, Since Somalia today has six federal member states in number including Somaliland reclaimed its independent and self-determination in 1991 and hence there are unclear and deficiencies form of a federal system, taking lessons from the above mentioned neighbor country that put the federal system into practice. Somalia is needed to follow the successful lessons and experimentations made by its fellow African countries and the advanced world as well, otherwise it seems to be a political delusion that cannot address and pursue agreeable framework that may accommodate the current fragmentation in Somalia.

2.10. Main Challenges of Federalism in Somalia

2.10.1. Political Power Sharing

As (Galvanek, 2017) addressed some scholar's urges Somalia's constitution should and have to indicate long term strategy of the division of power through horizontally and vertically (Judiciary, Legislature and Executive) Fiscal policies and redistribution of scarce resources. Less on-sight coverage on critical issues in the constitution tended fragile and ambiguities the new crawling Somali administrations, various fundamental issues urgently need to be expressed as a national agendas in the first move of administration this can be immigration strategies, fiscal arrangements, resources sharing and intergovernmental transfers which need to be clear as crystal on the constitution to ovoid inconsistencies and mistakes in the legislature section.

Clear lines of responsibility and roles is necessary in order to main good governance, beside on federal government and federal member states less clear line of roles and responsibilities, federal higher officials face Lack of clear responsibility among themselves, this has been witnessed during 2022 Somalia's election process as the president and the prime minister confronted on certain issues, these debate need to be expressed and solved subsequently (Ibid).

2.10.2. Security Consternation

As Samuel (2019) indicated the fact that Somalia's governance cannot afford to run activities across all the country is that Al-shabaab controls certain strategies districts and transportation veins, more specifically more rural areas remained in the hands of Al-Shabaab which made the formation of local government for a number of districts located in the central and southern part of the country difficult, targeted killings of local administrators, regional officers and traditional elders by Al-Shabaab led federalism to not actually prosper in Somalia. Al-Shabaab's strategy of exploiting tribe partnerships and counter-coalitions has all neutralized federalism flourishing in Somalia. Some administration critics, in spite of all proof unexpectedly, have argued that federalism is a model imposed by neighbors of Somalia with the intentional goal to debilitate the state (Samuel, 2019).

2.10.3. Clan Conundrum

Clan conflicts and interest always remains high in Somali context during political mainstreaming, drafted constitution expressed that two and more of collapse regime regions can perform one state, different clans settle in each region which address themselves as the majority of that region and tending other clans to be minority in that region or new comers, this increases the grievances and the inconsistency to establish government or to decentralize a system of federal, additionally clans interest of government ideologies is much more risk than usual disputes, Some clans may prefer federalism its self while others may see federal system a notion which is not preferable for their interests, eventually clans dispute over regional boundaries obstacles federalism as there is no clear line of district and regional demarcations.

Lockhart (2014) pointed out that, what is entrancing about federalism is the uniqueness of every nation's own version, fit to its shared interests and situations. Switzerland, for instance, is an extraordinary illustration of an express that has embraced an effective rendition of federalism to build a lasting peace and finish conflict among its "multi-ethno linguistic-strict society." Somalia is not however, a multi-ethnic state, which is the "theoretical legitimization for a nation to consolidate self-rule with a shared rule." Unlike other government states on the globe, there are more dividing factors in Somalia than the uniting factors (Lockhart, 2014).

2.10.4. Regional Politics

Heavy armies operating Somali soil and massive security considerations indicate Somalia’s strategic regional location and political role which tended to host Ethiopian, Kenyan, Ugandans and Djiboutian armies in the south and central Somalia.

Somalia’s relation with foreign countries remain calm and constant since transitional federal government, neighboring countries have big interests in Somalia, as Elmi A (2006) indicated Djibouti role is obvious as enormous of its population are Somali and much more Somali businessmen intersect with Djibouti businessmen and have relations with each other, Djibouti also takes vital part on Somalia’s state building and peace process as hosted Arta Conference 2001 which eventually give birth of Somalia’s power sharing notion 4.5 system though the system started from Soderre conference in Ethiopia 1997 (Elmi A. A., 2006).

Ethiopia has been linked in Somalia's civil war because of its own interests. Ethiopia has a long history of intervention and rivalry in Somalia. Ethiopia's troops have entered Somalia on numerous occasions since the collapse of the Somali state in 1991. It has obviously insisted various aspects in Somalia during the last two decades. In 2006, Ethiopia invaded Somalia with backing from the US to tackle the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), the first administration forwarded a degree of stability in Mogadishu for six month since the collapse of the state in 1991 (Ibid).

Moreover, Ethiopia has focused mainly on reviling groups that can serve as a buffer along its borders, many of which are hostile to the federal government. This encompasses Somaliland and the State of Puntland. Ethiopia, encouraging its own structure of "ethnic federalism" is a powerful supporter of federalism in Somalia, and forwarded apparently rational "bottom-up" approach to state building. Many Somalis, many this as a deception to hold their country weak and fragmented, and this is very much part of the animosity of numerous to foreign pressure for the SFG to really hand over control. Despite being overstated, Ethiopia is careful about a powerful central Somali state, particularly if it is near to countries seen as enemy to Addis Ababa (Ingiriis, 2018).

Kenya is a recent active role player in Somalia. Nairobi powerfully interceded in 2011 to establish its own assistance state and encourage the flux of more than 0.5 million Somali displaced people presently living in the country. Kenya is part of AMISOM, and obviously pursues its national interests. In Jubaland, Kenya preferred support to Ahmed Madobe, its most powerful proxy leader. Kenya building buffer state in Jubaland state which locates in the long Kenya-Somalia border, relations facilitated looting huge amount of money and charcoal resources to Kenya without federal state agreement and creation of hostile relation between Federal government and Jubaland State in the southern part of the country (Abdi, 2017).

2.11. Significance of federalism

Proponents argue that federalism does the following:

- **Fosters state loyalties**: Many Somalis feel close ties to their home state, and federalism maintains that connection by giving power to the states.
- **Creates laboratories of democracy:** State governments can experiment with policies, and other states (and the federal government) can learn from their successes and failures.

- **Lead to political stability:** By removing the national government from some contentious issue areas and this can lead to stability.
- **Encourages pluralism:** Federal systems expand government on national, state, and local levels, giving people more access to leadership and opportunities to get involved in their government.
- **Ensure the separation of powers and prevents tyranny:** Even if one person or group took control of all three branches of the federal government, federalism ensures that state governments would still function independently.

2.12. Research Gap

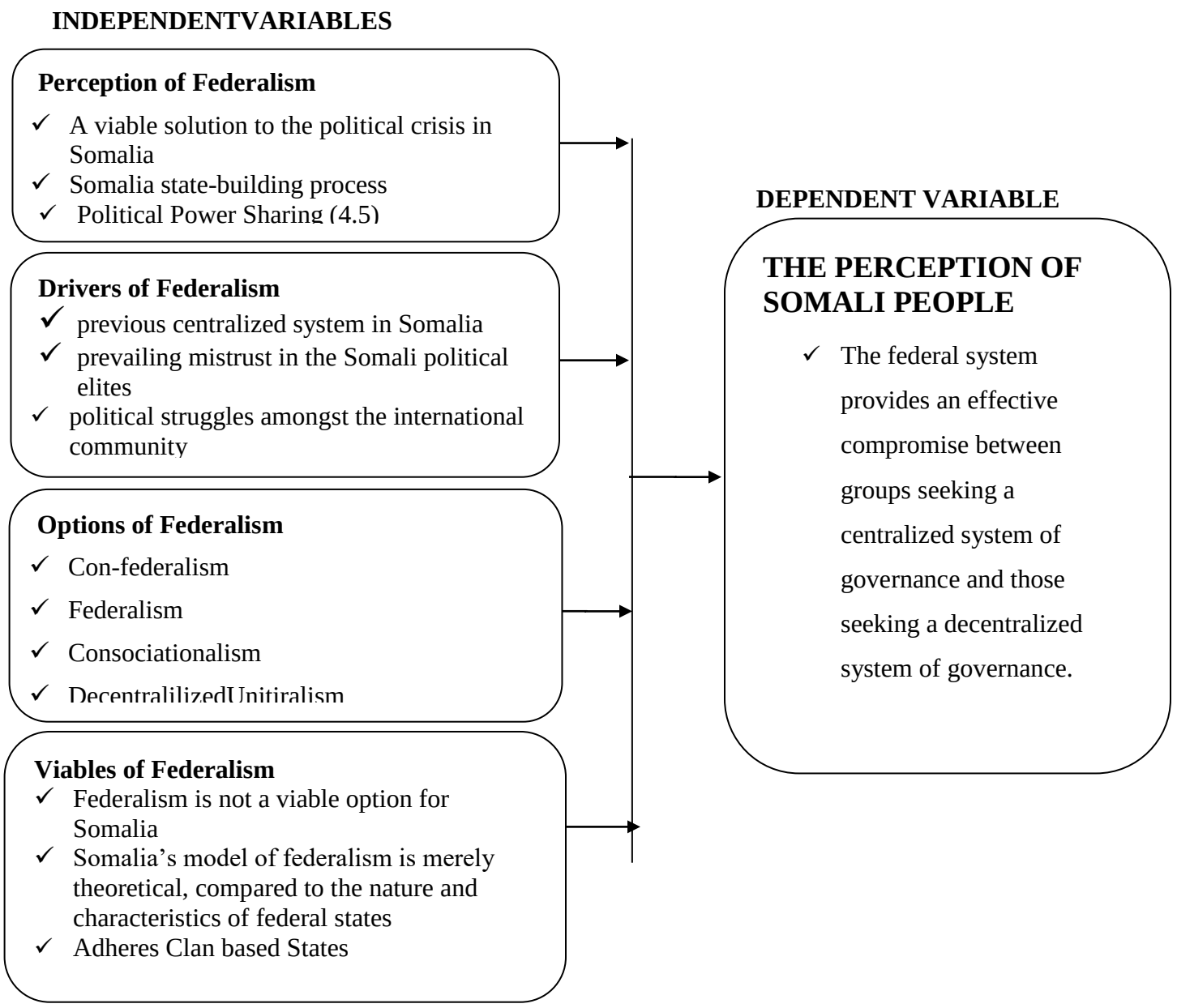
The most literatures in this study in the country, most researchers those are conducted were not experience to this study as they mostly focusing on government Institutions only, however the researcher has reasons that inspire him to conduct this research in the study area. Therefore detail investigation in this study were mostly related to other areas and the impact in one area may not be the same with the other area due to its different circumstances, hence this research's gap is the arguments for and against federal system in Somalia, some researchers are arguing the possibilities to form a decentralized power sharing based on a Federal System of Somalia is not an authentic and valid choice at moment but may not be forever. While others also arguing The federal system that Somalia aspires is really contrary the popular 14 doctrine of the federalism for example in every main clan established its own autonomous region which consist of two or three and more regions that form current federal system and which is unlikely to match the pre-determined criteria of federalism, so now the federalism in Somalia is based on clanism or tribal affiliation and the concept of statehood formation in Somalia is indispensable encountered a biggest constrains and new political trajectory that can trigger or accelerate a cycle of conflict and hostility among clans who live side by side in same locality.

2.13. Conceptual Frame Work

In the conceptual framework below shows the relationship between independent and dependent variables. Holds that, conceptual framework is used in research outline the possible courses of action or the preferred approach to an idea. Hence in this conceptual frame work below illustrated shows the Dependent Variable (IV) of the Perception of Somali people and four

Independent variables those are drivers of federalism, options of federalism and the viablility of federal system toward Somalia.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual frame work



Researcher's Own Computation, 2021.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Philosophical Assumptions

A research philosophy is a belief about the way in which data about a phenomenon should be gathered, analyzed and used. The term epistemology (what is known to be true) as opposed to doxology (what is believed to be true) encompasses the various philosophies of research approach. The purpose of science, then, is the process of transforming things believed into things known: doxa to episteme. Two major research philosophies have been identified in the Western tradition of science, namely positivist (sometimes called scientific) and interpretivist (also known as antipositivist), (Galliers, 1991). Positivists believe that reality is stable and can be observed and described from an objective viewpoint (Levin, 1988), i.e. without interfering with the phenomena being studied. Interpretivists contend that only through the subjective interpretation of and intervention in reality can that reality be fully understood. The study of phenomena in their natural environment is a key to the interpretivist philosophy, together with the acknowledgement that scientists cannot avoid affecting those phenomena they study. In between positivism and interpretivism, pragmatism exists. Pragmatism research philosophy accepts concepts to be relevant only if they support action. Pragmatics recognize that there are many different ways of interpreting the world and undertaking research, that no single point of view can ever give the entire picture and that there may be multiple realities. With regard to this study, the researcher evaluated that pragmatism as being the suitable approach. Since, this study involves study of a social phenomenon as well as viability and Perception of Somali people towards Federalism in Somalia, Case of Garowe city, Puntland state of Somalia, taking into contemplation the sense of human beings and nature on this phenomenon.

3.2. Research Design

According to (Onwuegbuzie, 2007) Research design provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data. A choice of research design reflects decisions about the priority being given to a range of dimensions of the research process. These include the importance attached to:

- expressing causal connections between variables;
- generalizing to larger groups of individuals than those actually forming part of the investigation;
- understanding behavior and the meaning of that behavior in its specific social context;

- Having a temporal (that is, over time) appreciation of social phenomena and their interconnections.

According to (Creswell, 2009): “Mixed Methods Research is a research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or program of inquiry” (Antoine Regnault1, Tom Willgoss, Skye Barbic, 2018)

The research design selected for this study is **Mixed Approach** defined as a procedures which the researcher converges or merges quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. In this design, the investigator collected both forms of data at the same time and then integrates the information in the interpretation of the overall results. Also, in this design, the researcher may embed one smaller form of data within another larger data collection in order to analyze different types of questions (the qualitative addresses the process while the quantitative the outcomes), (Creswell, 2009).

In order to achieve the research objective of this study and to answer the research questions, a descriptive research design has been used in this research. This is because the descriptive method is the most appropriate to describe the existing situation of federalism, to chiefly illustrate the current situation of federal system and to describe the perception of people towards federalism. The descriptive research method also allows a detail explanation of both qualitative and quantitative of the data. Furthermore, a mixed approach was used in this study which is both qualitative and quantitative. The mixed research approach was preferred in order to increase the reliability of the study.

This approach considered more information required for the study in analyzing numeric data and non-numeric data precisely. This approach also ensures that any bias inherent in either method is neutralized by the strength of the other.

3.3. Sources of Data

The data that were used in this research is descriptive, it has been collected. Both primary and secondary sources of data have been deployed. Primarily, quantitative data has been collected from the sample respondents (citizens) through questionnaire and in addition to that qualitative

data has been collected from in depth interview for view participants. Journals, written documents regarding the topic, reports and publications which all relates to this topic in one way or another were also indicated as secondary source of data to complement quantitative data gathered as a firsthand data.

Primary data; is recognized as a data that is gathered for a specific research in response to a particular problem through questionnaire or interviews, primary data were collected from targeted groups in order to get sufficient and reliable data which provided with a deeper knowledge of the respondents in this study.

Secondary data; were collected for the purpose of further information. Secondary data information was obtained through various kinds of documents: research & annual reports, Civil Society Organizations reports, written articles, published books, Ministry of interior and journal articles.

3.4. Instruments of Data Collection

Questionnaire; is a research instrument consisting of a set of questions (items) intended to capture responses from respondents in a standardized manner. Questions may be unstructured or structured. Unstructured questions ask respondents to provide a response in their own words, while structured questions ask respondents to select an answer from a given set of choices.

The survey used a semi-structured questionnaire having close ended questions. The questionnaire has two parts – first part is related to the demographic profiles and second part is based upon the main subject matters. In the demographic profiles, respondents' age, gender and education relation to particular sector was collected. In the second part, question items were made in statement on the basis of constructs. Therefore, in this study questionnaire were applied to some of the informants.

Interview; the study used structured questions for interviewing the elders of the topic in order to obtain a deeply information about the study. The main reason the researcher selected this interview method is because of it is easy to get data from source full individuals who have more information on political and governance aspects by orally communicating and documentation scenarios.

3.5. Sampling Methodology

3.5.1. Study Area

Study Area This interrogation was held in Garowe town which is the Capital Puntland State in the Northeastern part of Somalia. The area comprises of 7 villages namely Wadajir, Waberi, Hantiwadag, Hodan, Horseed, and Israac. The estimated Population of Garowe Town is 190,000 residents. The reason Garowe Town was selected was because Garowe Town has highest population in Nugaal Region, it has the highest number of social and governmental institutions and facilities in the city it also has the main office for political organizations, academic institutions and parliamentarian members in the state, time and budgetary limitations also contributed to the selection of the study area.

3.5.2. Population of the study

The target population of this study were four groups, the first group is civil society organization called Puntland Youth Association Network (PYAN), second group is Horseed Political association and the third one is Academic institution named Admas University and the last one s parliamentarian members in the state house, these are the key informants concerned in this topic to investigate the perception of the people towards the federal system in Somalia which is new to the people. Thus, the four group's total number is **256** as observed from the ministry of interior's recent reports and data.

3.5.3. Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

For gathering the most accurate reliable data and in-depth information from the most suitable respondents as well as to avoid bias, the researcher used both probability and non-probability sampling techniques. Based on descriptive method the following four groups were selected (PYAN, Horseed Association, Admas University and Parliamentarian members). The reason was due to the availability of study respondents as their head-quarts located in the city. Secondly, it is not possible to study all districts in Garowe within this limited period of time and resource constraints.

The researcher used probability and non-probability sampling techniques to configure a sample of participants, form probability corner Stratified random sampling were deployed which involves dividing the entire population in to groups called strata (plural for stratum), random samples were selected from each stratum which in turn will be a number proportional to the stratum's size when compared to the population, those subsets of strata are then pooled to form a

random sample, from non probability side purposive sampling technique were used in order to stratify key informants participating in the study. To obtain deep information regarding Somalis governance and political ideologies the researcher targeted Parliamentarian available members and Admas University's top lecturers.

The sample size of this study was determined by using the sample size determination formula cited by Kothari (2004). The total population of Garowe is estimated around 190,000, the total number of these four selected groups is **256**, which was the target population of this study, the reason of the target group is that this subject manner can be deeply examined and described with the help and information of key target groups like Parliamentarian members, Academic reputes and Puntland's new political associations.

According to Kothari (2004) if the target population is less than 10,000, the following formula was used in order to draw the required sample size from the target population at confidence interval of 95% with significance level of 5%.

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

Where: -
n = desired sample size
N= Population size
e= Margin of error
From the above formula, the sample size of this study became:

$$\mathbf{n = \frac{256}{1+256(0.05)^2}}$$

$$\frac{256}{\mathbf{1+0.64}} = \frac{256}{\mathbf{1.64}} = 156$$

The sample in this study is 156

3.5.4. Sampling Units and Procedures

Hence this study is about Federal systems viability and it's Perception at Garowe city; the units included were the units that have a contribution for the effectiveness and/or in adequateness of communities political and policy concerns in the city and the state at general. Therefore the study have the following sampling units; Horseed association, Admas University, PYAN and Parliamentarian members.

Table 3. 1: Sampling Frame

S/No.	Name of the Group	Target Population of Each District
1	PYAN	33
2	Horseed Association	96
3	Parliaments	66
4	Admas University	63
	Total target population	**256**

Source: (Ministry of Interior, Local HRM, 2020)

Table 3. 2: Sampling Procedure

S/No.	Districts	Target Respondents (N)	Sample size proportion	Sampled respondents (n)	Data Collection Techniques	Sampling Method
1	PYAN	33	33/256*156	20	Questionnaire	Stratified
2	Parliaments	66	66/256*156	40	Questionnaire and Interview	Purpose
2	Horseed Association	96	96/256*156	58	Questionnaire	Stratified
3	Admas University	63	63/256*156	38	Questionnaire and interview	Purpose
	Total of target population	**256**		**156**		

Source: (Researcher's Computation, 2021)

3.6. Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis was composed of arranging a variety of statistical procedures on the data. This was based on generating frequency distribution tables. The data was grasped and analyzed by using analytical tools as statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) version of 24 and Excel. Quantitative analysis deployed to formally present perception of people toward federal system and these were later presented in the form of tables, figures and charts. The qualitative data were analyzed by using content narrative technique to help understand the Perception of the Somali people on federal system government.

3.7. Ethical Consideration

As this study utilized human participants to identity the perception of the Somali people on federal system in Somalia, certain issues were addressed, the consideration of these issues were necessary for the purpose of ensuring the privacy as well as the security of the participants. These issues were identified in advance so as prevent future problems that may arise during the research process. Among the significant issues that needed to be considered were consent, confidentiality and data protection.

Written permission to conduct the research study was obtained from the Dire Dawa University. While conducting this study, respondents were informed in advance that the data collection process could proceed whenever they were willing to corporate.

In addition to this, any information were collected via the instruments would never be used for any other purpose other than for its academic intent; the data were kept confidential. Moreover, any form of plagiarism or academic thefts has been avoided, all sources were properly acknowledged and any harm that may affect the respondents was also avoided.

The researcher did not force respondents to give him information. Instead he was obtaining formal consent as a pre-requisite to gathering information from the respondents. The researcher also obtained certifies and approves recommendation from relevant authorities, permitting him to carry out research in this particular district.

3.8. Validity

Good measure should be both consistent and accuracy. As stated by (Miller, G., & Whicker, M. L. , 1999) content validity is the measurement that is being taken a subset of a larger group of Measurements that represent the focus of the study. Similarly, face validity is based entirely upon logic, common sense, and subjective judgment. The researcher assessed validity through the mechanism of distributing the questionnaire to five different members from the four groups (Horseed association, Admas University, PYAN and Parliamentarian members.) each by one which is familiar to the subject matter. Then, they verified the validity in terms of the items capture the entire scope and they brought a measurement that may represent focus of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to find out the Perception of Somali people on federal system with reference to Garowe, Puntland-Somalia. This chapter therefore presents results and discussions of the study from the data collected from the questionnaires; whereby the researcher sorted views and opinions on the Perception of Somali people on federal system with reference to Garowe, Somalia. This chapter presents the findings in frequency tables, percentages and graphs with clear discussions of each finding and in-depth interviews held with key informants in the study.

4.2 Presentation of Findings

The researcher prepared and issued out 140 questionnaires to the respondents drawn from four selected groups (Horseed association, Admas University, PYAN and Parliamentarian members), and also conducted 16 Key Interviews on 8 academic members and 8 parliament from out of the 63 and 66 respectively sampled for the study . The response was based on the availability of the respondents and was as follows:

4.2.1 Response Rate

Table 4. 1: Response Rate

Response Description	Sampled Respondents	Responses	Response Rate Per category
Responses From Interview Schedules	**16**	**14**	**87.5%**
Responses From Questionnaires	**140**	**134**	**95.7%**
Total	**156**	**148**	**94.8%**

Source: Study findings, 2021

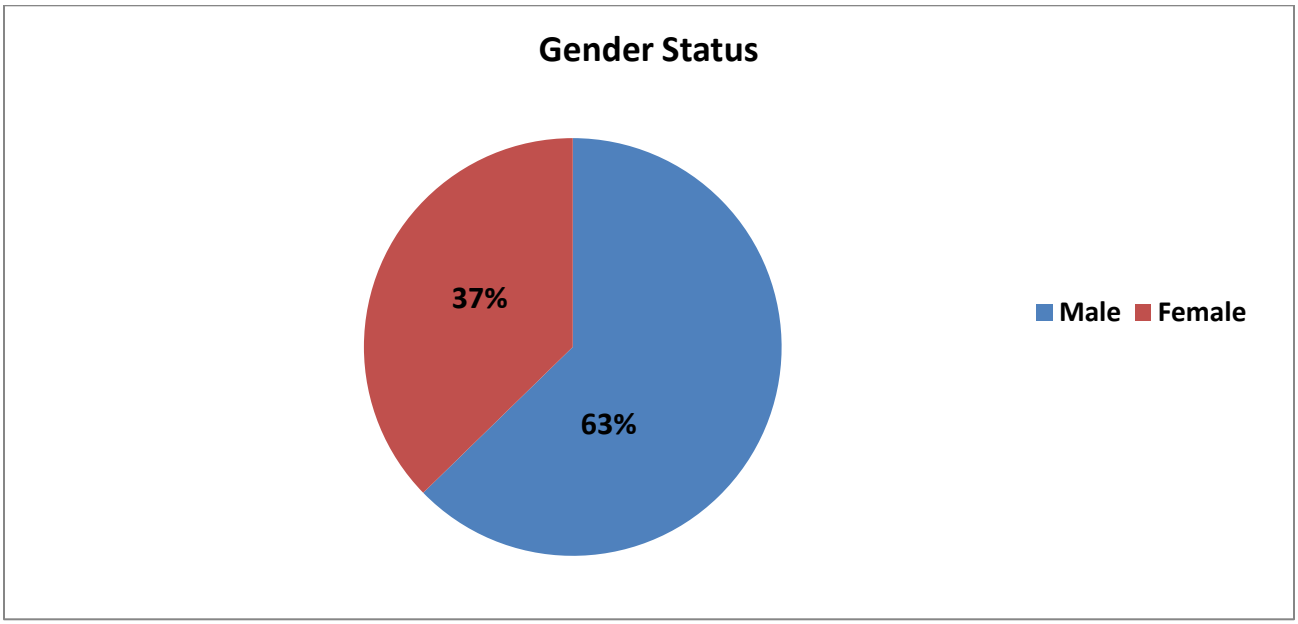
The findings of the study indicated a response rate of 88.8% out of the 156 respondents sampled for the study. The results indicated that out of the 134 respondents drawn from four selected Groups (Horseed Political Association, Admas University, PYAN and Parliamentarian members.), that questionnaires were administered to, 89.2% respondents participated in the study while only 10.8% of the respondents did not participate in the study. The study also indicated that out of the 16 sampled for the key interview study, 87.5% of the respondents from this

category participated in the study. This indicated that the study was well participated in by both the category of the respondents. The high response rate was enabled by the frequent follow up of the respondents to ensure that the participants participated in the study as much as possible.

4.2.2 Demographic Reponses of the respondents.

The response on Gender, marital status, age and the highest education levels of respondents at that were drawn from four selected Groups (Horseed association, Admas University, PYAN and Parliamentarian members.) and the response was as follows.

Figure 4. 1: Gender of the Respondents



Source: Field Study, 2021

The findings of the study indicated that 62.7% of the respondents that participated in the study were male, while 37.3% were female. This indicated that the study was gender representative.

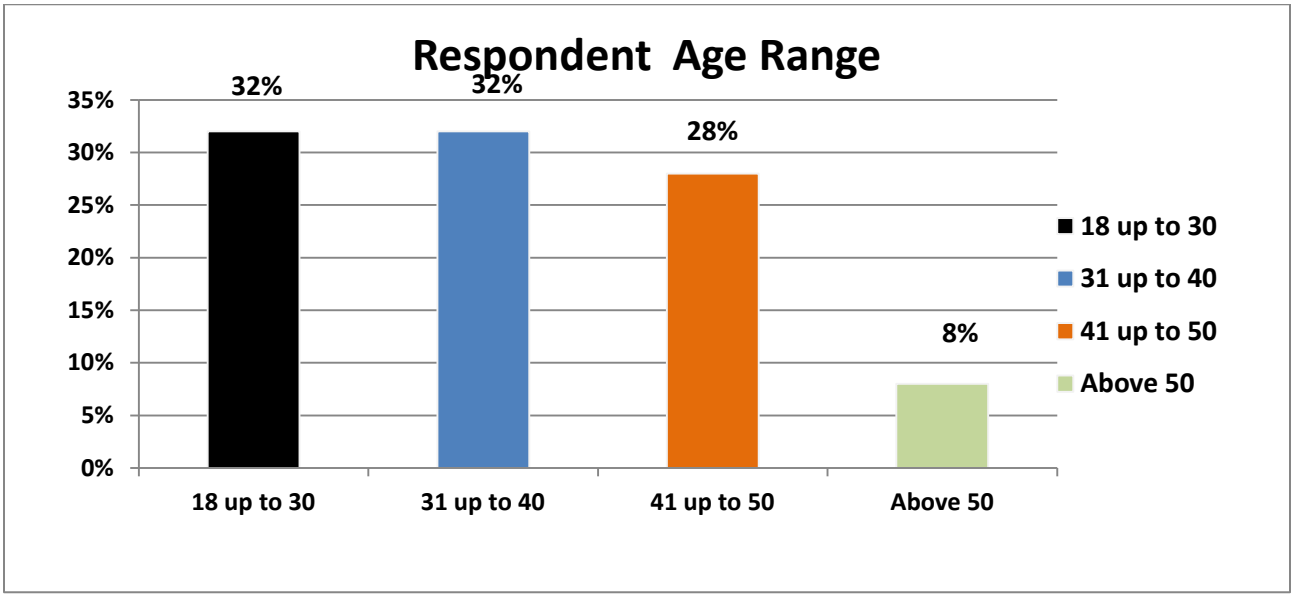
Table 4. 2: Demographic Reponses

Category	**Total N (%)**
Age of the respondents	
18-30 years	47 (32.0)
31-40 years	47 (32.0)
41-50 years	41 (28.0)
50 years and above	13 (8.0)
Total	**N=148 (100.0)**

Educational level:		
College Certificate	37	(25.3)
Diploma	49	(33.3)
Bachelor Degree	25	(16.0)
MA/MSC	37	(25.3)
PhD	0	(0.0)
Total	**N=148**	**(100.0)**
Category of the Respondents		
Horseed Associations	55	(37.4)
Parliamentarian Members	38	(25.6)
Admas University	36	(24.3)
PYAN	19	(12.7)
Total	**N=148**	**(100.0)**
Marital Status		
Single	28	(18.7)
Married	95	(64.0)
Divorce	8	(5.3)
Widow	16	(10.7)
Widower	1	(1.3)
Total	**N=148 (100.0)**	

Source: Study findings, 2021

Figure 4. 2: Respondents Age Range



Source: Field Study, 2021

The results indicated that 32.0% of the respondents were either 18-30 years old or 31-40 years old, 28.0% were 41-50 years old while 8.0% of the respondents were 50 years and above years old. This indicates that the study was representative of all ages and therefore the information provided include views from all ages that were eligible to vote.

The findings of the study also indicated that 25.3% had College certificates in different areas, 33.3% of the respondents had a Diploma Certificate in different area while 16.0% of the respondents had attained a University Graduate degree. The findings of the study also indicated that 17.6% of the respondents had MA/MSC (Masters Degrees) though were not specified while none of the respondents had a PhD qualification in any given area. This indicated that most of the respondents had the required knowledge on the issues under investigation and therefore the answers provided were reliable and reflected the real situations.

Results of the respondent shows that 37.4% of the respondents were Horseed Groups members drawn from the four selected Groups, 25.6% were Parliaments Members representing the same selected groups while 24.3% of the respondents that participated in the study were from Admas University and 12.7 were form PYAN which is non-governmental organization.

When the study sought to establish the marital status of the respondents, the findings of the study indicated that 18.7% of the respondents that participated in the study were single, 64.0% of them were married while another 5.3% of the respondents were divorced and were from both genders. The findings of the study also indicated that 10.7% of the respondents were widowed while only 1.3 was a widower. This indicates that most of the respondents which participated in this study were married individuals.

4.3. Descriptive Statistics

4.3.1 Perception of Federalism

Table 4. 3: Perception of Federalism

Perception Of Federalism	SA&A	Neutral	SD& D	Mean	Standard Deviation
	%	%	%		
Federalism is viable solution to the political crisis in Somali as it allows	42.6	34.7	22.7	3.43	1.164

inclusivity and devolving of resources equal to all regions.					
Federalism allows all to participate in Somalia's state-building process.	49.3	17.3	33.3	2.99	1.084
Federalism allows for Political Power Sharing (4.5)	57.3	24.0	18.7	3.32	1.176
Member units are able check central authorities and prevent undue actions Contrary to the will of minorities.	50.7	22.7	26.6	3.00	1.208

Source: Field Study, 2021

The findings of the study indicated that 42.6% agreed that federalism is viable solution to the political crisis in Somali as it allows inclusivity and devolving of resources equal to all regions, 34.7% were neutral while 22.7% of the respondents felt that federalism is not a viable solution to the political crisis in Somali as it allows inclusivity and devolving of resources equal to all regions. The response registered a mean of 3.43 and Standard Deviation of 1.164. This indicated that although a great number of respondents felt that Federalism is viable solution to the political crisis in Somali as it allows inclusivity and devolving of resources equal to all regions, there was a variation in the way they responded.

When the study sought to establish whether federalism allows all to participate in Somalia's state-building process, the findings of the study indicated that 49.3% of the respondents felt that federalism allows all to participate in Somalia's state-building process, 17.3% were neutral while another 33.3% of the respondents felt that federalism did not allow all to participate in Somalia's state-building process. The response registered a mean of 2.99 and a variation in response of Standard Deviation of 1.084.This indicated that there was high difference in the way the respondents felt on whether federalism allows all to participate in Somalia's state-building process.

The finding of the study also indicate that 57.3% of the respondents felt that federalism allows for Political Power Sharing of (4.5), 24.0% were neutral on whether federalism allows for Political Power Sharing of (4.5) while 18.7% felt that federalism did not allow for Political Power Sharing of (4.5), the study registered a mean of 3.32 in term of the differences in responses, the findings registered a standard deviation of 1.176. This means that there was a high

variation in how the respondents felt on whether federalism allows for Political Power Sharing of (4.5).

Lastly in this part the study had sought to establish whether member units are able check central authorities and prevent undue action contrary to the will of minorities, the findings of the study indicated that 50.7% of the respondents felt that member units are able check central authorities and prevent undue action contrary to the will of minorities, 22.7% were neutral while 26.6% of the respondents felt that under federalism member units are not able check central authorities and prevent undue action contrary to the will of minorities. The response registered a mean of 3.00 and a variation in response of 1.208 which was the highest among the perception of federalism issues covered in the study.

4.3.2. Drivers of Federalism

Table 4. 4: Drivers of Federalism

Drivers of federalism	SA & A	Neutral	SD & D	Mean	Standard deviation
	%	%	%		
The previous centralized system of Somalia was the domestic driver of federalism in Somalia.	62.6	18.7	18.7	3.27	1.119
The most important domestic driver of federal system is the prevailing mistrust between political elites in Somalia.	41.3	34.7	24.0	2.83	.987
Political struggles amongst the international community, neighboring countries and donor community has demonstrated their preference for a federal system of governance in Somalia	40.0	28.0	32.0	3.15	1.147

Source: Field Study, 2021

The study had also sought to establish whether the previous centralized system in Somalia was the domestic driver of federal system, the findings of the study established that 62.6% of the respondents felt that the previous centralized system in Somalia was the domestic driver of federal system, 18.7% of the respondents were either neutral or felt that the previous centralized

system in Somalia was not the domestic driver of federal system. The response registered a mean of 3.27 and a difference in response of 1.119 as a standard deviation.

The findings of the study also indicated that 41.3% of the responses agreed that the most important domestic driver to federal system is the prevailing mistrust in the Somali political elites, 34.7% were neutral on the issue while another 24.0% of the respondents did not feel that the most important domestic driver to federal system is the prevailing mistrust in the Somali political elites. The response registered a mean of 2.83 and an average difference in response of .978 as a standard deviation which show that there was a little difference in responses.

Finally the study established that 40.0% of the respondents felt that political struggles amongst the international community, neighboring countries and donor community has demonstrated their preference for a federal system of governance in Somalia, 28.0% were neutral while 32.0% felt that political struggles amongst the international community, neighboring countries and donor community has not demonstrated their preference for a federal system of governance in Somalia. The response registered a mean of 3.15 and high difference in response of 1.147 as a standard deviation.

4.3.3. Options of Federalism

Table 4. 5: Options of Federalism

Options of federalism	SA & A	Neutral	SD & D	Mean	Standard deviation
	%	%	%		
Con-federalism is most appropriate federal system for Somalis	21.3	22.7	56.0	3.35	1.214
Federalism is better rather than Con-federalism for Somalia	40.0	37.3	22.7	3.24	1.161
Con-socia nationalism is suitable system of federal for Somalia rather than Federalism and Con-federalism	46.7	22.7	30.6	2.84	1.115
Decentralized Unitralism is good system for Somalia comparing to Federalism, Con-federalism and Consociationalism	30.7	46.7	22.6	2.73	1.056

Source: field study, 2021

When the study sought to establish whether con-federalism is most appropriate federal system for Somalis, the findings of the study indicated that 21.3% felt that Con-federalism is most appropriate federal system for Somalis, 22.7% were neutral while another 56.0% felt that con-federalism was not the most appropriate federal system for Somalis. The response registered a mean of 3.35 and a difference in response of a high standard variation of 1.214. The study also established that 40.0% of the respondents felt that federalism is better rather than Con-federalism for Somalia, 37.3% were neutral while 22.7% of the respondents did not feel that federalism is better rather than Con-federalism for Somalia. The response registered a mean of 3.24 and a difference in response of a high standard variation of 1.161.

On whether consociationalism is suitable system of federal for Somalia rather than Federalism and Con-federalism, the findings of the study indicated that 46.7% of the respondents felt that consociationalism is suitable system of federal for Somalia rather than Federalism and Con-federalism, 22.7% were neutral while 30.6% felt that consociationalism is not suitable system of federal for Somalia rather than Federalism and Con-federalism. In this part the response registered a mean of 2.84 and a difference in response of a high standard variation of 1.115.

Finally the findings of the study also established that 30.7% of the respondents felt that decentralized Unitralism is good system for Somalia comparing to Federalism, Con-federalism and Consociationalism, 46.7% of the respondents were neutral, while 22.6% of the respondents felt that decentralized Unitralism is good system for Somalia comparing to federalism, con-federalism and consociationalism. The findings of the study registered a mean of 2.73 and a high standard variation of 1.057 in terms of variations in responses. The findings of the study also indicated that federalism was most appropriate federal system for Somalis followed by the feeling that con-federalism is better rather than Con-sociationalism for Somalia while the feeling on decentralized Unitralism is also good system for Somalia comparing to federalism, so con-federalism and consociationalism was the lowest among the responses.

4.3.4. Viability of Federalism

Table 4.6: Viability of federalism

Viability of Federalism	SA & A	Neutral	SD & D	Mean	Standard deviation
	%	%	%		
Federalism is not a viable option today for Somalia	24	44	32	3.16	1.079
Somalia's model of federalism is merely theoretical, compared to the nature and characteristics of federal states	46.6	26.7	26.7	2.85	1.099
Federalism in Somalia is based on clanism states or tribal affiliations	77.3	13.3	9.4	2.81	1.097

Source: field study, 2021

The study had also sought to establish whether Federalism is not a viable option today for Somalia, the findings of the study established that 24.0% of the respondents felt that the previous centralized system in Somalia was the domestic driver of federal system, 44.0% of the respondents were neutral while 32.0% felt that the Federalism is a viable option today for Somalia. The response registered a mean of 3.16 and a difference in response of 1.079 as a standard deviation. This indicated that there was a high difference in the ways the respondents felt on whether Federalism is not a viable option today for Somalia.

When the study sought to establish whether Somalia's model of federalism is merely theoretical, compared to the nature and characteristics of federal states, the findings of the study established that 46.6% of the respondents felt that Somalia's model of federalism is merely theoretical, compared to the nature and characteristics of federal states, 26.7% of the respondents were neutral while another 26.7% felt that Somalia's model of federalism is not merely theoretical, compared to the nature and characteristics of federal states. The response registered a mean of 2.85 and a difference in response of 1.099 as a standard deviation. This indicated that there was a high difference in the ways the respondents felt on whether Somalia's model of federalism is merely theoretical, compared to the nature and characteristics of federal states.

Lastly, the findings of the study also indicated that 77.3% of the respondents felt that federalism in Somalia is based on clanism states or tribal affiliation, 13.3% were neutral while only 9.4% of

the respondents felt that Federalism in Somalia is not based on clanism states or tribal affiliation. The response registered a mean of 2.81 and a difference in response of 1.097 as a standard deviation. This indicated that there was a high difference in the ways the respondents felt on whether federalism in Somalia is based on clanism states or tribal affiliation.

4.3.5. The Perception of Somali People

Table 4. 7: Perception of Somali people

The Perception of Somali People	SA & A	Neutral	SD & D	Mean	Standard deviation
	%	%	%		
The federal state provides an effective compromise between groups seeking a centralized system of governance and those seeking a decentralized system of governance.	64	16	20	3.13	1.223
The system creates harmony between the central government and the regional Governments	68	26.7	5.3	2.95	1.051
Federal systems allow for all inclusive government	49.3	24	26.7	2.63	1.063

Source: Field Study, 2021

In this part , the study had also sought to establish whether the federal system provides an effective compromise between groups seeking a centralized system of governance and those seeking a decentralized system of governance, the findings of the study established that 64.0% of the respondents felt that the federal system provides an effective compromise between groups seeking a centralized system of governance and those seeking a decentralized system of governance, 16.0% of the respondents were neutral while 20.0% felt that the federal system does not provide an effective compromise between groups seeking a centralized system of governance and those seeking a decentralized system of governance. The response registered a mean of 3.13 and a difference in response of 1.223 as a standard deviation. This indicated that there was a high difference in the ways the respondents felt on whether the federal system provides an effective compromise between groups seeking a centralized system of governance and those seeking a decentralized system of governance

Furthermore, the study sought to establish whether the federal system creates harmony between the central government and the regional Governments, the findings of the study established that 68.0% of the respondents felt that the system creates harmony between the central government and the regional Governments, 26.7% of the respondents were neutral while another 5.3% felt that the federal system creates harmony between the central government and the regional Governments. The response registered a mean of 2.95 and a difference in response of 1.051 as a standard deviation. This indicated that there was a high difference in the ways the respondents felt on whether the federal system creates harmony between the central government and the regional Governments.

Lastly, the findings of the study also indicated that 49.3% of the respondents felt that Federal Systems allows for all inclusive government, 24.0% were neutral while only 26.7% of the respondents felt that Federal Systems allows for all inclusive government. The response registered a mean of 2.63 and a difference in response of 1.063 as a standard deviation. This indicated that there was a high difference in the ways the respondents felt on whether Federal Systems allows for all inclusive government.

4.4. Challenges of federalism

Table 4. 8: Challenges of federalism

Challenges of federalism	SA & A	Neutral	SD & D	Mean	Standard deviation
	%	%	%		
Misunderstanding and poor knowledge of federalism	61	18	21	3.11	1.31
Different interests of the international community triggers federalism obstacles in Somalia	62	30	8	2.9	1.08
Clash of clan interest descend federalism in Somalia	47.2	26.8	26	2.63	1.063
Federal system experiences less security consideration	49.5	22	28.5	2.8	1.21

Source: Field Study, 2021

The study also examined the challenges of federal system in Somalia. When the respondents were asked whether there is misunderstanding and poor knowledge on federalism its self, the findings of the study established that 61.0% of the respondents felt that there is misunderstanding and poor knowledge of federal, 18.0% of the respondents were neutral while 21.0% felt that there is no misunderstanding and poor knowledge of federal system. The response registered a mean of 3.11 and a difference in response of 1.31 as a standard deviation. This indicated that there was a high difference in the ways the respondents felt on whether the federal experiences misunderstanding and poor knowledge on Somali people and whether there is no misunderstanding and poor knowledge on federal system from Somali people's perspective.

Heritage Institute forwarded certain policies regarding federalism civic education towards Somali people after series studies inaugurated in the different states of the country, studies emphasized the severe understanding of Somali people toward federal system and the institute pointed out the problem of weak governance through less practice and hyprid system that runs the nation's governance rather than executing prober federal system that can create harmony and development competition between member states

Additionally, the study sought to establish whether Different interests of the international community triggers federalism obstacles in Somalia, the findings of the study established that 62.0% of the respondents felt that there is a challenge from international community's different interests towards Somalia's federal system, 30.7% of the respondents were neutral while another 8% felt that the system do not experiences an obstacle from different interest of international community. The response registered a mean of 2.9 and a difference in response of 1.08 as a standard deviation. This indicated that there was a high difference in the ways the respondents felt on whether the federal system in Somalia observed a challenge from different interests of international community,

Moreover, the findings of the study also indicated that 47.2% of the respondents felt that Federal Systems experiences clash of clan interest, 26.8% were neutral while only 26.7% of the respondents felt that Federal Systems do not experience clash of clan interests. The response registered a mean of 2.63 and a difference in response of 1.063 as a standard deviation. This indicated that there was a high difference in the ways the respondents felt on whether Federal Systems observes clash of clan interests as a challenge toward federalism in Somalia.

Eventually, the study emphasized to draw an understanding regarding whether federalism experiences security obstacles in order to flourish among Somali community, the findings were 49.5% of the respondents replied that they strongly believe federalism experiences security obstacles, while 22% of the respondents were neutral on federalism versus Somalia's security consideration negative impact, 28.5% of the respondents felt that there is no security consideration barrier to federal system in Somalia. The response registered a mean of 2.8 and a difference in response of 1.21 as a standard deviation, this implies that there was a difference on the way respondents reflected whether federal system in Somalia suffers for security issues to prosper.

4.5. Interview

According to interview held with fourteen key available informants out of 16, their responses were complemented and cross checked to quantitative responses from larger respondents, five main questions were asked to each participant then narrated and analyzed as a content analysis, this method is the process of analysis of various types of communication in order to "develop inference about a subject of interest in any type of communication" It is a used in a variety of fields ranging from nutrition and behavior studies to political science, this was an appreciate approach for this research because, as scholars note, it can reveal…differences in communication content; identify the intentions…focus or communication trends of an individual, group or institutions; and describe attitudinal and behavior responses" the researcher focused on some informants who he believe they have the highest stake in the outcome of the federalism process, the interviewer interviewed seven scholars and seven parliaments who provided the highest pedigree of opinions about the topic in this study that went well beyond mainstream headlines.

The researcher started his interview on a structured manner adjusted with the objectives of the study then quoted respondent's answers.

'My perception on federal system is that it creates harmony and solution to a dismantled state like Somali as lost trusts and establishing confidence always needs new political ideology in order to bring back diffracted society and to avoid what happened 1991 which left collapse of the state after highly centralized system of socialist system were deployed and after the country turned In to a civil war everything was gone, again, I believe that federal system enables grass-

root fundamental pillars as it approaches bottom up scenarios which reflects the needs and the special circumstance of every member state of federal government''(Interview, 2021).

Another Interviewee noted;

"Gone are days when people would say federalism is not our type. Don't you see that Somalia is a federal state? Member states were formed such as Puntland and Jubaland, Galmudug, Hirshabeele. Any system that was imposed on the people will probably collapse. Federalism and clan will accommodate each other. Having from different clan families does not mean that clans cannot agree on power sharing. The bigger clans and smaller ones can coexist in federalism. Moreover rights of minorities will be protected; it is not that I am the big clan and should get what I want" (interview, 2021).

Respondents answer towards their perception on federalism, academicians and parliamentarians stated positive sign on federal system, most of the respondents repeated the unforgettable event in a 1991 when Somali central government collapsed and the nation experienced total fall down while there was no single residents with zero effect, again they pointed out the severe administration and service delivery that central government executed in Siad Bare's regime.

Scholars identified complex problems and conflicts associated with federalism. These problems include (a) the impossibility of making clan and administrative boundaries congruent, (b) tension between FGS and FMS, (c) exacerbation of the plight of clans, (d) solidification of clan cleavages on political, institutional and territorial basis, and reproducible permanent clan identity for creating differences in society (e) confronting international interests (f) impossibility to develop countrywide civic citizenship, (g) clan mobilization for secession after successful formation of group identity and cohesion, leadership, government, parliament, and armed forces, and external support, (h) difficulty of countrywide mobility of citizens, (i) turning constitutional conflict in to clan conflict, respondents skeptics;

"*Foreign interventions lowers federalism as foreign countries establish ties with some state members and carry on their special interest, then the federal government and the federal member states confront each other and the federal system experiences outrage and disturbance, again foreign countries forward certain policies and strategies for their favor which in turn destroys the relationship between federal member states and federal government, example can*

be taken Jupaland's confront to the federal government as Kenya which have lost maritime case between Somalia and Kenya in the Indian ocean had a ties with president of Jupaland Mr Ahmed Madobe"(Interview, 2021).

Conflict of interest between federal government and federal states: Decades of corrupt government (1960–1969), two decades of repressive military regime (1970–1990), and over 20 years of civil war (1991–present) have created a culture of suspicion among different communities and individuals. There is a trust deficit, tension due to unequal resource sharing and this has caused conflict of interest. Some regions have better natural resources than others so federal government has the responsibility of equal resource sharing among regional states (Mohamoud, 2015).

Improper fiscal federalism between federal government and inter-governmental member states increases the tensions between the FG and FMS, federal government uses fiscal federalism as single force to lead FMS while federal member states also seek to hold ties with neighboring countries or other international foreign nations, national elections also became an obstacle to the federal system in Somalia as FG and FMS combat on members representing and voting for presidents as Parliamentarian. Constitutional interpretation lowers system of federalism in Somalia as federal government's constitutions lack to clear the responsibilities between higher political figures and between FG and FMS (Interview, 2021).

Poor relationship between federal government and regional administration: Leaders of regional state deal directly with neighbor countries without involvement federal government, then it leads conflict of interest, the reason behind over rigidity can be the FGS leaders use fiscal federalism as a tool to soften when the state is merely cooperating and to hardens when the FMS are not cooperating well with the federal government (Mohamoud, 2015).

Since the civil war Somalis not only lost their central government but they also the trust among them self and the greater Somali community, particularly, estate rebuilding base of federal system needs to cover all Somali rather than focusing on primarily to Mogadishu and southern part of the country, This lack of trust is one of the key drivers of the need of federal system which can create suitable system of governance that can harmonize the existed injuries and distrusts (Interview, 2021).

4.6. Findings of the Study

The findings of the study established that the respondents perceived federalism as a solution to political instability in Somalia and that the systems ensure that all the clans are included in the governance of the country. The felt that if well implemented then a lot of social and economic development can be achieved. The findings of the study also indicated that the federal system provide an effective compromise between groups seeking a centralized system of governance and those seeking a decentralized system of governance**.**

Most of the respondents felt that identification of domestic driver of federal system is crucial in order to identify the best system for the country. There is also need for international community not to interfere but instead initiate meetings to unify the various functions. Neighboring countries and donor community have not demonstrated their preference for a federal system of governance in Somalia and lastly the prevailing mistrust in the Somali political elites. There is also need for the various political players to properly play their role the implementation of federalism as federalism can act as a good political system for Somalia in rebuilding the nation.

Additionally, the respondents perceived that there is misunderstanding and clash of clan interest challenges toward federal system and international community's different interests also trigger the obstacle that the federal system is not properly working in Somalia.

In the conclusion, though most of the respondents justified that the federal system is forwarded from another foreign countries and even Somalis them self do not take their role in the initiation of this system yet the findings of this study showed the importance to properly utilize and execute the system of federation which the country inaugurated seventeen years ago.

In general, most of the respondents pointed out the viability of federal system towards Somali people with the need truth and deep reconciliation to all Somali clans which in turn can lead to a all agreed inauguration of federal system, interviewees also highlighted the importance to establish constitutional courts which can be a solution to frequent confrontations between presidents and their prime ministers and states with their federal government, in the conclusion, Somali's federalism experienced the problem of clanism which emerges in every socio economic and political aspects, federal system based on clan can be confronted a federal system based on regional/geographical boundaries.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter contains the summary of findings obtained from the study, conclusions made, recommendations and suggestions for future studies on the Perception of Somali people on federal system with reference to Garowe, Puntland-Somalia. The study focused on the Perception of Somali people on federal system with reference to Garowe City.

5.2. The perception of the Somali people on federal system.

The findings of the study established that the political crisis in Somali as it allows inclusivity and devolving of resources equal to all regions, federalism allows all to participate in Somalia's state-building process and federalism allows for Political Power Sharing of (4.5). The findings of the study also show that member units are able check central authorities and prevent undue action contrary to the will of minorities. The greatest perception was on whether federalism is viable solution to the political crisis in Somali as it allows inclusivity and devolving of resources equal to all regions while the most was on Federalism allow all to participate in Somalia's state-building process.

5.3. The drivers of Somali federalism.

The findings of the study shows that the previous centralized system in Somalia was the domestic driver of federal system, political struggles amongst the international community, neighboring countries and donor community has demonstrated their preference for a federal system of governance in Somalia and the most important domestic driver to federal system is the prevailing mistrust in the Somali political elites.

The great drivers was the previous centralized system in Somalia that was the domestic driver of federal system followed by political struggles amongst the international community, neighboring countries and donor community having not demonstrated their preference for a federal system of governance in Somalia and lastly the prevailing mistrust in the Somali political elites.

5.4. The system of federal governance preferred by Somali

The findings of the study also indicated that federalism was most appropriate federal system for Somalis followed by the feeling that con-federalism is better rather than Con-sociationalism for

Somalia while the feeling on decentralized Unitralism is good system for Somalia comparing to federalism and con-federalism, consociationalism was the lowest among the responses.

5.5. Federal system is viable option for Somali people governance

The findings of the study indicated that Federalism is a viable option today for Somali, though federalism in Somalia is based on clanism states or tribal affiliation and that Somalia's model of federalism is merely theoretical, compared to the nature and characteristics of federal states.

5.6. Conclusion

The greatest perception was on whether federalism is viable solution to the political crisis in Somalia as it allows inclusivity and devolving of resources equal to all regions while the least was on Federalism allow all to participate in Somalia's state-building process. The great drivers was the previous centralized system in Somalia that was the domestic driver of federal system followed by political struggles amongst the international community, neighboring countries and donor community having not demonstrated their preference for a federal system of governance in Somalia and lastly the prevailing mistrust in the Somali political elites.

The findings of the study also indicated that federalism was most appropriate federal system for Somalis followed by the feeling that con-federalism is better rather than Con-sociationalism for Somalia while the feeling on decentralized Unitralism is good system for Somalia comparing to federalism, con-federalism and consociationalism was the lowest among the responses. The greatest feeling was that federalism is not a viable option today for Somali had the greatest, followed by federalism in Somalia is based on clanism states or tribal affiliation and that Somalia's model of federalism is merely theoretical, compared to the nature and characteristics of federal states.

The study also expressed that federal system in Somali experience certain obstacles from regional horn of Africa politics, internal security crisis, clan rivalry and low misunderstanding of Somali people toward federal system its self.

5.7. Recommendation

There is need for the political players to identify how they can changes the negative perception of federalism in order to ensure that it is able to be fully accepted among the citizen in Somalia. Federalism can be used to solve political instability by enhancing inclusivity and devolving of

resources equal to all regions in order to encourage regional development. The government through a proper implementation of federalism can ensure that all citizens are given an equal opportunity participate in Somalia's state-building process. Political players need to explore how best they can share political power through (4.5) formulae that is all inclusive of clan, gender and age.

It is important for the political players and power influencer to understand why the previous the centralized system in Somalia failed in order to best understand to implement federal system. The international community needs to properly evaluate how best they can assist the federal government to attain high levels of success by helping in addressing the prevailing mistrust among the Somali political elites.

There is need for the political players and power influencers to identify the most appropriate form of federal system in order to identify the one which is most appropriate .While each form of systems can be appropriate it is important to evaluate all the advantages and the disadvantages of all the systems in order to ensure that the most appropriate system is applied.

Although to most Somalia people, federalism is based on clanism states or tribal affiliation there is need for increased sensitization on the merits and demerits of federalism in order for the people to understand that it is not only about clanism states or tribal affiliation but about the best system that can enhance both social and economic development. The Somalia's model of federalism may be considered more theoretical, compared to the nature and characteristics of federal states and therefore the political players need to adapt the basic principles of federalism in order to benefit more from the system.

As AMISOM completed 15 years of service and this mission never came to an end, there should be high simulated strategy to tackle and alleviate Al-shabaab in order to decentralize and expand government authorities, African Union Mission to Somalia should be replaced to a Somali National army as they can confront Al-shabaab with same environmental and societal understanding.

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APPENDIX I: RESEARCH QUESTIONARE

Diredawa University

College of Business and Economics

Department of Public Administration

And Development Management (PADM)

Questionnaire

Dear Respondent, I as Nouh Abdullahi Yusuf, undertaking a research study on "The Perception of Somali People towards federal system". The research is conducted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Masters of Public Administration in development management field. The information you are going to give here is very important for the study; any information you fill in this questionnaire was kept confidential and used only for this study. You are kindly requested to sincerely respond to the items on the questionnaire. Your assistance is highly appreciated.

For more information contact: newyuuusuf@gmail.com +252907695787/+251944034744

I thank you in advance for sharing your valuable experience and time in completing the questionnaire.

Thank You Sincerely.

General Instruction

1. Read the instructions carefully and ask the researcher any questions that you can rise
2. Giving your name is optional
3. Feel free and attempt all questions
4. Put the symbol of (√) in the box for each question

Section A; General information of Respondents

1. **Gender:**

Female ☐ Male ☐

2. **Age:**

   18-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ Above 50 ☐

3. **Marital Status**

   Single ☐ Married ☐ Divorce ☐ Widow ☐ Widower ☐

4. **Education level:**

   Professional ☐ Diploma ☐ Bachelor Degree ☐ MA/MSC ☐ PhD ☐

Section B; Regarding to the Objectives:

Please rate the extent to which these factors considered important by putting a tick Mark **(√)** under: (1= Strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neutral 4= Agree 5= Strongly Agree) based on their degree of importance.

Tick or choose the right alternative that corresponds with your opinion genuinely:

STATEMENTS		SD 1	D 2	N 3	A 4	SA 5
	PERCEPTION OF FEDERALISM (IV)					
1	Federalism is a viable solution to the political crisis in Somali					
2	Federalism participate in Somalia's state-building process					
3	Political Power Sharing (4.5)					

	Drivers of Federalism (IV)	SD 1	D 2	N 3	A 4	SD 5
1	The previous centralized system in Somalia was the domestic driver of federal system.					
2	The most important domestic driver to federal system is the prevailing mistrust in the Somali political elites					
3	political struggles amongst the international community, neighboring countries and donor community has demonstrated their preference for a federal system of governance in Somalia					
	Options of Federalism (IV)	SD 1	D 2	N 3	A 4	SD 5
1	Con-federalism is most appropriate federal system for Somalis					
2	Federalism is better rather than Con-federalism for Somalia					
3	Con-sociationalism is suitable system of federal for Somalia rather than Federalism and Con-federalism					
4	Decentralized Unitralism is good system for Somalia comparing to Federalism, Con-federalism and Con-sociationalism					

	Viable of Federalism	SD 1	D 2	N 3	A 4	SA 5
1	Federalism is not a viable option today for Somalia					
2	Somalia's model of federalism is merely theoretical, compared to the nature and characteristics of federal states					

3	federalism in Somalia is based on clanism states or tribal affiliation					
	Challenges of federalism					
1	misunderstanding and poor knowledge of federalism are the main internal challenge faced by federalism in Somalia;					
2	different interests of the international community and regional politics triggers federalism obstacles in Somalia					
3	Clash of Clan interest descend federalism in Somalia					
4	Federalism experience less security consideration					

APPENDIX II: RESEARCH INTERVIEW

1. What do you think about federalism?

Please briefly note down your perception on federalism

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2. Do you think the role of federalism as a political system for Somalia in rebuilding the nation? Explain

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3. What are the internal and external challenge faced by federalism in Somalia; and if federal systems undermine national unity and potentially lead to secession
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4. Does the federal system provide an effective compromise between groups seeking a centralized system of governance and those seeking a decentralized system of governance?

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THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION!!

APPENDIX III: WORK PLAN

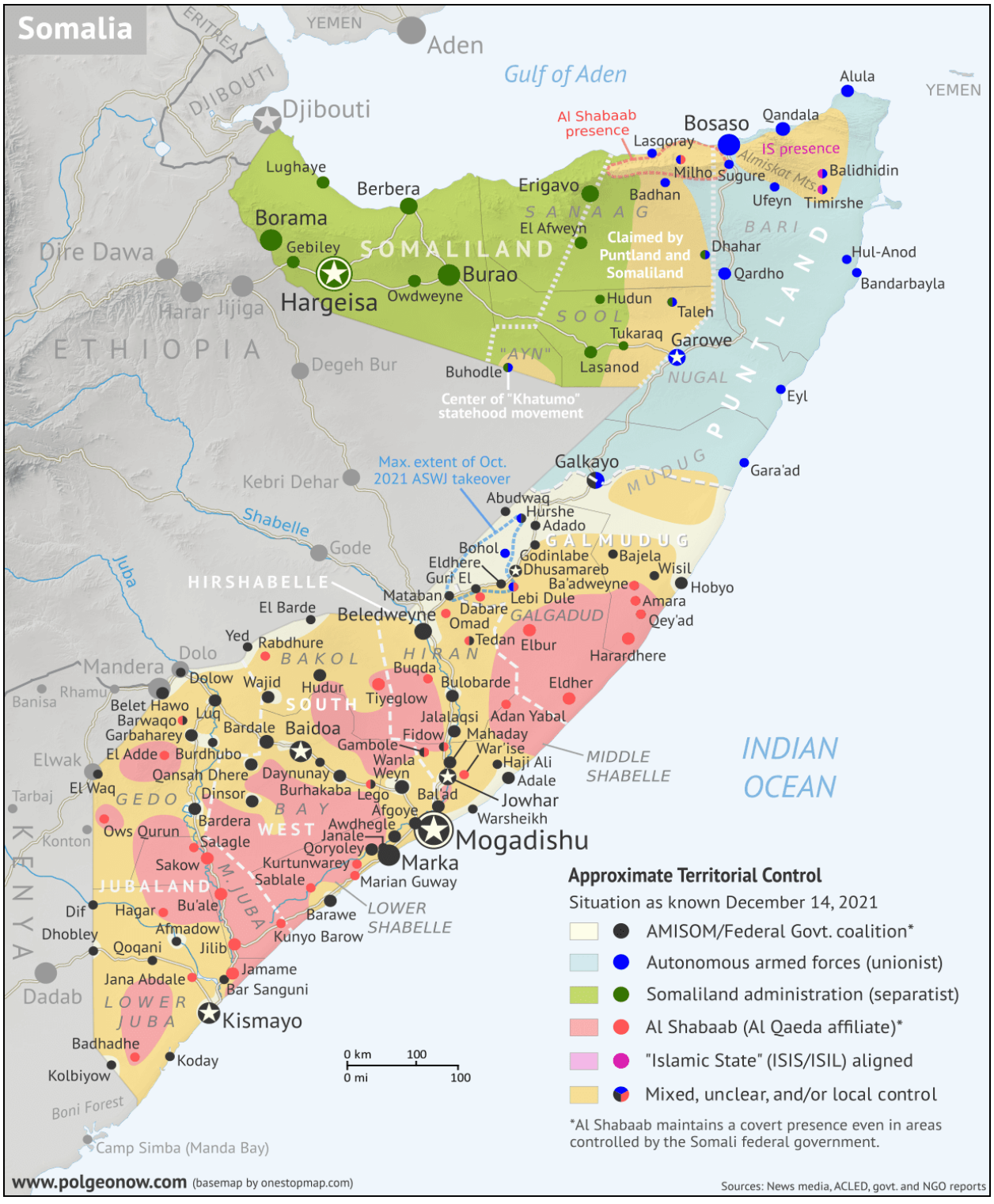
2021						
Research Activity	**January**	**March**	**April**	**August**	**September**	**December**
Topic and Concept development						
Proposal draft						
Final proposal submission						
Data collection and analysis						
Research project preparation						
defense						
Final submission						



Interview held in October, 2021, Admas University, Garowe Puntland-Somalia



Questionnaire distribution in Garowe Puntland, Somalia, 2021.



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