

**FEDERALISM AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN SOMALIA  
A CASE STUDY OF MOGADISHU CITY**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

I declare that this work submitted is in its original form and of my own effort; any assistance rendered in its preparation is fully acknowledged, disclosed; and it has never been presented by any other student in any institution of learning.

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## APPROVAL

This is to certify that this report dissertation was done by Ahmed Mohamed Farah under my supervision as a university supervisor.

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Date: 28/8/2018 .....

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(Supervisor)

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this piece of work to my late father and beloved mother Abdiyo Qorane, whose tireless efforts to see me through school have always been an inspiration to me in my academic pursuits. May the Almighty God bless you abundantly.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Gratitude and honour to the almighty God for having helped me through all challenges and obstacles in my life. I would like to express heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Abeera Odetha Katuramu, whose tireless efforts have made this dream a reality. Great appreciation goes to my parents, and my brothers Abdi Mohamed Egal, Ali Mohamed Egal and Abdikarim Mohamed Farah who believed, trusted, loved and inspired me to this date. Special thanks go to the entire staff of Kampala International University especially the college of Humanities and Social Sciences for the great work and support towards my study and research. Lastly, I am grateful to the respondents who spared their precious time in answering questionnaires and responding to the interview guide.

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## ACRONYMS/ ABBREVIATIONS

(AU)	African Union
(ICRC)	International Committee of the Red Cross
(ICU)	Islamic Courts Union
(TFG)	Transitional Federal Government
(UNITAF)	United Nations International Task Force



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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Introduction

This chapter covered the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, scope of the study, and significance of the study, and the operational definitions of terms and concepts as applied to suit the context of the study.

### 1.1 Background of the study

#### 1.1.1 Historical Perspective

Globally, during the 1980s and early 1990s a neoliberal view dominated development policy discussions; thus, questions of state-building and state capacity were excluded (David and Laitin, 2014). As part of the push for liberalization and a minimalistic state, the scope of the state was reduced in developing countries through privatization, subsidy cuts, deregulation etc. However, these donor-imposed programs were often counterproductive.

Through history in many African states for example, former colonial administrative systems existed alongside neopatrimonial regimes that competed for resources and often felt threatened by Weberian rational bureaucracy (Chandler and William, 2012). Donor conditionality was therefore used as an excuse by regimes to expand and protect the scope of the neopatrimonial state, while reducing the “modern” state sectors. Today, several African states are among the weakest in the world; unable to preserve rule of law, guarantee territorial integrity and support development among other Weberian state functions (Longman, 2013). During the 1990s, the weakness or collapse of these states resulted in human rights and humanitarian disasters in countries like Haiti, Cambodia, East Timor and Somalia. Subsequently, it has been concluded that development is mostly affected by institutional and political rather than economic factors.

Since early 19th century, the politics of Somalia have gone through various periods of change (Karen. at. Al, 2011). Following the outbreak of the civil war and the ensuing collapse of the Siad Barre regime in the early 1990s, Somalia's residents reverted to local forms of conflict resolution, consisting of law, religious and customary law. A few autonomous regions, including the Somaliland, Puntland and Galmudug administrations, emerged in the north in

the ensuing process of decentralization. The early 2000s saw the creation of fledgling interim federal administrations. The Transitional (TNG) was established in 2000 followed by the formation of its successor the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in 2004, which reestablished national institutions such as the Military of Somalia. In 2006, the TFG assisted by Ethiopian troops, 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, with the insurgents losing most of the territory that they had seized by mid-2012 (Gordon, 2011).

In 2011-2012, a Roadmap political process providing clear benchmarks leading toward the establishment of permanent democratic institutions was launched. Within this administrative framework, a new Provisional Constitution was passed in August 2012, which designates Somalia as a federation (Edward et. al, 2015). Following the end of the TFG's interimmandate the same month, the Federal Government of Somalia, the first permanent central government in the country since the start of the civil war, was also formed. The nation has concurrently experienced a period of intense reconstruction, particularly in the capital, Mogadishu. Several internal and external actors tried and failed in reconstructing the Somali state. Due to these failures, the world community's involvement in the country was reduced to food aid. However, as global problems such as terrorism, poverty, trafficking and AIDS are seen as closely related to weakness or failure of states, the world once again turned its attention to Somalia during the 21st century as the instable situation in the country affected both regional and international peace and security.

### **1.1.2 Theoretical Perspective**

The study was based on functional theory developed by Peterson P.E in 1995. Functional theory predicts that the shape of the federal system responds to changes and developments in the American economy (Charles and Tansill, 2014). As the economy grows and becomes more integrated, and the mobility of capital and labor increase, the theory predicts that each level of government will specialize in the areas of public policy where it can perform best. As a consequence of the constraints imposed by market forces and political pressures on subnational governments, local and state governments will concentrate their efforts in creating the physical and social infrastructure necessary for economic development (Peterson 1995, p. 18). Failure to provide efficient public services creates incentives for citizens and

businesses to move elsewhere. Consequently, local and state governments run the risk of operating with a smaller tax base. On the other hand, the national government will progressively assume redistributive functions, because unlike subnational units, “it can prevent the mobility of labor and can impose some constraints on capital flow” (Peterson 1995).

As functional theory predicted, each level of government has increasingly focused its efforts on the policy areas where they perform best (Chery, 2010). Local and state governments concentrate their efforts in developmental policy, whereas the national government handles redistributive programs. Consequently, the price of federalism has been falling, and the system is moving towards a more sustainable path. However, some challenges remain, and one deserves special attention.

### **1.1.3 Conceptual Perspective**

Federalism refers to the mix or compound mode of government, combining a general government (the central or federal government) with regional government (provincial, state, land, control, territorial or other sub –unit government) in single political system. A Federal Government is a system that divides up power between a strong national government and smaller local governments (Shin, 2013). A federal government is a system of dividing up power between a central national government and local state governments that are connected to one another by the national government. Federalism is concerned simultaneously with the diffusion of political power in the name of liberty and its concentration on behalf of unity or energetic government’. Here, the basic federal principle is concerned with the combination of ‘self-rule’ and ‘shared rule’. It is the framework that involves the linking of individuals, groups, and polities in lasting but limited union in such a way as to provide for the pursuit of common ends while maintaining the respective integrities of all parties (Bollen, 2015).

Political stability is the durability and integrity of a current government regime. This is determined based on the amount of violence and terrorism expressed in the nation and by citizens associated with the state (Beck at. al., 2011). A stable society is one that is satisfied with the ruling party and system of operations and is not interested in revolutionary or despotic ideas. Political stability is widely considered to be the product of combined political, economic, and social variables. It is generally assessed as the composite performance of a nation across a variety of components or factors. For example, the Failed States Index assesses indicators (mounting demographic pressures, economic decline, human rights violations, etc.)

#### **1.1.4 Contextual Perspective**

Creating a functioning federal and nationally stable state in Mogadishu means negotiation, reconciliation and sharing of power among Somalis. Yet in the last 20 years “genuine negotiations” did not occur (Katz, 2015). International attempts at solving Somalia’s instability resulted in the establishment of central governments that barely exerted control over a few square miles. These transitional governments lacked legitimacy, and even worse, hurt the Somali people through corruption and theft. Ending the mass atrocities occurring in Mogadishu entails building national unity and sharing power across individuals, clans and rivals. Compromise will lead to a responsive government able to feed its people, secure its borders and combat terrorists on its own. However, the difficulty lies in removing those who benefit from the current system so that power devolves to the people. Only Somalis can create lasting change by building trust between different factions who will in turn demand good governance and different leaders (Hajji, 2013).

In 2011-2012, a Roadmap political process providing clear benchmarks leading toward the establishment of permanent democratic institutions was launched. Within this administrative framework, a new Provisional Constitution was passed in August 2012, which designates Somalia as a federation. Following the end of the TFG's interim mandate the same month, the Federal Government of Somalia, the first permanent central government in the country since the start of the 16 civil war, was also formed. The nation has concurrently experienced a period of intense reconstruction, particularly in the capital, Mogadishu. Several internal and external actors tried and failed in reconstructing the Somali state. Due to these failures, the world community’s involvement in the country was reduced to food aid. However, as global problems such as terrorism, poverty, trafficking and AIDS are seen as closely related to weakness or failure of states, the world once again turned its attention to Somalia during the 21st century as the instable situation in the country affected both regional and international peace and security

#### **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Political stability in a country like Somalia where its citizens do not agree concerning basics such as borders, citizenship and constitutional structure will fail since there exists no indigenous center or ideology to force competing groups to compromise. Therefore, the international community, if it intervenes, should promote programs and organizations that



support Somali-led reconciliation. The world community can assist by offering support to burgeoning members of civil society and by ensuring Somalia's national resources go towards the Somali people. Imposing an international solution or backing foreign participation in power-brokering agreements will backfire in countries like Somalia without a history of central government or sense of statehood (Hajji, 2013).

Therefore, as a failed state located in a strategic area, Somalia attracted international interventions and protracted discussion (Laitin, 2014). Its collapse engendered debate concerning the cause of its dysfunction and what should be done to establish stability. The most common reasons given for Somalia's failure include: its clan system, enduring effects of colonialism, lack of sufficient economic resources, and blundering by the international community at peace building. While these factors play a role in explaining Somalia's collapse, they do not reach the heart of the problem. It was against this that the researcher investigates the relationship between federalism and Political Stability in Mogadishu Somalia.

### **1.3 Objectives of the study**

#### **1.3.1 General objective**

The general objective of this study was to investigate the relationship between federalism and Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia

#### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives of the Study**

- i. To establish the effect of federalist debates on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia
- ii. To examine the effect of international interventions on federalism on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia
- iii. To identify the effect of failed federal government on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia

### **1.4 Research questions**

- i. What is the effect of federalist debates on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia?
- ii. What is the effect of international interventions on federalism on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia?

- iii. What is the effect of failed federal government on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia?

### **1.5 Hypothesis**

- i. There was a positive significant relationship between federalist debates and Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia
- ii. There was a positive significant relationship between international interventions and federalism on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia
- iii. There was a positive significant relationship between failed government and federalism on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia

### **1.6 Scope of the study**

#### **1.6.1 Geographical Scope**

The study was carried out in Somalia and in the war ravaged Mogadishu, Somalia is an African State in horn of Africa. The Researcher used Mogadishu because it was one of the cities in a fragile state as a result of war that had attracted the attention of the Somalia Federal government, in a bid to restore peace and stability.

#### **1.6.2 Content Scope**

The study findings were limited to the influence of federalism on Political Stability in Somalia (Mogadishu)

#### **1.6.3 Time scope**

The study focus was from 2010-2015 (four years) and this was because that period was characterized by Political instability in Mogadishu which came as a result of ineffective federalism and the researcher took six months in data collection and compilation (from February to July 2018).

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

Firstly, this study will serve as a useful resource for government policy formulation on conflict resolution in Somalia, given the centrality of political stability in the country's foreign policy priorities.

Secondly, the research will furthermore contribute to the body of knowledge on Federalism and Political stability processes in Somalia. In addition, challenges and opportunities, presented to the mediators, by the peculiarities of the Somali political, social and economic system will be identified and discussed in this study.

Thirdly, lessons learned from the processes of mediating the conflict can serve as a resource for future diplomatic interventions in Federalism and Political stability and management.

Furthermore, the research findings will help future researchers in carrying out their researches as they may use the findings in this study as literature.

Lastly, the study will be significant to the researcher in fulfilling one of the requirements for award of the Bachelor's degree of public administration.

### **1.8 Definition of Operational key terms**

**Federalism** refers to the mix or compound mode of government, combining a general government (the central or federal government) with regional government (provincial, state, land, control, territorial or other sub –unit government) in single political system (Longman, 2013).

**Political stability** is the durability and integrity of a current government regime. This is determined based on the amount of violence and terrorism expressed in the nation and by citizens associated with the state (Karen et. Al., 2011).

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter presented the literature from different scholars and authors in accordance to the objectives of the study. This was sub-divided into three sections, that was; theoretical review, conceptual framework and review of related literature.

#### **2.1 Theoretical Review**

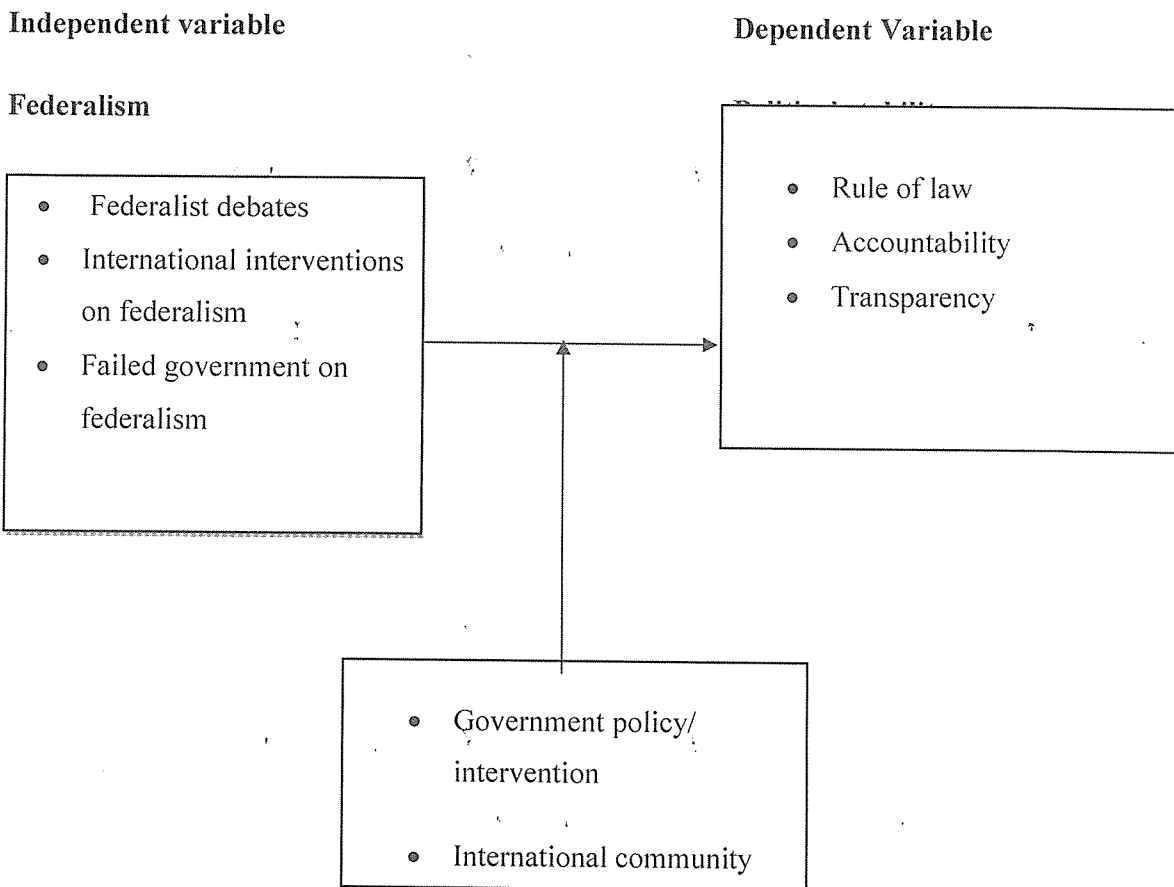
The study was based on functional theory developed by Peterson P.E in 1995. Functional theory predicts that the shape of the federal system responds to changes and developments in the American economy (Karen et al., 2011). As the economy grows and becomes more integrated, and the mobility of capital and labor increase, the theory predicts that each level of government will specialize in the areas of public policy where it can perform best. As a consequence of the constraints imposed by market forces and political pressures on subnational governments, local and state governments will concentrate their efforts in creating the physical and social infrastructure necessary for economic development (Peterson, 1995). Failure to provide efficient public services creates incentives for citizens and businesses to move elsewhere. Consequently, local and state governments run the risk of operating with a smaller tax base. On the other hand, the national government will progressively assume redistributive functions, because unlike subnational units, “it can prevent the mobility of labor and can impose some constraints on capital flow” (Peterson 1995).

As functional theory predicted, each level of government has increasingly focused its efforts on the policy areas where they perform best. Local and state governments concentrate their efforts in developmental policy, whereas the national government handles redistributive programs. Consequently, the price of federalism has been falling, and the system is moving towards a more sustainable path. However, some challenges remain, and one deserves special attention (Gordon, 2011).

## 2.2 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework diagrammatically shows the relationship between the different variables in the study. The independent variable was perceived as federalism and dependent variable was political stability

Figure 1: showing the conceptual Framework



Source: David and Laitin (2014)

From the conceptual framework above, the independent variable is federalism and it concerns; federalist debates, international interventions on federalism and failed federal government and the dependent variable is independent variable which is political stability which focuses on; rule of law, accountability and transparency. The intervening variables are; Government policy/ intervention and international community

## **2.3 Related Studies**

### **2.3.1 Effect of federalist debates on Political Stability**

Scholars describe the term 'federalism' in various ways, such as political philosophy, normative ideal, ideological position, programmatic orientation and historical phenomenon (Gordon, 2011). It is therefore essential to consider the various interpretations and definitions of the concept for the benefit of understanding the debates and to be as clear and explicit as possible when using the concept in this dissertation. A good point of departure is the definition developed by Daniel Elazar, one of the leading experts in field of federalism. According to Elazar 'federalism has to do with the need of people and polities to, unite for common purposes yet remain separate to preserve their integrity.

Accordingly, federalism is considered as a comprehensive system of political relationships which emphasizes the combination of self-rule and shared rule within a matrix of constitutionally dispersed powers (Charles and Tansill, (2014). Federalism, as the contractual combination of self-rule and shared-rule, as a broad genus of political organization encompassing a range of different species. In his article, From Statism to Federalism, Elazar explicitly used the term 'federal' in its largest sense, not simply to describe modern federation like the United States, Canada, or Switzerland but all the various federal arrangements in use in the world today including federations, confederations and other confederal arrangements, associated states, special interest joint authorities with constitutional standing, and others (Chery, 2010).

In contrast, however, Watts warns that though defining federalism as a broad generic term encompassing a variety of forms is helpful, the use of 'federalism' as both a normative and a descriptive term opens some potential for logical confusion. Consequently, he argues, following Preston King's distinction that making the three terms- 'federalism', 'federal political systems' and 'federation' distinct is essential (Chery, 2010). According to Watts while 'federalism' should be seen as normative concept, 'federal political systems' should be understood as the generic descriptive term for the whole genus encompassing the wide variety of political systems combining 'self-rule' and 'shared-rule'. In addition, he considers 'federation' as one specific form or species of federal political system, nothing as well that there may be hybrids combining some features of the different forms of 'federal political systems'.

In his vital contribution to the theoretical discussion, King made a distinction between 'federalism' and 'federation' as normative and descriptive terms respectively (Shin, 2013). Thus, 'federation' is defined 'as an institutional arrangement, taking the form of a sovereign state, and distinguished from other such states solely by the fact that its central government incorporates regional units in its decision procedure on some constitutionally entrenched basis', whereas, federalism is an ideological and/or philosophical position. In accordance to this definition, there may be federalism without federation, but there cannot be federation without some matching variety of federalism. Following King's distinction of 'federalism' and 'federation', Michael Burgess explains that 'federation' as a constitutionally entrenched institution that recognizes diversity in a state or as he puts it: 'the institutionalization of those relationships in a state which have political salience,' Accordingly this type of political institution takes many forms and his definition is concerned chiefly with those diversities which have the capacity for political mobilization. However, he makes the point that 'federation is not a universal panacea to the politics of difference; on the contrary, it is one direct response to those diversities which can determine the very legitimacy and stability of the state itself' (Bollen, 2015). Thus for Burgess, 'federation' is a specific organizational form which includes structures, institutions, procedures and techniques. It is a tangible institutional reality. It is 'a case of corporate self-rule, which is to say as some form of democratic or constitutional government'.

Without basic consensus on some form of federal principles and processes it is likely that the concept could become too flexible and any regime could call its system 'federal' on the basis of the mere existence of the structures alone (Bollen, 2015). As King states that 'if it is to be used meaningfully, it has to be given some reliable and fairly fixed sense. Otherwise 'the variety of meanings associated with federation creates a genuine basis for misunderstanding'. Hence, the gist of the matter is not determined only by the presence of the structures, but indeed, the reflection of the process as well and in the senses of relationships that exist between and within the federal and the states structures as well as peoples-states relations. The process could reflect, in some justifiable form, to the extent the structures embody the interests of the people. 'It not only embraces individual citizens, with an equal entitlement to vote, but also individual territories or states or provinces, which also enjoy some form of equal influence at the federal centre'. Subsequently, without such a process, the federal structure could just serve as a means for the concentration of power or the tyranny of local oligarchy in the name of federalism or regional government (Beck et al., 2011).

### **2.3.2 Effect of international interventions on federalism on Political Stability**

The Somali conflict has often deceived mediators by its episodic but recurring bouts of violence, which Crocker, Hampson and All contend is usual for PSCs. Diplomatic mediation in Somalia has sometimes confused these episodic processes with moving to the next stage of the resolution, which is the establishment of a transitional government (Beck et al., 2011).

Boyd et al., (2014) noted that the haste to create a central government is perhaps informed by what Moller describes as the “relentless quest for state building” because the entire international system is constructed around states to such an extent it is unable to handle stateless territories inhabited by people who cannot be classified as citizens of any state<sup>102</sup>. Moving to the creation of transitional arrangements before the resolution phase has been the main challenge of international diplomatic efforts to resolve the Somali conflict. The confusion is sometimes caused by the view that a declining conflict reflects a final resolution.

Katz (2015) pointed out that PSCs may go into abeyant or frozen stages and then the potential for a renewed outbreak of violence exists. Under these circumstances, there is a need to deploy adequate conflict resolution resources and care must be taken not to rush to the next stage because disputants still experience conflict with each other. The abeyant conflict stage provides a window of opportunity for the intensification of diplomatic efforts to find a solution acceptable to all the disputants. During this stage, conflict resolution practitioners should ensure that key issues driving the conflict are addressed; these issues may range from the proximate to the root causes of the conflict.

Causes of intractable conflict often assume different forms and dimensions. The initial causes of the Somali conflict revolved around the repressive Siad Barre military regime. They have since adopted different assumptions and objectives. A systematic approach to intractable conflict is fundamental and, to this end, Hajji (2013) contends that intractable conflicts are a pathological disease, an infection or cancer of the body politics that can spread and afflict the system. There is thus the need to diagnose the situation correctly.

At times, diagnosing the Somali conflict has been influenced by external factors and interests not relevant to the conflict (Laitin, 2014). When the AU made pronouncements in January 2007 that endorsed the Ethiopian occupation and even went a step further by saying that the occupation presents a unique opportunity to resolve the conflict finally, pronouncements failed to recognize that Ethiopians are blamed by Somali's for the current state of affairs.



This outlook can be traced back to the imperial partitioning of Somalia in 1897 and the defeat of Somalia in the 1978 Ogaden War, which act as catalysts in the current Somali intractable conflict.

The AU analysts also failed to understand pan-Somali nationalism. This ideology is based on the notion of a Greater Somalia which includes the Ogaden, Somaliland, the NFD of Somalia and Djibouti (Chandler and William, 2012). The AU's pronouncements were informed by Ethiopia's subjective view of developments in Somalia. Wolff refers to this kind of behaviour as the bad leader syndrome and the bad neighbour syndrome and is also known as proximate causes of conflict by conflict resolution practitioners.

Rutherford asserts that the AU's misdiagnosis of the Somali conflict follows on the earlier diagnosis by the UN in 1992. Intervention by the UN in Somalia was initially intended to provide humanitarian support to what was known as the "Triangle of Death" (Mogadishu, Baidoa and Kismayo). The food crisis was caused by the civil war and famine that were ravaging the country. The crisis was commonly referred to as a manmade disaster due to the conflict implications for the general population (Longman, 2013). The UN Security Council resolution 794 (1992), which authorized the deployment of 30,000 US troops in Somalia, had a limited scope. The operation was codenamed Operation Restore Hope (ORH) by the US. The UN referred to it as the United Nations International Task Force (UNITAF). The primary objective of the operation was to create a secure environment for delivery of humanitarian relief throughout Somalia (Longman, 2013).

By the end of 1992, Bradbury estimates that over 400,000 people had died and 1.5 million had fled the country to seek refuge abroad (Gordon, 2011). The magnitude of the crisis made it possible for the UN to mobilize international support to alleviate the impact of the crisis on the civilian population mainly, particularly women and children. The noble cause of the UN was compromised when the situation was misdiagnosed by military commanders on the ground, perhaps because ORH was primarily a military operation with a humanitarian strategic objective.

The argument by Rutherford that in the case of Somalia, it was the first time that the politically neutral International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had hired armed forces to protect its relief supplies and convoys, which is indicative of the militarization of humanitarian intervention. The question is should the ICRC have protected its neutrality by

refusing the idea of hiring armed militias to protect its operation? Only time will tell, once the conflict has finally been resolved (Edward et. al, 2015).

### **2.3.3 Effect of failed federal government on Political Stability**

According to Charles and Tansill, (2014), the fall of the Mohamed Siad Barre regime in 1991 had unintended consequences on the Somali state institution. The fall of a government does not necessarily signal the collapse of a state in democratic societies. The basic assumption is that the threat of state collapse unsurprisingly arises in countries in which the preconditions for state formation and maintenance were most uncertain in the first place and derives from the relatively recent assumption that the entire world should be divided into states. When Siad Barre seized power in a military coup in 1969, the Somali state was nine years into its formation with visible structural weaknesses. The military government destroyed even the rudimentary structures of a functioning state such as the legislature, judiciary and the civil service. Therefore, the collapse of the Somali state was not a chance event, but a process, which began at the time of independence in 1960. Thus, it can be stated that the state “collapse was triggered when the Siad Barre government fell in 1991.

When the Somali state collapsed in 1991, there was no formidable political formation capable of filling the vacuum left by the weak government of Siad Barre (Chery, 2010). The country was fragmented in terms of clan lineage and patronage and the devastating drought and ensuing famine introduced food security as a source of conflict. Another element consistent with the concept of an intractable conflict concept was introduced: the changing goalpost in the life cycle of such a conflict. A lack of political vision and the politics of exclusion became the ingredients for the current civil war in Somalia. The absence of a political formation capable of channeling the anger of the Somalis to change the divisive legacy of the Siad Barre regime constructively was another factor in Somalia’s protracted civil war.

According to Chery (2010), federal governments “the method of dividing powers so that central and regional governments are each within a sphere co-ordinate and independent from each other”. Dr. Elmi further explained this concept of federalism and claimed that the federal structure is a system of “self-rule plus shared rule.” Hewentto says that federalism “involves some kind of contractual linkages of presumably permanent character, It provides power sharing and cuts around the issue of sovereignty.

According to Gent (2003) Political Stability is the durability and integrity of a current government regime. This is determined based on the amount of violence and terrorism expressed in the nation and by citizens associated with the state. A stable society is one that is satisfied with the ruling party and system of operations and is not interested in revolutionary or despotic ideas. A stable political scene is one where the ruling government is favored by the population and does not experience strong indicators of social unrest. While there are problems within any nation, and times of war or hardship are common, a stable political system is one that can withstand these occurrences without major societal upheaval and ongoing endurance of these circumstances (Shin, 2013).

Much of the ability of a political system to sustain itself relies on how leaders respond to crises. People must be satisfied with how their rulers handle problems and the solutions they create or else the fallout from these events results in destruction of hierarchies and government agencies. Revolutions, terrorism and public violence are associated with failed Political Stability. Political Stability requires that the public interacts freely and openly with legislators on a regular basis. Granting individuals a say in how a nation is run enhances the stability of the region (Longman, 2008).

#### **2.4 Research Gap**

The functional theory does not provide practicable strategies to achieve political stability. As the foregoing review reveals, federalist debates as a factor that influences federalism in Mogadishu has not been extensively tackled. A number of studies such as that of Gordon, (2011); Charles and Tansill, (2014) have been done covering the subject of federalism however, none of them has covered the aspect of promoting political stability through international interventions on federalism and failed government on federalism, hence, providing a content gap that this study covered. The gaps in the literature review were filled during field data collection, which was guided by the purpose and the objectives of the current study.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the methodology that was applied while conducting the study. It focused upon the research design, study population, sample size, sampling techniques, data collection instruments, data processing and analysis, instrument reliability and validity.

#### **3.1 Research design**

A cross-sectional research design was applied in the study to ensure the collection of information from the respondents. Schostak (2002:33) remarks that, a design is a plan or a means or approach of obtaining data for a specific study and it explains how the study is to be organized and implemented in detail throughout the entire methodology a design is concerned with the collection of data from usually a large number of respondents and data normally collected focuses upon the views, ideas and attitude of the respondents in relation to the phenomenon under society. The design therefore gave consideration to the entire essential steps involved in the study concerning an analysis of the influence of federalism Stabilize the political situation in Mogadishu Somalia.

#### **3.2 Study population**

The research target population was 240; these were got from different members of the community and these include politicians, tradition leaders, and international NGOs' staff. It should be noted that all the fore mentioned were got from Mogadishu. This was on the basis of their knowledge about the influence of federalism on political stability of Mogadishu Somalia.

#### **3.3 Sample size**

The size of the sample was 150 respondents. These filled questionnaires in order to elicit the required responses that were in turn be used for data analysis. Amin (2014) noted that a sample usually over and above 50 is adequate for the study and its findings are likely to be representative enough.

Table 1: table 3.1 Sample size

CATEGORY	POPULATION	SAMPLE	SAMPLING TECHNIQUES
NGO staff	50	32	Random sampling
Politicians	80	50	Purposive sampling
Traditional leaders	50	32	Purposive sampling
Citizens	60	36	Random sampling
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>150</b>	

(Source: primary data 2018)

The Sloven's formula (1978) was used to determine the minimum sample size. The sample size of the study consisted of 150 respondents of the target population. This is so because the nature of data to be generated required different techniques for better understanding of the research problem under investigation. Besides, the approach was also commonly known for achieving higher degree of validity and reliability as well as eliminating biases as per Amin (2005).

The Sloven's formula (1978) was used to determine the minimum sample size.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2} = n = \frac{240}{1 + 240(0.05)^2} = 150 \text{ respondents}$$

n = sample size

N = the population size

e = level of significance, fixed at 0.05

n = sample size

N = the population size

e = level of significance, fixed at 0.05

### 3.4 Sampling techniques

The researcher employed purposive and simple random sampling in the course of the study. This was due to their relevance to the study.

### **3.4.1 Purposive sampling**

For the politicians and traditional leaders, purposive sampling was used; this was because it reflected the researcher's personal interests and judgments. This implied because they were knowledgeable about the federalism and political stability in Somalia.

### **3.4.2 Simple random sampling**

A simple random sampling was a sample obtained from the population in such a way that samples of the same size had equal chances of being selected. As for citizens, the researcher selected respondents through simple random sampling. In this case, every item in population was chosen on a chance basis in order to minimize bias that could arise as a result of the researcher favoring some members of the population. This therefore, would give them an equal opportunity to participate in the study (Decenzo; 2000:101-106)

### **3.5 Sampling procedure**

In this case, the researcher followed well laid out procedure in an attempt to sample the respondents. The population as defined, elements of the population was listed and an appropriate sampling methodology was determined. A decision was taken regarding the size of the sample that was representative enough for the study.

### **3.6 Data collection methods**

Two basic instruments were used to collect data and these included questionnaires. Chambers (2000: 258), stresses that since almost all data from multi methods have biases associated with them, collecting data from multiple sources lends rigor to research studies. It was therefore, important to collect data from multiple sources and through multiple collection methods, such research, though was time consuming and costly, but lends rigor to research studies.

#### **3.6.1 Questionnaires**

Questionnaires were used to collect qualitative primary data from the respondents. A questionnaire is a set of similar questions framed to gather data from respondents. This method was applied to technocrats, members of the personnel department, heads of sections and policy makers because they had the cognitive ability to interpret them and therefore, respond accordingly.

Hessler (1992:104) holds the view that a questionnaire is vital in data collection because it is free from bias of the interviewer and the results can be more dependable, valid and reliable.

Above all questionnaires especially open ended ones elicit a high response rate since the respondent was free to respond without limitations.

### **3.6.2 Documentary Review**

A document is an artifact which has as its central feature an inscribed text (Scott 1990). Simply put, a document is a written text. Documents are produced by individuals and groups in the course of their everyday practices and are geared exclusively for their own immediate practical needs (Scott op cit.). They had been written with a purpose and were based on particular assumptions and presented in a certain way or style and to this extent, the researcher were fully aware of the origins, purpose and the original audience of the documents (Grix, 2001)

The storage and retrieval of research data from documents plays an important role not only in keeping researchers abreast of the developments across the world, but also in providing access to data which can inform literature establish content validity in their own research. Files, internet documents, achieved documents, on the training methods were used.

### **3.7 Instrument reliability and validity**

#### **3.7.1 Reliability**

Instruments were pre-tested on 10 respondents from all categories in order to establish the extent of accuracy and ability to elicit the necessary and adequate responses. The respondents were requested to make constructive criticisms, positive changes and suggest improvements; amendments that were put forward by the respective respondents were put into consideration and incorporated into the final version of the fore mentioned research instruments.

#### **3.7.2 Validity**

The instruments applied were valid and free from bias and practical, in this case, before the researcher applying the research instrument, it was firstly validated by examining its contents, whether it can measure to the assumed attributes, free from bias, contamination and deficiency. It therefore aided the researcher to minimize bias in the course of the study (Decenzo: 2006:116)

### **3.8 Data processing and analysis**

Data collected through questionnaires and interview schedule were edited, coded, classified and tabulated. Coding was initiated for both closed and open ended questions while data with significant similarities were categorized, respective questions were cross-examined to

ascertain authenticity. This was because it was likely to enhance the attainment of more desirable data for processing and analysis. Above all, data was mainly presented with the use of tables in order to make easy analysis of the findings.

### **3.7 Limitations of the Study**

Time limitation, time available for the research was not enough. The researcher met many other important obligations to attend to. However, the researcher ensured that the time available was efficiently used according to the laid out schedule.

Also the researcher experienced a problem of delays in submitting back the answered questionnaires by respondents. This was due to the busy schedules of the respondents, since almost most of them were involved in day today work as well as studies. This affected the process of data compilation.

Financial shortage. Finance was inadequate and this strained the researcher. The ever-increasing transport cost was a big problem

Falsification of information by respondents. Some respondents would give false information in order to please the researcher and this undermined the reliability of the research findings.



**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS**

**4.0 Introduction**

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of the major findings from the research instruments that were used for collecting the data with specific emphasis on the relationship between Federalism and political stability in Mogadishu City, Somalia.

The character of the respondents included aspects of gender, age, marital status and level of education filled on the questionnaire and the results are presented and analyzed in table 3 below are table four for clear clarification

**4.1 Demographic characteristics of respondents**

**Table 4. 1: Demographic Characteristics of the respondents**

MAIN CATEGORY	SUB-CATEGORY	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Gender	Male	82	54.67
	Female	68	45.33
	<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>
Age	20-35 years	67	44.67
	36-49 years	48	32
	50 and above years	35	23.33
	<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>
Marital Status	Single	39	26
	Married	69	46
	Widowed	27	18
	Divorced	15	10
	<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>
Educational level	Primary level	13	8.67
	Secondary	16	10.67
	Certificate level	20	13.33
	Diploma	54	36
	Degree	30	20
	Master's degree	17	11.33
	<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Primary Data (2018)

The table 4.1 above represents the demographic characteristics of the respondents in terms of gender, age and education level. Regarding gender, it was realized that (54.67%) were male while 45.33% were female respondents.

In terms of ages, (44.67%) were in age ranging 20-35 years. This was followed by respondents aged between 36-49 years with (32%) while the minority group was of respondents aged above 50 years with a (23.33%).

In regard to marital status, 26% were single, 46% were married, 18% were widowed, and 10% were divorced. This implies that the married were the majority and thus had several responsibilities.

Information regarding educational level majority of respondents were at diploma level at (36%) who were followed by those with degree education (20%). Those with certificate level had (13.33%) followed by those who were the master's degree holders (11.33%), those with secondary level education had (10.67%) whereas the primary level were at (8.67%).

#### 4.2 Findings on effect of federalist debates on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia

Table 4. 2: Effect of federalist debates on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia

INDICATORS	MEAN	INTERPRETATION	RANK
Federalist debates help to unite people for common purposes yet remain separate to preserve their integrity	3.3	Very Good	1
Federalism is comprehensive system of political relationships which emphasizes the combination of self-rule and shared rule	3.27	Very Good	2
Without basic consensus on some form of federal principles and processes it is likely that the concept could become too flexible	2.75	Good	3
Federalist debates not only are embraced by individual citizens, with an equal entitlement to vote, but also individual territories or states or provinces, which also enjoy some form of equal influence at the federal centre	2.7	Good	4
Federal structure is also believed to be a concentration of power or the tyranny of local oligarchy in the name of federalism or regional government	2.7	Good	5
<b>Average Mean</b>	<b>2.94</b>	<b>Good</b>	

Source: Primary Data (2018)

## Legend

Mean Range	Response Mode	Interpretation
1.00 – 1.75	Strongly Disagree	Very Poor
1.76 – 2.50	Disagree	Poor
2.51 – 3.25	Agree	Good
3.26 – 4.00	Strongly Agree	Very Good

The first objective was set to establish the effect of federalist debates on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia. For this study, the effect of federalist debates on Political Stability was determined using five indicators which the respondents were required to indicate the extent to which they preferred.

On the indicator that Federalist debates help to unite people for common purposes yet remain separate to preserve their integrity was very good at mean of 3.3 an equivalent to very good on the Likert Scale. It was followed by Federalism is comprehensive system of political relationships which emphasizes the combination of self-rule and shared rule at a mean of 3.27 which is also very good. Without basic consensus on some form of federal principles and processes it is likely that the concept could become too flexible followed at a mean of 2.75 which was equivalent to good.

In the fourth rank was the indicator Federalist debates not only are embraced by individual citizens, with an equal entitlement to vote, but also individual territories or states or provinces, which also enjoy some form of equal influence at the federal centre at a mean of 2.7 which was equivalent to good. Federal structure is also believed to be a concentration of power or the tyranny of local oligarchy in the name of federalism or regional government was at the fifth rank with a mean of 2.7 equivalent to good.

Generally the effect of federalist debates on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia was good an average mean of 2.94 equivalent to good on the Likert Scale. This implies that federalism through federalist debates can play a vital role in political stability of Somalia.

### 4.3 Findings on effect of international interventions on federalism on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia

Table 4.3: Effect of international interventions on federalism on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia

INDICATORS	MEAN	INTERPRETATION	RANK
Federalism does not justify increased levels of intervention, nor does it permit foreign nations to establish relations with subunits in violation of national policy	3.33	Very good	1
One nation should not intervene by force in another nation unless it has some reason to believe its intervention can be effective in solving the problem that provided the basis for the intervention	3.1	Good	2
Federalized structure of a nation does not provide a separate ground for international intervention	3.0	Good	3
A nation has granted autonomy rights to one or more of its subunits should not be seen as justifying intervention that would otherwise be unjustified	2.29	Poor	4
Intervention to counteract the abuse of human rights or to suppress terrorism represents a further step along the spectrum	2.25	Poor	5
<b>Average Mean</b>	<b>2.79</b>	<b>Good</b>	

Source: Primary Data (2018)

#### Legend

Mean Range	Response Mode	Interpretation
1.00 – 1.75	Strongly Disagree	Very Poor
1.76 – 2.50	Disagree	Poor
2.51 – 3.25	Agree	Good
3.26 – 4.00	Strongly agree	Very Good

The second objective was set to establish the effect of international interventions on federalism on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia. Federalism does not justify

increased levels of intervention, nor does it permit foreign nations to establish relations with subunits in violation of national policy with a mean of 3.33 equivalent to very good.

This was followed by the indicator that one nation should not intervene by force in another nation unless it has some reason to believe its intervention can be effective in solving the problem that provided the basis for the intervention with a mean of 3.1 which is equivalent to good. The indicator federalized structure of a nation does not provide a separate ground for international intervention with 3.0 which is equivalent to good on the Likert Scale. This was followed by a nation has granted autonomy rights to one or more of its subunits should not be seen as justifying intervention that would otherwise be unjustified with mean of 2.29 which is equivalent to poor on the Likert Scale.

Intervention to counteract the abuse of human rights or to suppress terrorism represents a further step along the spectrum had a mean of 2.25 equivalent to poor on the Likert Scale. Lastly, the average mean was 2.79 which is equivalent to Good on the Likert Scale.

Generally the effect of international interventions on federalism on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia was good with average mean average of 2.79 an equivalent of good on the Likert scale. This implies that international interventions on federalism need to be considered since they can also significantly influence political stability of the country.

#### 4.4 Findings on effect of failed federal government on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia

Table 5 Table 4. 4: Effect of failed federal government on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia

INDICATORS	MEAN	INTERPRETATION	RANK
The fall of a government does not necessarily signal the collapse of a state in democratic societies	2.25	Poor	1
The threat of state collapse unsurprisingly arises in which the preconditions for state formation and maintenance are most uncertain in the first place	2.22	Poor	2
The collapse of the Somali state was not a chance event, but a process, which began at the time of independence in 1960	2.2	Poor	3
When the Somali state collapsed in 1991, there was no formidable political formation capable of filling the vacuum left by the weak government	2.2	Poor	4
The absence of a political formation capable of channeling the anger of the Somalis to change the divisive legacy	2.1	Poor	5
<b>Average Mean</b>	<b>2.19</b>	<b>Poor</b>	

#### Legend

Mean Range	Response Mode	Interpretation
1.00 – 1.75	Strongly Disagree	Very Poor
1.76 – 2.50	Disagree	Poor
2.51 – 3.25	Agree	Good
3.26 – 4.00	Strongly agree	Very Good

The third objective was set to establish the effect of failed federal government on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia. For this study, the effect of failed federal government on Political Stability was determined using five indicators which the respondents were required to indicate the extent to which they preferred.

In the first rank, it was the indicator that the fall of a government does not necessarily signal the collapse of a state in democratic societies with a mean of 2.25 equivalent to Poor on the Likert Scale. This was followed the threat of state collapse unsurprisingly arises in which the preconditions for state formation and maintenance are most uncertain in the first place with a mean of 2.22 equivalent to Poor on the Likert Scale.

The third rank was the collapse of the Somali state was not a chance event, but a process, which began at the time of independence in 1960 with a mean of 2.2 equivalent to Poor on the Likert scale. This was followed that when the Somali state collapsed in 1991, there was no formidable political formation capable of filling the vacuum left by the weak government with a mean of 2.2 equivalent to Poor and lastly, the absence of a political formation capable of channeling the anger of the Somalis to change the divisive legacy followed with a mean of 2.1 equivalent to Poor on the Likert Scale. The average Mean was 2.19 equivalent to Poor on the Likert Scale.

**Table 4. 5: shows the correlation between federalist debates and Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia**

Correlations			
		Federalist debates	Political stability
Federalist debates	Pearson Correlation	1	.611**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	150	150
Political stability	Pearson Correlation	.611**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	150	150
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

Findings in the table 4.5 shown above suggest that positive significant relationship with a Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.611 and its significance stood at 0.000. This shows that it rejects hypothesis and thus indicating a positive significant relationship between federalist debates and political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia. With regards to the hypothesis it was accepted since reliable evidence point to the fact that the there was a positive significant

relationship between the two variables. This further illustrates that federalist debates are a good indicator or booster for political stability.

**Table 4. 6 shows Correlation between international interventions on federalism and political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia**

Correlations			
		International interventions on federalism	Political stability
International interventions on federalism	Pearson Correlation	1	.577**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	150	150
Political stability	Pearson Correlation	.577**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	150	150
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

Findings indicated that the relationship between international interventions on federalism and political stability was computed at a Pearson Correlation Coefficient of 0.577. The significance of the relationship was within the acceptable range as it stood at 0.00 which rejects hypothesis and this signifies that the relationship between the two variables was strong, positive and significant. With the revelation of the findings presented and discussed above, it necessitated for the rejection of the null hypothesis that had been adopted by the study all through. The alternative hypothesis was, thus, adopted that suggested that the international interventions on federalism had a positive significant relationship with political stability.



Table 8 Table 4. 7 shows the correlation between failed federal government and political stability

Correlations			
		Failed federal government	Political stability
Failed federal government	Pearson Correlation	1	.501**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	150	150
Political stability	Pearson Correlation	.501**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	150	150
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			

From table 4.7, it can be seen that there was positive significant relationship between failed federal government and political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia. Findings suggest that this relationship stood at 0.501 on the Pearson correlation scale and its significance was at 0.000. This is interpreted as significant and positive relationship between the two variables. This rejects hypothesis and thus also signifies that positive significant relationship between failed federal government and political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia.

Table 9 Table 4. 8: Regression analysis between the dependent and independent variables

Model		Coefficients <sup>a</sup>			t	Sig.
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.481	.050		0.451	.420
	Federalist debates	.865	.075	.451	0.750	.305
	International interventions on federalism	.752	.036	.540	0.620	.045
	Failed federal government	.640	.042	.421	0.732	.510
a. Dependent Variable: Political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia						

From the table 4.8 above of regression analysis the F-value is 83.30 and Sig. value<sup>2</sup> is 0.000. According to the findings in the table above, the adjusted R2 is 0.846. This implies that there is significant relationship between the federalism and political stability in Somalia was accepted meaning there is a relationship. Also it shows that there is a significant relationship between the dependent variable and independent variable as the results indicate that the significant value (0.000) is greater than the F-value (83.30).

From the above analysis, the multiple regression equation based on the model was developed.

Y = Dependent variable (Political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia)

X<sub>1</sub> = Independent variable (Federalist debates)

X<sub>2</sub> = Independent variable (International interventions on federalism)

X<sub>3</sub> = Independent variable (Failed federal government)

b = coefficient

$$y = a + bxi = a + b_1x_1 + b_2x_2 + b_3x_3$$

**Substituting for values in the equation:**

$$Y = 0.481 + 0.865x_1 + 0.752x_2 + 0.640x_3$$

Political stability = 0.056+0.074x Federalist debates +0.854x International interventions on federalism +0.6258x Failed federal government

**Table 10 Table 4. 9: Overall Study Regression Mode**

Model		Coefficients <sup>a</sup>				
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.215	.018		0.130	.615
	<b>Federalism</b>	.786	.025	.582	2.421	.000

a. Dependent Variable: **Political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia**

### Interpretations:

Y = Political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia while x = Federalism

$Y = a + bx$  therefore  $Y = 0.215 + 0.786x$  Therefore when Federalism is 0, Political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia will be 21.5%. When Federalism changes by one unit, Political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia changes by 78.6%.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

In this last chapter of the thesis, a summary of findings is provided, conclusions are drawn and recommendations made based on the findings of the study. The section begins with a summary of the findings of this study.

#### 5.1 Discussion of findings

##### 5.1.1 Demographic characteristics of respondents

The study findings revealed that regarding gender, it was realized that (54.67%) were male while 45.33% were female respondents. In terms of ages, (44.67%) were in age ranging 20-35 years. This was followed by respondents aged between 36-49 years with (32%) while the minority group was of respondents aged above 50 years with a (23.33%). In regard to marital status, 26% were single, 46% were married, 18% were widowed, and 10% were divorced. This implies that the married were the majority and thus had several responsibilities. Information regarding educational level majority of respondents were at diploma level at (36%) who were followed by those with degree education (20%). Those with certificate level had (13.33%) followed by those who were the master's degree holders (11.33%), those with secondary level education had (10.67%) whereas the primary level were at (8.67%).

##### 5.1.2 Effect of federalist debates on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia

It was found out that on the indicator that Federalist debates help to unite people for common purposes yet remain separate to preserve their integrity was very good at mean of 3.3 an equivalent to very good on the Likert Scale. It was followed by Federalism is comprehensive system of political relationships which emphasizes the combination of self-rule and shared rule at a mean of 3.27 which is also very good. Without basic consensus on some form of federal principles and processes it is likely that the concept could become too flexible followed at a mean of 2.75 which was equivalent to good. In the fourth rank was the indicator Federalist debates not only are embraced by individual citizens, with an equal entitlement to vote, but also individual territories or states or provinces, which also enjoy some form of equal influence at the federal centre at a mean of 2.7 which was equivalent to good. Federal structure is also believed to be a concentration of power or the tyranny of local

oligarchy in the name of federalism or regional government was at the fifth rank with a mean of 2.7 equivalent to good. Generally the effect of federalist debates on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia was good an average mean of 2.94 equivalent to good on the Likert Scale. This implies that federalism through federalist debates can play a vital role in political stability of Somalia.

### **5.1.3 Effect of international interventions on federalism on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia**

The study revealed that federalism does not justify increased levels of intervention, nor does it permit foreign nations to establish relations with subunits in violation of national policy with a mean of 3.33 equivalent to very good. This was followed by the indicator that one nation should not intervene by force in another nation unless it has some reason to believe its intervention can be effective in solving the problem that provided the basis for the intervention with a mean of 3.1 which is equivalent to good. The indicator federalized structure of a nation does not provide a separate ground for international intervention with 3.0 which is equivalent to good on the Likert Scale. This was followed by a nation has granted autonomy rights to one or more of its subunits should not be seen as justifying intervention that would otherwise be unjustified with mean of 2.29 which is equivalent to poor on the Likert Scale. Intervention to counteract the abuse of human rights or to suppress terrorism represents a further step along the spectrum had a mean of 2.25 equivalent to poor on the Likert Scale. Lastly, the average mean was 2.79 which is equivalent to Good on the Likert Scale. Generally the effect of international interventions on federalism on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia was good with average mean average of 2.79 an equivalent of good on the Likert scale. This implies that international interventions on federalism need to be considered since they can also significantly influence political stability of the country.

### **5.1.4 Effect of failed federal government on Political Stability of Mogadishu, Somalia**

The study revealed that in the first rank, it was the indicator that the fall of a government does not necessarily signal the collapse of a state in democratic societies with a mean of 2.25 equivalent to Poor on the Likert Scale. This was followed the threat of state collapse unsurprisingly arises in which the preconditions for state formation and maintenance are most uncertain in the first place with a mean of 2.22 equivalent to Poor on the Likert Scale. The third rank was the collapse of the Somali state was not a chance event, but a process, which

began at the time of independence in 1960 with a mean of 2.2 equivalent to Poor on the Likert scale. This was followed that when the Somali state collapsed in 1991, there was no formidable political formation capable of filling the vacuum left by the weak government with a mean of 2.2 equivalent to Poor and lastly, the absence of a political formation capable of channeling the anger of the Somalis to change the divisive legacy followed with a mean of 2.1 equivalent to Poor on the Likert Scale. The average Mean was 2.19 equivalent to Poor on the Likert Scale.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

### **5.2.1 Effect of federalist debates on Political Stability**

The study concludes that federalism is considered as a comprehensive system of political relationships which emphasizes the combination of self-rule and shared rule within a matrix of constitutionally dispersed powers

Without basic consensus on some form of federal principles and processes it is likely that the concept could become too flexible and any regime could call its system 'federal' on the basis of the mere existence of the structures alone

The study concludes that federalism not only embraces individual citizens, with an equal entitlement to vote, but also individual territories or states or provinces, which also enjoy some form of equal influence at the federal centre'

### **5.2.2 Effect of international interventions on federalism on Political Stability**

The study also concludes that diplomatic mediation in Somalia has sometimes confused these episodic processes with moving to the next stage of the resolution, which is the establishment of a transitional government

The haste to create a central government is perhaps informed by what Moller describes as the "relentless quest for state building" because the entire international system is constructed around states to such an extent it is unable to handle stateless territories inhabited by people who cannot be classified as citizens of any state

The study concludes that at times, diagnosing the Somali conflict has been influenced by external factors and interests not relevant to the conflict

### **5.2.3 Effect of failed federal government on Political Stability**

The study concludes that the fall of a government does not necessarily signal the collapse of a state in democratic societies. The basic assumption is that the threat of state collapse unsurprisingly arises in countries in which the preconditions for state formation and maintenance were most uncertain in the first place and derives from the relatively recent assumption that the entire world should be divided into states.

It also concludes that the collapse of the Somali state was not a chance event, but a process, which began at the time of independence in 1960. Thus, it can be stated that the state “collapse was triggered when the Siad Barre government fell in 1991.

When the Somali state collapsed in 1991, there was no formidable political formation capable of filling the vacuum left by the weak government of Siad Barre. The country was fragmented in terms of clan lineage and patronage and the devastating drought and ensuing famine introduced food security as a source of conflict.

The study furthermore concludes that another element consistent with the concept of an intractable conflict concept was introduced: the changing goalpost in the life cycle of such a conflict.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

The study recommends that in order to ensure lasting peace and to rebuild a stable Somali state, there is a need to revisit the relationship between Somalia and Somaliland. It was the unification of these two polities in 1960 that had historically allowed for the evolution of the Somali state in the first place.

A twofold rationale for Somalia to bring Somaliland back to the negotiation table emerged. On the one hand it was argued that Somaliland’s existence and quest for independence could have detrimental effects for the broader Somali state-making project. If Somaliland obtained international recognition as a sovereign political entity, it would create a dangerous precedent within Somalia, encouraging other regional sub-units to follow suit and significantly eroding the prospects of a stable nation-state. On the other hand, Somaliland could facilitate the revival of Somalia by re-joining the union. This unlikely scenario would prevent Puntland, Jubaland and other regional entities from insisting on the devolution of too many political and economic powers to federal units at the expense of central government.

It was acknowledged that discussions over a unified Somali state incorporating Somaliland were a long way off, but that consideration needed to be given due its relevance for other regions. Numerous issues need to be addressed before discussions on reunification can begin. There was understanding of Somaliland's cautious position, as it had made significant sacrifices in 1960 in order to realize the formation of the Somali union. It was suggested that Somaliland could present a list of minimum conditions that it wanted to see fulfilled for reunification. Somalia would also need to ensure that its government represented Somalis residing in both Somalia and Somaliland, and that Mogadishu was a federal capital that belonged equally to all Somalis.

The discussion on federalism, focus should remain on existing and potential regional entities rather than on Somaliland. The relationship between Somalia and Somaliland should not be the starting point for the reconstruction of the Somali state. While some considered Somaliland to be a related but distinct issue, there was acknowledgement that without prior acknowledgement in the Somali constitution, reunification with Somaliland would be difficult once the constitution was re-written, approved and adopted.

In order to ensure political stability and the survival of the current constitution, the constitution must be written and/or passed by a democratically elected or otherwise truly representative constituent assembly, and that there must be consensus amongst the country's political elite, in order to guard against 'spoilers'. The set-up or existence of institutions that facilitate economic growth in Somalia would provide a timely boost for the government's activities and by extension the endurance of the constitution.

At the same time the common assumption that it is beneficial or even necessary to involve large parts of the population in the process of rewriting the constitution is disputable. Reference was made to Kenya, where extensive consultation around the constitution did not lead to popular support and stability but rather to disappointed expectations. Hence, it was proposed that 'constitutional road shows' were no guarantee of the survival of a recently adopted constitution.

The need for a civic education campaign to raise awareness among Somalis on the issues pertaining to federalism and to the constitution. It was noted that the process of drafting and discussing the Somali constitution has up until now been reserved for the political elite. It was proposed that 'constitutional patriotism' was needed in Somalia in order to capture



popular support for the constitution making process: this involves investing in a process to enable buy in and understanding after the constitution is written.

Overall, concern was expressed about the fact that thus far the constitutional process in Somalia has been deadline rather than subject driven. It was argued that some members of the international community have had too much influence on the discussion to date, which could have significant repercussions for the future of the Somali state. Ethiopia was mentioned as having strongly pushed for Somali federalism in the past. While acknowledging Ethiopia's and Kenya's legitimate security concerns, it was suggested that neighboring countries should not be allowed to influence the constitutional process.

#### **5.4 Areas of further research**

The study did not exhaust all the dependent variables that influence political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia apart from federalism thus the need for other researchers to conduct an exhaustive study on variables under listed.

- Decentralization and political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia
- Good governance and political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia
- Public policy and political stability in Mogadishu, Somalia

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**APPENDICES**  
**APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE**

**Dear Respondent**

My name is **AHMED MOHAMED FARAH, 1153-06404-02668**, a student of Kampala International University pursuing a Bachelor's of Public Administration. I am currently carrying out a study about **"Federalism and political stability in Somalia: A case study of Mogadishu City."** as a requirement for the award of Bachelor's Degree of Public Administration and Management. I humbly request you to be one of the participants in this study and your cooperation will be of great importance to this study. Your answers will be kept with utmost confidentiality.

**SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

Gender \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

1. Male
2. Female

Qualification \_\_\_\_\_

1. Primary level
2. Secondary
3. Certificate level
4. Diploma
5. Degree
6. Master's degree

Age \_\_\_\_\_

1. 20-35 years
2. 36-49 years
3. 50 and above years

Direction 1: Please write your rating on the space before each option which corresponds to your best choice in terms of level of motivation. Kindly use the scoring system below:

Score	Response Mode	Description	Interpretation
5	Strongly Agree	You agree with no doubt at all	Very satisfactory
4	Agree	You agree with some doubt	Satisfactory
3	Neutral	You are not sure about any	None
2	Disagree	You disagree with some doubt	Fair
1	Strongly Disagree	You disagree with no doubt at all	Poor

**PART 2: Questions on Independent variable**

Construct	FEDERALISM					
	<b>SECTION A : Federalist debates</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1	Federalist debates help to unite people for common purposes yet remain separate to preserve their integrity					
2	Federalism is comprehensive system of political relationships which emphasizes the combination of self-rule and shared rule					
3	Without basic consensus on some form of federal principles and processes it is likely that the concept could become too flexible					
4	Federalist debates not only are embraced by individual citizens, with an equal entitlement to vote, but also individual territories or states or provinces, which also enjoy some form of equal influence at the federal centre					
5	Federal structure is also believed to be a concentration of power or the tyranny of local oligarchy in the name of federalism or regional government					
	<b>SECTION B: International interventions on federalism</b>					
1	Federalism does not justify increased levels of intervention, nor does it permit foreign nations to establish relations with subunits in violation of national					

	policy					
2	One nation should not intervene by force in another nation unless it has some reason to believe its intervention can be effective in solving the problem that provided the basis for the intervention					
3	Federalized structure of a nation does not provide a separate ground for international intervention					
4	A nation has granted autonomy rights to one or more of its subunits should not be seen as justifying intervention that would otherwise be unjustified					
5	Intervention to counteract the abuse of human rights or to suppress terrorism represents a further step along the spectrum					
	<b>SECTION C: Failed federal government</b>					
1	The fall of a government does not necessarily signal the collapse of a state in democratic societies					
2	The threat of state collapse unsurprisingly arises in which the preconditions for state formation and maintenance are most uncertain in the first place					
3	The collapse of the Somali state was not a chance event, but a process, which began at the time of independence in 1960					
4	When the Somali state collapsed in 1991, there was no formidable political formation capable of filling the vacuum left by the weak government					
5	The absence of a political formation capable of channeling the anger of the Somalis to change the divisive legacy					

**PART 2: Questions on Dependent Variable**

<b>Construct</b>	<b>SECTION D: POLITICAL STABILITY</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>1</b>	There is still a combination of poor security and chaotic politics in Mogadishu					
<b>2</b>	Somali Government has failed to avoid factionalism and misrepresentation of reality in politics					
<b>3</b>	Anti-democratic decision making political process of the Government institutions corrodes public trust and sets in social disenfranchisement leading to political chaos in Mogadishu					
<b>4</b>	There is still lack of proper rule of law in Mogadishu due to absence of well-functioning central government					
<b>5</b>	After decades of political and security instability, military coupe d'états, personal rule and electoral frauds have led to Fragility in Mogadishu					

**Thanks for your responses**

**End**