

# **Federalism for Somalia: Internal and external challenges**

High-quality Research Support programme (HQRS)

September 2016

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## **RESEARCH QUESTION**

The research questions are summarized in the following points:

1. Why should Somalia adopt a federal system when we are a homogeneous people and what are the reasons behind it?
2. What are the main internal and external challenges for federalism in Somalia?
3. What might be the solutions to the problems associated from federalism?

## **RESEARCH CONTEXT**

The Federal Republic of Somalia is a country located in the Horn of Africa. It is bordered by Ethiopia to the west, Djibouti to the northwest, the Gulf of Aden to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, and Kenya to the southwest. Somalia has the longest coastline on the continent's mainland, and its terrain consists mainly of plateaus, plains and highlands. Climatically, hot conditions prevail year-round, with periodic monsoon winds and irregular rainfall. Somalia has a population of around 10 million. Around 85% of its residents are ethnic Somalis, who have historically inhabited the northern part of the country. This study will focus on federalism in Somalia –internal and external challenges. The period of time over which this research will be conducted is May- September, 2016. The target geographical area is Mogadishu, accessed through a survey of the population including politicians, elders, community leaders, traditional leaders and university students.

## **RESEARCH: OVERALL AIM AND SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES**

The general objective of this paper is to identify federalism's internal and external challenges in Somalia after transitional government, and also its applicability in Somalia. The research objectives can be summarized in the following points:

1. To determine suitable governance systems and reasons for demanding a federal system in Somalia
2. To discover the internal and external challenge faced by federalism in Somalia; and if federal systems undermine national unity and potentially lead to secession
3. To find solutions to the problems associated from federalism.

## **EXISTING KNOWLEDGE AND HOW THE RESEARCH WILL ADD TO IT**

## **Concept of federalism**

### **Overview of Federalism**

“Every federation is a result of unique historical and political circumstances. Thus, it is impossible to suggest some universal set of factors that explain why countries become federal. It is, however, possible to consider some of the factors that lead to the formation of federations from political, economic and sociological perspectives. If one singles out the political factors, there are different interpretations” (Adegehe, 2009).

William Riker, who sought to theorize about the origins of federations, argued that the federal bargain would be made “between prospective national leaders and officials of constituent governments for the purpose of aggregating territory” in order to fend off external military/diplomatic threats or to prepare for military/diplomatic aggression. In contrast, other students of federalism examine the political reasons that lead to a federation from the viewpoint of liberty, citizenship and democracy.

The manner in which federations have been created is equally important. Generally, federations come about in two ways, either through the aggregation of independent states or the devolution of power to sub-national units.

### **Historic Waves of Federalism**

“Federations have been formed in a series of historical waves over the last two centuries. The first wave, from the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries, saw the creation of new countries with formerly independent units coming together in a federal form” (Anderson, 2008). Switzerland and the United States initially came together as confederations: the American experiment with confederation lasted for only eight years, from 1781 to 1789, when the 13 states addressed a weakness at the centre by forming the first modern federation; the Swiss confederation evolved over more than five centuries, but after a brief civil conflict it adopted, in 1848, a federal constitution modeled on the American example. The next significant wave came with new federations emerging from the collapse of communism. The communist Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia all had nominally federal constitutions, but were in reality a centrally controlled one-party regime. However, as they democratized, their federal structures took on real political significance. (Anderson, 2008)

## Origin of Federalism

“Riker sets out to explain the origins of federal systems. He puts forth two ‘necessary’ but ‘not sufficient’ conditions behind the ‘bargain of federalism’: the expansion condition and the military condition, which he defines as follows” (Volden, 2004):

1. The politicians who offer the bargain desire to expand their territorial control, usually either to meet an external military or diplomatic threat or to prepare for military or diplomatic aggression and aggrandizement. But, though they desire to expand, they are not able to do so by conquest, because of either military incapacity or ideological distaste.
2. The politicians who accept the bargain, giving up some independence for the sake of union, are willing to do so because of some external military-diplomatic threat or opportunity. Either they desire protection from an external threat or they desire to participate in the potential aggression of the federation.

## Why Federalism?

“Federalism has two general justifications, one economic and the other political. The economic justification should be well known. Government (i.e., coercive) action may be required to resolve those market failures associated with informational asymmetries, externalities, and wholly decentralized decision making over public goods. However, public goods in particular vary in their characteristics, which, in turn, may require different treatment by different levels of government” (Mikhail Filipov, 2004).

## What is federalism in Somalia?

Federalism is a form of political decentralization of governmental authority, in which there is shared rule (in central government) and regional 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 require the consent of the regional governments. ( UNDP/UNOPS , August 2, 2012. )

The Provisional Constitution of Somalia provides for the following features of a federal system:

1. There shall be two levels of government (the Federal Government level and the Federal Member State level of government, comprising the local governments and the Federal Member State governments)

and both levels are elected by the citizens and accountable to them.

2. The overall power of the state, and its governmental responsibilities, shall be divided between the Federal Government and the Federal Member State governments, pending their creation. The specific allocation of powers and responsibilities shall 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 shall be part of the remit of the Federal Government – see Article 54.
3. The Federal Member States shall be represented in decision making at the Federal Government level through the Upper House of the Federal Parliament, which shall comprise representatives elected from the people in each Federal Member State – see Article 72. The members of the Upper House of the Federal Parliament shall have a special responsibility to represent the interests of the Federal Member State they represent – see Article 61 (3).
5. ( UNDP/UNOPS , August 2, 2012. )

### **SOMALIA'S NEW FEDERAL SYSTEM: CAN IT APPLY?**

As is well known, the 14<sup>th</sup> National Reconciliation Conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, for a period of two years (2002/2004), resulted in the creation of a Transitional Federal Government (TFG) for Somalia, which was supposed to have a decentralized system of administration based on federalism. According to Article 11 (Chapter 4) of the Transitional Federal Charter, the TFG was expected to set up an independent Federal Constitution Commission within 90 days from the date of assuming office. Furthermore, the TFG was envisaged to ensure “that the process of federating Somalia shall take place within two and a half years from the date that the Commission is established”. To the best of my knowledge, none of these tasks have yet been undertaken despite the fact that the TFG (led by both Mr. Ali Mohamed Gedi and his successor Mr. Nur Hassan Hussein, better known as Nur “Adde”) is about to enter its fourth year. Again, the new Federal Constitution has not yet been completed; nor has it been disseminated and discussed at the popular level; and the internationally supervised referendum that was planned to endorse this new constitution, which would lead to elections in 2009, has not yet been carried out. I very much doubt whether NurAdde’s new administration can complete these onerous tasks within the remaining one and a half years of its tenure. That is why I would like today to present my views on Somalia’s new federal system and discuss them with the esteemed readers of this paper/website, particularly my countrymen, the Somalis.

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. At present, very few countries – Australia, Belgium, Canada, Germany, and USA – apply this federalist system. On the African continent, out of around 53 independent states, only two countries, namely Ethiopia and Nigeria, are currently organized as federal governments. The reason why so few nations today follow the federal system is that, in the view of some experts, it is too expensive and too difficult to apply and manage properly. This is so, because to become a real federal nation, a country needs to have several overlapping layers of government, i.e., a central federal administration and state governments (each having its own three branches of government, namely, the executive, the parliamentary and the judiciary) plus often additional units in the form of regions, provinces and districts.

In the case of Somalia's new federal system, it is planned that it will be composed of: (a) The transitional Federal Government; (b) State Governments [two or more regions may federate]; (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 separately manage 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. How can a penniless country, like Somalia, which has been undergoing a seemingly endless civil war in the past 17 years, and whose governmental institutions have all been destroyed, afford to run such a bloated and huge administrative structure? It baffles me even to contemplate its possibility!

Another important question is: How would the states that make up the planned federal government of Somalia be constituted? How many would they be? Would they be based on the infamous 4.5 tribal power-sharing formula that, in the opinion of many observers, has caused stalemate in attempts to end Somalia's pernicious civil strife? This reminds me of the proposal of an American fellow, who claims to be an expert on Somali affairs. He suggested that the future Somali Republic should comprise five states that are based on the country's five major clans! Unfortunately, he forgot that Somalia's current tragedy was essentially caused by the revival of the destructive and politically manipulated clan system.

### **Why should Somalia adopt a federal system when we are one united people?**

Due to long years of over-centralized government structures and control, people in many parts of Somalia demand regional self-rule. During the years of conflict, some stability was maintained in specific regions by their local communities, and they believe they have 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 for 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 to one central government and thereby alienate them. Consequently the federal system will accommodate existing regional governments, such as those of Puntland and Galmudug. ( UNDP/UNOPS , August 2, 2012. )

### **Difficulties of applying federalism**

Let us now go back briefly to the two African countries that are currently applying the federal system, i.e., Ethiopia and Nigeria. In Ethiopia, the country is divided into nine ethnically based states as well as two special city administrations, namely, those of Addis Ababa (the national capital) and Dire Dawa (whose ownership is apparently being disputed by some ethnic groups). The 9 states are sub-divided into zones, districts and sub-districts. In Nigeria, the country is made up of 36 ethnicity-based states plus the Federal Capital (Abuja) as a separate entity. In both of these two countries, each state is headed by its own elected Governor or President and has a House of Assembly (or State Parliament). On the other hand, all their constituent states are envisaged to fund all their activities through their own internal resources. In reality, however, most of these states cannot afford to achieve this lofty but unrealistic goal and they largely depend on the federal (central) government to bail them out. In other words, federalism properly applied is much easier said than done.

Someone may argue that federalism is a more democratic system, because it is based on a highly decentralized system of government. This may be true, but it also comes at a very high price. He/she may also give the autonomous region of Puntland (in north-eastern Somalia), which was established nearly nine years ago, as a good example for a successful application of federalism in that country. (Unlike the self-declared “Republic of Somaliland”, Puntland had opted to be a state within a

federated Somali Republic). But Puntland was created under exceptional, desperate circumstances at the height of Somalia's disastrous civil war. Furthermore, some of its claimed constituent units, like the regions of Sol and Sanag are seriously contested - at times with fierce military clashes - with Somaliland (essentially for clan reasons).

If the above-cited two African countries (Ethiopia and Nigeria) which are much bigger, more stable and much richer than Somalia can not fully implement a federal system, what do you expect of a totally ruined failed state like Somalia that has been undergoing a civil strife in the past 17 years? Suppose, for the sake of argument, that two of its regions like, say, Galgudud and Hiran or Bay and Bakol decide to form their own federal states. Can they fund all their required state activities alone? The simple answer is no. The other negative aspect of federalism, as I alluded to earlier, is that it will fan the flames of tribal rivalry and its natural consequence of hatred and animosity – something that had heralded the current tragedy in Somalia and had resulted in the total destruction of its state institutions. What will be the most rational criterion for establishing each state? And who will demarcate the borders between these fledgling states in a country like Somalia where one of its major clans is today claiming that almost three-quarters of the country belongs to its tribesmen? My considered opinion is that the introduction of the federal system in Somalia will make a bad situation more complicated and much worse. As the famous American economist, Mr. Milton Friedman, is reported to have once remarked – referring rather sarcastically to USA, the richest country in the world and its most successful in terms of applying federalism: “If you put the federal government in charge of the Sahara Desert, in five years there will be a shortage of sand.”

In conclusion, the federal system may be a more democratic system. It may also be suited to countries that have deep-rooted ethnic problems, like Nigeria. But it is very costly and enormously hard to apply properly. That is why I believe it is not appropriate for a penniless and more homogeneous country, such as Somalia, which is emerging from a very destructive civil war that has been going on for almost two decades. It is a country whose ministers and members of parliament get their salaries and official travel expenses from the UN as well as other donors. It is a failed state that has to re-start from scratch. What Somalia really needs is a very undersized government to bring about the reconstruction of all state institutions in a very effective and efficient manner. It does not presently require the establishment of a cumbersome and costly federal system, but it could achieve more democracy and decentralization by having a unified central government and by giving more autonomy to its present 18 regions (whose

number was, incidentally, enlarged during Siad Barre's dictatorial regime for tribal reasons). In a nutshell, Somalia now needs a strong executive, an elected legislature and an independent judiciary – all under a centralized form of government – If it wants to end the terrible nightmare it has been living through in the past 20 years or so. We need a strong government, because, as James Madison, the 4<sup>th</sup> US President and one of its founding fathers is quoted to have once said: “If men were angels, no government would be necessary.” As we have come to realize by now, Somalis, especially their males, are anything but angels!

I could contemplate accepting federalism for the Somali Republic under one condition only. That is, if the leaders of the self-declared Republic of Somaliland could be persuaded to end their secession and become part of a new “Federal Somali Republic” (consisting of two main states, namely, the ex-British and ex-Italian Somalilands) - just for the sake of preserving the unity of the Somali nation.

### The Important of Federalism

Proponents argue that federalism does the following:

- **Fosters state loyalties:** Many Somalis feel close ties to their home state, and federalism maintains that connection by giving power to the states.
- **Creates laboratories of democracy:** State governments can experiment with policies, and other states (and the federal government) can learn from their successes and failures.
- **Leads to political stability:** By removing the national government from some contentious issue areas and this can lead to stability.
- **Encourages pluralism:** Federal systems expand government on national, state, and local levels, giving people more access to leadership and opportunities to get involved in their government.
- **Ensures the separation of powers and prevents tyranny:** Even if one person or group took control of all three branches of the federal government, federalism ensures that state governments would still function independently.

Federalism, therefore, fulfills the framers' vision of a governmental structure that reconciles a desire for overall unity with a desire for regional autonomy. Federalism is the bridge that can keep a country from falling apart ((Gooni), 10/2014)

In relation to literature reviewed that considers Somalian federalism's internal and external challenges, most of the other literature reviewed agrees that federalism can't be adopted in Somalia while other researchers and the international community believes the only path to solve Somali conflict is to adopt a federal system. For example, if the demand for such a particular government service varies with geographic location, if some public good is more efficiently produced locally, if the externalities associated with its provision and consumption have a limited geographic domain, if there are reasons for believing that information about the demand and supply of public service is necessarily more evident to local and regional polities than to national ones, or if economies of scale in the production of such goods can be realized adequately at sub national governmental levels, then the decentralized decision making that is assumed to characterize federalism (decision making that encourages competition among political subunits and the monitoring of public officials by those directly affected by their actions) allows for a more appropriate treatment of public policy

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

Research methodology is a collective term for the structured process of conducting research. Or the procedures followed to analyze and interpret the data gathered. Research methodology can be quantitative (for example, measuring the number of times someone does something under certain conditions) or qualitative (for example, asking people how they feel about a certain situation). Research methodologies are used in academic research to test hypotheses or theories. A research methodology consists of research design, sampling technique, data collection and data analysis.

### **Questionnaires**

The questionnaire is a research instrument with preset questions and guided style of response that was used to collect data from respondents (Amin, 2005). This instrument contained both open-ended questions and close-ended questions. The questionnaire was applied to professional migrants or skilled migrants, students and especial interest migrants. The questionnaire was selected for use in this study because it is easy to apply, as most respondents were well educated and can fill in the questions easily or with little guidance.

### **Interviews**

An interview guide was used. This is an instrument where mostly general questions are used to collect data mainly from key respondents (Amin, 2005). This instrument also contained open-ended questions

as well as close-ended questions. The interview guide will be used for this study because some sections of the study population have more knowledge that cannot be fully captured using a questionnaire. These shall be referred to in this study as key informants such as Service Providers, Local and International NGOs, Construction Companies and other business companies.

## **ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

- The researcher did not force respondents to give information. Instead he obtained formal consent as a pre-requisite to gathering information from the respondents.
- The researcher produced an introductory letter from the Organization which he took to Banadir Regional Administration of the Somali Federal government to permit him to carry out research in this particular area.
- Participants were informed in advance that all information collected through interviews or questionnaires would be treated with outmost confidentiality and the findings will not be used for any other purpose other than that indicated in the study.

## **LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH**

- Content scope: this study was assessing federalism for Somalia – internal and external challenges.
- Geographical scope: The study was conducted in Mogadishu, Somalia.
- Time scope: The study was assessing the variables under study for the period 2016.
- Limitations of the Study: the researched faced a lot of limitation during data collection security issues and lack of library access in Somalia

## **DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS ACCORDING TO OBJECTIVES**

### **Introduction**

This chapter contains the following material: data presentation, analysis, discussion and interpretations. The work is presented in sections/parts within the chapters and arranged objective by objective. This ensured logical flow and made it easy to organize the work for analysis, discussion and interpretation. Generally, in this chapter, the findings of the study are compared and contrasted with the related

literature review and the implications of the study for the methodology, and research questions are considered.

### **Demographic information concerning respondents:**

This part of the study was guided by the objective of determining the demographic characteristics of the respondents in terms of: gender, age, marital status and level of education. The purpose of the research was to assess Federalism for Somalia: internal and external challenges. The main focus of the survey was to determine the demographic characteristics of the respondents in terms of: gender, age, marital status and level of education. Respondents from different age groups provided information needed for this study

By sex 3 respondents were women while 5 were men, representing 30% women and 50% men. In terms of respondents' age, 30% were aged between 20 – 30 years, 40% were between 31 – 51 years and lastly those over 51 years were 10%. 40% were married while 20% of the respondents are unmarried or single members; the other 10% of respondents are families whereby the husband has died. In terms of experience, 10% of respondents interviewed has less than a year of experience in youth political participation, 30% of the respondents has 1-3 years experience and lastly 40% of respondents has 4 years and above experience. Finally for education, 50% of respondents were educated to the level of Bachelor degree, 20% of the respondents had a Masters degree, while 10% of research participants had a PhD.

### **Section B: Challenges associated with Federalism**

#### **What do you think about federalism?**

Most interviewees were equally enthusiastic about the ongoing federation process. 60% supported it as a suitable form of governance for Somalia while another 20% of the participants interviewed were deeply unsatisfied because the respondents said they were dissatisfied with the ongoing federation process.

#### **Why do you favor federalism?**

40% of those interviewed view federalism as the most suitable form of governance to decentralize Somalia, because it facilitates reasonable power sharing among clans, enables regional autonomy and ultimately leads to a reduction of conflict.

While others who favor federalism, four out of eight respondents, said it advances power sharing, which is at the heart of Somalia's 24-year conflict. A further 30% believe it would create regional autonomy—a key demand for many Somalis. 10% view federalism as a vital tool for conflict resolution.

#### **What do you believe is a suitable governance system for Somalia?**

The interviewees said that a suitable governance system for Somalia is a unitary system (20%) – central governance is suitable for Somalia. While the majority of the respondents, 60%, stated that a decentralized system is more suitable for Somalia.

For decentralization (in general) and devolution (in particular) to function properly in Somalia one has to start with the commitment of the political elite as a whole and the national government in particular. Somalia's elite missed a great opportunity at Independence on July 1, 1960, given that the 1960 constitution encouraged the decentralization of administrative power to its regions. 86 the political elite ignored the call, thus inadvertently contributing to the creation of many of the grievances that some Somali sectors developed against the Somali state (Elmi A. , 2015).

**Main internal challenge for federalism in Somalia is...**

20% of respondents selected misunderstanding and poor knowledge of federalism as one of the internal challenges to a workable federal state. The majority of the participants, which is 20%, believe clan federalism is a major internal challenge to federalism for Somalia. According to secondary information and primary information clan federalism is a major challenge for a workable federal state. 10% of the participants selected boundary dispute as another internal challenge facing federalism in Somalia, which is a minority of the respondents. 40% believe the internal challenge is 'poor relationship between federal government and regional administration' and also most participants, 20%, agreed that corruption is major challenge to establish workable federal state. 10% agreed that political confusion in Somalia is caused by the Constitution, which doesn't properly define power and resource sharing between the federal government and state governments. This has caused a lot delay in political development. According to the respondents, the constitution has played an important part in political confusion and political instability.

**Main external challenge for federalism in Somalia is...**

50% of respondents said that the main external challenge for federalism in Somalia is different interests of the international community. 20% of respondents believe that neighbor countries support clan federalism in order to keep a weak friendly government. According to 10% of the respondents, limited funds is also an external challenge to implement federalism in Somalia.

There are three different forces pushing the clan-federalism project. Somalia's neighbors, Ethiopia and Kenya, are the leading proponents of a clan-based "federal" formula. Addis Ababa and Nairobi have effectively replaced the central government of Somalia in the realms of security and politics for the last two decades. As such, they have been actively involved in the design and implementation of clan-based federalism in Somalia since the late 1990s. According to Matt Bryden.

**Do you believe federal systems undermine national unity and potentially lead to secession?**

30% of the respondents believe NO it can't lead to secession while 40% of interviewee said YES, federalism can undermine national unity and potentially lead to secession. Finally 10% selected "I don't know".

The researcher focused on if a federal system leads to loss of unity; the respondents view was that most of them believe it can't lead to secession and it will lead to political confusion.

**Federal System is very important to overcome long-standing civil war and inter clan conflict**

40% of the respondents **strongly agree** with the statement that federalism can overcome the long standing civil war and inter clan conflict. 20% of interviewee respondents select **agree** while 10% of interviewee answered **disagree** and 10% also selected **strongly disagree**, meaning federalism can't overcome the long standing civil war and inter clan conflict; it will escalate conflict.

**Federal system for Somalia will lead to...**

Respondents were asked if the federal system for Somalia will lead to political stability or political instability. 30% of the respondents believe that federalism will lead to political stability while 50% of respondents believe it will lead political instability.

This shows as most of the respondents answered this will lead us political instability.

**Genuine reason behind demanding federal system is...**

40% of the respondents selected "trust deficit between Somalia community" as a major factor for demanding federalism, while 20% of interviewee believe the genuine reason behind demanding federalism is demand for political participation and 20% of the respondents said that the interest of neighbor countries and the international community is the reason behind demanding federalism.

The international community and neighbor countries set a road map to overcome long-standing conflict and droughts. They believe the only way solve Somalia war and terror is to adopt federal system

### **Federal system leads to peace and stability for Somalia**

30% of interviewees out of 8 sampled believe a federal system leads to peace and stability for Somalia and selected **Strongly agree**, while 30% of respondents selected **agree** and 10% of the interviewee said **disagree**. 10% selected **strongly disagree** which means it can't lead to peace and stability for Somalia

### **Corruption is major challenge to establishing a workable federal system; do you agree?**

The interviewees were asked whether corruption is a major challenge in establishing a workable federal government system in Somalia. 60% of the respondents have confidence that corruption is a major challenge to establishing a workable federal system while 20% believe corruption isn't a major challenge.

### **Choosing the right type of federation for Somalia considering its geographical location, background and religion...**

The interviewees were asked whether choosing the right type of federation for Somalia based on its geographical location, its clan background, its agro-pastoral activities or its Islamic religion is a solution to the problems associated from federalism. 50% of the respondents said YES, while 30% of the respondents selected NO. So most the respondents view believe that choosing right type of federalism will play an important part in addressing internal and external challenges associated with federalism.

### **Formation of honest and reliable justice system for the country is a major solution for the problems associated with federalism**

60% of the respondents selected YES while 20% of the respondents selected "I don't know".

### **Building a strong relationship with the international community is a solution for the external challenges facing federalism in Somalia**

30% of the respondents **strongly agree**, 20% of the respondent said **Agree**, 10% selected **disagree** and 10% said **strongly disagree**

The respondents therefore felt that building a strong relationship with the international community plays an important role in overcoming the external challenges facing federalism in Somalia.

## **General Discussion of the Research Findings according to the Objectives**

Alongside federalism in Somalia's internal and external challenges, respondents were present in an interview where semi-structured questions have been used to guide the discussion. The discussions concerned the last objective of the study, solutions to the internal and external challenges associated with federalism in Somalia.

The researcher summarized the discussion points, looking at federalism's internal and external challenge.

### **Internal challenge:**

- Misunderstanding and poor knowledge of the federal system including by politician and clan leaders.
- Somali politicians don't have enough understanding about federalism, which has caused a lot of confusion between the Somalian federal government, regional states and clan leaders. Some politicians believe that they can act as a federal government and can undertake international agreements without federal government being aware. Due to lack of experience federalism cannot achieve its planned goals such as security strengthening and the 2016 'one man one vote'.
- Poor relationship between federal government and regional administration: Leaders of regional state deal directly with neighbor countries without involvement federal government, then it leads conflict of interest.
- Conflict of interest between federal government and federal states: Decades of corrupt government (1960–1969), two decades of repressive military regime (1970–1990), and over 20 years of civil war (1991–present) have created a culture of suspicion among different communities and individuals. There is a trust deficit, tension due to unequal resource sharing and this has caused conflict of interest. Some regions have better natural resources than others so federal government has the responsibility of equal resource sharing among regional states.
- Clan federalism: the current regional state formation is clan federalism which may cause civil war.
- Dependency on external donors: Currently the Somali federal government and regional state depend on the support of the international community.
- Corruption: is a major challenge to the establishment of a workable federal system.
- Constitutional problems: there is not properly defined power sharing between the president and prime minister. The Somali constitution doesn't properly differentiate between the president and prime minister; the current president HE Hassan ShekMohamud and his prime minister confronted three prime ministers and votes of no confidence from the Somali parliament.

### External challenge:

- Different interests of the international community increase escalating conflict: The international community and neighbor countries have different interests; some of them support rebels while others support the government. This behavior causes long-standing conflict. Somali civilians and politicians believe such a long conflict couldn't continue without the international community.
- Political top down intervention led by international community such as new deal: Limited knowledge of federalism caused poor political participation and unanimous support for recommendations of the international community.
- Neighboring countries support clan federalism in order to keep a weak Somali government for fear of Somalia reunited again – samaliwayn.
- Full support of international troops and poor support local troops: Currently international troops from AMISOM earn a proper salary and have timely logistical support while Somali troops don't get a sufficient salary for their family to live and also experience poor logistical support. They will be weak unless this issue is solved.

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### Introduction

The researcher describes here a summary of the study, conclusions regarding the research findings according to the primary and secondary data of the research, and finally the researcher presents recommendations and areas that might require further studies in the future.

### Summary

This study is intended to investigate federalism in Somalia – internal and external challenges. The study has looked at how to overcome internal and external challenge associated from federalism. So, this study analyzed major internal and external challenges facing federalism in Somalia according to the participants' views and how to overcome challenges associated with federalism. The research investigated genuine reasons behind demanding a federal system when the Somali people are homogeneous.

### Internal and external challenges associated with federalism

Trust-deficit, demand for democracy, access to basic services, and equitable sharing of resources are, as this research, concluded, the principal grievances behind the centrifugal tendencies in Somalia. They are also the main reasons why a decentralized system is the answer to the nation's governance problem.

This model of governance also takes into account the three actors behind the current clan-federalism project: neighbors, international community and clan-politicians, and is supported by the literature on proposed governance systems. In assessing the suitability of confederation, federation, consociation and decentralized unitary systems, a decentralized unitary system can be concluded to be suitable for Somalia. This governance model can keep the country strong and united, and addresses the legitimate grievances and aspirations that Somalis have expressed.

Most of the respondents view unclear division of power between federal government and regional government and federal government its self as a key challenge. Finally respondents agreed corruption is major challenge to establishing a workable federal system.

### **Result: solutions for problems associated with federalism**

#### **The following steps are essential for optimal federation for Somalia:**

- 1) Chose the right type of federation for Somalia considering its geographical location, its clan background, its agro-pastoral activities and its Islamic religion
- 2) Divide the powers of the highest offices of the country unmistakably; choose between a parliamentary system with a ceremonial President and a powerful Prime Minister or an executive government with President and a Vice president
- 3) Transparent and reasonable resource sharing plan between the federal government and the regional states; poor regional entities must be able to enjoy a share of the national resources through the federal administration
- 4) Separation of powers between the legislative, executive and judiciary of the country; the check and balance mechanism must be clear and unambiguous
- 5) Formation of honest and reliable justice system for the country including tough conditions for the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court justices
- 6) Building strong relationships with the international community is a solution for external challenges federalism for Somalia faces

The researcher investigated internal and external challenges post-transitional period and participants shared their experience about federalism.

### **Conclusion of the Findings.**

The researcher found that the majority of the participants believe that trust-deficit, demand for democracy, access to basic services, and equitable sharing of resources and also the different interests of the international community, are major challenges to the workable federal system in Somalia. Participants suggested solutions to overcome the challenge: the right type of federalism and division of power between government /regional leaders and also the formation of a reliable justice system.

### **Recommendation**

Concerning participants views I recommend amending the constitution in order to make a clear division of power between federal government and regional state and federal government.

In addition, build the capacity of Somali politicians for federalism and its implementation in order to overcome confusion.

Finally because of a trust deficit among the Somali community due to decades of corruption I recommend adopting a decentralized system in order to overcome the longstanding civil war.

And I recommend solving internal and external challenges faced by federalism for Somalia:

- ✓ Build capacity for Somali politicians about federalism
- ✓ Role of federal government and regional states should be clearly defined in the constitution
- ✓ Divide the powers of the highest offices of the country unmistakably; choose between a parliamentary system with a ceremonial President and a powerful Prime Minister or an executive government with President and a Vice president
- ✓ Transparent and reasonable resource sharing plan between the federal government and the regional states; poor regional entities must be able to enjoy a share of the national resources through the federal administration
- ✓ Separation of powers between the legislative, executive and judiciary of the country; the check and balance mechanism must be clear and unambiguous
- ✓ Formation of honest and reliable justice system for the country including tough conditions for the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court justices
- ✓ Building strong relationships with the international community is a solution for the external challenges federalism for Somalia faces

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