



**REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
ONDOKUZ MAYIS UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT**

THE APPLICABILITY OF FEDERALISM IN SOMALIA

Master's Thesis

Abdihalim Osman İBRAHİM

Supervisor

Asst. Prof. Dr. Fatih Çağatay CENGİZ

SAMSUN
2021

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This study prepared by **Abdihalim Osman IBRAHIM** titled “**The Applicability of Federalism in Somalia**” under supervision by **Asst. Prof. Dr. Fatih Çağatay CENGİZ** was accepted as a Master Thesis by our jury unanimously as a result of the examination held on 15.03.2021.

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ÖZET

SOMALİ'DE FEDERALİZMİN UYGULANABİLİRLİĞİ

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Bu çalışma; Somali'deki federalizmin uygulanabilirliğini analiz etmektedir. Karl Polanyi'nin gömülülük (embeddedness) kavramından hareketle bu çalışma, Somali'deki federalizmin uygulanabilirliğinin ülkenin politik bağlamına içkin/gömülü olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Somali, Doğu Afrika'da çeyrek asırdan fazla süren savaşlar ve çatışmalarla harap olmuş bir ülkedir ve çatışmalar nedeniyle insanlar parçalanmış durumdadır. Bir sistem olarak federalleşme, 2004'ten beri Somali toplumu arasında gerginlik yaratan kilit bir konu haline gelmiştir. Bu çalışma, Somali'deki federalleşme sürecini daha iyi anlamak için nitel analiz yöntemini kullanmıştır. Birincil kaynak olarak katılımcılarla görüşmeler yapılmış ve odak grup tartışmalarına yer verilmiştir. Mogadişu ve Beletwein gibi iki büyük şehir, Somali'deki diğer eyaletler için örnek olarak temsil edildiğinden hedef nüfus, federal üye devletlerinden seçilmiştir. Çalışmanın sonucu, bazı Somalili akademisyen ve politikacıların iddia ettiği gibi federalizmin olumlu ilişkileri olduğunu gösterirken; diğerlerinin bunu yıkıcı bir fikir olduğunu yorumlayarak konuyu tartışmalı hale getirmiş olmasıdır. Bazıları federalizmi dış aktörler tarafından dayatılan bir kavram olarak anlarken; karşıt gruplar, federalizasyonun devlet restorasyonu için sürdürülebilir bir alternatif olduğunu tartışmıştır. Çalışma, çoğunluğun federal sistemin uygulanabilir bir çözüm olduğuna inandığını; çünkü ulus için uygun olan en iyi yapı türüne ulaşmanın geleceğin yeniden tasarlanması ve yönlendirilmesinden geçtiğine inandığını bulmuştur. Bu çalışma, merkezi hükümetin, federal üye devletlerin ve insanların federalizmi daha iyi anlamalarını sağlamak ve Somali'deki federal sistem üzerindeki kafa karışıklığını azaltmak için federalleşmeye yönelik yurttaşlık eğitimini ve kamu bilgisini geliştirmesini önermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Federalizm, Klan Güç paylaşımı, Geçici Anayasa, Mali Federalizm, Komşu Ülkeler

ABSTRACT

THE APPLICABILITY OF FEDERALISM IN SOMALIA

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Ondokuz Mayıs University
Institute of Graduate Studies
Departments of Public Administration
Master's thesis, March/2021

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This research explores the applicability of federalism in Somalia. By relying on the concept of embeddedness, the thesis argues that applicability of federalism in Somalia is embedded in the political context of the country. Somalia is a country that has been ravaged by wars and conflicts for more than a quarter-century in eastern Africa, and its people have been fragmented due to the ongoing battles in the nation. As a system, federalization has become a key issue since 2004, which has created tension among Somali society. In order to better understand federalization and the political context, the researcher applied qualitative approach with group discussion and interviews were conducted and focus group discussions were used for primary resources. As the two major cities of Mogadishu and Beletwein are represented as a sample for the other provincial states in Somalia, the target population was selected from the federal member states. The study showed that federalism has positive relationships as some Somali academics and politicians contend, while others have interpreted it as a destructive idea, making the matter contested about it. Some understand federalism as a notion that was pushed by external actors, while the opposing groups debated that the federalization is a sustainable alternative for state restoration. The study found that the majority believes that the federal system is a viable solution because a nation would need to redesign and direct its future for the best type of structure that is suitable. This study recommends that the central government and federal member states would improve civic education and public knowledge towards federalization to decrease the confusion on the federal system in Somalia to give people a better understanding of federalism.

Keywords: Federalism, Clan Power-sharing, Provisional Constitution, Fiscal Federalism, Neighboring Countries

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

UK	United Kingdom
OAU	Organization of African Union
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ASWJ	Ahlu Sunna Wal Jama'a
AU	African Union
EU	European Union
EUTM	European Union Training Mission
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IJA	Interim Jubba Administration
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PSGs	Peace-building and State-building Goals
SEMG	Somalia and Eritrea Monitoring Group
SNA	Somali National Army
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
TFIs	Transitional Federal Institutions
TFP	Transitional Federal Parliament
UN	United Nations
UNSOM	United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia

1. INTRODUCTION

Relying on the concept of embeddedness proposed by Karl Polanyi, the study used embeddedness theory to focus on the applicability of federalism in Somalia and its political context with domestic and regional problems. This study argued that problems facing the application of federalism in Somalia cause domestic and regional difficulties in the country. Most people have believed federal system in Somalia would cause social problems in the community. Therefore, this study has directly examined the general problems facing federalism in Somalia, particularly clan power-sharing based on 4.5 formula and the interim constitution in the state.

Clan power-sharing is an unconstitutional social agreement based on clan representation in politics. However, this study argues that clan power-sharing and instability in the federal system lead to clan-based divisions that federalism would not harmonize. The problem of the interim constitution is also exacerbated by the political and social turmoil. Although Somalia is in a period of recovery, it has been embroiled in social and political strife almost three decades, but it is unimaginable how long it will take to get out of the crisis. The constitution that is central pillar to Somalia's government and federal system needs to reach in a public referendum as soon as possible. Somalis have long struggled with civil wars, exacerbated by extremist religion wars imported from foreign countries to make Somalia vulnerable. Improvement of the overall security of the country will be a social and political development for all Somalis. Taking this into account, insecurity in the country could further lead to federal system that would become more fragmented and be unable to contribute to the country's recovery.

Relying on different views on Somali society on federalism, the study argues that if properly implemented federal system can bring economic and social development to the country and every citizens would have access to social services such as education, health, clean water and the citizens would participate in politics as a democratic way. It is also important to implement federalism in Somalia from the bottom-up approach so that people can understand the social benefits of the system.

1.1 The Concept of Embeddedness

Karl Polanyi, who is known for his book titled *The Great Transformation*, established the concept of embeddedness. His life studies on the interactions between economy and society stretched from the sociological research of community-based minority groups to the political theory of institutions in a period when the 19th century witnessed the capability to adapt the global economy. Polanyi discussed that embedding is an important and necessary situation of the social system even though people were always mainly social creatures rather than political interests. However, the development of the concept might have surprised himself as its founder. It has been previously pointed out that Polanyi never used the term and that there is no assertion that it is a well-defined and key concept in his research (Granovetter, 1985, p. 45).

During the Second World War, Polanyi decided to write *The Great Transformation* where he was hopeful about the prospects. According to him, the process of international conflict could be breached. The foremost challenge was to overturn the conviction that social life is subject to the political context. Once freed from this obsolete social attitude, the road would be open to democratic politics both in terms of national and global interests. Polanyi praised the New Deal of Roosevelt as a model of those development options. Roosevelt's policy changes meant that U.S. politics was structured around social and political activity, however, a new set of regulatory systems enabled both human beings and nature to be tamped against special interests' pressures. Through democratic politics, people asked to protect the elderly from the need to make social security income. Similarly, through the national constitutions, democratic policy has expanded the rights of working people to form effective unions (Kuntner, 1964, p. 22).

According to his theory of embeddedness, social structures influence perceptions and organizations. This concept mainly refers to the degree to which political contexts are integrated into social relations systems in modern society (Granovetter, 1985, pp. 481-510). On the other hand, political integration can be handled as a social benefit method and can enable services to attract political understanding and respect. Politically embedded corporations have important connections or linkages with government system. Researches show that countries that have a weak institutional situation need a clear

association among political leaders. Previous researches have investigated the advantages for social services because of political integration, which can be seen in economical and operational strategic performance. However, there has been little attention paid to the connection between political participation and corporate social responsibility, or to the political prevalence and sponsors associated with this relationship (Rauf, 2020, pp. 2-3).

Having this in mind, it is helpful to explain how national, regional and multinational characters forge and restore a country through compromise, dispute and home-made mechanisms. The criticisms of the prevailing literature and its socially constructed and pragmatic deficiencies identifies four major assertions in the Somali academic literature that relate to the historiography of the country: 1) the embeddedness in social structure of bureaucratic organizations, 2) the representational and 3) components aspects of nationhood and 4) the significance of moral authority. A perceptual strategy is developed for 'attempting to negotiate statehood,' which refers to flexible and partially undecided methods of state building and inability of a wide range of social competing teams in the formalization of power structures. So, this system is operationalized by the political structure in three phases, which partially visualize, partially illustrates who needs to negotiate the nationhood in modern Somalia (actors, resources and perspectives). These proposals are illustrated by aspirational description from various political contexts throughout the African continent (Hagmann & Didier , 2010, p. 78).

By operationalizing the concept of embeddedness, the thesis proposes that federalization of Somalia is embedded in domestic and regional problems of the country. By deciphering these problems, the thesis contributes to the literature of Somali politics. The importance of the study lies in the fact that these problems are not external to the country, rather embedded in the political context of the country.

1.2 Literature Review on Federalism

The word federal system originates from the Latin word "foedus", i.e. social agreement, that also reflects that the underlying principle for the union between two or more political entities or institution, federalism is sometimes looks like by the word confederalism and, as we shall see, the actual political world systems many states mixing systems and confederations. However, the discrepancy is to be found in the local sovereignty of the state, the range that a difference between the two is conceivable (Moller, 2010: 38-76).

Federalism consists of two levels of government structures central and state operating along with a set framework for the division of powers in one political entity, and that each one is independent of the other. According to the William Riker's concept of the federalist state, government activities are somehow split between provincial administrations and a national government, where each type of government has certain responsibilities in which it makes key decisions (Galligan, 2006: 49).

In the nineteenth century, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon the French theorist of socialist federalism wrote that the twentieth century would reveal the age of federations or else humankind would endure another thousand-year-old purgatory. After the purgatory of two world wars (and countless other wars) in the twentieth century, the famous American scholar of federalism Daniel Elazar wrote an ongoing "federalist revolution" as the only protection for peace and stability in a fast changing world. Peace was as elusive as ever in many parts of the world at the beginning of the twenty-first century, but the federalism at least seems to have become the second option of institutionalized conflict management for all in cases of extremely separate societies such as Sri Lanka or Iraq. It remains an open question of whether federalism can ultimately achieve the promise of conflict management and stability or whether it does the contradiction by creating institutionalized mechanisms of opportunity for the continuation of division and conflict (Hueglin & Fenna, p. 1).

How federal system became efficient as a political system in the world? The response is based on who you are asking. They would say "yes" if you asked this question most citizens of India, Canada, and Switzerland. Through federal organizations, various

people in other countries like in Africa, Eastern Europe, and Asia are adaptable to both the idea of supportive ethnic and national communities. In Western Europe, the French government is also antagonistic to federalism. The United States of America is the first and longest-lasting country applied federal system in the world but tend to be against using it to give self-government to different citizens. They deliberately illustrated the interior borders of their own federation to avoid this. Today, when many global experts propose federalism for other nations, such as Iraq, they usually have in mind a non-racial model as well: a federation in which borders interconnect with ethnic and national boundaries rather than coincide with them (McGarry, 2005: 15-17).

Canada is effectively a federal country that can be identified through a vast county next to Russia and a diverse population of over 30 million immigrants from different cultures all over the world and an indigenous population. In 1867, when the former British colony of Canada was divided into two new parts - the French-speaking people of Quebec and the English-speaking population of Ontario - Canada created a federative society. A four-regional federation was founded with two other British colonies, along the Atlantic coast, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (Boadway and Watts, 2000: 25).

The Highest Court of Canada issued its eagerly anticipated verdict on Quebec's referendum on independence on 20 August 1998. The federal system of Canada sought a legal opinion from the court on the lawfulness of secession under the Constitution of Canada and international law. The nine justices of the Highest Court ruled in their 78-page unanimous decision that Quebec had no power to withdraw from the Canadian federation unilaterally. The Court went on to note, however, that if Quebecers wish to gain independence, the Canadian government has a duty to discuss terms of departure in good faith, provided that, based on a clear referendum of majority, the Quebecers have agreed to secede. The federal government and the Quebec administration were both quick to claim victory. The national government was delighted to hear the Supreme Court declare the illegality of an independence referendum and the Quebec government was glad to hear the Quebec right to self-determination being reiterated (Erk and Gagnon, 2000: 92-111).

It is clear that the federal system regulates more than half of the world's land and almost half of its population. As we can see, some of the largest nations in the world such

as the United States, Canada, India, and Brazil, as well as some of the smallest countries such as Switzerland and the Federated States of Micronesia compose this world of federalism. What we think of as the potential of federalism, however, is how its essential principle of divided and shared powers can meet the challenge of diversity. The whole history of the development of modern nation-state has been followed by such difficulties and they have become especially outstanding in the current era when it appears that claims of nation-state sovereignty can no longer accommodate cultural, theological, or even mere territorial self-rule and autonomy ambitions. This is apparent in a broad variety of cultures including existing unitary system in democracies such as the United Kingdom and Italy. In the United Kingdom, the decentralization cleared a historic development giving Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland an important range of self-determination. Although the 2014 Scottish region independence referendum returned a definitive "no" vote, the process generated greater momentum for further action (Hueglin & Fenna, 2015, p. 6).

The crises first flared in October 2017, when a disqualified independence referendum was encountered with a massive police restriction. Madrid administration imposed direct rule on the province soon later. It is the state's major political problems since democracy was returned in 1975, after the death of military leader General Francisco Franco. In October 2017, the referendum was prohibited by Spain's Constitutional Court, about which 90% of Catalan voters supported to have an autonomous state. But turnout was only 43%. By invoking Article 155 of the Constitution, Madrid forced direct rule. The Spanish Government rejected the Catalan leaders abolished the legislature, and on 21 December 2017 the nationalist parties won a rapid state election (Rajoy, 2019, p. 1).

On the other hand, in Africa a variety of nations have exhibited various forms of federalism most of which in many respects deviate from the traditional methods. We could divide them into "constitutional" and "informal" federalisms which could under conditions, warrant the label of "false federalism." (Moller, 2010: 38-76).

Indeed, in 1991, Ethiopia created a federal ethnic form that fully recognized ethnic autonomy whilst preserving the unity of the nation. A federal system comprising mainly ethnically defined regional units was formed by its new constitution. The Law aims to achieve ethnic self-government and equal rights while preserving the state. The federal

process is useful because its constitution separates all ethnic groups. It promotes political groups to coordinate an ethicized federal union with a selection of retirement along political lines and top players. It is a well-intentioned case study, excluding the actual concept in Africa (Habtu, 2003: 57).

The other federal nations such as Nigeria has had to struggle with the challenges of ethnic minorities since its foundation in 2002. From a relegation to ethnic larger states, they are bogus in the first level of education to the extent to which some audiences are reluctant to agree that the minority's major issue still takes place in the federal state. It is undisputable that the minorities are no longer the provincial second direct groups as they used to be, as the formation of regional states as well as the overview and application of the federal character principle, that assurances area to each group in the power sharing process, have among other measures assumed them an improved status in the federation (Osaghae, 1991: 237-58).

Somalia has many forms of federalism although they are based on the farce that Somalia kept after the overthrow of Siyad Barre in 1991. In fact, Somalia was created in the same way as many other federations, namely the 1960 consolidation of two old colonies, British Somaliland and Italian Somalia. The commonly called Transitional Federal Government (TFG) has been acting as the government of all of Somalia since 2004. It was established underneath the backing of the IGAD as a successor to the almost also Transitional National Government, that mostly lingered from 2001 to 2003. His "constitutional" foundation was a "draft transitional federal charter," which concerned the unity of the Somali nation but maintained a federalist political dissent while fully disregarding the secessionist problem of Somaliland (Moller, 2010: 38-76).

1.3. General Concept of Federalism in the World

The term 'federal system' was usually used to be synonymous with the word 'union', but there is a major distinction between these two words. As a fundamental concept, the federal system has several critical characteristics: sovereignty and amalgamation. In simple terms, a commitment to self-government and creation of self-rule for the member states effectively constitute the autonomy component. On the other side, the union component and desire of people to come together work for mutual

purposes. Thus, federal system seeks to balance the presence, with the notion of multi-level government which it embodies, of influential motives which are united for specific purposes and of profound drive for the independent local governments for other specific purpose (Fessha, 2010, p. 27).

A different of methods may be used to train federal states, it's indeed useful to distinguish between dual, cooperative, and administrative federal systems depending mostly on the existence and degree of both the vertical separation of powers and intergovernmental collaboration and shared responsibility. The dual federal system entails strong divisions of powers among federal and state administrations. Each level of government has its own parliament, cabinet, and judicial bodies and thus enforces its own policies and programs, interprets and executes them. There are no or very few concurrent forces officially identified which require continuous cooperation and coordination. In member states which were created via a form of unification, a dual federal system is sometimes usual. Dual federalism was arguably initially accepted by the statutes of Canada, Australia, and the United States of America (USA) since they do not foresee any major region of concurrent powers. The complexity of political, economic, and social life, nevertheless, ensures that a simple separation of powers is sometimes unrealistic since there are a variety of problems requiring intergovernmental cooperation and collaboration. In fact, the federal and state administrations in the three countries are increasingly collaborating on various issues and considering the absence of a specific constitutional framework, the courts have usually accepted such development strategies (Rudiger, 2015, p. 14).

It could be suggested that no Democracy expert in despotism and autonomy could better understand the significance of the hopeful conditions of the republican and religious origins of America than Alexis de Tocqueville. In view of the constitutional republic's institutional and theoretical foundation, contractual principles make the US federal state less vulnerable to personal rights and political dictatorship. Federal ideology has cultivated a crucial implicit role of trust in US democracy. Federal ideologies have fostered a vital indirect role in American politics for faith. Tocqueville has not only studied the tension between belief requirements and democratic standards, but he also differentiated covenantal methods of negotiating those fears from the method adopted by

advanced religious freedom supporters such as James Madison and Thomas Jefferson. He discussed that the ethical fundamentals of federalism would be hard to maintain if this tension is determined by approaches which promote individual independence through the discouragement of covenant thinking (Allen, 1998: 1-23).

A testy political decision is federalization, it is related to the European level, a process what has been the most important outcome of politics of the late 20th century: the gradual destruction of state sovereignty. However, political and economic decision-making in the pan-European governmental processes, court systems, as well as at the sub-national level in the provinces increasingly takes place at the national levels. Public perception in Europe has been divided by that same mechanism. Germany has played a significant role in promoting progress toward the federation of Europe since the Adenauer to Schröder time. While Ireland, Scotland, and Wales are currently moving to devolution, Britain stays pessimistic more about the degradation of state power and the role of Germany in encouraging federalism (Umbach, 2002: 4).

The European agglomeration process arose from the ruins of the Second World War. To defend European aspirations against the world's superpowers of the period - the United States of America and the Soviet Union - it was motivated by both a widespread capacity for compassion and recognition that regional prosperity became vital. It brought an end to centuries of European warfare, and in particular to the deep hostility that had occurred between Germany and France ever since German rather than French kings were elected Holy Roman Emperors during the Middle Ages. The elimination of border controls between these two countries (as well as between other EU member states) under the 1985 Schengen Agreement demonstrates how mistrust was given way to collaboration. With 28 member states as of 2013, the EU has exceeded both the US and China as the world leader in global imports and exports. Its institutional framework has changed gradually but progressively from inter-governmentalism to supra-nationalism. Some policy areas remain in the domain of member-state sovereignty, while others have reached the level of full political integration (Hueglin & Fenna, 2015, p. 5).

Cooperative federalism involves high levels of collaboration and cooperation between variant levels of government. It is common amongst federal states that were shaped through a process of disaggregation. Cooperative federalism is characterized by

wide concurrent powers that demand continuous and official collaboration among the various branches of government. The South African and German Constitutions are originated on principles of cooperative federalism with important levels of shared powers. Federal constitutions providing for extensive concurrent powers may necessitate the founding of entities to coordinate intergovernmental relations. Administrative federalism is a specific system of cooperative federalism whereby the central government mostly enacts broad policies and the regions administer and implement such centrally passed laws and policies (Rudiger, 2015).

After gaining sovereignty from Britain and the establishment of the First Republic in 1960, a need to establish a stable structure of federal democracy overcame the past of constitutional debate and architecture in Nigeria. Nigeria has pursued a federal system, which can resolve its extremely flammable racial, national, and theological conflict during the period of a military regime that started in 1966 and concluded with the formation of the Second Republic (1979-83), and proceeded directly to the beginning of the journey to reincorporate democratic governance. present in the country's oil industry, and a widespread difference of opinion among key elites represents the implementation of important government institutions complicated this exploration (Suberu, 1993: 24).

The idea of federalization is structured to the kind of a federal system in which central government and state administrations are sharing powers and authorities. For comparative studies of federations such as the United States, Canada, and India, federalization as a concept has significant assumptions. As quasi-federations, Canada and India formed and slowly established federations. As a definition, they were not founded on the federal system. The U.S. Constitution was not only the plan for a federation, but was encouraged by a political philosophy that is called federalism, an established of interlocking ideologies of government actual dissimilar from the parliamentary tradition which Canada and India inherited from the United Kingdom. Unless two governments want to move beyond considering unification as that of the allocation of power, they would have had to reevaluate their legislative history and amend their entire definition of federalization in future years (Verney, 1995: 12-15).

Nigeria's federal experience is outstanding in Africa, while federal innovations in Ethiopia, South Africa, and Sudan are evolving and they are highly successful. Nigeria is

undoubtedly the only African country where federalization is deeply embedded and, its component sub-federal authorities are one of the nation's more strong sub-national institutions. Nigeria is definitely unique in its light as possible adherence to the use of government agencies to maintain relationships between its estimated 140 thousand individuals, divided into four main cultural minorities (Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, and Ibo), thousands of minor ethnic communities, and roughly equivalent percentages of Christianity and Islam (Suberu, 2009: 67-86).

Confederations can be organized in a very different way to perceive power, they can be outside, where countries have multiple capabilities or can be centralized unlike the predominant governments. Burgess (2000) differentiates between Westminster Model XII (e.g. Canada), the republican presidential Model XIII (e.g. United States) and the two hybrids (e.g. Germany). Dosenrode (2007) stresses an influence on politics and policy making processes, based on a European (co-operative) tradition and an Anglo-Saxon (dual, confrontational) tradition (Dosenrode, 2010: 17-21).

In this exceptional and challenging influence to the literature of political science and social policy, ten important professional interrogation the dominant opinion which federalism permanently constrains the growing of social unity. Their comparative analysis of the growth of democratic institutions and welfare nations in Australia, Austria, Canada, Germany, Switzerland, and the USA, the six oldest federal states, shows that the federal system can facilitate and hinder change in social development. Development depends on some time dependent aspects, including the degree of democratization, the kind of federalism, the level of the well-being of nation growth and initial sharing of social policy accountability. The common nature of the federalism in a social policy connection is obvious. In a period of cutback and disentanglement of unitary countries, this research recommends that federalism could essentially defend the wellbeing of government and welfare states may improve national unity (Castles, et al., 2005: 76-79).

The complex relationship between institutions of federal structure, the party struggle in the parliamentary system, and the decentralized conflicts among governments influence policy-making in the German federalist state. This is revealed in a study of 50 years of the German federal system. Although the organizational circumstance surpassed other reform attempts, it is discussed that changes in intergovernmental associations were

convinced by changes in party policy patterns and growing decentralized disputes. Since the 1980s, European politics has also encouraged such modifications. Intergovernmental cooperation has become rife with East-West imbalances in united Germany, which are often reflected in a much more Democratic Party framework. A realistic reform of the federal system appears to be possible even though partisan system altercations have decreased (Benz, 1999: 55-78).

1.4. The Significance of Federalism

Since the French Revolution, which brushed away the particularistic structures of feudal honor, social development has been accompanying with democratic centralism based on universal rights. However central power structures can be abused. Therefore the experience of a number of countries with centralized dictatorship led to a process of reconsidering. Democratization became synonymous with federalism. In some cases such as Pakistan and Ethiopia, federalism has been closely linked to democratization. In others, such as Indonesia, federalism is understood as a danger to the integrity of the state and it is resisted, although democratization has been accompanied by some devolution (Hueglin & Fenna, 2015, p. 8).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the deterioration of the nation-state plan in several African states was a reoccurring subject and the optimism is originally sparked in the context of the anti-colonial campaign to establish new nations. Federation has also been progressively seen as an organizational option to a wide variety of challenges in recent decades. However, federalization is one of the most significant fundamental innovations that allow the authority of political influence to consolidate and strengthen current societal division. Federalization addresses constitutional complexities that allow to distribution and divide authority, but it does not suggest that it is stronger than a centralized or confederal structure. There are several benefits of the federal system compared with the unitary system. The federal system enables flexibility, eliminates tensions, and give respecting peoples' preferences and diversity for making it much easier to attain the desired national goals and strategies (Abdulle, 2017: 5).

The central government needs to claim its control over the federal member states, and it prefers to live independently with the member states. The disadvantages of federalism arises when the two levels of the governments struggle the powers between

them. Although the federal system encourages devolution of power to local authorities, lower levels of superiority are also encouraged. The federalization often generates power competition among regional administrations and removes the intellect of unity that should remain within the republic. In certain types of state sovereignty, the federalism sometimes creates the demand of recognition. The acceptance of any community guarantees that the disparities are preserved, giving a strong interest to dominant groups in the continuation of the fragmented system. Furthermore, collective representation would imply that it reinforces the same inequalities it tries to handle (Farah, 2017: 28).

1.5. Confederal System

A confederal system is a self-governing government to achieve shared political, economic, social, and security goals. It consists of organizations or alliances of autonomous regions with restricted powers for the achievement of certain shared objectives. The States maintain all their rights and may exit from the Confederation government. The key aspect of the Confederation is the central government that depends on the regional authority for its resources and powers. The shared government has only the powers and structures to assign by its autonomous Member States. Likewise, the Confederation has no autonomous revenue sources and it primarily relies on Member State donations. Besides that, the central government has no direct relations to the citizens, for example, the Member States has direct ties to their citizens and that form the central government which represented them. Originally, the two of the oldest federations were the United States and Switzerland, although the confederal systems are not popular in the modern world. The United Arab Emirates (UAE) is considered a federal state, but its shape appears to be confederal. Taking into account the considerable strength of the member states, only modern confederation can be considered. The Supreme Council of Legislation, which is made up of the laws of the seven Emirates that make up the Government, shall be the supreme executive and legislative authority (Rudiger, 2015, p. 4).

A confederation concept specifically distinguishes between lawmaking, the formation of policymaking, and the enforcement of applied policies. Policies and laws are solely the right of democratic legislatures focused on participative democracy practices. The execution and cooperation of confederal organizations are the means to connect to confederal systems the towns, municipalities, communities, and cities. Power thus spreads from the bottom up rather than the top-down, with the federal council's reach, from regions to districts and from provinces to ever wider areas shrinking in Confederations. The cooperation of societies with mutuality based on shared interests, developments, and strategies are a key components in providing truth to confederalism. If a society does not have to rely on others or others to meet critical basic needs and understand shared political objectives such that they are interconnected with a larger community, exclusiveness and provincialism are legitimate opportunities. Unless they accept that Confederation should be across its structures and, interpreted as an expansion of a system of community participation will the devolution and regionalism avoid the societies that make up greater organization structures from withdrawing into themselves provincial to the cost of broader aspects of human consociation (Bookchin, 1990: 7).

The federal constitution of Switzerland adopted after the huge civil war in 1848 was a negotiation intended to satisfy both liberal democrats (Protestants) in favor of the unitary system state and the conservatives who protect the former confederation (Roman Catholics). The Constitution also had to adapt to the linguistic diversity of the four official language groups. The cantons (the member state of a federal system) retained their far trying to reach initial independence. As self-governance in a federation, and proceeded to express their sovereign power with the Federation, following highly devolved federalism. The constitutional idea of separation of powers by Switzerland represents the organization's "bottom-up" building approach and, eventually, depends on the residual powers of the autonomous regions and even of certain municipalities (Fleiner, & Hertig, 2006, 266-295).

1.6. Unitary System

A unitary system requires a structure in which the government is conducted as a system underneath a centralized state's overall control. The most countries in the world have a uniform form of government structure, but highly centralized unitary countries are not popular. The governments which have applied the unitary system occasionally create bureaucratic units, sub-units, or lower levels of government. These local authorities may not be represented in the central government and for any purpose, the central government can eliminate or reorganize, change or redeploy administrative units or any lower levels of government.

Decentralization in the unitary states can take various forms depending on the existence of lower-level authorities or institutional subunits. Firstly, the central government could essentially deconcentrate or distribute its services or service outlets to meet citizens across the world. The channels are the responsibility of the core government and have no separate institutional structure. Deconcentration is the worst type of decentralization, including clearly the creation of functional divisions or platforms. Second, in the traditional principal agency structure, for delegation; the central government may create lower levels of government that are different from that and distribute some of its responsibilities to the lower levels. The authorities of the lower level and their authority are accountable and control the national government. Devolution is the most stable type of decentralization in a unitary system. Devolution includes the presence of lower levels of a government that is directly accountable to the people. However, the lower levels of authorities should be responsible and accountable to the central government (Rudiger, 2015, p. 8).

1.7. Statement of the Problem

Governmental power is maintained at various levels in most countries worldwide despite differences in political, legal, and socio-cultural structures. A popular characteristic of national states has been the devolution of governmental power and administrative services. Nonetheless, the existence, range, and legal status of the powers of local authority levels differ across borders. In general, some of the federal countries are developed, some are in the process of development; some are largely homogenous, others include too diverse linguistic, ethnic, tribal or religious groups; some are geographically vast, others are tiny islands; some are centralized, others are highly decentralized; some have only two regions, others have a population more than 80; some are authoritarian, others are democratic; some have established a presidential system of government, some have a parliamentary system, and others have a semi-parliamentary or semi-presidential system; some have adopted a variation of the plurality (majority) electoral system, others have opted for a variation of the proportional electoral system.

The federal system as a concept has become a key issue in the Somali society, which has raised debates and disputes. Meanwhile, since Somalia has taken the federal system, there were many internal and external challenges to implement the best method for federalization in Somalia. However, these major challenges include clan power-sharing, insecurity, returning conflicts, distribution of resources, external intervention, absence of appropriate comprehension and agreement on the viewpoint of Somalia's federal system, and how it would be implemented among the Somalis in the country. Due to mistrust among all the Somali people, the state-building process has been difficult to achieve. The collapse of the strong central government and the civil war of 1991 put the state into the widespread social and political conflicts, which continued for more than a quarter century. The inadequacy of the common understanding and consensus between the national government and federal member states on the separation and sharing of powers has stopped a rapid recovery and the resumption and reconstruction of Somalia as a country. Therefore, this research examined the complex problem of a federal system and its role in rebuilding Somalia as a country. The study also attempts to investigate the key challenges to the applicability of Somalia's federal system for the re-establishment of the country.

1.8. General Purpose and Objectives of the Study

The general purpose of this study explored the application of the federalism in Somalia: the internal and external challenges displayed in the transitional era, and to determine the easiest way to resolve those problems and implement it a logical manner. The study focused on the following objectives:

1. To describe the major challenges facing Somalia's federalism, as well as whether the federal system undermines social cohesion and contributes to the separatism of the country,
2. To investigate the main factors that force Somalia to adopt federalism,
3. To examine the appropriate type of federalism for Somalia to get out of more than 25 years of political turmoil,

1.9. Research Questions

This research attempt to find out the answers to the following questions:

1. What are the major challenges facing Somalia's federalism and how can it undermine the social cohesion and unity of the country?
2. What are the main factors that force Somalia to adopt federalism?
3. What is the suitable type of federal system for Somalia to get out of the longtime of political turmoil?

1.10. Research Hypothesis

This thesis gives a political analysis on applicability of federalism in Somalia. The thesis argues that applicability of federalism in Somalia embedded in political context of the country. This embeddedness reveals itself in domestic and regional problems of the country.

1.11. Importance of the Study

This research will provide additional knowledge and contribute to the literature on Somalia that already in existence. In general, an additional benefit to both the overall view of Somali federalism and the applicability of such a system in Somalia will be enhanced. Consequently, the way for further research on the matter had been covered while this subject area seems to become a recent phenomenon in Somalia. The findings of this study

intended to be used as a valuable source and a reference for relevant scientific research in order to help the researchers, politicians, leaders, government employees, civil society organizations, decision-makers, and all the community who needs further investigating about this subject. Therefore the study addresses the application of federalization to the state formation and sharing of power of Somalia, the conventional democracy and dispute resolution system of Somalia. This study anticipated that the result of this analysis would serve as a crucial framework for researchers who are interested in further exploring this problem and they would use the commitment of the federal system to Somalis' possession as a guideline and other investigations in this context. The study builds on existing knowledge and fills the gap of a lack of information about the idea of the federal system in Somalia.

1.12. Scope of the Study

The scope of this study concerned about the applicability of federal system in Somalia: internal and external challenges of federalism. The geographical scope for the study is to limit in Somalia particular in specific areas such as Mogadishu and Beletwein cities, and researcher is using the qualitative method through interviews and focus group discussion. The time scope of the study stretches from February to December 2020. The participants in this study included politicians, scholars, youth, policymakers, and religious leaders, the study expects they have great awareness about the challenges of Somalia federalism. The study did not cover all relevant topics of Somalia's federal system or the state's entirely complex politics. The range of the research is limited to how Somali federalism can be applied to address social and, political turmoil without any external and internal challenges. Furthermore, the central interrelated issues covered the ongoing investigation into political conflicts, the country profile, and the major challenges raised by the tensions between the Somali clans since the 1960s.

1.13. Limitations of the Study

The research estimates that it might be somewhat difficult to get sufficient information on the issue given that the federal system in Somalia is not yet mature and it is still a continuing subject. Additionally, one of the main problems of the study may be

time limit and constraints of financial resources. Moreover, the study estimates the number of institutions, politicians, political parties or other people that involved in this subject had difficulty in sharing with us their views on the subject under study because of security challenges and political issues.

However, the estimated limitations of this study were time, insecurity and Covid19 pandemic which has impacted social interaction in the world particularly in Somalia. However, in order to deal with the constraints of study, the researcher used useful techniques that facilitated any suitable way to occur the interview and focus group discussion which was online interview that the important participants such as politicians, scholars and other clan leaders participated.

1.14. Methodology of the Study

Due to the nature of the subject, this study employed qualitative methods for data gathering. Both primary and secondary sources were used by the research to collect data. Primary data obtained from different respondents using interviews and focus group discussions, and it was the first-hand data received in Beletwein and Mogadishu from February to December 2020. The secondary sources of research included the information that collected from previously publications like books articles, newspapers, journals, magazines, and internet documents as well as all other previous reports which had already been published. Currently, Somalia is established by five state administrations and the capital, which will have specific status that has not been defined yet. Therefore, this study targets population groups which have selected from specific Somalia federal member state administrations.

Generally, quality studies needs a smaller sample group than quantitative methods. Reasonable sample dimensions should be sufficiently strong to collect information to adequately explain the condition of interest and address research issues. The objective of qualitative approach should be the achievement of concentration. Size is reached when increased participants in the study will not give additional perspective or information (Ali, 1998: 37).

The researcher used a non-probability sample so that individuals are chosen according to non-random requirements to make sure everyone is not included. Unlikely

sampling methods are often suitable for exploratory descriptive research. This study is not aimed at testing a hypothesis about a large population, but rather at developing the original assumption of a small or under-researched population. Particularly, the researcher used a purposeful sample, known as an evaluation sample. The researcher used his/her expertise in this technique to select the sample, which is most useful for this study. Moreover, it is often used in qualitative research, where the researcher wants to learn about a certain concept in depth rather than to draw statistical conclusions or where the population is extremely small and specific. An effective purposive sample must have clear criteria and rationale for inclusion. Often, this may include utilizing geographic location and resources that make participant recruitment convenient.

As it is not possible to conduct this study in all regional administrations and cities across the country in Somalia, the researcher chose to conduct data collection in these two cities of Beletwejn and Mogadishu because this study included 18 men and women and the researcher was unable to collect the data from all regions and cities of the country due to time and costs. Relying on two cities (Mogadishu and Beletwejn), the study can draw on an overview of the federal system and the challenges facing the entire country. The qualitative method requires a minimum sample size of at least 12 to reach data. Therefore, a sample of 18 was deemed to be sufficient for the qualitative analysis and scale of this study. Also, research has focused on the people who can give information about the critical issues of federalism in order to achieve a sustainable solution.

As a sample size of the study, the two main cities of Mogadishu and Beletwejn have represented the other state administrations through data collection. In each city, one focus group discussion and three interviews were performed. The focus group discussion was the group of people who participated and discussed the research's questions during study and they consisted of six persons' four men and two women, also the interviewed participants were six. To get reliable and valid information, the data was collected from academicians, religious leaders, youth, civil society organizations, traditional elders, political leaders, and decision-makers.

Table 1: FDG and KIIs Plan

Mogadishu		Beledwein	
Focus Group Discussion	Interview	Focus Group Discussion	Interview
1. Two from Scholars	1. One from elite people	1. Two from Scholars	1. One from elite people
2. One from traditional elder	2. One from traditional elders	2. One from Local Elders	2. One from traditional elders
3. Two from Youth Organizations	3. One from Politicians	3. Two from Youth Organizations	3. One from Politicians
4. One from Civil society organizations		4. One from Civil society organizations	

1.15. Ethical Considerations

The research had to ensure that interviewees were safe and dignified and the quality of the research. The researcher has a risk-avoiding approach to ethics and has developed a smooth and friendly relationship with the team. The identifications of the participants and the reliability of certain information was significant ethical problems created in this study. To ensure the privacy and confidentiality, the participants were told early on that their names were not needed, and also they had the right to leave unanswered questions for which participants didn't wish to give the required details and that if that happened, the investigator just wouldn't put the participant under pressure. To maintain stability, the respondents were informed that the information they provided was intended to be used exclusively for research purposes and also that the data collected would be handled confidentially.

2. APPLICATION OF FEDERALISM IN SOMALIA

2.3. Introduction

This section analyses the application of federalism in Somalia and the main problems of the national political system of governance of the federal system in the country. The analysis is conceived according to the research goals and primarily focuses mostly on the governmental system framework and the federal structure as well as its challenges.

2.4. A Brief History of Somalia

Somalia is a country in East Africa particularly located in the Horn of Africa. Somalia is also a crossing point between both the African and Arab countries in which is important waterways such as the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, and the entrance of Djibouti port. Somali population is homogeneous and differentiated from many other diversity of ethnic groups in Sub-Saharan African people except Burundi and Rwanda (Ssereo, 2003: 25-40).

It has been recognized as the Somali Republic but it's now renamed the Somali Federal Government (SFG). Correspondingly, Somalia found its sovereignty from the UK and Italy on June 26 and July 1, 1960. The two parts (northern and southern Somalia) combined soon after independence and has become the Somali Republic, and a highly centralized republic was formed. Adam Abdulle Osman become the first president of Somali republic who was a prominent politician, and he was followed by Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke on June 10, 1967. Sharmarke was killed in On October 15 1969 by a man within the Somali police department in Lissanoud city. As a result, the parliament was forced into discussions regarding the election of a new president, however, these discussions were not fruitful and yielded no result (Ali, et al., 2019: 8).

Consequently, the political unrest and governmental disputes in Somalia that erupted into the protracted civil conflict in 1989 was the culmination of a phase that started with the independence declaration of its nation in 1960. However, after several bloody

years the state collapsed in January 1991. Despite suffering around 25,000 injuries in much less than a year and losing the war, an array of opposition groups emerged, and they were seeking to overthrow the Barre military dictatorship (Hesse, 2010: 27).

Nevertheless, the unity of the country had failed to resolve disputes, and the issues of tribal involvement of the various clan groups throughout the processes for colonialism, self-government, as well as the framework of nation-state formation. The complexities of national government reformations and the disputes over state boundaries established by the colonial administration with neighboring countries became the biggest confusion. A geo-cultural space occupied by Somali language speaking people discovered in present-day Djibouti, the Ogaden Region of Ethiopia, northern Somalia (Somaliland), southern Somalia, and the North Eastern Territory of Kenya was established by the pre-colonial Somali government (Ssereo, 2003: 25-40).

Somali Republic was formed and gained its independence on the basis of international recognition. At the same time, other parts of Somali lands and its people in Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti launched themselves to get their sovereignty to create ethnic nation or great Somalia. Nevertheless the dream of acquiring of self-governance from colonial powers were not workable and many periods passed under colonial administrations. Many countries in Africa gained independence but that freedom was not real to citizens because; the colonial powers left negative impacts from Africans including boundary disputes, ethnic or clan conflicts and that is why many Africans are still struggling with a lack of development, however it could barely have been then strengthened the supplement of African governments to their ex-colonial borders, and rooted the attitude of territorial sovereignty so powerfully confirmed at the Organization African Union (OAU) conference in 1964 (Lewis, 1967: 104-12).

A peace conference that was designed to bring together all the fragmented people of Somalia started in Djibouti in May 2000. It was the 13th attempt after the fall of the Somali government and the region collapsed. Each attempt failed previously, and many observers had little hope of this success. Four months later, in Arta, the conference elected an interim president for a transitional national assembly. The elected president nominated the prime minister and his cabinet Council. The conference which had started in Arta at

the beginning of May in 2000, and around 2,000 people came from different all Somali clans in Somalia, and also some of Somali diaspora had come the conference that would be participated around 1 million Somali people were in Arta. Business leaders and Islamic priests were also attended it, but the problems of that reconciliation conference in Arta were the Somali warlords who were participated the conference and mostly they controlled many areas in Somali did not participate in the reconciliation. However, the influences of the warlords got out after when the Transitional National Government (TNG) moved from Djibouti to the Somali's capital city Mogadishu that controlled the warlords after collapsed the military regime in 1991 and they totally rejected the new government and they started a war against the TNG (Lortan, 2000: 94-103).

The second Somali Reconciliation Conference led by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development was convened in Eldoret and Mbgathi, Kenya, just two years after the Arta process commenced. This reconciliation process which outlived the mandate of the largely obsolete Transitional National Government lasted a full two years. The Eldoret process signified alternative disjuncture from current progresses moving away from the centralized scheme of the Transitional National Government to transform the Transitional Federal Government (TFG). As one may presume the recently minted Transitional Federal Charter reestablished the idea of federalism to the Somali situation. Meanwhile, Western attention was increasingly trained on Somalia, as the combination of endemic statelessness and the upsurge of the Union of Islamic Courts meant that Somalia was seen as a new battleground for the Global War on Terror. This new international priority meant that the TFG could rely on continued financial and military support from the international community and neighborhood countries including Ethiopian campaign in 2006 to sweep the Union of Islamic Courts out of Mogadishu (Garowe et al., 2013: 34-48).

Constitutional federalism is generally recommended as a suitable and actual system of government for a nation that is featured by important stages of ethnic diversity. Therefore, the critical ethnic deployment has caused in state failure, the recommendation has regularly been for the country to accept specific method of constitutional federalism as a way to more successfully achieve variety and diminish additional violent conflict. While Somalia is today a perfect example of a failed state that couldn't provide basic

facilities to the people because of governance problems, Somalia is the only state that has same ethnic people in Africa continent, but the root cause of the problems is the clan differentiation. Instead, the origins of state failure in Somalia can be outlined to violent awareness by clans and sub-clans for control of the apparatus of power (Kimenyi, et al. 2010: 1339-66).

In 2012, Somalia approved a new constitution and such a recent constitutional government had been approved by Egypt, South Sudan, Libya, and Tunisia so that Somalia became another country in Africa. Such a palimpsest of the current Constitution reflects the fundamental impeaches and the experiences studied from past legislative engagements. Simultaneously, it outlines the aspirations of Somalia's stable and wealthy constitutional status. Although government agencies change with a current constitutional coat of arms, an unintentional prototype would not seem to be the ideals of democracy, consensus, and harmony. It has also been noted on several occasions that constitution papers cannot fix all issues with a magic spell. With the same alert, the constitutional realism of Somalia is necessary to take into consideration. The parliamentarians are also worried about the instruments of separation of powers. Moreover, the construction of state governments threatens to undermine the equilibrium within the vertical division of powers (Kouroutakis, 2018: 30).

The federalism in Somalia was formed in late 2004 for being originally planned to have a five-year transition period. During this time, the government had to carry out the basic transitional tasks that resulted in the popular referendum on the election of a new constitution and a permanent government. Since then, it has been smooth divided in 2005, the TFG remained largely dysfunctional and it had to work in a dangerous blockade in the capital city of Somalia (Menkhaus, 2012: 169-74).

However, in terms of transition, the Provisional Federal Institutions seem to have come to an end. This concerns both the TFG and unsustainable and weak Transitional Federal Parliament (TFP) headed by the government of President Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed. In practice, the first framework of the strategic plan was quickly condensed down to two reasons: the implementation of a constitutional referendum and the establishment of a National Constitutional Assembly which may under supervision, authorize and

appoint a new but limited legislative body. With a fresh five-year term in the constitution, the elected parliament also chose their leadership and 'guard' administration to take over from the Transitional Federal Government. The international pressure to put an end to the Federal Organizations was understandable given that almost no progress has been made in the TFC's objectives (Mosley, 2012: 4).

2.5. Perspectives on Somalia's Federalism

On the first of July 1960, the Italian Administrative Province of Somalia acquired its sovereignty along with the territory of British Somaliland, creating Greater Somalia in East Africa. Shortly after, the hope of unification for stronger Somalia was unchecked by the first Somaliland. Hence to discover the prospects of formatting a greater Somali ethnic nation in the East of Africa, the Somali Republic subsequently failed to create a workable and democratic government throughout the territories of the Somali Republic which could depict the compelling characteristics of nationhood. As a result, after 1991, following the fall of the Somali Democratic Republic's central government. The combination has seen some devastating incidents, such as the 1961 failed coup by youth military commanders who mostly came from Somaliland. In the 1969 coup by Siyad Barre formed an authoritarian government in the Horn of Africa. The 1977 Ogden war between Somalia and Ethiopia witnessed the emergence of organized resistance in the Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) and Somaliland National Movement (SNM) system, as well as the sequence of civil uprisings from 1978 to 1991 (Mohamoud, 2015: 48).

Somalia has been known as a failed state for the last three decades. This was due to the civil conflict which erupted in 1991. The governmental institutions responsible for providing goods and services to citizens collapsed. While there have been so many attempts to reintroduce peace and order, no moveable outcomes have been achieved. In addition, the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) attempted to introduce good governance but they were prevented in late 2006 during the Ethiopian invasion. The transitional government has questioned the restoration of law and order. Moreover, the AMISOM military has been battling with Al-Shabaab since Al-Shabaab initiated their offensive actions in Somalia. The deadline of provisional government of Somalia completed in

August 2012 and the permanent government was created in September 2012. Somalia has been in a transitional regime for the past 12 years although attempts have gradually been made to recover from the civil war, which exploded in the state in 1991. Nonetheless, the civil wars in Liberia, Angola, and the genocide in Rwanda and Burundi have exposed a troubled continent. Many of the above-mentioned countries have also risen from the situations of system breakdown they have encountered. Even though Burundi has rescued itself from massacres, it is now one of the members of AMISOM troops, which contributes to Somalia. Although Angola is a poor country, it is however the world's unique country that does not rely on foreign aid. Angola also surpassed Nigeria in April 2008 to become the largest oil producer in Africa (Sanei, 2014: 90-101).

Therefore, with the ratification of the interim constitution by the National representatives of Somalia on 1 August 2012, the state officially began to implement federal system. Since federal system has been a bone of argument, political organizations are important to lead the development of regional administrations. Even beyond such legal doubts, the FGS still deals with the task of safeguarding the union of the country and that the state is more than the mere sum of its essential parts. Somalia has often been identified as a nation in need of a country so it has been a historical challenge to preserve community and stability. Multiple groups inside Somalia remained skeptical towards unity even before Somalia's acquiring sovereignty in 1960. Whereas in south-central Somalia, the farming Sab groups pressed for a federal framework and establishment of a separate Digil-Mirifle state government, French Somaliland withdrew from entering the Somali Federation and established the autonomous Republic of Djibouti in 1977 (Balthasar, 2014: 46).

It should be firstly stressed that a profound lack of trust between Somali power class might be the most critical engine of devolved powers. The politics were put in place in Mogadishu during the first period of the independent Somali Republic. Although this system was democratic, the most citizens were dismissed out of Mogadishu. The Army retained power in 1969 and the opposition leaders aimed to remove President Mohamed Siyad Barre in response to increased repression. Second, decentralization is usually cautious in advocating greater involvement and government representation of Somalis. Previous administrations named each province's governors, and each town's mayors and

police commissioners. There is certainly a strong demand that populations have to choose their local, provincial, and national representatives for democratic participation. As being the case, greater local political engagement would serve as a buffer towards inadequacy in political discourse. Third, Somalis have traditionally had to fly to Mogadishu to receive a passport or other important services. Somali's people would never be compulsory to travel long distances to receive inexpensive essential services that could have been locally accessed. Moreover, the demand for enhanced available to social facilities is generally quoted in the case for stronger representation in country. Initiatives to restrict access to public needs are generally seen as an additional indicator of the ability of the national government to consolidate national power (Elmi, 2014: 69).

In order to evaluate the kind of political structure in Somalia, it is important to understand the creation of political status of country that has not been genuinely comprehended. For example, due to the Somalia's social, political and territorial complexity, the formation of a viable federal system in Somalia has not been permitted,. Although it was unpredictable in 2012 that the global community hastily announced that Somalia's federal government should be recognized as a perpetual state. Many of the current political and state inadequacies are regulated during Somalia's state-building process during the non-appearance of different necessities and important government features. Power-sharing and political distrust in Somalia towards the President and the Prime Minister is also an internal political wonder that has never been accomplished by Somalia since the post-colonial period of 1960 (Mohamoud, 2015: 48).

The case that federalism in Somalia will weaken the cohesiveness of the Somali country is articulated in two distinct but related arguments. The principal argument is the responsibility that a federal state would reduce the interior consistency of a Somali country, as the devolution of power would inspire clan politics and (in extreme cases) would guide to the actual dismantling for the Somali country. Another argument states that external actors will seize upon the multiplicity of actors and interests within Somalia in order to exploit the (presumably) weakened Somali state (Garowe et al., 2013: 34-48).

It can be suggested that the federalism has positive and negative impacts. However, it is important to point out that, when we want to apply federalism to a failed

state such as Somalia, we should first know why this country should take federalism and what kind of problems federalism can figure out? For instance, Pakistan and Ethiopia implemented federalism for democratization and decentralization, while federal system of the United States of America provides for consistency in all the states and provinces of the country. Currently, the main problem of Somalia is a political dilemma based on clannism and distrust between Somali's people which has been inherited since the formation of the Somali governmental system. Although the federal system in Somalia needs to be investigated scientifically whether it can alleviate social cohesion and the unity of the country or can lead to the contrary it can be put forward that federalization in Somalia can lead to separation and disunity in the society if not built precisely and based on social norms to address the political and social problems. So, federalism is only a system that cannot bring unity or division.

2.6. Post-Transition State Re-formation Efforts in Somalia

Generally, Somalia has no sizable population governed by the central Government of Somalia, meaning that there is really no unique geographical area which can be controlled by the Somali Federal Government (SFG) and there are no functioning government agencies that would carry out the necessary orders of the central government of Somalia. While Somalia has received significant international aid, the political and security catastrophe is still pervasive and the social and economic vulnerability has developed into violence, foreign interference, piracy, international drug and human trafficking, and inappropriate political conduct which has throw into disarrayed regional and global steadiness (Mohamoud, 2015: 48).

Federalism as it is currently practiced in Somalia is frequently referred to as "bottom-up" process which means that the structure of the state is built from the lowest centers of political authority to the upward. These subunits of political power begin at the renege of regional administrations and are subdivided into regional powers. The decentralized nature of the state is said to offer personal power and authority to individual citizens, offering them the autonomy to decide their political futures. One serious

challenge to the current course of federalism in Somalia is that it has not lived up to the promises of “bottom-up” governance (Garowe et al., 34-48).

Somalia created an effective system to design theory and models that underpin the institutional structures of sovereign nation. The breakdown of this state appears both international and regional governance with critical issues. Although Somalia can have very sophisticated set of problems, it is not an isolated occurrence. It offers rather a vital perspective for the current normative system and the creation of frameworks (Spisak, 2017, p. 1).

Somaliland officials lead a composite government not precisely a state in the normal sense, but a government in the fundamental sense of keeping order as a pillar upon which people have a shared bond and are capable of handling relationships with foreigners in the society, which are all essential elements of self-determination. Organizational difference between Somalis exists regardless of the fact that citizens experienced common capital difficulties and traditional values of government in Somaliland and Puntland with the rest of Somalis. Both Somalis operated within nationalist rule during the Cold War. In the 1970s, everybody witnessed their ultranationalist plan. Particularly important, everybody has fallen prey to government agencies' drastic deterioration and to terror confusion and exploitation of policy-makers who participated in the 1980's breakdown (Reno, 2002, pp. 93-107).

2.7. The Essence of Federalism in Somalia

In order to increase their power, the provinces have attempted to develop cultural diversity within their boundaries. The major western nations of Europe have sought to establish the most considerable shared language, religion and culture although most of these EU states have different ethnicities such as the Catalans and Basques in Spain, the Flemish and Wallonians in Belgium, Scots and Welsh in the UK and Corsicans and Bretons in France. Despite the challenging issues of maintaining the geographic credibility of the independent state and therefore profoundly partitioned counties, African countries attempted to create nation-states (Fessha, 2010, p. 10).

It is undeniable that citizens of Somalia that depend mainly on livestock, agriculture, and fish are egalitarian. More than 90 percent are projected to be rural that are living below the poverty line, and all of them are Sunni Muslim, locally divided by finding grace and water resources from one position to the next. The complete range of political systems and demographic arrangements were governed by tribal loyalty, family dominance, reprisals, stereotyping, and clan politics. The federalization framework of Somalia is simply theory in comparison to the essence and features of federal states, which are practiced by few African nations. Nevertheless, it can be said that Somalia is far from fulfilling the federal standards in this perspective. The understanding of federalism has not been properly described and illustrated even by the Somalia Federal Constitution adopted in late 2012 (Mohamoud, 2015: 48).

If a state is culturally diverse, there are two choices to adopt. One method is too oblivious to the country's ethnic diversity character and seeks to construct a common national identity together with a same culture or philosophy which surpasses ethnic divisions. This will be a choice to establish a new nation-state and a mono-cultural culture. Another approach is the acceptance of the state of cultural minorities. In this situation, the country could choose to foster a peaceful relationship between different ethnic groups. Until quite recently, countries have embraced the first choice and tried to create nation-states. Extremely cautious of the centralized and un-fragmented nation as the ideal-the perfect system type, the dominant sources of Europe presumed. Various statehood was measured as real habitually inactive because of its allegedly troublesome and centrifugal nature (Fessha, 2010, p. 10).

Besides, states that follow functional federal systems are capable of distinguishing either colonial federation systems or ethnic disparities by different colonial systems. These characteristics were not accomplished by Somalia because it had an only colonial experience (the experience of Italy), and since British Somaliland disintegrated the union or declared its own independence and self-determination in 1991. Ethiopia, for example, has more than 80 ethnic communities and race is also the basic ideological movement of the federalism of Ethiopia. Article 1 of the Ethiopian law 1996 mentions Ethiopia is a federal country. The legislature is consists of two chambers: one is the lower house (Representatives or the house of the people) and the other one is the upper house (senate

or the house of the federation), the representatives of which are chosen either through state councils or by democratic elections. Ethiopia's strongest executive power rests with the First Minister (Prime Minister). Federal authorities are concerned with issues of national interest such as socio-economic development, national health, and education requirements and program requirements, security, national Police, international policy, immigration, and international trade. Ethiopia is a neighbor country of Somalia that adopting the federal system since 1991 based on various ethnic groups. However, Somalia can learn valuable lessons from the implementation of the federalism and how to address common challenges and conflicts with in the society (Abdulle, 2017: 5).

2.8. Supporters of Federalism in Somalia

General Franco's death in 1975 ended closely 40 years of centralized dictatorship and oppression of Spain's considerable cultural diversity and regional identities. Three years later, there was a new democratic constitution. This Constitution defined in its commonly vague Section 2 that the permanent cohesion of the Spanish State will be centered on the right to self-administration of the ethnicities plus lands of that it is formed. On the other hand, the journey from apartheid dictatorship to democratic federalism in South Africa took longer, and it would be a give to demand South African federalism a success as yet. Seven years after Nelson Mandela's famous walk out of prison in 1990, a new democratic constitution shaped nine states as well as a constitutionally recognized and protected tier of local government. As in the Spanish case, it created a federal system in all but name, providing for most of the institutional features usually related with federalism and dissimilar to most other federal systems even including constitutionally protected principles of intergovernmental cooperation. Post-colonial Brazil developed a formally constituted federal state in 1891. Yet not until five constitutions later, in 1988 federalism achieved association with a meaningful and lasting measure of democracy. As in many other post-colonial states, Brazilian history hesitated between republican liberalization and repressive authoritarianism. (Hueglin & Fenna, 2015, pp. 9-19).

As a method to handle diversity, federalism has not always been employed. Other roles that the federal system can fulfill are available. Furthermore, the main statement in this idea states that the federation has the potential to modify ethnic diversity and preserve

the country's social and political dignity as structural nation-building. The point of the debate remains throughout the federalist strategy, not just as a concept of concrete organizational norms that require standardized implementation, but also as structural values that reflect basic principles and that through appropriately structured practical implementation can respond to the demands of an ethnically pluralist nation (Fessha, 2010, p. 25). Although it could not be claimed that federalization is the only alternative solution to Somalia's political instability, some scholars and politicians argued that in Somalia there are tremendous forces that push federalism to resolve political disputes. The most significant driver of devolution is a dominant lack of confidence between the Somali political leaders (Elmi 2014).

Furthermore, this distrust is not only related to the ruling leaders. There is also a widespread deep mistrust in and amongst the Somali communities as a whole. Pre-colonial clan disputes, colonial legacies, and post-independence tribal conflicts, disputes, and crimes committed by both government and non-governmental participants have developed this huge distrust and nonconfidence. Military administration's 1988 brutality toward Somali citizens in Hargeisa had increased and, in 1991, Aideed's tribe commenced displacement in Mogadishu, therefore several other parts of Somalia strengthened skepticism. Politics was put in place in Mogadishu during the first decades of the self-governing Somali republic. The troops maintained control in 1969 (Elmi, 2014: 69).

3. POLITICAL CONTEXT OF FEDERALISM IN SOMALIA

3.3. Domestic Problems

The unitary system had operated in Somalia for more than 31 years from 1960 to 1991. After the civil war, various reconciliation conferences were held in Somalia and neighboring countries which was attended by politicians, traditional leaders, warlords, civil society organizations and many countries who are interested in the issues of Somalia. Consequently, they agreed to apply the federal system as the framework for Somalia's government. Therefore, this study focused on the challenges faced by Somalia's federalism as a whole, particularly on its internal and external challenges, including power-sharing, insecurity, the interim constitution, regional boundary disputes, the status of the capital city Mogadishu, financial management, etc.

3.3.1. Clan Power Sharing

The clan relations contain shared backgrounds and interconnected through multifaceted connections of social interactions which spread tribe grounds noticeable with fluid boundaries within the national land. The clan was accepted as a sociopolitical relation between organizations and state in a typical Somali society. Each tribe has its own rulers and community elders as the case in different African multiethnic societies. The clans are sharing lands and other properties and its managing was related to the perception of power, religion and tribe (the protracted clan). However, the post-independence methods of transformation significantly changed the conventional notion of properties and control. The clan structure and new system of sociopolitical institutions cooperate in modern Somalia. The old-fashioned systems of the clan as outlines of identification and settings of disputes and conflicts as well as collective protection have been replaced with the national judiciary and federal principles notwithstanding the existence of tribal rulers' social and cultural status (Ssereo, 2003: 237-58).

In 2000, Somali National Peace Conference supported by Djibouti led to create the Transitional National Government (TNG) codified by the Transitional National Charter. The Arta Peace Process as the conference came to be known reversed the recent

developments in producing a unitary system. As a resolution to the problem of clan representation, the TNG incorporated the system of representation from earlier talks known as the ‘4.5’ formula in which each clan family would be equally represented with a half designation for women and minority clan families. While the TNG was able to make remarkable progress towards statehood such as representing Somalia in the UN delegation for the first period since 1991, the agreement between rival warlords disintegrated due to disagreements about opening Mogadishu’s seaport, and a lack of support from regional powers (Garowe et al., 2013: 34-48).

4.5 clan power-sharing in Somali Federal Government

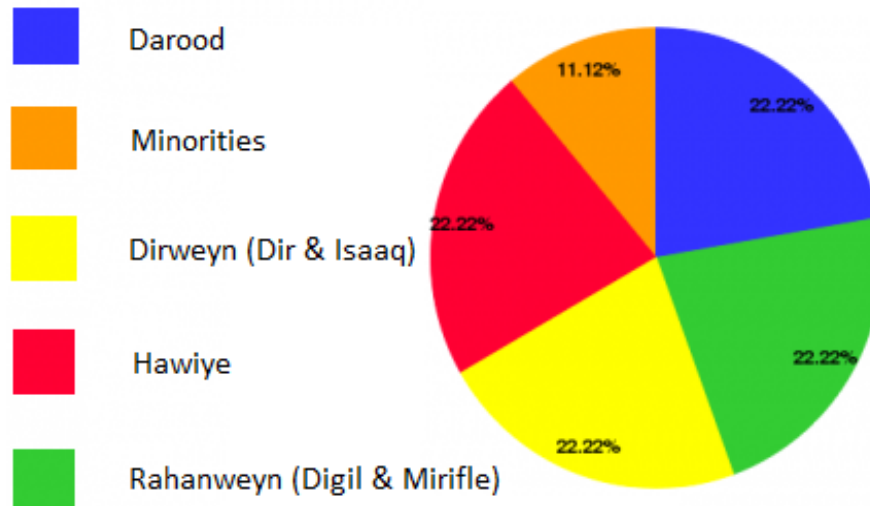


Figure 1: Clan power-sharing in Somali Federal Government

Sources: Somali federal government clan power sharing, 2004

Besides, the constitutional criteria on federal regions seem to suggest that new states should include at least two of the previous regions of Somalia, a condition that was not met for most of the tens of existing countries. Possibly, the new federal system will only provide a relatively weak centralized state relying on foreign military support. Even so, the next step of South-Central Somalia politics will probably be marked by local or

regional power disputes. Ethiopia and Kenya also collaborate with a local ally militia. As Al-Shabaab militant groups move from urban areas, and Ethiopian forces retreat from Somali borders, enmities that had formerly been latent will be restored. The AMISOM does not have adequate levels of troops to avoid the problems associated with this conflict (Mosley, 2012: 4).

The political clan power sharing is a central aspect of federalization. The national law is intended to establish power-sharing arrangements of federalized provinces to resolve the conflict of interests between both levels of the state governments. The formula for division of power relies on the favorite writers of the law, producing adjacent circumstances of a federalization (Ali, et al., 2019: 22).

The strong division between the Somalis began in the colonial era when international borders had a vital impact on internal struggles, leading to the international and intergovernmental struggles of primitive clannism and sub-planning. Even though the clan and subclannism contribute to intra- and interstate conflicts, the Somali culture is still recognised in oral rules that don't write single document that implmenting from generation to generation with clans of decisive origins, social standing and access to territory, land and property. After long discussions, the National Peace Conference in Somalia was established model on proportional system by the clan representation. The foundation organizing committee, scholars, tribal elders and civil society representatives were accessible to everybody (depending on the range of each clan). This element of the Somali National Peace Conference enabled several optimistic followers to accuse previous mistakes in national reconciliation, arguing that participation was often factional and divisions were the roots of the Somali deadlock rather than the resolution. There was no question that the call to circumvent the rebel groups led to the gaining of great solidarity of this agreement and encouragement from important foreign actors. It also partly compensated for the skepticism that the Somali National Peace Conference was only a more top-down mediation practice (Musau, 2013: 13-17).

Somaliland and Puntland condemned the insignificance agreement that made the central government based in Mogadishu to discuss that the clan-based representation theory is defective. Ismail Omar Guelleh, the President of the Djibouti Government

requested regional reconciliation. However, several experts worry about the longer-term effect of institutionalization of clannism in political discourse in Somalia. Thirdly, many Somalis disapprove the electoral reform based on the tribe. The Isaak's clan who divided ranks with Somaliland to participate were appalled to see that they were split into some type of wider group of "dir" clans so that they were not handled on the similar level as Hawiye and Darood because they just had 100 seats at the rate of 175 per unit for Hawiye and Darood. It was only one of many decisions that strengthened Isaak's struggle to the Arta project, including those between Isaak and Somaliland (Menkhaus, 2000: 169-74).

These divisions exasperate the academic debate about whether the formation of Somalia Federal Government should be eventually described in terms of tribes and clannism. . The respondents have deeply confirmed that the extreme nature of the tribal communities in the region makes it very difficult to recognise the powers and responsibilities of emerging state structures and bodies by the construction areas of the Somali country, as clans make a decision and operate the private sector and companies. From now on, the absences intellectual indigenous speeches that are non-clanist in nature and no powerful civil society groups are capable of winning the position of the Federal Government of Somalia. All of these efforts work towards the legitimate state making the mechanism without involving political parties and stimulating people's voice. The clan works for the people, making the social security well-being scheme compulsory and protecting the group members on every edge (Abdulle, 2017: 5).

Nonetheless, the clan system leads to fighting, violence, bigotry, and hierarchical power. It is also the tribe identification that effects the political clan is not the product of dispute but a persuasive mechanism for mobilizing for any local political actor to gain its protection. This is a broad way to explain the framework of Somalia and the fundamentals for Somali identities with the presence of clans. Therefore, Somali tribes are divided into clan associations and tribe partnerships were established to protect the shared interests while preserving their people (Musau, 2013: 13-17).

3.3.2. Regional Boundary Disputes

The conflict between Catholic Irish republicans and Protestant British unionists between the 1960s and 1990s resulted in the death of nearly 4,000 people and left more than 40,000 wounded. It officially came to an end when a multiparty agreement on power sharing was reached in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. Nevertheless, the power-sharing scheme was broken down between 2003 and 2007 and sporadic violence returned. When three British soldiers and a Northern Irish police officer were murdered by republican dissidents in 2009, Martin McGuinness, a former leader of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland until 2017 described the killers as “traitors to the island of Ireland. Nothing can drive home more powerfully than the great transformative success of the Good Friday Agreement, despite all the setbacks and unresolved problems. The Good Friday Agreement consisted of three parts: (1) the re-establishment of devolved powers to an elected legislature, the Northern Ireland Assembly, with a mandatory power-sharing formula for the governing Northern Ireland Executive; (2) the creation of a North/South Ministerial Council for cooperation on cross-border and other common policy matters among Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland; and (3) the formation of two British-Irish institutions (Hueglin & Fenna, 2015, pp. 12-13).

Similarly, the most important obstacle faced by building of the federal states of Somalia was the division of controversial areas along clan borders. The South-West State of Somalia, for example, claims that it has six regions: Lower Shabelle, Bakol, Bay, Gedo, Lower Juba, and Middle Juba. The self-declared administration of Somaliland and the Puntland states also have the same territorial disputes on Sool and Sanaag. The two states of Galmudug and Puntland always have boundary conflicts (Ali, et al., 2019: 25).

The self-administration Puntland state of Somalia and the self-declared Somaliland administration are in a hopeless situation in the Northern provinces. Age-old boundary arguments again flared up after Somaliland’s local army took the important city of Taleex on 15 April, encouraging Puntland state to announce its purpose to “wage war” against Somaliland administration. At the same time, the situation in the southern regions remains uncertain, with many political forces emerging and conflicting regions. In March

2013, the eruption of the armed conflict in Baidoa began with such converging intentions and with the declaration of many opposing state administrations. Although guaranteed comparisons were established with the process leading to the formation of the Interim Jubbaland Provincial Government in 2013, the growing tribal implications for existing new policies were certain to complicate issues. The political landscape which officially ended in September 2012 with the establishment of the Federal Government was indeed far from certain. Although regional disputes have grown partly because the construction site was a mechanism vulnerable to challenge under such conditions, Somalia and its foreign partners now must avoid more fractures with the potential conflict (Balthasar, 2014: 92).

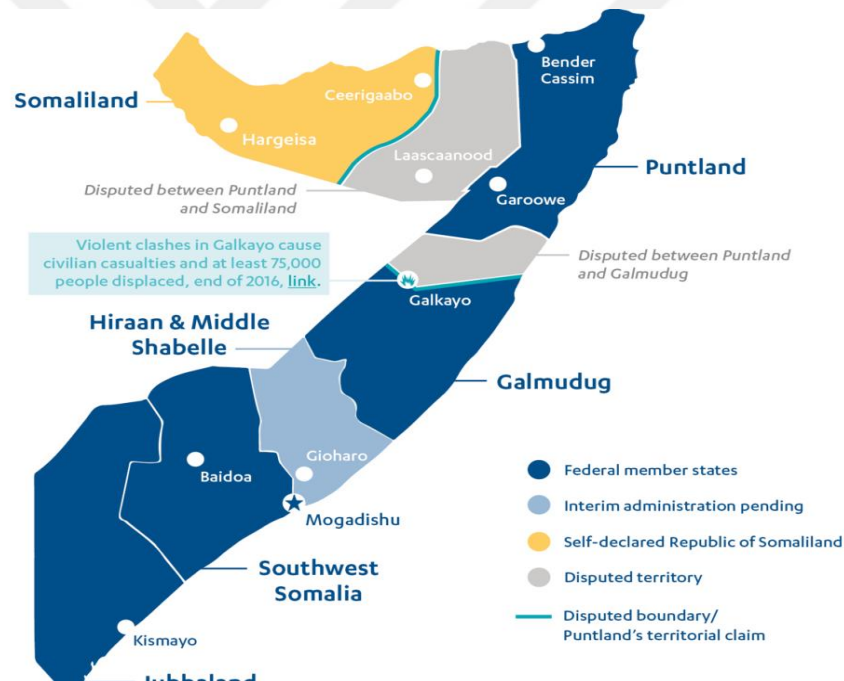


Figure 2: Federal Map of Somalia's State Administrations

Sources: ICAI, 2017

3.3.3. The status of Capital Mogadishu

For the past five decades, Mogadishu was the main city and one of the largest cities in country. The various people in all parts of Somalia once lived there. Many Somalis challenged the likelihood of Mogadishu founding its place and prominence many years ago in the aftermath of reports that Mogadishu has become a "clan territory" which can no longer symbolize the Somali people's choices national identity (Ali, et al., 2019: 23).

The principal problems facing federalization in Somalia are the lack of civil schooling, the distribution of wealth among states and national government, and Mogadishu's legal rights as headquarters. The implementation of a federal structure involves both independence and co-operation between the various people in the country. There needs to be agreement on the shape and content of federation, inter-state ties, distribution of power and resources, and diversity issues. All of these factors remain widely dispersed in the Somali sense and the discussion on federalization often exists in the politics of the country (Abdulle, 2017: 44).

3.3.4. Provisional Constitution

The first constitution of Somalia which was adopted in 1960, assurances the democratic, political, and socioeconomic rights of all citizens at minimum in principle. The two provincial government includes common principles, such as voting rights, the commitment to political office, the right to live and freely move in all parts of the state, and the right to shared ideas. The people still have "their rights of religion, thought and property" (Constitution of Somalia, 1960). Eventually, the Charter of Somalia specifically guarantees significant economic and social rights, including education, healthcare, etc. In 2012, the United Nations Drafted Charter encompasses a comprehensive spectrum of civil, political, and social rights written a single document named the Federal Republic of Somalia. The constitutional problems appear a further key concern for the current government due to the lack of clarity during much of the initial steps of the design and the lack of public discussion on the draft document, circumstances have been established where even the fundamental laws of this country will probably begin to be discussed and further amended mostly it indicates the speed at which the process is completed. It puts

into question, the dignity of the country's constitution and the care that the political leadership takes (Mosley, 2012: 89).

Paradoxically, even though the Charter firmly established the legal-political, social, and economic protections for people, the present central government has adopted a law that seeks to restrict its people's choice of rights and freedoms. The Somali Federal Parliament passed the law on administrative districts and regions in July 2013, which introduced a provision protecting Somali people from seeking government positions in all regions of the country (Districts and Provinces Administration Law 2013). The legislation rejects the clause in the Constitution that guarantees Somali residents' political representation. For some period, it was not questioned by the Supreme Court and, therefore, has become the law of the country. Every Somali can hardly search for governmental positions in the regions wherever his or her clan historically resided. In the past, this was one of the leading community challenges in Somalia. Regardless of the region or municipality, this claim could lead to conflicts in general (Elmi, 2016: 8).

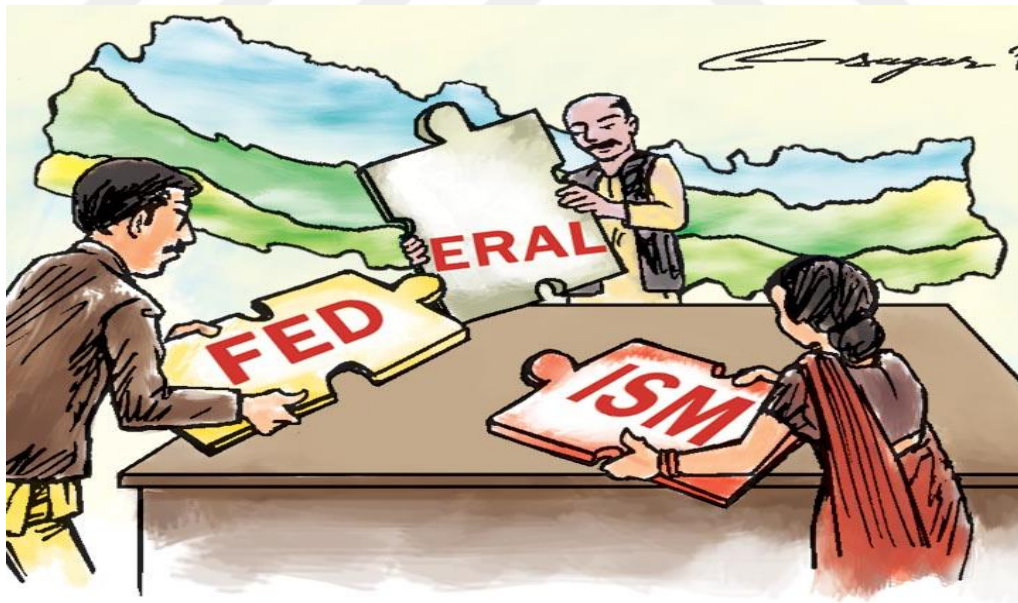


Figure 3: Somalia Federal Interim Constitution

Sources: Unisom, 2020

On the federal level, the whole Somali citizen has a possibility to hold in public office under consideration of his clan. For instance, if one of the Somali citizen wants to hold in public office at a federal level, his/her clan should propose him/her to be nominated or he/she needs a nomination based on the 4.5 clan power-sharing that has already been agreed in Djibouti reconciliation. On the other hand, the state-level is different from a federal level because every Somali citizen does not have an opportunity to hold public office or even to be an employee in every state due to the his clan constituency. For example, if a person who clan's constituency from Hir-shabelle state administration cannot hold a public office in Puntland state administration because of clan's constituency. The interim constitution is an integral part of the state creation process. The approval of the interim constitution became a portion of the FGS agenda, but the mechanism has begun long ago. Its validity was challenged because the mechanism wasn't really adequately integrated and it was perceived as a kind of external pressure. Some critical and systemic problems need to be considered. A few of these problems were resolved in the new constitution or by law pending a final edition of the document, while others were important in the shorter term. This involved the establishment of the regional administration and the separation of powers amongst FGS and the provinces (Skeppström and Nordlund, 2014: 28).

Somalia's new government has a transitional charter in effect without enforcing instruments. The Constitution has not finished and it has not been officially approved. This provides a wider range of alternative perceptions of the Constitution and as a result, it may be abused by a government that does not endorse important elements of the rule of law. However, according to Article 1 of the current interim constitution, which was approved on August 1, 2012, Somalia is described as an egalitarian, federal, independent, and parliamentary state, a multi-party social justice system. While this constitutional structure has at least delimited certain delineation among government leaders, there is a recurring political battle within three constitutional state institutions (Abdulle, 2017: 34).

Conversely, while the Interim Constitution is explicit on the federal nature of the country, there can be no agreement on the ramifications of federalization – or even whether there needs to be any national government. Legislature, for instance is segmented on this topic. There was uncertainty that federal system might not be a workable system.

Somalis are an unified entity and the state finds federalization to be inherently divisive (Skeppström and Nordlund, 2014: 28).

3.3.5. Resource Distributions

Somalia is a significantly untapped country, it has the greatest coastline in Africa provides excellent marine services. The northern part with natural deep-water ports is one of the world's busiest transport lanes of the livestock sector, helping the incomes of more than 65 per cent of the population in Somalia, which previously accounted for the popular of Somalia's export incomes, however still holds sturdy potential for development. Impartial distribution of resource's capital is significant in the ongoing devolution discussion. The ongoing debate on decentralization, the unbiased allocation of resources is relevant. If oil of business amount is exposed, it is probable to composite local struggle for resources. This will have a deep impact on both proposals for local dominant control and efforts to preserve centralized administration (Elmi, 2014: 60).

Besides, power transfer is a key justification for sharing and serving a reasonable power. However, Somalia needs a parallel system such as Kenya attempting to adopt a unitary system based on devolution. Kenya is state divided into the regions described in the first proposal and also as federal and state levels, authorities are distinct and inter-dependent, having a mutual relationship that focuses on consultation and cooperation.

This form of decentralization in Kenya is a more favorable system of decentralization, whereby provinces are willing to practice certain self-administration structures. In reality, Somalia's political sophistication cannot achieve a close of confidence that would possibly inspire positive government, compromises, and appropriate political behavior to avoid risky action. The global traditional development approaches have aimed at helping Somalia to cope with such an intense humanitarian catastrophe and deprivation, while stabilization of socio-political and economic development is indeed a long way delayed, owing to the many accumulated challenges in recent decades of instability and vulnerability (Mohamoud, 2015: 13).

The Somali Interim Constitution doesn't really control production and manage the natural resource income. It reserves the 'distribution' for long-term talks between the Central Government and the Region Administrations of resources in Somalia (Articles 44

and 54). The principle of fairness will guide the distribution of resources (Article 50(e)). The Charter also ensures everybody's opportunity to distribute the country's productive wealth (Article 25(2)). Also, Article 45(2) imposes on all an accountability to occupy in creating, enforcing, maintaining, preserving, and shielding natural resources and the environment. The Law also mandates the Federal Administration to safeguard the ecosystem and to avoid actions damaging the national resources and environment (Article 45(3)) (Wolfrum, 2015, p. 40).

3.3.6. Undefined Powers of Central Government and the Regional Administration

The separation of responsibilities among the federal administration and the member states is one major element of the country's functional self-regulation. The sharing of powers and resources in multi-ethnic nation-states concerns a significant topic in the field of authorities established for the various components. What are the strengths of sub-national divisions in a federal state which is built to address the problems of cultural diversity? The question that is often addressed in a multi-ethnic union also refers to whether the framework should receive equal power and authority to all sub-national institutions or permit indigenous persons to have stronger authority than the others (Fessha, 2010, p. 44).

The provisional constitution of Somalia does not explicitly describe the authorities and the ties of these states. Also several people interested in the federalization of Somalia are quite confused about these concepts. In the autumn of 2013, The Puntland administration with the federal government have long been tightened and thereby diminished. The Leader of Puntland agreed in August 2013 to terminate its partnership with the Somali central government by declaring that it would not conform to the interim constitution and would not distribute authority, money, and international aid. A further divisive topic was federalization and a decentralized government structure. Somaliland doesn't even see itself with an autonomous countries, but it appears as a member of federal Somalia. Somaliland was not a plan member state of the federal government and that several stages of discussions between Somaliland and Federal Government of Somalia occurred in abroad (Skeppström and Nordlund, 2014: 57).

The common practice was that the first state functions as an autonomous government, the leadership in Hargaysa voiced its aim of establishing autonomous northern regions of Somalia. The representatives of many other local governments are similar to Somaliland. In particular Somaliland administration has their defense, foreign relations, and fiscal policies. They negotiate freely with the neighboring states that helped to set up all of those governments and now have their influence in the country's construction project. On the other hand, the Mogadishu administration did not have the ability to manage the actions of these Member States. In certainty, Ethiopia and Kenya interact with Somalia's independent political class as competing tribes and not as responsible local government (Elmi, 2016: 7).

3.3.7. Security Challenges

The current crisis in the new administration seems to strengthen considerably during the beginning of the process, mainly since al-Shabaab has been forced out from the main cities after an AMISOM offensive, they lost the capital city of Somalia in 2011. Since 2012, it has also lost all control of some of Kismayo's leading cities in south-central Somalia. But al-Shabaab still occupied most of south-central Somalia and they have started Guerrilla warfare by altered their approach of normal operations. It often used creative methods but armed conflict became the most successful technique in 2013 to fight its rivals (Skeppström and Nordlund, 2014: 31).

The terrorist organizations continues to be a danger for Somalia, it was certainly dissuaded from its widespread credibility by its management of food safety problems around 2009-11 and considerable territories were weakened. The party, therefore, maintains the capital base and the capacity to execute an inverted attack targeting AMISOM and the government of the caregiver. Even though AMISOM would encourage it to function in several regions beyond Mogadishu with its dramatically increased military levels, its existence is nevertheless likely to be restricted to large metropolitan centers. The Al-Shabaab group has already returned to its planned killings, roads explosion, and terrorist assaults in and around Mogadishu towards. Along with the above-mentioned tribe geopolitical tension, the Al-Shabaab plans to have a destabilization impact on south and central Somalia. Furthermore, its existence in Somaliland and Puntland could endanger

stability or deteriorate pressures between other administrations within their borders (Mosley, 2012: 5).

The African Mission in Somalia and the Somali National Army released a new operation against Al-Shabaab in March 2014. This resulted in the re-sight of some fortices and major cities in the regions such as Bakool, Gedo, Hiran and Galguduud at the end of March. The motor behind the assault Ethiopia has joined AMISOM in 2014. Holding large cities was quite easy for AMISOM and the Somali National Army as Al-Shabaab could not go on battle, acknowledging that it could not overcome AMISOM using conventional war. In the absence of this, its leaders have disbanded in the society after impacting services such as wells and retaliating society if it cooperates with AMISOM or the government (Skeppström and Nordlund, 2014: 45).



Figure 4: Somalia Security Problems

Sources: Issafrica, 2019

The United Nations has imposed weapons embargos on Somalia to promote the troops of the Somali government, however, there have been little trust among the Somali government and foreign partners in restoring its well-trained and structured military forces since the removal of this restriction. The result that was arms were entirely delivered to the Somali Federal Government and re-sold and transferred along through Somalia to increase the possible outcomes for conflicts to proceed and entertain new undesirable behaviors outside of Somalia. In other words, gun trafficking and unneeded ammunition remained under the control of civilians who has become one of Somalia's most famous imbalance (Mohamoud, 2015: 65).

Despite the attempts to reinforce the Somali National Army have several problems, first it is a major challenge to create a nationally united force. In fact, clan militias remain faithful to specific leaders. Another reason it is the absence of cooperation is the fact that the territories preferred their own parties to remain in power. The final factor that could fuel tension indicates that EUTM-trained troops mostly come from Mogadishu and thus they do not form the total nation. The Somali National Army still needs facilities one method to address this issue was to offer an exception from the Security Council's 1992 arms embargo on "weapons or military equipment or the guidance, support or training" which is aimed at the creation of security personnel (Skeppström and Nordlund, 2014: 12-23).

The Somali stability is seen as regional and global phenomenon, but the consequences are always taken into consideration instead of core causes of problems, due to the weakness of a state and intervention of regional and foreign troops in Somalia. In addition to that, the strategy to ensure force protection is still inaccessible to the deployed international forces to Somalia while UN Resolution 2093 in 2013 has increased all the barriers for the imposition of arms ban. This decision has without a doubt made Somalia legitimate access to arms and military hard labor deliveries for this time, however, it is not possible to handle the training of capable military services because Somalia is socially and politically disorganized. Several international conferences have emphasized and 18 of them recommend that permanent frameworks for security structures be placed in several places (Elmi, 2016: 13-18).

3.3.8. Misunderstanding in Federalism in Somalia

Most Somalis and leaders are not adequately aware of the understanding of federalization and its type even though federalism appropriates Somalia. However, it bears several challenges, causing it to be a complicated process. Although federalism enhances uncertainty and confusion, conflicts continue to develop when the authority divisions among member states and the central government are not clear. As a form federalism decreases cooperation and eliminates accountability in both the state administrations and the federal government (Abdulle, 2017: 23).

Somalia's adoption of a federal system or a unitary system is complicated but the state-building process in Somalia and the supremacy of the global community have produced various weaknesses, including the strategies of top-down national programs and a weak comprehension of the challenges of the Somalia government. There is no argument that the effective system in Somalia would be rebuilt without the participation of consensus. Indeed, due to conflict of interests and the traditional disputes, the security of the global community and regional powers had several repercussions for Somalia's short and long-term opportunities (Mohamoud, 2015: 6).

Somalia continues to take the good knowledge and experiences of its partner African nations and the developed world as well. Otherwise, it appears to be a political confusion that cannot resolve and seek a pleasing climate that can manage the present division in Somalia. The federal structure that Somalia strives for is actually contradictory to 14 common federal theories. For example, in all major clans, it wishes to create a separate state, which would be impossible to meet the pre-determined requirements for the federal system if the federal system in Somalia is founded on a clan association. The distinction between “pro-federalist” and “anti-federalist” camps is grossly overstated. There is dynamism inside both groups, which includes opposing understandings of the perception of federalism and its implementation to the Somali political context. There are not absolutely two opposite thoughts but several perspectives that decrease along a continuum. (Garowe et al., 2013: 3).

3.3.9. Applicability of Fiscal Federalism in Somalia

Fiscal federalism relates to the distribution of revenues (mainly income from taxes and natural resources) and expenditure powers among the different spheres of government. It is essentially about the distribution of wealth and resources in federal countries. The division of powers over financial and natural resources (fiscal federalism) is one of the most controversial aspects of the vertical separation of powers. The division of fiscal powers tends to be more flexible than the division of other legislative and executive powers which makes fiscal issues salient in day-to-day politics in federations (Wolfrum, 2015, p. 38).

The normally accepted principles of tax assignment are very simple, each level of government should have access to revenues proportional to its expenditure needs and mobile tax sources should be centralized in order to minimize tax competition, forcing subnational jurisdictions to drive down rates. The problem is that these two considerations may not always be compatible, centralization of high-yielding mobile tax sources such as corporate and personal income taxes will inevitably give central governments disproportionately greater revenue and leave the constituent units short. The federal spending power resulting from this tax centralization may be justified as a means for income redistribution and other national priorities or inequity issues across jurisdictions. However, it may simply enhance the authority of the central administration to intervene in parts of subnational authority. In their hunt for ever more revenue, governments have been inventive in imposing what amounts to an almost infinite variety of taxes, duties, and fees. Only a few of these have to be considered in order to understand the main patterns of tax assignment in federal systems (Hueglin & Fenna, 2015, p. 167).

Federal states differ in the level of their government-wide distribution of essential public services, which is expressed in the scope of their disposable income. These spending disparities at the governmental level indicate the distribution of duties. The parts of the government that delegate the most responsibilities would account for a greater proportion of expenses for the delivery of products and services. Investment government services for economic, external, state, and community relations typically lie at the national level, whereas regions support city services, such as education, defense, security,

infrastructure, and transportation because they are aware of local requirements and desires. In his analysis of fiscal federalism in Canada, Germany, Switzerland, and the US, Virkola 2014 confirmed this. The methods of allocating revenues to sub-national authorities differ and these methods vary greatly in the level of fiscal autonomy. The key four parameters to consider in the distribution of revenue are local base, income taxes, tax collectors, and the distribution of income (Isak and Ali 2019: 25-37).

This review of Somalia's government finances reveals that all government agencies – previous and current – are completely unofficial: informal structure, informal administration, and informal access to services. The organizations with poor levels of professionalism, honesty, and integrity were not outstanding in their way of operating. Both federal agencies have been unable to work and comply with a formal framework (Fartaag, 2013: 112-97).

Fiscal federalism includes the allocation between the levels of the government of public operations and financial allocations. It is concerned with financial policy and decision-making, which includes, among many other orders, the distribution of taxes, expenditures and other fiscal policies related issues. Vast and growing nations are traditionally related to federal fiscal policy as there are opportunities designed to protect efficient and effective service delivery for their own people at the different levels of government (Ali, et al., 2019: 12).

There are three basic methods of assigning revenue sources to different levels of government. The first one is exclusive tax assignment. At the beginning of contemporary federalism, the collection of customs duties logically became an exclusive federal power in order to protect the desired goal of a national economic and customs union, it was then also one of the most significant sources of revenue. Article 1, Section 10 of the American Constitution clearly prohibits the states from taxing imports or exports; the Australian Constitution dedicates a full ten articles (87–96) on the transitional formation of a customs union with eventually exclusive Commonwealth powers to levy duties on import and export. In addition to customs duties, the German Basic Law, with its inexorable penchant for micromanaged precision, lists no fewer than six other exclusive federal tax powers,

and it also identifies five exclusive tax powers for the Länder, including the right to impose a tax on beer (Article 106) (Hueglin & Fenna, 2015, p. 168).

The exact division of revenue-raising powers varies across federations. There is no single best way of allocating revenue-raising powers. Overall, revenue-raising powers tend to be more centralized than expenditure powers. The central government often has access to the most important revenue sources and raises revenue more than it spends. On the other hand, the regions raise less than they spend. For instance, in Nigeria, the federal government raises more than 90% of the total revenue. In the most decentralized federations such as Canada and Switzerland the central government raises less than 50% of the revenue. Nevertheless, even in these highly decentralized federal countries, the regions may not necessarily be self-sufficient and often require federal transfers to cover part of their expenditure responsibilities (Wolfrum, 2015, p. 41).

Somalia has still not developed a revenue generation system, organized efforts or financial regulation issues, therefore, remain underway with the member states, the national government negotiated on several procedures such as the standardization of sin-tax rates covering different import goods into Somalia. Notwithstanding these negotiations based on ongoing activities are much more difficult, but some important taxation activities are still to be negotiated. The issues need to be answered about ‘who raises which’ if there will be a single income management channel (Revenue Authority) or whether each state and local level raises tax in its own manner if revenue distribution (business income tax) will be dependent on tax form allocation or whether revenues accumulated in a national reserve. To conclude the tax systems are not properly harmonized in Somalia (Ali, et al., 2019: 18).

3.4. Regional Problems

The external challenges of federalism in Somalia are important factors that we should contend to deal with and spend much more time and resources. The neighboring countries have obvious interferences including military interventions to gain on their political and economic interests. Moreover, with the international interventions from the United Nations and the European Union, international organizations seems to give more

efforts to the federalism of Somalia but their interests are different may be based on economic resources and other strategic issues.

3.4.1. *The problem of neighboring countries*

There are external drivers of devolutions as it was primarily driven by the neighboring states and the foreign and donor communities. First, the countries in the region, especially Kenya and Ethiopia have never ignored involvement and participation in Somalia's state and sub-national affairs. Both states have a concern about the danger of a greater Somalia, thereby increasing regional instability. Besides, internal factors and external factors such as neighboring countries and international donors have influenced the ideal government fitting for Somalia. Since the sovereignty of Somalia in 1960, Somalia's government followed aspirations for a Greater Somalia, however Kenya and Ethiopia are scared the union and integration all ethnic Somalis in one nation-state (Abdulle, 2017: 34).



Figure 5: Greater Somalia

Sources: Geeskaafrika, 2018

Both states remain nervous about the reappearance of Somalia's ambition. Ethiopia has a strong tradition of Somalia intervention. The army of Ethiopia has regularly entered Somalia after the breakdown the Somali government in 1991. It has contributed to the flourishing of various groups in Somalia over the last three decades. In 2006, Ethiopia, supported by the USA, invaded Somalia to bring down the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), the first regime in Mogadishu to propose peace after the state's collapse in 1991 (Elmi, 2014: 39).

In October 2011, the Kenyan military invaded a unilateral armed response, ostensibly in retaliation for al-Shabaab assaults on Kenya (and the group's suspicious role in the attempting to hijack of foreign people) which represented Kenya's isolated politics and privileges. Immediately afterwards, the Ethiopian army once interfered in Somalia and expanded into al-Shabaab sites throughout the regions of Bay, Bakool, and Hiraaan. In December 2011, the AU, the UN, and its difference partners founded the African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) as a new design of activities to be aware of these important advances (Williams, 2013: 7).

However, the donors regard federalization as a feasible but not inherently the best option for a unified country. In a federalist state, Kenya and Ethiopia have significant benefits for their own geopolitical interests and cultural variety, nonetheless they also advocate for the devolution system (Skeppström and Nordlund, 2014: 33).

3.4.2. The Effect of African Union

The African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) has a control in capital city of Mogadishu with approximately 85 officials, which have been equipped around four areas of land and a maritime zone. Section One is located in Mogadishu and is primarily served by Ugandan and Burundian soldiers. Section Two is being mobilized by Kenyan forces in southwestern Somalia with a new Sierra Leone battalion. Section Three is located in the north, where Djiboutian Battalion served in the zone surrounding Belet-Weyne along with Ethiopian armies. The latest opening concept established a greater AMISOM force of around 18,000 uniformed personnel which expanded its operational theater to four south-central Somalia territorial regions (Elmi, 2014: 5).

A maritime field was included, while AMISOM required maritime trade properties. External efforts to “stabilize” and counter emerging security issues from vulnerable and unstable countries usually include combined “strong” and “weak” modes of military and government action. Stabilization is typically an amalgamation of military, political, development, and humanitarian efforts to stabilize the economy in a given region (Skeppström and Nordlund, 2014: 3).

A whole set of concerns and difficulties faces the central administration of Somalia but it is disputably the most relevant one that affirm the legitimacy and efficacy of its processes with native people beyond Mogadishu and establish sustainable revenue sources. Without progress in those regions, the federal government of Somali will remain reliant on foreign donors in the diaspora or the donor countries and its commendable policies will remain unfinished. The FGS also reiterated its calls for the lifting of the United Nations weapons embargo on Somalia (Williams, 2013: 44).

3.4.3. The Role of International Community in Somalia

There was no space for the growth of democratic and revolutionary Islam. External actors have had a significant effect on activities and processes in Somalia. There have been alliances between Islamists, al-Qaeda, and Somali extremists since the early 1990s. Latest analyzes show that Al Qaeda endured similar issues as UN and U.S. military and humanitarian interference in Somalia (1992-1995) due to partly distrust as outsiders who adopted a non-generalized form of Islam, difficulties in constantly shifting clan and sub-clan alliances, and restrictions imposed by its fragile infrastructure (Hoehne, 2009: 13).

Several assaults on sea traffic of the Somali coast have gradually increased since 2005, Somali pirates have managed to create a product differentiation strategy: ships of all sorts are subverted on the committee with their pilots for the sole purpose of paying. In the last decades, they have increased their capacity and expertise to such an extent that the marvelous industrial development has been acknowledged by Jack Lang, the Special Advisor to the United Nations for Legal Affairs on Piracy of the coast of Somalia. Given the dilemma faced by the Somali communities over nearly three decades of internal conflict, the implications for the nation and territory of continuing insecurity and unrest,

the impact of terror attacks and the strategy for their people as well as the geostrategic aspirations of the European Union, the European Union (EU) has attempted to deal with the situation from various points of view (Ehrhart and Petretto, 24: 2012).

In September 2013, a consultation meeting was held in Brussels which the Federal Government of Somalia and the European Union (EU) approved the New Deal Agreement. The Compact guaranteed a new format for politics, security, justice and economic development, which outlines Somalia, its societies, and the international community's closer cooperation. The program, funded by €1.8 billion commitments, and it is structured to strengthen the foreign support agreements to Somalia's national goals for peace-building and state-building and to safeguard standards for shared transparency in the implementation of agreements among Somalia and its relevant stakeholders (Hearn and Zimmerman, 96: 2014).

The international community (EU, UN, AU, IGAD, USA, UK, etc.) has expressed its support for a decentralized governance model in Somalia. The donor group partnered with non-centralized state players to legitimize sub-national stakeholders' power at the benefit of the Federalization (Abdulle 2017).

First, the international community is becoming so fatigued that it continues to examine new ways and methods of domesticating and abandoning Somalia's issues. Secondly, the international community is worried about the growing dangers of the Al-Shabaab insurgency in which both the Western nations and the regional countries see as an overwhelming danger. Third, the well-coordinated foreign initiatives are mostly responses, but these responses are not consistent, hard, and soft, and several efforts that rely on military force, rather they manipulate public hearts and minds. Moreover, although the issue has become an international issue, foreign interests are not currently fighting for the problems of Somalia since the post-Cold War new paradigm has radically changed it. On the other hand western powers are still attached to take Somalia's problems into account in spreading a greater number of capitalists and the liberal ideas of nationhood that Somalia still holds back (Mohamoud, 2015: 19-26).

The terrorist organization Al-Shabab has already revealed its ability to strike even outside Somalia, killing many Ugandans in 2010 after a massive suicide attack which has

many people realized was a revenge for the Ugandan administration's decision to send troops to Somalia). Nevertheless, recognitions to the private security firm Bancroft were partly compulsory so that the extremists decided to retreat. The United Nations and African Union representatives' gratitude for the efforts of Bancroft with improving the fighting abilities of the African arms in Somalia enforced Shabab militants to departure from Somalia, for the first time (Gettleman, et al., 2011).

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 2036 implemented on 22 February 2012 increased the authorized force of the African Mission from 12,000 to 17,731 security officers in Somalia. This number expanded to have nearly 360 police forces in December 2012. UN Security Council Resolution 2073 attached 50 additional civilian staff to the project in November 2012 (Williams, 2013: 30-48).

The terrorist groups such Shabab's assaults focused primarily on Somali targets, but have also been able to deliver suicide bombings in the horn region of Africa, for example, terrorist attacks in 2010 in Uganda's capital, and a fatal ambush on a Nairobi mall in 2013. Washington is concerned about the possibility of terror organizations, which have effectively employed the Somali-American diaspora organizing threats in the U.S. The U.S. has been recently pursuing two divided policies in Somalia: finance, preparation, and operational assistance to UN-supported African soldiers fighting al-Shabab, when expanding counter-terrorism operations that involve special armed groups drones (Masters and Sergie, 2015: 6).

The Al-Shabaab militants of Somali officially integrated with al-Qaeda on 9 February 2012 even though the significance of al-Qaeda-al-Shabaab alliance is strongly disputed. Therefore, the unification revealed contradictions and flaws in two ideological, clan, and religious institutions. Perception and recognition of key vulnerabilities will enable policymakers to improve policies that leverage particular vulnerabilities and increase the overall counter-terrorism operation (Zimmerman, 2013: 4).

Al-Qaeda appeared to be absent in Somalia since 2012 when the National Army of Somalia and AMISON expelled al-Shabab from Mogadishu and other main areas of Somalia that they previously occupied. Conversely, Al-Shabab has modified its war tactics alongside the Somali and AMISOM federal governments. While Al-Shabab stated

to battle Somalia's central administration and Africa's forces, they also wish to implement Sharia law across Somalia, but they do not disclose Islamic culture's method in their actions. For example, on 14 October 2017, in the capital city of Mogadishu more than 600 innocent people died due to a large explosion. The London Conference was a big development only as regards to the UK's relationship with Somalia. When it was finalized in 2011 and the beginning of 2012, national policy commitment to Somalia was the most persistent which concentrated throughout the country's lifetime of the civil war. The key goal of the conference and its corresponding commitment was to strengthen the consistency of the global assurance to the transitional government in Somalia and to sustain an impetus to complete the TFC's agenda. Therefore, it can be suggested that international players in Somalia (particularly from the West) have certain mutual goals, particularly in fighting piracy and seeking counter-terrorism targets (Mosley, 2012: 29).

3.4.4. Turkey-Somalia Relations

So far, Somalia has had no information on its production capacity and oil reserves. However, several estimates are based on seismic studies conducted in the field, which assert that Somalia plans to launch resources with about 30 million tons of oil on 15 offshore blocks. If this is true, Somalia could be raised to an important position on the global oil image. Advancements demonstrate which Turkey plans to receive an invitation from Somalia and is most probably going to be involved in rounds of negotiations once it opens. The Turkish organizations Oil and Gas Corporation and its affiliated companies, which also operate for oil exploration in the eastern Mediterranean area, are probably responsible for offshore drilling in Somalia. Therefore, private energy suppliers in Turkey will be involved in these rounds of funding is still uncertain (Gullo, 2012: 44-70).

Although Somalia and Turkey have important and sincere relationship for more a decades, the ties of the two countries based on strong diplomatic, economic and security cooperation, some neighboring states and governments are not at ease about the good relationship between Somalia and Tukey. Many countries fear that Turkey would increase its involvement in the Horn of Africa which has a strategic location for the world economically and politically. These countries, including Somalia's neighbors Kenya and Ethiopia, and Gulf states such as the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Qatar, have

worked to keep Somalia from becoming a politically and security-minded country and to keep Turkey out of Somalia not to build a strong military defense (Sucuoglu & Stearns, 2016: 37-22).

It is important to remind that Turkey maintains traditional ties with Somalia that go back to the Ottoman period in the 16th century. The Ottomans arrived to Somalia's to defense at a serious period once Somalia was fighting Ethiopian and Portuguese imperialism ties which was additional flagged by commerce relations among the two countries yet the beginning of colonization at the close of the 19th century. This relationship had been interrupted by the British and Italians in Somalia in the colonial era. However, Turkey opened up a Mogadishu embassy in 1979. Nevertheless, Turkish interests in Somalia were revived by the 1998 'Return to Africa' scheme. In 2011, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan called global notice to one of the worst droughts in 60 years that struck the Horn of Africa. Given the name as “the disaster of this century”, over 12 million people were put to death by the drought once the international community turned a blind eye to the disaster (Kagwanja, 2013, p. 2).

Turkey's foreign policy on Somalia connects the altruistic propensity of Erdoğan to the world. It also reflects how Turkey would conduct itself in the global community to execute geographically a strategy that fundamentally advances its interests. In this respect, the outcomes in Somalia have brought Turkey a competitive advantage in North Africa (the country's power base), but also it has enhanced Turkish global influence which will additinal distribute cases of Turkish rough uniqueness presently discovery in deference of the Syrian civil warfare (Gullo, 2012: 120-80).

The food shortage in Somalia in 2011 contributed to the increase of interest of Turkey in Eastern African relations. It commenced as an emergency assistance. Ankara's approach grew into a full-fledged social and political Somalia strategy. Turkey's Somalia strategy has not only involved a political participant in Africa but also extended Turkey's Africa strategy in a much more nuanced and multilayered way as far as it was achieved in the short term. Therefore, Turkey's background in Somalia would have a huge impact on its wider African policies (Orakci, 2015, pp. 343-352).

Turkey's participation in Somalia is a significant indication of the increasing commitment of donors to a dispute climate. Turkey's turning up in Somalia increased in answer to the destructive drought in 2010-2012 but since then it has reached further areas, rather than providing relief and protection for survivors of drought. For instance, it has organized global and domestic forums, negotiated between different parties, worked to build capability, fostered trade ties, and provided international support. Turkey's participation in Somalia was strikingly multi-faceted, involving the Turkish administration, religious organizations, NGOs, the privately-owned sector, and local communities. However, it is still too early to reliably determine or grasp the effect of Turkish intervention on Somali organizations (Sucuoglu & Stearns, 2016, p. 5).

The Turkish model of humanitarian strategy attempts to optimize consciousness with ambition. It is a multi-track one, covering media, and commercial networks, therefore, it continues to pursue diplomacy. While Turkey's strategy in Somalia has a humanitarian level, an element of power and interest has already had a long-term vision to ensure its own position in regional and global policies. It is limited to comprehend by local context, the aspirations of the preceding state, widespread support for charitable international relations, the efficiency of the leading up to the incident state and need for geographic acceptance and international support (Akpınar, 2013, pp. 735-757).

Turkey has participated in Somalia for two major factors: foreign political power and resources. These results are focused on the review of a range of sources. They suggest that the choice made by Turkey to participate in Somalia was taken at the highest level of government and has been a part of a larger plan to boost Turkey's national image and global influence. This approach has been strongly aligned with Turkish companies, NGOs, and governmental institutions. In brief, Turkey selected Somalia as a platform to polish its foreign policy identifications and gain the soft power position. This inference was not due to the popular Sunni Muslim background of Turkey and Somalia or their connections with the Muslim Brotherhood or a larger call for welfare and development although these certainly were driving forces. The main goal of Turkey to engage Somalia is instead to gain the political and diplomatic resources that it enjoys beyond the region and Somalia (Cannon B. , 2016, p. 16).

Turkey has taken structured analysis since its economic rebound in the mid-2000s to stand as a powerful figure in Africa. The year of 2005 was proclaimed the Year of Africa. In 2013, Turkey's interest in Africa had risen to 35 states up from 12 a decade earlier. Turkish participation in Africa increasingly expanded in the fields of emergency relief, economic aid and economic integration, and political proxy war negotiation in Africa. By using global influence strategically, the Ankara's strategy has extended to most African nations. Ankara's answer was opened over 30 African embassies. Many political players, mostly governments of the European Union, endorsed Turkey as a counterpart to the actions of China on the continent. Turkey's interaction with Africa has a special benefit. It connects the West with the East and it is primarily "Muslim in Europe." This Muslim ideology falls well particular with African Muslim countries. Therefore, the Turkish involvement in Somalia is of particular concern. Though political instability has struck the Horn of Africa since 1991, Turkish involvement has made significant efforts in the restoration of Somalia (Kagwanja, 2013, p. 35).



Figure 6: Turkey-Somalia Relations

Sources:trtworld, 2017

In the autumn of 2017, Erdogan established a \$50 million Turkish military base in Mogadishu, the Turkish's biggest military base in the world. Not only did Turkey pursue massive infrastructure projects all over the continent, including constructing roads and railways, but it also exerted other soft power to make it a valuable historical feat. The Turkey government had built military base and academy for defense in Mogadishu, Somalia. This armed base named TURKSOM has been the main hub of the intergubernatorial task force known as the "African Eagle" since its foundations, where Turkey intend to educate and train officers from Somali Armed Forces and thus help the Government of Somalia build a national military force capable of supporting itself. In terms of its function, along with the training of the Somali Armed Forces for their sustainability, the basis extends this training and provides the country's coastguard and navy with the required equipment. The military base serves as the largest military facility in Turkey overseas. It covers a surface area of 400 hectares. The TURKSOM also has different political consequences as the military base, while oppose the foreign policy of Al Shabaab, which serves Turkish interests in political terms and improves relations between Turkey and Somalia (AKCA, 2019 , p. 2).

The relationship between Somalia and Turkey have a long history, but the ties of the two countries have strengthened over the past 10 years. The involvement of Turkey's relations to Somalia is based on strengthening diplomatic, trade and security ties. Turkey government helps to build a strong and effective military of Somalia. Ankara Administration entered an agreement on security cooperation with Somalia Government in 2010. The Somali Military commander and other retired military officers negotiated the modernization of the Somali army forces alongside with Turkish counterparts. As part of a national security construction project in Somalia, 100 military experts officers were founded an army field, naval and air schools. In Turkey, Somali security forces have been giving well prepared training by deploying many military ships to defend Turkish traders and shipping has taken on the task of fighting piracy off the coast of Somalia. Under these agreement signed by Ankara and Mogadishu, Turkey administration has founded the Somali National army training base in Somalia, but the U.S. and Ethiopia opposed the African ambitions of Turkey(Antonopoulos P., 2017, p. 10).

4. INTERPERTATION AND THE ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

This section analyses and interprets the data that was gathered by various participants in the conduct of this study. Mogadishu and Beletwein were represented as sample of the other regional administrations. The method of data included a group discussion and semi-structured interviews took place in two cities. 18 participants attended the study, 12 of them participated group discussion and 6 of them attended interviews. The participants of focus group discussion included scholars, working on the universities in Somalia about the political context in Somalia.

The traditional elders were also very significant for the study because last two decades were quite influential for Somali politics where civil society organizations could participate the study due to their interest on federalization problems of Somalia. The interviews included six prominent people such as political elite, intellectuals and clan elders in country. The questions were same that was based on semi-structured interviews because the intention of the researcher was to get additional information about the problems of federalism in Somalia.

Meanwhile, the respondents were given the promise that all the information and debates would be used just for academic purposes and the specification of the participants would be secret. There was a relationship between the study and the characteristics of the participants. In order to obtain in-depth information that could give a perfect comprehension of the political context and problems of federalism, it was important to gather information from politically informed people in Somalia, especially on federal issues that would require knowledge and experience. This is why the researcher focused on professionals, politicians and intellectuals of the society.

The respondents' characteristics such as gender, age, level of educations and work experience were given as follows:

Table 2: Respondents of the Study

No.	Section	Number of People
1	Politicians	4
2	Scholars	4
3	Civil Society Organizations	2
4	Youth	4
5	Transitional Elders	4
	Total	18

As displayed above, this study gathered a self-administered data through face to face interviews. The total participants of the study were 18. 12 of them participated group discussion and six of them attended interviews.

Table 3: Gender Respondents

Gender	Number of People	Percentage
Male	12	66.6%
Female	6	33.3%
Total	18	100%

As shown, 66% of the participants were male and 33% of the respondents were female. So that males outnumber females in this study.

Table 4: Age of the Respondents

Age	Number of Ages	Percentage %
20-30	4	22.2%
31-40	8	44.4%
41-50	4	22.2%
50 and Above	2	11.2%
Total	18	100%

The table on the age distribution shows that 22.2% of the respondents were of the age between 20-30 years and the ages between 41-50 years are followed by 22.2%, while respondents between 31-40 years constituted the most of participants of the respondents with 44.4%. On the other hand, respondents above 50 years were 11.2%. According to the ages of the respondents, it is clear that the selected people were dominated by the respondents between ages 31-40.

Table 5: Qualifications of the Respondents

Level of Educations	Number of People	Percentage %
Bachelor	7	38.8%
Master	5	27.8%
PHD	3	16.7%
Uneducated	3	16.7%
Total	18	100%

This table demonstrated that the majority of participants have a bachelor and representing 38.8.4 percent of those surveyed; the second category is a graduates and representing 27.8%; the third type is a PhD holders represent 16.7% of participants, whereas 16.7% of the people surveyed are undereducated.

Table 6: Experiences of the Respondents

Years of Experiences	Number of People	Percentage %
Less than 2 years	3	16.7%
2-6	5	27.8%
8-10	6	33.3%
10 and Above	4	22.2%
Total	18	100%

The above table indicated that the majority of the respondents have an experience between 8-10 years, that made up 33.3% of the participants. The second type of the participants have an experience between 2-6 years, who represented 27.8% of the

respondents. The third group represented 22.2% of the respondents and the fourth group have an experience less than 2 years, which represents 16.7% of the respondents.

The basic results of the research on the applicability of federalism in Somalia are split into two key arguments: those who see federalization as an ineffective mechanism in Somalia and those who understand federal system as an acceptable idea for democratization and for the solution of Somalia's political problems. The participants of study believes that the federalism is a system that can solve the existing problems in Somalia, which has almost taken 30 years, but the only problem was that the federal state formation process was not through in the right way to make it a sustainable system in Somalia. "The Somali federal formation was suitable for a bottom-up process in comparison to the extent of the conflicts. However, the federal formation seemed to be built in hurry like a robbery using top-down process", as respondents suggested. Consequently, federalism increases complexity and misunderstanding at the same time rising conflicts when jurisdictional appearances are not clear in between the member states and central government.

4.3. General Perception and Attitudes towards Federalism

In some political, economic, social, cultural, and geographical contexts, federalization has been embraced. Some of the federal countries are developed, some are growing; many are predominantly homogeneous and some include various linguistic, ethnic, tribal, or religious groups; some are geographically large, some are small islands; some are unified, others are highly decentralized. According to the situation of Somalia, federalism was accepted as the system of power for Somalia after prolonged time of conflicts, anarchy, power disputes, clan fighting and the collapse of governmental organizations which became foundation of suspicion and distrust amongst the Somali societies, leading to damage of confidence in a unitary or centralized government. Federalism involves optimistic relations for some people, whereas some have pessimistic associations for it. Some people understand the federal system as a system that is pushed by external players, while the opposite groups realize the system to be a resolution for rebuilding the state (Rudiger, 2015).

A participant from civil society organizations expressed his view regarding federalization, arguing that federalism is characterized as an implementing a governmental system. However, the political process does not have a long term solution. The participant asserts that the federal system is the best system in a nation with different faiths, ideologies, cultures, and people. It is not an easy concept to run in Somalia because of conflict and tensions among the Somali people. However, this system requires tougher processes, strong state inspirations, genuine mediation, and problem-solving opportunities and disputes in societies and it acts as a framework designed to prevent ongoing civil war (Ali 1, 2020).

Federalization is a provider of government resources and it is a mechanism that should make it possible for Somalia to stand alone. The factors for Somalia's armed conflicts were the distribution of power, and the centralized government could not provide the citizens with essential facilities. That is why we have to take the federal system to address the aforementioned challenges. One of the participants from youth organizations in FGD indicated that political conflicts between the Somali groups have brought about the civil conflict in Somalia that expanded the distrust and in this context, the Somali population has two different views of federalization. The first group claims that the federal system is a way of bringing a divided society while others argue federalization is not a terrible model and every system has pros and cons so that everyone must make their structures efficiently and effectively (Mustafa 2, 2020).

Federalization is among the most critical constitutional concepts and models that enable the autonomy of political and economic power to consolidate and strengthen society at the large division. It aligns the fragmented groups and enhances a country's solidarity, integrates plurality, and addresses social disputes that have encountered protracted societal problems. Meanwhile, other people thought it from a different angle: A participant from local elders in a Beletwein meeting also argued that federalization is a framework being transferred from abroad to Somalia to separate the citizens. This is a plan created by countries and some foreign powers that don't want a functional country in Somalia. So it can be suggested that federalization is a system trying to undermine the Somali's unity.

A crucial source from one of the Politicians stated that federalization is an ideal system that can give peace and stability alternatives to Somalia. However, the drawback is that there is no federalization. A further main political party participant defines federalization as a disputed method to settle clan-party tension and restore confidence and unity among clan-parties (Farah 4, 2020).

The essential informant interview conducted in Mogadishu through an old person reaffirmed that federalization is the only way that Somalia can achieve better or good governance and re-establish its prestige and position in the world even before the Somali national government collapsed. Federalism should be used as trust before a viable peace is returned (Fatima 5, 2020).

Some other significant source from Traditional elder in Mogadishu suggested that federalization for Somalia is a mechanism for ending wars and putting together communities with hope for peace. It is a perfect option for the state to reconstruct the nation but Somalia should determine what system is suitable for it in the context. Federalism is not the last solution of social problems in Somalia but there are other options of governmental systems such the type of unitary system which is called devolution that some countries are applying such as Kenya and United Kingdom (Dacar, 2020).

4.4. Potential Benefits and Drawbacks of Federalization in Somalia

Every system of governance have pros and cons, hence federal system has huge proponents that understand it as a perfect system for Somalia, whereas other groups argued that the method also has drawbacks and devastating influence on the nation. The essential advantage of federalization would be a fair allocation of national construction programs and social services. Mogadishu was the only city in the country that grew every aspect of social and economic developments before 1991, whereas other regions of the state were collapsed below Mogadishu. However, many urban areas such as Garowe, Hargeisa, Jowhar, and Baidoa develop their social infrastructures due to the federal system. The system of social structure of Somali people are mostly pastoral nomadic and agricultural ones based on clan families. Also, they have the same culture, religion, and language. However, no matter any similarities or differentiation in society, the federal system can be applied in Somalia. For a simple example, the United Arab Emirates

implemented federalization even though they have same religion and language. The government services are also accessible in all parts of the country due to decentralization system.

According to discussion groups in Beletwein, Federalization will enhance the country's economy, and governmental services such as health, education and other social services must be provided to each district or village. Federalization does not imply segregation but it refers to a clear division between federal and member states of powers and authorities. It offers flexibility in decision-making and promotes grassroots creativity. Federalization also permits self-governance, which provides good opportunities for political involvement and inclusiveness between people (Abdinasir 8, 2020).

Another main informant argued that federalization has two big advantages in Somalia, endowing Somalia with more appropriate structure. The person interviewed claimed that the greatest advantage of federalism for Somalia in the last years was peace and stability since it has created state governments that rescued from wars as well as other humanitarian emergencies which have become an internal displaced peoples. The other benefit of Somalia's federal system is that it has restored optimism and tribes combine different aspects of innovations such as doing business so it mean federalization for Somalia is returning to a country's aspiration (Hamdi 9, 2020).

The federal member state administrations are known as clan states and take the names of their tribe since it tends to be ethnic rather than the federal government. There is no structure of the authorities or powers that are not formally defined in the interim constitution among national central government and regional administrations. If the federalism has weakened the country's unity, it is a big curse for Somalia which is many believe. For the first period of independence, Somalia was a strong African country with a powerful military and modern weapons. However, many African troops are peacekeepers in Somalia at the moment, but the answers obtained from elder participant claimed that the greatest federalization disadvantage is the quite expensive and long process of decision-making method. The federal ruling process takes time to move rapidly, as decisions must be taken at all branches of administration, from federal to the member

states. The regional states are busy for political issues rather than protecting the citizens when it comes security (Adow, 10 2020).

A group discussion in Beletwein addressed the need for federalization to bring about dissension, devastation, more disagreements, and chaos. Federal system in Somalia is not the last alternative for Somalia because the Somalis are from the same ethnic, religion, culture and the same country. The appearance to be the same background dependent on federalization that is not the alternative have been searching due to wider political divisions in the state (Ali 11, 2020).

An FGD discussion participant debated that some of the drawbacks of federalization include power struggles, territorial conflicts, disagreement over the distribution of resources, the amount of time spent in long process of decision-making, national policies and laws are not homogeneous, and the same institutions with the many costs of similar responsibilities that can create problems and confuse.

4.5. Challenges Facing the Applicability Federalism in Somalia

The lack of enough knowledge about federalization is one of the greatest critical problems. The illiterate rates in Somalia are high whereas others have lack sufficient educational programs and political knowledge, which leads a negative views of broad of problems Somalis on federalization. Other obstacles in this respect are the federal government, which has become a barrier to the mechanism of devolution (Mohamed, 2020).

Another participant demonstrated in the Group Discussion in Beletwein: we all understand the system did not come from the citizens by the way of a gentleman's consensus but the some citizens do not believe whether federalism can applicable in Somalia. The largest problem to implement a federal states is also the constitutional challenge on the country. The second main complication of federalization is the absence of a general referendum in state. There were no suggestions from citizens which kind of government system they want, and federalization still is not effective form because of absence constitutional agreement (Omar 11, 2020).

Omar Hassan Ali stated that the main issues of the federalist system in Somalia are the lack of a basic education system, fiscal federalism, and the shared natural resources between central and provincial states and, the citizens living in Mogadishu have a political representation the upper in the central government and it appears to be the hardest problem until now. The main problems facing federalization are including the confusion of the federal system, clan power-sharing, boundary conflicts amongst states administrations, and also unclear powers between central and state administrations (Hassan 13, 2020).

4.6. The Applicable Form of Federalism for Somalia

In Somalia, both internally and external factors which drive the federalism state and the most significant domestic actor of transition are the predominant lack of trust of the Somali ruling leaders and citizens and political oppression (Fatima3, 2020).

A crucial source interviewed who obviously took part in this research mentioned: Switzerland and Ethiopia have various federal systems based on an actual situation on their states to settle their disputes and put their populations together around a system of government that is now produced in those respective nations (Ali 5, 2020).

A group discussion conducted in Beletwein City has discussed extensively the need for the method of federalization whereby Somalia should follow to be contextually dependent on state background and for the larger state governments to be better suited as a combined form (agglomeration and separation). The central governments should exercise absolute powers and influence over particular purposes such as foreign affairs, money, security, citizenship, high education, etc., whereas state governments would have specific areas such as construction roads, health, trade relations between states, own expenses, education for children. Some functions should be shared among federal and state governments such as ownership of natural resources, management and distribution, custom and personal income taxation. Somalia may follow a regional integration and the national administrations could work jointly (Omar 7, 2020).

Another participant in Beletwein accompanied in FGD mentioned on his views about the type of federalization in Somalia. It has not got a federal structure can implement since 2004, however, it is a clear Somalia is to need to have a devolution administration

system with a powerful central government, and federalization must promoting decentralization and democracy system (Dacar 6, 2020).

One of the furthestmost crucial traditional clan elders described; federalization is focused on different territories, race, ethnicity, cultures, religion or countries, the federal system has same appearances, it can be bring separation or unification in the population into groups, tribes or classes, it has some type of union such as the USA and Somalia must learn formation a federal system to considering Somalis have same race, ethnicity or religion such as the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and following the actual history of country (Mohamed 2020).

The Somali Interim constitution does not describe the comprehensive separation of powers and authorities among the central government and the regional administrations. The levels of the exclusive conflicting powers of government seemed until the provincial constitution has been implemented. The Eventual agreement also sets out whether or not the Federal Government will create all its administrative institutions or whether it will depend primarily on member states' functional roles. However, the Interim Constitution sets out several rules to encourage unity and cooperation between the various levels of government (Article 50). To this end, the Law demands the introduction of certain agreements to facilitate multilateral cooperation and collaboration between vertically and horizontally governments. For example, the legislation provides the routine plenary session of a conference of the central administration and the local state governments.

4.7. Central Government and Regional Administrations Relations

An established law would clarify how provincial authorities and national government can contribute in terms of authorities, powers, sharing the national resources, and taxes. The national constitution is the cornerstone of every nation, and it is the functioning framework that governs all urban and rural societies. Somalia has a provisional constitution that is not accepted upon it and it does not properly describe all important issues in the country. There is also an inconsistency between the state governments' laws and the interim national constitution that is the only real challenge always devastates the relations (Hassan, 2020). One of the clan elders from Mogadishu said that the national government must to have full powers over the whole national affairs,

manage and allocate the natural resources or political power, and should take final decisions on national politics (Dahir 14, 2020).

A respondent from group discussion in Beletwin asserted; there would be certain special rights for the central government whereas the states have other authorities. The National Government has monetary and fiscal and monetary policies, foreign affairs, security, and immigration powers. The constitution should describe economic, bureaucratic, or resources allocations and authorities or other income shares. State administration and central government should develop rapid ties and collaboration to simplify these matters of power and authority (Farah 6, 2020).

The disagreement of the authority and power is really a major problem of federalization. The member states' constitutions do not harmonize to the law of the central government and we see differences among states and federal government in this subject. The federal constitution would also have to explain all these problems and combine power and authority between the States and the central administration. The resources differ from region to region so that the central and state administrations negotiate how they distribute these resources and the allocation of each institution (Omar 11, 2020). In general, many countries have federalization, but the differences between those states are that every country has adopted a specific type of federalization built on it is socioeconomic and political characteristics. The interim constitution of Somalia enacted formal agreements, and normally, the nation charter does not well define the powers, authorities, and resources allocations but, all the above issues will need more consensus and understandable agreements amid the national and state administrations (Munira 3, 2020).

4.8. Analysis of the Findings

This research was designated the applicability of federalization in Somalia: internal and external challenges of federalism. This part addresses the findings of the study and the results of the data gathering. The general purpose of the study is to indicate the the problems encounters posed by the applicability of federalism in Somalia in the post-transitional era and the best way to solve those constraints and implement a better system for Somalia. The primary objective of this research was to describe the main problems

facing federalization in Somalia or whether the federal system damages social stability and can lead to national divisions. This research main goal was important because of the opportunity to explore or classify realistic problems.

Furthermore, the Somali society have no any idea on the current federal system which is based on clannism and it was not agreed by the Somali scholars, intellectuals, politicians, religious leaders, community leaders, civil society and Somali people which can contribute their desire and wish of their country and government. Only way they were guests and silences because few politicians and international community were preferred. The most Somalis do not understand what federal system is, it does not benefit the interest of Somali people and will continue an intractable problem in the long term. It will align one clan against another. For more than almost 20 years, Somalis have been fighting for tribes and for religious ideologies and federalization is nothing more than a local alternative or process of competition for territories. The current federalism system of Somalia is based on by clan form rather than by region as agreed when it was established. The most of the people agreed that current federalism is based on clan, while few of the respondents believe that it's based on regions. The answers displayed by most participants in this study demonstrate that problems are typically considered to have a negative effect. All the answers of the respondents about the challenges of the federal system in Somalia have negative impacts were strong agree.

The second objective of this research is to investigate the main factors that forcing Somalia to adopt federalization. The answers of most participants indicate a positive perspective and citizens needs to provide federalization for fives issues: unity, stabilization, inclusive institutions, trust, democracy, basic social services and people to be safe from government oppression. The overall mean is displayed at study objective one usually demonstrates a constructive approach of federalism thus the majority of responses are accepted in the understanding problems, and the average variable at the target culminated in which indicates that we conclude as stated above on specific predictive analytics. The means answers indicate that the federalization is typically the target of a generally optimistic civil society mindset.

Third objective of the study was to examine the appropriate type of federalism for Somalia to get out of more than 25 years of political turmoil. The most respondents have agreed the cooperative form federal system can be proper for Somalia to obtain a great solution for political confusion since 1991. The arguments of the respondents are based on several factors of the political conflict in Somalia to figure out those problems. Since Somalis elites had agreed that the system of Somalia should be federalism and that time it has been almost 16 years and the political turmoil of Somalia still is going on. These arguments seemed enough for federal system but it would be considered fundamental factors such truth reconciliation and political agreements in Somalia society.

Eventually, the different approaches and practices of peace-building and stabilization are needed to build up grass root at the community level to get the people's state ownership of Somalia in various ways such as security framework on peace building at the local and national levels. To address the problems faced by northeastern leaders in the negotiating process at the federal level.

This ability to prepare to organize overwhelming acceptance between northeastern communities for a degree of consistency and trust cultivated the purpose of establishing a regional administrations. The general results of the study showed that federalism has positive impacts in Somalia, and the majority believes that the federal system is a viable solution because of country would need to redesign and direct its future for the best type of system that is suitable.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. CONCLUSION

Somalia did not have any political centralization before colonialism. Somalis resided neighborhood clan territory conflicts based on pasture grazing and water, whenever disputes and violence happen, the traditional elders had solved the conflicts between clans. The Somali traditional leadership used to improve the relationship between tribes due to future cross-cutting especially when a drought comes. After the independence in 1960, a democratic government was elected but it formed a western governance system while leaders were mostly the people close to the colonial powers. The people highly celebrated freedom in the first nine years when there was a democracy and political multi-parties system. However, there was public accusation and claims of corruption and tribalism. It became the worst era before the dictatorship Siyas Barre seized the power through a military coup from limited democracy government rule. The next regime began to be a military rule and imposed command from the top to the public, the traditional governance route disappeared and destroyed.

The central government of Somalia had begun for the preparation of Ethiopia war in 1977 which was the primary cause of the government collapse and start of the rebel groups. Somalia central government collapsed in 1991 and civil war began which was the resulted of the colonial impact and centralized government of western system that remembered small group's power abuse and corruption. The IGAD countries and the international community had started peace reconciliation conference in a few months after the overthrow of the national government in 1991.

Unfortunately, the most of the peace process ended empty even though when each failed, that process had gained advantage and experience to the next peace process. After 15 Somali peace process had failed, the Eldoret and Mbaghati peace conference from 2002 up to 2004 had adopted a federal political system to be a solution to the conflicts that caused a highly centralized system and dictatorship leaders.

Somalia is an instance of the ethnic group in Africa that has been displaced by tribe or clan and, it is an ethnically homogeneous nation-state by default. The tribe is the

system for social and political structure and cooperation and, common religion, culture, values, traditions, and language are under normal conditions. On the other hand, the conditions of the military conflicts during 1990 and 1997 demonstrated the detrimental capacity to threaten the establishment of a secure civil society organizations claims of clan identification, tribe loyalty, and non-civic nationalism in politics. The clannism based on political factions and armies disrupted the Somalis and international communities' dispute settlement mechanisms.

Clan system administrations is the main barrier to federalization and national unity of the country. The clan politics as a system of conflict control has promoted the systematic implementation of democratic principles, such as electoral organizations and political participation due to the fact that the votes and elections have been affected by clan loyalty and clan politics have been a dispute variable and not a solution.

The element of national development in the context of perceived challenges to the establishment of peace and stability results in social division, distrust and clannism. The obvious inconsistency between re-establishing nationality and the present existence of Somali fractured society. The overarching identification of the clan must be supplemented by the state as the key reference point. But stability may be accomplished with "social and economic federalism" People's common cultural and social policy issues are connected by the local area.

There was a fairly clear explanation for Somalia to return Somaliland to the negotiating the table. In other words, it was suggested that the existence and struggle for autonomy of Somaliland may have negative impacts on the Somali government's wider program. If Somaliland is recognized as an independent political body on the world stage, it would establish a terrible precedent within Somalia, enabling other local sub-units to join forces, and dramatically eroding possibilities for a unified sovereign state.

No government system could provide a magic solution for Somalia's overpowering common challenges since the breakdown of the country in 1991. The experiences of other conflict countries can be examined to learn to restore the government, but the Somali perspective is singular and in the end effective practices will also be distinctive. One key

obstacle is how the conflicting patterns in Somalia are balanced. In Somalia inertial and rotational velocity trends are powerful.

Federalization is an uncertain method that cannot quickly be described but continues to stand as a strong system of governance that addresses challenges and encourages to evacuate and different strengths at all levels of government. But that doesn't mean it's better than a centralized or federalized system. The potential benefits of federalization over centralism are so many: federalization is much more adaptable and reduces conflicts while respecting peoples' aspirations and their diversity, facilitating collaboratively the implementation of national policies.

The adoption of a federal political system in Somalia indeed to apply would be a solution to Somalis to re-establish a functional government and to contribute good governance, democratization process, and security stabilization, as well as public involvement in politics and societies' national ownership. In overall, it is clear that the federal political system would both prevent conflict and be a viable instrument to resolve the mistrusts and the disputes between Somalia people that lead to previous power abuses and to avoid the violation of authority abuses of a small group. Federalism could prevent power abuse, disputes and wars because of minor group rule and resources domination. Federalization self-determination would enable to the Somalia resources and power sharing.

Federalization is a contested and ambiguous framework that cannot be described clearly but it is still a permeate structure of dominance that addresses political challenges and funds, disperses and isolates dominance at all areas of government. The federalism does not assume that it is stronger than the unitary or con-federation model. Federalization has many advantages against unitary such that the federal system is much more robust and eliminates tensions, thus making the achievement of government decisions simpler for the peoples' needs and variations.

Somalia adopts a federal system to finish conflict and violence between clans and groups as it contents the political interests of clan politicians and warlords. Major categories: those that see federalism as an alien that does not fit into Somali society, whereas the other parts understand federalism as a brilliant solution for Somalia.

The majority believes that the system is a solution for Somalia but, the system is not intended to fix a country wasted by wars since it is not clear in the constitution and does not satisfy some groups of people. The citizens of Somalia may determine the establishment of a federalization government from municipalities to provinces and member states into the federal state of Somalia so that; inhabitants could understand s and establish a sense of responsibility by working very closely with the security and well-being of the nation of Somalia.

Federalization thus boosts uncertainty and misconception, thus growing tension where there is no specific authority between the states and the central. As federalization is emerging in Somalia, most regard it as an unsustainable framework for the horn of the ambiguous state of conflicts as well as its culture in Africa. But federalization becomes the only framework that can indicate that a Somali state that exists on its own roots can eventually turn and rebuild.

Consequently, Federal government and all state administration are working together for the implementation of federalism for the whole of the country in order to strengthen the governmental system and to restore the law and order of the state such before 1991. The federal system is the viable system that governance may create the state ownership. On the other hand, the international community support commitments and enhance local community participation to strengthen the good governance and democratization, which may generate the adoption of the federal system to contribute state-building process in Somalia.

5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

This study recommends that the exact application of federal system in Somalia needs useful strategy and considering many factors those can facilitate and find sustainable solutions the critical domestic and international challenges. The research recommends that these process needs be taken. First, an integrated social and political dialogue should be necessary to acquire a permanent solution. Secondly, the restoration of law and order and the creation of a more autonomous and competent judicial system should be very necessary.

Third, effective confidence-building measures are required between tribes, territories, and political groups. Fourthly: globally guiding strategy of safeguards and defense, Somalia's weapons surveillance is not only a protection policy but protective measures towards arms trafficking. Fifth, it should be needed the federal government and regional governments should make political and administrative collaborative to reach the projections of a federalization. Sixth, it should be assured that the federal government and state administrations should be a consensus the separation of powers, authorities and how the different levels governments should be sharing the national resources that should authorized in the law.

Seventh, the provisional constitution is the part of challenges that facing the Somalia's federalization, the central and the member state administrations should make consensus, compromise and rapid completion to pass the provisional stage to keep away from crash, conflicts and misunderstanding among the various levels of Governments. Eighth, to reducing misunderstand of federal system in Somalia, the federal member states and central government must increase public awareness about federalization to provide the people wider considerate towards federalization. Ninth, Somalia's federalization should be based on the current Somali situation and establish a constitution that should submit to a public referendum and agreement.

Finally, the Somali people can benefit from federalism with respect to unity, stabilization, inclusive political and economic institutions, democracy, basic social services and trust.

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Appendix 1: Interview Questions

Data Collections Tools for Interviews

Due to the type of the study, the research used qualitative methods through focus group discussion and interviews based on the semi-structured interview questions. Researcher asked the participants same questions with the aim of obtaining the same or different opinions. As the research planned, the interview questions of the study included prominent people in the community that could not participate in group discussions for security reasons. Also focus group discussions included people who were able to come to the location where the debate took place. The following questions were asked to the participants:

- 1) What is your perception and attitude towards federalism?
- 2) What are the merits and demerits in federalism in Somalia?
- 3) What are the main internal and external challenges of the applicability of federalism in Somalia?
- 4) Which form of federalism should Somalia adopt?
- 5) How should central government and the regional governments relate in terms of;
a) Power and authority? b) Resource sharing?
- 6) According to your recommendation, what could be the legal status of the capital city of Somalia (Mogadishu)? A) Federal district b) Member state c) City of Member states
- 7) Why Somalia adopted a federal system if we are homogeneous people, and what are the reasons behind it?
- 8) Is the federalism the only way out of 25 years political turmoil of Somalia?
- 9) Is federalism a workable option for the political stability in Somalia?

Appendix 1: Ethics Committee Decision



ONDOKUZ MAYIS ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL VE BEŞERİ BİLİMLER ETİK KURUL KARARLARI

KARAR TARİHİ	TOPLANTI SAYISI	KARAR SAYISI
25.12.2020	11	2020/916

KARAR NO:
2020/916

Üniversitemiz Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Abdihalim Osman İBRAHİM' in Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Fatih Çağatay CENGİZ danışmanlığında "Somali'de Federalizmin Uygulanabilirliği: Federalizmin İç ve Dış Zorlukları" isimli Yüksek Lisans Tezine ilişkin ses kaydı ve odak grup tartışması çalışmalarını içeren 42245 sayılı dilekçesi okunarak görüşüldü.

Üniversitemiz Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Abdihalim Osman İBRAHİM' in Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Fatih Çağatay CENGİZ danışmanlığında "Somali'de Federalizmin Uygulanabilirliği: Federalizmin İç ve Dış Zorlukları" isimli Yüksek Lisans Tezine ilişkin ses kaydı ve odak grup tartışması çalışmalarının kabulüne oy birliği ile karar verildi.


Cengiz YAVUZ
Şube Müdürü
ASLI GİBİDİR

Appendix 3: Resume

Name :	Abdihalim Osman Ibrahim
ORCID ID:	0000-0002-8316-2712
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND	<ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ 2010 -2014: Bachelor of Public Administration at MOGADISHU UNIVVERSITY, Mogadishu-Somalia.➤ 2007-2010: Secondary School, at Baladwien Secondary School, in Baladwiene –Somalia.
WORKING EXPERIENCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ 2013-2015: Ministry of Commerce and Industry of the Federarla Government of Somalia, as a Research and Training officer, Mogadishu- Somalia.➤ 2015-2017: Ministry of Commerce & Industry of Federal Government of Somalia, as a Head of Monitoring and Evaluation, Mogadishu-Somalia.
TRAINING	<ul style="list-style-type: none">➤ 2016: Training on Participation Policies and Practices for Climate Change Adaptation at Kenya Forestry Research Institute (KEFRI) in Collaboration with United Nation Development Program (UNDP) - Muguga, Kenya.➤ 2026-2017: High-quality Research Support (HQRS) Training Programme co-implemented by OCPV, TS and University of Bristol in Hargeisa- Somali.
