THE CHALLENGES OF IMPLEMENTING FEDERAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT: THE CASE OF SOUTH CENTRAL ZONE OF SOMALIA

ABUBAKAR FARAH FIDOW

REGISTRATION NO: C153F/CTY/PT/24544/2010

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PUBLIC POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

DECEMBER, 2013
DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signature: .............................................. Date: 18/12/2013

Name: Abubakar Farah Fidow

Reg. No: C153/CTY/PT/24544/2010

Supervisor Declaration

This research project has been submitted with my approval as University Supervisor.

Signature: .............................................. Date: ..............................................

Dr. Joseph Wasonga

Department of History, Archeology & Political Studies

Signature: .............................................. Date: 19/12/2013

Dr. Felix Kiruthu

Department of Public Policy and Administration
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I offer my deep thanks and acknowledgement to my Allah for enabling me to go through this program and for all gifts of life. I always had a dream of pursuing a master degree, that dream was made possible through the support of Allah.

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Joseph Wasonga, for his tireless of supervision, guidance and support, without his supervision and constant help this dissertation would not have been possible to complete. Also, I would like to thank the Head of the Department of Public Policy and Administration Dr. Felix Kiruthu, with his advice given throughout the process of finalizing this research. Further, thanks go to committee members for my project proposal defense for their patience and understanding throughout the completion of this work.

To my family; the success of this dissertation and the programme in generally has been a concerted effort by a number of my family who were a constant support and encouragement throughout the entire period of my study process. I would specifically pick out my brother Abduaziz F. Fidow. Through him I have gained confidence, competence and determination to complete the project. I would also like to acknowledge in a very special way to my cousin Abdulahi M. Osman for his sponsorship and timely fee payment during the program. Mr. Antony D. Bojana deserves gratitude for editing the final work.

Last but not least, I would like to thank all the friends from all over the world for their morale support, proof reading and data collection during the data gathering period of this research and give a special mention to: Mr. Elmi H. Samatar, and Mrs Saida M. Hashi. They will forever remain edged in my mind.

Sincere thanks to all the Kenyans specially my class mates who made me feel at home. It has not been easy living far from home and family but their assurances that all is well.

Thank you.
DEDICATION

This research project was dedicated to all my family members for their unconditional inspiration, support, encouragement and understanding through the study period. On a personal note, I would like to recognize members of the family: First of all is my mother Maey Mahad Ahmed has many times given me for strength to move on and her prayers proved immensely encouraging. Second, my father Haji Farah Fidow has also been my best friend. He always assured me that nothing is impossible and he instilled in me a strong urge to never give up. Third, I would also like to mention my brothers Mohamed, Abdulaziz, Abdufitah, Hassan, Ahmed, Ali and my sisters Shamso and Asha. They gave me a sense of who I am and my position and value within the family. At last I am coming home to stay.
Somalia was divided into separate groups by international community; Somaliland, Puntland and South central Somalia. South central Somalia is the largest and more populous than other parts and the study carried out in south central Somalia. The study investigated the challenges of implementing federal system of government in South Central Somalia based on available body of knowledge about the topic. Despite autonomous administration in some parts of the country, there is need for understanding of the consequences of federalism. Therefore, this study was undertaken to determine the factors that led to establishment of a federal system of government. The research also examined the problems which have been experienced in the process of implementation of the federal system of government and suggested the possible solutions to its success. The researcher did this by seeking views among the people of Somalia. Various methods of data collection were used; these included primary and secondary sources such as published letters, magazines and books. The researcher used various techniques for collecting primary data which included; participant observations, questionnaires, focus group discussions and interviews. The target population included government officers and ordinary people with information on challenges, obstacles and barriers of applying federal system in Somalia. The study was thematic based on research objectives. Analysis was done by identifying and categorizing key variables, emerging issues and themes so as to allow the researcher to draw conclusions. The study concluded that, reforming the security and justice sectors was significant to solving the challenges being faced. Also, it will take the combined commitment and engagement of authorities, civil society and the international community to develop sustainable and effective security and justice institutions that are fit for the purpose.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>AMISOM</td>
<td>African Mission for Somalia</td>
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<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>Federal Government</td>
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<td>FMS</td>
<td>Federal Member State</td>
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<td>ICU</td>
<td>Islamic Courts Union</td>
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<td>IFCC</td>
<td>Independent Federal Constitution Commission</td>
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<td>IGAD</td>
<td>Intergovernmental Authority on Development</td>
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<td>INGO</td>
<td>International Non-governmental Organization</td>
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<td>LNGO</td>
<td>Local Nongovernmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCF</td>
<td>National Civic Forum</td>
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<td>NFD</td>
<td>Northern Frontier District</td>
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<tr>
<td>RRA</td>
<td>Rahanwein Resistance Army</td>
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<td>SRC</td>
<td>Supreme Revolutionary Council</td>
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<td>SSDF</td>
<td>Somali Salvation and Democratic Front</td>
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<td>SYL</td>
<td>Somali Youth League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSDF</td>
<td>Somali Salvation and Democratic Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOSCENSA</td>
<td>Somalia South Central non State Actors</td>
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<tr>
<td>TFC</td>
<td>Transitional Federal Charter</td>
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<td>TFG</td>
<td>Transitional Federal Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>TNG</td>
<td>Transitional National Government</td>
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<td>TFI</td>
<td>Transitional Federal Institutions</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<td>UNPOS</td>
<td>United Nations Political Office for Somalia</td>
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DEFINITION OF TERMS

Unitary System- The unitary system of government has been the first, basic and is the most dominant one currently used in the world. Unitary state is a sovereign state governed as a single entity. The central government is supreme, and the administrative divisions exercise only powers that the central government has delegated to them.

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

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

Federalism- This is a highly decentralized form of political decentralization of governmental authority, in which there is shared rule in central government and self-rule in regional government. Unlike other forms of political decentralization, this combination of shared rule and regional self-rule is guaranteed and protected by the constitution.

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

Puntland- This is the Northeastern region of Somalia officially known as Puntland. Its leaders declared it is an autonomous state.

South Central Somalia- Ten regions in Southern Somalia make up the area of South-central zone of Somalia.

XEER- Somali Customary Law
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study
Somalia was born from the unification of two former colonial territories, namely; British Somaliland, in the north, and its larger and more populous neighbor, Italian Somaliland. The two territories united to form the Somali Republic on July 1, 1960. After independence in 1960, the first Somali government followed the colonial system of governance which was the only modern governance system that the founders of Somalia state knew at that period. In that system, state powers and authorities in decision-making were concentrated in the capital alone, while regional, district or village levels had no influence or say on what was happening in the running of the local affairs (Elmi, 2008).

The yearning for imposing centralized and unitary governments in Somalia has been challenged by the people who are feeling the need for further political participation, more freedom in political decision-making and devolution authority. The Central Government had to appoint all government capacities at all levels in the governing structures at the centralized governing system in the capital. Usually, provincial or regional districts and municipal officials were appointed to areas where their clans/sub-clans were not inhabitants (Soscensa, 2011). Despite the centralized system promoting nationalism, patriotism and national identity failed to give people the power to manage their local affairs or have a say for their potential lives. During centralized governments, if anyone wanted a passport, insurance, higher education, and every central thing, they ought to go to Mogadishu (Ali, 2012).
Actually, the states that, centralized liberal democratic unitary government worked fairly well in the earliest years, after which tribalism, nepotism, and corruption crept into the system eventually causing socio-political and economic decline that in turn gave rise to popular discontent and yearning for change (AbdirizakHaji, 2004)

Shifting from the weaknesses of the civilian rule, the military regime took power in a bloodless coup in October 21st, 1969, just five days after the elected president, Hon. Abdirashid Sharmarke assassination. They came with concrete plans that were well-received by the public (Omar, 2011). The military regime achieved a lot in the first 10 years of its rule. Among the tangible achievements were scripting the Somali language, successful literacy programmes, strengthening of the army, empowering women and building the country’s infrastructure. It brought in an authoritarian socialist rule that managed to impose a degree of stability in the country for a couple of decades. As a result, an armed opposition founded to take up guns against the Somali Government caused the collapse of Somali State.

Since the fall of the unitary state in 1991 and the subsequent two decades of civil war and lawlessness with loss of national central government, destruction, division, fragmentation, and humiliation making the Somali nation vulnerable, Somali political scene became bloodier than ever in its modern history. Numerous peace conferences have been held for Somalia, at least 15, to find lasting solutions, but all these efforts have been fruitless. In 2004, peace and reconciliation talks held in Kenya with the support of IGAD and international community formed transitional federal government (TFG).
Somalia has been in the grip of military dictatorship, national disintegration, civil war, terrorism and piracy, for the past 50 years. This country has been faced by conflict and corruption, thereby being ineffective to stabilization. The past unitary systems of Somalia are founded on a centralized government system that has a 30-year history of disappointments and failures in Somalia. Past constitutions, also, did not reflect post-1991 realities in Somalia, when mistrust increased among Somali communities as a result of clan wars. In the new federal constitution, the powers and resources are divided accordingly at the national and state levels (Abdinur, 2012).

In August 2012, Somalia adopted new federal constitution following the end of the interim mandate of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG). It officially comprises the executive branch of government, with the parliament serving as the legislative branch. It is headed by the President of Somalia, to whom the Cabinet reports through the Prime Minister together with the existing regional governments, and pioneering semi-autonomous governments in new liberated area. (Abdinur, 2012).

Attending some factors influencing the effective implementation and efficient running of federal government in Somalia are the needs for restoration and consolidation of strong decentralized national government and institutions. Federalism will present some of its challenges due to the Somali traditional norms and people’s lifestyles, most of whom are pastoral. This is likely to create conflicts among regions and clans due to power struggle. Political disorder in Somalia is deeply rooted in a struggle over power and resource sharing.
The new federalism will lead to many risks associated with the political transition, most notably the potential regeneration of violence by existing groups who feel excluded by the latest political settlement (Safer World, 2012). According to the international political and legal theories and practice, confederal, federal, consociational and unitary systems of government, are the four main forms of government system (also called structures of government) which are used by various countries around the world. Each system is a product of particular historical, geographical, racial, cultural, linguistic and religious circumstances and peculiarities of nations. No nation has adopted a system of government out of the blue or for love for it, but due to these determinant factors some nations have chosen a federal system, or unitary system (Lewis, 2005).

The federal system in Somalia is addressing the problem of what a state-structure is, what it should do and how and why they are being created? What is the relationship between local administrations and the government in Mogadishu? Who owns and controls the land and the natural resources in a Somali federation? How can Somalia ensure that international assistance is shared equitably with all the areas allied to the government? Reflecting on the above mentioned questions, the creation of a federal state will prove to be a very controversial issue during this period. Somalia has been undergoing a seemingly endless civil war in the past two decades, and governmental institutions have all been destroyed. It is worth noting that it is important to have fair and open procedures for the creation of federal member states. Hence, this study sought to examine the challenges which may affect the implementation of federal system governance. The purpose of the study was to seek for possible solutions to the main research problem.
1.2 Statement of the Problem
The federal system of government in south central Somalia was introduced as a better approach to good governance and stability. This idea was advocated for by the IGAD and international community as an approach to mitigate the political problems experienced in Somalia. The critical question, however, is whether there are enough economic resources, relevant policies and functioning institutions to run a federal system of government. The researcher, therefore, sought to examine the challenges likely to undermine the implementation of federal system of government in South Central Somalia.

1.3 Research Questions
i. What factors led to the formation of the federal system of government in South Central zone of Somalia?
ii. What are the existing challenges facing the implementation of the federal system of government in South Central Somalia?
iii. What are the possible solutions to the implementation federal system of government in South Central Somalia?

1.4 Objectives of the Study
i. To examine the factors that led to the establishment of a federal system of governance in South Central Somalia.
ii. To explore the existing challenges facing the implementation of the federal system in South Central zone of Somalia.
iii. To analyze the strategies adopted by the political leaders to address the challenges experienced in resource and power sharing in South Central Somalia.
1.5 Hypotheses

i. Factors like mistrust and inter-clan conflict, resource and power sharing as well as exclusion from decision-making led the advocacy for a federal system of government.

ii. Inter-regional conflicts and scarcity of resources could make it difficult to implement the federal system of government in south central Somalia.

iii. Relevant policies, equitable resource sharing and political participation could be the solution to the political problems in Somalia.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

The researcher hopes that this study will contribute to the existing information/literature about Somali administration background. Researchers who may wish to carry out further studies on Somali regimes are likely to find the research findings useful. This study will be significant for it will provide a better understanding and contribution of knowledge to the federal system in Somalia. It will also help to enhance a broad understanding of the obstacles and challenges in applying federal system in South Central Somalia. Furthermore, this will assist the stakeholders including internal partners (Local NGOs), donors, Somalia Government, UN agencies, humanitarian aid workers and Somali community to know the existing challenges of federalism and how to reduce them.

It will respond to the arguments that the Somali people are of same religion, culture and ethnicity and the federalism is not the right option of government system as it divides all that unity. The research will highlight possible ways of reducing the challenges in applying federal system in South Central Somalia.
1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study
Geographically, the study will be carried out in Somalia; it will concentrate on south central zone, specifically focusing on Mogadishu as a case study. Historically, it will focus on period between 2004-2013 respectively; reason being the initiative of federalism started in 2004. The focus will take into consideration the time frame when the federal system of government emerged as the product of two years of international mediation led by IGAD and international community.

1.8 Limitations of the Study
One of the major anticipated challenges in this research will be language barrier since most of the respondents do not know English language. Translating of local language into English was time consuming. The security situation was a concern in terms of data collection as the researcher risked his life in various volatile areas. Similarly, was inadequate to collect detailed information on every subject matter about the implementation of federal system in South Central Somalia.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction
This chapter focuses on literature viewed in the study. It looks at the subject of study using the already existing information in local, national and international reports, books, government and NGOs publications, websites, newspapers and others. The chapter focuses on identifying the gaps in the existing literature reviewed.

2.1 The Evolution of Somali Administrative Structure
Historically, Somalis have inhabited the Horn of Africa region as long as 5,000 years ago. After Arabia, Islam came to Somalia through Zeila, northwestern region of Somalia, and later Awdal kingdom was founded. The kingdom had a long-lasting conflict with the Orthodox Church in Habesha, currently known as Ethiopia. Originally, Somali society had no central authority, some areas were independent Sultanates, such as: Awdal, Ajuran, Majeertiinya, Geledi, and Biyo-maal, while other parts were ruled by clan chiefs (Mapping Somali Civil Society, 2003).

Traditional elders, religious leaders and community leaders were the decision-makers, but were not given salaries. There were two systems based on Islamic law and Customary law (XEER), as both of them were interrelated and mutually self-supporting (Mapping Somali Civil Society, 2003). After colonization in the 19th century, Somalis were divided into five regions and each was put under a colonial power thus distancing the possibility of Somali unity.
Resisting against the colonization, a number of movements were started throughout Somalia by the youth, prominent among them were Somali youth League (SYL), Somali National League (SNL), and United Somali Party (USP). Using traditional civic education campaigns, SYL effectively fought against colonization and tribalism and promoted the vision that independent state was a key to prosperity. Their vision was realized in 1960 when north and south got their independence and united.

Somalia Republic was born from the unification of two former colonial territories: British Somaliland, in the north, and its larger and more populous neighbour, Italian Somaliland, the two territories united to form the Somali Republic in 1960. After the two components territories elected Aden Abdullah Osman, to be the first President of the new Republic. In July 20, 1961, through a popular referendum, the people of Somalia ratified a new constitution, which was first drafted in 1960 (AbdirazakHaij, 2011).

Taking advantage of the widespread public bitterness and cynicism attendant upon the rigged elections of early 1969, Major General Mahammad Siad Barre seized power while the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) which assumed power, dissolved the parliament, Supreme Court, and suspended the constitution. Over the next twenty-one years Siad Barre established a military dictatorship that divided and oppressed the Somalis. Siad Barre maintained control of the social system by playing off clan against clan until the country became raven with inter-clan strife and bloodshed. Siad Barre's regime came to a disastrous end in early 1991 with the collapse of the Somali state (Hersi, 2003).
In 1991, it was a time of great change for Somalia, the Barre administration was ousted by a coalition of clan-based opposition groups, backed by Ethiopia. This was the major reason of the two decades of war from January 1991 up-to-date? During this prolonged communal civil war, more than 15 peace and reconciliation conferences were held in many countries which were funded by the international community. Unfortunately, all of them ended up in total failure (AbdirazakHaji, 2011).

The most important conference was the National Peace Conference held in Arta city in Republic of Djibouti, from April to August 2000 and elected Transitional National Government (TNG) institutions like Transitional National Assembly and President. The TNG has dramatically changed the political map of Somalia (SACB Handbook, 2004). After a decade of anarchy, an internationally recognized government was formed in Djibouti, but it could not function mainly because Ethiopia-backed warlords stood on its way. The TNG faced a host of problems ranging from warlord influence to power struggle between the President and his successive Prime Minister. Domestic legitimacy problems dogged the TNG. When Arta Reconciliation Conference was organized, Puntland and Somaliland declined to have any input in the conference and rejected its outcome. Conference organizers underestimated the opposition from the two regional administrations that, unlike Somalia southern regions, made use of traditional leaders to demobilize clan militias and set up institutions that could deliver basic services.

As the TNG mandate was coming to an end, another reconciliation conference was organized for Somalia. The venue of the new conference was Mbagathi in Nairobi -
Kenya. Warlords in southern regions, some traditional leaders, members from the Somalia Diaspora and the Puntland administration, participated in the conference (Liban, 2010). Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was the product of two years of international mediation led by the Inter-governmental Authority on Development. The TFG governed from neighbouring Kenya until June, 2005. The negotiators who established the TFG tried to give fair representation to each of Somalia's clans through the so-called "4.5 formula." The four major clans; Darood, Hawiye, Dir, and Digil-Mirifle all received sixty-one parliament seats, while the remaining groups together received thirty-one seats (Liban, 2010).

In August 2012, Somalia adopted new federal constitution following the end of the interim mandate of the TFG. The federal government backed by the United Nations, the African Union as well as the United States, is currently battling Al Shabaab insurgents in order assume full control of the southern regions part of the country. As of August 2011, the government and its AMISOM allies had managed to secure control over all of south central regions.


When the country gained its independence in 1960, a civilian government took control. The main objectives of the civilian rules were to build the state institutions which have been realized to some extent. Somalia experienced nine years of multi-party democracy (Development Policy and Coherence Brigitte, 2002).
According Abdirizak Haji, former prime minister of Somalia (1964 to 1967), Somalia had applied a centralized unitary of government from 1960 to 1969 which was based on a western style liberal democracy defined in a constitution approved by a national popular referendum in 1961 which provided: individual and political freedoms; parliamentary centralized unitary state with three branches of government (legislature, executive and judiciary); organs of state – civil service, police, and army built, at least theory, on meritocracy - competence, knowledge, and impartiality; free and fair general elections in which citizens elected and delegated political leaders in every four years; division of territory into administrative regions and districts governed by governors and district commissioners appointed by and accountable to the central government rather than the citizens in the regions and districts; and municipal city mayors and councils elected for a term of three years who ran the municipal duties and functions in cities such as - petty tax collections from the open markets, slaughter-houses, licence fee of shops and restaurants, family and population registration, house door numbers, etc. to pay municipal staff and city public services like cleaning and hygiene, etc.

This system also allowed a sort of free market economy. There were two parliamentary elections and a new president was elected in 1967 making Hon. Adan Abdullahi Osman the first African president who peacefully transferred power to an elected president. This type of centralized liberal democratic unitary government worked fairly well in the first seven years (1960-1967) after which tribalism, nepotism, and corruption crept into the system eventually causing socio-political and economic decline that in turn gave rise to popular discontent and yearning for change (Elmi, 2008).

Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre took power in a bloodless coup on October 21st, 1969, just five days after the elected president, Hon. Abdirashid Sharmarke’s assassination in Las’anod. Shifting from the weaknesses of the civilian regimes, the military regime first came up with concrete plans that were well-received by the public. The military regime achieved a lot in the first 10 years of its rule. Among the tangible achievements were scripting the Somali language, successful literacy programmes, strengthening of the army, empowering women and building the country’s infrastructure (Abdirizk Haji, 2011).

The government made two major mistakes which later claimed its survival. The first was the adoption of socialism in Somalia, which was against the Islamic religion. The second was the attack on Ethiopia without strategically calculating the timing and risks involved. The government did not have the support of neither WARSAW nor NATO and waging a war against Ethiopia, which was a close friend of WARSAW, was a great mistake. As a result, an armed opposition founded Somali Salvation and Democratic Front (SSDF) which was the first faction to take up guns against the Somali government. Later, several factions followed suit and their drives caused the collapse of Somali state.

2.1.3 Decentralization and Local Governance in Somalia - Post-State Collapse

Following the collapse of Siad Barre’s military regime in 1991, a political vacuum emerged in Somalia. All public institutions disintegrated. Virtually all political, economic and social activity underwent a process of extreme decentralization. In several parts of the former Somali Republic, new entities of governance have since appeared, but their emergence has been uneven and the most advanced among them remain relatively weak.
Apart from formal administrative structures, a range of entities of the civil society at large - elders, clan based administrations, Islamic courts, business groups, women associations, local NGOs, etc have emerged to play a variety of roles in defining community priorities and making resource allocation decisions (Hassan, 1998). Parts of Southern Somalia remain in conflict and crisis while other regions in the North have established relative peace and stability and are experiencing some social and economic recovery (Draft Joint Programme Document, Delivery, 2008).

A decentralized approach across Somalia is a response to the widespread rejection of the centralized and undemocratic governance system of Somalia’s last central government’s 1961-1969 and 1969-1991. Previous attempts to re-introduce government to Somalia, particularly in the UNOSOM period1993-1995 saw investment on the part of the UNOSOM, reflect external priorities and not necessarily the explicit choices of the Somali people, leading to untenable administrative arrangements. Where local authorities have emerged, they tend to be hampered by lack of experience, expertise, organization, and resources. This continued until the departure of UNOSOM in 1995 (UNDP, 1998).

The establishment of local governance system in some Somali regions is aimed at supporting participatory and inclusive government of all population groups, facilitating the delivery of good quality, reliable, affordable and sustainable services to all citizens, contributing to reconciliation process; comprised locally elected bodies that are accountable to the citizens, and avoiding domination by any party that did not necessarily represent the voice of the community.
As reported by independent federal constitution commission on consultation draft constitution in 2010, Somaliland and Puntland were more advanced in putting in place decentralization systems, compared to South-Central Somalia. Somaliland and Puntland have successfully used traditional methods of dispute settlement using local leaders. Mostly, it is these local initiatives that have enabled people to lead their lives with some degree of normality; in several areas economic investment and activities have increased without state authority. In Somaliland and Puntland, traditional local governance structures have played an active role in peace- and consensus-building efforts and form the basis for a decentralization process, mostly to be found at village (tuulo) and district levels and at neighborhood levels for urban centers. This phenomenon can become a building block for formal governance structures, where adequate provisions are made for developing representation, participation of all citizens, transparency, and accountability.

Somaliland (North-West Regions of Somalia)
In Somaliland, local government structures gradually moved from clan-based local authorities to more legitimate and representative structures after 1991, and resulted in a local government of 2001 and elections of councilors and mayors in 16 districts in 2002. Of these elected district councils, 12 have reportedly changed their executive committee, the Mayor, Deputy Mayor and Executive Secretary more than once over the last 5 years. Progress in decentralizing administrative functions has been slow and little achievement has been made with regard to fiscal decentralization. Sources of local revenue include land registration and annual property fees, store licensing fees, livestock taxes and customs taxes at ports. However, over half of the district budgets tend to be spent on staff salaries and allowances (Joint Programme Document, 2008).
Puntland (North-East Regions of Somalia)
The Puntland State of Somalia was established in 1998. Although a smaller area than Somaliland, Puntland has created 35 districts since 2002, almost doubling the 18 districts it had prior to 1991. In 2003, Puntland issued a Local Government Law, which gives power to the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development to supervise local authorities. Districts have been, and continue to be, established by selection of councilors and a mayor on the basis of a clan, sub-clan and sub-sub-clan system. The administrations work closely with the clan elders and religious leaders, and conflicts are resolved through some combination of customary and religious law (shari’ā). The local administrations control and pay militias recruited from the local clans. In 2005, over 70% of revenue for Puntland was reported to have been generated through customs taxes, mainly at the port of Bossaso on the north coast (GTZ International Services, 2006). Fiscal resources for regional councils and local governments outside Bossaso are therefore meagre, and even then are often diverted to pay staff salaries and allowances and to counteract emergencies, such as drought (Joint Programme Document, 2008). The regions of Sanag and Sool in north-east Somalia are contested by Somaliland and Puntland, and access to those regions is limited.

South-Central Somalia
Ten regions make up the area of South-Central Somalia. The model of governance and structure differs across the area in that districts (below the region level) have been formed by community selected local councils, self-declared or self-appointed administrations, appointed administrations, or even community organizations running day-to-day
administrative affairs. The institutional framework for establishing formal regional and

With the establishment of local institutions of self-government, based on cooperation
between clan-based militias, clan elders, religious authorities, sometimes shari’a courts,
and the business people, relative security has been restored in local areas. Everywhere in
Somalia, local, district and municipal administrations have been set up – generally under
the control of the locally dominant violent faction, but usually in cooperation with the
local clan groups as well – with the primary task of restoring and maintaining security
(GTZ International Services, 2006).

At the government level, a department of local governance, under the Ministry of
Interior, has recently been established to co-ordinate the establishment of district and
regional councils, as a result of process of community engagement and reconciliation. All
three specify decentralisation as the core political, functional, fiscal and administrative
system of governance, with significant devolution of power to the district level for
delivery of local services.

Having lost both its central government and decentralized unitary system in 1991,
Somalia has been without an effective central government and discernible system of
governance. Since then, the question on what governing system Somalia needs has been
important.’ However, the problem is that there wasn’t significant formal or informal
forum whereby Somali intellectuals and politicians, in their own terms could, freely
debate about an alternative national political system. But early in the 1990s, driven by the horrors and emotions of the civil war, some Somalis entertained the idea of federalism and put it across to the international community. This explains to design a system for Somalia. That is why in the 1990s, the UN and EU, on behalf of the Somalis, took an initiative to co-sponsor a panel of European experts to look for a suitable governing system for Somalia and they came up with “A Study of decentralized political structures for Somalia – A menu of options 1995” proposed, among other things, that Somalis may either choose a federal or decentralized unitary system (UNDP, UNPOS Report, 2008).

According to the international political and legal theories, there are four main forms of government also called structures of government, which are used by various countries around the world. Confederal, federal, consociational and unitary systems of government, as noted above. Each system is a product of particular historical, geographical, racial, cultural, linguistic and religious circumstances and peculiarities of nations. No nation has adopted a system of government which resembles that of other countries exactly, but there are factors some nations have chosen. Here are some perspectives on how the federal system of government could adopt, implement and transformed in Somalia.

The word federal is derived from the Latin foedus, meaning treaty, league, agreement, alliance, compact or covenant. It was first used by bible-centred theologians of Britain and New England in the seventeenth century to refer to a system of covenant between God and human beings. It came to be applied to an alliance or league (both of temporary or more enduring nature) between tribes, cities, states and other political entity. The first
truly federal system of government was established by the United States of America, which has greatly influenced subsequent federations (Woodward, 2010). Federalism is a form of political decentralization of governmental authority, in which there is shared rule in central government and self-rule in regional government. Unlike other forms of political decentralization, this combination of shared rule and regional self-rule is guaranteed and protected by the constitution in a federal system, and cannot be revoked by the central government, without constitutional amendments, which requires the consent of the regional governments (UNDP, 2010).

By definition, the term federalism is used to describe a system of government in which sovereignty is constitutionally divided between a central government and constituent political units, such as states or provinces. In other words, a federal system represents a form of government in which power is distributed between a central authority and a number of constituent territorial units. The federal state is mostly premised on 'geographical devolution with guarantees the autonomy of the units. The countries with federal systems of government share responsibilities and authority, generally through the provisions of a constitution, between national levels central government and state, provincial or regional and local levels of government. Powers between these levels are divided and coordinated in such a way that each level enjoys a substantial amount of independence from each other. This implies the existence of a constitution describing clearly the division of powers and a means for resolving disputes (Olowu, 2001).
Currently, there are many federal states in the world, for example, in America: Canada, Brazil, Mexico and the United States. In Europe; Belgium, Germany, Russia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Australia is also federal government. In Asia; Malaysia, Pakistan, United Arab Emirates and India. In Africa, the federal governments were formed in Nigeria, and Ethiopia, an ethnic-based federal system of government was adopted in 1994. The Ethiopian and Nigerian federations are fragile and yet to be consolidated, are among the examples of federal system of government that exist in Africa (Shannon Elliot, 2007). In the world, there are countries in transition to federalism such as Iraq, Sudan (2006-2011) and Somalia since (2004–2012).

The idea of federalism in Somalia was first put forward by the Pro-Italian Hisbiya the Digil and Mirifle political party in the 1950s but practically introduced by Puntland State of Somalia, which was established in 1998 as a federal entity of a federal republic of Somalia (Waldo, 2006). Due to long years of over-centralized government structures and control, people in many parts of Somalia begun to demand for regional self-rule. During the years of conflict, some stability was maintained in specific regions by their local communities, and they demonstrated their ability to manage their affairs at a regional level while remaining loyal and responsible citizens of Somalia. To introduce decentralized power in a state that formerly was centralized had a range of challenges (Jens, 2011).

The new federal constitution defines and distributes the powers and functions between the central state and the constituent provinces with the necessary guarantees. In the case
of Somalia's new federal system, the country will be composed of: The federal government; State governments which are two or more regions out of eighteen regions may federate as mentioned in the new constitution, 2012; Regional administrations; and District administrations. In this regard, each state will have its own governor or president, its own parliament and its own courts. Besides, the constituent states will finance and manage separately their own internal affairs, i.e. internal security, education, health, agriculture/animal husbandry, water resources, etc.; and they will basically share, among themselves, foreign relations and defense arrangements only (Somali Constitution, 2012).

Since the collapse of the state in early of 1990s, a new phenomenon emerged. Regionalization tendency took root in all regions of Somali communities who had traditionally invested in Mogadishu as a capital city of the country decided to return to their respective regions in an attempt to establish regional administrations. This is mainly due to continued failure of central government and inter-clan conflict that followed the state after the collapse (ICG, 2011).

A classic example was the creation of Somaliland and Puntland administrations despite dissimilarity of the duo in many aspects. The communities from these regions started forming clan-based administrations in their regions of origin. The Northern regions have formed a self-declared republic of Somaliland which they say is independent from the rest of Somalia having in mind that Somaliland was a separate entity and had obtained its independence as a sovereign nation just few days after southern parts of Somalia. The Puntland state of Somalia was formed in late 1990s but unlike Somaliland, Puntland remains part of Somalia (SOSCENSA, 2011).
To guarantee such existing regional self-rule, the federal system and its new federal constitution must provide and safeguard them. The new constitution guarantee forms the very essence of a federal system. Furthermore, there are effective government structures in many regions within Somalia, which were created when no central government structures were in place. These regional governments provide public services for local citizens. It is much more efficient to incorporate these regional government structures into the administrative and political system of the country, than to relocate all state authority in one central government and thereby alienating them. Consequently, the federal system will accommodate existing regional governments, such of Puntland and pioneering semi-autonomous governments in new liberated areas to be determined by the new federal republic of Somalia (IFCC Report, 2010).

2.2 The Main Potential Challenges that Arise in the Introducing Federal System
As a result of new federal system in Somalia, there are important questions to ask, these include: how can a penniless country like Somalia, which has been undergoing a seemingly endless civil war in the past two decades, and whose governmental institutions have all been destroyed, afford to run such a bloated and huge administrative structure? How can the state make up the planned federal government of Somalia be successful? How will resources be shared equally among the federal states since this has been a problem in the unitary system of governance? The following pages will focus on main questions asked about existing challenges in the implementation of the federal system in Somalia, in particular, the south central zones.
Due to long years of over-centralized government structures and control, people in many parts of Somalia demand for regional self-rule. During the years of conflict, some stability was maintained in specific regions by their local communities, and they believed they had demonstrated their ability to manage their affairs at a regional level while remaining loyal and responsible citizens of Somalia. To guarantee such regional self-rule, the Constitution should provide and safeguard it. This constitutional guarantee forms the very essence of a federal system. Furthermore, there are effective government structures in many regions within Somalia, which were created when no central government structures existed. These regional governments provide governmental services for local people. It is much more efficient to incorporate these regional government structures into the administrative and political system of the country, than to relocate all state authority in one central government and thereby alienate them. Consequently, the federal system will accommodate existing regional governments, such of Puntland and pioneering semi-autonomous governments in new liberated areas with ultimate number and demarked boundaries of the federal member states to be determined by the new federal republic of Somalia.

Federal system of government is difficult to manage properly, because to become a real federal nation, requires the central federal administration and state governments each having its own three branches of government, namely; the executive, the parliamentary and the judiciary often additional units in the form of regions, provinces and districts.
In the case of Somalia’s new federal system, the country is planned to be composed of:
(a) The federal government; (b) State governments which are two or more regions may federate as mentioned in the new constitution, 2012. (c) Regional administrations; and (d) District administrations. In this regard, each state will have its own governor or president, its own parliament and its own courts (first level, appeal, and supreme courts). Besides, the constituent states will finance and manage separately their own internal affairs i.e., internal security, education, health, agriculture/animal husbandry, water resources, etc.; and they will basically share, among themselves, foreign relations and defense arrangements only. (See Article 48-51 of the New Somali Federal Constitution, 2012).

The creation of federal member states has proved to be a very controversial issue from 2004 up to 2013. It was noted that it is important to have fair and open procedures for the creation of federal member states. The federal government itself does not create federal member states, but delegates the people of those regions, which represent all people of Somalia, to decide on their own government. It will be based on the recommendations of the Boundaries and Federation Commission, an independent commission which shall be composed of experienced people representing all parts of Somalia. This commission will study the country, talk with citizens and experts, and propose the number and concrete demarcations of federal member states, therefore, in accordance with the provisional constitution; there will be more space and time for more public discussion on this matter (IFCC Report, 2010).
2.2.1 Inter-Regional Conflicts in Somalia
Contested areas could be the lightning rods, destroying future stability of Somalia. Clans continue to vie for dominance over a region because they see political control of regions as converting into gains for their clan. Regional competition often overlaps with clan competition, producing internal regional conflicts (Yahya, 2009). In South-Central Somalia, there are armed conflicts among clan-based militias competing for economic control and political hegemony. This is particularly evident in the Lower Juba region which is the stage for serious hostilities between opposing clan groups attempting to acquire dominance. Given the fluid demarcation between the regions, there are also simmering tensions tempered by a fragile peace in the Mudug region lying on the borders of South-Central Somalia and Puntland, Potential Conflict Flashpoint between South-Central Somalia and Puntland during and after the civil war, inter-clan fighting (Darod clan versus Hawiye clan) for control of Galkayo and by extension, the Mudug region ended in a stalemate and did not produce any shift in pre-conflict borders after intense negotiations, perhaps no conflict threatens the future of Somalia as much as the contest between Puntland and Somaliland over Sool region and Eastern Sanaag region, claimed by both administrations as integral to their territory (ICG Africa Report, 2011).

The new self-governing administrations, especially Galmudug, Ximan and Xeeb but also the ASWJ administrations in parts of Galguduud and Hiraan regional administration (Central Somalia), are making progress in restoring peace. These regional are working hard to provide basic services. The apparent intent is to establish quasi-democratic or consensual-style polities, based on traditional clan identity and whose authority extends
over self-claimed ancestral territories. The administrative and governance structure of Galmadug, Ximan and Xeeb are unstable, rudimentary and subject to periodic power struggles (ICG Report, 2011). At the same time, Hiran regional administration willing to be independent federal state from the rest of the country’s regions, which is conflicting the new federal constitution, the new constitution allows the formation of two or more regions out of eighteen original regions of Somalia to form semi-autonomous state loyal to the main government (See article 49 of the New Somali Federal Constitution, 2012).

2.2.2 Relationship between Local and the Central Governments

There is need to clarify how power and resources should be immediately devolved to local administrations willing to cooperate with the national government. The local administrations should be given a clear right to manage their own affairs, guaranteed an equitable share of international development and security assistance and offered a voice in the government’s decision-making process.

There are to be two levels of government; the Federal Government level and the Federal Member State level of government, comprising the State and National governments. Both levels are elected by the citizens and held accountable to them. The overall power of the Somali Federal Republic, and its governmental responsibilities, is to be divided between the Federal government and the state governments, pending their creation.

Seeing article 52 of the new Somali federal constitution, 2012, the specific allocation of powers and responsibilities will be subject to further negotiations with regard to all matters, except for those relating to Foreign Affairs, National Defense, Citizenship and
Immigration, and Monetary Policy, which will be the sole responsibility of the Federal Government. The Federal Member States will be represented in decision-making at the Federal Government level through the House of the Federal Parliament, which will comprise representatives elected from the people in each federal member state. The federal system and the division of powers and responsibilities between the Federal Government and the federal member state governments are constitutionally protected.

Currently, the political battle for control of newly liberated regions is posing a challenge for the country’s recently established central government. Communities in Southern Somalia are pushing to make the autonomous region known as Jubaland a semi-autonomous state that would function like semi-autonomous Puntland state of Somalia. While community and clan leaders have reached some agreement on how to divide and rule the territory, the bigger challenge is convincing central government officials to accept the plan. With many Somalis and regional representatives favouring formation of semi-autonomous states, some believe the central government fears it will lose power to regional and local authorities, as has happened with Somaliland and Puntland (ICG Report, 2011).

The federal constitution already specifies many of the “state” powers that could be formally transferred to local administrations. Furthermore, given that many local administrations do not yet exist, or need to develop capacity to govern their areas, thus it should also determine when formal authority and responsibility should be transferred and how new administrations could be brought into the governance structure.
2.2.3 The Implementation of the New Provisional Federal Constitution of Somalia

A constitution is a set of fundamental principles or established precedents according to which a state and its institutions are supposed to function. The Xeer of the Somali clans, for example, carry constitutional functions, although they are not based on written documentation, but passed on orally from generation to generation. While even today some countries, such as the UK, do not have a written constitution, modern days the constitutions often consist of a single written document setting out the fundamental principles and structures under which the governmental institutions of a state should work and function (Joint Constitution Unit, 2012).

In Somalia, political stability has been effaced by conflict and corruption, thereby rendering efforts to re-institute the nation-state ineffective and leading to failed stabilization initiatives. Somalia has new constitution under a federal system approved and enacted by the National Constituent Assembly, in August 2012, signed by Somali stakeholders. Past constitutions in Somalia are founded on a centralized system of government, a system that has a 30-year history of disappointments and failures in Somalia. Past constitutions, also, did not reflect post-1991 realities in Somalia, when mistrust increased among Somali communities as a result of clan wars. In the new federal constitution, power and resource are divided accordingly at the national and state levels. This ensures that local rights are protected, while national responsibilities are upheld. The Somali people are seeing hope at the end of the tunnel. The federal constitution, if ratified by the National Constituent Assembly, sets clear guidelines for the political order in Somalia and all players must abide by constitutional rules (Ulusow, 2010).
2.2.4 External Actor

External actors have played a significant role in influencing the current conflict in Somalia. Such influences come from various countries and organizations that have permanent interests in Somalia for political, historical, strategic or security reasons. Some of these countries continue to try to influence Somali politics by organizing or supporting warring factions and creating misunderstanding amongst them, which has prompted the rivals to clash (Francis, 2006).

It is not possible to analyze Somali conflicts without considering it’s within regional context. The neighbor countries including Ethiopia and Kenya have interest in Somalia revolves around issues of economic survival, territorial integrity, and security. The Western powers, led by the United States, have also been involved in Somalia.

The African Union (AU) and IGAD have pledged to support the federal government and they provided peacekeeping troops. However, their support has been weak. The effectiveness of the AU and IGAD is depending upon diplomatic and financial backing from the Western powers that, despite offering support, are reluctant to empower the Somali federal government.
2.3 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.3.1 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by federalism theory developed by Dosenrode (2010). An attempt to explain factors that affect federal system of government has been done. The theory used in the study lays understanding the challenges of the implementation of federal system in Somalia. Federalism theory attempts to explain, based on analysis, how federations emerge and how they are organized and how they function. Federalism theory is often seen as either an ideological theory of action, to promote integration or as a theory to explain the organization and functioning of federations. It is often used as a general theory of regional integration, as it provides a quick glance by most common textbooks on international relations.

Federal principles are concerned with the combination of self-rule and shared rule. Thus, what differentiates it from unitary states is that it consists of two or more levels of government and number of member states each with their government. At least one policy area is assigned by constitution to the member states and cannot be overruled by the central legislative power. The study, therefore, attempted to find out to what extent the federalism theory was and is applicable in explaining the challenges that are experienced in the implementation of new federalism system in Somalia. The study also responded to the internal demand to understand federal system and its challenges among the ordinary Somali people.
2.3.2 Conceptual Framework

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework

The above figure describes the concept that identifies the relationship between the variables. In terms of the input variable, it consists of resource mobilization, functional institutions, governance, relevant policies, democracy and people participation. In terms of the output variable, it comprises the full implementation of federal system.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction
This part explains how the researcher identified research design, target population, and sample selection. It also indicates the research instruments that were used in data collection, interpretation and analysis.

3.1 Research Design
The researcher used descriptive research design in order to establish the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The study focused on an in-depth analysis on whom, how, when and where, relation to data gathering. This design was appropriate for good understanding of the federalism and its challenges in Somalia.

3.2 Research Site
The study was carried out in South Central Somalia; it focused on Mogadishu, being the Capital of Somalia, because it is the largest city in the country with the highest population of 1 million (UNDP, 2005). Another reason for using Mogadishu city as a research site is because it is a seat of federal government of Somalia as well as economic and political capital of the country and being a volatile region among the three zones of Somalia.

3.3 Research Population
The study was carried out in South Central Somalia; it focused on Mogadishu, being the Capital of Somalia and most populated city in entire country. According to UNDP (2005) estimated 1 million. The study targeted Somali government officials included interior
ministry and security and also local and international stakeholders. The aggregated as follows: 40 government officers, 25 local NGOs, 20 business people and 15 united nation officers.

3.4 Sampling Selection
The study used purposive sampling and simple random sampling to select the respondents of the research instruments through the following criteria for the fieldworkers:

a) Experience.

b) Working with government agencies for two years and above.

c) Staying inside the country especially South-Central Somalia.

Why the researcher chose these criteria is that he believes they have the information and the data he is gathering. The target region is Mogadishu and selected four ministries which concern the implementation of federal system with a sample size of 100 respondents.

3.5 The Research Instruments
The research instruments used consisted of questionnaires, interviews and observation that the researcher used these tools to collect data. The researcher used questionnaires consisting of structured and self administered with a combination of both open-ended and closed-questions for the collection of the required data. Interviews were used with direct observation.
3.6 Data Collection
Once the research proposal got approved, the researcher requested from academic authorities to get introduction letter which stated the permission to collect data within selected areas. The researcher distributed 120 questionnaires to the selected and target respondents. After the distribution of the questionnaires, feedback from the respondents was coded and analyzed and then prepared as the final report to be submitted to the concerned authorities.

3.7 Data Analysis Procedures
After the researcher’s receipt of the questionnaires filled by the respondents, the researcher was taken through the following steps: First, the researcher cross-tabulated frequencies and percentages to analyze the profile of the respondents. Second, the researcher used personal correlation coefficient to analyze the relationship between the study and the experience level of respondents. The information was presented through graphical presentations and tables.
CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction
This chapter comprises the findings, interpretations and presentation of data in line with the objectives of the study; it also presents the summary of the data analysis. The data was collected through questionnaires and interview guidelines. The findings of the study were presented according to the research questions. There were 120 questionnaires distributed among field workers; government officers, local NGOs, UN agencies and International NGOs in Mogadishu, Somalia. The data obtained were presented in tabular forms, percentages and in descriptive statistics such as pie charts and bar graphs.

4.2 Research Findings

4.2.1 Response Rate
Table 4.1 Response Rate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responded</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didn’t Respond</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From table 4.1 in the above, the researcher distributed 120 questionnaires to respondents selected in the study. Out of the 120 respondents 100 of them returned their questionnaires correctly filled. This meant that 83.3% of the sample size fully participated in the study while 16.7% did not participate; this therefore implies that the fully answered and returned questionnaires were considered a reasonable representation to be used in the final data analysis by the researcher.
4.2.2 Gender

There is no official requirement for gender balance at work places in Mogadishu but many women prefer to remain home or unnoticed for cultural reasons or owing to traditional roles assigned to them.

**Table 4.2: Gender Distribution**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table 4.2 shows gender distribution of respondents involved in the study. Findings indicate male respondents were 75% while females were 25%. There were more male compared to female, this is because of the nature of working environment like long hours of working for government institutions and NGOs. It can therefore be concluded that males dominated the organization.

4.2.3 Age Distribution

The age groups as shown in the bellow table that most of the respondents are between the ages of 20-29 followed by 30-39. The 59% of 20-29 is because the organizations majorly employs graduates from the universities at this age.

The mandatory retirement age is sixty four (64) years although most employees opt for early retirement at the age of fifty five years (55) and that it is why there is a remarkably decrease in number of staff from age forty five (45) and above years.
Table 4.3: Age Bracket

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between 20-29 years</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39 years</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49 years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 and above year</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The researcher sought to know the ages and percentage of the people who participated in the study. The young people comprise the active age brackets who would like to provide information about their jobs, education. It can thus be concluded that majority of the respondents were aged between 20-39 years old. The results were as presented in the bellow figure.

Figure 4.1: Age Brackets
4.2.4 Education Level

The research had targeted the people who have formal education with different levels, while 100% of the respondents had attained primary education. According to table 4.4 below, the entire of the respondents had attained formal education with different levels; primary level, secondary level, undergraduate level and postgraduate level of education. Another factor considered was the years of experience of the respondents in related activities either as public or private sector.

Table 4.4: Highest Level of Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary level</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary level</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate level</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate level</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.2: Highest Level of Education
According to figure 4.2, the highest population was those who had an educational background of secondary level. The staffs with undergraduate and postgraduate are also few because of the political instability in Somalia and therefore most people have not been able to access education up to these levels. The lowest population was those who have ordinary primary level and these are majorly the office assistants.

4.2.5 Period of Service/Work experience

Table 4.5: Period of Service/Work experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of Service</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 6 months</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 months – 1 year</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year – 2 years</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years and above</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most of the respondents in the field have working experience of two (2) years and above. This reveals that most people are in the age group bracket 20-29 years and this is because most government institutions are employed massively fresh graduate the Schools and universities.

4.2.6 Service Offered

The majority of people interviewed all originated from Somalia. This research was interviewed government officers, UN agency workers, local NGOs field workers and business sectors who make the most numerous visits to field challenges for matters related to their jobs and security in Somalia.
Table 4.6: Serviced Offered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services offered</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government organization</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Ngo's</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN agency</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business sectors</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to table 4.6, most of the respondents were government officers 40%, because the topic of the research related to their work, that's why the government staff dominates with 40%. 25% ware local NGOs field workers, 20% ware business sector and 15% worked with UN agencies.

**Figure 4.3: Service Offered**

The above table 4.6 and figure 4.3 show types of services offered by respondent, 40% of the respondents indicated that they offer government organization services, 25% said local non-governmental organization services, 15% said they offer united nation services and 20% business sector services.
4.3: Reasons for Adopting of federal system of government

The critical question regards the causes that led to the formation of federal system and removal of unitary system in Somalia? During the years of conflict, some stability was maintained in specific regions by their local communities, and they believed they demonstrated ability to manage their affairs at a regional level and demand regional self-rule, while remaining loyal and responsible citizens of Somalia. On the other hand, there are people in many parts of Somalia who ware against federalism and believe the idea was imposed by IGAD Inter-governmental Authority and Development and the international community, as approach to dissolve the Somali unitary state form of administration (Abdinur, 2012)

The factors influencing the effective implementation and efficient running of federal government in Somalia are; there are needs for restoration and consolidation of strong decentralized national government and institutions.

The people are feeling the need for further political participation, more freedom in political decision making and devolution authority. However, federalism presents some challenges these include the Somali traditional norms, people’s lifestyles that are pastoralists that create conflicts among regions and tribes for the reason of power struggle; by way of some tribes reside across regions (IFCC, 2010).

The researcher was concerned with investigating these causes of federal system of government and removal unitary system in Somalia and listed the main causes in research questions.
The above Figure 4.4 indicates that there were many causes that led to the adoption of the federal system of government and removal of unitary system in Somalia. These include power concentrated capital city, clan mistrust, military dictatorship, corruption and nepotism, demand for self-rule and establishment of regional administration.
Table 4.7: causes that Led to the Formation of Federal System and Removal of Unitary System in Somalia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power concentrated capital city</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engagement in previous adm</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weakness of civilian rule</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military dictatorship</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clan mistrust</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption and nepotism</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demand for self-rule</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment of regional administration</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above represents data collected from the respondents based on percentage and frequency, it's also represented in form of charts below:

4.3.1 Power Concentrated Capital City

The majority of the respondents, 70% believe that the main factor that led to establishment of federal system in Somalia was the past governing structures which were centralized in the capital. In that system, the state powers and authorities in decision making were concentrated in the capital alone, while regional, district or village levels had no influence or say on what was happening in the management of their local affairs.

The Central government had to appoint offices in all government positions. On this issue the respondents said that, during Barre’s regime, if anyone wanted a passport, insurance, international plane ticket, higher education, build a high-rise building, and every central thing they had to go to Mogadishu. It suited Barre’s central government to assert his authoritative rule for 21 years (Jamal, 2012).
The above chart shows that 28% of respondents strongly agreed that power was concentrated in the capital alone and led to the demand for federal system, 42% agreed that all the powers was centralized in capital city alone while 12% disagreed, 6% strongly disagreed and 12% were neutral. This indicated that most respondents felt there is relationship between centralized powers in capital and newly adopted federal system. This is because of poor service delivery by the governments in past.

4.3.2 Lack of Engagement in Previous Administration
The factors influencing adopting highly decentralized system of government and removal centralized system which Somali experienced for years of government use therefore the need for community engagement restoration and consolidation of strong decentralized national government and institutions.
The above chart shows that 20% of the respondents strongly agree on lack of engagement in previous administration one of the causes, 28% agree lack of community engagement in the previous governments, 38% disagree 12% strong disagree and 2% neutral. This implied that most of respondents felt that there was little or no community engagement in terms of decision making process.

4.3.3 Weakness of Civilian Rule
Over half of the respondents agreed that past civilian rule did not reflect post-1991 realities in Somalia, when mistrust increased among Somali communities as a result of clan wars. According to Elmi, (2010) it may also mean that past civilian rule in Somalia was founded on a centralized system of government, a system that ruled for 30-years-history of disappointments and failures in Somalia. The centralized system promoted nationalism, patriotism and national identity but failed to give people the power to manage their local affairs or have a say over their future.
The above chart shows that 30% of respondents that strongly agreed that civilian rule is weak because it failed to give people the power to manage their local affairs or have a say for their future. 33% respondents agreed that civilian rule could be weak but it also played a big role in ensuring stability in the government, 8% of the respondents disagreed that the civilian rule is weak. In any case it enabled the day to day by promoting nationalism, patriotism and national identity, 2% strongly disagreed while 27% of the respondents were neutral. Most respondents felt that as much as they be allowed to give mandate of the country affairs but not given its consideration by civilian governments in 1960s.

4.3.4 Military Dictatorship
Over twenty-one years of Military regime established a dictatorship that divided and oppressed the Somalis. According to Omar (2009), the respondents same the military as having maintained control of the social system by playing off clan against clan until the country became for due to inter clan strife and bloodshed. Siad Barre's regime came to a disastrous end in early 1991 with the collapse of the Somali state.
The above chart shows that 25% of the respondents strongly agreed that indeed there were high levels of military dictatorship, 26% of the respondents agreed that as much as there was military dictatorship some level of law and order was established. 26% of the respondents disagreed that there was military dictatorship in fact they tried their level best to bring stability in Somalia, 4% said strongly disagree and 19% of the respondents were neutral.

4.3.5 Clan Mistrust
According to 82% of the respondents agreed clan mistrust is a main factor that led to federalism. In this the researcher sought to know the extent of clan mistrust among Somali people. With many Somalis and regional representatives favoring formation of semi-autonomous states, some believed the central government feared it would lose power to regional and local authorities, as happened with Somaliland and Puntland. Political disorder in Somalia is deeply rooted in misunderstanding over power and resource sharing.
The above chart shows that 55% of respondents strongly agreed that there is clan mistrust over power and resource sharing. 27% of the respondents agreed that there is mistrust over power and resources, 15% of the respondents strongly disagreed that there is clan mistrust and 3% were neutral. This indicated that most respondents felt that mistrust among Somali community led to establishment of a federal system. Because of the two decades of civil war the people lost their confident of each other.

4.3.6 Corruption and Nepotism
On the issue of corruption and nepotism in the previous governments 58% held that corruption and nepotism led to federalism. The people were demanding to develop national policies that could provide equity in opportunities in the allocation of resources as a national standard but needs also to provide for the freedom of the Federal Member States to formulate their own regional land policies.
The above chart shows that 22% of the respondents strongly agreed that there is a lot of corruption and nepotism, 36% of the respondents agreed that there is widespread corruption and nepotism while 25% of the respondents disagreed that there was corruption and nepotism. 15% Strongly disagreed while 2% were neutral. This indicated the majority of the respondents felt that there were more negative aspects in centralized system of government.

4.3.7 Demand for Self-Rule

According to 80% of the respondents, it was good to expected self rule. Majority of those who led this prospective were mainly the groups who had opportunity because their clans/sub-clans was habitants in large provinces or regions and districts. The people who disagreed were those who are clans/sub-clans were not inhabitants in large provinces or regions and districts. This explains why certain groups are against the multi-regional-federalism based government structure for Somalia (Ulusow, 2012).
However, majority of the people are felt the need for further political participation, more freedom in political decision making and devolution authority. For instance the clans living in river side believe their resources were heavily exploited by pastoral clans using government authority while there was exclusivity in the national power sharing.

Chart 4.7: Demand for Self-Rule

The above chart shows that 46% of respondent strongly agreed that indeed there is need for self rule. 34% of respondents agreed that self rule was critical. 14% of the respondents disagreed with the idea that federal system can bring about orderliness hence need for centralized government while 6% were neutral. This implies that the most respondents felt that there is a need for self rule and devolution authority. Because people see devolution of power and services delivery as giving more freedom and development.
4.3.8 Regional Administration Tendency

Even though 71% of the respondents viewed that the formation of the federal system of government was enforced by the existing federal states in that time like Puntland and Somaliland. Many former Mogadishu inhabitants retreated their respective regions and established regional administrations, so they don’t prefer coming back to centralized government system.

Chart: 4.8: Establishment of Regional Administration

The above chart shows that 50% of the respondents who strongly agreed that there is need for regional administration to ensure every citizen is able to access the government resources, 21% respondents agreed that regional administration is key to devolution authority and service delivery, 13% of the respondents disagreed that there is need of having regional administration as this may derail harmony in the country, 2% of respondents were strongly disagree and 14% were neutral.
4.4 Views on Key Challenges Faced in the Implementation of Federal System

To attempt a highly decentralized power in a state that formerly was centralized may have a range of challenges. However, there is a need to understand the foundation of the Somali community; they have one religion (Islam), one language, culture, color and one people, but Somali people are belongs to an interest group. Accordingly, the federalism will present some of its challenges comparable to the Somali traditional norms, people’s lifestyles that are pastoralists that create conflicts among regions and tribes for the reason of power struggle; and some tribes reside across regions.

Figure 4.5: Respondents’ Views on Key Challenges Faced in the Implementation of Federal System in Somalia
Table 4.8: The Key Challenges in Implementation of Federal System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenge</th>
<th>strongly agree</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>strongly disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>security problem</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clan mistrust</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restructuring and interregional conflict</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relationship between state and central government</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>logistic and transport challenges</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>functional government institution</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>landownership and resource sharing</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>external intervention</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sound environmental rule law</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traditional and people lifestyle</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above represents data collected from the respondents based on percentage and frequency, it also represented in form of charts below:
4.4.1 Security problem
Majority of respondents (80%) indicated that, the main challenges of implementing federal system in Somalia are the security problems. Reforming the security and justice sectors will be a significant challenge being faced in the implementation of federal system. These challenges are not the responsibility of the federal authorities alone and more work needed to be done to build credible relations between the centre and the regions for the success of Somalia’s state building plans. This requires engagement and commitment from both the federal and regional authorities and support from the international community. The people believe that a national reconciliation process could assist in building such relationships and help to address the significant trust deficit between various regions and the centre and between various clans.

Chart 4.9: Security Problem
The above chart shows that 51% response rate who strongly agreed that there will be a security issue due to federal government formation because of power struggle and 29% respondents agreed that indeed federal government will bring security instability, 13% said disagree, 5% said strongly disagree and 2% neutral. In generally, the respondents are seeing the security is the most, if left unaddressed, this carries with it a risk of renewed clan-based or localized conflict as disputes over power and land control arise.

4.4.2 Clan Mistrust and Conflict
When asked whether the actual impacts of clan mistrust on federalism, close to 74% believed that it will remain as key challenge. Clans continue to claim for dominance over a region because they see political control of regions as converting into gains for their clan. The kinship politics can hurdle to make sure implementation of good governance principles through federating a number of states into the regional governments as constitutions demands that two or more regions can form federal member state based the consent of their inhabitants.

On the issue federalism, some people understood it as a tribalisation where every clan could form federal member states on their own, classical example is Khatumo state and Galmudug state both them are governed by small subclans where the area they control is less than one or two districts forget about region or two regions.
The above chart shows that 39% of the respondents strongly agreed that there is clan mistrust and conflict due to power struggle. 35% of the respondents agreed that indeed there is still mistrust and conflict among clans, and 15% of the respondents disagreed that there is no mistrust and conflict among clans but rather there is strong coexistence among clans, 8% said strongly disagree and were 3% were neutral. Regarding these views the mistrust among people is a challenge to new federal system of government. Because of civil war based clansm, power control, lost of confidence.

4.4.3 Restructuring Federal member states and Inter-Regional Conflicts

The conflict among the regions is a challenge according to respondent’s views 73% agreed its potential conflict flashpoint. Regional competition often overlaps with clan competition, producing inter-regional conflicts. Clans continue to seek dominant regions because they see political control of regions as converting into gains for their clan.
The above chart shows that 50% of respondents strongly agreed that indeed there is a possibility of inter-regional conflict due federal government system. 33% of the respondents agreed that federal government can bring about inter-regional conflict while 17% of the respondents disagreed that federal government could bring about inter-regional conflict but rather would they believed in ensure coexistence.

4.4.4. Relationship between regional state and central government

Majority of the respondents (55%), were of the view that there is need to clarify how power and resources can be immediately devolved to local administrations willing to cooperate with the national government. According this argument, the local administration should be given a clear right to manage their own affairs, guaranteed an equitable share of international development and security assistance and offered a voice in the government’s decision-making process.
The constitution defines two levels of government; the Federal Government level and the Federal Member State level of government, comprising the State and National governments. Both levels are elected by the citizens and held accountable to them. The overall power of the Somali Federal Republic, and its governmental responsibilities, is to be divided between the Federal Government and the State governments, pending their creation. New federal constitution, (2012)

Chart 4.12: Relationship between Regional State and central government

The above chart shows that 30% of the respondents strongly agreed that there is need for good relations between regional state and Mogadishu to promote development, 25% of the respondents agreed that indeed there should be coexistence between the regional state and Mogadishu while 14% of the respondents disagreed on this issue saying even without good relations between the regional state and Mogadishu, development can still be realized, 18% said strongly disagree and 13% were neutral.
4.4.5 Logistics and Transport Challenges

Since the collapse of Somali Central Government in 1991, the country has experienced two decades of civil war in all regions among Somali clans, which caused extremely lack of the public services and poor infrastructure. Thus, 63% of respondents see the transportation and logistics as a major challenge. The key infrastructures are less or ruined as results of civil war the communication or transports means like roads airports, seaports are less function for example there were only 4 roads tar marked that existed in the military regime era and most of them destroyed.

Chart 4.13: Logistics and Transport Challenges

The above chart shows that 42% of the respondents strongly agreed that logistics and transport challenges exist due to the civil war. 21% of the respondents agreed that indeed logistics and transportation are major issues. 10% of the respondents disagreed on this and said logistics and transportation system are in good shape, while 27% of the respondents strongly disagreed that there is no issue with the logistics and transportation. The chart shows that is difficult for the government to reach some parts of the country for service delivery or reconstruction purposes, because lack of infrastructure.
4:4.6 Functional Government Institutions

With the absence of functioning national institutions since 1991, many respondents, that is 70% believe it's a challenge to restore public confidence and provide basic governmental services. Availability of key services e.g registration of persons or higher education opportunities cannot be found in most districts and regions. This marks the provision of such important public services at district or regional levels.

Chart 4.14: Functional Government Institutions

The above chart shows that 40% of the respondents strongly agree that there is functional government institutions, 30% of the respondents agreed that there exists functional government institutions, 20% of the respondents disagreed that there are functional government institutions and 10% of the respondents strongly disagreed and agreed that they have not heard of any functional government institution due to instability in the country. Lack of public institutions and absence of service delivery in place could be the reason why they perceived this as a challenge.
4.4.7 Land Ownership and Resource Sharing

One of the main challenges facing Somalia, according to 80% of the respondents, is to ensure that national resources are shared equitably with all the areas allied to the government, as well as establishment of a mechanism to transparently verify these transfers. The federal system combining shared rule and self-rule is also reflected in the draft provisional constitution provisions on land and natural resources. The regulation of natural resources and their use is subject to negotiations between the federal government and the federal member State governments. According to the new federal constitution, the use of the resources should be a national standard but needs also to provide for the freedom of the federal member states to formulate their own regional land policies.

Chart 4.15: Land Ownership and Resource Sharing

The above chart shows that 60% of the respondents strongly agree that there is a great need for land ownership and equal resource sharing to ensure fairness in resource distribution, 20% of the respondents agree that there is truly a need to ensure proper land ownership and resource sharing, 5% of the respondents disagreed that there is no need for individual land ownership and equal resource sharing and 5% strongly disagreed that land and resources sharing should not be done at individual level but rather be owned as a state or country and 10% were neutral.
4.4.8: External Interventions

More than 50% of the respondents views that the external factors as a key challenge and they have played a significant role in influencing the current conflict in Somalia. Such influences come from various countries and organizations that have permanent interests in Somalia for political, historical, strategic or security reasons. Some of these countries continue to try to influence Somali politics by organizing or supporting warring factions and creating misunderstanding amongst them, which has prompted the rivals to clash. These findings agree with results from a study by Francis, 2006 which revealed that external interventions by external actors.

Chart 4.16: External Interventions
The above chart shows that 20% of the respondents strongly agreed that indeed external forces has played a big role in Somalia’s instability, 30% of the respondents agreed that external forces has caused the problems that Somalia is currently facing, 40% of the respondents disagreed that external forces can not cause the instability that is currently being experienced in Somalia, 5% of the respondents strongly disagreed that external forces has nothing to do with the menace being experienced in Somalia and 5% of the respondents were neutral and not sure whether or not external forces has caused the instability in Somalia.

**Chart 4.17: Sound Environment and Rule of law**

The above chart shows respondents’ views on external interventions, 14% of the respondents strongly agreed that rule of law and sound environment which exists could help the government during implementation of the federal system, 23% agreed considered lack of sound environment and rule of law as a challenge, 40% said disagree, 10% said strongly disagree and 13% were neutral.
4.4.9: Traditional and People Lifestyle

The study results from people responses revealed 90% agreed to the statement that the federalism will present some challenges due to the Somali traditional norms. People's lifestyles that are pastoral create conflicts among regions due to clans power struggle and competition for economic resources. Moreover is semi arid or arid land and mobility among the regions is very normal. The herders can move across the regions searching water and fodder for their livestock. In this regard implementing multi policies among different state government will import on the lives of many common citizens.

Chart 4.18: Traditional and People Lifestyle

The above chart shows that 45% of the respondents strongly agreed that traditions and people lifestyle of living also promotes harmony especially Islam, 45% of the respondents agreed that traditions and peoples lifestyles promote coexistence and peace. None of the respondents disagreed that traditions and people lifestyle does not promote development and 10% were neutral. The why are respondents agreed 90% was depending on the people's lifestyles, the Somalia community are pastoralists and have limitations in the land.
4.5 Respondents View on What are the Possible Ways of Reducing Challenges Faced by the Implementation of Federal System of Government in Somalia

Regarding reducing challenges, the respondents said that reforming the security, constitution, economy and justice sectors will be significant to resolving the challenges being experienced. It will take the combined commitment and engagement of authorities, civil society and the international community to develop sustainable and effective security and justice institutions that are fit for purpose. The authorities must look carefully at how to integrate a complex system of clan-based militias into a national security framework in a way which does not undermine their national character. They also said that vetting of armed groups and their individual members should form part of the recruitment and integration process, as well as investigate and prosecutions pursued. This will require significant investment and development of the judicial and penal systems within a genuine and broad-based process of national reconciliation.

Plans for the security sector must also take a sober view of the continued territorial control and operational capacity of al Shabaab, which retains the ability to carry out large scale operations, as demonstrated by recent attacks on the courts and government convoys in Mogadishu. It must be observed that the government continues to face a formidable challenge and has yet to retake significant areas of territory back from them. These challenges are not the responsibility of the federal authorities alone and more work needs to be done to build credible relations between the centre and the regions for the success of Somalia’s state building plans. This requires engagement and commitment from both the federal and regional authorities and support from the international
community. A national reconciliation process could assist in building such relationships and help to address the significant trust deficit between various regions and the centre and between various clans. If left unaddressed, this carries with it a risk of renewed clan-based or localized conflict as disputes over power and control arise.

To guarantee regional self-rule, the respondents said that the Constitution should provide and safeguard it. The constitutional guarantee forms the very essence of a federal system. Furthermore, there are effective government structures in many regions within Somalia, which were created when no central government structures existed. These regional governments provide governmental services for local people. It is much more efficient to incorporate these regional government structures into the administrative and political system of the country, than to relocate all state authority in one central government and thereby alienate them. Consequently, the federal system will accommodate existing regional governments, such of Puntland and pioneering semi-autonomous governments in new liberated areas with ultimate number and demarked boundaries of the federal member states to be determined by the new federal republic of Somalia. Contested areas could be the lightning rods, destroying future stability of Somalia. Clans continue to view for dominance over a region because they see political control of regions as converting into gains for their clan.

Finally, regional competition often overlaps with clan competition, producing internal regional conflicts. The local administrations should be given a clear right to manage their own affairs, guaranteed an equitable share of international development and security assistance and offered a voice in the government’s decision-making process.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the outcome of the study. It provides a summary of findings and then lays down the conclusion drawn from the findings. The researcher then provides recommendations based on the study findings and conclusion. Lastly, the researcher gives recommendations for future research studies to be carried out in this area.

5.2 Summary of the Research Findings

The study sought to find out the challenges of implementing federal system of government in the case of south central Somalia. The presentation of summary on the research findings was based on research questions as presented by respondents from South Central Zone of Somalia; determine the main causes that led the formation of the federal system of government in Somalia and the removal the unitary system of government; determine the key challenges faced in the implementation of federal system of government in Somalia.

In this study, respondents indicated that 59% were aged 20-29 years, 20% were aged 30-39 years 13% were aged 40-49 years, while 8% were aged above 50- years. It can thus be concluded that majority of the respondents were aged between 20-39 years old. Forty percent 40% of the respondents indicated that they offer government organization services, 25% said local non-governmental services 15% said they offer United Nations services and 20 % business sector services.
Respondents said that, reforming the security and justice sectors will be significant to the challenge being faced that should not be underestimated. They said that the government should take combined commitment and engagement of authorities, civil society and the international community to develop sustainable and effective security and justice institutions that are fit for purpose.

The study also found that, clan mistrust and conflicts, federal restructuring and inter-regional conflicts, the new provisional federal constitution, lack of functional government institutions, external interventions, lack of good governance and relevant policies, traditional norms and people's lifestyle as a key factors which retains the ability to challenge during implementation of federal system.

The respondents said that the overall power is of the Somali Federal Republic, and its governmental responsibilities, is to be divided between the Federal Government and the state governments, pending their creation.

5.3 Conclusions

The study sought to find out the problem of what federalism is, what it should do and how and why it was being created. It responds the internal demand to understand federal system and its challenges among ordinaries Somali people. Somalia has been in the grip of military dictatorship, national disintegration, civil war, terrorism and piracy, for the past 50 years. This country has been faced by conflict and corruption, thereby being ineffective to stabilization. Numerous peace conferences have been held for Somalia, at least 15, to find lasting solutions, but all these efforts have been fruitless.
The federal system was imposed as top-down better governance by external factors including the international community and IGAD during the National Peace and Reconciliation Conference in October–November 2004 in Nairobi, Kenya. In August 2012, Somalia adopted new federal constitution following the end of the interim mandate of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG). It officially comprises the executive branch of government, with the parliament serving as the legislative branch. It is headed by the President of Somalia, to whom the Cabinet reports through the Prime Minister together with the existing regional governments, and pioneering semi-autonomous governments in new liberated area. Although it succeeded to establish a federal parliament, elected a president and selected a prime minister and a cabinet to establish a national government, it is difficult to predict the impact of the federal government in different regions, clans and communities because, lack of local legitimacy and support from the people.

In conclusion, to attempt a highly decentralized power in a state that formerly was centralized may have a range of challenges. However, there are many problems in new federal system of government, but no more so than the unitary system which Somalia experienced.
5.5 Recommendations

In order to ensure political stability of the country: First the government should respect, follow and implement the new federal constitution with addressing the challenges and create an environment conducive to convene discussions on the constitutional reform. Second, the government should build permanent regional and local administrations to the newly liberated areas in line with the Provisional Constitution and national stabilization plan. Third, building federal independent commission which shall be composed of experienced people representing all parts of the people. This commission should talk to its citizens and organize orientations based to make better understanding of federalism which is difficult for Somalis to achieve. Fourth, urgently re-open channels of reconciliation among Somali communities, addressing some of the basic and important consequences of the civil war, inclusive and representative of all stakeholder communities with all relevant Somali stakeholders. Establishment of reconciliation and justice commissions to address crimes against humanity as well foster and promote an environment of confidence such as repatriations of the Somali refugees from Kenya and Ethiopia, evacuating land and houses taken by unlawful residents in the capital city of Mogadishu and elsewhere. Fifth, immediately convene a roundtable discussion on the restoration of the national security. The security reform must be managed by the government, alongside the AMISOM and international community and also to review the Mission of AMISOM and ensure that all sector leaders in Somalia adhere to the terms of agreement contained in the 2007 MOU between the Somali government and AMISOM,
and also to improve the communications and protocols between AMISOM and the Somali federal government.

Finally, in order for the recovery of the country to be successful, the Somali government should be willing to work with the international development in building governance (security reform, public sector reform, judicial reform and finance and economy institutions reform) and business climate reform (Public private partnership, oil concessions, sea management, livestock management and agricultural management).

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The areas of impact identified in this research may present an interesting avenue for further investigation in a larger sample. As it stands, my research was exploratory in nature and further in-depth research not only in public sector institutions may shed further light on where and how the contextual factors influence the success of an strategic obtaining implementation of federal system of government in Somalia.

This study was limited to the challenges of implementing federal system of government in south central zone of Somalia. So that, the researcher suggesting to perform a similar studies which should be conducted in the other parts of the country like Somaliland and Puntland regions of Somalia, to institute the state of affairs regarding common circumstances and federalism consequences in generally.
REFERENCES


Abdinur, S. M. (April 18, 2012). Federalism: The past and the present state of Somalia


Accessed 18/12/2013.

Appendix A: Questionnaire for the Research

Dear Respondent,

My name is Abubakar Farah Fidow. I am a student at Kenyatta University studying a Master of Public Policy and Administration. This questionnaire has been prepared for data collection concerning “Challenges faced in the implementation of federal system of government in Somalia”. The purpose of the questionnaire is only for academic purpose meant for data collection and the information you provide will be treated with utmost of confidentiality. I kindly request you to answer the questions fully and honestly. Your assistance will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.
Questionnaire

Section A: Respondent Biodata.

Age:
- 20 - 29
- 30 - 39
- 40 - 49
- 50 and above

Gender:
- Male
- Female

Educational Qualification
- Primary Level
- Secondary Level
- Undergraduate Level
- Postgraduate Level

Number of year's employment:
- Less than 6 months
- 6 months - 1 year
- 1 year - 2 years
- 2 years and above

Type of service offered by your organization
- Governmental Organization
- Non-governmental Organization
- UN Agency
- International NGOs
- Business Sectors
Section A: What are the causes that led to the formation of the federal system and the removal of a unitary system in Somalia?

Instruction:

Please tick where appropriate when answering the below questions; use the rating guide as follows for A, B, C, D and E.

A= Strongly Agree; B= Agree; C= Disagree; D= Strongly Disagree; E= Neutral

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>State powers and authorities in decision making were concentrated in the capital alone</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Lack of local community engagement in previous administrations</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Weaknesses of civilian rule</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Longevity of military dictatorship specially that of Siad Bare</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Clan mistrust increased among Somali communities as a result of civil war</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Corruption and clan based nepotism</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Feeling the need for further political participation</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>People in many parts of Somalia demanded regional self-rule</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Regional tendency took root in most regions of Somalia</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Many former Mogadishu inhabitants retreated their respective regions and established regional administrations</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Lack of good governance and relevant policies</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Sound environment and rule of law</td>
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</table>
Section B: The key challenges faced by the implementation of federal system in Somalia are:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Security situation is a problem</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Clan mistrust and Conflicts</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Federal restructuring and Inter-regional Conflicts</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Relationship between regional states and the central government in Mogadishu</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>The new Provisional Federal Constitution</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Logistics and transportation challenges</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Functional government institutions</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Land ownership and resources sharing</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Continued fighting between TFG and insurgents</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Mistrust between government institutions and local partners</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>External interventions</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Lack of good governance and relevant policies</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Sound environment and rule of law</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Traditional norms and people’s lifestyle</td>
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Section C: In your opinion what are the possible ways of reducing the challenges faced by the implementation of federal system in Somalia?

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Appendix B: Somali Map and Flag