Challenges of Federalism in Somalia: The Perspectives and Opportunities

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Abstract

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The study used both qualitative and quantitative methods to evaluate the research questions, so the findings of the study revealed that the majority of respondents had a negative attitude towards the opportunities of federalism in Somalia, while they had a positive attitude towards the challenges. The study found that, challenges faced by federalism in Somalia were higher than the opportunities afforded by federalism.

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This study aimed to explore the challenges of federalism in Somalia. The perspectives and opportunities. After two years of comparative analysis in Kenya, Somalia picked interest in federalism as a way forward for developing the country in 2004 with the aid of international community. The establishment of Somali federalism began in 2012, with President Hassan Sheikh and his Ministry of the Interior had successfully established four Regional states, namely: Galmudug, Hirshabeelle, South West and Jubbaland, while Puntland and Somali land had already been established and administered their own affairs. Unlike other federal system in the world, Somalia has adopted a federal system in order to meet the needs of the clans. But Somalia’s federal system is not successful because of many problems, such as security problem, clan conflict,
dispute of power sharing, Regional Politics and the International Community. The study used both qualitative and quantitative methods to evaluate the research questions, so the findings of the study revealed that the majority of respondents had a negative attitude towards the opportunities of federalism in Somalia, while they had a positive attitude towards the challenges. The study found that, challenges faced by federalism in Somalia were higher than the opportunities afforded by federalism.


Background of the Study

The term federalism originates from the Latin word foedus, which refers to the fact that such an agreement is typically the starting point for the union of two or more political entities (Moller, 2010). In other words, federalism is a system of a highly decentralized type of government wherein at least two autonomous states agree to create and share a federal government and institutions while retaining some of their authorities. The federal state is generally started on ‘geological devolution, ensuring the self-rule of the provinces.’ The federal constitution describes and disseminates these authorities and responsibilities between the federal government and regional governments with fundamental assurances. Regularly the Central government authorities and capacities include national defence and security, to economic control, citizenship, immigration and national symbols (e.g., flag) as well as international relations. On the other hand, the regional government has the authority to run trade, economy, education, infrastructures, sanitation, health and policing.

However, the historical backdrop of federalism back into antiquity, the United States Constitution (1787) is the promptest illustration of a modern federal constitution (Elazar, 1984). The possibility of building up a federal union among the leftover British provinces of North America was considered irregularly right off the bat in the 19th century, and all the more truly from 1857 onwards. Nevertheless, presently, there are twenty-five federal states on the world. The famous ones are; one in Australia, four in Americas like the United States, Canada, Mexico and Brazil. In Europe the most popular federal nations are Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Russia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (Myerson, 2006) In Asia, the most actual federal nations are India, Pakistan and Malaysia. In Africa, the most well-known federal nations are South Africa, Uganda, Nigeria and Ethiopia (Myerson, 2006).

In the context of Somalia, after two years of discussions in Kenya, Somalis, with the support of international experts in post-conflict opted a federal system in 2004 as a way forward. The main purpose they have chosen federalism is due to the civil war and the tremendous mistrust between states and society in the country. Over the last 22 years, an estimated 2 to 3 million Somalis have died in armed conflicts, starvation and diseases. Somalia has one of the lengthiest civil wars in modern history and the largest refugee camp in the world. There is so much trauma in Somali community that may take a long time to reconcile and forget (Dahiya, 2014). Therefore, this study will examine the challenges of federalism in Somalia, perspectives and opportunities.

Since President Hassan Sheik Mohamud’s term (2012 – 2016), Somali has experienced the formation of federal states. The southern-central states of Galmudug, Hirshabeelle, South West, and Jubbaland were successfully established by the Ministry of Interior and Federal Affairs. The northern states (Puntland and Somaliland) were still handling their own affairs before that. Thus, Somalia has six functional states plus the region of Bandar, which is home to the capital of the nation and under the direct control of central government. Furthermore, with the help of the international community the Federal States are working to assume their obligations to their people and to carry out their tasks without the need of direct federal assistance and to achieve self-reliance at all levels. However, there is no collaboration in the provisional constitution between the federal Member States and central governments.

Federal states often actively challenge and criticize the federal government, preventing the country’s overall growth. In severe cases, some federal states have issued media statements claiming that they have cut relation
with the central government on matters within its competence. This causes instability and undermines Somalia's unity and cohesion (Hassan, 2018). In addition, according to the provisional Constitution of Somalia, foreign affairs are usually the responsibility of the Central Government alone, but the head of regional states handles foreign relations in order to protect their interest. Therefore, the study investigates the challenges of federalism in Somalia such as: the problems of security continuing, clan conflict, dispute of power sharing, Regional Politics and the International Community All these impinge strongly on the federal experiment (Samuel, 2014).

Also, the study will focus on the opportunities of federalism such as: conflict management, economic development, increase efficiency and increase political participation. Further, this study tries to fill the gap in the current studies which is the most federal counties in world adopted federalism in order to satisfy the interest of different ethnic identity group, but Somalia adopted a federalism in order satisfy clan interest. Therefore, the aim of this study is to investigate the challenges of federalism in Somalia: the perspectives and opportunities, it also aimed at contributing to new knowledge. This research is guided by the following objectives which are: To investigate the main challenges facing the federal system in Somalia. To emphasize suitable way that Somali government can benefit the opportunities of federal system and to evaluate the main contribution of federalism in the peace building procedure in Somalia.

Geographically, the study will also focus on the main cities of the regional states like Garowe, Galkacio, Biadoe, Kismayo and Johwhar. It will focus especially on Mogadishu, Somalia’s capital, and the federal base. As a case study exploring federalism challenges and opportunities in Somalia, since federalism is the government system that is focused on a constitutional power divide between the federal and regional states.

Moreover, this study period started 2004 respectively; reason being the initiative of federalism started in 2004. The focus will take into consideration the time frame when the federal system of government emerged as the product of two years of international mediation led by IGAD and international community. In terms of limitation it has two main limitations. First, limitation is the internet connection issues because the study used online questionnaire through Google form as method to collect data so, most respondents were residents of Mogadishu and head cities of regional states. Therefore, some respondents may not get good internet connection. Second, limitation is negligent because some respondents may fill up the questionnaire without given much attention on the information.

This study aimed to explore the challenges of federalism in Somalia: the perspectives and opportunities. The study centred on the federal structure of Somalia and on political players in Somali, including federal officials, regional leaders, political rivals, clan elders, neighbouring countries and the international community. The Somali government would also benefit from this study to introduce and practice the federal system. In addition to this, the local government political organisations, if they wish to achieve the necessary peace buildings, will get an important background on dispute resolution and how they practice it. In addition, students who perform an analysis of these variables will be given more knowledge about the two variables, and group intellectuals will be provided with information about the mechanism of federalism. Consequently, researchers who would like to study the same or similar issue will be used to refer to this analysis in the future.

There is a positive correlation between challenges and federalism effectiveness, if the challenges go down the federalism quality goes up.

On the other hand, there is positive relationship between opportunities and federalism. Meaning that higher opportunities will create effective federalism.

Main Challenges of Federalism in Somalia

Dispute of power Sharing

Simeon (2009) argues that, the constitution of federal states should address in its strategy the following issues: vertical and horizontal division of powers (legislative, judiciary, and executive); fiscal management and
resource distribution; the number and character of the constituent parts; and inter-governmental relations. Nevertheless, in Somalia’s delicate, early federalism, there are entanglements, for example, inconsistencies inside the constitution, ambiguities, and other mistakes coming about because of neglecting crucial issues. There are significant components that are essential for a federal system and whose definitions have been omitted, including power divisions of government and revenue, as well as resource sharing between the various levels of government, the proper model of the electoral process and various other fundamental issues (Galvanek 2017).

Somalia has been handling with a hybrid political system for which it has been difficult to make an agreement among the different parts of the public authority.

According to Hassan (2017), the current system has blended very unclear roles and responsibilities that cover with one another, making it convoluted and inclined to the ascent of conflicts among the major political actors and stakeholders since its initiation.

As indicated by Abubakar (2014), there is a debate of powers division between the Federal Government of Somalia and the federal states, which actually requires solving and negotiating. Subsequently, according to him, this debate can only be resolve efficiently by an agreed clear constitution, which clarifies the powers and responsibilities of regional states and the federal government. Besides, the power sharing agreement was developing in Somalia behind a time of conflict and civil war. On the other hand, this agreement has had some further an incentive to feasible harmony and political stability which was the genuine point of the system in the first place.

According to Farah (2017), Somalia federal system of government was adopted to obtain solution conflict between various groups yet there are still little impediments relate on the absence of clear power indication of the groups which regional states had little clarified power and responsibilities between the president and prime-minister as well as central government and regional states. For this time Somalia federal government leadership and the head of regional states need a platform to discourse all applicable issues identified with power-sharing duties identified with who is doing what since, all power held to the federal state, do not properly functional there is no National Monetary policy there is no public guard and Immigration controlled the boundaries perhaps it is smarter to be haggled by federal state and members of federal states.

Security problem

The fact that the Federal Government is still incapable to make its writ run all over the nation has strengthened a view that it ought not to have a role in federal state-making. The reality that enormous sectors of land still remain in the hands of Al-Shabaab unquestionably represents a challenge. Despite the liberation of the significant port of Kismayo in 2012 and of various towns in central and southern regions as of late, Al-Shabaab’s continued with countryside control has made establishment of local governance structures tough. Targeted killings of local officers combined with Al-Shabaab’s strategy of exploiting tribe partnerships and counter-coalitions have all neutralized federalism flourishing in Somalia. Some administration critics, in spite of all proof unexpectedly, have argued that federalism is a model imposed by neighbours of Somalia with the intentional goal to debilitate the state.

Clan Conflict

Can conflict remains the main force challenging the spread of federalism. The draft constitution expresses that two and more regions can form a federal state, however this offers no grant for clan interests. These have showed themselves as debates and clashes between tribes that consider themselves to be native to specific regions and other people who are viewed as newcomers, either because of massive displacement from the contentions of the last twenty years or because of intentional policies practiced under the dictatorship of Siad Barre during the 1980s. These have strongly affected clan efforts to impact tries to unite regions into a proposed federal state. The accessibility of genuine or potential assets has likewise assumed a part in hampering the formation of federal states. This also identifies with the craving of regions to avoid federal hands from the conceding of beneficial oil or other mineral concessions (Zoppi, 2018)
Furthermore, Mohamed (2016) highlighted that, the greatest serious challenges facing the rebuilding of Somalia’s federal state has been the demarcation of disputed parts along clan boundaries. For instance, the South West State of Somalia debates that six regions belong to it: Lower Shabelle; Bakol; Bay; Gedo; Lower Jubaland Middle Juba. On the other hand, there is a boundary disputes between Somaliland and Puntland state over the regions of Sool and Sanaag. Further, Galmudug and Puntland states also have border disputes.

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.

**Regional Politics**

The region has huge security interests in Somalia, and quick neighbours Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda all have large forces in the country.

First, Djibouti plays a major role in enormous part since a large part of its population is Somali and numerous Somali businessmen either do business or have close relations with the country’s businessmen. Djibouti has also held a number of multi-year Somali peace Processes and its elite have close relations with Somali leaders. Its forces are presently situated in generally quiet central Somalia (Hogendoorn, 2017).

Second, Somalia’s historic regional rival was Ethiopia: conflicts over control of the Ogaden province, which Somali nationalists see as part of "Greater Somalia” as continuing, leading to a brief war between 1977 and 1978 and a much longer proxy war. Calls for the annexation of the Ogaden, and extra parts of the greater Somalia, remain famous with Somali nationalists, and the procuring to this sentiment by the Union of Islamic Courts (ICU) was essential for the explanation Ethiopia interceded in Somalia in 2006. Addis Ababa immediately ousted the ICU from significant urban communities, and then continued to assist the then Transitional Federal Government (TFG). This contributed to the emergence of Al-Shabaab, which presented itself as the most powerful force battling the "occupation” of Ethiopia. It was the time that the Al-Shabaab gained its most important support from Somali diaspora not because they shared their ideology, but because they considered Al-Shabaab as part of the liberation battle.

Moreover, Ethiopia has concentrated primarily on supporting groups that can effectually 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 has long advocated a seemingly rational "bottom-up” approach to state building. Many Somalis, however, see this as a trick to keep their country weekly and separated, 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).

Third, Kenya is a generally new participant in Somalia. Nairobi powerfully interceded in 2011 to establish its own support state and encourage the return of more than 0.5 million Somali displaced people presently living in the country. Kenya hence joined AMISOM, but often pursues its national interests. In Jubaland, Kenya has given its support to Ahmed Madobe, its most powerful proxy leader. Publicly Kenya is searching for a way out, but Somalis see this argument with great scepticism. According the report of UN Monitoring Group, Kenyan-Somalian politicians and Kenyan military colonels are purportedly collecting a huge amount of money from trade, including illegal charcoal passing via Kismayo, and most notably, they claim that Kenya wants to dominate southern Somalia since it has huge oil and natural gas deposits (Anderson, 2015)

Fourth, Uganda is largely withdrawn, but remains the dominant player in Mogadishu (despite the existence of a large Burundian continent) due to the scale of its contingent and the powerful personality of President Museveni. It is also blamed by Somalis of profiting from the battle.
Previously very influential, Museveni has recently been distracted by political instability in Kampala, playing a less powerful role, giving some leverage to Ethiopia and Kenya. (Hogendoorn EJ, 2013). Previously very active, Museveni lately has been distracted by political turmoil in Kampala and has taken a less force role, ceding some influence to Ethiopia and Kenya (Fisher, 2019)

**Muslim Countries Influence in Somalia Political arena**

Beyond the Horn, Muslims, Somalis are very closely related in the Middle East, and Egypt, Qatar and Turkey are very involved in the Middle East. In addition, various Muslim nations have taken a functioning interest in Somalia.

First, Turkey is the most influential country and, to its credit, it played a significant role in responding to a latest famine in 2011, and consequently played a significant role for itself and it companies in the reconstruction effort (Sucuoglu, 2016)

Second, Qatar has additionally assumed a significant job, especially in its help for President Hassan Sheik Mohamud and his allies from Damul Jadiid (New Blood), a group of Al-Islaah, the Somali wing of the Muslim Brotherhood (Bildirici, 2020).

Third, the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood has also increased the interest of Egypt, which had been in significant rivalry with Ethiopia over its presence in Somalia prior to Tharir Square. Increased regional interest enables the Somali federal government to play different states off each other, in specifically Muslim states against Ethiopia. The impact of Damul Jadiid has prompted Somalia to move a little further away from IGAD and AU towards the Middle East. This has affected Somalia’s relationship with Ethiopia and Kenya and, to a certain extent, with the UN.

**International Community**

Not only is international intervention complicated by a variety of bilateral countries with individual interests, however, there are also several international organizations, such as the UN, the AU and IGAD, the League of Arab States, the World Bank and NATO all involved in Somalia without a specific division of responsibilities or a leading player. This was also a concern within the UN and AMISOM, where the branches did not cooperate or the contingents did not follow the chain of command. They are also combined by a numerous of special envoys with undefined functions vis-à-vis foreign organizations, missions in Somalia or ambassadors appointed to Mogadishu (Mohamoud, 2015).

The biggest challenge was, and is likely to be, the contradictory mandates of the AU and the UN. The AU has military peace keeping duties, but as a result of having been in Mogadishu for the last four years and sending more than 17,000 soldiers, it is a significant political player in Somalia, whereas the UN has a political mandate, security being a major part of restoring stability in the country. As well as providing a great deal of help to AMISOM via UNSOA and the government has been heavily associated with security strategy and security sector reform.

The two missions are both led by special delegates who do not have specific guidance about how to divide duties. This was a specific problem for AMISOM and UNPOS, especially because UNPOS was situated in Kenya and its senior staff seldom spent a lot of time in Mogadishu (Hogendoorn, 2013).

It is too soon to state whether the new United Nations Assistance Mission for Somalia (UNSOM) framed on 3 June 2012 will succeed where so many others have fizzled. Its mandate contains providing policy advice to Somali Federal Government and AMISOM on conflict resolution and state building in the aspects of governance, security sector reform as well as the rule of law including disengagement of combatants, establishing a federal structure including arrangements for the elections and organizing international donor assist. It is also responsible for helping to develop the capacity of the Somali federal government to foster respect for human rights and women’s empowerment, prevent conflict-related sexual and gender-based abuse, encourage child protection and reinforce justice institutions (Freear, 2013).
To fortify intra-UN coordination, a major challenge since UNPOS was made in 1995, a post of the Deputy Special Envoy of the Secretary General/Resident and Humanitarian Connector will be set up on 1 January 2014 and "basically incorporated into UNSOM" (Hogendoorn, 2013). Notably, UNSOM is centred in Mogadishu and will be deployed throughout Somalia, as ordered by the Federal Government and as approved, to date only in the capital, Garowe, Baidoa and Kismayo (it has not got permission to create an office in Hargeisa). The Security Council stressed the need for cooperation and UNSOM and AMISOM would operate on the parameters of realistic collaboration on the floor (Williams, 2013).

**Opportunities of Federalism**

**Conflict Management**

Conflict management is an effort to avoid the escalation and negative, particularly violent, effects of ongoing conflicts. It is the reducing and containment of the divisions between the opposing parties through the reorganization of the issue. It is the reduction of the vulnerability of conflict to aggression by fostering substantive improvements in actions between the parties involved (Dereje, 2010).

It should be noted that, as can be seen from the experiences of Belgium, Canada, and Switzerland, diversity and ethno-linguistic federalism do not cause tensions between nations, nationalities and citizens. One of the best methods for calming intrastate intergroup tensions is through federalism as it encompasses disparities in multi-ethnic states. It is often claimed that as self-government and involvement levels increase, demand for separation is diminishing (Horwoitz, 1997).

According to William Livingston (1956). Federalism, like most institutional forms, is a resolution to, or a try to fix, a certain form of political organization problem. Federalism is preferred in some states as an instrument of good governance, an organizing principle where some of their authority is rescinded by sovereign policies in order to pool resources and become part of a larger network. According to Alfred Stepan (1999), these nations, especially mono-national states such as Australia, Germany and the USA, are 'coming together' federations.

The second category of federations set forward by Stepan is 'keeping united' federations, the category in which most multinational states fall, namely, inter alia, Belgium, Ethiopia, Bosnia, Iraq and Nepal. This group also includes States that have used aspects of federalism, such as the provision of autonomy to control pre-existing diversity (such as Spain and the United Kingdom). These 'keeping united' federations also face ethnic conflict (and, in some cases, violence) and therefore use federalism as a mechanism for conflict resolution.

Nancy Bermeo (2002) writes about 'peace, maintaining' the characteristics of federalism, underscoring that it isolates disputes, respectfully facilitates minority groups and guarantees a democratic reply to ethnocultural tensions. In the absence of such democratic institutions, the alternatives would be either immoral reactions like genocide and ethnic cleansing or secession, partition or further war, and, as McGarry and O’Leary (2009) point out, these choices serve only to further escalate ethnic tensions.

As Hannum (2004) noted, federalism is also seen as an ideal option in heterogeneous and post-conflict societies, as it soothes both the majority and the minority groups.

The self-government and shared rule dimensions of federalism guarantee that sub-national groups have substantial and, in some cases, broad sovereign power over particular areas of policy, such as language and education policy, but at the same time ensuring that these groups are able to affect and engage in decision-making processes at the center through shared governance mechanisms. For the federal government, the institutionalization of the federal system can help to reduce the secessionist appeals of the regional separatists.
Economic Development

Traditionally, the most widely cited explanation for federal system is its perceived effect on economic growth. Sub-national governments will support innovation and economic development conditions in a variety of dimensions, including public infrastructure investment, the growth of regulatory and tax environments, human resource development and public private partnerships. In some cases, rivalry between state governments may increase economic growth (Ifrah, 2016).

In addition, Lars (2005) stressed that, federalism limits the scale of government interventions and thus helps to sustain market performance. As mobile development advances have improved opportunities to relocate, sub-federal jurisdictions adopt policies that are in the interest of these mobility features and thus establish solutions that favour market performance.

According to the Inter-American Development Bank, decentralization is a method by which a country effectively applies macro-economic and sectorial policies to promote the supply and distribution of goods and services at a specific level of government – institutional structures or policy areas – where this is most effective.

RAHIM (2020) argues that, prominently appearing over the last two decades as a crucial public sector reform in developing countries, scholars and practitioners have proposed decentralization as a way to boost government efficiency and promote economic growth. Inextricably related to democratization by focusing on giving people more say in influencing the distribution of public resources, several international development agencies have given significant financial and technical assistance for decentralization initiatives.

Increased Participation

Federalism is growing political engagement. It helps more people to run and hold elected office. In the United States, a million people hold elected positions in counties, villages, townships, school districts and special districts. These locals are much closer to the people than to Washington authorities (Almeida, 2006)

Improves Efficiency

In the federal framework, some roles, such as higher education, health, agriculture as well as other local services, have been allocated to local authorities with the general premise that functions should be assigned to the lowest level of government. The benefits of directly elected local councils are various. Some of the benefits include better governance, enhanced growth and citizen engagement. In addition, it also has many other advantages, such as enhanced credibility, productivity in overseeing public spending, better facilities, and public participation in democratic governance, among others. Federalism guarantees that the separation of power is explicitly stated in the constitution.

In the sense of local government, there are a lot of benefits: first. It ensures that the government stays close to the people, as it is more in line with the everyday needs and expectations of people from small and isolated areas. It’s second. It promotes the growth of the country in a decentralized and regional form and allows for specific and innovative methods of addressing social, economic and political problems. Third place. It is an obstacle to the supremacy of the vote. In the federal system, if the regional government is found to be dysfunctional and unsuccessful or if a national emergency has been declared, the federal government monitors and guides the respective states before more necessary arrangements have been made (Boadway, 1982).

Contribution of Federalism to the Peace Procedure in Somalia

Peace-Making

One of the most significant developments that led to the change of the world political system from statism to federal system has been the illustrated use of federal peace-making arrangements. In a world well progressed
in its step towards federalism as a new model for interstate and intergroup ties, it should also hope to make a major promise for peace-making. While it is prudent not to exaggerate that pledge and see federalism as some kind of empty-mindedness, Somali federalism, with its institutions, should work hard to find ever more ways to use and implement federalism to the pursuit of peace.

There are three stages or, if one prefers, aspects of federal system that are included in the use of federalism for peace-making. The closest thing to do is to use federal systems, whether under that title or some other. The use of systems capable of incorporating self-rule and shared rule and a mixture of constitutionalism is federalism, even though it is called functionalism or sovereignty or anything else. That is why the European Union today, although established as the European Community with an explicitly neutral name and definition as a group of functional communities, has grown into a federal structure of co-federal species after a time of growth and crisis over the last 40 years (Bhatt, 2009).

The earlier effort to create the clearly federal "United States of Europe" failed because it was too far-reaching and too overt in doing so, arousing the hesitations and reservations of too many of those interested in decision-making at any level in the years immediately following the Second World War. Thus, it was only when the leading European federalists withdrew, as it were, from federalism. So, too, at the time of decolonization, so many of the failed Third World Federations tried to do so. In certain situations, the formal implementation of federalism has led to the complete disengagement of the Member States. In the Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the struggle between the white minority and the black majority, which gave the federation the appearance, probably correct, of trying to maintain the rule of the white minority, completely collapsed and each colony became an autonomous region. Federal efforts in Ghana, where there was no racial issue but the problem of dictatorship and democracy, were a dictatorship that conquered federalism.

In the case of Pakistan and other clear examples, the absence of the required attitudinal dimension of confidence, will to federate and federal political culture has, for many years, transformed the federation partly into secession and partly into a dead letter. On the other hand, whereas the West Indies Union collapsed because it had accomplished so much, the Caribbean Society, a co-federal structure, arose from its wreck on the basis of an inevitable need for collaboration and sharing, even between islands by definition insular. (Bhattacharyya, 2010).

**Peace Building**

In order to achieve a peace treaty, a vision of state organization will need to be established in the future. In several conflicts, particularly those involving an ethno-political aspect, the lack of power-sharing is among the root causes of the conflict. Future power-sharing structures, like federalism, will thus become part of the peace agenda. This Peace Mediation Necessary, written by State Principles, in partnership with the Mediation Support Project and in consultation with the UN Mediation Support Unit, incorporates federalism. Intermediaries will need to review external tools for more information. (The Union of Serbia and Montenegro, 2006).

Federalism will shift the balance of power and create new marginalized classes. If any party can permanently control or obstruct the democratic process at any government level, this is an indication of a weakness in the federal design. Implementation problems should be considered at an early stage of the process, as implementation would be a key factor in the longevity of the peace process. Federalism is a versatile type of state organization that needs to be tailored to particular circumstances. There are as many differences in federal state architecture as there are in federal countries. The form of federal state organization adopted is as important as the adoption of federalism (Anderson, 1987).

**Literature Gap**

This study tries to fill exist gap in the field of the study, unlike the federal system of Somalia, most the studies that focus on federalism have been given more attention on multicultural and multinational countries.
such as USA, United Kingdom, Canada, Switzerland, India, Malaysia, Nigeria, South Africa, Ethiopia etc. Furthermore, the aim of federalism is to satisfy and accommodate the interests of different groups in order to enhance co-existence and unity among different ethnic and identity groups. However, this study is different because it focuses on federal system of Somalia. Somalia has homogeneous society which shares common language, religion, culture, habitat, and occupation. But it adopted federal system in order to satisfy the needs of different clans and not to respond to the ethnic diversity and recognition of different territorial lands.

**Theoretical and Conceptual Framework**

**Theoretical Framework**

This study was guided by federalism theory developed by Dosenrode (2010). An effort was made to clarify the factors that influence the federal government structure. The theory used in the analysis discusses the challenges of the implementation of federal system in Somalia. The theory of federalism tries to clarify, on the basis of analysis, how federations arise and how they are structured and how they operate.

Federalism theory is also used as either an ideological theory of action, an approach to unification, or a theory to describe the organization and functioning of federations. It is also used as a general theory of regional integration, as it offers a brief glimpse at the most popular texts on international relations. Federal values involve the fusion of self-rule and shared rule.

What separates it from unitary states, therefore, is that it consists of two or three levels of government and a number of Member States, each with its own government. At least one policy region is delegated to the Member States by constitution and cannot be overruled by the central legislative authority. The study, therefore tried to figure out to what degree the theory of federalism was and is relevant in describing the problems that have arisen in the introduction of the current form of federalism in Somalia. The study also referred to the internal demand that the federal system and its problems should be understood by ordinary Somalis.

**Conceptual Framework**

The researcher has residential a conceptual framework for this study based on the appraisal of literature and the research variables namely, challenges and opportunities of federalism in Somalia.

**OPPORTUNITIES**

Figure1: The conceptual model for the research variables and their relationships

**Methodology**

This study is quantitative research design, it has there are different types of quantitative method namely: exploratory, descriptive and causal. Exploratory research design helps in understanding the critical issues underpinning the problem, it is carried out to scrutinize the problem at hand, measure alternatives and explore new ideas regarding the study (Sreejesh, Sanjay & Anusree, 2014). On the other hand, descriptive studies are mainly conducted when one needs to ascertain or want to describe the variables and its characteristics. Mostly this type of study is conducted in organizations to help understand the characteristics of employees, such characteristics are; age, education level, job level and performance levels (Sekaran, 2004). On the contrary, causal study is conducted when the researcher wants to precisely explain the cause of the problem (Sekaran, 2004). This study will adopt exploratory method simply because the research intends to analyse the challenges and opportunities of federal system in Somalia.
Data

This study depends on two sets of data comprising of primary and secondary data whereby the former was used to infer information from the public through survey. Using self-administered questionnaire, the researcher will conduct a survey to investigate the challenges of federalism in Somalia.

Data Collection Instrument

As stated above the research used questionnaire as the main instrument, the questionnaire was created using Google form. The questionnaire was designed in accordance with the research objective to be able to answer the research questions. Accordingly, it is important at this stage to remember the research objectives and see its applicability in the analysis model adapted.

Having the objective set, the questionnaire was set to measure the main challenges of federal system in Somalia with the first objective having 9 open-ended questions in total, the second objective measured the opportunities of federal system having 9 open-ended questions in total as well. Thus, both variables contain 18 open-ended questions which asked the respondents to share their view on the challenges and opportunities of federal system in Somalia.

Data Analysis Technique

After deciding the research design and the instrument used to gather data from the respondent, it is important to decide on how such information will be analysed. The study adopts descriptive analysis and used SPSS software as method analyse the data. As the standard of quantitative method, the study has two variables, the dependent variable (DV) and dependent variable (IV). So, in this study federalism represents the dependent variable (DV) while the challenges and the opportunities represent the independent variable (IV). As Sreejay (2014) purported, independent variables are the variables that cause changes in the dependent variables. Consistently, the challenges of federalism dependent variable.

Research Population

The target populations of this study focus on Bureaucracies, politicians, civil society, students and academicians. Hence, the target population of this paper will be 135 from the different states in Somalia.

Sample Size

The sample of the study came from the large group of people who represented the study population of the study. And the size of sample will 100 people, and this will be selected to comprise the respondents for the study. This particular sample size will be selected because it will easier to manage and it will enough to generate findings as well as to generalize the findings to a bigger population.

Sampling Procedure

This study engaged non-probability sampling; the technique was used for purposive sampling to select the sample size. In the purposive sampling, the researchers decided who can participant the sample; the main objective of this study was to collect focused information. The researchers chose this method because it reduces time and money consumption.

Analysis and Interpretation of Results

Introduction

In this section, analysis the collected data and presents a figures and brief explanations. The survey questionnaire was involved 97 respondents from Somali society. The survey comprises of three parts namely,
respondent’s demographic information, opportunities of federal system in Somalia, and challenges of federal system in Somalia.

**Demographic Information**

Most of the respondents were Male (70 persons, 72.2%) and female (27 persons, 27.8%). Refer **figure 1** for the respondent’s gender.

According to the **figure 2**, most of the respondent’s age were between 21 to 31 years (77 persons, 79.4%), 15 persons (15.5%) were between 31 to 40 years, 4 persons (4.1%) were under 20 years, and lastly 1% which means one of the respondents were 41 to 50.
Based on the figure 3, 70.1% (68 persons) of the respondents were unmarried, 28.9% (28 persons) were married whereas the divorced was 1% (1 person).

Figure 4 illustrates that the education level of the respondents, 49% of the respondents were Bachelor degree level, 37.5% were Master’s degree level, respondents from Diploma level was 6.3% which is also similar to Secondary level which is 6.3%, lastly only one respondent was PhD level.
Figures 5 shows that the most of the respondent’s experience were between 1 to 5 years which is 50.5%, only 38.1% of the respondents’ have less than 1-year experience, and 11.3%.

Opportunities of federal system in Somalia

Table 1 explains the respondent’s opinion towards the opportunities of federal system in Somalia.

Table 1: Respondent’s opinion on opportunities of federal system in Somalia (in- percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Survey questions on the opportunities of federal system in Somalia</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>If Somalia really implements federalism, the hopes are for a prosperous and secure Somalia.</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>1.317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Federalism helps to generate economic growth, since every state government can control their economy independently.</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1.155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Federalism in general helps Somali citizens to engage in politics and administration.</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>-876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Federalism is ideal for serving the people because sub-national officials are closer to information than officials from Mogadishu.</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1.155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The state’s authority and duties are divided by the constitution into national and regional governments in the federal system.</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>1.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Federalism’s strength is regional autonomy.</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>-876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Elimination of political tyranny by the federal system.</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1.155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The federal system is based on democracy, not autocracy.</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>-876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The Federal Structure enables flexibility for sub-national officials to adapt more efficiently to circumstances.</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>-986</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean index: 4.01

In the table 1, most of the respondents which is 28.7% were strongly disagree that the implementation of the federalism contributes prosperous and security in Somalia.

Most of the respondents (33 persons, 34.7%) were strongly disagree that the contribution of federalism in economic growth. Most of the respondents were disagreed that the engagement of federalism in politics and administration at 29.5%. Next, most of the respondents (26 persons, 27.4%) were strongly disagreed that the officials of the sub-nations of the federalism are closer information than Mogadishu officials.

In this research, most of the respondents (27 persons, 28.4%) were strongly disagreed that the federalism divides the authorities and duties of the constitution into national and regional of the country. In this survey, most of the respondents (31.9%) were strongly disagreed that the regional autonomy of the federalism’s strength. Most of the respondents were disagreed at 26.3 while 22.1 persons agreed to the elimination of political tyranny in the federal system. Most of the respondents (37 persons, 39.4%) were strongly disagreed that the contribution of the federalism of democracy, not autocracy. Lastly, most of the respondents (32 persons, 33.7%) were disagreed that the contribution of federal structure to the flexibility of sub-nation officials to adopt more efficiently to circumstances. Therefore, Table 1 illustrated that the most respondents strongly disagree the opportunities of federal in Somalia. With (4.01 mean index).

Challenges of Federal System in Somalia

Table 2 explains the respondent’s opinion towards the challenges of federal system in Somalia.

Table 2: Respondent’s opinion on challenges of federal system in Somalia (in- percentage)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Survey questions on the challenges of federal system in Somalia</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Federalism may lead to misinterpretation of constitutionally divided powers between national and regional governments</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>.316</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Federalism raises regional governments’ affection rather than the nation’s (patriotism).</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>.876</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sometimes federalism creates non-cooperation between the two governments.</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>.422</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>24.2%</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
<td>22.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Survey questions on the challenges of federal system in Somalia</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Federalism divides Somali people by clan, because every clan establishes their own state.</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>.483</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>11(11.7%)</td>
<td>43.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Federal system is a challenge to the unity of the Community.</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>.876</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>There is insufficient knowledge in Somalia about the federal system.</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>.483</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Federal system may establish resource issues between Somali society.</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>.816</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Survey questions on the challenges of federal system in Somalia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Regional control can make it easier to assert self-determination.</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>.949</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Federalism provides more access than most specialization to politics and civil administration</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>.949</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mean index**: 1.94

In the table 2 shows that the most of the respondents (27 persons, 29.3%) were strongly agreed federalism may lead to misinterpretation of constitutionally divided powers between national and regional governments. Next, most of the respondents (29 persons, 30.5%) were strongly agreed that the federalism raises regional governments’ affection rather than the nation’s (patriotism). During the survey, most of the respondents (23 persons, 24.2%) were neutral that the creation of non-cooperation between the two governments in federal system. Most of the respondents (41 persons, 43.6%) were strongly agreed that the federalism divides the Somali people by clan, because every clan establishes their own state. Next, most of the respondents (33 persons, 34.7%) were strongly agreed that federal system is a challenge to the unity of the community. In the collected data shows that the most of the respondents (36 persons, 37.5%) were strongly agreed to the existing insufficient knowledge in Somalia about the federal system. In this study illustrates that the most of the respondents (33 persons, 34.4%) were strongly agreed that the establishment of resource issues between Somali society by the federal system. Next, most of the respondents (22 persons, 22.9%) were neutral that the regional control can make it easier to assert self-determination. Finally, most of the respondents (30 persons, 31.3%) were strongly agreed the raises the number of politicians as it provides more access than most specializations to politics and civil administration from the federal system. Hence, Table 2 showed that the most respondents strongly agreed that federalism is challenges to the peace process in Somalia with (1.94 mean index).
Discussion and Findings

The purpose of this study was to investigate the challenges of federalism in Somalia: the perspectives and opportunities. This section discusses the research results and the findings derived from the data collection. The first objective of this study, was to investigate the main challenges facing the federal system in Somalia. The result showed that the most respondents have positive attitude towards the challenges federalism system in Somalia and they strongly agreed that federalism is challenge to the peace process in Somalia with (1.94 mean index).

On the other hand, the second research objective deals with the opportunities of federalism in Somalia. The result illustrated that the most respondents have negative attitude towards the opportunities of federalism in Somalia with (4.01 mean index).

Conclusion

The main of this study was to examine the challenges of federalism in Somalia: the perspectives and opportunities. In 2004 the parliament of Transitional federal government of Somalia agreed federal system as suitable of Somali people in order to solve long civil war conflicts and satisfy the clan interest. Because after military regime though off the Somali society fought clan by clan so there is mistrust among society. However, the actual implantation of Somali federalism begun in 2012 and first president of Somali federal government Hassan Sheikh had successfully created four regional states namely Galmudug, Hirshabeelle, South West and Jubbaland while Puntland and Somaliland had already been existing and managing their own affairs. But the study found that federalism brought division rather than cohesion and increased the rivalry among clans because every clan set up his own state and most states have border dispute. Besides, the study highlighted that the most challenges of federalism in Somalia are the problem security, clan conflict, power sharing, Regional Politics and the International Community. On the other hand, the Somalia did not benefit the opportunities of federalism such as conflict management, economic development, increase efficiency and increase political participation.

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