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**THE PATTERNS OF STATE REBUILDING AND FEDERALISM THEORY
IN SOMALIA**

TEZİN / DÖNEM PROJESİ/RAPORUN TÜRÜ

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İSTANBUL-2014



T.C.
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

Yüksek Lisans Tez Onay Belgesi

Enstitümüz Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Ana Bilim Dalı Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler(İngilizce) Tezli Yüksek Lisans Programı Y1112.110005 numaralı öğrencisi **ABUBAKAR MOHAMUD ABUBAKAR**'ın "THE PATTERNS OF STATE REBUILDING & FEDERALISM IN SOMALIA" adlı tez çalışması Enstitümüz Yönetim Kurulunun 05.09.2014 tarih ve 2014/21 sayılı kararıyla oluşturulan jüri tarafından *ayrılığ...* ile Tezli Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak *kabul*... edilmiştir.

Öğretim Üyesi Adı Soyadı

İmzası

Tez Savunma Tarihi :22/12/2014

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With the blessing of Almighty Allah, There are number of people without whom my postgraduate dissertation might not have been written and completed, and to whom I am really greatly indebted. Indeed, I am a forever indebted to my supervisor Associate Prof Dr. Sait Yılmaz. He offered me endless guidance and many insightful and constructive observations throughout the study. Not only did he offer valuable assistance with this project, but working with him in the classroom stimulated my interest to maintain completing this study under his supervision. Basically, his support, encouragement and availability to confer, discuss ideas and problems have contributed much in completing this study. He always kept me on task and pointing out to my research objectives. I actually appreciate Associate Prof Dr. Sait Yılmaz, for his determination and high efficiency in guiding me in a proper way in conducting this research. His friendly guidance and cooperation which helped me complete the whole work timely. He preserves my special and special thanks.

In addition to my thesis supervisor, my research interests have been shaped by many professors in the Department of Political Science and International Relation, including Prof. Dr. Firuz Demir Yaşamış and Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz Katman, Thank you all for your dedication to teaching and mentoring young scholars. I also want to thank a number of individuals without whose assistance this research could not have been completed in time. But I am especially indebted to Istanbul Aydın University and in particular to the Institute of Social Science. Finally, I thank my parents, who worked hard to encourage me in the love of learning and hardworking.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	II
Table of Contents.....	III
List of Tables and Figures.....	V
1 CHAPTER ONE	1
1.1. Introduction & Background.....	1
1.2. Problem Statement	2
1.3. Theoretical Framework	3
1.4. Research Hypothesis.....	5
1.5. Definitions	7
2 CHAPTER TWO.....	8
LITERATURE REVIEW	8
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 The Formation and shape of a Federal Somalia.....	8
2.3 The Instinct of Federalism.....	9
2.4 Federalism as the Ideal Government System	12
2.5 Power Separation	13
2.6 Scheme of Political Parties and Executive Power.....	16
2.6.1 Establishment of Federal Institutions.....	16
2.6.2 The Constitution	16
2.7 Federal Member States and Hot Points.....	18
2.7.1 Political Competition.....	18
2.7.2 Political inclusion through party system.....	20
2.8 Relative practical effect of constitutional support	22
2.8.1 Power Sharing System.....	22
2.8.2 Autonomy	24
2.8.3 Secession and Federalism	25
3 CHAPTER THREE	28
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	28
3.1 Introduction	28

3.2	Research Design	28
3.2.1	Research Population	28
3.2.2	Sample size.....	29
3.2.3	Sampling procedure	29
3.3	Research Instrument.....	30
3.4	Validity and Reliability of the Instrument	30
3.5	Data Analysis	31
3.6	Hypothesis Testing	31
3.6.1	Link of the Hypotheses and Questions.....	31
3.7	Pilot Testing	33
3.8	Ethical Considerations	34
3.9	Limitations of The Study	34
4	CHAPTER FOUR	35
	RESEARCH FINDINGS: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS	35
4.1	Introduction	35
4.2	Descriptive Statistics of the Study.....	35
4.3	Reliability Test	39
4.4	Inferential Statistics.....	41
	Chi-square goodness of fit Analysis	41
4.5	Findings of the Hypothesis tested.....	45
5	CHAPTER FIVE	46
	Analysis, Discussion and Conclusions.....	46
5.1	Introduction	46
5.2	Analysis of the theoretical segment	46
5.3	The Main Findings of Empirical Section.....	47
5.4	Implications of the Main Findings.....	50
5.5	Recommendations and Directions for Future Study	50
5.6	Limitations of the Study.....	51
5.7	Conclusion	52
	References.....	53
	Appendix 1: Final Questionnaire of the Study.....	57

Appendix 2: Curriculum Vitae.....	59
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List of Tables and Figures

Table 3.1 Sampling	29
Table 3.2 Null Hypotheses	32
Table 3.3 Link of the Hypotheses and Questions.....	33
Table 4.1 Opinions regarding the required whether the Federal System in Somalia tend to bring political stability and end conflicts and secession.....	36
Table 4.2 Opinions regarding the need for reform	36
Table 4.3 Opinions regarding the current constitutions of the Federal Republic of Somalia	37
Table 4.4 Opinions regarding how strong the Somali Federal System is to promote Political Stability	37
Table 4.5 Opinions regarding the barriers of the current Federal system	38
Table 4.6 Opinions regarding weaknesses of the Federal System in Somalia	38
Table: 4.7 Reliability analysis of the main study constructs	39
Table: 4.8 Analysis of reliability of the supporting factors	41
Table 4.9 Main findings of the analysis (Frequencies and Test Statistics)...	43
Table: 4.10 Summary of the hypotheses tested.....	45

1 CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Introduction & Background

The process of federating Somalia was pretty slow; it was on 2002 when the Fourteenth National Reconciliation Conference held in Nairobi, Kenya and the process of agreeing on adopting federalism, drafting & approving the Transitional Federal Charter (TFC) for Somalia was actualized after two years of reconciliation and negotiations. Despite the creation of Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and selection of 275 Transitional Federal Parliament (TFP) members has been achieved, their mandate of completing the process federating in accordance to Article 11 (Chapter 4) of the Transitional Federal Charter Somalia became too slow and even challenging in terms of time as they were given only two and a half years from the date that the independent Federal Constitution Commission is established.

Beginning from 2005 since the TFG assumed the office things were falling apart, as on the mid of 2006 the Union of Islamic Courts has emerged as a major power and this has caused a lot of stagnation on the progress until late of 2008 when Djibouti Peace Conference agreed on increasing the members of the Transitional Federal Parliament to 550 seats but this time the TFG was given 2 years to complete the process of federating Somalia with new constitution, however the given time elapsed while the process is not being met. The Kampala Accord agreed on extending on year for the TFG beginning from Aug 2011, and bringing to an end the transition on Aug 2012, when the TFG mandate ends. Finally on Sep 2011 signatories from key political leaders from TFIs and other representatives signed a roadmap which tasked for ending the transition before 20 Aug 2012.

Since then the Roadmap signatories implemented some key steps towards ending the transition; however on 26 June 2012 the Interim Constitution of Somalia has been released to the Public and also adopted on 1st of Aug 2012 with 96% “YES”. The constitution however will be an Interim one for the time being a stepping stone to a permanent government and to get out of the Transition and within the coming four years the government should federate the country and the constitution should adopted with referendum.

1.2. Problem Statement

Considering the Transitional Federal Charter, the Djibouti Agreement, the Kampala Accord, the Roadmap, Garowe Principles I & II; in parallel with adopted the interim Federal Constitution, the establishment of the Federal States in Somali as just Puntland State recognized as a founding state of Somali Federalism and also existed upon the adoption of the transition federal charter in 2004, Galmudug State will be recognized as a state within the federation, in the meantime there is a criteria set for the formation of the new states in the interim Federal constitution which prerequisites at least two or more regions can form a federal state. Over the coming four years the federalism process should be completed and Interim Federal Constitution should be adopted with public referendum, while undertaking all the necessary steps for the fulfillment of this process which lies on the shoulders of the new government.

During the course of the adoption of the new provisional constitution, there were issues remained controversial notably the creation of Federal Member States, regarding this also the provisional constitution doesn't create Federal Member States but referring to Article 49¹ (Somalia, 2012) which

¹ (Somalia, 2012)

states that the House of the People of the Federal Parliament will decide the boundaries and number of Federal Member States. Moreover this will have time span for discussion among the public. However the adopted federal system which is supposed to promote stability and unite the fractioned country under strong federal government is yet to achieve the desired goal but led to notorious conflicts among the local stakeholders over the system like the formation of the federal member states and review of the constitution; while the foreign interventions remained vivid in all aspects of the political routine. The emergence of these obstacles as a core problems resulted to question in this study the general opinion of whether a Federal System in Somalia tend to create atmosphere of political stability which can replace the clan conflicts and secession, also whether the adopted federalism in Somalia and as it perceived engineered to promote the achievement of political stability for country after two decades of conflict and political chaos, plus to identify the existence of any barriers to shift from current centralized system and used power sharing arrangement to a full-fledged de-centralized system of government. As an emerging state from conflicts, any weaknesses including unclear definition in the formation of the Federal system in Somalia can have a negative impact both politically and constitutionally. On the hand there is a little focus of the scholars, journals and academic organizations on studying the Federalism of Somalia.

1.3. Theoretical Framework

It has been widely argues that Federal system of government is destined and linked to promote positive political stability in general and in democracies, also to accommodate the interests of different groups in terms of identity, ethnicity and interest pursues . Federalism has been widely employed In order to satisfy and accommodate the interests of different groups and enhance co-existence among different ethnic and other identity

groups² (Ghai, 2000). Federalism is also destined to further promote democracy which in other words enhances the political stability in terms of political perspective through peaceful participation and transition plus intergovernmental competition between federal member states to render desired outcome to the societies that they promote (Myerson, 2006).

The type of Federalism system adopted in federating the country, the establishment of decent Federal Institutions and laws, and the commitment of the Federal Government leaders to federate the nation and stick to the provisional constitution will lead to successful rebuild of the Somali Nation. After the end of the Transition, with the adoption of the provisional constitution followed with establishment of a permanent Federal Government, Somalia is entering a new phase and turning the page of conflict with more regain of its part of the international community, these progress make tend to lead into stable and the end of political stagnation era.

Federal system of government needs attention to several concerns related to constitutional and other institutional issues, some of which pose peculiar and intriguing issues of normative political theory³ (Norman, 2006; Watts, 1999)

Establishment of a legitimate, representative and participative Federal Member States will be more likely to help the current Federal Government to sustain and insure that all these progress being made not fall apart. The Clan based Federal System is more likely to create new form of power struggle, conflict, the deprival of legitimate constituents and nonpublic representation and participation during the formation of the Federal Member States, Moreover with the current co-existence between the different indigenous clans in most regions of Somalia will be severely damaged.

² (Ghai, 2000)

³ (Norman, 2006; Watts, 1999)

These new form of conflicts can be thwarted if the Federal Government focus to strive in establishment its decent Federal Institutions such as Law Enforcement i.e. Federal Army, Courts and on top of that a strong Legislative, Executive and Judicial branches. And laws and the commitment of the Federal Government leaders to federate the nation and stick to the provisional constitution will lead to successful rebuild of the Somali Nation. Unlike other Federal nation in Africa, Federalism in Somalia was adopted on the premises to satisfy the needs of different clans but not to respond the ethnic diversity and recognizing their territorial land. Contesting that during the two decade long conflict co-existence of the different clans in most regions of Somalia remained unchanged.

1.4. Research Hypothesis

In Recent years Federalism remained the widely discussed issue in Somali Politics. Policy makers, politicians and academics have contributed a lot in the process of Federating Somalia and officially on 01 Aug, 2011 Somalia become a Federal State with the name of “The Federal Republic of Somalia” after the adoption of Provisional Constitution. These tremendous shifts from centralized form of government to de-centralized system pose a great impact on the future of rebuilding the Somali nation, while the nation currently is on the stage of striving to reach peace and stability.

The interim constitution provides a time frame for establishing the Federal Member states, while according to the interim constitution Article 48 (2)⁴ (Somalia, 2012). The Structure of Government the formation of a new Federal Member State, a region shall be directly administered by the Federal Government for a maximum period of two years. Also the referendum of the constitution, enacting federal laws, and establishing federal institutions;

⁴ (Somalia, 2012)

however all these pending federal parliament work will have a great impact on rebuilding the Somali nation in Federal system.

In this paper, The main aim of this study was to examine the general opinion of whether the adopted federalism in Somalia and as it perceived to promote the achievement of political stability for country after two decades of conflict and political chaos, plus to identify the existence of any barriers to shift from current centralized system and used power sharing arrangement to a full-fledged de-centralized system of government. In order to measure the link, the study considers the status of limited number of associated factors which are considered and assumed as positively related to success of federal system including power sharing, the constitution, power separation, political inclusion and political competition were considered in order to measure the link – both from the views on the ground and as well as in connection to the existing theories. In this study, three general hypotheses will be structured:

Hypothesis 1: The Federal System in Somalia is unlikely tend to create atmosphere of political stability which can replace the clan conflicts and secession.

Hypothesis 2: The current Federal System in Somalia is not engineered towards enhancing the prospects of state rebuilding from political perspective.

Hypothesis 3: In comparing to the past 30 years of centralized government system in Somalia with its laws and institutions and the current clan power-sharing system are unlikely tend to be a barrier to the newly born de-centralized system.

While the Federal System has been proposed and adopted as cornerstone solution for the two decade long conflict and it has been argued globally that federalism can accommodate multi-ethnic society into a peaceful

society, but the question is that, does is also suitable in single-ethnic society which is divided into clans and sub-sub clans while it had remained the major factor contributing to Somali conflict. This descriptive study provides a comprehensive examination on the general opinion of whether the adopted federalism in Somalia and as it perceived to promote the achievement of political stability for country after two decades of conflict and political chaos, plus to identify the existence of any barriers to shift from current centralized system and used power sharing arrangement to a full-fledged de-centralized system of government.

The research will review the results about federalism in terms of building stable state from a political perspective. A federal system which preserves and holds the initiatives of Political mechanism, Institutional design and Relative practical effect of constitutional support tends to have positive impact on achieving stable state after two decades of conflict.

1.5. Definitions

For this study in order to define federalism, the most appropriate and considered definition for this study is Federalism, as the term is used in political science and legal learning, “refers to a mode of organizing a political entity that grants partial autonomy to geographically defined subdivisions of the polity”⁵ (Blumstein, 1994; Friedrich & Frederick, 1968)

⁵ (Blumstein, 1994; Friedrich & Frederick, 1968)

2 CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Fundamentally, the central government absorbs the efforts towards rebuilding stable state in those experiencing the phenomenon of being fragile, failed, post conflict states while the decentralized local authorities can provide a number of positive opportunities of reconstructing⁶ (Brinkerhoff & Johnson, 2009)

2.2 The Formation and shape of a Federal Somalia

The Formation of Federal System mostly remains significant, and in this modern global Somalia seeks to establish its Federal System vigorously while considering the consolidation of an established Federal Member states into a Federal government level. In Article 48 of Provisional Constitution of Somalia which defines the Structure of the State describes that Federal Republic of Somalia is composed of two levels of governments and this brings the argument of a contrary to the modern Federal System i.e. it is a formation of communities again on a smaller scale.

Based on provisional constitution, Somalia adopted federal system and is a federal state, as (Elmi, 2014) concluded in his paper, he noted that most of Somali citizens agreed on federalism in order to reconstruct the state which can acquire the trust of its citizens however the type of federalism not defined yet, so it is necessary to maintain its debate⁷.

The author argued that it is not easy to discover a system of government which can serve toward hiccup solution for a state experienced such a long conflict and extreme collapse of its institutions, he noted that the case of Somalia is rather unique and so its solution. He explained that the

⁶ (Brinkerhoff & Johnson, 2009)

⁷ (Elmi, 2014)

major challenge of reaching sustainable solution for Somalia is how to balance the contradictory trends within Somali society⁸ (Elmi, 2014).

Widely federalism is considered as divided sovereignty and the argument of sovereignty remains focal point in the establishment and shape of Federalism in Somalia, The adopted constitution divides the original power of the central government and allocates it to the two designated levels of government on a permanent basis. While considering the case of Somali which lived in two decades of civil war, the argument should be how the power should be allocated or distributed among the Federal Government and Federal Member States.

In order to contain the collision of powers between the Federal government and its members, the Provisional constitution and the established Supreme Court should remain the ultimate arbiter of these inevitable conflicts. In this context for the formation of a strong Federal System we need to consider several aspects including: power separation, multi-party system, constitutional support and much more.

2.3 The Instinct of Federalism

Throughout the history, scholars defined that the philosophy of federalist has been inherited from (Althusius, 1965) during his contest on finding self-rule for his own city of Emden largely from the control of authority at Catholic-Lutheran⁹. Entering upon a state campaign has been originated from the Accord of Westphalia 1648; the idea of federalism level was existed before the emergence of modern state. In according to some prominent philosophers, which argued s number of various decentralization system of government and these scholars include (Binn & Hugo, 1736) & (Hume, 1754)

⁸ (Elmi, 2014)

⁹ (Althusius, 1965)

(Hume, 2001). Federalist movements towards attaining the goal of federalism during the first period of the emergence of what is called the republic of America were hold up by the prominent philosophers. The American state separated and the supreme and the independent power in government possessed to the state level of community and this was given to help them fight with the enemies force.

In regard to the theory of Hugo, where he pointed out and contested that it's necessary to point out that the Roman Empire also had a distinctive similarity to decentralized method of government and the rule is shared among the central authority and its peripheral parts of the Empire. However the consideration of Hume clarifies that the government should be divided into multiple levels in which he considers the most known type government including legislators, executives and the judiciary part.

In regard to their long term support Hamilton and Madison the writers of Federalist papers had been arguing the realization of power division in the retained state retained power among central government and regional powers and that would help to curb the inevitable human oppression¹⁰ (Jay et al., 1779). Riker has been dubbed as the father of the modern write of the literature of comparative politics, since he wrote the book about Federalism on 1964, discussing the origin, operation and significance. In his book the author enlighten the idea of needed federalism for sake of establishing negotiation that bring together the central power or authority and it citizens who reside all the parts of that country; however his theory was regarded as non-sufficient.

Moreover, the author pointed out the negotiations can be started in two manners, one of them is considered when that central government want to negotiate or start negotiation while showing military and diplomatic

¹⁰ (Jay, Hamilton, & Madison, 1779)

pressures. The second pay out revealed as necessary and this comes after realizing that both diplomatic and military pressures doesn't work and when the politicians of the central government regard forgiving some of the central power to be designated to the peripherals or to the constituents, while is set to preserve and contain any possible damages or advantages when other means of power is used.

Predominantly, (Daniel J. Elazar, 1997, p. 51) defined federalism as a matter of not dividing and spreading the power under the central government to the peripherals or the regions but among several centers¹¹, whereby some of these concepts do not endured, thus some other scholars retained the idea of being federalism as an influential power in terms of affecting their beliefs, assumption and behavior and not pertinent to power of ruling and control (Friedrich & Frederick, 1968) . In general theory federalism had been widely argued as the tool to cure and meet the differences or the interest of all where those initiatives can direct to good governance but the argument is far from over as some authors pinpointed that it is necessary to construct theory of federalism which is more precise and inclusive. The theory of ten federalism yardsticks was much populated and duped as correlate to factor including the central government's control of defense and diplomacy, equal representation of all states in the central government and defining the existence of border between states and both federal and regional courts which retain their independence¹² (Duchacek, 1970).

In order to identify and categorize the existing federal system, some authors considered the core pattern of the system whereby the inner circular of the system is examined in terms of its functioning and set the example of Indian and Venezuelan federal system of keeping the utmost power in the center rather than easing to the regional power and that is what (Lijphart, 2012) termed as the extent of democracy can be categorized the federal

¹¹ (Daniel J. Elazar, 1997)

¹² (Duchacek, 1970)

systems. Yet the discussions were not over and some other scholars including (Tarlton, 1965) Defined two other forms of categorizing the system of federalism and noted that it can be based on such of all levels performing toward the whole system i.e. there are levels or regions coming together and forming one united federal system and he set USA as the prominent example of this type.

Moreover the second noted form was elaborated as when a distinctive ethnic groups retain their own federal regions like Ethiopia, Belgium and Canada while the main difference of these two forms are seen the social cleavage or ethnic based division.

Again, the categorization of federalism did not go easily well, but in the meantime it has been argued continuously that there are several other forms to include, and another prominent form of dividing is based on symmetric and asymmetric (Daniel Judah Elazar, 1987) and it considers the constitutionally aligned treatment towards peripherals¹³. It is called symmetric for those who retain the federal treatment of considering equality among the regional powers and quite vice-verse to the asymmetric type where there is a distinction under the privilege of treatment among federal units where some ethnic majority groups enjoy quite tremendous power of having control of their own destiny and the distinctive examples for both forms are set as United of America where every state has the equal right of power exercise to the other and where some other nations consider the provision of privileged power to some limited regional states and not the others like Federation of Russia.

2.4 Federalism as the Ideal Government System

It has been widely discussed in Somali politics whether federal system is convenient to the stabilize the country, but this had only remained the

¹³ (Daniel Judah Elazar, 1987)

executive level, neither policy makers nor the public had been questioned; however scholars and the general existing phenomenon is that Federalism as the only alternative solution to pacify the nation and rebuild.

Scholars like (Flamand, 2005) discussed that federalism comes first as best alternative in order to preserve the integration of the society in national level and overcome the surrounded challenges, moreover he considers that it is valuable to create an atmosphere whereby the central government can outreach and engage substantial coordination among its regional governments and stakeholders in the political scenery, which is an enormous benefit for complex societies, moreover federalism can be either dependent variable or independent¹⁴.

The design of the federal system can determine the success of federal system, as several federal system tend to fail or did not succeed; moreover the author argues that there are prominent institutions which can needs to be adjusted so the overall federal system prevails. According to the theory beyond the design of healthy federal system is to create and preserve as authors argued whereby federalism always has the ability to make institutional arrangements and that results redistribution of aspects, hence federalism challenges the institutional status quo and apply with their standards (Flamand, 2005).

Considering the main aim of federalism and establishing stable federal system, it is highly fundamental to meet with the economic and political goals that all stakeholders have in order to preserve the existence of the system.

2.5 Power Separation

As James Madison discussed in his study the federalist he noted that in order to preserve a strong Federal system, it is necessary to separate the

¹⁴ (Flamand, 2005)

powers between the courts, commentators and national government in parallel with the country's constitution (Jay et al., 1779) (Madison, 1981). Principally, federalism is related to power separation, whereby (Vile, 1998) considers the power separation as part of the western political theory and culture.

Primarily, governments that preserve the constitution largely strive to motivate enacting laws which serves political interest whereby accountability lays on the shoulders of its citizens as (Bellamy, 1996) examines that what he called constitutional government endeavors upholding the integrity and instinct of rule of law and rights against the arbitrary exercise of power, bringing the various stakeholders and interests groups within society into dialogue with each other and ensures that the making of law reflects mutual concern and respect and a desire to promote the common welfare.

Somalia had a history of a centralized system since its independence, accumulated power in National level and shifting from that system to providing these power to different representatives of the people will can sharply affect the general political atmosphere whereby keeping and maintaining the existence of transparency with accountability is destined to incentivize better in better democratic system.

Considering this we can raise the following question and discuss lightly on whether the power separation can bring integral Federalism as argues Bradford Clark "that the phenomenon of power separation safeguards federalism by limiting the total number and kinds of laws in the federal system that may displace state law" (Clark, 2001). On the contrary there are some authors who in particularly argue that separation of power can result diminish and competition of collaboration among the branches of the government, (Clark, 2001) while the political competition is quite bold segment in this study as it supports the political competition can spawn the approach to better and democratically Federal system.

This study holds that it's important to grant autonomy to different branches and institutions of the government and moreover to the constituents of the nation in parallel to the principles of their territoriality reference on which the Federalism system of Somalia is built upon and on which is directed to the coexistence of different clans or sub clans in different regions of the nation.

When we consider how Federalism effects the power separation, some authors argue that Federal Government can dictate the member states in matters beyond the power it retains lawfully, hence it would fruitful to consider to solve this problem by establishing strong Federal laws in place which are prevalent to promote cooperative federalism between the state and federal government (Walker, 1996).

This study holds given the situation of Somalia, the power exercise in the central/federal government would largely tend not to have strong support particularly discrete clan populated regions in regard to previous experience of human rights violations and oppression subjected to them. In this circumstance it's quite clear the federal government would be obliged to delicately have the potentiality of growing the seeds of power given back to society of the member state and that would regarded as the ultimate source of a corresponding influence for the central/federal government.

James Madison again considers that power separation poses threats in general to the governmental competition and states that it would spawn the way to a domination of political parties which has or can induce government actors and moreover the argument of increased influence of executive branch (Madison, 1788).

As this study hypothesis potential conflict between member states and federal, a delicate adjustment of power separation and balancing the exercisable power; should remain an issue of highly debated in federal parliament and courts. Consolidation the power separation in our newly born

federal system of Somalia, this study concedes with the theory of Restoration of Checks and Balances which supports constant monitoring and amendments on delegated power.

2.6 Scheme of Political Parties and Executive Power

2.6.1 Establishment of Federal Institutions

Generally, the design and operation of federal institution is widely discussed as an integral part which is plays a vital in the determination of the health of federal system, therefore most scholars' attention were drawn to the shape and function of institutions in federal systems in order to safeguard its effectiveness particularly the democratic system.

Some countries were practicing federal system for decades while others in their turn adopted recently like Somalia, where the country had recently shifted to the decentralized system of government after adopting the provisional constitution which is designed to the federation of Somalia. In order to fill the gap of academic position towards the design and the healthiness of federal institutions, some scholars and international academic journals endeavored to consider the studies related to formation of these institutions, in particular the constitutional, legal and political practice with fundamental implications pertinent to the policy making and its product.

In this study I'd specially considered both the constitution and the judiciary as the legal aspects which shape the healthiness of federal system and three principles which I consider integral part: recognition; self-rule; shared rule.

2.6.2 The Constitution

During the process of constitutional-making for Somalia, it had remained volatile and delicate process which lasted for eight years and it absorbed both the scholars contribution, experience of those who lived in the

20 years conflict of civil war in Somalia and the extent support and recommendations of the international community; this had rendered on 2011 the conclusion of the provisional constitution which ratified unanimously by the Federal parliament.

Issues regarding federalism in general were the central part of the challenges and discussions, particularly the applicability when the country had never lived in decentralized system. After the adoption of the constitution, there was a need to validate it with national referendum but that process was not realized due to situation of the country and that necessitated postpone the process while there a need of general registration of the population.

According to (Khalid, 2013, p. 199) he noted in his study that federalism can flourish with supportive institutions, and these institutions play major role for better democracy while the political life can only exist in strong democratic structures of political and non-political institutions. In his study, for interest of improving the Federalism in Pakistan he suggested some political measures, and also it supported the common idea of political inclusion for all to accommodate the interest of all groups and he believed that it can enhance the federal system.

Again the author considered federalism as a system which needs to be practiced in delicate manner with adjustments, because it tries to negotiate between unity and autonomy and it should have both political and legislative support and that is for the goal of making sure to remain successful, yet the constitution remained the mechanism which can mediate among the political branches of the government including legislature and judiciary or otherwise the result would be a compromised federal system. (Khalid, 2013, p. 199)

According to (Martínez-Herrera, 2010, p. 20) studied that “in order to shift from old fashion political systems, the state should pursue on pooling support of their community and make outreach” i.e. inclusion of different stakeholders, while these approaches can go hand in hand in political decentralization and power surrender to regional authorities in a manner of providing the diverse society a feeling of ownership and democratic woe. In addition to this the article concentrated on the context of interest of different high level groups which always prefer the decentralization as they consider it as favorable system and for the state policy makers would also see the opportunity of mobilizing the society of different regions of a country towards the central state and vice versa the regional powers.

2.7 Federal Member States and Hot Points

2.7.1 Political Competition

The Federalism is quite centric for the creation of numerous political arenas and the essence is that Political competition is vital for maintaining stability and healthy democratic system (Marshfield, 2011).

For decades, Somalia was in the middle of conflicts and stagnation of political development and which gave the country wide chaos to reach reconciliation and consistent political system but by adopting Federalism, there were a significant transformation in the general atmosphere and some level of political competition started to emerge which has referred as good beginning for stable system and more democratic.

Marshfield had argues in his study that Political Competition can support achieving democratic system in Federal System whereby number of measures and parameters are being considered and met and this gives pretty the extent need to have opposition parties that assures constructive political competition and in order to promote and on another way this does

not scored as a damage to the efficiency of the government and its legitimacy (Marshfield, 2011).

The Political atmosphere of destructive conflicts was rampant in Somalia since the civil war erupted in 1991 and it created stagnation of political development for 20 years. In this study I support the idea of political competition can induce political dialogue between rivalries and political stakeholders.

During the end of the transitional period which lasted for over 8 years in Somalia, we had experienced paradigm shift in the political arena where the politicians started to negotiate and concede with the inevitable defeats during the election. The major shift was quite clear in the political lobby which preceded the election of Sep 2012.

According to (Odero Ouma, 2011) as he discussed that several aspects including federalism can be a mechanism for containing and settling ethnic conflicts and he considered several countries in the East African region. He studied and focused on the phenomenon of conflicts related to ethnic and the structure of social cleavages was one of his three central concerns.

Although he discussed Somalia as a part of having ethnic conflict in his case studies over three countries including Somalia, Kenya and Sudan, he noted that there are constitutional mechanisms which can be used as a solution for the identity conflict but Somalia is not divided into ethnic groups, while the arrangements he discussed in his study were concrete mechanisms that have been used to contain the clan conflict. He discussed the issues including power sharing, federalism and autonomy which remained a very controversial in Somali politics since 2001 and also helped the country to gain peace over two decades.

In another part of Africa, another researcher found out some similarities in the essence of conflict source and concluded that the denial of

basic human needs of food, identity, security can lead to major conflict between ethnic groups and that was the case of both South Africa and Nigeria (Irobi, 2005).

The study added that as South Africa experienced developments in several parts of its economy and that helped that country to curb the hatred between the ethnic groups and improve the life standards of its society, however for Nigeria the study recommended to shift its old fashion system of government and political approaches to more development of the institutions in order to better address the alleviation of poverty, resource distribution which in parallel can contribute to a better democratic society and peace among its ethnic groups (Irobi, 2005).

In his conclusion (Odero Ouma, 2011) in the case study of Somali in regard to ethnic conflict management using mechanisms including power sharing, federalism and autonomy, he described that Somali can have a federal state with structure of autonomous regions like Somaliland and Puntland.

However his study did not concentrated on power sharing mechanism which is widely used by Somali policy makers in order to curb the clan conflicts but rather he focused on the issue of representation of regions and power groups not the clans.

2.7.2 Political inclusion through party system

The cliché about federalism remained for decades a distinctive accommodator of divided ethnic groups, and in regard to that theory it has become a corner stone solution suggested for Somalia in order to overcome the two decade long conflict.

According to (Suberu & Diamond, 2002) researched that Nigeria remained as a model for managing multi ethnicity and diverse society in

federal system and kept the country united, however there were a rampant conflicts which the accommodative federal system in the country doesn't brought. With the formal and informal strategies which the government implemented also helped the country contain threats of institutional instability. Recently the Nigerian government endeavored to have sustainable peace promoting federal system where several contexts including role of federal design, institutional redesign, system of government either parliamentary or presidential, and ethnic conflict management towards national unity attached to its long term government strategic plan in order to preserve a democratic system which can accommodate the world's most deeply divided ethnic societies and most populated African country.

Recent research showed some support to the debate of institutional design toward better federal system, in his research (Basedau, 2011) he assessed the rationality need and its contribution of having institutional design where these institutions can work with ethical framework based on accommodative or denial political phenomenon. He also asserted on that the empirical evidence of the function of these institutional designs remain inconclusive while its theory also quite ambivalent, however his study looked on at these institutions individually and combined while only considering the formal institutions including constitutions, laws, and other related which are laid by the government.

In contrast, when it comes for power sharing, different ethnic groups will come for collaboration and mutual understanding while also the denial political phenomenon is in place, it also encourage to reach an agreement (Basedau, 2011). This was the case of Somalia when the clans were engaged in warfare, agreements were reached to cease fire and rebuild the state with power sharing system.

2.8 Relative practical effect of constitutional support

2.8.1 Power Sharing System

Power sharing model of political arrangement was introduced to Somalia in 2000 during Somali National Peace Conference held in Arta Djibouti; 4.5 formula of power sharing where clans shared while the main argument remained whether system was laid down for sustainable solution or just a way out of wars, as the power sharing arrangements was propagated in the continent and negotiations were made between warring groups. The Power sharing arrangement was used as a litmus test in Somalia, just for the ambition of rebuilding the failed state but it hasn't been measured against the long term sustainability of peace, democracy and prosperity.

In his study (Vandeginste, 2009) argued that power sharing arrangement can be labeled as a success story when its main objective limited to termination of civil wars. The short term promising instrument also engulfs decline in disability and political competition based on ethnicity, however this arrangements was not characterized to make difference in long term and state main objectives of democracy, accountability, efficiency and rule of law.

Since the power sharing arrangement introduced in Somalia, there were no any added value the system produced for sustainable peace and political instability which was the concrete objective of it.

The history repeats itself and policy makers are normally eager to plan the future for better platform of political stability; however since 2000 Somalia had experienced rows of power struggle between the top leadership of the government as it drags to a disagreement the President and Prime Minister. In the wake of the establishment of the Transitional National Government TFG of Somalia and after a peace deal was brokered in Djibouti with power sharing arrangement based on 4.5-formula again there were an overlaps of three consecutive presidents similar struggle. The most three recent

governments in Somalia had been plagued with destructive power struggle. There are a number of scholars who argued that Somalia needs constitutional amendment and reconsideration of the general system of government and practiced power sharing arrangement and consider principle of power separation and moving to multi-party system.

Power sharing system which is practiced currently in the world was also introduced to Burundi in several aspects and used a tool for Political liberalization, to preserve existed government institutions, to lobby for political representation and to engage negotiation with rebels. In each instinct case the use of the power sharing system was different, however the impact of the realities on the ground had a great impact on the power sharing and the conducted study has showed the advantage and limits of power sharing while the arrangement didn't render any difference (Vandeginste, 2009).

Power sharing arrangement clearly showed how hard it is actually to convince party/parties and conserve democracy in that system of government; the aim of reaching reconciliation sometimes overweighs the need of implementing the anticipated result/outcome of a decent election(Papagianni, 2007).

The two opposing arguments of power sharing had never been taken into consideration, to bring them to the table for questioning in Somali politics or even discussed in parliament sessions. It would have a brilliant outcome if the Somali parliament engages in questioning the nature of power sharing in Somalia and does it supposed only to use for a way out of the protracted conflict and then to establish enduring peace promoting system whereby democracy thrives.

This study concedes with (Mukherjee, 2006) which suggested in his study about political system of power sharing – a model of explaining why some Power-Sharing Agreements succeed and some do not, he empirically studied 111 civil wars whereby power-sharing used aftermath and he

concluded power sharing arrangement can only promise sustainable peace when either the government or insurgent groups prevail and call for sharing the power, but the possibility of achieving enduring peace tends to fail when called after military stalemate. In his analysis he found out that military capacity as a strong and decisive factor and for that reason power sharing agreements most likely tend to succeed if one faction of the warring sides got un-proportionate supremacy and influence than the other in terms of retained power (Mukherjee, 2006).

When we consider the extensive impact of political power sharing agreements for sustainable peace varies dramatically, when questioned whether power-sharing arrangements promote peace (Mukherjee, 2006) found that 61 out of 111 civil wars occurred between in the mid 90s and that is from 1994 and 1999 a power sharing agreement were called upon, while 58% of power sharing agreements endured peace there were 44% failure which led recurrence of civil wars. Moreover in his model the researcher expressed that the consequences/nature of inducement from supporters either to concede with offered agreement or deny has an enormous effect continuation of these wars after power sharing arrangement offered. Power sharing agreements mostly tend to fail when brokered by a third party, or when it comes with foreign intervention, some authors including (Mukherjee, 2006) proved in this study that this phenomenon where Somalia and Rwanda experienced such consequences of failed agreements.

2.8.2 Autonomy

As widely discussed that the existence of wide spread conflicts, and the era of establishment of autonomy regions have relegated as to contain the related social cleavages in terms of language, ethnicity or religion, therefore the allocation of the power among these regional states differs among nations around the globe, where the constitution is regard as the

mediator of these allocation of governing competences and resource¹⁵(Scharpf, 2008).

Upon the moment of establishing Federal system in Somalia, Puntland State of Somalia was the only recognized Federal state which will form the Federal Republic-Government of Somalia as defined in the provisional constitution. The Federal Member state of Puntland named itself a semi-autonomous region, but coming to the establishment of federal government in Somalia – the region was effectively recognized as the sole founding federal member state.

2.8.3 Secession and Federalism

When we consider the current adopted Federal system in Somalia, and also the presiding 20 year of non-functioning central power, it is necessary to shed the lights on the developments was taking place in the northern parts of the country. Since these regions declared their independence from Somalia unilaterally, they also managed some extent of functioning and peaceful regions when considered to other parts of the country particularly the southern parts and their development were not only limited peace and security but rather they managed to implement some successful elections which was not even perceived in other parts of the country.

In that regard, there were a number of scholars from Somalia who widely argued that there are lessons which Somalia can learn from their brothers in the north for maintain peace and stability. Moreover with the establishment of the current federal government, there are some trials for engaging in negotiations with the northern regions and include them as a federal member state which enjoys the power decentralization under the constitution.

¹⁵ (Scharpf, 2008)

Recent negotiations between both sides marked possibility of achieving united Somalia again in Federal system; it was agreed on key issues which remarkably considered as narrowing the gap between the far side secessionist groups and the other. Presumably, with the current ongoing negotiations, the Somaliland authority may be engaging in order to reach their desired goal of independent state from Somalia, however this would only be possible if there a mutual concession from both sides, but It has been described as a worthy step forward the restart of direct talks between the central government of Somalia and the authority of Somaliland.

The paper (HIPS, 2013) highlighted “The Federal government should engage talks with the objectives of political accommodation and eventual national reconciliation and make the negotiating delegation more inclusive and include northern unionists” (p. 05).

According to (HIPS, 2013) “the talks gained strong support from the Somali people and they considered courageous decision whereby it is the right time to renew dialogue on the reconciliation process as the country recovers from more than two decades of conflict” (p. 01).

The study also provided recommendations towards achieving historical achievements for the interest of the whole nation:

Moreover the study (HIPS, 2013) recommended a “Devise a comprehensive settlement plan that addresses historical injustices, recognize the legitimate grievances of Somaliland and apologize for the abuses carried out in the name of the Somali government and discuss power sharing offers that may enable and entice Somaliland politicians to pursue the path of unity” (p. 05).

In his article (Christopher, 2011) argued that Jubba remarked great political development in Africa in terms of achieving their sovereignty while he noted that it needs the existence of both the cause and constitutional agreement between parties, as the case of South Sudan after long decades

of civil war. But when it comes the issue of the authority of Somaliland it differs, whereby the past mistakes of Barre regime not only targeted to northern regions of the country but rather the whole nation and communities.

Nevertheless, the African continent was experiencing enormous conflicts, outbreak of civil wars, genocides, independence and secession movements and these brought the continent on the verge of falling apart, as the author describes, whereby EU and other countries in the world were becoming more integrated in the matters of economics and politics and these aspects made them forget about seeking autonomy or engaging in movements of seeking independence, but the outstanding question is whether the African continent is ready to take step forward to that direction of more integration rather than falling apart (Clapham, 1998).

On May, 2011 The AU “The African Union” replaced the Organization of African Unity (OAU) but the objectives of serving unity and solidarity of the continent does not changed. Previously discussed that the motive of the establishment of Organization of African Unity (OAU) was also to preserve the national unity and the continent, moreover deny the emergence of secessionist movement as the newly independent achieved nations in the continent endeavored to establish oriented internal unity (Cervenka, 1968).

Regarding the conclusion of (HIPS, 2013) described that “in order to reach the milestone of re-uniting Somalia it is vital to recognize the grievances and the make sure that past mistakes are not made again, moreover the Somali citizens should consider addressing of these issues for the sake of attaining national unity” (p, 05).

According to (HIPS, 2013) “apart of these, those who suffered from Barre regime’s mistakes have legitimate grievances, so the northern regions of Somalia have the right to feel unwelcomed in the nation they voluntarily joined and sacrificed a lot for” (p. 05).

3 CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the methodology of the study. The focus is on research design, target population, sampling technique, sample size, research instruments, data collection procedure, reliability and validity of the instrument, data analysis, ethical considerations and finally limitation of the study.

3.2 Research Design

To investigate the adopted federal system in Somalia, This study focuses on three broad independent concepts; the general opinion of whether a Federal System in Somalia tend to create atmosphere of political stability which can replace the clan conflicts and secession also whether the adopted federalism in Somalia and as it perceived to promote the achievement of political stability for country after two decades of conflict and political chaos, plus to identify the existence of any barriers to shift from current centralized system and used power sharing arrangement to a full-fledged de-centralized system of government. Theoretical discussions were made in the study to explore the impact of federalism on political stability and factors including, power sharing, the constitution, power separation, political inclusion and political competition were considered and measured in order to find out the status of performance of the federalism.

3.2.1 Research Population

This is about the pattern of state rebuilding and federalism in Somalia. The target population is 275 federal parliament members comprising of

leaders, federal states representatives, influential political figures, law makers, businessmen and civil society. Selection of the respondents will focus on parliament committees of federal laws and constitution.

3.2.2 Sample size

The sample consists of 165 respondents - including independent parliament committees and individual members. The research distributed the sample size as 70% to 30% male to female respondents

To determine the ideal sample size for a population, the study used Slovene's formula which is $n = \frac{N}{1 + (N \cdot e^2)}$, where n = sample size, N = population size, 275 and e = margin of error of 5 %. $n = \frac{275}{1 + (275 \cdot 0.0025)} = 162 \sim 165$ respondents.

Table 3.1 Sampling

Categories	Simple size	Population
Male	115	190
Female	50	85
Total	165	275

3.2.3 Sampling procedure

The sampling procedure used in this study is non probability sampling procedure particularly Purposive sampling was used to select the sample. "Purposive sampling is a method of sampling where the researcher intentionally chooses who to include in the study based on their ability to provide necessary data" (Oso & Onen, 2009). The rationale for choosing this approach is that respondents who are eligible to participate in this study the federal parliament of Somalia is purposively chosen as target respondents of the study.

3.3 Research Instrument

The research used self-administered-questionnaire as the main tool for collecting data in this study. In questionnaire interview development, the research objectives, previous studies about federalism and state rebuilding were to provide a base for the questionnaire development in this study.

The research questionnaire was consisted of closed questions to collect the required data for the study. The researchers choose questionnaire for the reason that the study is concerned with variables that cannot be solidly observed such as views, opinions, and feelings of the respondents. Such information is best collected through questionnaires.

As the self- administered questionnaire can be used to collect a great data, with its flexibility and both time and economic advantageous.

3.4 Validity and Reliability of the Instrument

“Validity refers to the extent to which data collection method accurately measures what it was intended to measure or to the extent to which research findings are about what they are claimed to be about” (Saunders, Thornhill, & Lewis, 1999). Generally, validity of each question or group of questions is assessed rather than of the questionnaire as a whole. In order to increase validity of the questions in this research, the researcher utilized content validity index for the reason that the researcher was construct the questions as clear as possible, measuring only one thing at the time, and main concept of federalism and state building will be given to the respondents to avoid possible different interpretations of the main concept.

“Reliability refers to the consistency in reaching the same result when the measurement is made over and over again. When it comes to the questionnaire and interview, pre-testing, revision and further testing of it may increase its reliability” (Webb, 2002). Before distributing the questionnaire

and conducting the interview, in this research I did pilot-testing with 10 experts including the supervisor. Some changes as well as reformulations of questions and possible answers will make as the result of this pilot test.

3.5 Data Analysis

The research used quantitative data analysis in this study. To analyze the data SPSS 20.0 (Statistical Package for the Social Science) was used. The research will employ descriptive statistics to explore the variables in this study whereby initially the averages are calculated, frequency distributions and percentage distributions are given. As the study has one dependent variable "building stable state" with Federalism as independent variables, while the study considers three other predictors affecting both the Federalism factor and State Rebuilding. Non-parametric Chi square goodness of fit test is selected because the study wants to consider the effect of more than one predicting variable on differences in the dependent variable. The research utilized the SPSS statistical software 20 for the analysis of the collected data.

3.6 Hypothesis Testing

For the hypothesis testing and assess the relationship between the categorical variables, the study considers the Null hypothesis is accepted unless the results of the data analysis proofed significantly against whereby the study has the Alternative hypothesis stating the opposite of the null hypothesis. Regarding the existing rules the value of P is used to determine if the null hypothesis is rejected or accepted, therefore if P value is greater or equal to the significance level (the level of the test, normally 0.05 i.e.: 5%).

3.6.1 Link of the Hypotheses and Questions

The research hypothesis is formulated in terms of the general concept of the study by referring to the three broad concepts; the general opinion of

whether a Federal System in Somalia tend to create atmosphere of political stability which can replace the clan conflicts and secession also whether the adopted federalism in Somalia and as it perceived to promote the achievement of political stability for country after two decades of conflict and political chaos, plus to identify the existence of any barriers to shift from current centralized system and used power sharing arrangement to a full-fledged de-centralized system of government. Factors including, power sharing, the constitution, power separation, political inclusion and political competition were considered and measured in order to find out the status of performance of the federalism. Therefore the table blow shows the questions linked to each hypotheses of this study. The tables below provide the summary of the null hypotheses of the study and the link between the questions with the alternative hypotheses.

Table 3.2 Null Hypotheses

No	Hypotheses
1	The federal system in Somalia tend to create atmosphere of political stability which can replace the clan conflicts and secession
2	The current federal system in Somalia is engineered towards enhancing the prospects of state rebuilding from political perspective
3	In comparing to the past 30 years of centralized government system in Somalia with its laws and institutions and the current clan power-sharing system is likely tend to be a barrier to the newly born de-centralized system

Table 3.3 Link of the Hypotheses and Questions

No	Hypotheses	Questions
1	The federal system in Somalia is unlikely tend to create atmosphere of political stability which can replace the clan conflicts and secession	Q.1, Q.16
2	The federal system in Somalia is not engineered towards enhancing the prospects of state rebuilding from political perspective	Q.11, Q.12, Q.14
3	In comparing to the past 30 years of centralized government system in Somalia with its laws and institutions and the current clan power-sharing system are unlikely tend to be a barrier to the newly born de-centralized system	Q.15, Q.17

3.7 Pilot Testing

A pilot study was conducted in the frame of a sample containing ten respondents. The respondents will include three experts and seven individuals of political figures while these individuals were distinctively asked to complete the questionnaire by following the instructions of the questionnaire, comment on the content, format and wording of the questionnaire. After finalizing the pilot test of the sample of ten respondents, the questionnaire was amended and refined for final data collection stage.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The researcher profoundly considered about the ethical issues throughout research project, and kept the privacy and confidentiality of the respondents from the public. The undisclosed information was set to stay confidential; the researcher used it only for academic purpose. Anonymity and confidentiality of the secret information have the high priority; in addition to that the researchers admire to keep individual self-respect.

3.9 Limitations of The Study

According to authors “Limitations are obstructions or projected restrictions or potential weaknesses of the study imposed by the methodology of the study” (Oso & Onen, 2009).

The major limitations of this study are:

- Inadequate of academic studies in the field of federal system in Somalia
- Uniqueness of Somalia when considered the application of federalism; whereby the society is divided on whether federalism is or not viable option for Somalia, while this study does not consider this aspect.
- The sample of study was not large enough to include and compare between different countries in the context.

4 CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

Fundamentally, this chapter is designed to present the summary of the data analysis of the empirical part of this research, while interpreting the major findings of the study. Therefore the collected data is exposed to the statistical analysis selected for the study in terms of seeking the main objectives of the study. Throughout this chapter the main results of the discussed is discussed starting with the summary of all questions raised for the study in terms of percentages using descriptive statistics based on the main constructs of the study. A non-parametric chi-square goodness of fit was used to detect the goodness of fit between the theoretical parts of the study i.e. the study hypothesis and the empirical part of the study i.e. the collected data. This chapter also considered the reliability of the analysis and conduct the hypothesis testing with the scales using Cronbach alpha of 0.5 and in that regard the final result of the study is revealed.

4.2 Descriptive Statistics of the Study

In this section, the summary of the results of all questions is provided in percentage of distribution using descriptive statistics and these questions are based on constructs of the study as discussed on chapter 3, therefore any set of questions with three level of scale are designed to define a construct while these questions were not grouped in the first place in the questionnaire but rather shuffled and then extracted for the purpose of the analysis.

Table 4.1 Opinions regarding the required whether the Federal System in Somalia tend to bring political stability and end conflicts and secession

		Yes	No	I Don't Know
		%	%	%
Q1	The Federal system tend to create political stability and replace clan conflict and clan identity	73	24	3
Q16	The federalism tend to reduce the incentives to secede	72	24	3

Percentages totals: 100%

Table 4.2 Opinions regarding the need for reform

		Yes	No	I Don't Know
		%	%	%
Q2	The political inclusion through party system in the federalism can result country stability	70	26	4
Q3	The political competition in the federal system is crucial for healthy democracy and stability	74	22	4
Q4	The separation of powers Parliament, Executive and Judiciary of the federal government is essential for the country stability	74	21	5
Q6	The decent creation of federal member states is crucial for building stable state	88	9	3
Q9	There is an urgent need to define the exercisable power between the states and central government	89	8	3
Q10	The effectiveness of political institutions tend to avoid conflict	68	25	7

Percentages totals: 100%

Table 4.3 Opinions regarding the current constitutions of the Federal Republic of Somalia

		Yes	No	I Don't Know
		%	%	%
Q7	The Federal constitution created a clear and unique solution to share power among the states and the central government	12	84	4
Q8	The Federal constitution clearly outlines the Federal system of government	10	83	7

Percentages totals: 100%

Table 4.4 Opinions regarding how strong the Somali Federal System is to promote Political Stability

		Yes	No	I Don't Know
		%	%	%
Q11	The Federal system is engineered towards aversion of domination, controversy over resources & land	28	69	3
Q12	The Federal system is engineered to promote co-existence of the different clans in most regions of Somalia	26	70	4
Q14	The current Federal system in Somalia tend to promote state rebuilding from political perspective	24	72	5

Percentages totals: 100%

Table 4.5 Opinions regarding the barriers of the current Federal system

		Yes	No	I Don't Know
		%	%	%
Q15	The current power sharing arrangement tend to be barrier for effective Federal System	65	28	7
Q17	The pre-existed centralized system of government tend to become a barrier to the current Federal System	66	26	8

Percentages totals: 100%

Table 4.6 Opinions regarding weaknesses of the Federal System in Somalia

		Yes	No	I Don't Know
		%	%	%
Q5	The role of the Parliament, Executive and Judiciary overlap and avoid accountability	83	12	5
Q13	The current constitutional arrangement have controversy between states power and the federal government	84	13	3

Percentages totals: 100%

4.3 Reliability Test

The scales of each statement in the constructs of the study were assessed for reliability, the results showed a strong reliability in all the constructs which is more than 0.5; the table below shows the results of the internal reliability:

Table: 4.7 Reliability analysis of the main study constructs

Construct/Opinion	Variable	Cronbach's Alpha/ Reliability	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
About a Federal System	Q1	.797	.667	.
	Q16		.667	.
About the Current Federal System	Q11	.934	.929	.861
	Q12		.863	.905
	Q14		.814	.950
Comparing previous system of government and the de-centralized system	Q15	.802	.671	.
	Q17		.671	.

From Table 4.7, it can be summarized that which is labelled as main constructs of the study which comprises of three constructs is summarized by 7 variables/questions. Q1 and Q16 addressed the general opinion about a federal system in Somalia and the Cronbach's Alpha/ Reliability is above the suggested 0.5. Moreover Q11, Q12 and Q14 which describe the current status of the federal system in Somalia retained reliability of .93 and lastly the Q15 and Q17 which define the coherence of previous systems with the current decentralized system have a .80 of Cronbach's Alpha.

Moreover, as the study conducted the analysis of some selected number of associated factors which are considered and assumed as positively related to the federal system, the results of these analysis are as follows:

1. Need for reform of the current federal system
2. Function of the current constitution of the Federal Republic of Somalia
3. Status of the Power Separation

The result of these analysis showed that there is a strong internal consistent of the reliability of the analyzed scales (see Table 4.8) and therefore it also shows that there a huge need for reform of the current federal system in Somalia in terms of the political inclusion through party, supportive atmosphere for political competition, the separation of powers Parliament, Executive and Judiciary of the federal government and define the exercisable power between the states and central government and also the decent creation of federal member states and effectiveness of political institutions.

In terms of the function of the current constitutions there is a majority agreements in the observed respondents that the current Federal constitution does not create a clear and unique solution to share power among the states and the central government and moreover not clearly outlines the Federal system of government which is adopted.

Considering the current status of the Power Separation both in the Federal government and between the federal government and federal member states, the results showed that there is an overlaps in the roles of the Parliament, Executive and Judiciary which is avoids accountability and legal power exercise. Also the current constitutional arrangement have controversy between states power and the federal government which is apparent in current federal system of Somalia. This poses an immense

power conflict and stagnation of the cooperation between the central government and federal member states.

The table below shows the Analysis of reliability of these factors:

Table: 4.8 Analysis of reliability of the supporting factors

Construct/Opinion	Variable	Cronbach's Alpha/ Reliability	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Need for reform of the current federal system	Q2	.758	.722	.664
	Q3		.665	.675
	Q4		.721	.659
	Q6		.280	.772
	Q9		.280	.772
	Q10		.393	.764
Function of the current constitution of the Federal Republic of Somalia	Q7	.752	.620	.
	Q8		.620	.
Status of the Power Separation	Q5	.755	.621	.
	Q13		.621	.

4.4 Inferential Statistics

Chi-square goodness of fit Analysis

In this section of the study, the main empirically obtained data through the self-administered questionnaire is compared to the expected values in the hypothesis of the study. Therefore based on the finding of the analysis, the constructs of the study with its set of questions are analyzed in the chi-square goodness of fit. For Hypothesis testing I used alpha 0.05 which

means that there is only 5% change to reject a hypothesis; moreover with expected proportion of 70.0, 25.0, and 5.0 respectively. The chi-square goodness of fit test allowed me to test whether the observed proportions from the categorical variables in my study differ from my hypothesized proportions in my hypothesis statements. The Expected result was that it will turn out the general opinion that 70% will have the opinion of supporting the 3 research hypothesis, while 25% will deny the notion and the remaining 5% will vote to Indifference.

Regarding the first construct which holds the general opinion of a Federal System in Somalia don't tend to bring political stability, end conflicts and discourage secession has been found not supported. The results showed that a Federal System in Somalia tend to bring political stability, end conflicts and discourage secession. My sample does not differ significantly from my hypothesized values, therefore on the first statement my Chi-Square X^2 which has 2 degrees of freedom = 1.930, $p=.381$. The second statement results shows that Chi-Square X^2 which has 2 degrees of freedom = 1.038, $p \geq 0.05$. As the P-value bigger than the specified significance level of 5%, hence it means that **the null hypothesis is retained**. See Table 4.9

This implies that the respondents have the general opinion of that federal system in Somalia can bring stability, end conflicts and discourage secession.

The second construct about the current status of the adopted federal system in Somalia which holds the general opinion of the current Federal System in Somalia is not engineered towards enhancing the prospects of state rebuilding from political perspective has been found supported. $X^2(2) = 179$, $p \leq 0.05$, therefore as the P value is smaller than 5%, **the null hypotheses is rejected**. See Table 4.9

This reveals that the general opinion towards the current federal system in Somalia is not engineered towards enhancing the prospects of state rebuilding from political perspective. However when further analysis

was conducted with selected number of associated factors which are considered and assumed as positively related to the federal system, the results showed that there is a need for reform in the current federal system, the function of the current constitution of the Federal Republic of Somalia and the power separation.

The third construct of the study which holds the general opinion whether there are barriers on the current adopted de-centralized system. The results showed $X^2 (2) = 2.84, p \geq 0.05$. Therefore **the null hypothesis is retained**. See Table 4.9

This reveals that the general opinion holds that there are a barriers on the newly born de-centralized system because of the past 30 years of centralized government system in Somalia and the current clan power-sharing system.

Table 4.9 Main findings of the analysis (Frequencies and Test Statistics)

Q1. The Federal system tend to create political stability and replace clan conflict and clan identity		Observed N.	Expected N	Residual
Yes		111	106.4	4.6
No		37	38.0	-1.0
I Don't Know		4	7.6	-3.6
Total		152		
Q16. The federalism tend to reduce the incentives to secede		Observed N.	Expected N	Residual
Yes		110	106.4	3.6
No		37	38.0	-1.0
I Don't Know		5	7.6	-2.6
Total		152		
Q11. The Federal system is engineered towards aversion of domination, controversy over resources & land		Observed N.	Expected N	Residual
Yes		43	106.4	-63.4
No		104	38.0	66.0

	I Don't Know	5	7.6	-2.6	
	Total	152			
Q12. The Federal system is engineered to promote co-existence of the different clans in most regions of Somalia					
	Yes	39	106.4	-67.4	
	No	107	38.0	69.0	
	I Don't Know	6	7.6	-1.6	
	Total	152			
Q14. The current Federal system in Somalia tend to promote state rebuilding from political perspective					
	Yes	36	106.4	-70.4	
	No	109	38.0	71.0	
	I Don't Know	7	7.6	-.6	
	Total	152			
Q15. The current power sharing arrangement tend to be barrier for effective Federal System					
	Yes	98	106.4	-8.4	
	No	43	38.0	5.0	
	I Don't Know	11	7.6	3.4	
	Total	152			
Q17. The pre-existed centralized system of government tend to become a barrier to the current Federal System					
	Yes	101	106.4	-5.4	
	No	39	38.0	1.0	
	I Don't Know	12	7.6	4.4	
	Total	152			
Test Statistics					
			Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.
Q1	The Federal system tend to create political stability and replace clan conflict and clan identity		1.930 ^a	2	.381
Q16	The federalism tend to reduce the incentives to secede		1.038 ^a	2	.595
Q11	The Federal system is engineered towards aversion		153.29	2	0.00

	of domination, controversy over resources & land	9 ^a		
Q12	The Federal system is engineered to promote co-existence of the different clans in most regions of Somalia	168.32 1 ^a	2	0.00
Q14	The current Federal system in Somalia tend to promote state rebuilding from political perspective	179.28 6 ^a	2	0.00
Q15	The current power sharing arrangement tend to be barrier for effective Federal System	2.842 ^a	2	.241
Q17	The pre-existed centralized system of government tend to become a barrier to the current Federal System	2.848 ^a	2	0.241
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 50.7				

4.5 Findings of the Hypothesis tested

The summary of all the above mentioned and tested hypotheses of the study is presented in this table:

Table: 4.10 Summary of the hypotheses tested

	The Alternative Hypotheses/ Research Hypotheses	Accept / not Accept
H1	The Federal System in Somalia is unlikely tend to create atmosphere of political stability which can replace the clan conflicts and secession.	Not Accepted
H2	The current Federal System in Somalia is not engineered towards enhancing the prospects of state rebuilding from political perspective.	Accepted
H3	In comparing to the past 30 years of centralized government system in Somalia with its laws and institutions and the current clan power-sharing system are unlikely tend to be a barrier to the newly born de-centralized system.	Not Accepted

5 CHAPTER FIVE

Analysis, Discussion and Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

For this study, the purpose of this chapter is to analyze, discuss and conclude of the findings presented in chapter 4 of this study that is to say to highlight the broader context of the contribution of this research. In this chapter I offer analysis, discussion of the findings, implication, limitation and recommendations with regard to the literature together with the designed theoretical framework of this study and conclude with the relevant elements that comprise the conclusion part.

5.2 Analysis of the theoretical segment

Through this study, the theoretical section of this study tried to was to describe the general public opinion towards the federalism in Somalia, the current status of this adopted federal system and cohesion of previous governmental system existed in Somalia to the current decentralized system. The part also considered a number of related factors that affect the federal system in order to fulfill the main goal of building stable Somalia in terms of political and democracy. The literature identified the formation and shape of a federal Somalia and addressed the preliminary schemes set in the provisional constitution and discussed that the type of the adopted federalism in Somalia is yet to be defined.

Also in the section, it has been addresses bold issues regarded as a corner stone to be considered in order to contain the collision of powers between the Federal government and its members, the provisional constitution and in order to form strong Federal System we need to consider

several aspects including: power separation, multi-party system, constitutional support and much more like the instinct of federalism based on theories which based on modern federal system. Moreover federalism was discussed as the ideal system for politically stable Somalia after two decades of conflict, while this notion was only based on decisions being made in order to overcome the surrounded challenges of conflict and political process stagnation.

The main theoretical discussion of the study also concentrated on issues regarded as central part of forming stable federal system as defined by several scholars and these concrete issues include power separation in terms of the central government bodies and between the central government and federal member states while also considering the scheme of political parties and executive power and establishment of federal institutions. The study also considered hot points of the constitution, its definition of power exercise and provision of clear authority to central government and federal member states and in consideration to the formation of these federal member states. Issues like political competition, political inclusion through party system, current power sharing system, autonomy and secession were broadly discussed and provided their significant contribution towards building stable Somalia from political perspective.

5.3 The Main Findings of Empirical Section

As the focus of the study was to describe the general public opinion towards the federalism in Somalia, the current status of this adopted federal system and cohesion of previous governmental system existed in Somalia to the current decentralized system. The study has composed of three hypotheses of:

H1 The Federal System in Somalia is unlikely tend to create atmosphere of political stability which can replace the clan conflicts and secession.

H2 The current Federal System in Somalia is not engineered towards enhancing the prospects of state rebuilding from political perspective.

H3 In comparing to the past 30 years of centralized government system in Somalia with its laws and institutions and the current clan power-sharing system are unlikely tend to be a barrier to the newly born decentralized system.

Based on the analyses and interpretation of the collected data, the findings of this research revealed that:

1. The general opinion on whether a Federal System in Somalia tend to bring political stability and end conflicts and secession: based on the research finding the results showed that there is a general acceptance that a Federal System in Somalia can bring the long term sought political stability to the country, and it can be dumped as a relevant system of government which can assist the country to end conflicts and discourage secession. The findings immensely proved that a federal system is a viable solution to promote better political outcome that leads to a political stability, have the potentiality to end the conflicts between the clans or involved interest groups and moreover discourage the secession as there will be no any fears of central state imposing control of destiny.
2. Considering the questioning of the how the adopted federal system is currently functioning, the study findings revealed that there is huge negative general opinion in terms of proper function of the system and the majority believes the system is not engineered towards enhancing the prospects of state rebuilding from political perspective, promote co-existence of the different clans in most regions of Somalia and aversion of

domination, controversy over resources & land among the society.

It was also considered in the study a number of factors related to proper functionality of the federal system and the findings resulted that there is a huge need of reform in terms of the political inclusion through creation of multi-party, constitutional review, supportive atmosphere for political competition, the separation of powers Parliament, Executive and Judiciary of the federal government and define the exercisable power between the states and central government and also the decent creation of federal member states and effectiveness of political institutions.

When the study considered deeply in the provisional constitution of the federal system the results revealed the Federal constitution does not create a clear and unique solution to share power among the states and the central government however this is a matter of profound explanations and details which the constitution needs to utter general guidelines of power sharing and nature of the federal system.

3. For the cohesion of the past 30 years of centralized government system in Somalia which had its laws and strong institutions plus later adopted current clan power-sharing system and the newly adopted decentralized system, the results revealed the possibility of collision and barrier on the de-centralized system.

The general opinion holds the newly born de-centralized system tends to have barriers in terms of power definition and authority.

5.4 Implications of the Main Findings

Considering what the research results revealed which is a federal system in Somalia can bring a political stability to the country and promote the end conflicts and secession while the current adopted federal system has got weakness and needs reform in several aspects including constitutional review, adoption of multi-party system and definition in the exercise of powers. Therefore it is clear that federal system has a relevance of choice in the public opinion rather than centralized system and this disproves also that a federal system is not a good choice for Somalia in order to end the two decade long conflict and maintain stability. The perception of such a federal system would only encourage the de-integration of Somalia is also has been proved wrong as the general opinion illustrated high vote that federal system would only discourage the secession.

The need of reform in the current federal system remained high in the general opinion and this clarifies that stable Somalia in terms of politically can be achieved through the adopted decentralized system.

On the issue of existing barriers of current power sharing system and previous centralized system imposed on the current federal system, it is essential that the current federal government is yet on the incubation period and that it can a while to perform a wide scale of transformation and swift shift from a systems which has been used in a such long time. Moreover the barrier will be affecting only the effectiveness of the system but not the whole system.

5.5 Recommendations and Directions for Future Study

In consideration to the wide range of the studies which can be implemented on federalism and state rebuilding, I believe that a

comprehensive research on the impact of federalism on both the stability of country has a great importance to implement

While the general perception is that federalism and stability of both political and economic have positive relation, this study is limited to the analyses of general opinion of federalism and state rebuilding in terms of political perspective, therefore I would also recommend that a comprehensive study of the impact of federalism on a country's stability in terms of politically, economically and much more; as currently there are no clear description how these two interplay from historical and empirical perspective.

5.6 Limitations of the Study

In this study the most significant limitations from a theoretical perspective is that the study focused only on the impact of federalism on political stability not included other factors which would considered bold and significant, moreover when it comes to empirical perspective, there are number of limitations including the target population as the general opinion was based only on the sample selected from the 275 federal parliament members as it has been justified to retain the exact needed representation of the society but the target population could be widened and included the general public opinion. The other major limitations of this study are: Inadequate of academic studies in the field of federal system in Somalia, Uniqueness of Somalia when considered the application of federalism; whereby the society is divided on whether federalism is or not viable option for Somalia, while this study does not consider this aspect. The sample of study was not large enough to include and compare between different countries in the context.

5.7 Conclusion

The main aim of this study was to examine the general opinion of whether the adopted federalism in Somalia and as it perceived to promote the achievement of political stability for country after two decades of conflict and political chaos, plus to identify the existence of any barriers to shift from current centralized system and used power sharing arrangement to a full-fledged de-centralized system of government. Theoretical discussions were made in the study to explore the impact of federalism on political stability and factors including, power sharing, the constitution, power separation, political inclusion and political competition were considered in order to measure the link. Next the empirical section of the study proved that the general opinion towards a federal system in Somalia can bring political stability, end conflicts and discourage secession had retained great deal of acceptance however it has been proved the current Federal System in Somalia is not engineered towards enhancing the prospects of state rebuilding from political perspective and there is a huge need for reform in terms of the political inclusion through party, constitutional review, supportive atmosphere for political competition, the separation of powers Parliament, Executive and Judiciary of the federal government and define the exercisable power between the states and central government and also the decent creation of federal member states and effectiveness of political institutions. Moreover the study find out that the newly born de-centralized system tend to have barriers from the previous centralized system of government and the 10 years old current clan power-sharing system.

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Appendix 1: Final Questionnaire of the Study





Appendix 2: Curriculum Vitae

Abubakar ABUBAKAR

Political Analyst

Specialties: Political Science and International Relations

Experience

Chief Administrative Officer at Embassy of Somali Federal Republic in Turkey

February 2012 - Present (2 years 7 months)

- Coordinate and guide the preparation of operational plans for the implementation and evaluation of the Embassy Missions drawn up by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Control the utilization, and propose the allocation of, the financial resources available to the mission
- Project of Website development;
- Strengthening corporations with international governance organizations, governments, and non-governmental organizations such as universities;
- Planning specialized research and capacity development activities for the Embassy.
- Supervise the administrative operations for personnel management of the Embassy;
- Represent the Embassy at inter-agency, and Diplomacies meetings and present reports and policy documents

Internship at Energy Politics and Markets Research Center (EPPAM) Istanbul Aydin University

November 2011 - February 2012 (4 months)

- Conduct research and analysis on climate and energy policies, carbon markets, and low-emissions development.
- Prepare quantitative analyses, case studies, policy reports, memos, etc. with guidance or supervision from the Director of Energy Politics and Markets Research Center, Istanbul Aydin University

- Prepare presentations/conference materials for upcoming conferences, symposiums and help with general preparation for these events.
- Liaise with outside technical consultants, experts, and international policymakers on various assignments.

Finance Assistant at SAACID

February 2011 - August 2011 (7 months)

- Responsible all cash and bank related transactions; receive all bank statements and reconcile them per project on monthly basis, and also maintain accurate and effective financial controls on all the transactions affected within the programmes;
- Provide to SAACID country programme full, accurate and timely financial reports, including donor contracts and acknowledgement of funds receipts - record them and make follow up activities and send them to the donors;

Programme Manager at SAACID

April 2010 - January 2011 (10 months)

- Creating and executing the Employment for Peace Programme (EFP) II Funded by ILO/IOM work plans and revising as appropriate;
- Identifying resources needed and assigning individual responsibilities;
- Manages day-to-day operational aspects of EFP II and scope;
- Compiling weekly substantive reports to ILO/IOM;
- Preparing monthly summaries on the programme achievements and progress in implementation;
- Preparing periodic progress/substantive reports for donors on their contributions to the Project;
- Effectively applying work under SAACID methodologies and enforcing programme standards;
- Preparing for engagement reviews and quality assurance procedures; and also minimizing exposures and risk on EFP II programme;
- Ensuring programme documents are complete, current, and stored appropriately.

Cashier at Shabelle Media Network

March 2009 - March 2010 (1 year 1 month)

- To manage the receipt and disbursement of funds, and maintain accurate financial records;
- Maintain optimum cash balances and advise the Finance Officer for cash replenishment requirements;
- Maintain a cash book and perform daily cash reconciliation and cash counts for all currencies on a weekly and monthly with senior managers;

Capacity Development advisor and Assistant Cashier at Shabelle Media Network

May 2008 - August 2008 (4 months)

- Preparing trained staff in customer service skills;
- Took part in almost all aspects of the daily routine at Shabelle;
- Wrote a Training Needs Assessment of the staff to identify needs in terms of office management training and equipment;
- Improved project office management through institutionalizing more efficient office management procedures
(e.g. new electronic file management system);
- Responsible for identification of policy gaps, training needs and service delivery.
- To ensure that all cash transactions are correctly authorized, Shabelle financial procedures and regulations are followed up;
- To enter all data on to the computerized cashbooks ensuring the correct account codes are used; ensure coherence with approved budgets and with budget versus actual;
- Preparation of cheques, advances and transfers between field locations; handling bank books and all related bank activities.

Secretary (Six Months Internship) at Community Development and Humanity care Association (CODH care)

November 2007 - April 2008 (6 months)

- Handling of applications for funding from local NGOs concerned with capacity building, human and environmental rights;
- Planning and scheduling meetings and appointments;
- Organizing and maintaining paperwork and acting as the face of an organization;
- Organize paperwork and electronic files and manage many projects;
- Creating spreadsheets as necessary, composing correspondence within the office, managing a database and developing presentations;
- Prepare board of directors meeting agenda with president;
- Attend the board meeting and take the minutes;
- Collect the monthly committee reports;
- Submit monthly report to the district;
- Handling and arranging board of directors meetings and preparing the procedures of executing projects.

School teacher at ALIMAN Primary and Secondary School

January 2006 - July 2007 (1 year 7 months)

- Teaching Scientific subjects
- Improved my students' skills in science and mathematics.

Languages

Somali (Native or bilingual proficiency)

English (Full professional proficiency)

Arabic (Native or bilingual proficiency)

Turkish

Education

Istanbul Aydin University

Master of Art, Political Science and International Relations, 2011 - 2012
Grade: 3.38 (C.GPA)

SIMAD UNIVERSITY

Bachelor of Arts (BA) In Business Administration, Economics and
Administrative Science, 2007 - 2011 Grade: 3.39

Activities and Societies: -Awarded Best Entrepreneur in - Start Your Own
Business Contest "Practical business assignment"

Alansaar Secondary School

Secondary Certificate, General introduction to science, statistics, economics,
sociology, advanced level in English & math, 2001 - 2005

Activities and Societies: Selected for number 2 educational competitor for
the school

Shalamboot Primary School

Primary Certificate, English, geography, Social Studies, basic science and
mathematics, 1996 - 2001

ABSTRACT

Ironically, it has been widely argued and this dissertation investigates the general opinion on whether a Federal system of government in Somalia tend to promote positive political stability, accommodate the interests of different groups, whether the current federalism fulfills that goal and, ultimately is there a barrier to shift into decentralized system amid of being a fragile state. Using a descriptive research design with self-administered questionnaire, 165 participants representing the stakeholders of the society in the federal parliament answered the questionnaire based on their opinions regarding a Federal System in Somalia, the current function of the Federal System and about the coherence between previous systems of government and the newly adopted de-centralized system. After conducting review of relevant theories, secondary research data and analyze of the primary finding, the results showed the general opinion is that a federal system in Somalia can bring political stability, end conflicts and discourage secession, however the current Federal System in Somalia is not engineered towards enhancing the prospects of state rebuilding from political perspective and there is a huge need for reform in terms of the political inclusion through party, constitutional review, supportive atmosphere for political competition, the separation of powers Parliament, Executive and Judiciary of the federal government and define the exercisable power between the states and central government and also the decent creation of federal member states and effectiveness of political institutions. Moreover the study find out that the newly born de-centralized system tend to have barriers from the previous centralized system of government and the 10 years old current clan power-sharing system. This is the first research of its kind which investigates the general opinion towards the adopted Federal System of government in Somalia.

Key words: Federalism, State Rebuilding, Political Stability, Somalia

ÖZET

İronik bir şekilde bu konu çokça tartışıldı ve bu tez federal devlet sisteminin pozitif politik istikrarı sağlamaya yönelik, farklı grupların ihtiyaçlarıyla buluşan bir sistem olup olmadığına dair genel kanaatin ortaya çıkarılmasına dairdir, halihazırdaki federalizm bu hedefleri yerine getiremedi, eninde sonunda kırılğan hükümet döneminde federal yapıya geçişte bir engel vardı. Çeşitli toplumsal grupları temsil eden 165 kişiye Somali'deki federal sistem yapısıyla ilgili genel, şimdiki federal sistem yapısının işlevi, eski hükümet sistemi ve şimdiki yeni adapte edilmiş federal sistemin uyumu bir anket vasıtasıyla soruldu. İlgili teoriler tekrar gözden geçirildikten sonra, ikincil araştırma verisi ve birincil bulguların analizi ile sonuçlar gösterdi ki; genel kanat federal sistemin Somali'de siyasi istikrarı getireceği, çatışmaları sonlandıracağı ve ayrılıkçı fikirlerden vazgeçireceği yönündedir, fakat Somalide'ki güncel federal sistem, siyasi bir perspektifle hükümetin yeniden kurulmasına izin veren bir yapıda tasarlanmadı ve siyasi olarak partilerin de içinde bulunduğu, anayasanın yeniden gözden geçirilmesi, siyasi rekabeti destekleyici bir atmosfer; yürütme, yasama ve yargı erklerinin ayrılması ve eyaletler ve merkezi hükümet arasındaki uygulayıcı gücün tanımlanması ve iyi oturmuş federal üye eyalet ve siyasi kurumları hedef alan büyük bir değişime ihtiyaç vardır. Çalışmanın geri kalanı gösterdiği yeni doğmuş bir federal sistem önceki tek merkezli sistemin ve 10 yıllık güç-paylaşım sisteminin engellemeleriyle karşılaşmak durumundadır. Bu çalışma Somalide'ki adapte edilmiş federal sisteme dair genel nabzı ölçmeye yönelik ilk araştırmadır.

Kelimeler: Federalizm, Hükümetin Yeniden Kurulması, Siyasi istikrarı, Somali