T.C.
ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

CLAN – BASED FEDERALISM IN SOMALIA AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND FEDERAL MEMBER STATES

MASTER THESIS

HAMDİ ALİ MUSSE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

ANKARA 2020

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DEPARMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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ANKARA 2020

ACCEPTATION AND CONFIRMATION PAGE

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AND FEDERAL MEMBER STATES", is accepted as a master thesis at Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Political Science and Public Administration by unanimous vote/majority vote.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Master thesis titled Clan–based federalism in Somalia and relationship between the Federal government and Federal member states has been prepared in accordance with the thesis writing of manual of the graduate school of Social science. All information and documents are obtained in the framework of academic and ethical rules. All

materials that have been utilized are fully cited and referenced. No change is has been made on the utilized materials. All the works presented are original and in contrary case of the above statements, I accept to renounce all my legal rights. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honor.

Date: …./…../2020

Signature:……...

Hamdi Ali MUSSE

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ÖZET

Bu tez, Somali'deki Federal üye devletler ile Federal hükümet arasındaki kabileye dayalı yapıyı ve ilişkiyi araştırmaktadır. Çalışma, farklı kaynaklardan elde edilen anketler aracılığıyla toplanan birincil verilerden yararlanmaktadır. Veriler, daha yüksek düzeydeki akademik kurumlardan, siyasi partilerden, bazı Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarından (STK'lar) ve insan hakları ile ilgili kurumlardan toplanmıştır. Çalışma 1990'dan başlayarak 2020'ye kadar devam eden bir süre ile sınırlıdır. Tez, kabileye dayalı yapı, Federal üye devletler ve ulusal hükümetin federal yönetimi dahil olmak üzere ana aktörler olarak tanımlanan üç değişkeni kullanır. Bunun bilimsel sonuçlarını elde etmek için, tez anketlerden toplanan verileri, doğru sonuçlar elde etmek amacıyla Eviews yazılımları ve SPSS kullanarak analiz aşamasına çevirmektedir. Ampirik bölümdeki verileri analiz etmek için ise tez, bilimsel çıktıyı elde etmek amacıyla sıradan en küçük kareler ve doğrusal regresyon modelini kullanır. Bu araştırmadan elde edilen ana bulgular, Federal hükümet ile Federal üye devletlerarasındaki olumlu ilişki ve Federal hükümet ile Somali'deki kabileye dayalı yapı arasındaki olumsuz ilişkidir. Araştırma, kabileye dayalı yapı ve Federal üye devletlerarasında Federal hükümete yönelik bir güç mücadelesi olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Yukarıdaki zorlukları yenmek için bu araştırma, Somali yönetimine hem federal hem de eyalet düzeyinde aşağıdaki önerilerde bulunmaktadır: Hükümetin çeşitli düzeyleri arasındaki çatışmalara son vermek için ulusal anayasayı tamamlamak. Toplumun çeşitli kesimleri arasındaki birbirilerine yönelik suçlamalara son vermek amacıyla ulusal bir uzlaşma (siyasi ve sosyal olarak) oluşturmak için her türlü çabayı göstermek.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Somali, kabileye dayalı yapı, Federal üye devletler, Federal üye devletler

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the clan-based and relationship between the Federal member states and the Federal government in Somalia. The study uses the primary data that has been collected through questionnaires from different sources. The data have been collected from the higher academic level of institutions, political parties some of the Non-Government

Organizations (NGOs), and Institutions for human rights. The limit of the study started from 1990 to 2020. .The thesis uses the three variables identified as the main actors including Clan-based, Federal member states, and the federal government of national government. To get the scientific results of this thesis convert the collected data from the questionnaires to the analysis phase by using Eviews soft wares and SPSS for getting accurate results. To analyze the data in the empirical part the thesis uses the Ordinary least square and linear regression model to obtain the scientific output. The main findings from this research is that the positive relationship between the Federal government and Federal member states, The negative relationship between the Federal government and the Clan-based in Somalia. The research reveals that there are struggling in powers between the Clan-based and Federal member states towards the Federal government. To overcome the above challenges, this research provides the following recommendations to the Somali leadership both at the federal and state level: Finalize the national constitution to put an end to conflicts between the various levels of government. Make every effort to forge a national reconciliation (politically and socially) to put an end to accusations among various sections of society.

Keywords: Somalia, Clan-based, Federal government, Federal member states

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

OLS	Ordinary least Square
FGS	Federal Government System
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
TNG	Transitional National Government
TFG	Transitional Federal Government ICU Islamic Court Union
AMISON	Africa Union Mission in Somalia
SSDF	Somali Salvation Democratic Front
USC	United Somali Congress
AU	African Union
SYL	Somali Youth League
SNL	Somali National League
FGS	Federal Government in Somalia
FMS	Federal Member States
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
A	Agree
SA	Strong Agree
N	Neutral
SD	Strongly-Agree
DA	Dis-Agree
FDGS	Federal government system
FMS	Federal member states
CLBS	Clan based system

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Somalia is located on the horn of Africa. It is the eastern part of the peninsula on the eastern coast of Africa that is separated from the Gulf of Aden to the north and the Indian Ocean to the east and south. Because of this, Somalia is recognized as the horn of Africa. It is a strategic country for international trades, and this zone is wider for political and economic contexts (Telci and Horoz, 2018, p = 143). Somali is positioned as the most influential gateway to the Indian Ocean. Different ships that carry goods and services from Europe, Asia, and the Middle East as the cargo systems which often sails towards Dar es Salaam port in Tanzania and Mombasa port in Kenya move beneath on the territory of Somalia. Thus, Somalia is recognized as the strategic country for marine transportation towards the East Africa countries. Somalia got its independence from Britain and Italy on June 26th and 1st July in 1960 respectively, and became the Republic of Somalia; the central government of Somalia was initiated. And later the Federal government of Somalia was constructed.

1.1. Demographic Background

Somalia is a sovereign country which is a total area of 637,657sq.km which is equal to 246,201 sq. miles (World Health Organization, 2013, p =1). It has the highest mountain which is known as Mount Shimbiris that is located in the Northern and Southern hemisphere with 2,416 meters 7,927 feet from the sea level. Northern and Southern hemisphere (Hadden, 2007, p =11). The World Bank shows that the population of Somalia is about 15,008.154 in 2018 (World Bank, 2019). It is bordered by Gulf of Arden to the north, Kenya is found in Southwest, Ethiopia and Djibouti are bounded in the western part, east and southern part is connected by Indian Ocean (Paxton, 1990, p =1085-1086). It is among the country in the world to have the longest coastline, and its terrain is constructed by plains, plates, and highland. Generally, the temperature condition varies by depending the geographical location of the regions, for stance in the south of the city of the Gedo which is the border between Ethiopia and Kenya the temperature is always higher which is ranging bout the 30^0C

compared to the south coast which is lower than the south, therefore the south cost its weather is cold due to the influence of the Indian ocean. In Bardhere, Lung, and Afmadow the monthly average temperature range between 31^0C up to 33^0C while in the northern regions like Berbera the temperature ranging from 36^0C up to 38^0C, however, some regions have reported to have a temperature above 38^0C. Therefore in the Southern part the weather becoming very hot from December to March, and July to August gradually the temperature is decreasing and to become coolest. In the north, the weather becomes hottest during June and September, especially in the regions of Awdal and Bossa, and becoming cooler from January up to February. Somalia has two periods of the rainfall that is identified as the Gu and Der. The Gu season starts from April up to July and the Der is normally starts from September up to December (Hutchinson, 1992, p =525). In the southern regions receive the rainfall about 200mm, Bali and eastern parts of Sool and Sanag regions in the north generally receive about 30 to 75mm (Oduori and Gomes, 2003, p =32- 46). Environmental Mogadishu in January, July, possess the temperature of 79^0F (26.1^0C) and $78^0F(25.6^0C)$ respectively and receives an annual rainfall of about 17" (429mm) (Paxton, 1990, p =1085).

1.1.1. Economic background

The economic growth of Somalia starts to grow from 2018 after suffering from the year 2016 to 2017. The economic crisis of Somalia has been contributed to drought and political instability. The real GDP grew at the percentage of 1.4 to 2.8 which is governed by good weather that enables the farmers and other economic sectors to raise the economic growth of the country. Sorghum and Maize were grown by 39 percentage, Animal production was increased meaning that it tends to stabilize the price of the commodities that leads to lower inflation of the country and strengthen the monetary policy of the countries. Therefore the country exports the products to the world markets especially meets the Asian countries and strengthens the internal market of the country. For instance, the total number of live animals that were exported went to 6 percent, this rate makes higher compared to the year of 2015. Bank lending in 2018 grew by 56 percent which is decelerating to 58 percent compared to the year 2017. The Banking sector strength the private sectors by providing grants and loans with low-interest rates to private sectors and other entrepreneurs that enable them to participates in the country's economic activities. The current account deficit narrowed from 9.0 percent of GDP in the year of 2018 to 8.3 percent of GDP of the year

2017 (World Bank, 2019). Somalia's GDP increases by about 2.8 percent in 2018, this makes it different from the GDP of the year 2017 which is 1.4 percent. The GDP of 2018 is $4,721 million which is quite different from the year 2017 that is $212 million. The GDP per capita of Somalia in 2018 was $315.56 less than in 2017 that was $309. Therefore the growth of the economic trend in Somalia in the year 2018 is better compared to the year 2017 (country economy, 2019).

1.1.2. Social background

Although Somalia is counted to have a population of about 15millions it is the country that maintains its traditions and culture in the world. About 85 percent of Somali is an ethnic group that inhabited the northern part of Somalia. However, the minority ethnic group are widely settled in the southern regions of Somalia. The official languages which are spoken in Somalia are Somali and Arabic, though Somali is the first language to be spoken followed with Arabic languages. It doesn't mean that only two languages are being spoken but there some more other languages like English, French, and Spanish are being spoken by Somali although it is practiced in a small percentage. The majority of Somali people are Muslim belonging to the Sunni wal jamaa, which makes about 99% of the population.

1.1.3. Political background

In history, Somali has been dominated by a European power. The first one to come to colonizes Somali was Britaint was 1889 in the late 19th and Britain comes to dominate Somali starting the year of 1890. But Britain and Italy establish the colonial rule to colonize Somalia parallel. The struggle to make Somalia free from the colonial rule was started by Mohammed Abdullah Hassan's Darwish. He repelled the British four times to force them about the retreat of the cost before succumbing to the Somaliland campaign. The issues are, Italy controlled northeastern, central, and southern parts of Somalia after waging the campaign of Sultanates who was against the ruling Majeerteen Sultanates and Sultanates of Hobyo. In 1960, the two regions united to form the independent Somali Republic under a civilian government. The Supreme Revolutionary Council seized power in 1969 and established the Somali Democratic Republic, which collapsed 22 years later, in 1991, with the onset of the Somali Civil War. During this period most regions returned to customary and religious law. In the early 2000s, several interim federal administrations were created.

The Transitional National Government (TNG) was established in 2000, followed by the formation of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in 2004, which re-established the military. In 2006, the TFG assumed control of most of the nation's southern conflict zones from the newly formed Islamic Courts Union (ICU). The ICU subsequently splintered into more radical groups such as Al-Shabaab, which battled the TFG and its AMISOM allies for control of the region. By mid-2012, the insurgents had lost most of the territory that they had seized, and a search for more permanent democratic institutions began. A new provisional constitution was passed in August 2012, which reformed Somalia as a federation. The same month, the Federal Government of Somalia was formed and a period of reconstruction began in Mogadishu. Somalia has maintained an informal economy, mainly based on livestock, remittances from Somalis working abroad, and telecommunications. It is a member of the United Nations, the Arab League, the African Union, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Organisation of Islamic. Somali has faced a big challenge of internal conflict caused by Al-Shabab and other groups that have a negative attitude to the existing government. But is Somali is a member of the African Union and United Nations thus it must ensure that peace and security for citizens are maintained.

Bellow is the table that shows doifferent events of the political background

Table 1. Political background of Somalia

Refference	Year	Eevents
Said,S. (1982)	1920	Dervishes were finally defeated by British airpower
Issa- Salwe(1996)	1941	Italy acquired full control to the northeastern, central and sourthern, central sourthern parts of Somalia.
PaoloTripodi (1999).	1945	The united nations granted Italia to trustsheep Somaliland
Richard (2003)	1 April 1950	Somalia become the representative of United Nations
Uchehan (2016)	1 July 1960	The two regions united and form the Republic of Somalia under civil govern.
Frankel (1992)	1974	The revolutionary army established largescale public works programs and successfully implemented an urban and rural literacy campaign. Somalia oined Aeab ligue

Table 1. (continue) Political background of Somalia

Wiles (1976)	July 1976	Barre's SRC disbanded itself and established in its place the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP), a one-party government based on scientific socialism and Islamic tenets.
Salad (2017)	23 December 1986	Sayyed Barre managed to retain his chair after seven yars
Marchal (2013)	1991	Sayyed Barre collapse
Menkhamis (2007)	2000	Transitional government
Bryden (2013)	In 2000	In 2000, Abdiqasim Salad Hassan was selected as the President of the nation's new Transitional National Government (TNG), an interim administration formed to guide Somalia to its third permanent republican government.
Hoehne (2006)	10th October 2004	the Transitional Federal Parliament (TFP), Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed was elected as President of the succeeding Transitional Federal Government (TFG), an interim federal administrative body that he had helped establish earlier in the year. He received 189 votes from the TFG Parliament, while the closest contender, erstwhile Somali ambassador to Washington Abdullahi Ahmed Addou, got 79 votes in the third round of voting. The then incumbent President of Somalia, Abdiqasim Salad Hassan, peacefully withdrew his candidature. Ahmed was sworn in a few days later on 14 October 2004.
Toppos (2010)	On 8 January 2007,	The Battle of Ras Kamboni raged, TFG President and founder Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, a former colonel in the Somali Army and decorated war hero, entered Mogadishu for the first time since being elected to office
Toppos (2010)	31 and 9 May June 2008	representatives of Somalia's federal government and the moderate Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS) group of Islamist rebels participated in peace talks in Djibouti brokered by the former United Nations Special Envoy to Somalia, Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah.
Mohamed (2018)	14 October 2010	Diplomat Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed (Farmajo) was appointed the new Prime Minister of Somalia
Cannon (2019)	19 June 2011,	Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed resigned from his position as Prime Minister of Somalia
Ahmed (2012)	20 August 2012	The Transitional Federal Government's interim mandate ended
Reuters (2012)	10 September 2012	Parliament elected Hassan Sheikh Mohamud as the new President of Somalia
Reuters (2012)	6 October 2012	President Mohamud later appointed Abdi Farah Shirdon as the new Prime Minister

Source: Prepared by Author

1.1.4. The federal government/National government

The federal government system is well depicted as the type of government in which the distinct powers from the different levels have been authorized by its member states. The structure of the federal government is composed through the governors, institutions, and central government that shared powers as explained through the constitution. It is the level of the sovereignty states that responsible for maintaining peace and security, democracy, exercising international diplomacy including compulsory the right treaties. The modern federal government on its limit has mandates to make laws from its country related to its constitution. In terms of the functions, it is different when it is compared to the local government. Therefore legislatures, executives, and judiciaries are elements or pillars of the Federal government system.

1.1.5. The structure and functions of the federal member states

The federal states are composed of counting or regions which include all communities that have equal powers and responsibilities from the federal government to the regions and from the regions to the federal government. Adhere to the functions of the federal member states including, all provinces and counting are under the federal government. The provinces and counting are highly supervised by the highest government authorities at the point of the federal community or regional powers. The list but the last communities which are regarded as the level of the administration that closet to the people. It is like to be the second level that is normally supervised by the community of the Region. Generally, this level is financed and audited by the Regions. Clearly the table 1, below shows the structure and functions of the Federal government states concerning their components.

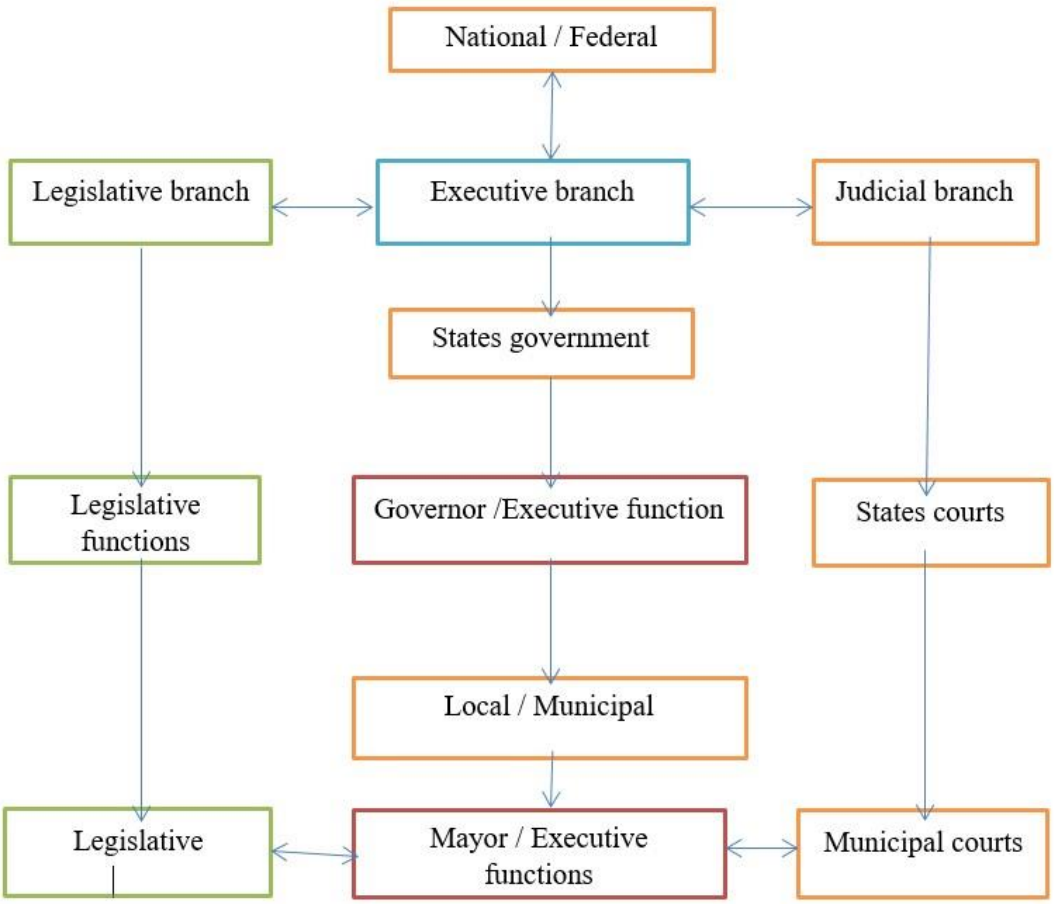


Figure 1. The Federal government structure with its function

Source: Designed by Alexandra M. Dias Adapted from Bose 2012,p =61

Horizontal separation of power by a branch of government: Balance of power with more access points for the people (lumen United States Government.*)*

1.1.5.1. The federal government of Somalia

Somalia transformed from the Republic of Somalia to the Federal state in the year of 2000. The reason to become the Federal states is that Somalia got political internal conflict among the leaders which leads to the assassination of some of the leaders. For example, Abdul Rashid Shermake was assassinated in 1969; he leads the country for two years, he was selected in June 1967 and assassinated in Lassanoud city in October 1969 (Ali and Hersi, 2019, p =56-57). After being assassinated by President Abdul Sharmake the couple took place the General Mohammed Said Barre control the whole country for 21years, meaning that he ruled the country from 1969-1988 (Leeson, 2007, p =691-692). General Mohamed Said Barre suspended Somalia constitution, abolished the national parliament of Somalia,

destroy all the political parties and prevent them to participate in political affairs. He ruled the county base on soviet ideologies. There was no freedom of speech, no true democracy that exists within the country, no opposition part that allows participating fully in the economic development of Somalia. Due to these reasons for his administration in 1988, the resistance as started and the peace and security disappeared.

This situation is caused due to the formulation of different political parts such as Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), Somali National Movement, and the United Somali Congress (USC). These parties involved in both South and Northern parts of Somalia. On January 26t 1991, these parties withdraw from the government power General Mohamed Said Barre (Lyons and Samata, 2010, p =17). Civil wars have spread to different areas in Somalia owing to lack the rule of law that does not follow have been agreed in the Somalian constitution, and the existence of an unstable government. Therefore some of the efforts have been done to maintain peace and security among the Somalia citizens. This was the point to establish the federal government in Somalia. The federal system was the best dream for Somalia people as the means of solving their internal conflict which exists in their country. It was a long time dreaming to have federal government states because in the federal system there is the equal distribution of the power between the regions and the member states.

The federal government was the main solution of Somalia to stop the war because it intends to distribute the centralized government into the decentralized government through which the small regions which have been distributed based on the fact of the tribal-based have shared equal powers to the central government (Abubakar, 2016, p =94). The transmission from the republic of Somalia to the Federal state was not easier to achieve due to the political prevailing that exist among the politician. The transmission process of converting from the Republic of Somalia to Federal states took about 30 years (Ali and Hersi, 2019, p =57). Somalia after struggling for many years to have peace and security, implementing good democracy, neutralizing the civil war that a caused by internal conflict, actually Somalia took some initiative measures by implementing the Federal government to Somalia state. The idea of the Federal government state has been initiated in the two reconciliation conferences. The first conference was Mbegatti Eldoret which took place in the year 1991 and 1998 before being legally and formally approved, and the next conference was Kenya between 2002 and 2004 (Hammond, 2013, p =184-187).

The creation of the Federal system in Somalia is accompanied by problems especially, in the context of tribal-based and political willingness which involves the politicians. The tribal-based fought for the federalism states because they prefer to have an equal distribution of power among the regions. And this is the main idea of the people who believe in the sides of tribal-movement while the politician takes the advantage of the existence of the Federal system as the ability to overcome and control political schism by motivating and engorging the politicians. This creates misunderstood between believers in the side of tribalism and Politicians (Ghedi, 2015, p =17). At this point, Somalia needs help from foreign Union to formulate the Federal state in the country. Therefore African Union troops connected with United Nations came to Somalia to rebuild the Federal state in Somalia. Among them, there were 22,000 African Union (AU) troops including Kenya, Burundi, Uganda, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone (Williams, 2013, p =39). Because their presence, will help to the construction and determine the adequate environment of creations of the Free Nationality of Somalia that can respect or follow the rule of laws (Lotze and Kasumba, p = 2012,18-21). The Federal government of Somalia is responsible for delivering peace and security, social services, through the villages, districts, regions, and cities inadequate proportional. The federal government control all the regional states in Somalia. At this particular juncture, it positions the federal government system or national government to be different from Federal member states. The federal member states have partial autonomy within their territory and not otherwise. The leader of the national government or federal government gives the order for all regions or all states in Somalia. Of course, the order should follow the Somalian constitution, and the leaders of the federal member of states must follow this order. The federal member of states have a mandate to give the order within their respective regions as identified from the Somalian constitution. Below is the table that shows the general structure of the Federal government in Somalia. The table contains the federalism in Somalia composed of the Federal government, Federal parliament, and Somalia Judiciary. Each component has its subcategories that explains the main component.

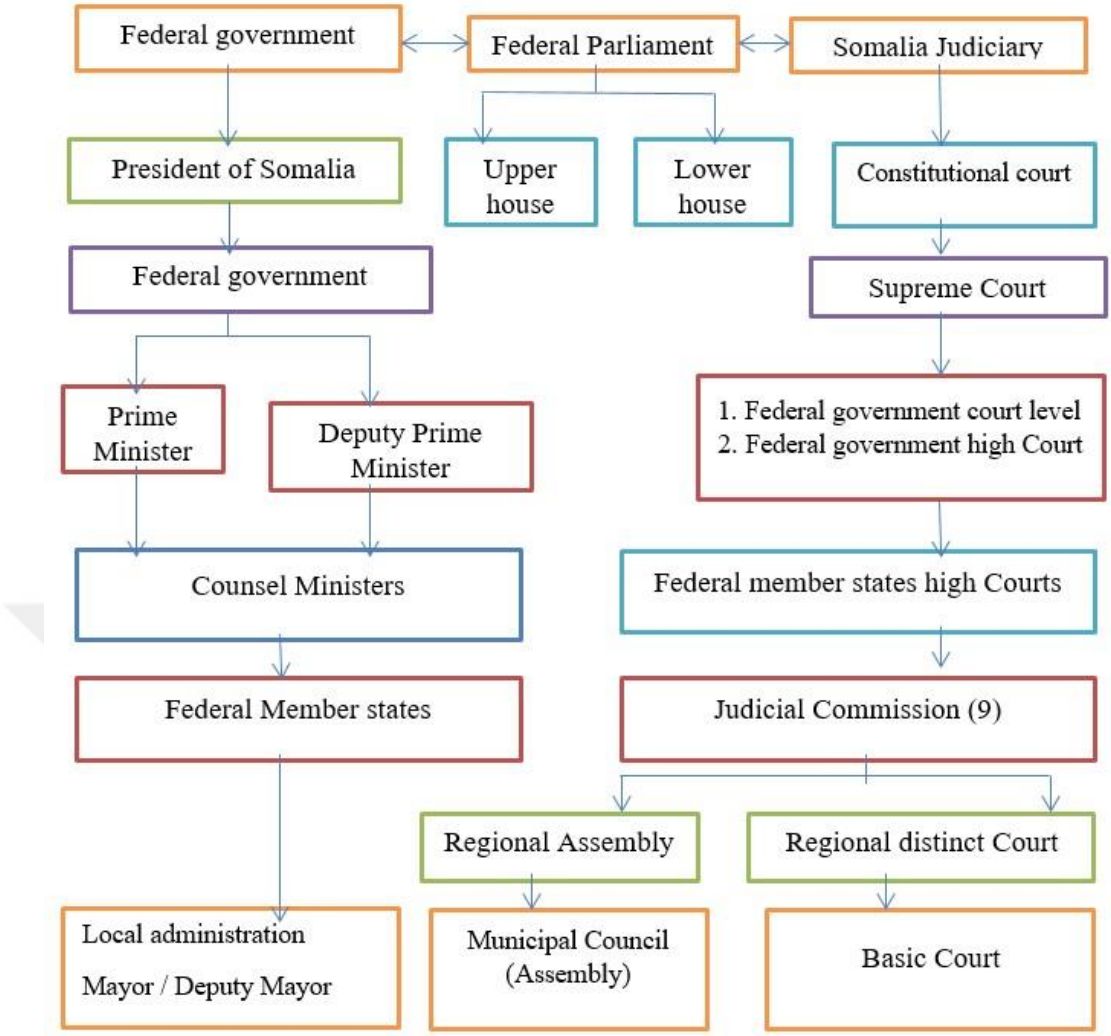


Figure 2. The structure of the Federal government in Somalia

Source: designated from Alexandra M Dias

Therefore the figure 2 above explains the general structure of the federal government system in Somalia. The existence of the federal government system in Somalia is composed of different three tires including the Federal/National government of Somalia, the Federal Parliament, and Somalia Judiciary. The first part in Federal government is the President of Somalia which is explained as follows;-

i. Presidency in Somalia

The president of Somalia is the head of the states of Somalia. The president is helped by a Prime minister and a Deputy Minister. The Prime Minister is selected by Parliament members of Somalia. The Prime minister is the head of all council ministers who are located to run different ministries in Somalia. On top of that, the Prime Minister is the main advisor

and government helper of different duties in the office of the president of Somalia. Then the next level is federal members of the state who are elected from different regions in Somalia. The members of states are acting as the presidency from their regions. The members of the states from the regions are responsible to administrate and control all government activities by ensuring peace and security from their regions. The Members of states are being helped to govern the county by Mayors and Deputy Mayors. The allocation of powers and resources shall be negotiated and agreed upon by the Federal Government and the Federal Member States pending their creation, except in the areas of foreign affairs, national defense, citizenship and immigration, and monetary policy, which are all under the purview of the central government, based in the capital, Mogadishu"

ii. The second pillars are the Federal parliament (Bicameral) found in Mogadishu formed in August 2012 which is composed of the Upper house and lower houses. The upper house consists of senators and the lower house (National Assembly) is the house of people. The upper house is composed of 25 senators and the lower house/ National Assembly has 275 parliament members. The Upper House was elected on 10 October, with voting taking place for the House of the People, which was elected between 23 October and 10 November 2016. They were the first elections since 1984, and the newly elected Parliament was due to elect the President on 30 November. However, the presidential elections were delayed and eventually held on 8 February 2017, when the MPs and Senators elected Mohamed Abdullah Mohamed as President.

The 275 members of the Lower House were elected by 14,025 delegates from different regions in the country. Each MP was elected by an electoral college of 51 people appointed by the 135 Traditional Elders. From the 51 delegates, 16 were supposed to be women, 10 from the youth community, and the remaining 25 being members of the civil society. From the 275 MPs, 69 were chosen in Baidoa while the remaining were from other cities. The last part is related to the Regional Assembly and Municipal council.

iii. The third pillar is Somalia Judiciary which is composed of the Constitutional court, Supreme Court, Federal government court level and Federal government high court level, federal member states of the high court, Judiciary commission court, Regional district court, and Basic court. All these three pillars have administrated the federal government system of Somalia. The struggling of the power among the Federal government, Federal

member of states and the local government seemingly creates internal conflict or civil war that affect a lot of the citizen in Somalia. Therefore this thesis tends to examine the deep concerning the problem of clan-based federalism and the relationship between the Federal government and Federal member states in Somalia. To achieve the scientific estimated results in the context of international politics the thesis started with the problem of the statement of the thesis.

Therefore the Federal government of Somalia is composed of three important pillars as identified from the charts that are The Federal government of Somalia who is the head of the states of Somalia, The Federal Parliament which composed of three houses the upper house consists of 25 members (senate) and the lower house/ National assembly which is known as the house of the people which has 275, the last part of the Federal government system composed by Somalia Judiciary. The other part which is related to this thesis is Federal member states. Therefore the following explanation is related to the Federal member states.

1.1.5.2. Federal member states

Local state governments, officially recognized as the Federal Member States, have a degree of autonomy over regional affairs and maintain their police and security forces. However, they are constitutionally subject to the authority of the Government of the Federal Republic of Somalia. The national parliament is tasked with selecting the ultimate number and boundaries of the Federal Member States within the Federal Republic of Somalia. In the year 2016 Somalia has officially divided its states into the sixth member states. The states recognize as South West States, Puntland, Juba land, Hirsh belle, Galmudug (Amani and Laws, 2012, p =2). The federal member states of Somalia are composed of five states. The following are the general explanations of the Federal member states in Somalia.

1.1.5.2.1. South West of Somalia regional state

It is the state composed by Koonfur, Galbeed Soomliya, and Maay Maay which is known locally as Koofur Orsi. The region is found in the Southern part of Somalia which is an autonomous region founded by Hassan Muhammad Nur Shatigadud who was the leader in April 2002 (Somali RRA, 2007, 1st April). The territory was established in November

2009 as an official Federal state and Abdulaziz. Also, this region was known as the interim west of the administration. The Southwest state dominated by different leaders such as Madobe Nunow was elected as the presidency of the Southwest state on 3rd March 2014. On 19th December 2018, Abdiaziz Laftergareen was elected to be the presidency of Southwest states of Somalia after defeating Mukhtar Robow.

1.1.5.2.2. Puntland region state

It is the region which is found in the Northeast of Somalia which is situated in the city of Garowe in the province of Nugal. It declared as an autonomous state in 1998 but, internationally recognized it as an autonomous region within Somalia (Puntland state of Somalia, 2018). This region is boarded by Soma land in the western part, and the Gulf of Aden in the north as well as Somali Sea in the southeast. In the northwest, it is bordered by the Guardafui Channel, and the southwest is boarded by Ethiopia. The major geographical indication is about the horn of Africa, Ras Hafun in the eastern which is a very potential part of the African continent. President Mohammed Muse Hersi from Puntland in 2005 has planned to build the international airport in Puntland's commercial capital of Boso the project now is completed and the airport now is being recognized as the Bender Qassim International airport. Later on, Said Abdullahi Dan was elected to be the president of Puntland after defeating Assad Osman Diyano who was the intelligence officer of Somalia (Mareeg, 2020). In January 2009, Abdurrahman Farole has been selected to rule the Puntland region in Somalia.

President Abdurrahman Farole made a lot of reforming especially in the area of justices by adding several Judges as Judiciaries, he makes the city to very secure in the area of the peace and security, he motivates the city in the area of the business and trades (Somalia Puntland, 2019). He did a lot of reforming in the financial sector of Puntland, and on June 15th 2009 he introduced the multi-party system to the region of Puntland (President F, 2010). The region on 15th June 2009, pass the bill of the new constitution, and on 15th April 2012, the Puntland got its new constitution. Therefore on 12th September 2012, President Farole announces the registration of the political parties. Therefore on 8th January 2014, the 5th Abdiweli Mohammed Ali who was the former prime minister was elected as the President the Prime Minister as the President in Puntland, and Abdihakim Abdullahi Haji Omar is also being selected to be his Vice President (Caboixakin, 2014).

1.1.5.2.3. Jubaland region state

It is an autonomous region that has governance in Somalia. The region is located in the Southern part of Somalia. .It is bordered by Jubba River in the eastern part, nearly 4060km which is stretching from Gedo to the Indian Ocean. The western side is connected with Kenya in between is separated by the Jubba land (Osman, 1993). On 31st April 2011, the former national defense Prime Minister Mohammed Abdi Mohammedi was elected to be president of the Jubba region (Muhammed, 2011). Jubaland is served with different Airports such as Bardera airports, Garbaharey airport, and Kismayo airport. It has three regions that are lower Juba (Jubada hoose), Gedo, and Middle Juba (Jubada Dhexe).

Jubaland was afterward a field of frequent battles throughout the civil war. At some stage in 2006, Islamist militants achieved total control over the region. A new group is commonly known as 'Azania' was formed in 2010. They were loyal to the Transitional Federal Government and their main goal was to torch out the Islamist Militants. Three years later (2013) the 'Juba Interim Administration' was established and legitimately recognized by the Somali Federal Government (Kheyre, 2016).

1.1.5.2.4. Hirshabelle region state

It is an autonomous state that located in Southcentral of Somalia. The Hirshabelle is the last regional through which the federal government of Somalia was constructed. It was established on 16/10/2016. The new region is composed of former Hiiraan province and Middle Shebelle provinces, which comply with the provisional constitution. This regional state is one of the major contributors to Somali agriculture and livestock as the River Shebelle is one of the two major rivers of Somalia which are used for agricultural activities.

It is densely populated and harbors a metropolitan mix of different clans. This has complicated the negotiations during the establishment of the region and led to political wrangles between communities in a lengthy period. This state is bounded by Banadir and Koofur Orsi regions are found in the South while the northern part is connected by Galmudug. In the eastern part, Hieshabelle is bounded by the Somalia Sea while Ethiopia is found to be bounded in the west. The state has been administrated by several presidencies

such as Mohamoud Abdi Gaab from 2011 to 2014, Ali Osoble 2015 to 2017, and Mohamed Abdi Waare 2017 up to present (Doubkova, 2018). Therefore on 24th October 2017, Mohamed Abdi Ware was appointed as the President of the Hirshabelle region (Unsom, 2017). President Mohamed Waare has been elected to be the president of Hirshabelle after the impeachment of the former president of Shebelle who was known as Ali Abdullahi Osoble.

1.1.5.2.5. Galmudug region state

It is located in the central part of Somalia. It is federal states composed of capital known as Dhusamareb. In the northern part is bordered by Puntland, to the west by Somali region in Ethiopia, the eastern part is bordered by Somali Sea and the southern part is connected by Hirshabelle. The state is composed of two regions identified as the Galgaduud and the second one is Mudug (Hobbes, 2017). On 14th August 2006, Mohamed Warsame Ali was elected as the President of Galmudug, and seemingly the Galkayo was mentioned as the capital city of Galmudug (SMN, 2012).

On 1st August the parliament of Galmudug elected General Abdi Hassan Awale or Qaybdiid as the new president of the state after the former president Mohamed Ahmed Alin to receive medical treatment abroad. During the inauguration speech, President Qaybdiid promised to foster and implement a strong correlation between the Galmudug and neighboring states and their national bodies of the whole country in Somalia (Berdhige, 2012).

Apart from those regions, Somalia has a specific administrative which identify the flows of authorities from the central government to the regional states, and from the regional states or member of the states towards the central government. A clear figure bellow explains the mandates of powers within the central government in Somalia.

1.1.5.3. Clan-based in Somalia

The clan-based in Somalia is an essential element in Somalis nation. The clan system in Somalia is categorized into two parts. These are the Majority clan and Minority clan. Thus the clan-based in Somalia is accounted to be the bases of the social relationship, security, and political life. The clans that have a strong in the political power such as Darod, Dir, and

Hawiye clans but Digil-Mirifle arguably seems to be much successful in the political affairs compare to clans like have been the most successful in ensuring it is a major player in national politics.

Before the independent in Somalia, clans plyed important role to the social protection as well as improving the social walfare within the Somalian communities. However during the colobnial rule or post- collonioal the clans were co-opted as the tool for gaining recourcess and power. The destribution of the resources and power within the Somalian communities leads the creation of devisions among the Somalian communities, and gaing some of the communities joining to the civil war. Especially during the Siad Barre's administration of 21 yeas cretes a huge devision among the Somalian people. Siad Barre's use the clan as the tool to control and administrates the Somalia . His use of clan as a tool to stay in power and reward his allies led to the creation of revolutionary militias. After the civil war, these militias divided Somalis along clan lines and produced an environment within Somalia in which the population has been caught between inter-clan wars for over 20 years. In 2000, this resulted in clan leaders taking a significant role in the peace negotiations that took place in Arta, Djibouti.

The following map shows all the clan-based on the system based on their regions. It describes the number of sub-clan from their main clans.

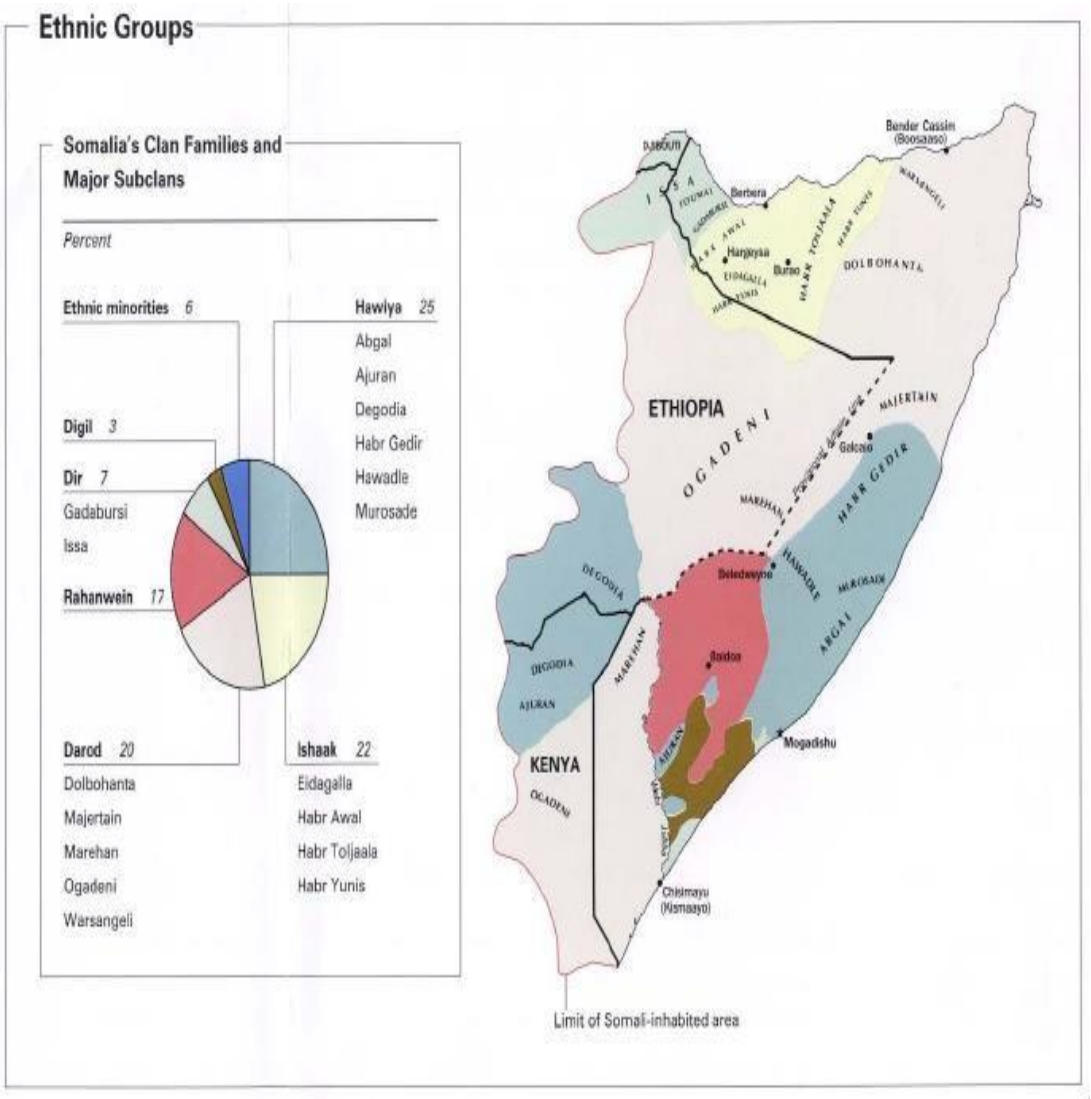


Figure 3. General geographical locations of Clan-based regions in Somalia

Source University of Texas libraries 2012U

Figure 3 above identifies the clan location and their origins in different parts of Somalia. Although, the Map does not include all sub-clans as the branches from the major clans. The background of the Somalis clan started in the 8th century. Adhere Somalis adopt the Islamic religion between the 8th and 9th centuries, a mix of clan-affiliated which were established by Multi-Ethnic Islamic sultanates. And the Adal Sultanate between 8th up to 13th centuries dominated some areas like Modern day-Somali land region, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and to formulate the Dir clan, Afars, Hararis, and Arabs. In other areas like modern-day Puntland, an Islamic kingdom known as the Sultanate of the Majerteen (the most populous Darod sub-clan in the region) existed from the 18th century to 1929.61 Lastly, in southern Somalia, the Ajuran and Hobyo Sultanates (both ruled by Hawiye sub-clans) controlled large

swaths of territory between central and southern Somalia between the 13th and 17th centuries and resisted invasion from both Oromo and Portuguese invaders before its decline.

When Somalis were given limited rights to form political parties in the 1950s, there continued to be signs that federalism was a preferred choice of governance. The Hizbia Digil Mirifle Soomaaliyeed party, founded in 1947 by Digil-Mirifle clan members, was one of the first proponents of federalism because it feared continued domination and marginalization in its fertile agropastoral homelands by more powerful clans (like the Hawiye and Darod) in southern and southwestern Somalia under a unitary form of government. In addition to being traditionally weaker, the Digil-Mirifle were also separated culturally and linguistically as most spoke af-Maay, which is only partially intelligible with Somali.a. During the same period, the Somali Youth League (SYL) began a campaign of a "Greater Somalia", which sought to unite all Somalis, including those in Djibouti, Kenya, and Ethiopia, under a single nation. But this vision failed for two main reasons. The concurrent intervening factor was that French and British authorities sabotaged efforts in Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Kenya, which would have allowed Somalis in those territories to join the Republic of Somalia. The longerterm intervening factor comprised of the abuses during the military regime of Siad Barre from 1969-1991, which are detailed in a later section. These abuses solidified the belief that a centralized government could not satisfy the needs and interests of the greater populace. The leaders of the respective former regions decided to form a unitary form of government in which a National Assembly would elect a President, who would form a government that was approved by the legislative body. Somalia's first independent administration was headed by President Aden Abdullah Osman Daar, a Hawiye clan member, former legislative speaker, and SYL leader from the Hiiraan region. The government comprised of Prime Minister Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke, a fellow SYL leader who chose an inclusive government consisting of major party members from across Somalia's clans and political coalitions. However, the changing power dynamics among clans now under a unified government created tensions and anxieties. For example, before unification, the biggest party from Somaliland known as the Somali National League (SNL) had become a political minnow in a national government after having predominated control of Somali affairs in an autonomous British Somaliland. Rival political parties in Somaliland joined the SYL along with Darod clan political parties in the Puntland region further weakening the SNL's prominence on the national stage. There was a sense among the SNL

primarily comprising of the Isaaq clan that it could be looking at a future of domination by rival and southern clans. As a result, Somalia's first nine years of independent governance was marked by clan elites jockeying for political power. Although Somalia became the first post-colonial African country to have a peaceful democratic transfer of power when Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke was elected as President in 1967 -- national politics remained fragile throughout the first decade. These tensions came to a head when military dictator Colonel Siad Barre overthrew the government in a bloodless coup in 1969 after Somali Prime Minister Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke was assassinated by one of his bodyguards.

From 1969-1991, Barre preached a theory of socialist and Islamic principles that saw industries and land nationalized. Any sort of clan favoritism and politics at least on paper was banned and national unity was to become the focus of his economic, political, and defense policy. In practice, however, Barre often favored his Darod sub-clan (the Marehan) by relocating community members to Somalia's most fertile areas, often displacing local less powerful clans.

In the mid-1990s, Somalia began its slow climb out of instability as communities, particularly in the north, established regional administrations to guide its affairs and reassert their authority over (or apart from) a central government. Since 1991, the regional government of Somaliland has had virtually no relationship with the central government since declaring its independence in 1991. It is unrecognized in the international community, despite holding a referendum on its independence in 2001 a declaration meant to acknowledge past injustices, violent subjugation, and the will of many of its claimed constituents. The neighboring region of Puntland chose a similar self-led path toward building a regional administration that was established in 1998, but it has chosen to stay within the union of Somalia. Lastly, Puntland remains only loosely tied politically, economically, and militarily to the central government, and seeks autonomy in most regards to its political arrangement with the FGS. By the early and mid-2000s, Somalia's southern and central regions shifted in control (politically, economically, socially, and militarily) among local clan militias, self-declared "mini-states," foreign armies as part of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), warlords, armed jihadi groups such as al-Shabaab, and the central government. Somalia Diaspora and Somali-owned businesses inside and outside of the country also shaped shifts in control through tools at their disposal to support certain social, political, and religious factions.

The path to federalism was solidified in the 2004 Transitional Federal Charter of Somalia, which defined the country as a federal state and put in place several constitutional and institutional mechanisms to further define how the central government would work with emerging regional administrations In line with the aforementioned Vision 2016 plan, the current Somali federal government was mandated to assist in the formation of four regional administrations that would be slated to join Puntland as the Federal Member States, including Jubaland, Southwest, Galmudug, and Hir-Shabelle. As of 2017, although federalism has been adopted Somalia's provisional constitution and these regional administrations have been formed, the specifics surrounding the relationship between the central government and Federal Member States (FMS) have yet to be ironed out which has created conflict over how to set up actual institutions to redefine political representation from clan-based affiliations, share revenue, establish security, and deliver services.

The clan-based system in Somalia is so effective that can contribute a lot to the peace security and development of the Somalia nations. The clan is controlled and ruled by the leaders who are very important to maintain peace and security in the country. In addition to that, the clan-based in Somalia as the fundamental pillars in the society should connect to the benefit of the communities within Somalis societies.

1.1.5.4. Clan-based stracture in Somalia

The Somalian community is composed by the formula of 4.5 system stracture. This system is based on majority and minority in clans. The 4 number stands for majority clans and 0.5 stands for mninority clans. The total number of the parliament that including clans in Somalia is about 275. The majority clans has representative of 61 chairs in the parliament and the 31 is based on minority clans that got the in the national parliament. Those clans are, but not limited to, other discriminated ethnically Somali clans such as Madhibaan (Midgaan), Yaxar, Tumaal, Ogeyslabe, Madhibaan and Yibir, and other non-ethnically Somali people, such as Eeyle, Jareerweyne (Somali Bantus), Reer Xamar, Reer Baraawe and other Banaadiri clans.

1.1.5.5. The major clans

There is no clear agreement on the clan and sub-clan structures. The divisions and subdivisions as given here are partial and simplified. Many lineages are omitted. Note that some sources state that the Rahanweyn group is made up of the Digil and Mirifle clans, whereas others list the Digil as a separate group from the Rahanweyn. (For a comparison of different views on the clan-lineage-structures in Somalia see Conflict in Somalia (Worldbank, 2005, p = 56).) Again the article in the Wikipedia treats Ogayslabe as one of the minority clans. Ogayslabe is a subclan of Warsangeli(Darod), so to classify the subclan into minority carries harmful intention and insult. Hawiye - 30% Abgaal,Xawaadle,Ajuran, Murule, Baadicadde, Jajele, Degodia, Udeejeen, Murusade, Garre, Habar Gidir, Sheikhaal and Gaaljecel. Darod 25% Majeerteen, Mareexaan, Warsangeli, Dhulbahante, Awrtable, (Liban gashe) Ogaadeen, Geri Koombe (and Leelkase. Rahanweyn 17%, Leysaan, Xariin, Hadame, Eelaay, Jiroon, Luwaay, Geelidle, Boqorhore, Gasaargude, Hubeer, Yantaar and Jilible. All of these sub-clans belong to the larger Mirifle clan. Dir 22% Ciise (Issa), Gadabuursi, isaaq, Biimaal, Suure, Fiqi Muxumed, Qubeys, Gurguure, Baadimaal, Gaadsan, Akiishe, Madigaan, Gariire, Guure, Dabruube, Layiile and Wardaay. Isaaq Habarawal, Arap, (Garhajis, which is split into Eidagale and Habar Yoonis), Habar Toljeclo, better known as Habar Jeclo, Toljaalo, and Ayuub Digil 3% , Geledi, Tunni, Dabare, Jiiddo, Bagadi and Garre.

Minorities Others 6% Tumaal, Madhibaan, Yibir, Eeyle, Yaxar, Midgaan, Jareerweyne, Reer Xamar, Reer Baraawe and other Banaadiri clans. To correct the above Ogayslabe is not Warsangeli subclan. Ogayslabe is minority clan originated from India. However, Ogayslabe allways lived close proximity with Warsangeli (Darod) Preceding unsigned comment added by Adamadam11 (talk • contribs) 00:33, 15 March 2014 (UTC). To correct the above author, Ajuuraan is not Hawiye. Ajuuran is a clan that is not related to Hawiye. The problem could be solved if you merely look at the Transitional Federal government and how ever Somali clan is represented as a cluster of one group out of the four major tribes of the mjor clans .

1.2. Problem of Statement

This research aims to investigate the clan-based of federalism and the relationship between the federal government and the member states in Somalia. The scientific findings which are obtained from this research will add more knowledge for solving the problems in Somalia which are related to the Federal government on member states in Somalia. Somalia has experienced huge problems which are resulted in the internal conflict and the civil war.

This problem of the civil wars in Somalia has las for a long as results of creating an unstable government, economic contractions, restless meaning that no peace and security.

The citizens of Somalia live in hard situations as we can see a lot of the women, children, and old people are dying due to the bombing attacks due to the contingent of civil war which exists in Somalia. The nuclear of this problem is due to the misunderstanding between the clan-based on the member of states and the existence of the Federal government in Somalia. If the existence presidents from different regions concerning their presidents respect the Somalia constitutions of the federal government, respecting the democracy by following the rule of laws and follow the order from the head of states who is the President of Somalia, the conflict might be resolved and the citizen could return to their normal life But the problem there is unbalancing of the power between the member of states and the federal government. Seemingly the article 5 from the Somalia constitution had been identified the distributions of powers between the federal member of states and the federal government. The article states that

> *"The allocation of powers and resources shall be negotiated and agreed upon by the Federal Government and the Federal Member States pending their creation, except in the areas of foreign affairs, national defense, citizenship and immigration, and monetary policy, which are all under the purview of the central government, based in the capital, Mogadishu".*

But it seems that the federal members are not ware or they don't review this article from the Somalian constitution, sorely they create a lot of the problems between the president of Somalia (head of the state) and presidents of the regions. To connect the ideas, this study creates the following questions through which this research will be responsible to answer those questions which are based on the case of Somalia. The questions are related to the clan-

based on federalism and the relationship between the federal members of states and the federal government in Somalia.

1.3. Research Question

Great deals of the scholars of International and political science have well emphases on the operation or the structure of the relationship between the Federal member of states and the Federal government. Although the results particularly show consensus for the relationship between the Federal government and federal member states once the rule of law is being followed and the national constitution of the country is being respected. Meaning that if there is a good government is well implemented. In the case of this study, the research questions are based on

i. What is the kind of relationship among the clan-based, federal member states, on the Federal government in Somalia?

ii. Does the Federal government system implement in Somalia fit the need of Somalian citizens?

iii. What are the consequences faced with the Federal government system and clan-based in Somalia

Therefore this research aims to respond or to answer those questions. Giving the answers from these questions helps to get the ideas of how could we get the clear solutions which existing between the clan-based on federalism and the relationship between the federal members of states and the Federal government in Somalia. As scientific research, to respond to those questions we need to create the hypotheses that the governor control this research. Thus upcoming subsections explain the hypotheses of this research.

1.4. The Hypothesis of The Research

To determine the nature of this research, the study develops two hypotheses to test the postulates which are connected to the topic of this research scientifically. The two hypotheses are as follows;-

i. Null hypothesis; - H_1: There is no relationship among the clan-based, Federal member states on the Federal government system in Somalia.

ii. Alternatively;- H_2: There is cohesion among the clan-based system, Federal member states on Federal government.

The hypotheses above explain the suitability and the relationship among the clan-based system, Federal member states on the Federal government in Somalia. However, more details will be obtained in the phase of analysis. Therefore this research needs to verify one of the mentioned hypotheses above. The clarifying of the hypothesis helps us to give the analytical decision which will be our contribution to this research. To support the ideas of the hypothesis the research needs to specify the purpose of conducting this research, why do we conduct this research.

1.5. The Purpose of The Research

The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship among the clan-based, federal member states, and the Federal government/ National government in Somalia. There is struggling in powers between the members of states with their respective regions on the Federal government in Somalia. Some of the representative leaders identified as presidents from the regions create resistance to the federal government of the states. The leaders from the regions including the presidents, Senators, and Mayors from the regions to the local government do not respect the Somali constitutions law. The federal member states have partial autonomy within their regions or counting. Owing to that it tends to create strong resistance and make some difficulties on how to run the country. There is unbalancing of the powers between those regions towards the federal government. Therefore this research aims to investigate the connection between the members of states and the federal government in Somalia.

1.6. The General Objective of The Study

The general objective of the study is to investigate the relationship among the clanbased system in Somalia, Federal member states in Somalia on the Federal government/

National government in Somalia. But the specific objective of this research is described as follows

1.7. The Specific Objective of The Study

This research has been designed specifically to investigate or to examine the following issues

- The relationship between the clan-based system and The federal government/ National government in Somalia
- The relationship between the Federal member states and the Federal government in Somalia
- The relationship between the clan-based and Federal member states in Somalia.
- The challenges that exist in the running of the federal government of Somalia.

1.8. Literature Review

Different scholars in the academic field have been conducted different research related to the Federal government and federal member states in Somalia. But the uniqueness of this study involves the clan-based which has a big influence on the member's states and observing the key relationship or the operational system between the Federal member states and the Federal government in Somalia. Generally, the outcomes from the literature reviews are not conscious, meaning that some of the schools found it is significant of establishing the federalism government in Somalia while others argue that there is no need to have a federalism government except a centralized government. For instance,

1.9. Significance of the study

The outcome of this study will give direction from the divergence that found from the different literature reviews. Therefore this study will contribute to the literature review on how the correlation between the federal members states on the federal government in Somalia. The outcome from the investigation results will help the policymakers to create a

strong government that will help to get the solutions that are related to internal conflict as well as the means of the civil war which spreads all over the whole country in Somalia. Always we need to see peace and security in Somalia. The government should respect the rule of law by respecting the Somalia constitutions. The federal government shares the same power to all regions, thus if the Somalia constitutions being followed peace and security will be maintained in Somalia. Therefore this study has a specific time for doing research. Thus the next section is about the time which is used to conduct and complete the research.

1.10. Limitation and Scope of The Research

The research began in the year of 1925 up to 2020. All the data and information have been studied from the year of 1925-2020. The trustful sources have been used to study the topic research. The study is based only on Somalia, focusing the clan-based and the relationship between the federal members' states and federal government in Somalia.

Therefore, all five regions have been the main components of structuring the federal government in Somalia. As scientific research, the study must use is a very clear methodology to deliver the scientific estimated results. The next step is discussing the methodology which has been applied to find the outcome of the results.

1.11. Research's Methodology

This research is based on qualitative research methods; as such it examines a specific case study and made use of scientific tools for research techniques. More emphasis has been laid on both primary and secondary data. Sources of data were collected from questionnaires, the United Nations World Development Report, The Somalia National Bureau of Statistics. This thesis uses statistical techniques for data analysis; therefore the linear regression model and Ordinal Square have been applied to investigate the scientific estimated results. Therefore this identifies the Federal government system or National government to be dependent variables and the rest like Federal member states and the clan-based system to be independent variables.

1.12. Organization of The Research

After completed chapter one which is identified as the introduction chapter which explains about the introduction of the federal government, Federal member states, Clan based in Somalia, the Problem of the statement of this research, Questions of the research, hypothesis of the research, both general and Objective of the research, contribution of the research, then chapter two is related to the literature reviews of the clan-based, Federal member states, Federal government, and Federal member states. In chapter two, the thesis will review the thoughts of different scholars about their perceptions related to the relationship between the clan-based, federal member states, and the federal government from the world to Somalia. Chapter three is a methodology whereby the empirical analysis of the topic will be executed by running the data or conveying the data from the questionnaires, then prepared into the excel shit to Eviws soft wares. At this point, all interpretation of the data that are related to clan-based, Federal member states, and the Federal Government system is found. Therefore in this chapter, the core findings of the research are obtained. Chapter four is explaining about the analysis of estimated results from the empirical analysis. The findings from the methodological chapter which is chapter three are analyzed and interpreted. All three variables are well-getting translation in this chapter and getting the scientific meaning from what we have got from chapter three.

Chapter five is related to the conclusion and policy recommendations of this research. More work is emphasizing to the policymakers to creates new dimensions of the good policy that will help the Somalia nation to achieve peace and security and therefore to have better economic development from the local level to the national level. Scientific analysis and chapter five is related to the Conclusion of this research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

After discussing the chapter one about the general views concerning, “the clan-based and the relationship between the federal members of states and the Federal government in Somalia”, this chapter is related to the description of different studies that have been conducted with different scholars that depict federal member states, the federal government from the global to a specific country. Sorely. a thought of schools in the context of the international political science investigates the functions and the core relationship in the relationship between the federal member states and the federal government.

First of all, countries prefer to adopt the federal government state due to the diversity problems that exist in the country. Therefore countries apply the federal-state system as the means of avoiding the internal political conflict and to bring the unit among the nation. The diversity of color in the nation, regional differences, Clan-based and language-based, subsequently associated with different conflicts among the nations.

2.1. Federalism in Somalia

Therefore, federalism is approved to be the best political system once it is well implemented to be the means of solving or minimizing those problems that exist among the nations. In a Federalism state, the power is balanced between the federal government and federal members of states. For instance countries like the United States of America, Canada, German, Ethiopia, Bosnia, South Africa, and the Democratic of Congo adopt the federal government system.

The federal government implements balancing of power among the regions and especially when there is entrusting between the communities or the citizens lose the trust of the central government, therefore the federal government is acting as the means to equalize the power between the central government and the citizen. Thus different scholars explained as the Federal state is the equal distribution of the power (Greenstein and Polsby, 1964, p =137).

Owing to that different contexts of the federal government argue of traditionally regarding the privileges of being in the structure of non-monopolized, immunized, and enhanced opportunity tests (Elazar, 1987, p =34). According to the classical argument,

Federalism states bring the assert of powers, it brings the national unity among the nations and promotes consensus, and reserve peace and security within the nation controlling the ethnics groups conflict which is originated from the clan-based and safeguard individual dignity and liberty (Wibbels, 2006, p =165-167).

The Federalism states normally provide the self-rule. And the distributed rules remove the differences. Thus the national government is responsible to protect human rights from taking away their rights from the central government as have been initialized from the constitutional. Therefore the Federal government makes the central government and federal member states have the same right towards the nation (Lijphart, 1977, p =41). The federalism states are different compared to the unitary system that is the federal system provides the equal distribution in the area of social-economic development, political and cultural aspects as the living reality (Acton, 1907, p =14-15).

Among several theories that have been proposed regarding federalism, the work of William Riker is one of the most known. Riker (1975), who proposed a more viable theory on federalism, described the main features of a "federal government" as a central administration and another set of governments that exercise their authority over the same population and territory, with every side having some degree of jurisdiction to decide on its own matters, "independent" of the other. In all types of federations, conflict among its components is inevitable. The constitution must create the appropriate discretionary mechanisms for settling these issues as they arise. This includes the separation of state and federal powers among the levels of the government and the setting up of an independent judiciary to mediate between the different areas of the administration (Hersi 2016, p = 12).

The study conducted by Farah (2017) found that after so many attempts had failed, in 2002 Eldoret and Mbaghati peace reconciliation in Kenya, the international community, particularly IGAD countries have supported Somali political groups. Somalia's civil society delegates and Somalia traditional elders had agreed to change the type of government system in Somalia by chosen from a unitary to the federal political system and adopted a transitional federal charter as a solution to Somalia disputes (Farah, 2017, p =24-26). The objective of the study is to investigate the clan-based in Somalia and the correlation between the federal member states and the federal government in Somalia. Dais (2013) in his study related to "International intervention and engagement in Somalia conducted from 2006 up to 2013,

argued that the key institutions of the federal government and federal member states in Somalia have not well established (Dias, 2013, p =99-102).

There is the need for the federal system to recognize the federal member states, as well as the unit's federal government, must balance the power of decision from the federal members' states. Ali Yassin and Abdinor (2019) on their study of Federalism in post-conflict states: Assessing Somalia's challenges and the way forward confirm that there is not enough knowledge about the federal government system among the federal members' states, seemingly political corruption are the biggest challenges that affect the federal government in Somalia (Ali and Abdinor, 2019,p = 32).

Margan (2016) on his study which is related to Somalia: Instability, Conflict, and Federalism

> The study argues that *the genesis of continued instability in Somalia lies in the colonial legacies in the country, the Ogaden war debacle, cold war politics, and proxy wars perpetrated by external actors. Meanwhile, clan and clannism contestation over power and resources and poverty and illiteracy as well as ideology (Al-Shabaab) combined have contributed to the sustainability of conflicts in Somalia* (Margan, 2016, p =37).

Also there some studies that show, the federal system is not an appropriate democratic system to be implemented in Somalia. The ant federalism have their postulates that indicate why such kind of democratic system is not reliable to be used in Somalia. They have arguments which state, the federalism system gives the right of every region members to vote for their leaders as the regional presidents. And the regional presidents have the mandate to control and administrate across the territory of the regions.

The system itself creates a lot of orders from the different presidents within the same country. Owing to this, the federal government system needs a high level of democracy practicing and requires people who respect the rule of law very well and they can accommodate and understand the federal system clearly. Thus the context of the federalism government and its attitude leads to the more fragments of the country rather than uniting the country. It is different from the centralized system whereby the system just follows the order from the top to bottom meaning that there is a unitary system (Chasam, 2012, p =13).

The Former premier Somali identified as Abdirizak Haji Hussein (2012), he said that the federal system government it cannot work in Somalia due to the lack of economic, social, and political influence that leads to the establishment of a strong federalism system which satisfies the needs of Somalian people. He said the federal system leads to distracting the republic of Somalia (Abdirizak, 2012, p =71-72). The Federal system is not appropriating with modern states but leads to the Balkanization of the country. It is much cost to run the federal system in a small country like Somalia (Worku, 2016, p =86).

The implementation of the federal states leads to the dysfunction of city centers and widening the clannish welfare in the regionals. Therefore the clans are sparking and create the superiors and inferiors in the community. In the long run, the system will tend to create classes among the nation-states. Therefore to avoid these quince quinces, here the case implementing the centralized government in Somalia is the right way and is recommended compared to the federal government system. Somalia is a small country that needs strong and equitable with the democratic system which can improve peace, security, and maximizes the welfare of the Somalian people.

Therefore the above are some thoughts that are detailed why Somalia people do not prefer the federal system rather than the centralized government. The opponents of the federalism system justify that if the proper knowledge of the federal system is embedded to the clan leaders and their citizens, it could solve the political conflict among the Somalian nations. The study conducted by Mohammed Ibrahim (2013) related to Feudalism and national stability: a case study in Somalia argued that there is a need to establish and to strengthen the strong institutions in Somalia (Mohammed, 2013, p =1). The strong institutions that can protect and secure Somalia's constitutions. The rule of law the freedom of speech, the distribution of power among the members of states and the federal government are among the important factors that could lead the good governance in Somalia (Dahiyr, 2014, p =5).

The idea of implementing the federal government in Somalia is to devolve power from the central government to the member state so that different regions with different cultures, languages, and traditions to be well participated in the national development without looking at their shoulder. The problems of not respecting the rule of law, lack of transparency, nepotism, the existence of corruption in the society mistrust among the Somalian groupings,

have cracked much the federal government of Somalia. All these facts lead to the difficulties on how to control and to manage peace and securities among the Somalian citizens.

The former president Hassan Sheikh made very clear on how to follow and to implement the federal government system by respecting the Somalia constitution. The autonomic power of the headers of the clans based on their regions has been well identified from the federal government system. To avoid political conflicts as well as the civil wars which exist among Somalia nations, there must be an order of respecting rule of law among the leaders within the nation.

The leaders must enforce to follow the aspiration of the constitutional of the federal government. Nevertheless, Somalia based on different regions, and these regions have power from their people. Therefore drawing the federal states and implementing the centralized government tends to create the biggest problem among the Somalian nations. The idea of implementing of federalism government instead of a centralized government creates is to create the unit, maintain peace and security, and to provide good governance among Somalia. It tends to resolve the national conflicts from the different regions that have been existed before. Therefore to have the bilateral system in Somalia is better than having the unitary system.

Truly the reviews show different ideas on the context of the federalism government implemented in Somalia. An academician put their thoughts to clarify the correlation of the federalism government in the sense of the federal members of states and the federal government. The idea is not consensus meaning which means that it has different views due to the establishment of the federal government system in Somalia. Some of the postulates indicate that the people who live in Somalia need the federal government system and others they are not. Everyone from the respective groups has the reasons that are why there is a need to implement such kind of a system.

Somali needs strong institutions that capable to dispute and control all activities in terms of peace and security within the community, the institutions which provide freedom of speech, equal distribution of power from the federal government to a federal member of states, and from a member of states to the federal government. The federal government system, the head of the state has the power to administrate the whole country including all regions. Therefore; the order from the head of the state if it is not violated the rule of laws

since the president governing the country by following the Somalia constitutional mandates must be respected.

The federal government is responsible for providing social services including health services, education services, defense, and insuring the decreasing unemployment rate and increasing employment rate. The federal government and federal member of states must strongly unite and corporate for the benefits of the nations. According to that, this research examines the insight about the relationship between the federal government and federal member states based on the clan system in Somalia. More investigations have been established to see why there is a misunderstanding between some of the federal member states and the federal government in Somalia.

Some regions started to create the clan-based political systems within the provinces. This is incredibly wrong. The system accelerates itself in the division and creates classes among the Somali people. It boosts the internal conflict with the disagreement of political ideology towards the concessions. Therefore the decentralized system as the model of the political system is not appropriated to be convinced and implemented in the country. They propose clan-based decentralization, either without an overarching state or, if they accept a state structure at all, in the context of a multiplicity of states or a loose federal state. For these scholars, only a political arrangement that is indigenous and "traditional" can be a remedy against the artificial, centralized nation-state (parliamentary or autocratic) imposed by the West, and can, therefore, be truly democratic.

The other discussing the federal government to implement in Somalia is related to the size of the government of Somalia. Some of the Scholars said Somalia should not be capable of adapting the federalism states because of the federal system because of the cost compared to the centralized system. According to Elkins (2007) argued that the federalism system is better for the European countries and it brings some changes to the communities (Elkins and Ginsburg 2009, p =1). Therefore the country like Somalia should not adopt the Federal government because of its size and the ability of the government to run the country. More Somalian agreed to join the federalism system because of the rebuild the country but the term for the building of the federalism is not well defined in the constitutions. Meaning that what kind of federalism system does Somalia joined for the benefit of Somalis (Elm, 2014, p =85).

Flamand (2005) in his study related to Designing Federalism: A Theory of SelfSustainable Federal Institution. He argued that federalism has many features that should be identified. But Joining the Federalism states without knowing these features it creates some internal conflict (Flamand, 2005, p =47)

But the federalism in Somalia was adopted in the year of 2012 and becomes very successful within the country. About 96% agreed to adopt the federal government system. The adaptations of the federal government in Somalia are due to the neutralization pf the internal conflict that existing and misunderstanding within the communities. Before every clan needs powers to govern themselves, therefore, preventing the disintegration of Somalia as happened to Somaliland thus why Somalia republic decide to implement the federal government in Somalia. According to the study which conducted by the Abubakar Mohammed (2016) in his study the patterns of state rebuilding and federalism in Somalia, .he explained that there is the need of adapting the federal government in Somalia due to the existence of the cohesion and unity of the Somalia nations (Abubakar, 2016, p =89).

The main challenge to adapt to the federalism system in Somalia is about how to convince the power distribution among the regions in Somalia. These issues reflecting from the clans. Because not all of the cities adopt federalism at a hundred percent some of the members of the clans seem to be negative from the federal government. In this way steps, there is a controversy for adopting the federal government in Somalia. Demonstration of this statement is coming from the study conducted by the Academic scholar from Bumba Mukherjee, identified as Why Political Power-Sharing Agreements Lead to Enduring Peaceful Resolution of Some Civil Wars, But Not Others? .He explained how the distribution of the power being succeeded and others are not succeeded in the federalism system (Mukhrjee, 2006, p =79).

The federalism system will stabilize and strengthen in Somalia by using the consolidation of the member states and the national government in Somalia. More works must be done to provide unity and strength among the federal member states and the federal government to enhance the social at the community level and national level. The knowledge of the federalism is very important to every citizen to understand the functions and the operations of the federalism in Societies. This will helps both the national government and federal member states to work very effectively and building the Somalian nation for the

getting of the development of Somalian nations. According to Somalia constitutions have been represented in act no 48.2 and 1 indicates that the functions and the advantage of having the strength and cooperation of the cooperation between the Federal government and Federal member states.

From the discussion of clan-based and the relationship between the Federal government and Federal member state in Somalia, the thoughts of scholars and non-scholars embraced the concept of far-reaching decentralization along clan-based in Somalia. One of the most extreme examples is Maria Bongartz's, She proposes that Somalia be reconciled and governed by sharia (to her, an inter-clan council) of elders, selected for their characteristics and their ability to distance themselves from political events. One must wonder how such a formula would work for Germany, itself no stranger to centrifugal tendencies. However, once one accepts the uniqueness of Somali and downplays their comparability and similarity to other human societies of the twenty-first century, such a solution should surprise no one. By 1999, Bongartz had substantially refined her proposals for new political arrangements in Somalia, as will be discussed below.

The study conducted by Mohamed H.Ingiriis which is related to From Pre-Colonial Past to the PostColonial Present: The Contemporary Clan-Based Configurations of State building in Somalia (2018) He argued that Somali clans are determined to come to terms with the state collapse by averting the return to the political power of the detested military regime, which was led by one clan-based leadership that tended to terrorize other rival clans and denied any equal power- and resource-sharing framework. Conceptualizing the contemporary Somali state as similar to pre-colonial clan-sultanates, this article argues that contemporary Somalis are reverting to a pre-colonial realm where each clan had its clan sultan seeking for a clan-state of its right. Where else do clan-states compete against each other in entering into "treaties" with external entities intent on exploiting war-torn Somalia as tabula rasa? It is towards the objective of answering this question and of providing a better understanding of the Somali conflict that this article is offered to add a comparative empirical understanding of the different trajectories of state formations in Somalia (Mohamed, 2018, p =32).

Each of the other emerging clan-states in Somaliland is competing for recognition from the government in Mogadishu. Khaatumo was declared in the diaspora to represent the

Dhulbahante interests, whereas the Warsangeli diaspora announced the formation of Maakhir, another ministate, aimed to represent the interests of the people of the Sanaag region.17 However, Khaatumo, which was hostile to both Somaliland and Puntland, has ongoing negotiations with Somaliland authorities. While their claim does not account for the fact that Somaliland was initially formed in the clan conference at Bur'o, the fact that it lobbied for redrawing their border back to the colonial border is not just a colonial nostalgia, but a way of retaining a separate state entity. The formation of Puntland as a clan-state was itself a copycat project from Somaliland as far as its constitution is a document extracted from the latter, except that it permits the existence of "federal" Somalia, given that Somaliland had declared a complete divorce from Somalia (cf. The Republic of Somaliland 1996; The Charter of Puntland State of Somalia, 1998).

The clan federalism should be without (pre)conditions and not as it is now based on the condition that two or three regions can form a federal state.24 Freedom for all à la Somali appears to be the course that would give each sub-clan a way to exercise a version of its statehood. This may most certainly proliferate the federal mini-states, considering the sixtyfour political parties that competed for the parliamentary elections of the March 1969, elections. At that time, Somalia was branded as the country with the second-largest per capita number of political parties in the world (Ingiriis 2016a; Laitin & Samatar 1987). It is hoped that, sooner or later, Prophet Muse's stick could come to the Somali world to swallow up all the clan fiefdoms and form one unified centralized state.25

Therefore the debates about the feudalism system in Somalia are very important. The establishment of feudalism helps Somalia people to have unity within the countries. I agree there some challenges faced due to the existence of federalism in Somalia. But the only important steps from these challenges are just to understand how the current government could help to neutralize s this problem.

The literature review shows that there is the problem of understanding the features of federalism in Somalia that will help to the building the safety and peace full of the Somalian country. If the people in Somalia is well educated about the federalism functions and operations it will help the country to keep in the security positions. Sometimes is not about the features of the federalism system to be good or bad but about the struggling of the powers of the politicians towards the presidency position. Intact not all the leaders from the political

parties will be taking the chairs of the presidency but it should be consensus in the political willing. This agreement of the political leaders in the country could help Somalia country to be in good positions.

The other challenges that have been identified in the literature reviews are about the sizes related to the cost for the establishment of the federal government in Somalia. The issues here are about Federalism is a suitable political system to be adopted in Somalia. This has been shown from the historical background a lot of the leaders from the regions were struggling to become leaders and to be free states from the Somalin country. But due to the existence of transferring from the republic to the federalism states help all these states to unite and to become the same. But, the cost of running the country always remaining the same. Somalia in the context of the cost has a lot of the resources that as the country could be used for deriving the country as other countries did. Therefore the issue about the cost to run Somalia's country is not equitable. Somalia is the reach in many sectors, for example, Somalia is recognized as the horn of Africa due to the existence of the Natural port ana the gateway to the some of the mid and the east African countries, Somalia is the reach in the area of the coal and geothermal that could be used to rise u the national revenues of the country. And it main exporters of the livestock in the middle east countries. Furthermore, Somalia can use the finishing industries to rise on the source revenues of the country. Therefore the only thing here is about how politicians could drive the country in a peaceful place.

The other challenges which affect much Somalia country are the Clan-based system. The can- bsed seems to be very powerfully in Somalia. The clan is being driven with their leaders, reach the point the communities listening to the leaders much compare to their leaders from the federal member states as well as the federal government. This is a big problem in Somalia to make the federal government well-properly work the people in Somalia should be free from the clan issues and be uniting with the umbrella of Somalia nations. The importance of dropping down the issues related to the clans, it tends to minimize classes and inferiority among the Somalian communities. In this understanding, Somalia will be driving by the one umbrella about patriotism and not otherwise. Somalia needs to unite and respect and the rule of laws. Every clan member should respect the constitutions and follow the rule of laws. On doing that the country will be safe and there is no internal conflict among the indigenous.

The conclusion which is drawn from these reviews helps us to understand the real picture of the federal government and the thought of the ant federal system that exists towards the Somalia regime. Different thoughts have been put forward to detailed further on the narratives of the federal government. The legitimate of the federal government is a suitable political system as the means to improve the democratic system in Somalia. The federal government allows the equal distributions of powers for those leaders from their regions as the member of states and the president of the country that represented by the federal government.

Thus the strong excursion of institutions, the respect rule of law by following Somalia's constitution is among the important aspect that must be respected, implemented, and followed. The citizen incorporating international NGOs should take apart for educating the citizens and clan leaders about the pure knowledge about the federal government how it operates. The clean knowledge of understanding the federal government should bring the unit, peace, and strength to the tires of the federal government and federal members of the state. If the country successes to implement peace and security it helps to move forwards in better conditions in all aspects such as social development, good democracy, and always achieve better economic development within the societies (Heritage Institutes for Policy Studies, 2013).

2.1.1. Federal member states in Somalia

There are five regions that compose the federal member steates in Somalia. The leaders from these regions are identified as the fedral member states. The leadsrs from these five regions have the significant contributions to the maintaining peace and security of the Somalia. Occurtionally these states have the partial authority to maintain peace and security within the country. As the federalism states the power from the national government to the local government and from the local gverbnment to the bnational gocernment are distributed equally. The president from the regions that we call senators to have the mandate to develop and to improve the social developments as part of their responsibilities. Senators are responsible for oversees all government activities within the regions. The good communications that could be implemented between the federal member of states and the federal government help the government to bring the social improvement and economic development among the citizens. Although the postulates indicate the cost of running the

federal government compare to the centralized government as well as the clan-based system that controlled by the Imam, are not bad but the important point is that the federal system puts consideration to minority and majority groups, and all of them are treated equally and the rule of law.

2.1.2. Clan-based system in Somalia

The conclusion from these reviews describes that to reach the milestone of re-uniting Somalia, it is vital to recognize the grievances and to ensure that past mistakes are not repeated. Moreover, Somali citizens should consider addressing these issues for the sake of attaining national unity.

2.2. The gape analysis

Most of the studies which are related to the federal government and federal member states focus on observing the challenges of the federal government in Somalia. But this research has the following observations; -

i. This research observes the relationship between the federal member states and the federal government. At his point, the research will examine the correlation between the federal government system or national government and the federal member state in Somalia. The research will focus on the operations and functions between the federal government and federal member states in Somalia. The study will focus the five regions such as Puntland, Hershebelle, Gulmudu, Southwest south, and Juba land how to do federal member states cities gives shows the operations towards the federal government states.

ii. The research will examine the relationship between the clan-based and federal government in Somalia. As the literature identified the clan-based system in Somalia has a huge impact on either to build or to destroy the existence of the federal government in Somalia. Not all the clan-leaders are accepted by the federal government in Somalia. Some of them are ant-federalism. Therefore this research discusses the strength and the collaboration of the Federal government and the clan-based in Somalia. The way forward will help the policymakers to strengthen and to implement good policy towards the stability and implementing good governance to the Somalian nation.

iii. This research discusses the effect of the clan-based on federal member states or the effects of the federal member states on clan-based. The two systems are very important to be identified in terms of their operations.

Therefore the gap analysis here is most of the studies discuss only national government and federal member states or clan-based in Somalia and national government. But this research includes all factors that are a clan-based system, federal member states, and the federal government together. Although there is a gap analysis between the previous some researches and this research some studies experience some challenges.

Somalia adopted a federal system to end conflict, division and satisfy the political needs of different clans. Overall, there is an enormous unfavorable general public opinion in terms of the design of the system. The majority believed the system is not designed to enhance the prospects of state rebuilding from a political perspective and that it does not promote inclusiveness to end the clan conflicts and possible secession. The output from the observations will help the policymakers to have a new dimension for resolving not only for resolving internal conflict among the federal member states but also creating a good relationship between the federal member of states and the federal government in Somalia.

The literature identifies that good implementation of the federalism system is due to the establishment of the true democracy within the country. If there is no good democracy it's also become so difficult to implement the federalism system. Therefore Somalia must implement good democracy within the countries by exchanging constructive ideas from both sides that is the ruling party and the opposition party for the need of the Somalian nation. Allow the free of the speech, and the federalism in Somalia should practices true democracy to the citizens by allowing the opposition party to participate in the national construction of the country.

The main discussion from this literature review to show how the different thoughts connected with a different approach to the federalism state in the Republic of Somalia. Different strategies have been approached to ensure that the Federalism system should be effective and maintain peace and security in the Republic of Somalia. The thoughts show the contribution of the federal member states and clan-based on the national government. This study aims to investigate the impact of the clan-based and the relationship between the federal member states and the federal government in Somalia.

CHAPTER 3

3.1. Introduction

To obtain estimated results from the clan-based and the relationship between the Federal government and Federal member state in Somalia, this section deals with theoretical and empirical analysis. It explains how the research collects and gathers information from different sources. The research uses qualitative methodologies as the means of collecting primary data and analyses it in terms of statistical applications. Seemingly Ordinal leastsquare technic has been applied to find the correlations between the Federal government system and Federal member state and clan-based in Somalia. Graphs and figures have been applied to display the estimated results. All the results express in percentage to understand its ratio in percentage relations. Therefore the study starts with explains the theoretical analysis and ending up with empirical analysis.

3.2. The Conceptual Framework

This research applies the theory of normative of federalism and the idea of the nation in political sciences based on the investigations of the federal government or national government, federal member of states, and the clan-based in Somalia. The main focus of this theory is to examine the effect of the federal member states and clan-based on the Federal government in Somalia. The establishment of the federalism in Somalia creates a lot of discussions. Because federalism needs mutuality between the national government and federal member states and does not need a command, Federalism is the multiple functions of the accessing of social services from the national government to federal member states and from the federal member states to the local government and turned back from the federal member states to the national government, meaning that the federalism system does not depend only from the national government. Therefore the federal system is established on the base of the sharing or distributions of the power and not the monopoly of the power (Keating, 2007, p =12). Federalism is not just a form of the government but it the political system that has been implemented to solve the problems away from life (Maiz, 2013, p =19). The theory of normative of federalism and the idea of nations is the kind of theory that

explains the federalism institutions including the national government and federal members of the states. But in Somalia, the federal system is constructed by the federal government (national government), a federal member of the states, and the clan-based system. In this way, the structure of federalism in Somalia is different from Federalism in the United States of America, Mexico, Brazil, India, etc. Thus this study justifies the strength and the weakness of the existence of normative federalism and the idea of nation theory in Somalia.

3.3. The research's conceptual model

This research creates a conceptual model by including three main actors. These actors like the federal government, Federal member states, and the clan-based in Somalia. The main purpose of introducing these actors or variables is just to observe the impact of federal member states towards the federal government, clan-based on the federal government, and federal government towards the federal member states and clan-based. In this relation, the Federal government stands for an endogenous variable that undergoes the endogenous activities while the federal member of states and clan-based are exogenous actors. The idea of the creations of this conceptual model is to give the concept that the existence of the federal government in Somalia depends on federal members of states as well as the clanbased. These two pillars are essential elements of the establishment of a stable government in Somalia. The following is the diagram that represents the conceptual model of Clan-based and the relationship between the Federal government and federal member states in Somalia.

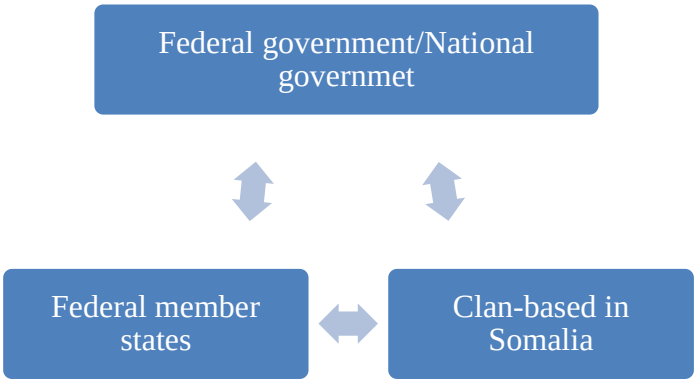


Figure 4. The research's model

Source represented by Author

The above figure represents the conceptual model of the relationship of the Federal government, a federal member of states, and the clan-based in Somalia. The assumptions have been done to show that all the main actors in Somalia are depending on another.

3.4. Theoretical Methodology

This research uses qualitative research technics to come up with scientific estimated results. It uses primary data from the questionnaires that have transformed into the statistical techniques to get the scientific estimations. To investigate the core relationship of clanbased, Federal member states and the Federal government in Somalia, the research uses the descriptive methodology to identify the impact of clan-based, Federal member states on the Federal government in Somalia. The research includes three variables such as Clan based, Federal member states, and Federal government systems. Therefore these variables have been developed to investigate the relationship of clan-based, Federal member states, and Federal government. The clarifications of these variables which are used to measure the main objectives of this research are delivered as follows:-

3.5. Research's Design

To answer the questions related to this thesis, this study has been designed to adapt the descriptive survey method. The descriptive survey is concerned with primary data collections. This design enables us to collect data from the Somalia citizens from the whole regions that used to construct the Federal government. To investigate the clan-based in Somalia and the relationship between the Federal government and Federal member states in Somalia. This research designs to collect data from both, government institutions and Political institutions in Somalia. The selections of those institutions have been done to get a high variety of data which has a vital meaning during the data analysis. Always a huge sample of the data is accompanied by a strong argument that leads to significant results.

3.6. Research's Variables

This research needs to investigate the relationship of clan-based, Federal member states on the Federal government system. To investigate the clan-based how it affects the federal government, the Federal government towards maintaining peace and security to the Somalia

nation, and the last is Federal member state how it cooperates with the federal government for improving social welfare within the Somalian community.

3.7. Clan-Based in Somalia

The clan-based in Somalia is very important to be included in this research. The clanbased in Somalia plays a major rule in either re-constructing or destruction of the existence of both the Federal government and Federal member state. Although major rules of the leaders of the clan-based in Somalia to maintain peace and security especially in the dynamic politics they have huge contributions to strength or to weaken the collaboration between the Federal government systems and Federal member of states. Therefore, the clan-based in Somalia is taken as an input variable to federal government operations. The existence of clan-based in this thesis leads to get significant information towards understanding the cooperation and relationship between these two tiers. Somalia composed of the two clan systems, such as major clans which are identified as first Issaq which is originated from Arab, Ayuub, Garhajis, Habar Awal, Habar Jeclo, Tol Jecle, Sanbuur, and Cibrian.

Darod is the second type of clan-based which comes Awtable, Dhulbahante, Dishiishe, Jidwaq, Leelkase, Majeerteen, Marehan, Mora'ase, Ogaden, Warsangali, and Coombe. The third clan Dir which is constructed by (Iris son of Samaale), Issa, Gadabuursi/Samaroon, Madahweyn or Madawini, Quranyow-Garre, Surrey, Dabruube, Barsug, Madigan, Biimaal, Bajimal. The fourth clan is Hawiye (Iris son of Samaale) Abgal, Gugundhabe,xawaadle. shehkaal, baadi cade, jajeele geelJecel, Duduble, Habar Gidir, Murusade, Gorgate[. The fifth group is Rahanweyn composed by Digil Dabarre, Jiddu, Garre, Tunni, Geledi. The sixth group is Mirifle composed by Sagaal: Geeladle, Jilible, Gasaargude, Gawaweeyn, Baroosile, Luwaay, Hadame, Yantaar, Hubeer Sideed: Elaay. Leysaan, Eemid, Diisow, Maallan Wiin, Harin, Jiron, Naasiye. The eigth clan is Saransor is composed of Issa, Masare, Gaaljecel, Degodia, Mayle, and Hawadle. The second clan is related to Minor clans which are Ashraf, Sheekhaal, Bravanese, Benadiri, Eyle, Carab Salaax, Gaboye (Madhiban), Muse clan, Tumaal, Yibir.

Other ethnic groups Non-Somali ethnic minority groups make up about 15% of the nation's population (Grace, 2015). They include Bantus, Bajunis, Ethiopians, Indians,

Pakistanis, Persians, Arabs, Italians, and Britons (Area, 2008). Somalia has been described as the most ethnically homogenous nation in Sub-Saharan Africa, ahead of Botswana, which is four-fifths Tswana (Osman, 2020).

3.8. Federal Government in Somalia (FGS)

Somalia was recognized as a Federal government system from the transitional Federal government under the Somalian constitution on 20th August 2012. The federal government of Somalia is constructed by the Executive branch and the president of Somalia is the head of the states and leads the council of ministers. The president as the head of the government in the federal government system of Somalia is appointed by the parliament members and he /she responsible to appoint the prime minister of Somalia at the Federal government level. The cabinet of the ministers is appointed by the Prime Minister of Somalia (Kouroutakis, 2014). Most of the executive powers are vested in the council of Ministers (Kouroutakis, 2014). Therefore the council minister is the vital organ that is used to construct the federal government of Somalia.

The parliament of Somalia as part of the federal government system is responsible for elects the president of Somalia as well as the Prime Minister of Somalia, and the parliament has the power or authority to pass and veto laws. It consists of 275 seats for the lower house and capped with 54 representatives for the upper house. By law, at least 30% of all MPs should be women. Judiciary is the important pillar of the Federal government system in Somalia. The national court structure is organized into three tiers: the Constitutional Court, Federal Government level courts, and Federal Member State level courts.

A nine-member Judicial Service Commission appoints any Federal tier member of the judiciary. It also selects and presents potential Constitutional Court judges to the House of the People of the Federal Parliament for approval. If endorsed, the President appoints the candidate as a judge of the Constitutional Court. The five-member Constitutional Court adjudicates issues about the constitution, in addition to various Federal and sub-national matters.

3.9. Federal Member State

Local state governments officially are recognized as the Federal Member States, have a degree of autonomy over regional affairs, and maintain their police and security forces.

However, they are constitutionally subject to the authority of the Government of the Federal Republic of Somalia. The national parliament is tasked with selecting the ultimate number and boundaries of the Federal Member States within the Federal Republic of Somalia.

3.10. Justification of The Variables

The variables applied to many studies related to the relationship between the Federal government and Federal member state. In fact to examine the functions and accountability of the federal member states on the federal government system we need to explore the information from both sides. Somalia has experienced civil war for decades. Innocent civilians lose their lives especially women and children because of the internal conflict that is generated with political administrations. Both sides involved in the prolonging continuing the war in the country. The battle can be diminished if the three parts are well involved in the peacekeeping through the round table. Therefore the investigation should start by including these variables to understand the source of the problem. The title of the research is mentioned as clan-based and the relationship between the Federal government system and Federal member state in Somalia. Thus the research must investigate the clan-based, Federal government system, and Federal of Member state.

3.11. The Study Environment

The study involves random sampling for different regions in Somalia. It includes Somalia citizens and some of the institutions which involve in the political affiliations, NonGovernmental Organization (NGO) which provides the knowledge of civics to the Somalian communities. The research was able to be conducted due to the presence of the questions which have been contained in the questionnaires. The pilot study for collecting the data was conducted and the consistency of the data was clarified. The collections of the data were succeeded because the questions in the questionnaires were translated from the English language to the Somali language. The distributions of the main actors in this research involve

as the sources of the gathered information are politicians, members of the parliament, University lectures, Academicians, University lectures, Public servants, and Somali residents from inside and outside of Somalia. The following figures represent the number of the sizes that has been included from the different institutions as the sample size of this research.

3.12. Sampling Procedure and Data Size

The universal population of Somalin people the rest of the world is 15,893,222. But the total sample size of theis study is 257, but the number of the participartns who wiling to participate in this thesis is 238. The questionnairs have been distributed in to dirrent instituions . The followings are the sample sizes that related to the instistuons that the random sample has been taken.The questionnairs where distribute in to eduvcational institutions , political parties, Non-Organizational government , citizens and organzaational institutuions. The following is

Table 2. Sampling Procedure

Place	Particiapnt	Percentage
University	74	31.08
Non Government Organization	34	14.29
Government organization	80	33.61
Private organization	50	21.00

the table that indicates the statistical informations of the thesis.

Thus the table above indicates the number of the sample soze that has been distributed to the different parts of this research. Howevwer the number of participants in the university as the educational firld seedms to be very hoigh comapared to the rest part of the sta tical analysis.

The questionnaire was developed into three parts; the first section was related to the federal government systems, the second section include the federal member of states and the last part is related to the clan-based in Somalia. All the questions in the questionnaires were focused to investigate the clan-based and relationship between the Federal government systems and Federal member states in Somalia. The questions in the questionnaires measure the perceptions of adoptions of the federal government system, the distribution sharing of

power between the federal government system and federal member states, and the involvement of the clan-based in Federal member states and Federal government system.

There were 257 Somalia civilians selected to have participated in this research. About 238 agreed to participate in this research and about 19 refused to participate. The number of the responders is higher than the number of the refusers thus why the investigations from the analysis phase give the clean results. According to Kotham's (2004) recommendations state that if the number of the sample found to be two-third of the total number of the population is presented then the sample size is making consideration. The justification of the sampling is to give the number of the sample that will be used in the analysis. Therefore this sample helps to appropriate information of citizens that are being satisfied or are not satisfied in this thesis. The distribution of the sample size who interviewed from the respective institutions are as follows:-

3.13. Empirical Analysis

This is section related to the data analysis. About 257 questionnaires have been distributed to different organizations and institutions through random techniques. Therefore about 238 accepted and 19 refused. The numbers of questionnaires that have been accepted make about 92.60% and those who refused were 7.24%. Therefore about 238 is the complete number as the sample size of questionnaires that were used to analyze the data.

3.14. Demographic

This part details the demographic profile of the samples that have been used to construct the estimated results. The characteristics are based on gender, age and marital status, academic qualification, and job status.

Table 3. Demographic profile

Status	Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	172	172	72
Female	66	66	28
Total	238	238	100

Source: Computed by Author

Table 3 above represents the demographic profile as the sample size that is used in the analysis phase. As has been shown that the male who was interviewed was 172, female 66 that can be expressed in terms of the percentage as 72 and 28 respectively. Therefore both of them make a total sample size of 238 as 92.6%.

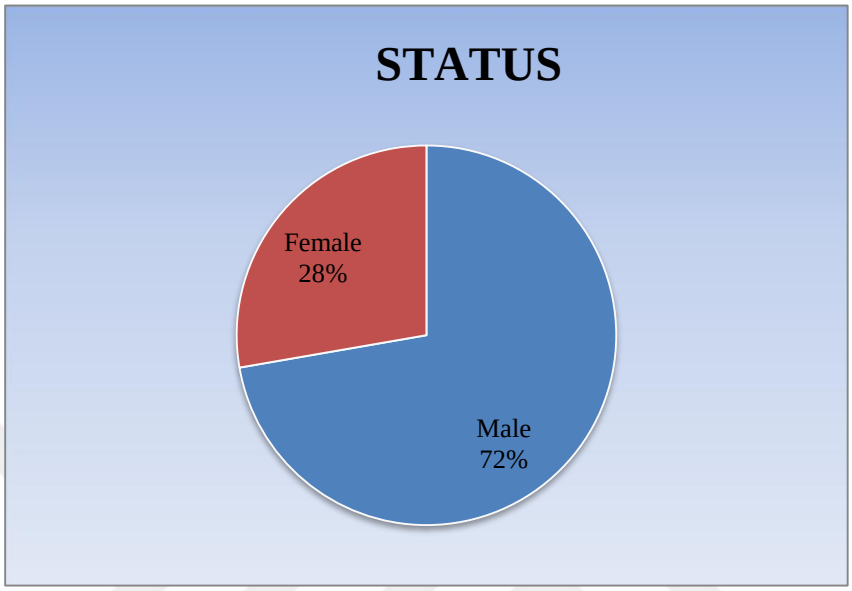


Figure 5. Demographic profile

The pie chart shows that the higher rate of participants in this research was male. As has been shown from the chart the percentage of the male who participating in the questionnaires was 72% and the female was 28%. The smallest rate of participation of the female is because the number willingness of participation of the males in this research was higher than females**.** The pier-chart indicates the small rate of the percentage of the females to participate in this research. The Males occupy nearly three third of the number of participants involved in this research. Thus more knowledge and motivations must be implemented to make the females be in the front line of social activities

Table 4. Age of Interviewers

Boundaries	Citizens	Percentage
20 - 30	91	38.24
30- 40	68	28.57
40 – 50	47	19.75
50 – 60	17	7.14
60 - 70	15	6.30
Total	238	100

Source: Computed by Author

This table indicates the age sizes of the Citizens that are living in Somalia. The age is very important to be included as the Citizens that are living in Somalia. The tables show that the age between 20 to 30 have the highest level of participating in this research, and about 38.24 %. Followed by the age of 30 to 40 which is 28.75%. And the lowest rank is 60 to 70 which makes about 6.30%. Generally, the table helps us to understand the age who participating much in this thesis. It shows the huge number of participants in this research are aged between 20 and 40 years. Particularly these are the ages that they can understand the effectiveness of the negative impact of the federalism system in Somalia. The age is very important most of the Somalian people know about the political trend that exists in Somalia. Based on the clan-system, most of the ages are involved in different aspects and joins into different groups that have negative ideologies with the existing government. The Oldest people where a few because most of them, You cannot see joining in the social activities instead share their skills with their Youths.

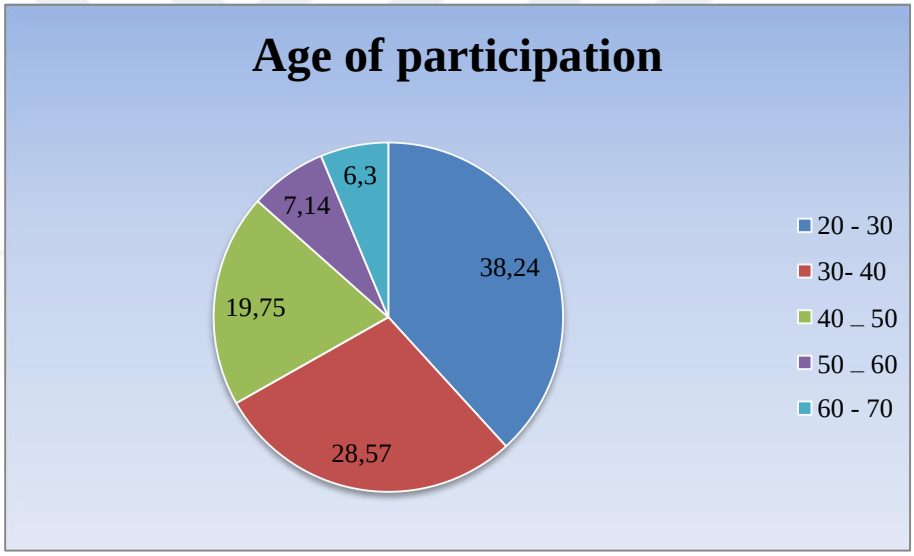


Figure 6. Age of the interviewers

The figure above indicates the age numbers participating in this research. The pie chart shows that the highest percentage who participating in this research were the age between 20 and 30 years and followed by the age of 30 to 40. The smallest rate participating in this research is 60 to 70. The table gives information about especially Somalia are ready to participate effectively to construct their nations.

Table 5. Education status of Interviewers

Status	Frequency	Percentage

Bachelor	120	50.42
Master	99	41.60
PhD	15	6.30
Professor	4	1.68

Source: Computed by Author

The table above includes all information on members who participated in this study concerning their educational levels. The statuses of education levels are very important to be identified in this research. Always academicians respond positively or negatively by giving the facts about the study topic. As the topic needs the people who have knowledge about the Federal government systems how it operates. Therefore different levels of educations and the normal civilian have been involved in this research. The first participants come from bachelor then followed by the Master's levels. Most of them are aged from the years of 19 to 35. This information indicates that the population of the young is higher than the old one.

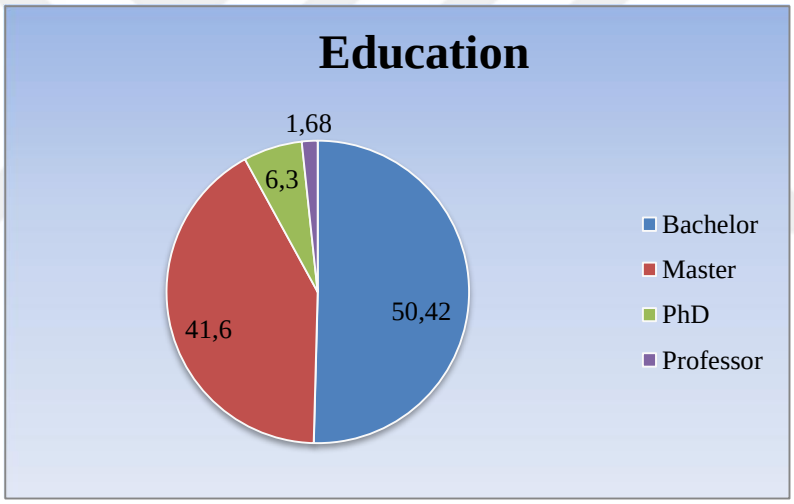


Figure 7. Education status of Interviewers

Figure 3 indicates the information about the educational status of the participants who participated in this research. The pie chart shows the different levels of educations who understand the clan-based, federal member states and the National government who federal government system. The rate of Bachelor's and Master's degree show good participation in this research. The participants who earned bachelor, Master and Doctorate are belonging to the different departments in Somalia. Some of them are belonging to the government and private sectors.

Table 6. Marital status of Interviewers

Status	No of Citizens	Percentage
Married	118	49.57
Single	106	44.54
Divorce	14	5.89
Total	238	

Source: Computed by Author

This research also includes the marital status as table 4 indicates that the higher rates of the citizens who have been interviewed are those in the married status compare to single status. But also there some others are getting divorces from their marriage. The main point to include this status is to observe the knowledge of the federal government system and federal member states and clan-based systems in Somalia.

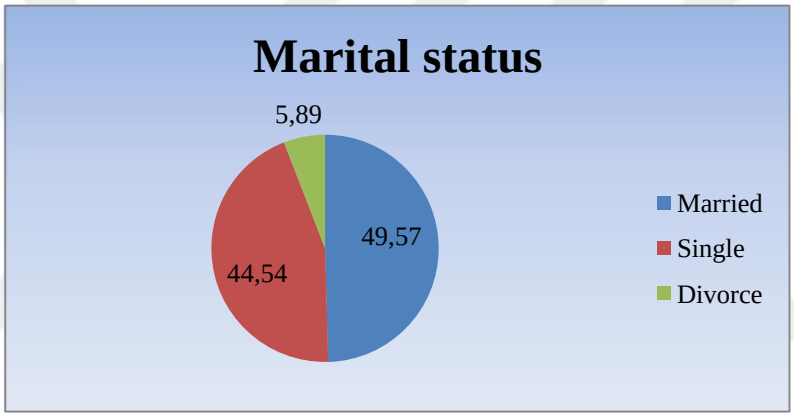


Figure 8. Marital status of Interviewers

Figure 4 represents the married status of participants of this research. As indicate the rate of the participants of married is higher than the rate of unmarried. The differences between them are very minimal. The entity is very essential because any nation is starting from the family level. The families are the one who creates clan, federal members, and Federal government members. The family is the one who receives the public services from those three actors of this research. Therefore knowing their status is very important.

Table 7. The Origin of Member states in Somalia

State	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
South West State	10	4.20
Hirshabelle	105	44.11
Galmudug	52	21.85

Jubaland	38	15.97
Puntland	33	13.87

Source: Computed by Author

Table 7 includes all the numbers of the regions which are used to compose the federal member states. From these regions, Hirshabelle is the highest number of participants compared to other regions. And the South West state indicates to have the smallest number of participants from this research. The participation of the interviewers in the questionnaires determines the level of understanding of the meaning of the federal member states and the Federal government in Somalia. The questionnaires were distributed equally to the whole regions in Somalia.

The empirical part deals with converting the primary data found in the questionnaires to the statistical analysis. As an important part of the analysis, we need to prices steps for listing the variables. The thesis associates with three variables such as clan-based in Somalia, Federal members of states, and the Federal government. Therefore let us start with the federal government. This research categorized the federal government systems into the following perspectives; these are Executive states, Legislative states, and the judiciary. The main point of including these variables is to understand the perception of the general system of the federal government to the citizen. The following are some prices perceptions have been asked for understanding the federal government system in Somalia

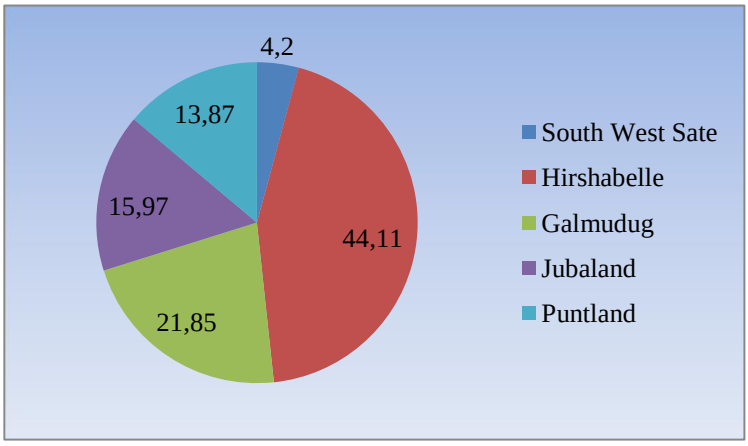


Figure 9. Federal member states

Figure 9 indicates the federal member states in Somalia Hirshabelle is the most city to have the highest participants and followed by Galmudug. The lowest city to have the smallest

number of participants is southwest states. The cities are very important in this research because these cities are the ones who construct the federal government system. In these cities, the clan-based system in Somalia is belonging.

Table 8. The Federal government system in Somalia

No	Perception	%SA	%A	%N	%D	%SD	Mean	St.dv
1	Somalia citizens understand about the Federal government system	21.85	32.27	29.24	5.79	10.85	20.00	11.45
2	There is Legislative power of distribution between the federal government and Federal member state in Somalia	47.65	5.20	15.00	20.13	12.02	20.00	16.37
3	All armed forces and intelligence should be under the Federal Government	20.11	25.05	20.00	23.45	11.49	20.00	5.24
4	Laws of the country should not be formulated and enacted by the Federal Government	19.67	15.60	20.14	17.69	27.00	20	4.30
5	policies made by the Federal government and federal member states should not cooperate and implement together	13.70	1.05	15.26	33.00	36.99	20	14.82
6	The federal government has power over federal members states in Somalia	10.39	21.85	24.46	33.82	9.48	20	10.21
7	There is sharing of the Judiciary power system in Somalia	12.01	8.79	19.00	10.06	50.14	20-00	17.30
	Total of fgs							
Note: SA represent Strongly Agree, A represents Agree, N represents Neutral meaning that interveners do not know anything about the corresponding question, D represents Disagree and SD represents Strongly Disagree. All of the entities are expressed in percentages.								

Source:Data are obtained from the questionnaires

Table 8 represents the argument about the Federal government system as among the variable of clan-based and the relationship between the Federal member states and the Federal government system in Somalia. The table contains 7 arguments and it is arranged as follows, the first column contains the serial number of the arguments from 1- 7, the second column contains seven arguments, from the third up to 7th column, contain the percentage of the thoughts which have been presented by participants of this research. The arguments have been presented in terms of percent of strong agree (%SA), Agree (%A), Neutral (%N), Disagree (%D), and strongly disagree (%SD). The arguments need to have insight into the perception of the Federal government system to Somalian.

The first argument shows that in Somalia, citizens understand about Federal government system, this is because the entity rate of agree (%A) is high compare to other percentage entities. But the challenge from this argument is the difference between the

citizens who understand and who do not aware of the Federal government very small. The difference is almost about 3.03. Therefore more knowledge about how the Federal government system operates should be spreading to every area of Somalia. The second argument shows there is a distribution of powers between the legislative, executive, and Judiciary from the national government to the federal member states. This has been indicated by the rate of strongly agree is very high compare to the other percentage entities.

The third thought indicates that all armed forces and intelligence should be under the Federal government. The fourth thought agreed the Laws of the country should be formulated and enacted by the Federal Government system. The fifth thought indicates that the policies made by the Federal and federal member states should cooperate and implement together with the Federal member of states. The sixth argument indicates that the Federal government has power in the countries compared to federal member states. The national government has total autonomy for controlling the country in terms of the defense, providing the social services, and ensure that peace and security are maintained within the whole country. But the Federal member states have the autonomy within their regions only and they must follow the order and instructions from the National government as has been identified from the national constitutions of Somalia.

The seven thoughts show that there is a sharing of power in the national courts and local courts. The Judiciary system is a very sensitive organ for defining and protecting Somalian laws that are contaminated in the national constitution of Somalia. Therefore the fourth part indicates that there is power distribution for providing the laws from the National court and local court. Those who identified by mistakes must be responsible for the hands of the national court.

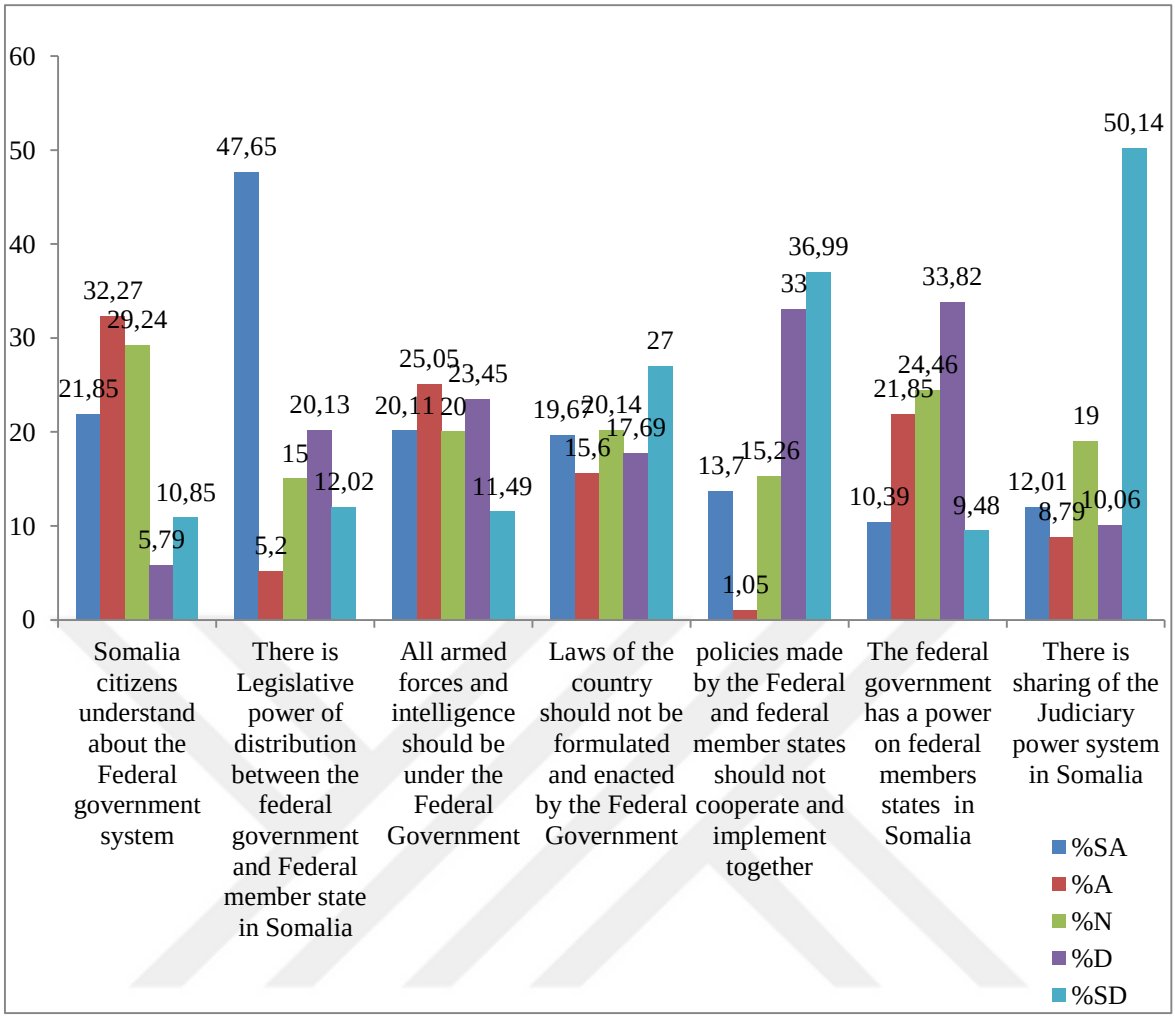


Figure 10. The graph of the Federal government system in Somalia

The analysis from the graph shows that Somalian people understand about the Federalism system. The differences between the citizens who understand and those who not aware of federalism are very low. This implies that more work should be done to educate Somalian people about the functions of the federal government in the context of how it operates and why does the public of Somalia decided to establish the Federal government. The graph shows that in Somalia there is the distribution of the legislative power in the federal government. This is among the function of the national government to ensure that the power is distributed equally between the federal government and federal member states.

The federal government in Somalia has the power to control all the federal members' states. The federal government is the national government and the head of the national government is the head of the states in Somalia. As the Federal system in Somalia, the system of the Judiciary must be effective and the distribution of the power must be equal to the rest of the regions.

Table 9. The Federal member states in Somalia

	Perception	%A	%AS	%N	%D	%SD	Mean	Std.Dev
1	The Federal members of states have less power in their regions	17.65	13.45	4.62	23.52	40.76	19.91	14.8
2	The Federal member's states of Somalia depend on all the public services budget from the Federal governments	11.35	18.07	2.94	35.71	31.93	20	13.8
3	The Federal member states have equal representation in the second chamber regardless of their size and source of revenue.	31.09	17.65	8.82	37.39	4.62	20.0	13.4
4	There is parallel cooperation between the Federal member states and the Federal government in the implementation of government policies in Somalia.	17.23	29.41	10.50	13.45	29.41	20	8.92

Note: A represents Agree, SA represents Strongly Agree, N represents neutral, D represents Disagree and SD represents Strongly Disagree. All the entities are expressed in a percentage format.

The federal member states table contains four arguments that give information about the Federal member state in Somalia. The second row from this table shows that the federal member states do not depend on everything from the national government. The second argument indicates that the federal member states have some sources of income as the means of increasing the regional revenues, although not all funds for public services are coming from the national government. The federal member states collect the taxes from their cities and somehow these regions are being driven from the various projects as the regional sources of their income for instance in. Therefore the rate of disagreeing is higher compare to the agree of row two.

There is no equal representation of the federal member state in the parliament as the Federal government has. The number of Federal governments in the parliament is greater than the number found in the and the Federal member states. From this factor, row three in table seven-show that the Federal member states have no equal number in presentation compared to the Federal government in the Somalian Parliament.

The fourth row agrees to have the parallel cooperation between the federal member states and the Federal government in the federal government system. The table shows that

most of the people who have been interviewed strongly agree to have cooperation between the Federal member states and the Federal government in the Federal government in Somalia.

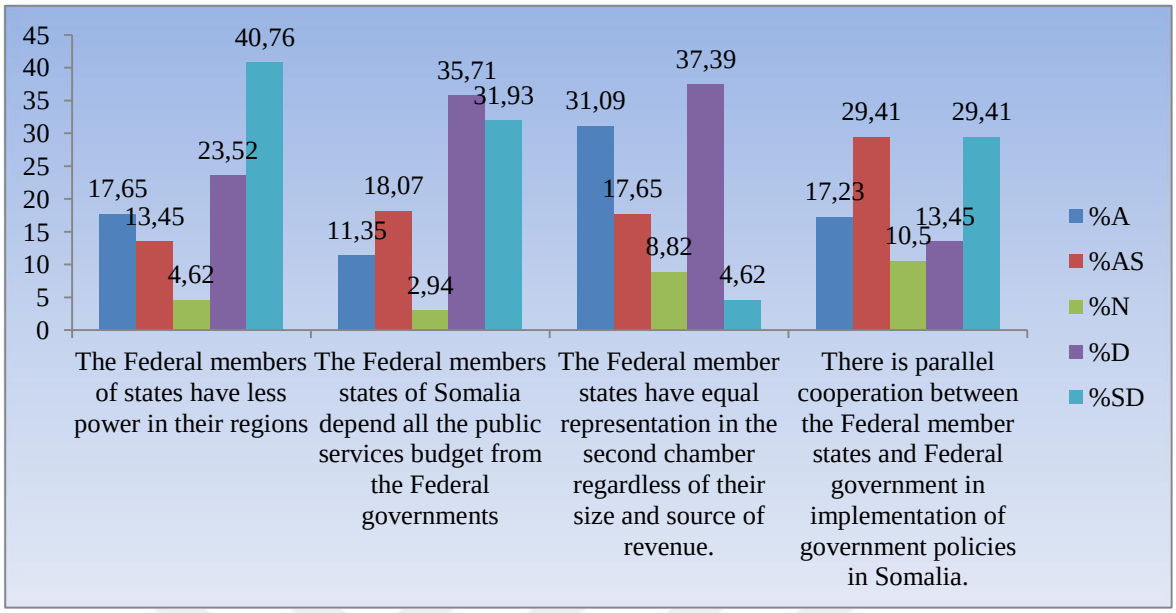


Figure 11. The graph of Federal member states in Somalia

Figure 11 indicates that the Federal member states do not power full compared to the federal government. The federal member state is part of the federal government. Every city in Somalia has sources of regional revenues. The collected income from the regional sources used to fund the public projects by directing to facilitate regional projects and the remaining incomes should be reserved for the national projects. Still, the Federal government is the main sponsor of regional projects. Thus the federal member states depend on funds from the national government. There is no equal representation between the federal member states and the federal government in the parliament in Somalia. The number of parliaments from the federal government is higher than the number of federal member states in the parliament of Somalia as the graph explains**.** The Federal government provides equal distribution between the federal government and Federal member states. The graph shows that there are good cooperation and communication between the federal government and federal member states.

Table 10. The clan-based in Somalia

No	Perception	%A	%SA	%N	%D	%DS	Mean	SDV
1	Clan-based leadership is powerful in Somalia	30.67	23.95	4.20	14.70	26.47	20	10.6

2	There is a good relationship between the Federal government and Clan based leadership in Somalia	14.29	31.93	5.88	15.97	31.93	20	11.54
3	It is not the right time for Somalia to come up with a concrete, coherent, and clear policy to mediate Clan based leadership, Federal member states, and Federal government.	10.08	13.45	0.168	23.95	50.84	19.7	19.3
4	The clan works for the society- providing the required social security welfare system, and protecting the society members in all aspects	23.95	39.50	8.40	10.92	17.27	20	12.5
Note: A represents Agree, SA represents Strongly Agree, Neutral meaning that the interviewers do not know about the corresponding question, D represents Disagree and SD represents Strongly. All entities are expressed in percentage form.								

Table 10 represents the clan-based in Somalia. The table has four arguments that represent some information about the Clan-based in Somalia. The second row indicates that there are powerful leaders in the clan-based who have been voted or selected from their clan members. The leaders from the clans are recognized as the leaders from their cities. The leaders from clan can cause the federal government to be stable not stables. The leaders from the clan have a huge influence on their communities. As the thought indicates that the rate agreed is higher compare to the rate of disagree as shown from the second row.

The rate of good cooperation between the clan-based and Federal government is 50%. This is due to the fact some of the clan oppose the federal government and they want the centralized government while others agreed about the federal government. In this context, some of the leaders of the clan lead to the civil war, and others maintain peace and security in their regions. The thought of the perception three indicates to agree that is the right time for the Federal government of Somalia to prepare the concrete policy which will recognize the clan-based as the main important pillars to the development and security of Somalia. The problem has been found due to the lack of participation of the clan-based in the constructions of the peace and security of Somalia. Ignoring this pillar to maintain peace and security in Somalia it causes a lot of the problem within Somalian communities.

The last thought in this table shows the clan-based provide social communities and provide a defense to their communities. The clan works for the society- providing the required social security welfare system, and protecting the society members in all aspects. Although the clan-based system is not part of the federal system it seems to have a significant

impact on the development of Somalia. Therefore there is the need for the Federal government to work together with the clan leaders as have been shown from this research.

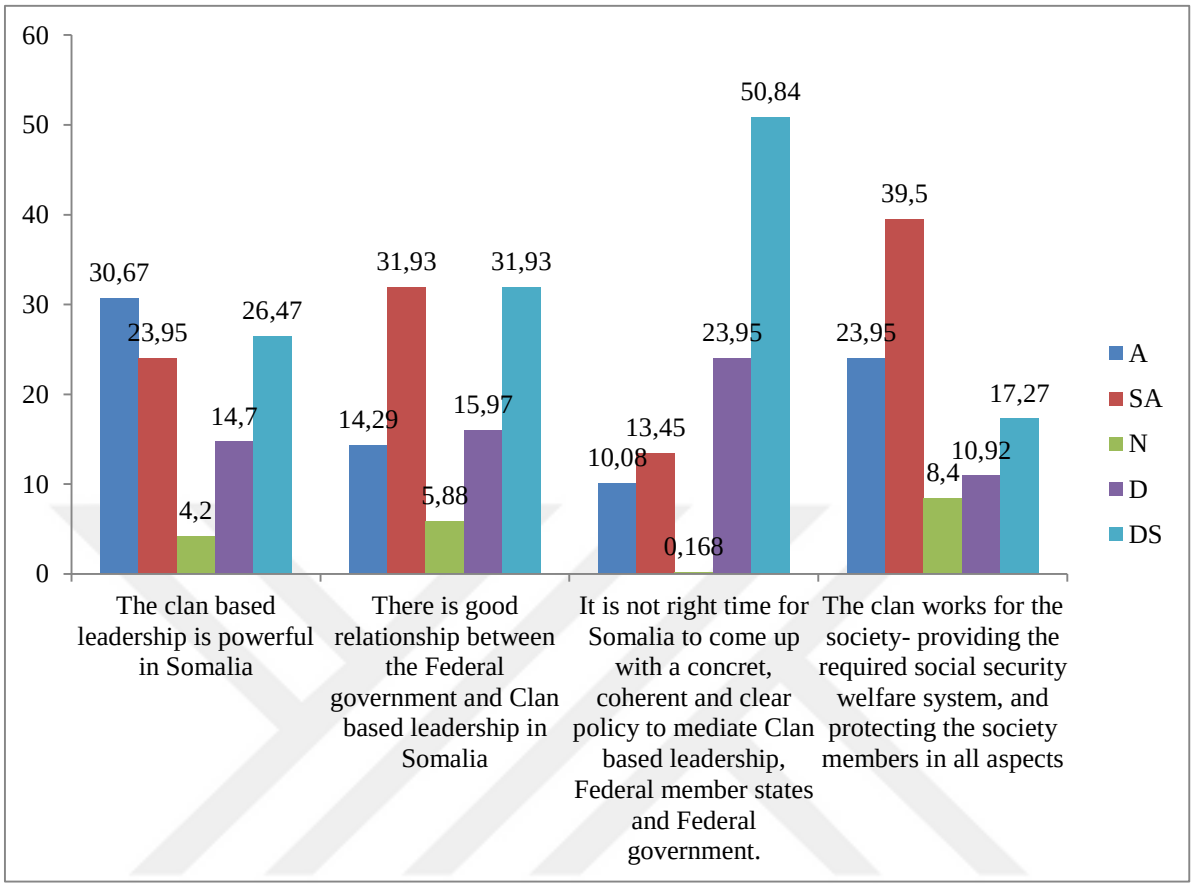


Figure 12. The graph of the Clan- based in Somalia

The graph represents the relation of Clan-based in Somalia. The analysis shows that the leaders based in the clan are powerful. The leaders of clan-based have direct communication with their communities therefore they influence the Somalian Societies. The rate of the relation between clan-based and the federal government looks the same. Therefore the important step is to create a policy for Somalia's Federal government to come up with concrete and coherent for the clan leaders to be recognized officially by the federal government and federal member states in Somalia. As the graph shows that there is a good response for the Somalian people to accept how the clan leaders are recognized in the federal government system. The clan works directly to the societies. The clan-based system provides social services like providing security, funds for entrepreneurship, resolving the family problems, and always be in the front line during the calamities for giving help to the families that have got problems.

Table 11. Why Somalia adopts the Federalism system

No	Perception	Conditions			
		Yes		No	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1	The Federalism system is not suitable in Somalia	59	25	179	75
2	The Federalism system destroy democracy in Somalia	81	34.03	157	65.07
3	Federalism destroy the unit of Somalia	87	36.55	151	63.45
4	The Federalism system bring economic development to Somalia	183	76.89	55	23.11

Source: Computed by Author

The main idea of this section is to understand the perception of Somalian people towards accepting the federalism system. The investigation shows that most Somali accept the federalism system to exist in Somalia. Although the rate of the people who do not need the federalism system is quite low, you cannot compare to the people who need the federal government in Somalia. Some groups need a centralized system to be established in the country. Some opinions prefer the federalism system because in the federal system each region has the power to develop by its self. The regions give the mandate to drive economic activities from the resources that they have. In the federalism system is much it connect the unit and deplete disunity among the societies. Therefore the federalism system does not destroy the unit of Somalia instead it creates the unit among the Somalian people. The Federalism brings some economic development for Somalian. The reason is how the national government creates national development strategies to uplift the economic activities within the communities. These should be done incorporated together with a clan-based system, federal member states, and federal government for the benefit of the Somalia country.

Table 12. The benefit of adopting the Federalism government system in Somalia

No	Condition	Yes		No	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage

1	The federal government system in Somalia promote democracy	177	74.37	61	25.63
2	The federal government system in Somalia controls the civil wars and the inter-clan based system in Somalia	125	52.52	113	47.48
3	The federal government system in Somalia unit and hold the Somalian people from the different regions	166	69.75	72	30.25
4	The Federal government system is based on both majoritarian and minorities, all of them are involved in the government system	193	81.09	45	18.91
5	The federal government system in Somalia encourage the separation of power	138	57.98	100	42.02

Source: Computed by Author

The table investigates the advantage and disadvantages of the establishment of the federal government in Somalia. The federal government promotes democracy in Somalia by allowing different parties to participate in the national elections, free speech of the opposition parts towards challenging and constructive critics for building Somalian nations. The national government tries to control the civil war in Somalia. From 2018 up to 2020, the rate of civil war and crime within the territory of Somalia is becoming low. This is due to the work of the national defense of Somalia and other security agencies to fight against the crimes and civil wars and bad gangs that involves proceeding in the crimes against the humanities. Majoritarian and minority all of them are the nucleus of the leading government. Therefore the federal government is constructed by the Majoritarian and Minority groups.

The federal government works for the distribution of the powers so it encourages separation of power.

3.15. Statistical Analysis

This section transforms the collected data from the questionnaires to the statistical analysis and provides a very clear interpretation of the data to the analytical conditions. The sections include the art of Ordinary least square (OLS), descriptive statistics by showing the correlation of data, and provide the interpretation of the coefficients towards the main actors. To create the significance meaning this topic has been formulated by creating the statistical regression models which have the dependent and independent variables.

The statistical model is as follows.

$$FDG_t = C + \beta_1 FMS_t + \beta_2 CLB_t + \varepsilon_t \qquad [1]$$

Where

FDG = Federal government system

FMS = Federal member states CLB = Clan based system ε =

Correction of the error term and C is the constant or intercept.

Equation 1 represents the Federal member states and the clan-based in Somalia have a significant contribution to the federal government of Somalia. An establishment of the strength of federal member state and the existence of the effective clan-based will be the source of the strong federal government in Somalia. Whenever there is a negative contribution to either dis effective or negative attitudes of either federal member states or clan-based will affect the strength of the existence of the federal government in Somalia. The effectiveness of the federal member states and clan-based is created due to the understanding the functions of the federal member states and clan-based towards the federal government and the government should understand the limitations and functions of the federal government on federal members states and clan-based. This is the meaning by having the equal distribution of powers between the federal government and federal member states.

Table 13. OLS: Federal government system (FGS)is a dependant variable

Independent variable	Coefficients	Std.Error	t-statistic	Probability
C	125.5150	8.893325	14.11339	0,005

FMS	6.75853	1.421015	4.756144	0.0415
CLB	-6.495363	1.392536	-4.66412	0.0430

Source: Computed by Author

Note: C represents the constant or intercept, FMS represents Federal member states, CLB represents Clan-based in Somalia.

From table 13. The measure of the significance is presented by 5%. When the probability is found to be lesser than 5%, meaning that the variable is significant or it has an effect on the dependent variable. If the probability from the table is found to be greater than 5%, meaning that the variable is not coefficients. Table 9 in the fifth column represents the probability values in which all of them are lesser than 5%, meaning that the independent variables have significant meaning towards the dependant variable. The first column contains the independent variables such as Federal member states and Clan-based in Somalia, while the Federal government is standing as a dependent variable. Therefore table
9 can be transformed into the linear regression model as shown below:-

$$FGS = 125.5150 + 6.75853FMS - 6.495363CLB \quad [2]$$

$$[0.01] \quad [0.04] \quad [0.04]$$

The numbers which are represented in [ ] from equation 2, indicate the standard the probability of variable Federal member states and Clan-based in Somalia which are lesser than 5%. This indicates that the coefficients of Federal member states and Clan-based in Somalia are significant and they have specific interpretations towards the dependent variable of the Federal government system.

Interpretation of equation 2

Equation 2 indicates that there is a positive relationship between the Federal member states and the Federal government system. Sorely the strength of the Federal government depends on the Federal member states. The effective Federal member states lead to creating a strong national government. Discussing the second variable which is Clan-based shows the negative relationship to the Federal government system. Meaning that the expansion of Clan-based ideology affects the strength of the Federal government system. Solving the problems of the clan-based in Somalia it reduces the internal conflict and makes the current Federal system to become more stable and effective.

Table 14. Correlation of the Actors of this research

Correlation of variable	Federal government system (FGS)	Federal member states (FMS)	Clan-based (CLB)
Federal government system (FGS)	1		
Federal member states (FMS)	0.912415 4.458788 (0.0112)**	1	
Clan-based in Somalia (CLB)	0.908836 4.357333 (0.0121)**	0.999520 64.52188 (0.0000)***	1

Source: Computed by Author

Note that FGS represents the Federal government system, Federal member states, and CLB clan-based in Somalia. Table 10 shows the correlation between the variables. The table shows the significant correlation of Federal member states and Clan- based on the Federal member system. Also, there is a correlation between Clan-based and Federal member states in Somalia. The table indicates that all correlation among the three actors is significant**.**

Table 15. The post estimation

The Measure	Values
R-square	0.9225
F-statistic	11.90
Probability	0.077

Source: Computed by Author

The table above presents the post estimation of the linear regression model that involves the R-square, F-statistic, and Probability values of the linear regression model. The main objective of this part is to measure the effectiveness of the strength of the usable data in our analysis phase. The graph shows that The R-square is higher about 92.27 percent which shows that the data fit the linear regression and the data can be useful for the data prediction. The F-statistic measure the significance of the variables in the linear equation. Since the F-statistic show that is greater than the probability values, meaning that the values of the confidence related to their variables are significant.

CHAPTER 4

4.1. Data Analysis and Estimated Results

This chapter explains the analysis of the data and making the evaluations from the results that have been found in chapter three that deals with empirical analysis. Referred to chapter one the study identified the thesis questions, hypothesis, general objective, and specific objective as having been indicated from chapter three. Therefore this section gives the exact meaning from what has been discovered from the empirical analysis. Usually, the data have been collected using the questionnaires as the theoretical part and then the data have been converted to the practical analysis using the Eview software to give the analytical analysis. In the empirical analysis, the statistical regression techniques such as linear regression equation and ordinary least square have been applied to find the relations or correlations among the variables. Therefore this part starts to examine the contributions of participants that have a different status as has been indicated in chapter three.

The age status: The main participants of this research are aged from the year of 20 to 70, this indicates that Somalia has very important figures for the labor force that they can participate in the social and economic activities in Somalia. The rate of the youth is higher compare to the rate of the old people in Somalia. The youths are the ones who can build or destroy the country. Therefore there is the need to build a good social policy that can help the youth to construct their nations. Furthermore, 75% of Somali's population is about youth.

If the youths are well utilized and guided to the positive directions can help Somalia to be a peaceful country instead of involving in the war. Sometimes the youth can be utilized by the bad people to destroy the country by conducting the civil war which benefits antigovernment agencies and not for the national interest. Thus, this research examines as a significant pillar in the development of civil societies in Somalia.

Male and Female participation: The research was unbiased for gender balance by providing an equal chance for participation for both Male and females. All of them have been given an equal chance to contribute the ideas towards the fulfillment of this research. But the research shows that the rate of participants of the male is greater than the number of females.

The low rate of the female has been created due to the knowledge of the female in Somalia towards the involvement in the social and political issues. Therefore more knowledge about the civics issues must be provided to the female to encourage more in political affairs. The participation of the women in the national building has significant contributions to stabilizing and making the country to be safe and practicing the good democracy in the country. We believe that females are the primary pillars of the construction of any strong nation.

Owing to that women who live in Somalia should well participate in the social development policy. As the research projects stand for the policy reforms especially in the political and social welfare within the communities. The government should work together with Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), Civic Institutions, and Social welfare institutions to make awareness about the significance of the female to participate in the Social wellbeing activities. It makes an important aspect to construct national development.

Education status: The research includes all Somalia citizens at different educational systems. The rate of the Bachelor's degree level seems to be highest compare to a Master's degree and doctorate. The research discovers that the rate of Somalia acquiring a bachelor's degree is very high compare to the other levels. There is a need to reduce the gap between those who scoring the Master's degree and Doctorate towards the Bachelor's degree.

The main point here is to focus on the knowledge towards understanding the operation of the government systems. Because the stabilizations of the government systems in the country depend on the citizens, how do they define and protecting their country by referring to the understanding of the constitutional amendments, understanding the kind of the government existing and how could solve both internal and external conflicts by using their positive attitude. The type of the Federal system that exists in Somalia we cannot conclude as an effective or not reliable to Somalian people. But in most cases, the federal system itself is based on understanding and implementing rules and principals for governing the country.

The research found that the existing government should invest more in the academic systems by producing more universities that will provide more chances for Somalian people to join to the Universities. In this education policy, Somalia could increase the number of Somalian people who owned Masters and Doctoral degrees in Somalia. Education plays a major part in the community's social revolutions. If the nation wants to make changes, it should invest more in the educational status. If the nations have more knowledge about the

political administrations, the nation will compete by political arguments and not by civil war. Education makes people aware and makes good judgement towards positive political directions. Revolutions come by empowering the educational systems within the communities.

Marital status: Sometime the families of the married could act as the main pillars for lowering the crime rate to any nation. It easy to control even the population rate and the spreading of un evil things in the communities. The married families have a good chance to control manage population rate and evolutions of the crime rate in the communities. It does not mean the unmarried family cannot play a good role in the implementation of the good in behavior in the communities but most of the families that are composed of married people can play a big role to prevent bad behavior to the communities. The married families provide the necessary basic social and political .positive impact and train the generation to adopt good behavior in the communities.

This research finds that the rate of the marriage family that participates in conducting this research is very higher compared to the families who are not get married and those who got a divorce as well. Family is connected to the real understanding of the trend and operational government systems in the country. The family is composed of the father, mother, and children. Family is the basic foundation of the nations. Somalia the higher rate of the family is related to the marriage family that almost is very connected to the operations of the existing of the government.

Therefore according to the research topic, the clan-based system in Somalia and the relationship between the federal member system and federal government in Somalia gives us more information about the whole operations or government operation in Somalia. The family initiates the clan-based system and growing or spreading to the federal member states and federal government systems as well. The research finds to have a huge number of families who got married compared to those families who are not got married. Therefore it is easy to shape the country in good directions just stopping the civil wars and focus the peace and security within the country. Although the families have affected much due to the negative attitudes of some clan leaders but there are families who can have the peace discussion in form of a round table for keeping peace and security in Somalia.

The state of the origin: The federal member states in Somalia are constructed by five states such as South West States, Hirshabelle, Galmudug, Jubaland, and Puntland. The city of Hirshabelle shows to have the highest number of people to participate in the research. Galmudug city becomes the second city in position in terms of the number of people to participate in the research. The South West state is the last city that has a few numbers of people to participate in the research. This information helps the government to understand Somalia states with the connected with political influence within Somalia.

Why the South West belongs to the few numbers of the participants in this research and why Hirshebelle has a huge number of the people to participate in the research. These questions could rise significant information towards the constructive of examining the relationship between the clan-based system and federal member of states on the federal government in Somalia. The rate differs according to the knowledge of understanding the implementation of the Federal government system and federal member states in connection with clan-based in Somalia. Therefore more effort should be posted to the cities that have the lowest number of the participants and maintain the cities that have higher rates of the people to participate in the social policy development strategies.

Also, the educations about the Federal government system and Federal member states must be well established so as the people from the cities could be aware of the formulation and implementation of the federal states within Somalia. Somalia needs to maintain the Federal states within its federal states. The main problem of the operating of the federalism system is different from one state. The knowledge and the functions of the federal member states also differ from one region to another region. The case of the clan-based concerning their functions based on the government also is differing from one state to another state.

Therefore there is a need of the clan leaders accompanied by their federal member states to understand the functions and responsibility and accountability towards the central government. The central government should understand the accountability and responsibilities towards the federal member states as well as the clan-based in Somalia. These are some kinds of the observation that we could find from empirical analysis and pelvic the way why the cities within Somalia have different perceptions towards understanding the themes of implementation of the Federal government system and Federal

member states in Somalia. In conclusion, the government should provide support for federal government systems on how it operates in Somalia.

The federal government system in Somalia: The empirical analysis shows that Somalian citizens have the knowledge about the Federal government, although the percentage of understanding of the operation of the federal government is not enough. Therefore more effort should be done to ensure that the federal government system and its operations are well understandable in the Somalian communities. That it is the reason to avoid internal conflict or civil war and maintain peace and security in the Somalian nation.

The federal government system is governed by pillars of the federal states. These pillars generally make the Somali to be measurable and accountable through its functioning. The pillars of the federal government should be well known and identifying their functions and contributions to civil societies. In general, this research shows there is a distribution of power between the federal government and federal member states in Somalia. The power distribution between the two pillars of the federal government should be maintained.

The thesis also discusses that the armed forces and intelligence systems in Somalia must be controlled by the Federal government. And the investigation shows that Somalia tries the best to control its armed forces and intelligence system to maintain peace and security in Somalia. In fact mismanagement and disorganized of the armed forces and the failure to control the intelligence matters it causes Somalia to be in a civil war.

Although there is the big challenge of Al-Shabab and untrust full groups that are leading the killing of innocent women and men including the children but the federal government system in Somalia tries its best to neutralize and controlling these killing not to happen and to ensure that Al-Shabaab must be neutralized. Owing to that the government of Somalia tries its best to maintain peace and security, by securing its Somalian citizens through the existence of the federal government system.

The laws of the country are formulated and enacted by the federal government and then these laws must be applied to the federal member states. Therefore we can measure the exact meaning of the federal system by implementing the power distributions between the federal government and federal member states. Therefore the policies made by the federal government and federal member states should cooperate and implemented together.

Federal members of states in Somalia: This research shows that the federal members of states have the power from their regions. Therefore some of the states through their member of states initiated very strategic social development institutions for the development of their regions. The member of the states according to the Somalian nations are responsible for the creating the Fiscal and Monetary system for maintaining the economic welfare of the region and country generally, responsible for maintaining the security of the region and the nation, providing the basic needs using the social development package by ensuring that all citizens should have clean water, good education and getting reliable and good health services. To facilitate these services the Federal member of the states must cooperate with the central government.

The Federal member of states generates their regional income from their regional sources. Therefore these regions do not depend on one hundred percent of the regional needs from the central government. For instance, some of the regions have the harbor like the port of the Puntland. They generate their sources of income from these national sources. Therefore some of the budgets can be created from regions and the budget deficit will be added from the central government. But to maintain the normal distribution of all income collected from the regions the national government should distribute equally to all regions.

In the national parliament of Somalia, the federal member of states has equal representation to the federal member states, in the second chamber regardless of their size and sources of the revenues that come from their regions. The federal members of states are representative of their regions and have been elected and voting by their regional civilians to administrates the regions. Thus they have a huge responsibility to represent their regional citizens to the Somalian federation parliament. This is the meaning of why the federal members of the states have an equal chance of the second chamber in the national parliament in Somalia. Furthermore, the research shows that the federal member states have equal representation in the second chamber regardless of their size and source of revenue agreed.

To make effective and stable government, the two pillars meaning the federal government and federal members of the states must cooperate and work together. The effective government insure that all the problems related to the region must be resolved as well as the issues related to international affairs are also being resolved. Thus why according to the empirical analysis of the results shows that in Somalia there is parallel cooperation

between the Federal member states and the Federal government in the implementation of government policy.

Clan-based in Somalia: The clans are generated from the families. The families generate community, societies and in a wide range, the societies tend to create the nation. It is effective and powerful of clan leadership in Somalia. Not only five clans are well established in Somalia but also, some sub-clans are about150 existing in Somalia. All these clans are dominating and controlling by their leaders. And normally the civilians from the clan-based follow the orders that have been provided by their leaders. The leaders from the clans and the clan system in Somalia have a huge impact on maintaining peace and security in Somalia. Not only all the clan-based leaders have good relations with the federal government but also the current situations show some positive indications of a good relationship between the federal government and the clan-based system in Somalia. The relationship should be well improved by resolving the internal conflict that existed for years.

Therefore it is the right time for the Somalian government to neutralize the civil war that exists by coming up with concrete, coherence, and constructive clear policy to mediate Clan based leadership, Federal member states, and the Federal government. The kind of joint operation system will shape Somalia in a good direction in democratic affairs. The clanbased system influences the community. If the clan-based is being ignored and it is treated as if a minor group it creates a lot of internal conflict within the communities and later erupts and continuations of the civil wars among the Somalin people. The clan works for the society by providing the required security, and protect the society members in all aspects.

Adaptation of the Federal government system in Somalia: Somalia decided to adopt the federal government system to be implemented in Somalia due to the following facts. The federal system is suitable in Somalia. This is due to fact that most of the states have needed the power to have total autonomy. For instance Somaliland; was part of the region or city of Somalia. But in the case of the finding, the total autonomy decided to announce its sovereignty from the Republic of Somalia. It is followed as the Puntland but the case was the difference because the Puntland city couldn’t be isolated from the republic of Somalia. Therefore, due to the skied of loosing of other cities, the partial authority has been implemented to the five regions as the federal member states.

This strategic decision helped Somalia to stay as the unit of the Republic of Somalia. The federalism distributes the power among the federal government and the federal member of the states. The federal system in Somalia maintains and promoting democracy in the country. Owing to that, the malty parties system is existing and citizens can vote and select their leaders during the general election. Furthermore, the opposition party can represent their ideas in the national assembly of Somalia which is a federal parliament member where by-laws are constructed.

The federal system creates the unit of Somalian as the one nation under the one generation. Although there some major challenges as a nation that exists in Somalia which leads to putting Somalia in hard situations. For example, the issues of Al-Shabaab, the issues of the anti-federalism system, the issues of the Islamic court, and the issues of the political ideology, and clan-based system put Somalia in very critical conditions. But surely, Somalian people remain the unit and work for their country. Thus the existence of the Federal system does not destroy the unit of Somalia instead it tends to rebuild and construct Somalia.

The federal system works for providing and improving the social services to the Republic of Somalia. It has the responsibility for maintaining peace and security internally and externally. Federalism works by the super nation's agency under the umbrella of the Africa Union and the United Nation by using its agencies to make sure that Somalia has a good representation of international democratic affairs for peace and security. Generally, we need to see Somalia be among the countries that promote and practicing good democracy by improving good governance at the international level. Therefore the Federal government in Somalia works for improving economic development in different aspects. As the thought of scholars' states that good practicing democracy is accompanied by good economic development. Thus Somalia as the nation put more effort into social-economic development to improve the social communities. Among the benefit that created from the existence of the Federal government system, is to maintain peace and security, control the civil war which is operated by Al-Shabaab, Uniting Somalian people under the umbrella of the same nation, the same country.

The empirical analysis: The study shows the impact of the federal member states and clan-based system on the federal government. The federal member states have positive contributions to the strength and rebuild the stability and effectiveness of the existence of

the federal government in Somalia. The relationship that the thesis revealed is the directional positive impact. When the Federal member states become accountable and show a positive correlation on the federal government it helps the government to improve democracy. When the federal government leads Somalia by following the rules, implementing the good governance principle, and follows the Somalin national constitution to be practiced in the country, it helps Somalia to have a favorable environment for peace and security in the world.

The Ordinary least square as the tools of statistical analysis indicates the negative relationship between the federal government and the clan-based system. The analysis shows that there is a problem between the relationships between the federal governments and clanbased in Somalia. Here is the meaning when the clan-based in Somalia becomes strong it threats to affect the contingent of the federal government in controlling Somalia. Most of the clan has negative attitudes and ideologies about the presence of the Federalism states. The clan-based in Somalia could be the source of conducting the civil war in Somalia. The federal government must establish very good strategic planning by introducing several round tables for peacekeeping and not by fighting with weapons.

Thus the expansion of Clan-based ideology affects the strength of the Federal government system. Solving the problems of the clan-based in Somalia it minimizes the internal conflict and makes the current Federal system to become more stable and effective.

CHAPTER 5

5.1. Conclusion and Policy Recommendation

This thesis aims to investigate the clan-based in Somalia and the relationship between the federal government and federal member states in Somalia. The research chooses a qualitative methodology tool whereby the primary data has been collected through questionnaires from different data sources such as government institutions, private institutions, Non-Government Organizations, higher educational institutions, and civilians from the five regions of the federal member states. The questionnaires have been distributed to that area to get feedback about the clan-based in Somalia and the relationship between the federal member states and the federal government in Somalia.

The questions from the questionnaires have been classified into three sections. The first section is questioning about the demographic status of the interviewers, the second section asked about the federal government, the third section asked the federal member states, the fourth section asked about the clan-based system in Somalia, the last sections referred to the adaptation and suitability of the federal system in Somalia.

The thesis consists of three variables for finding the impact of the clan-based, federal member states, and the federal government. These variables are standing as the main actors for the compilation of the data analysis. The federal government is standing as the dependant variable, and both federal member states and the clan-based systems are independent variables. To analyze the results this thesis uses statistical tools such as linear regression techniques as well as Ordinary least square. These techniques have been applied to find the correlation among the variables. With the help of the Eviews software, the empirical analysis shows that the federal member states affect the federal government positively and the clanbased system affects the federal government negatively.

The empirical analysis gives the answers that have been asked from the research questions. The empirical analysis concludes by giving these answers that have been questioned by this research. The empirical analysis revealed that there is a positive correlation in the relationship between the Federal member states and the Federal government, and a negative relationship between the clan-based and federal government system in Somalia. On top of that, this research according to the empirical analysis shows that the Federal system is a suitable democratic system to govern the Republic of Somalia.

The research rejects the null hypothesis that states there is no relationship among the federal member states and clan-based on Federal government, and it accepts the alternative that states that there is the relationship among the federal member states and clan-based on the Federal government system. The rejections exist due to the fact that the calculated values of the independent variables are greater than the t-static variables. Owing to this analysis revealed that all the independent variables have an important contribution to the dependent variables. Therefore this research verifies one of the mentioned hypotheses above. The clarifying of the hypothesis helps us to give the analytical decision which will be our contribution to this research.

The general objective of the study is to investigate the relationship among the clanbased system in Somalia, Federal member states in Somalia on the Federal government/ National government in Somalia. And the specific objective of this research is described as the relationship between the clan-based system and the federal government/ National government in Somalia. The relationship between the Federal member states and the federal government in Somalia, the relationship between the clan-based and Federal member states in Somalia, the challenges that exist in the running of the federal government of Somalia. All of these specific objectives have been achieved by analyzing the data from the theoretical to empirical analysis.

Furthermore, the research uses descriptive statistics to investigate the standard and quality of the data. The results show that the data that has been collected is significant. This is due to the fact that the R-square is about 92,25% which is significant and the F-statistic of the data which measure the whole regression equation is 11.90 and its probability is 0.077 that is greater than 5%, all of these information indicates that the post-estimation of the data is very clear. And the estimated results which are obtained from the analysis can have a significant meaning. The research finds some challenges during the conducting research, these challenges the low rate of the females in participation in this research compare to the male, the rejections of the questionnaires from interviewers, some of them refused to be interviewed.

In general, the federal government system in Somalia depends on a federal member of states and clan-based. The existence of good leadership in the clan-based, which supports the federal government and the good cooperation and equal distributions of the power between the federal member states and the federal government, makes the Somalian government become effective and more stable states.

The research justifies the normative theory of the national idea in political science. The theory emphasizes the federal system to have equal distributions of the power between the federal government and the federal member states. The federal should work for mutual relationships by distributing among powers in the federal institutions. The research verifies that the level of practicing federalism in Somalia is different from other federal countries like the United State of America, Canada, and German. This is due to the fact the federal system is the old system that has been established and practiced in the years of 1945.

Therefore Somalia started to employ the federal system from the centralized government under President Hassan Sheikh Mahmoud in the year of 2013. Therefore more knowledge is needed to educate the Somalian people. The model from the conceptual framework represents the mutual relationship between the Federal government as the national government, Federal member states, and the clan-based in Somalia. It justifies the existence of the strength of the clan-based in Somalia which threats the functioning of the federal system in Somalia. The clan-based seems to be very strong and creates resistance upon the existing government in Somalia.

About the clan investigations, this research finds the State's trajectory and of the lines of cleavage in Somalia's society confirms that the clan and sub-clan cleavages are the central factor of the conflicts towards the federal government in Somalia. The clan-based identities have become increasingly politicized and expressed through forceful means. The politicization of identities was part-and-parcel of the process of state formation, which became more prominent during Siyad Barre's regime. The competition and conflict over the control of critical resources have predominantly been expressed as a question of rivalry between clans. In contrast, the analysis shows that the competition over critical resources more often than not has surpassed both clan and religious solidarity.

However, in the post-transition, the Federal Government of Somalia has not shown any signs of its openness to recognizing clan-based a claim to self-determination. The tension between the clan-based system and the federal government remains a key factor as the main challenges towards rebuilding the Somalian nations. Thus the clan-based system has a significant contribution to keep peace and security of Somalia. The biggest challenges of the Clan-based system in Somalia are struggling for the powers. Most of the clan leaders are struggling to hold the top positions and unfortunately, some of the clan leaders try to fight among themselves sometimes. This behavior creates difficult conditions for the current government to maintain peace and security within the country.

The clan leaders should agree about the type of leadership that preferable to be implemented in Somalia. The Clan-based in Somalia has power over the communities; therefore the federal government should have a very good strategic plan to involve them in the national and social-economic development planning. In doing so the Somalia government will neutralize the internal conflicts that exist between the federal government and clan-based

in Somalia. We need to see Somalia stand on its own by controlling and managing the security and peace by itself without interrupting by the international agencies from the outside of the country.

Although the thesis shows there are positive correlations between the Federal member states and the federal government in Somalia but still some of the federal members of the states bring huge challenges to the federal government. The challenges here are brought as referring that, some of the federal member of the states to act as if they have total autonomy from their states. The federal member states have to understand that they partial autonomy within their states. Therefore they need to respect the order from the federal government or national government. The federal government which is headed by the president of Somalia has the mandate to control the whole Somalia inside to its territory and outside of Somalia while the Federal members of the states have authority within the regions only. Knowing this attitude could reduce the internal conflict between the federal government and the federal member of the states.

In fact when Somalia being able to resolve this problem of federal member states and federal government by identifying the power distributions between them then they can achieve the best towards neutralizing the problem of the partial and total autonomy among the federal a member of the states. The internal conflicts arise because some of the federal member of the states does not respect the Somalian constitutions as had written the federal member of state has partial autonomy and the federal government or national government which is represented by the president has the total autonomy of the whole states. In this way, the Somalian government gives more chances for the neighboring countries to work for their internal political conflict, which tends to increase the problem instead of minimizing the problem.

Somalia's neighboring states have recurrently interfered in Somalia's internal affairs. During the period under, this interference has escalated up to the level of intervention and more systematic engagement with the various domestic parties to the conflict. Somalia's crisis remains pivotal for the region's security and the security of the contiguous neighboring states. However, neighboring states' interference and intervention in Somalia's internal affairs are driven by self-interested motivations that at critical moments have militated against the ultimate aim of restoring order and rebuilding the state in Somalia through a

domestically led process. The rise and fall of the ICU during the 6-month rule period were insufficient to determine its long-term political project for rebuilding the state, was a domestic generated project, but its fall was precipitated by a combination of regional and global dynamics. In this regard, both Ethiopia's and the US's foreign policies vis-à-vis Somalia coincided in the determination to prevent a militant Islamist movement (even if domestically generated and with extended support from domestic constituencies) from overthrowing an externally created government, the Transitional Federal Government at the time led by President Yussuf. Although Somalia´s crisis of state formation requires a regionalist approach to the restoration of order both within Somalia and in the region, the process of rebuilding the state will necessarily reflect local priorities and local mechanisms of conflict resolution, reconciliation, and reparation. This is the only lesson learned from several international conferences that have failed in their ultimate aim of contributing to the reconstruction of the state.

Extraversion has been a frequent cause and feature of failed internationalized statebuilding in Somalia over the past quarter-century. Evidence points towards an inverse relationship between external stabilization and peaceful elite bargaining in post-1991 Somalia. State building that is more coercive has increased rather than reduced violent conflict. Recurrent extraversion strategies such as the use of violence, the appropriation of external resources, flight, and trickery have been obstacles to both peace and state-building. They have led Somali and external state builders to prefer the creation of formal institutions to actual state formation. External recognition bestowed on particular domestic political actors, policy processes or institutions has fuelled competition between and among local and national elites. It has also encouraged abuses and ineffective governance, while also undermining important liberal and democratic state-building objectives. The dysfunctional effects of internationalized state-building in south-central Somalia are the result of both external and elite Somali agendas.

From this perspective, Somalia needs to resolve its problem by using its political leaders from the different political parties, including the ruling party and opposition parties just involving the national peacekeeping and conflict resolution regionally. The clan-leaders are very vital in this meeting because are the one who can give the solutions according to the problem that exists within the Somalian family. The clan leaders are belonging from the

family and families have a lot to contribute to rebuild the Somalian nation. Ignoring the clan leaders in the construction of peace and security in Somalia is a big mistake.

The clan-leaders must be involved in the internal meeting. The other mistakes are to involve Somalia's problems to the external nations because these nations come with their interests from their nations and not for the Somalia interest. The Somalia leaders start from the federal government leaders like the president, Federal member of the stares as the regional president and the clan-leaders should compromise their conflict and they should agree to take the new step to maintain peace and security and to avoid war among Somalian communities. The adoption of federalism in Somalia faces many considerable challenges, one of which is the management of resources between the central government and the federal member states, as well as among the states themselves, because some states claim that the distribution of wealth should be based on size rather than equally, while others already had access to more physical resources than others.

Regarding the correlation results of the major variables in the study, it was found that federalism adoption was positively and significantly correlated with legislative power distribution, executive power-sharing, judicial power distribution, and fiscal federalism. This is in line with several other previous studies. Conversely, the study result also suggests that there was a significant difference between the dimensions of power-sharing. Despite ongoing criticism, the federalization process in Somalia continued with the hope that it will end the decades-long civil war that has claimed the lives of thousands of innocent Somalis. The current federal states cut across "clan lines" such as Puntland and Galmudug states.

The challenges of the Federalism in Somalia: After decades of dictatorship and 28 years of chaos, Somalia adopted a federal system as a governance method to bring back trust and resolve grievances among Somalian people. This new system has faced both internal and external challenges, as found in this study. According to the research findings, poor knowledge of federalism, considering federalism as a clan-based system, and political corruption are the most challenging factors to federalism adoption in Somalia. Other challenges relate to the provisional Somali constitution, such as power distribution, fiscal management, regional boundary disputes, and the status of Mogadishu. Thus, the formation of an honest and reliable justice system, creating constitutional courts, and finalizing constitutional reforms are the most appropriate solutions, as suggested in the study.

Policy recommendation: To overcome the above challenges, this research provides the following recommendations to the Somali leadership both at the federal and state level: Finalize the national constitution to put an end to conflicts between the various levels of government (i.e. between the center and the peripheries). Make every effort to forge a national reconciliation (politically and socially) to put an end to accusations among various sections of society. One of the primary federal challenges in Somalia is the public's poor understanding of federalism. Both the Federal Government of Somalia and its member states should provide proper civic education and public awareness, which can play a significant role in the successful adoption of federalism in Somalia.

The Federal Government should facilitate the federalization of the governance by giving the state administrations major roles in making decisions regarding socioeconomic development and the building of democratic structures**.** The federal-state authorities should accelerate political as well as fiscal decentralization by creating local administration at the village level and also ensuring the participation of the local communities. Except where otherwise noted content on this site is licensed under a Creative Commons 2.5 Italy License E-Communities and polities in each federal member state should gain the freedom to choose their leaders and the Federal Government should refrain from the intervention of the affairs of federal states. The most convincing proposition is that post-conflict state building is a bottom-up process. Somali authorities must embark on genuine reconciliation, which effectively Addresses and rehabilitates clan/tribal grievances to achieve inclusive federal polity in Somalia. Poor governance (i.e. rampant corruption and nepotism in public institutions) is a leading challenge to Somalia's federalization agenda and its recovery process, as this study revealed. Somali officials should take a critical stance against corruption by taking and implementing anti-graft measures to restore the country's prestige in the eyes and minds of its people and strengthen their hopes and aspirations for recovery.

The federal governance system was adopted to bridge the trust deficit. Somali people and reconstitute the unity and territorial integrity of the Somali. Republic. In this regard, the Federal Government of Somalia should, in good faith, re-start the unity talks with Somaliland. The Federal Government of Somalia as well as the Federal Member States should commission, and utilize, more studies related to federalism and state formation.

More effort is required to identify formal and informal institutions, both in Somalia and abroad, which have existed before and independently of external funding opportunities and which might become partners for joint state-building interventions at local and national levels. Policies should consider encouraging local actors to create a realistic and more durable political settlement that is based on domestic resources and political mobilization. Although in principle the existing aid structure already adopts these aims, the geopolitical, security, and strategic considerations of donors regularly lead them to disregard these.

Creating space for an alternative trajectory for state formation. In light of the ongoing counter-insurgency operations against al-Shabaab and shared donor willingness to defend the FGS, urgency, and improvisation are likely to preoccupy state builders more than anything else. In policy implications spite of these pressing matters, arguably there is a need for Somalis to debate and develop long-term visions and strategies for the creation of a new Somali state that minimizes external dependence, draws upon domestic resources, popular support, and locally negotiated political settlements. It is this hard work of envisioning and realizing an alternative trajectory to state formation in south-central Somalia that is perhaps the most important one.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1: Consent Form (English version)

The consent form for a dissertation proposal with a tittle of Clan – based federalism in Somalia and the relationship between the Federal government and Federal member states.

Dear Mr/ Mrs/ sir/Madam/ Dr/ Professor

My name is Hamdi Ali Musse I am a master's student from Political Science and Public Administration at Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University, Ankara Turkey. I'm studying the masters of Political Science and Public Administration. Currently am working as a researcher to investigate Clan – based federalism in Somalia and the relationship between the Federal government and Federal member states. With your permission, if you allow me. I may ask you a few questions about your socio-demographic characteristics and your knowledge about the Federal government, Federal member states, and Clan based in Somalia which may take about 10-15 minutes for you to respond. The goal of this research is to investigate the clan-based federalism in Somalia and the relationship between the federal government and federal member states to generate information on Federal government and Federal member states and how it related to the clan-based. To attain the predetermined goal of the research, I am requesting your help. This questionnaire does not concern with personal information therefore confidentiality will be maintained. You have the full right to refuse part or whole of the questionnaire and no one is forcing you to do so. Bear in mind that your refusal of this study will not affect you in this research provision. However, your honest participation and answers to the questions will help us in better understanding of the problem and give guidance on how to intervene in the study area. So are you willing to participate actively and honestly? I understood the advantage of the research, the roles I will have in the research, and have agreed to participate. (If yes, let her/his sign and go ahead, if No stop her/his)

Yes ☐ No ☐

Signature of the participant _____ Date: …../……/2020

APPENDIX 2: Questionnaire (English Version)

Questionnaire to assess Clan – based federalism in Somalia and the relationship between the Federal government and Federal member states.

Form number

1. General information about the Participant

SN	Question	Answer	Remarks
1.	Date of interview	DD /MM /2020	
2.	Time of questioning		
3.	Name of the place		

2. The gender of Participant

SN	Question	Answer	Remarks
1	Male		
2	Female		

3. Demographic characteristics

SN	Question	Answer	Remarks
1.	Age of Participant	1. 20-30 2. 30-40 3. 40-50 4. 50-60 5. 60-70	
2.	Marital status	1. Married 2. Single 3. Divorced	
3.	Education level	1.Bachelor degree 2.Master's degree 3.Doctora degree 4.Professor	

4. Actor 1 (Variable one Federal government states)

SN	Question	Answer	Remarks
1.	Somalia citizens understand about Federal government system	Agree (A) [ ] Strongly Agree(SA) [ ] Neutral [ ]	

		Dis agree [ ]	
2.	There is Legislative power of distribution between the federal government and Federal member state in Somalia	Agree (A) [ ] Strongly Agree(SA) [ ] Neutral [ ] Dis agree [ ]	
3.	The federal government has power on federal members states in Somalia	Agree (A) [ ] Strongly Agree(SA) [ ] Neutral [ ] Dis agree [ ]	
4.	There is sharing of the Judiciary power system in Somalia	Agree (A) [ ] Strongly Agree(SA) [ ] Neutral [ ] Dis agree [ ]	

5. The Federal member states in Somalia

SN	Question	Answer	Remarks

1.	The Federal members of states have less power in their regions	Agree (A) [ ] Strongly Agree(SA) [ ] Neutral [ ] Dis agree [ ]	
2.	The Federal member's states of Somalia depend on all the public services budget from the Federal governments	Agree (A) [ ] Strongly Agree(SA) [ ] Neutral [ ] Dis agree [ ]	
3.	The Federal member states have equal representation in the second chamber regardless of their size and source of revenue.	Agree (A) [ ] Strongly Agree(SA) [ ] Neutral [ ] Dis agree [ ]	
4.	There is parallel cooperation between the Federal member states and the Federal government in the implementation of government policies in Somalia.	Agree (A) [ ] Strongly Agree(SA) [ ] Neutral [ ] Dis agree [ ]	

6. The clan-based in Somalia

SN	**Question**	**Answer**	**Remarks**

1.	Clan-based leadership is powerful in Somalia	Agree (A) [ ] Strongly Agree(SA) [ ] Neutral [ ] Dis agree [ ]	
2.	There is a good relationship between the Federal government and Clan based leadership in Somalia	Agree (A) [ ] Strongly Agree(SA) [ ] Neutral [ ] Dis agree [ ]	
3.	It is not the right time for Somalia to come up with a concrete, coherent, and clear policy to mediate Clan based leadership, Federal member states, and Federal government.	Agree (A) [ ] Strongly Agree(SA) [ ] Neutral [ ] Dis agree [ ]	
4.	The clan works for the society- providing the required social security welfare system, and protecting the society members in all aspects	Agree (A) [ ] Strongly Agree(SA) [ ] Neutral [ ] Dis agree [ ]	

The author of the questionnaire

Hamdi Ali MUSSE

CURRICULUM VITAE