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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN STUDIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**MASTER'S PROGRAM IN AFRICAN STUDIES AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

**OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES OF FEDERALISM IN THE CONTEXT
OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN SOMALIA**

M.A. Thesis

ASMA ADEN ABDIRAHMAN

200024134

Istanbul, 202

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Advisor: ASSIST. PROF. DR. KAMALA VALIYEVA

Istanbul, 2022

Dedication

I dedicate all the required information in this title ‘Opportunities and challenges of federalism in the context of community development in Somalia’ has been written in accordance with the academic manners and ethical commitment. I would clarify that all the materials, sources, data and all extra inputs have been benefited well throughout the writing procedure of this thesis. All matters contained in this thesis are my personal opinion and do not reflect the official view of Istanbul Ticaret University.

Student Name, Surname:

Asma Aden Abdirahman

ABSTRACT

This study outlines the opportunities and challenges of federalism in the context of community development in Somalia. In 2004, Somali clan elders and politicians, with the international community's help, chose federalism as a path ahead for development. In 2012, in addition to the Puntland State of Somalia declared autonomous in 1998, Somalia adopted a federal system and established four new states – Jubaland, Galmudug, Hirshabelle, and Southwest State. In 1991, Somaliland proclaimed its independence from the rest of Somalia. Somalia adopted federalism with the intention to resolve the country's problems after the civil war and to rebuild the Somali community. This study will focus on how federalism affects community development in Somalia and the challenges and opportunities of federalism for the community development. This study will also determine whether federalism advances community development or constrains it. Federalism has offered opportunities for significant improvements in security and economic development, helped in creating a better education and healthcare system, and contributed to power distribution, political stability, and women's and youth's empowerment. However, it also poses challenges, including border conflicts, power disputes, the exploitation of natural resources, and minority injustice.

Keywords: federalism, community development, federal government, Somalia, opportunities, challenges.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma Somali’de toplumsal kalkınma konsepti bağlamında federalizmin yarattığı fırsat ve zorlukları ana hatlarıyla ele almaktadır. 2004 yılında Somalili kabile büyükleri ve siyasetçiler, uluslararası toplumun da yardımıyla, kalkınma için bir yol olarak federalizmi benimseme kararı almıştır. 2012 yılında Somali hükümeti federal bir sistemi benimsemiş ve dört yeni eyalet kurmuştur. Bunlar, Jubaland, Galmudug, Hirshabelle ve Güneybatı eyaletleridir. Daha önce ise 1998’de Puntland Eyaleti kurulmuştur. 1991’de Somaliland ülkenin merkezi hükümetinden bağımsızlığını ilan etmiştir. Böylece, iç savaş sonrasında ülkenin sorunlarına bir çözüm bulma ve Somali toplumunun yeniden inşası için federalizm benimsenmiştir. Bu çalışma, Somali’de federalizmin toplum kalkınmasını nasıl etkilediğine ve toplum kalkınması bağlamında yarattığı zorluklara ve fırsatlara odaklanacaktır. Bu çalışma ayrıca Somali’de federalizmin toplum kalkınmasını ilerletip ilerletmediğini veya kısıtlayıp kısıtlamadığını belirleyecektir. Federalizm güvenlik, ekonomik kalkınma, daha iyi bir eğitim sistemi, etkili sağlık sistemi, güç dağılımı, siyasi istikrar, kadınların ve gençlerin haklarının teşvik edilmesi gibi konularda önemli olanaklar sunmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, federalizm sınır çatışmaları, güç anlaşmazlıkları, doğal kaynakların sömürülmesi ve azınlıklara karşı adaletsizlik gibi zorlukları da beraberinde getirmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: federalizm, toplumsal kalkınma, federal hükümet, Somali, fırsatlar, zorluklar.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMISON - African Union Mission in Somalia
ARS - Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia
AU - African Union
EPHS - Essential Package of Health Service
FMS - Federal Member States
FPENS - Formal Private Education Network in Somalia
HDMS - Hisbia Dastuur Mustaqil Al-Somal
HSSP - Health Sector Strategic Plan
IDP - Internally Displaced Person
IGAD - Inter-Governmental Authority for Development
JHNP - Joint Health and Nutrition Program
MoEHE - Ministry of Education and Higher Education of Puntland
MoH - Ministries of Health
NCA - National Constituent Assembly
NGO - Non-Governmental Organization.
PHC - Public Health Commission
PMPF - Puntland Maritime Police Force
PNEB - Puntland National Education Boarder
PSG – Peacebuilding and State-building Goals
RMO - Regional Medical Officers
RRA - Rahanweyn Resistance Army
SCR - Supreme Revolution Council
SFG - Somali Federal Government
SNA – Somali National Army
SNM - Somali National Movement
SSDF - Somali Salvation Democratic Front
TFG - Transitional Federal government
TNC - Transitional National Charter

UIC - Union of Islamic Court

UN - United Nations

UNITAF – United Nations Task Force on Somalia

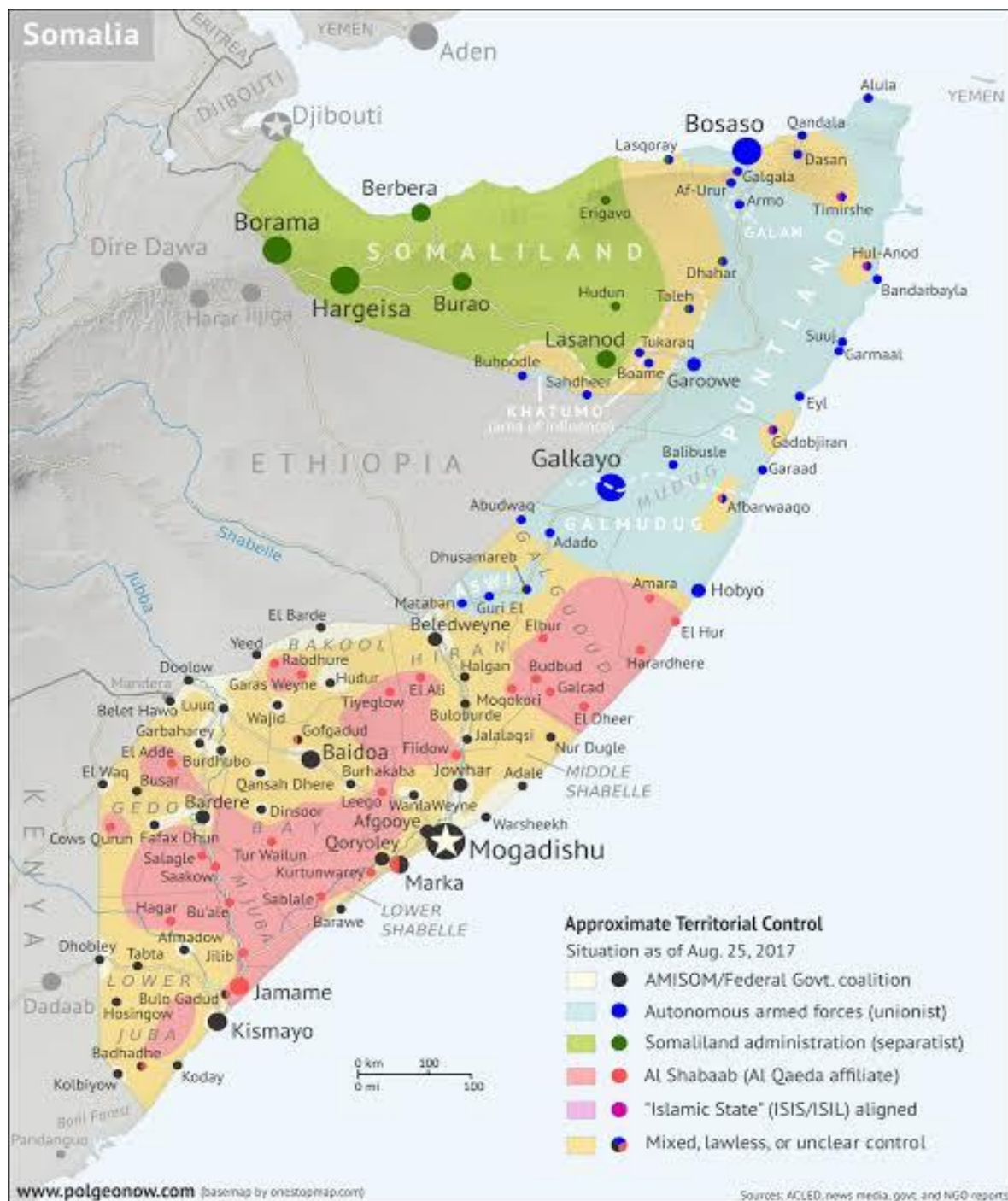
USC - United Somali Congress

USP - United Somali Party

WHO - World Health Organization



FIGURE 1. SOMALI MAP



INTRODUCTION

Somalia is a country located in the horn of Africa. It has the largest coastline in mainland Africa approximately 3,333 km along with the Indian Ocean, Gulf of Aden, and Red Sea. The geographical location turned Somalia into a strategically important trading center in the ancient world. Somalia's official language is Somali despite being a member of the Arab League. Most Somalis are herders, farmers, and fishermen. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Somalia's strategic location became even more significant to the West being situated in the intersection of Africa and Asia. The United States and thirteen European countries met in Berlin in 1884-1885 to divide Africa among them. As a result of the Scramble for Africa, Western powers divided Somalia into three countries: British Somalia, Italian Somalia, and French Somalia.

In 1960, both British Somalia and Italian Somalia gained their independence (on June 26 British Somalia, and on July 1 Italian Somalia) and were subsequently united. While French Somalia voted to remain under French rule, later in 1977 it voted to gain independence, becoming Djibouti. The first president of Somalia was Adam Abdullahi Osman. Abdul Rashid Ali Sharmarke became his successor on June 10, 1967. Sharmarke was slain on October 15, 1969, in Lissanoud city, by a member of the Somali Police Force. As a result, the parliament was compelled to hold negotiations about the election of a new president; however, these deliberations were fruitless and resulted in no outcome (Ingiriis, 2017).

A military coup led by Mohamed Said Barre overthrew the government a few days later. Barre amended the constitution, disbanded the national parliament, destroyed opposition parties, and barred numerous politicians from running for office. Barre declare the country to be a socialist state, and the nation has been ruled by a socialist ideology. Barre built a close relationship with the Soviet Union and other communist countries throughout the world (Payton, 1980). By 1991 the Somali Republic government collapsed, causing total disintegration. The opposition groups were all clan-based factions fighting for their particular interest. Some of them focused their activities on areas their respective clans controlled. After all the attempts to form a constitutional government in Somalia failed, the Northwest Territory (Somaliland) proclaimed independence. The fall of Siad's administration resulted in ongoing political strife and civil conflict, eventually leading to the country's adoption of a federal system in the early 2000s (Powell et al. 2008).

The international community worked to create a negotiation climate among Somali separatist factions and to re-establish a central government in Somalia. The Arta Peace Agreement of 2000 marked the beginning of the most ambitious endeavor to restore Somalia's state. In October 2002, the process was resumed under the guidance of Kenya and the leadership of the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD). After months of negotiations, the Transitional National Charter (TNC) was signed in September 2003.

Somalia established a federal government in 2004, forming a new transitional parliament and electing a new president. The component states and interrupted borders have been declared to be based on local problems. Nonetheless, each component district is administered by a native tribe or intended to serve a certain interest, implying that the federal government has always been founded on tribalism.

Most Somalis and the majority of politicians, including the activists who led the transformation of the Somali Republic into a federal system, have failed to grasp the nature and ramifications of federalism since its proclamation in 2004. However, to overcome the political disunity and the distrust of the Somali community the politicians saw federalism as a way to unite the Somali community and to match the tribal structure of the country. Although tribes became more convinced that it was better to conduct their affairs without intervention or extortion than trust others, some politicians asserted that the day Somalia declared federalism was the day that the political will and decision-making of Somalia were removed from Somali politicians' hands and was placed in the hands of regional forces (Ghedi, 2015). Although, Somalia has long been a victim of strife and war, Somalis continue to enjoy the political and social stability that is essential to everyone's liberty and freedom of speech (Elmi, 2014). The African Union (AU) soldiers and a United Nations (UN) mission to construct national transitional institutions contributed significantly to Somalia's post-revolutionary civil war. Their presence offered a safe space for Somalis to debate their problems and create their democratic system without fear of violent Islamist groups or tribal strife. In addition, federal administrations provided services to cities, villages, and rural regions, allowing the government to expand across the country (Lotze & Kasumba, 2012).

By electing president Hassan Sheikh Mohamud Somalia officially adopted federalism in 2012. And Hassan Shaikh Mohamud alongside Abdullahi Odawa the minister of the Ministry of Interior and Federal Affairs successfully established four states: Jubaland,

Galmudug, Hirshabelle, and Southwest state, in addition to the previously established states of Puntland and Somaliland. Somalia officially has six states along with the Banadir region, which hosts the country's capital and remains under the central government's control.

Until recently, the Somali federal government in South-central Somalia, as well as its regional and international allies have concentrated their efforts on top-down political shaping to provide cover for the outside, military aims rather than striving to establish locally-earned legitimacy. Locals and international communities believe that Somalia's state-building should be advanced with the approval of Somali residents while reducing the country's reliance on external aid. Somaliland, which proclaimed independence in 1991, is a well-known example of a bottom-up state-building process and a role model for others.

Historically, the central government has been solely responsible for foreign affairs and ties with other nations. And the Somalia Constitution deprives parts of the federal government of any authority in international relations. Due to globalization, nations now play an extremely vital role in commerce and investment. However, after the adoption of a federal system in Somalia, the states have the right to be consulted in foreign relations under the constitution, especially if the treaty affects or pertains to a single federal state. "In the spirit of inter-governmental collaboration, the Federal Government should consult the Federal Member States on discussions about foreign aid, trade, treaties, or other key problems linked to international accords," as stated in Article 53 (I & II) of Provisional Federal Constitution. When it comes to the concern interests of Federal Member States, the Federal Government's negotiating representation will be reinforced by officials from the Federal Member States' governments (Hussein, 2011). Somalia has benefited greatly from federalism, as evidenced by improvements in education, security, economic growth, and the devolution of authority. Federalism was implemented in Somalia in order to reduce conflict among Somalis and to build the country. The need for federalism in Somalia arises from the country's weak central authority, which prevents the states from having the autonomy they need to combat the country's terrorist organizations. States like Puntland and the self-declared government of Somaliland have set forth the blueprint for state autonomy and how it might contribute to Somalia's overall community development. The country's growing population, which might lead to several issues, is impeding local governments' efforts to improve community development performance in

Somalia. A growing population would necessitate greater spending on housing, food, and health care. Two decades after Somalia formally adopted federalism, there have been notable opportunities and challenges associated with it, and it is time to discuss how it has impacted Somali community development.

Although the local government, which is closest to the people, must find ways to meet their needs to support the national government in its pursuit of sustainable economic growth, the local government cannot afford to meet all the expectations. This will pose challenges to the community (Ahmed, 2019). Although the nation is still fragile, Somalia has been making political advances since adopting federalism, and there have been significant changes to the Somali communities in Somalia. However, federalism also poses challenges, including border conflicts, power disputes, the exploitation of natural resources, and minority injustice.

Research Statement

After the collapse of the Somali government and the subsequent civil war, in the eyes of the international community, Somalia became a failed state. With the intention to reduce the conflict and rebuild the country, Somali policymakers decided to adopt a federal system so that the local governments can work on community developments and peacekeeping. A federal system of government was implemented in Somalia to restore confidence and resolve issues after 28 years of instability and preceding decades of dictatorial government (Dahir and Ali, 2019:88). The adoption of the federal system opened a new gate for the Somali community to build a stable state and manage their local affairs, which brought new challenges and opportunities to Somalia's community development over the last two decades. Therefore, it is important to analyze how federalism effected Somalia. This thesis will focus on the question of how federalism impacted the community of Somalia in terms of education, healthcare system, minorities, security, economy, conflicts, youth, and women empowerment.

Research Objectives

This research aims to identify the challenges and opportunities of federalism in the context of community development in Somalia and determine whether federalism represents a viable option for the development of the communities in Somalia.

Methodology

The research focuses on the opportunities and challenges of federalism and community development in Somalia. The method of data collection utilizes both qualitative and quantitative design to help gather information on the subject matter. The research is informed by two primary sources of information including desk research of secondary data from published and unpublished materials, newspaper articles, journals, books, and other academic materials. The second sources include a quantitative approach administered through online interviews to help in the data collection. In terms of the interviews, the questionnaires were only available to Somali citizens currently living in Somalia under the current federal setup. A total of 150 questionnaires were shared via online platforms including social media which gained a respondent number of 109 participants. The data was used together with an existing literature review on the operationalization of federalism and community development in Somalia. The analysis helps us understand the current context of the federal system in Somalia which depicts the merits and demerits of Somalia's embrace of a federal government and how it can deliver sustainable development within Somali communities.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this research is to better comprehend and incorporate current Somali literature and provide better information and understanding of federalism's potential and explain how it helps Somalia's communal development. As a result, it addresses Somalia's federalism and its implications on community development and Somalia's traditional government and dispute resolution methods, which are more durable and sustainable for Somalia's development. This study might also assist future scholars in utilizing sources as there is not much research that interlinks federalism and community development in Somalia. This might also help the Somali civilians to understand more about federalism in Somalia.

CHAPTER I: OVERVIEW OF FEDERALISM AND THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

This chapter accounts for federalism and community development based on extensive literature. This theoretical framework allows seeing the findings from a variety of angles, providing them with a broader grasp of federalism and community development as a whole.

1.1 Understanding Theories of Federalism

The federal government is described as a confederation of states, where power is distributed between the general government and the associated states, each of which is a separate state and differs from the government-affiliated state under certain aspects (Christiansen et al., 1964). There is a distinct national goal that has been embraced by federalism to solve certain specific difficulties in a country in all present federal states across the world. Where there are regional distinctions of varied people, languages, and religions, the federal system has always been applied for conflict prevention or post-war situation. In certain post-conflict environments, such as Ethiopia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, South Africa, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, federalism has begun. A federal state is a constitutional state without a sovereign since all of its power and authority are divided across several areas and are constrained and beholden to the federation's constitution as well as the constitutions/statutes of its constituent states. There is no space for any fundamental or infinite authority of the state or of the federated states under the concept of competence, which stands for authority (Palermo and Alber, 2015).

The federalism concept of authoritative participation should continue, and power should be distributed among diverse groups of a nation. Most Federalists, on the other hand, devised an assessment that federalism provides as factual fact in its appreciation for variety as a living reality in its social, economic, cultural, and political situations. Unlike a unitary system, federalism is founded on political reality, such as the presence of many groups' interests as well as people and their variety via legal terminology and acceptable means. The coexistence of several nations in one state is as vital for civilized life as the coexistence of men in the community (Acton, 1907).

Federalism is a compound political structure based on a constitution that includes both official and unofficial aspects and elements that connect several levels of the government (Foley, 1989). According to Burgess, Federalism is transforming a unitary political community into a well-organized federation. Carl Friedrich, a leading proponent of this idea, believes that federalism is a dynamic process in which numerous independent political groups collaborate to solve issues, allowing them to become more unified (cited Burgess, 2006).

So, federalism is a type of confederation that tries to achieve the advantages of unity and variety, or at the very least, to find a balance between the two sides. It recognizes their right to self-determination and autonomy through safeguarding diverse communities' political rights ideologies that embrace self-rule and shared rule (Watts, 1998 & Ibrahim, 2003). Which caused numerous theorists to suggest that federalism is the greatest way to cope with national diversity and dispute resolution. (Kymlicka, 1995 & Kimenyi, 2002). Traditional theories for federalism claim that power decentralization governance fosters unification and agreement, advances stability, defends citizens from governmental aggression, prevents ethnic strife, and secures individual and community liberty (Wibbels, 2006).

According to King, federalism is a responsive reaction with flexible and dynamic development processes that are provided to opposing requests, particularly in the centralization or decentralization of authority, on a civil foundation (King, 1982). Some experts believe that Federalism reduces or eliminates disputes in split countries (Horowitz, 1985; Diamond, 1999; Kymlicka, 1995).

Federalism, according to Elazar (1987), is about the necessity for people and statesmanship to unify for common goals while maintaining their independence. Federalism is focused on both the distribution and consolidation of governmental power in the name of liberty and unity. Therefore, as consequence, it may be argued that applying the federal concept to different regions promotes multi-solidarity by allowing for the re-adjustment of political divides at different administrative levels at the national and state levels. As a result, it adds to a better feeling of fairness in both a normative and practical sense (Requejo, 2005; Wayne, 2001).

There are at least two units of federalism. The authorities are shared in particular percentages among federated states and government systems in each federal society. These authorities' proportion changes for several reasons, including the issues and

histories of ethnic communities living together in the federal system and society's historical and sociological tendencies. Federalism is classified as several co-governance systems in which two levels of governance have direct links with citizens; as a result, federalism is considered a multi-government system in which two levels of governance have direct interactions with individuals (Sunay, 2006).

The following are the most significant characteristics of a federation: a written constitution, a decentralized political framework, and the protection and continuity of military, political, and institutional unity have all been produced and placed. A federation is a type of state arrangement in which each of the constituent units is referred to as a "federated state/unit" and the shared government is referred to as a "federal state" (Demir, 2014). Federalism is not just applied in situations where there is a multitude of government or racial strife. Federalism may also be found in one-nation states or federations with a single-nation identification policy (Gulboy, 2015). Because federal arrangements may help defend against national authorities, the necessity of self-rule and shared-rule protected each group by its rights from the central government in its assessment process on some legally-established principles. Individuals are protected from the center by the constitution's distribution of authority to a sub-unit. Consociations are made up of insulated sub-units that are also represented in central institutions, which are generally governed by consensus rather than the majority (Lijphart, 1977).

In constitutional power-sharing and power distributions to member states by the central authority, member states, self-rule, and shared rule are the granting of self-protection to all citizens for their views, political ideology, economics, and culture. Federal arrangements can safeguard minorities' human rights from member unit authorities by generating power decentralization and delegating some powers from the center to the local level (Watts, 1999). Thomas Jefferson argued in the Federalist theory of government that there should be no unitary government, but rather a federal government based on political realities such as the availability of different groups' interests as well as people and their differences through legal sense and facilitated. Most federalist parties, on the other hand, developed a measurement that federalism provides as factual fact in its appreciation for variety as a living reality in its social, economic, cultural, and political situations. As vital a condition of civilized existence as the combining of individuals in society is the mixing of diverse nations in one state (Acton, 1907). Even though the constitutional court plays an essential role not just in the federal state but in all state

systems, the federal states are more significant than the others. Because the federal system's authorities are split between federal units and federal states, this division is maintained by the federal constitution. The constitutional court is the only and highest institution that may decide whether or not a subject or problem falls under the jurisdiction of the court. As Gulboy points out, the constitutional court, as the highest institution and final decision-maker, plays a critical role in authority research on the federal framework and conflict settlement (Gulboy, 2015).

According to Demir (2014) Federalism divides the authorities of the two groups, and to avoid conflicting authorities, a constitution containing federalist components is required. Federalism originates as a notion that goes beyond autonomy's bounds. Federalism is a governing idea that brings diverse parts together rather than separating them. The majority of theorists believed that adopting the federal structure was beneficial to social phenomena. For example, Elazar stated that federalism is the greatest approach to building ties between people, families, and all community members by working together. In a nutshell, Elazar (1987) believes that self-rule and shared rule, and a "territorial split" of authority should be incorporated into a constitution. And Somalia adopted the federal system in order to escape the mistrust between Somali people. According to Abubakar (2016), to fulfill and meet the needs and requirements of various groups and to improve the co-existence among the ethnic groups and other identity groups federalism was extensively used in Somalia. Abubakar also stated that from this perspective to achieve the required outcome of the society among the federal member states, to also democratic survival the possibilities and encouraging peaceful participation, transition, and intergovernmental federalism improve that possibility. Somalia is one of the world's most ethnically varied societies, and its federalism was implemented to meet the interests of different clans rather than to address the ethnic variety of its people. Except in a few locations where inter-clan violence worsened, the coexistence of various clans in most regions of Somalia remained constant over the two-decade-long conflict (Abubakar, 2016).

1.2 Types of Federalism

There are many various forms of federalism. The existing literature differentiates major types of federalism as follows:

1.2.1 Dual Federalism

The balance of power between the two competent authorities is fundamental to the notion of dual federalism. For a decade, at least a substantial movement in balance has witnessed the balance between these two governments. According to Global Brands, Frames argued that reducing the expense of complaints was a way for the constitution of federalism. Dual federalism also known as informally Layer of Cake or divided sovereignty is a government where authority is divided that is distinguished between state and national authority the state government has its authority and the central government cannot intrude and vice versa. Dual federalism effectively combines the powers of either the federal or state governments. It states that both may exercise equal power and live together in peace. The state government had complete authority over practically the areas that are under its control while the central government managed the domestic reforms and international relations. Both governments stay out of each other's affairs until when Southern states thought they should be free to make their judgments on crucial issues such as slavery throughout this period, the Northern states did not feel that the states should be granted sole responsibility for such a significant issue where President Franklin D. Roosevelt's new deal which implemented programs to strengthen national government after the great depression, and the dual system of federalism was completely disintegrated.

1.2.2 Cooperative Federalism

According to Scheiber cooperative federalism, in theory, the relationship between the federal government and state government is one in which they share governmental tasks. Because of the decentralized structure of duties, citizens have access to multiple centers of authority, power does not appear to be centralized at either lever or in one agency. Scheiber also stated that cooperative federalism is a new primary concept whose characteristics are mostly involved in the federal grant-in-aid collaboration of policy duty and financial ability, administrative interdependence, and function duplicates.

Since 1933 cooperative federalism has been defined as collaboration between central and state governments so that the central government can grant-in-aid to the central government and avoid the state government to establish a grant program that can be directly funded by the local or special district authorities (Scheiber, 1986).

According to Mary, the cooperative system of federalism has three constitutional pillars:

First, the advocates of cooperative federalism rely on an expanded of the constitution's supremacy. Second, Mary stated that they maintain that the Elastic Clause (Article 1, Section 8), commonly referred to as the Necessary and Proper Clause, empowers the national government to enact laws that are mandatory to implement the government's fundamental functions. Third, they comply with a strict interpretation of the Tenth Amendment (Mary, 2018).

1.2.3 Creative Federalism

Creative federalism is when the national government has jurisdiction across all regional governments and the state government utilized the state authority, which indicates that neither the state government nor state government can change the constitution without the permission of all parties that are involved.

By integrating the impoverished into mainstream America, creative federalism aimed to support establishing a unique great society. Rapid establishment of classified grant programs for state and local government and direct federal funds to cities were features of its efforts. Federal subsidies shaped activities and orientations at the state and local levels, as seen by great society initiatives like Head start by providing poor children with early education and eliminating poverty in society (Shafritz, Russel, Borick, and Hyde, 2016).

In the United States in the 1960s and '70s, the term intergovernmental relations referred to joint planning and decision-making among all levels of government. Many new programs of this period had an urban/ metropolitan focus, and much attention was given to antipoverty issues. This was the Lyndon B. Johnson administration's term for its approach to intergovernmental relations (Shafritz, et. Al, 2016).

1.2.4 Progressive Federalism

Progressive federalism is when the dominance of big businesses is diminished while boosting and strengthening trade unions and labor movements by giving power to ordinary people (Foster, 2021). In progressive federalism, the state government must reach a stander that was set by the federal government and can decide if they can go beyond that stander. This type of federalism set the adoption of federal law and assists the regulation in the specific area. In the United States (US), there is now a movement

taking shape that seeks to rebalance the relationship between state and federal government and reconsider where we look to express constitutional rights while advancing democracy, equality, and social justice. Progressive federalism was used by the Obama administration to allow them to have more authority over issues such as environmental and consumer protection to protect (Levine and Yavorek, 2018).

1.3 The Concept of Community Development

Community development is a systematic method in which authorities assist community people in effectively collaborating on things relevant to society. Community development strengthens and connects communities by empowering residents. Community development is two words combined “Community” and “Development”, to talk about them firstly as separate and then as one will be easy.

According to Cambridge Dictionary, a community is people that share the same interests, social groups, or nationality, live in a certain region, or are regarded for its unity. According to Stacey, the perfect characteristic community is the sensation of connection that was claimed to be tied to the social interactions within the specific geographic region (Stacey, 1969).

The typical community development is consisting of three characteristics geographical location, identity, and common interest.

Geographical locations: the community has access to the same resources and moral values which makes them feel a sense of belonging to the community. A community duty was established. They also share the same struggle and are reliable to each other they get the same aid, and the service is a practice as a component form of identity.

Identity: since such societies were coupled with socially cohesive structures, identity is considered a reflection of mutual interests based on birth and belonging rather than any achieved qualification or achievement. Individuals, groups, and communities’ values are the motivator for dignity, egos, solidarity, belongingness, and community involvement, all of which lead the community to have a communal identity.

Common interest: when the community shares common values and is committed to that interest that distinguished them from other communities. The community explores this passion through common activities, conversations, chances, conflict resolutions, knowledge transference, and trusting relationships.

According to the Cambridge dictionary, development in literature work is a character's perception that refers to the transition from one event to the next.

Regarding civilizations, the term "development" denotes a process of change toward a more "advanced" condition. "Right action" may be defined as behavior that promotes people's and society's development.

Development according to Christenson is a procedure that variates perspectives on various situations, and the ability to anticipate changes, and it is broadened one's possibilities (Christenson, 1989:35).

Community development is a new method of interacting, organizing social life, promoting human rights, and human desires are becoming available as a result of this process of constructing and re-forming the framework of human society (Ife & Tesoriero, 2006). Community development is a progression of community welfare in a deliberate manner (economic, environmental, and cultural). It is also a process in which society takes collective action to deal with common challenges they have and come together to find a solution for that challenge (Frank & Smith, 1999).

Community development is a process that strengthens a community's capacity to paint on its wealth and contributions to better its lives (Gibbon et al, 2002).

Community development is recognizing and addressing local problems while communicating with the local people and encouraging active engagement. This promotes the community to work together to find an effective solution for the community and get better results on the way.

According to Mendes, community development uses community structure to meet social issues and empower groups of society is characterized as community development (Mendes, 2008).

According to South Africa Community Development Resource Association, Community development is a development practice for the people to get utilized, and used their common resources are utilized in an ineffective way to support individuals and their organizations in a courageous and supportive manner (www.cdra.org.za).

Community development is a way to connect with society and figure out a method that helps people make positive changes in their lives and promote collaboration and trust between people and their society (Bartley, 2003).

According to the UN, community development is defined as a strategy that actively engages society to forest economic and social success for the community (United Nations,

1955). Following World War II, developing nations faced a variety of issues with political/public management, such as dysfunctional government, bureaucratic pathology, disorganized public institutions, and organizational and functional complexity in the provision of public services (Escobar, 1988).

To address institutional issues and inefficiencies in local governance, several structural and pluralist strategies had surfaced by the late 1970s (Campbell, 1972; Peters, 2001:3-12). Nonetheless, those strategies increased state-centrism and consolidated more administrative authority in the hand of the central government (Pankaj, 2007). The top-down decision-making process decreased the efficiency of the administrative system and increased the upward responsibility of institutional structures. Parallel to this, a pattern of systemic lawlessness, favoritism, political intervention, and breaches of human rights evolved (Zafarullah and Huque, 2001: 1379-1403).

Usually, community development programs are designed for underdeveloped countries for the reason that the majority of the community is missing basic needs. To pursue the basic need of the community, society has to get together and discuss the problems that they are facing and report that problems to community organizations, government officials, or NGOs. However, when it comes to developed countries, the case is different because usually, the basic needs are available, and for the ones that cannot get the basic need the government is supporting them to fulfill those needs.

According to the UN, community development is defined as a strategy that actively engages society to forest economic and social success for the community (United Nations 1955).

According to UNIDO, During Somalia's 25-year conflict, critical economic infrastructure has been destroyed or seriously damaged, including government buildings, public facilities, highways, and transportation and communication networks. For income, service supply, and international humanitarian help, urban Somalis rely mostly on an informal economy based on commerce, transportation, utilities, communication, and construction. Limited investments in the productive sectors have resulted from a lack of economic infrastructure that fosters company development and supports economic growth. Background information done by the UN stated that Somalia is one of the world's poorest countries, with 73% of the population living on less than USD 2 per day and 43% on less than USD 1 per day. With 76 % under the age of 29, and just 50 % of those above the age of 10 economically active, the country has a massive population youth bulge

(UNIDO, 2020). Due to another year of inadequate rainfall, Somalia suffered widespread food insecurity in 2017, with drought conditions persisting across the country. In the face of near-total crop failures and diminished rural job options, the country's coping mechanisms are being pushed to breaking point. Infrastructure restrictions, limited state institutions and capacity, and continuing insecurity are among the country's major concerns. This study shows also that the world bank stated that In the next three years, Somalia's economy is expected to grow at a stable nominal annual pace of 5–7%, driven by aggregate demand fueled by a thriving private sector, remittances, and decreased oil prices. The Somali diaspora is still devoted to investing in the country's economic and social development. Due to its favorable geographic location and long coastline, Somalia has the potential to become a regional economic center (UNIDO 2020).

The government of Somalia has made a strong commitment to improving public service delivery by establishing local administrations as part of the peace and restoration process. Local government is widely acknowledged as playing an increasingly strong role in participatory community development. Devolution, according to the World Development Report (2003), is critical to making service delivery work for the poor (Jessop, 2014).

1.3.1 Values of Community Development

Values of community development according to National Occupational Standard (NOS) are as follows:

1.3.1.1 Equality and anti-Discrimination

Community is ownership and a sense of belonging. If that is missing, there will be no community, so treating people equally and respecting them the same way as the rest of society is one of the key factors of community development. if it is missing the belonging factor is also missing, so the community has to reject any kind of discrimination and injustice to resist and recognize it too.

There have to be also rules and practice those rules, against the ones that do discriminate and inequality since the community has to honor and appreciate and promote the importance of variety and differences in society.

1.3.1.2 Community Empowerment

Society must have a strong understanding and trust among all parties of the community, the goal of community development is to engage and leverage the individuals that live in the community and to engage with them with assets and allow them to exert greater influence over them. To encourage credibility, honesty, and choosing the necessary improvements for the community themselves.

1.3.1.3 Social Justice

The approach to community development must eliminate systemic discrimination and look for ways to improve human rights. To recognize, measure, and fight discrimination, racism, and inequalities in society.

Giving people opportunities and saying to participate politically, environmentally, and economically, and not discriminate against them according to their race, gender, financial status, and sexuality is a part of human rights.

1.3.1.4 Working and Acquiring Knowledge Together

Community development is an approach that analyzes how certain activities help society to reach its goals, how they learn from their experience on that, how they recognized requirements, and how they do changes and differences when it doesn't work.

Community development is all about learning and the greater good and it operates via collaboration with society, and interactive approaches, learning about the development of society, and putting it into practice are strongly intertwined.

1.3.1.5 Collective Action

Collective action is a process where the community can come together to work and assist people with support groups of people, to increase their knowledge, skills, and confidence so that they can identify and analyze the issue and develop the community one by one. The practitioner to work with communities to organize, influence, encourage individuals to take actions and role for their community. Collective action enables communities to recognize and appreciate their current talents, knowledge, and experience and how they may be leveraged to achieve their objectives and helps strengthen the community's voice.

and acknowledge the abundance of imaginative and innovative available sources in the community.

1.3.2 Basic Principles of Community Development

These principles are general directions to structure community development and each component will help you comprehend the idea as a whole, those which are stated here are the most important when applied there will be fewer, less often relevant principles in each community, according to Universal Class.

1.3.2.1 Empowerment

Community empowerment is to empower the community based on their skill to run its affairs, govern and influence important people, and influence both inside and outside, and for the community people to be part of this empowerment and take actions toward the improvement of the community.

After the survival of a natural disaster, trauma, or residence lived in war-torn country empowerment is a crucial way for society to recover (Anckermann et al., 2005).

Processes like collaborative reflection, social involvement, political dialogues, and outcomes like obtaining appropriate resources for increasing community well-being and social justice are all indicators of community empowerment (Ackermann et al., 2005).

Community involvement affects the community in a way that institutions and policies do not affect people because the partnerships between people in power and other members of the community are frequently used to increase the influence of community empowerment.

Bond and Keys state that although “co-empowerment might be difficult it is extremely helpful to the community, the members of the community may grow empowered with the support of community leader and vice versa”.

1.3.2.2 Characteristics and Appearance

Although focusing on the physical structure of the community may look superficial to some, character and appearance concepts are critical components of community development. There is an aspect that creates the tone in the neighborhood and has a significant impact on the community’s public image which is why many towns and

locations have distinct visual and sensory characteristics that serve as a strong identity. People have a clear vision of what they want for their community so character and appearance are extremely significant to the ones who are actively involved in community development (Universal class, 2022).

The character of the community has a huge impact on how the community sees a specific thing people have a significant effect when it comes to the habits of the community.

Based on first impressions people may have a positive and negative reaction to a situation, which may influence things like how inhabitants and members regard or care about it, and that can motivate those resources to be at that place for the first time (Universal class, 2022).

1.3.2.3 Collaboration and Participation

Community development as its name implied is not individual development, it's something that can be done for the community so the collaboration of the community is key when it comes to community development. Working alone for the community can be exhausting and time-consuming which is why collaborating with the community is key when it comes to community development. Also collaborating with society will bring people many people together with those who have different life skills, experiences, talents, and educational backgrounds, this engagement will arise as a result of community development's cooperation can be beneficial for the community to evaluate the problem and find better solutions (Universal class, 2022).

Participation is a process in which community developers are participating. The community members themselves with leaders will be part of the community's decision-making to provide insight and criticism on the issues that will directly affect them. Participation and empowerment can be linked in because they frequently flow into one another throughout the process. Participation cannot be forced on society if they are not interested in it but it can be an opportunity for those who want to be part of solving the community's problems (Universal class, 2022). According to Androff, Individuals have a right to participate in how decisions are made about the preservation of their rights, both as a duty and as a condition of responsibility. This is known as the concept of participation in human rights discourse (cited at Thinyane, Goldkind, Lam, 2018).

1.3.2.4 Awareness

Lack of awareness causes difficulty to take steps to change something if the community is not even aware of the issue, that is why awareness is an important principle of community development. awareness helps society to figure out its problem and that will make it easier for people to find solutions, although probably the issue won't be recognized as long as It does not have a huge impact on the community overall and if the community is not aware of the problem then how will they find a solution for that problem, awareness also helps the community to be aware of their resources which will make it easy for people to use their resources effectively. It can also help people to push community leaders to solve or find a solution to the problem. Community awareness helps people to identify the needs and assets of the in order for the practitioners to make decisions one way or another (Green & Haines, 2015)

Awareness in community development may do more than identify the problem it can also detect if the progress of solving the problem is not working or causing more issues than solutions, or if it is helping the right individuals, if not then the community can take action before further problems take place if the community is actively aware of it (Universal class, 2022).

1.3.2.5 Transparency and Trust

Engage the ones that are involved in community development is key to solving the problems of the community and leaders have to be transparent and has to informed the community about the actions that they are taking in the community, every member of society can be indirectly influenced by changing the community, and because of that if the community developers or whoever is taking action is not transparent then the community may challenge them and show their opposition. Even if something is more harmful than beneficial the attachment of society to that thing can cause the community to resist changing that thing, transparency can be a way to gain the trust of the community and it will be easy for the community to improve in the future if the leaders are transparent on what they did wrong or what goes wrong than hiding it from the community (Universal class, 2022). Social ties that are trustworthy promote and facilitate cooperation, communication, and commitment so that initiatives and technologies may be created and

implemented in ways that are locally relevant, consensual rather than contentious, and with communal benefits at the forefront (Walker, et al 2010).

1.3.2.6 Planning and Preparation

Planning and preparation are essential for community development to succeed. Community organizers must be able to assess what they want to accomplish and how they want it to be accomplished. Because enacting large changes is not a simple undertaking, significant attention is essential to ensure that all requirements are met. One of the major elements of community development is planning, and it may be a crucial stage in the process of bringing significant improvements to a community. Planning allows members of the community to adjust to the new situation and provides an opportunity for input to those in charge of the adjustments. Planning also involves adaptation. It is a sequential as well as a flexible interactive procedure (Lea, 1993).

Planning and preparation may provide society with some protection against difficulties and mistakes. It can also help a community assemble the resources it needs to make changes, especially if those resources have certain access constraints (e.g. funding) (Universal class, 2022).

1.3.2.7 Inclusion and Diversity

Gender, race, socioeconomic class, religion, political opinions, and other characteristics of a group are all examples of diversity, and it's a concept that virtually everyone is familiar with in some manner. Even though the organization as a whole is established around a certain concentration or passion, it is not unusual for a single community to have a healthy amount of variety. During the community development process, everything in a community must be handled, thus it's critical to pay attention to even the slightest degree of variety in a local community (Universal class, 2022).

Since it may foster inclusion by providing inhabitants of all races and economic backgrounds access to the same resources and chances for interaction, racial and economic diversity are appealing policy and planning objectives. But because of interpersonal and organizational conflict, prejudice, and relative poverty, diverse societies can also serve as the setting for both intentional and unintentional exclusion (Tach, 2014).

The term “inclusion” refers to ensuring that all members of a community are regarded equally and have equal access to resources. It is essentially a method of putting everyone in a community on an equal footing, regardless of what sets them apart from their peers. One of the fundamental goals of community development is to enhance the lives of individuals who live there (Universal class, 2022).



CHAPTER II: THE NEXUS BETWEEN FEDERALISM AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF SOMALIA

2.1. Understanding Federalism in Somalia

In the 1960s Somalia was viewed as the “most helpful nation” in Africa (Luling, 1997: 287-302). Most African countries were ethnically diverse, unlike Somalia which is mostly homogeneous (Samatar, 2016). Somalia was named “Africa’s first democratic” as it was the first African democratic country, and the country held the first democratic elections after its independence. Somalia was a “true national state” in the northern national state according to some experts (Appiah, 1992).

Somali federalism was conceived before the country’s independence, and some scholars and Somali independence groups saw federalism as necessary as a prerequisite for the development of the modern state even during the colonial era. This idea was advocated by Hisbia Dastuur Mustaqil Al-Somal (HDMS), a political group led by legislators from now Southern West state. HDMS claimed that to preserve the super fertile agriculture in southwest Bay and Bakool a federal system might promote the region’s economic and political interests. So that the Maay (Somali dialect) speaking region can have social connectedness, giving them more stability (Samatar, 1997). The idea of federalism nonetheless was washed away by pan-Somalism politicians whose agenda was the reunification of the areas Somali lives in the unstable Horn of Africa, bolstered by ethnic nationalism. From 1960 to 1964, the euphoria of independence generated a pretense of elite unity, however, civilian administration was tainted by corruption and nepotism, impeding political and economic growth, after the formation of clan-based political parties led to democratic chaos.

From 1969 to 1977, the Somali government was ruled by general Mohamed Siyad Barre a military-backed military regime, which took advantage of public dissatisfaction and political gridlock after the assassination of President Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke. The new military regime reignited the nationalist spirit by embarking on massive development projects across the country, including constructing schools, medium, and small-scale factories. The regime’s excellent management of a devastating drought in 1974 improved its image even more, and there was a semblance of elite unity (Samatar, 1997).

Repressive tactics used by Somalia's military leadership succeeded in silencing opponents still that did not resolve simmering communal concerns. In addition to that, Somalia's 1977-1978 war with Ethiopia over the mainly Somali Ogaden area was fueled by a resurgent nationalist spirit.

However, the support that Ethiopia gained from Soviet and Cuban troops halted Somalia's advance of winning and losing that war to Ethiopia (Heritage institution, 2020). During the period that Siyad Barre considered that the state was his and he was the state and the country was on his hand, apart from fundamental services like birth certificates and passports there was no government beyond that the parts of the country except Mogadishu. Federalism as a form of government did not resurface during this nationalistic rhetoric (Elmi, 2015).

Siyad Barre is considered by many in Somalia to be the founder of Pan-Somalism or the idea that Somali people should put clan loyalty aside and see each other as Somalis first. Barre also promotes the idea of Greater Somalia, which is a state in which all Somali-populated areas will be united. However, a Supreme Revolution Council (SCR) led by Siad Barre clan favoritism and corruption has begun so does opposition to the government and an army known as the Somali Salvation democratic front (SSDF) where the majority (Majeerteen) started a civil war in Northeast Somalia in 1978 (World Bank, 2005). Another insurgent organization, the Somali National Movement (SNM), from a majority (Isaak clan) emerged in the north in 1981. In addition, the regime's ruthless battle against the Somali National Movement in 1988 destroyed practically all metropolitan centers in the country's Northwestern region. Another rebel group, the United Somali Congress (USC) majority (Hawiye clan), arose in Mogadishu and the central area in 1989, signaling the end of Siad Barre's regime. In 1988, after 20 years of Siad Barre's harsh dictatorship, rebellion erupted, and armed war erupted. On January 26, 1991, these militia groups toppled the Barre administration. As a result of Barre's removal from office, the country's governmental structure began to collapse. Barre tried to reclaim control after the fall of his regime but failed (Lyons & Samatar, 2010).

The military dictatorship eventually fell apart in 1991, resulting in unparalleled instability and the creation of a rebel leader to control some territories, which Somalia is still dealing with (Heritage institution, 2020).

Within two days of the overthrower of Barre by insurgency movements, Ali Mahdi Mohamed was appointed as interim president which caused another conflict among the

clans between 1991 and 1993. When a truce was broken, the first UN military action was launched to safeguard humanitarian workers and relief supplies. The United States committed soldiers to the UN Task Force on Somalia (UNITAF), codenamed Operation Restore Hope, in December 1992, under US leadership. During the Somali civil war, a variety of armed factions and armed organizations emerged, and the empowering of commanders and an eagerness on the part of major powers like the United States to interfere in Somalia in 1997 (Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, 2018). Nonetheless, the Northern Somali region did not experience a power vacuum in 1991 after the collapse of the central government in Somalia. Historically, they were ruled by ancient Somali Kingdoms and the Sultanates. They outlasted both colonial and earlier governmental impacts (Farah, 2017).

Issimo and Nabadoon (traditional clan elders) played an important role in the establishment of the Puntland state government, after the collapse of the Somali government. Issimo and Nabadoon took the responsibility to resolve the clan problems and find solutions for the security of the country (Gundel, 2006).

However, after eight years of the collapse of Somalia's central government, regional administrators decided to build the Puntland state regional administration. Although the northeast regions had neither strong governance nor decentralized administration under the prior administration, the Sultanates were functioning more than the government in the northern regions. And Puntland state government had the goal to promote the adoption of a federal political structure in Somalia (Farah, 2017).

According to Farah, the long-term characteristics of several pre-war disputes make significance favor the external society in settling the local conflict. Somali elders came from around Somalia to talk about the future of Somalia ahead the goal of the meetings held in Garowe in 1991 was to stabilize the regional security and peace which led to the establishment of Puntland state in 1998 (cited in Bradbury, 2008). And the goal was not so that Puntland can be independent of Somalia, but to establish Puntland as a federal state to limit the future central government's authority in the Northeast (Brickhill and Bryden, 2010). According to Farah (2017), For Somalia finally, taking a step to pursue a federal political system was considered after the establishment of the Puntland State of Somalia (PSS) and they used federalism as an excellent model to re-established the Somali government.

Somalis have increased their ability to manage and fund vast and complicated political processes, as well as how the government has grown more decentralized in Somalia. Traditional kingdoms and sultanates are at the highest level of decision-making and highest officials in the political system in Puntland and even the president although not officially but comes under the Issimo, hence they are the founders of Puntland (cited with Ibid and Gundel).

In the year 2000, the president of Djibouti called Somalia in Arta conference was clan-based and relied on procedures of clan council, a traditional governing paradigm, and the council of clan elders. The consensus was used to make a decision, the topic of representation was so divisive that it threatened to bring the meeting to a halt, clan chiefs eventually decided to choose delegates using the 4.5 formula agreed upon at the Sodare National Conference in Ethiopia in 1997 (Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, 2018). The 4.5 was a formula that divided the members of parliament into (4) equal members for the major Somali clans whose who are (Darood, Hawiye, Dir, Digil, and Mirifle) and (.5) represent the marginalized clans in Somalia Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, 2018). The Arta conference was the foundation of the first Somali Transitional Federal Government (TFG), which gained it is legitimacy, for the first time since 1991 and allowed Somalia to reclaim its seats in the United Nation and regional organizations. However, TFG was challenged by the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC), pan Somali which is made up of commanders from various parts of the nation (AMISOM, 2022). The Arta conference was not successful because the Transitional National Government did not become a functional state, however, it open the door for other conferences in Eldoret and Embaghati for peace and process in 2002-2004 and help to learn lessons from the previous mistakes it stated the establishment of Somali Federal Government (Farah, 2017). The Embaghati conference was to establish a Transitional Federal government (TFG) in late 2004, due to the fear among the clans in Somalia, Somali representatives find that federalism is an appropriate political structure for the country (Farah, 2017).

The TFG resulted in a two-year international conciliation process coordinated by intergovernmental authorities on development. Since the collapse of Siad Barre's regime in 1991, this is the fourteenth effort to form a functioning government in Somalia (Hanson and Kaplan, 2008). According to Farah, the Somali parliament elected Abdullahi Yusuf as president (cited Badbury, 2009).

According to Hanson and Kaplan (2008), Abdullahi Yusuf elected different clans as a power-sharing technique and them being pro-Ethiopia, he also elected Ali Mohamed Gedi as prime minister from the Hawiye clan. However, the Hawiye clan opposed this as them being long resisted Ethiopian hegemony, Gedi resigned his position amid significant pressure from the US and Ethiopia claiming differing views with the president (as cited in a report in 2007 International Crisis Group).

Nonetheless, the establishment of The TFG in Somalia has experienced fierce resistance from warlords and then the Islamic union which appeared as a new political entity in 2006, and now Al-Shabaab and Hisbul Islam militias (Gaas and Gomsrud, 2010). Ethiopia invaded Somalia in 2006, backed by the United States and working with the TFG, the operation removed the Union of Islamic Court (UIC) from power, and it also closed a window for cooperation that could have brought the country's struggle to a conclusion. The invasion resulted in a significant humanitarian disaster as well as high levels of violence. After its defeat, the UIC split into three parties: the Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS), Al-Shabaab, and Hizbul Islam, all of which began fighting the TFG and Ethiopian soldiers (Gaas and Gomsrud, 2010).

The battle between Ethiopia and ARS cause the withdrawal of Ethiopia from Somalia in January 2009 the Djibouti peace process to adopt federalism in Somalia was endorsed by the UN Security Council, which led to the election of Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed in 2009 and the re-implementation of TFG and brought a second power-sharing agreement, this time with the Ahlu Sunna Wal Jamaa'a Sufi coalition (ASWJ) (Gaas and Gomsrud, 2010).

Instead of working together and engaging the TFG together, the members of ARS split into two Hassan Dahir Aweys an extremist that founded Hisbul Islam which was headed in Asmara, and moderated member headed in Djibouti which was led by Sheikh Sharif, where Sheikh Sharif become the president of TFG. Following the election of Sheikh Sharif Hisbul, Islam and Al-Shabaab launched their first attack against TFG (Gaas and Gomsrud, 2010).

As the leaders lacked the political will to improve the country's security, there was political tension between the leaders of the country. African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) troops arrived in the country to defeat Al-Shabaab which was founded by the African Union (AU) and supported by the United Nations (UN) (Gaas and Gomsrud, 2010).

After Maghaba Somalia transitional federalism was the best option that Somalis can have however when people saw how the federal government is working they decide to go from the Transitional federal government to the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS). The Somali federal administration has been lauded as the first “post-transitional” government after more than two decades of violence, crises, and ineffective transitional authority. It has been met with such enthusiasm by many observers, including British Prime Minister David Cameron, that many have drawn comparisons with the “Arab spring” that has reshaped parts of the Middle East. It is easy to believe that Somalia is finally on its way to recovery. Despite those circumstances showed that the SFG remains feeble and vulnerable, and the leaders rely on the African Union soldiers to safeguard and preserve the country. Nevertheless, they receive special international recognition from the media and cheerfulness. The capital city Mogadishu gained an influx of returnees, investors, aid workers, and diplomats, and hope other governors that rule the other majority of Somalia reasonably out spoke about it has never been more crucial to remember the ancient adage that Mogadishu is not all Somalia (Bryden, 2013).

The United Nations organized the Garowe 1 and 2 meetings, which were hosted by Somalia’s transitional federal government and held in Garowe Puntland. The Signatories declared that the next Constituent Consultative Conference will be convened in early 2012 after the completion of Garowe one Because it was important, the delegates decided that three essential concerns needed to be addressed by the delegates for the constitution-making process to be completed and the transition to be completed on time These are: 1. Federalism and Mogadishu have been the capital city 2. System of Government and Electoral System Design, and the organization of the federal executive depends on whether the government is parliamentary, presidential, or other. 3. The selection procedure for the National Constituent Assembly (NCA) and the design of the Upper House of Parliament that represents the administrative areas are covered under the principles.

The second national constitution conference brought together the roadmap’s signatories as well as civil society members. The conference was inaugurated by Sharif Hassan the Speaker of the Parliament, who emphasized the need of agreeing on several key principles to complete the constitutional process, and The participants were the president of Puntland at that moment Abdirahman Mohamed Faroole, the president of the transitional federal government Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed, the Speaker of the parliament Sharif

Sheikh Ahmed, the Prime minister Abdiweli Mohamed Ali, the president of Galmudug Mohamed Ahmed Alin, and the representative of Ahlu Sunnah Wal Jama'a (reliefweb, 2012).

The proposed constitution was eventually considered by the National Constituent Assembly, which consisted of 825 delegates, and the drafting process was completed in 2012 with the ratification of the interim constitution. The Constitution was passed by the National Constitutional Assembly on August 1, 2012, rather than by public vote, as it was scheduled to be (Kouroutakis, 2014). The constituent Assembly was formally created and launched on July 25, 2012, in Mogadishu. 825 elders from the 18 districts across the country came to enroll in the meeting and It lasted until August 2nd, 2012. The percentage of women elected to the Assembly was only 24%, significantly below the 30% objective established in Garowe II. On August 1, the Somalia Provisional Constitution was accepted by the Assembly. Traditional elders were acknowledged to be the source of electoral legitimacy and people's representatives in establishing a provisional Constitution and organizing a new Parliament (UN, 2012).

2.2. Understanding Communities in Somalia

Somalis have the same ethnic groups, speak the same language, and practice the same religion, they also share the same religion and culture is a classical argument that Somali people make. Nevertheless, deep down this claim reveals that it is false and deceptive (Ahmed and Green, 1999). According to Ahmed and Green 1999, contemporary analyses of Somali political issues majority of them agree that the issue is based on the misconception and naïve generalization about the Somali people's alleged distinctiveness as a culturally homogeneous entity (cited at mukhtar, 1996) the plight of the agro-pastoral society in Somalia.

Being a Muslim country makes the Arabic language the second language of the country, however, Somali is a widely spoken language. Family is at the foundation of Somali culture, hence it is highly important, in Somalia family comes first, and considering the family is the most essential aspect of Somali culture. In most parts of the country, the country a particular clan or sub-clan can be predominant. However, it is not uncommon to see several clans live together in a particular place since Somalis are nomadic. Somalis are predominantly Sunni Muslims so in Somalia, social customs, attitudes, and gender rules are essentially based on Islamic traditions. There are non-Somali minorities who

make up 15% of the nation's population, such as Bantus, Eyle, Indians, Arabs, Pakistanis, Ethiopians, and Britons. In Somalia, paternal lineage determines membership in the clan (BioGreat Tv, 2020).

Clan families and clans are sub-clans, major bloodlines, (dia is manual aid that each sub-clan collects to help each other or pay each other's fine when they commit a crime), and dia-paying groupings (jilib/Bah/Habar) also known as subclans of Somali clans make up the Somali social and political system. The Jilib/Bah/Habar have an unwritten commitment to help one another and share money. The Jilib/Bah/Habar have run from hundreds to thousands of households in Somalia and they are a very stable entity (Ahmed and Green, 1999).

Clan membership does not have an official leader they have traditional leaders the communities prefer to have a council of elders with shared responsibilities they also represent their separate groups as legitimate representatives throughout the colonial regime. And the meetings of clan members are not automatically conferred specific rights and responsibilities, instead, they are discussed and agreed upon in unwritten contracts (Ahmed and Green, 1999). Although after independence Somalia had free elections, freedom, and speech, and the economy was growing, however, there were two major problems in the Somali republic first the politics were dominated by a deep trench clan system which caused some Somalis to be partisan to support their clan, the second was the idea of greater Somalia and the expansion of Somalia to its original border which was home to majority if not all Somali people and was under Ethiopia which was not been spoken about because it was the cold war era (History matters, 2021).

Siyad Barre sought to break away from clan connections by appointing individuals based on qualifications rather than clan allegiances (Abbasheikh, 2012). The government implemented the death penalty for murder convictions to restrict the custom of blood money transfer between clans (Ahmed and Green, 1999). Barre also used his uniquely Somali branding of scientific socialism that the government adopted "wealth-sharing based on knowledge or wisdom" to promote the fundamental ideas of unity (Mohamed, 2015).

It seemed like it was a pleasant shift from tradition, but it was not sustained. Russians provide arms and advisors and Chinese money and loan worker booked roads into the interior and along the coast, connecting tanks that had never before been easily accessible because Barre pitted superpowers against supper power to enlist aid who were attempting

to transform Somalia into a modernist country (Abbasheikh, 2012). In the year 1970 Barre ordered the adoption of scientific socialism the next year, promising to heal all the nation's ailments and claiming that it was completely consistent with Islam and the realities of the nomadic civilization (Ahmed and Green, 1999).

In Somalia, 1975 Family Law prohibited polygamy, provided women the ability to divorce their spouses, and permitted men and women to inherit income equally in the event of a family member's passing. However, this law created controversy due to the people of Somalia being majority Muslim, and religious leaders opposed it causing the killing and sentencing of the sheiks who opposed this law (Mohamed, 2015).

When it comes to concerns about the family and decision-making, gender roles were traditionally very strict. Men were viewed as the family's protectors and providers, making them the primary decision-makers in the family, while women were supposed to be submissive, obedient spouses and mothers. (Mohamed, 2015). It would be inaccurate to say that Barre's state policy had no significant advantage for women, this policy gave women pay maternal leave, a strong state emphasis on females' education, and free health care were all significant developments. Orientation centers served as community centers and provided work for unemployed young people. The 1974–1975 literacy drive and free, mandatory elementary education are two key gender-neutral innovations. Former Somali embassy official Hussein Ali Duale alleged that Barre declared himself a socialist and communist without having much knowledge about it because it was the only way that Russian power would have accepted him (Abbasheikh, 2012). During this new era, industries were established to produce a variety of items, including fish processing tiles, pasta cigarettes, and matches. The rich fishing ground was utilized for export, and traditional Somali live livestock exports were sent to the Arabian Gulf (Abbasheikh, 2012).

Latent corruption has been blamed on lingering Italian influence known as Italian factors in the public sector despite the unification of the two administrative systems. The major issues of social disparity and underdevelopment in the north, issues left over from colonial rule, were not addressed by the government's development program either (Ahmed and Green, 1999).

Nonetheless, things were going great until Siyad Barre decided in 1977 to go to war with Ethiopia to gain control of the Ogaden region which was given to Ethiopia during the colonial era. The war did not go well for Somalia because they were expecting to get help

from USSR but the Soviet Union did not approve and Ethiopia had the support of a large group of Cubans later the Soviet Union help Ethiopia and the war went bad for Somalia. Within a year of the war Somali population went from under 4 million to over 5 million because of the migration of the people who lived in the area of the conflict, which cause issues (history matters, 2021).

Somali government faced the worst situation possible since the independence of the country, the humiliation of losing the war caused the discontent of the Barre regime there was an attempt of a coup and Barre focused on certain clans. Food and water supplies began to collapse and it was reliant on foreign aid, which Barre only gave to the clans that supported him, over the course of 1980 Somalia face an economic collapse and Barre's government become brutal in suppressing the challenge (history matters, 2021). In the Northern areas, there was a severe food crisis and an abrupt fall in entitlements. Food markets in the northern regions were severely disturbed by the nationalization process and the implementation of price restrictions. Even more harmful was the actual closing of the important historical Arabian-Somaliland-Ethiopian commerce axis, with rigorous controls at the Red Sea port of Berbera and the closure of the Ethiopian border (Ahmed and Green, 1999).

Senior military personnel from the Majeerteen clan attempted a coup in April 1978 aftermath of Somalia's defeat in the Ogaden. Some senior officers who were the establishers of the first opposition movement, the Somali salvation democracy front managed to flee, even though the uprising was pushed down by the government. A collection of business people, religious leaders, and former soldiers from the Isaaq clan created the Somali National Movement (SNM), has started the second opposition movement, in 1981 (Ahmed and Green, 1999). Barre decided to wage war on those who opposed his government, and some experts believe that Barre purposefully placed senior military officials from the Isaaq clan in the Somali army in the area where the Majeerteen Clans lived and vice versa to create hatred between them.

Around 100,000 deaths have been reported in the northern towns, according to statistics from government soldier's ground assaults, air strikes, and mass murders in the capital city of Somaliland Hargeisa resulting in up to 50,000 death (Ahmed and Green, 1999). According to experts, Somaliland is home to more than 200 mass graves, most of which are located in the valley of death, Isaaq were one of those clans that were against the dictatorship of Siyad and fought for independence and Siyad could not take the opposition

and the threat to continue that is why Barre tried to eliminate the opposition and killed thousands of Isaaq clan (Einashe and Kennard, 2018).

2.2.1. The Effects of the Civil War on the Community Development

As a result of Said Barre's dictatorship, the first Somali civil war in 1988 was due to nationalist organizations' discontent with Northern Somalia, leading to the collapse of the Somali government in 1991. Nationalists, Islamic groups, warlords, clan and subclan militias, and other players attempted to seize control of large portions of the country (OWP, 2017). Which caused extreme violence, the repression of Islamic, and nationalist opposition groups, and the escalation of interclan tensions.

From the year 1993 to 1995, military and humanitarian involvement by the United States and the UN failed to bring about peace. Refusing foreign intervention Somalis banded together against the foreign and finally force the US to depart the country. Between the years 1995 and 2005 episodes of violent crimes took place although not to the degree of the central government some states raise to control the peace of the country (Powell, Ford, Nowrasteh; 2008).

2.2.1.1 Immigration of Somali People

According to Lindley violent conflict frequently causes people to migrate, both inside and the impacted region or country, and across borders to neighboring nations or even beyond (Lindley, 2009). 30 years later In Somalia, an estimated 3.1 million people have been displaced due to conflict, instability, drought, and floods. In urban and peri-urban locations around the country, the majority of people have self-settled in over 2,400 sub-standard Internally Displaced Person (IDP) settlements (UNHCR). Professor Dalxa stated, "armed clansmen did whatever they wanted, and they lost everything in terms of honor, dignity, and wealth. Which is everything that a citizen is entitled to have disappeared" (BBC Somalia, 2021). Even though the international and national players have attempted to build peace their attempts were not successful because the anthropological communitarian characteristics have been overlooked (Marangio, 2012). Somalis domain large parts of Kenya, and Djibouti, and a significant portion of them migrated to the horn of Africa. After the conflict Somali republic has divided into three major regions. The Northwestern part republic of Somaliland proclaimed its

independence in 1991 and from 1997 maintained generally peaceful and welcoming asylum seekers from Southern Somalia and the Somali region of Ethiopia. Somalia's semi-autonomous region of Puntland which experienced significant post-conflict development since its establishment in 1998, restricted return migration, and the immigration of displaced individuals from south-central Somalia and the Somali territory of Ethiopia, as well as limited return migration. A significant transit center for Africans traveling to Yemen and beyond is Bossaso port (Lindley, 2009).

People who have been relocated are living in dangerous situations and are unable to meet their basic requirements owing to inconsistencies in service delivery or a lack of access to humanitarian aid. According to the CCCM Cluster's Detailed Site Assessment (DSA), 85 percent of the sites are informal settlements on private property, and around 74 percent of them are in metropolitan areas (UNHCR).

More than 313,000 Somali refugees are in Kenya as of April 2017, the majority of them are gathered at the Dadaab Refugee Complex in Garissa County, not far from the Somali border. Dadaab is made up of four camps: Dagahaley, Hagadera, Ifo, and Ifo 2. It was founded in 1991 to offer sanctuary to families escaping the Somali Civil War. In February 2017, the fifth camp, Kambioos, was shut down. Around 245,000 Somali refugees were reportedly residing in Dadaab as of April 30, 2017, according to UNHCR estimates. As many of the refugees in the complex are not registered with UNHCR, some sources claim that there are between 300,000 and 350,000 Somali refugees living in Dadaab. While many camp inhabitants were born there and have never left the camp, some have remained in Dadaab for more than 20 years. Furthermore, as of April 2017, more than 30,000 Somali refugees resided in Nairobi, while around 40,000 were in the Kakuma Refugee Camp in northwest Turkana County (CDC, 2021).

More than 255,000 registered Somali refugees were residing in Ethiopia as of March 2018. About 37,000 of them lived at the Jijiga Refugee Complex, which is made up of three camps. There are fewer than a thousand Somali refugees in Addis Ababa, and the actual number is probably far higher. As of December 2017, Yemen had registered more than 255,000 Somali refugees, compared to the entire number of Somalis residing in Ethiopia and Kenya (exceeding 567,000). Some Somalis attempt to travel to Saudi Arabia in search of better work prospects. Somali refugees frequently experience poverty, struggle to find employment, and suffer discrimination and human trafficking dangers in Yemen (CDC, 2021).

2.2.1.2. Healthcare

Before even the collapse of Somalia's central government, the health indicators revealed bleak numbers. Although the ideal scenario is for all countries to have universal access to healthcare, this idea frequently serves as the foundation for national healthcare development strategies. The post-independence governments of Somalia failed to sustain and develop the country's healthcare system, much alone expand services to the rural populace and other vulnerable populations. Even after becoming independent, Somali administrations continued to base their development goals on institutional history, political interest, and personal ambitions rather than on actual needs and resource capacity (Qayad, 2008).

With inadequate governance, lengthy internal strife, underdevelopment, economic decline, poverty, social and gender inequality, and environmental degradation, countries that have experienced years of conflict, natural catastrophes, starvation, and insecurity have all led to very low ratings for the majority of humanitarian indices. Despite the high death rate brought on by hunger and civil conflict (Afzal et al., 2022). The Somali Ministry of Health never created a set of basic healthcare services or estimated the amount of infrastructure and resources required to provide them. Poor-quality imported medications were mostly blamed for the disappointing outcomes of curable illnesses including TB, malaria, typhoid, and dysentery (Qayad, 2008).

In the mid-1980s In Somalia, there were six departments within the Ministry of Health (MOH): planning and training, personnel, preventive services, curative services, finance and administration, and procurement and medical supplies. Through Regional Medical Officers (RMO) who answered to the curative services department, the MOH utilized a centralized structure for decision-making and had connections to the 18 administrative regions (Qayad, 2008).

Less than 40% of children under 5 years old had not received all recommended vaccinations, although other organizations were engaged in the program's inception, execution, and assessment. The World Health Organization (WHO) provided financial support to the Public Health Commission (PHC) attempt to raise the country Somalia's vaccination rates regardless, their efforts were ineffective. For instance, UNICEF participated in the WHO to expand the program on immunization activities. It is

challenging to locate an accurate population estimate for Somalia. Currently, these groups cite population estimates between 7 and 10 million (Qayad, 2008).

The need for obstetric care is highlighted by the overall fertility rate of 7.3 children for every woman of reproductive age. The life expectancy at birth is 46 and 49 years for men and females, respectively. The projected maternal death rate is 1,600 per 100,000 live births. Over 330 doctors and over 500 nurses are said to have vanished during the Civil War. A majority of Somalia's population, 60% of whom are under 25 and were born after the civil war and never experienced peace because warfare has persisted throughout their whole lives (Afzal et al., 2022). The MOH received about 2% (\$24 million) of the national budget (\$1.2 billion annually before the breakdown), which remained steady over time. This corresponds to \$96 million in Somalia, where there are an estimated eight million people, which is four times the 2% of the national budget that is allotted to the Ministry of Health. The PHC concept was accepted as the guiding philosophy for providing healthcare services (Qayad, 2008).

Most Somalis rely on traditional and spiritual healers and the support of their families, friends, and community to maintain their mental health. Given that the majority either left the nation or become the victim of the civil war they lost vital human resources in healthcare (Afzal et al., 2022).

In Somalia, compared to other low-income and conflict-ridden nations, mental health prevalence is significantly higher (Rizwan, Nd). More than 5.4 million people need humanitarian aid which affected the mental health of those people causing them isolation and some factors that influence general insecurity, including displacement, war, trauma, poverty unemployment, and substance misuse (Afzal et al., 2022).

Although they are not directly involved in genuine rehabilitation, traditional healers play a significant influence. Also due to grave concerns about the staff's ability to appropriately prescribe them, psychotropic medicines are not always available (Rizwan, Nd).

The World Health Organization (WHO) conducted a situation study in 2010 and found that one-third of Somalis had a psychological condition, making Somalia one of the countries with the greatest incidence of mental health issues worldwide due to the civil war. And with just five low-capacity psychiatric institutions, the majority of which are located in Somaliland, the country lacks basic mental health treatments despite these

depressing statistics. There are not many partners working in this field in Somalia due to a long history of neglecting mental health concerns (Afzal et al., 2022).

2.2.1.3. Education

Somalia has been a country the basic education has to start from the Quran and namely the traditional Quranic school where the process of conventional learning begins. To comprehend the dynamic of education in Somalia, especially at the level of elementary and secondary studies. The reason for this is that before attending a formal school in Somalia the kid follows a traditional educational system that requires them to begin studying the Quran by the young age of 4. The Arabic alphabet is the foundation of the Quranic and Arabic language studies here. With practice and rote memory, the students are required to perfect reading the Quran. There was essentially no other type of educational system in the colony for the majority of the colonial era except the conventional Quranic schools. Despite its benefits, the colonial educational system left the nation's educational system with a persistent complication. The national education curriculum had to be streamlined after independence due to the variety of the major colonial languages (Italian in the south and English in the north). Despite underwhelming enrollment numbers, which are likely due to the parents not enrolling their children in the gaalo (infidel's) schools, the British colonial administration created some English medium schools as embracing institutions of secular learning in British Somaliland (Mohamed et al., 2014).

All private schools, which according to the Ministry of Education had enrolled 31% of the nation's students in 1969, were nationalized by the Siyad Barre dictatorship. All children between the ages of six and fourteen were required to attend school for free by the government starting in 1975. The primary/intermediate portion of schooling was reduced from eight to six years to account for the growth of the educational system (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 2008). The adoption of Somali orthography in 1972 marked the start of Somalia's educational revolution, which was followed by extensive education efforts. For the various levels of education, intensive teacher-training programs were developed, and the College of Education and other state initiatives were given the wide duty of producing elementary and secondary school teachers. There were 28,000 primary school students in Somalia in 1970 by 1982, there were 271,000 (Mohamed et al., 2014). This increase occurred during the military regime. Like the rest of the incredible changes

that Siyad Barre's government after the Ethiopia-Somalia war the education reform also did not last and the failure of public education failed due to an increase in nepotism and corruption in all government organizations including the ministry of education (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 2008).

The Somali civil war reached its peak after years of bleeding in Mogadishu in December 1991, It assumed many different forms and spread throughout many different regions, but predominantly in the South and Central South. These altercations have moved into schools, often to track down a target or enlist students who are enrolled there. There has not been enough research done on the serious psychological anguish these attacks cause or how they affect the young minds of the children who attend the targeted educational institutions (Mohamed et al., 2014).

Since Siad Barre was removed from office, the education sector has seen significant losses, including the formation of loose networks of for-profit educational institutions. Parents ought to be cautious about taking their children to school because of attacks on instructors and innocent students at educational facilities since such students are at risk of kidnapping and other grave repercussions (Mohamed et al., 2014).

In 1993 International forces or Western and Arab non-governmental organizations restored certain schools. Old Somali textbooks for grades one through four were republished by UNESCO, and school kits comprising chalk, notebooks, and pencils were supplied by UNICEF. School reconstruction efforts were started by the World Food Programme and UNHCR, and refugee education programs for Somalis in camps in Kenya were sponsored. However, once UNOSOM left in 1994, almost all of these attempts failed (Cassanelli and Abdikadir 2008).

It may be said that Somalia's post-war educational rehabilitation has been fragmented, with several independent institutions founded by private people or NGO programs taking the lead. Several new schools that received their legitimacy from the communities that began them were launched with just modest facilities, no central planning, and no uniform assessment system. Unsurprisingly, the Northeast and Northwest of the nation had the greatest successes since there was more political stability and security there (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 2008).

Arguments that were made by Somalis concluded that the post-independence educational system was ineffective in creating a quality system of governance either. Since so many leadership positions went to those with little or no education at all. And since the nation-

state has fallen, there has not been a chance to talk about or decide on a direction for the Sector's policies. Schools develop and deliver education following their capabilities in the lack of a clear policy direction. International players that are tasked with assisting in the sector's policy formation have neglected to interact with and coordinate the opinions of Somali education providers. Rarely have the Somali people actively engaged or contributed sufficiently to the development of a national educational plan (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 2008).

The UNICEF primary education survey statistics from 2006 showed that fewer students attended schools in Somalia compared to the rest of the world. However, that changed in 2011/2012 statistics which revealed that substantial growth increase in that numbers when it comes to formal schools, gender balance, the numbers of teachers and credentials, enrollment rates, and the number of students. Nevertheless, the gender gap and the persistent rural and urban imbalances continue to be important.

2.3 Overview of the Impact of Federalism on Each State Member of Somalia

According to Mohamed since the independence of Somalia, there were many attempts at different types of government, the nation tried the British model of the parliamentary system. Then the coup of the military of Siyad Barre led to a scientifically socialist state and then the collapse of the Somali government which make the country a stateless state (OCHA, 2014). Since 2004 Somalia moved to the federal system to prevent the misuse of power by some individuals in higher positions. So they can benefit from these; power sharing, resource sharing, and political representation. Before federalism, the local citizens were never given their fair share of funds, and welfare services were never delivered. Therefore, federalism was pushed out as a solution for Somali politics (OCHA, 2014). According to the constitutions of Somalia, each state has to contain at least two regions or more to create a new federal state, and the house of the people will determine the number of federal members and their boundaries (article 48).

2.3.1 Puntland

Puntland is one of the eldest members of the Somali Federal Government (SFG). Through consultation, the people from Northeast Somalia agreed in 1998 to establish Puntland State. Due to Somalia's eight-year struggle to reestablish an inclusive national government (NDI, 2009). Aiming to promote peace as well as the region's socioeconomic growth and collaboration the respected Isimo (traditional leader of Somalia) and prominent political figures, including the deputy chairman of the United Somali Party (USP) attended the "peace and life" also known as (Nabad iyo Nolol) conference in Garowe and Puntland State was eventually established (Samatar, 2009). Puntland's residents understood they needed a government to survive, and Puntland would be a state when the Somali government regains power and Puntland would be a part of a federal Somalia, it was determined during the constitutional conference of 1998 (NDI, 2009). The Puntland state of Somalia has located in the Northeastern of Somalia and the endpoint horn of Africa its eastern and northern boundaries are with the Red Sea (Gulf of Aden) and the Indian Ocean, respectively, there are controversial boundary areas with Somaliland to the northwest and Galmudug to the south (Varming, 2017).

When Puntland was established, there was nothing that the government could function, no military outside the clan-based forces, no government vehicles, and no economy. The first president of Puntland was elected and used one citizen's residence as a presidential palace; there were no offices. In addition to that, there was no income to support the government's operations. And the local population has provided all of the government's funding (Banaadir Channel, nd).

The population of Puntland has increased dramatically since 1991 as many members of the Darood-Majeerteen clan families have returned from Mogadishu after the civil war to seek peace and security in Puntland. The influx of refugees from Yemen and internally displaced peoples (IDPs) from Southern regions is also blamed for the population surge. Puntland is the second state that was established formally after Somaliland. Puntland officially developed as a de-facto state with a president, flag, and ministries of its own since its establishment in 1998 however it did not acquire a fully federal state until 2012. In the constitution of Puntland, the members of the house of representatives are to be chosen in a multi-party direct election, however, it is yet to be followed the elections happened as clan-based. The states are made up of the house of representatives which is made of 66 members who elect the president and vice president, and the term of both

president and the house members is 5 years and an election must happen every 5 years. According to the constitution of Puntland, the state also has a cabinet of ministers and a judiciary (Varming, 2017). With 1600 kilometers of coastline and a wealth of fish and other marine resources, Puntland is a maritime paradise. A major source of the state's economy is Agriculture, frankincense, myrrh, manufacturing, and livestock, in December 2011 Bossaso's big commercial market reopened. With the collaboration of the UK and UNDP, there are ongoing initiatives to establish an additional seaport in the area and build a fish market in Garowe. There have been battles between Puntland and Somaliland throughout the years due to the borders between Somaliland and Puntland, Sool and Sanaag area continues to be the source of the conflict (Sawe, 2019).

2.3.2 Somaliland

Somali National Movement (SNM) took over the Northwest of Somalia after the collapse of Barre's regime, and the SNM and clan chiefs took the opportunity of the collapse of Barre's regime and established temporary administration and provide economy and security to the region while the rest of Somalia was in struggle and chaos (Renders, 2012). In Burao the leaders of SNM and leaders of all clans that live in Northwest Somalia attended the grand conference on 18 May 1991 and Somaliland declare its independence from the rest of Somalia and reached the peak of the global political system. Somaliland took over the previous British colony's boundaries, Puntland to the east, Ethiopia to the south and west, Djibouti to the north, and Gulf Aden to the north. Language, culture, and religion are all shared by the people of Somaliland as well as the rest of Somalia (Institute for security studies, 2009).

To rebuild the government, the traditional leader and the government have maintained the region's peace, established Somaliland's national force, Somaliland's currency, and collected taxes. Despite the odd setback, a cautious, balance process of establishing peace and a state has resulted in a genuine and accountable administration (Renders, 2012). About 65% of Somaliland's economy is based on the production of livestock. According to the constitution of Somaliland, three branches of government are established by Somaliland's constitution. Elections happened every five years and the president is the head of the government, and the ministers are nominated by the president (Institute for security studies, 2009). Since 2003, Somaliland holds democratic elections, held in 2010 and 2017 the opposition parties participated in the elections with peace, and unity, and

were willing to handle it mainly without incident. According to the Somaliland government, it organizes free and fair elections and Somaliland has its currency, security forces, and passport all of which are necessary conditions for an independent democratic state. Although many effectively accept that the region has separated itself from Somalia, no international authority affirms its independence (Kloucista, 2018).

Even though Somaliland is located in Gulf Adan near the entrance to the Bab al-Mandeb a significant trade route that used one-third of the world's shipping, still The ability of the government to offer services has been restricted by a poor economy and little chances for international commerce and investment. The region has the lowest GDPs per capita in the world (\$2 billion) a large portion of which is received in remittances from Somaliland who work overseas. Barbera's post also is important when it comes to the economics of the region which Dubai's firm spent around \$450 million to maintain and improve (Kloucista, 2018).

2.3.3 Jubaland

There are three regions in Jubaland: Gedo, Lower Juba, and Middle Juba. And it has a border with the Indian Ocean on the east, Ethiopia on the west, Kenya on the south, and Southwest State on the north (JLHDS, 2021). As a result of a deal reached by the clan chiefs, Jubaland was established in 2011 as a federal member state of Somalia after electing President Ahmed Mahammed Islam (Ahmed Madoobe), on May 15, 2013 (Hirad, 2013). This was something that Somalis were thrilled to see as a middle strategy. Clans have been fighting ceaselessly and pointlessly in this area since the overthrow of Siyad Barre so uniting and creating a state was a big step (Hirad, 2013).

With backing from certain Kenyan state officials, especially of Somali heritage, the notion of Jubaland state began to gather traction in 2009 as part of a desire among local clans, business personnel, and political aliens to drive out Al-Shabaab. The federal system approach which was adopted in Somalia was designed to help locals' security and stabilization in the absence of a powerful central government and state members to manage their states. However, Prime Minister of federal Somalia Abdi Farah Shirdon advised Jubaland to be a temporary government and not be a state member. And to be under the control of the central government, however, it was deemed unlawful as that was against the constitution of Somalia. And the local leaders claimed that they should be able

to create a regional state as per the temporary constitution, with backing from dissatisfied FGS legislators, Puntland, and (IGAD) (International Crisis Group, 2013).

Nevertheless, the FGS had to accept Jubaland as a state member unless it is power jeopardized the nation's progress toward stability, and eliminating Al-Shabaab and bringing the state's stability and growth to the regional government is a reasonable way to achieve that goal (Hirad, 2013). Although Jubaland has the potential to be one of Somalia's richest areas due to its natural resources and locations, Kismayo city is the most significant due to its port. The region faced violent outbreaks and un-stability since the collapse of Siyad Barre's regime. Some of the most isolated and underserved lands of the nation are located in this area, and some of them go to complete shutdown during the rainy season (The New Humanitarian, 2013).

The primary economic pursuits of Jubaland State are; livestock, farming, fishing, and importing manufactured products. Although it is said that the coastline of Jubaland is rich in oil and gas, the fishing sector is constrained by a lack of cold chain storage facilities and adequate transportation infrastructure. Deforestation, overfishing of some species, and soil degradation are further problems in Jubaland (JLHDS, 2021).

2.3.4. *Galmudug*

An attempt was made to establish a new administration in 2006 in the southern part of Mudug and Galgudud. This attempt was made to guarantee the security of the area clan leaders from Sub-clans of the Hawiye clan united to establish Galmudug, and chose Mohamed Warsame Ali (Kimiko) as the first president of the region. However, the regional government tried to include and gain the support of other clans in Galgudud and southern Mudug in an effort to increase its autonomy (Wasuge et al, 2021). Following over 20 years of tense but largely consistent stability, Galmudug's dispute with Majeerteen-ruled Puntland over control of the city of Galkayo erupted just after its official inauguration in 2013. Puntland rejected the implementation of state formation and the conflicts got bitter, Puntland argues that according to the constitution of FGS article 48. The state can be formed if only two or more regions come together, and Galmudug did not apply that rule. Puntland also argues that Galmudug is claiming the entire Mudug region including the northern part of Mudug that governs Puntland state, which is a violation of 1993 the Mudug peace agreement and also the agreement between Puntland and FGS (Mushtaq, 2019).

There were a variety of clan-based administrations in the Galgudud area before it became officially Galmudug, including Ximin iyo Xeeb and Ahlu Sunna Wal jama'a in addition to the Galmudug regional government centered in Galkayo. Due to mistrust and the other Hawiye sub-clans believing that the Galgudud administration is ruled by Sa'ad. The sub-clan Saleban founded the Ximin and Xeeb as a regional government. In addition to that 2008, Ahlu Sunna Wal jama'a took control of Guriel and Dhusamareb. In the end, the federal government led by President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud pressured the Galmudug regional government to incorporate with Ximin and Xeeb and Ahlu Sunna Waljama'a to establish a State government per the conditional constitution of FGS (Wasuge et al, 2021). After Galmudug state was officially established in 2015 it became embroiled in a severe political dispute with both Ahlu-Sunna and the federal government of Somalia. Nevertheless, the federal government took the initiative and negotiated separate agreements with President Ahmed Duale (Xaaf) and Ahlu Sunna Waljama'a to reestablish the regional state and the Galmudug state officially became stable politically (Abdullahi, 2020).

2.3.5 South-West State

In 1999, when both Somaliland and Puntland established their autonomous governments and a budding Rahanweyn administration in the Bay and Bakool and Lower Shabelle areas appeared hopeful, and transregional governments in Somalia reached their peak. This was not the first time that residents of this region have advocated for decentralizing the nation; before the country's independence, they proposed federalism in defense of their region, which has one of the most productive agricultural lands in the nation. The "building-block method," endorsed at the time by foreign funders, to Somali state formation, actively pushed these developing states. Hassan Muhammad Nur the leader of the Rahanweyn Resistance Army RRA formed the self-declared state of Southwest state in April 2002 the interim capital city of the state is Baidao (Menkhaus, 2007).

The Mirifle and Digil clans are the largest ethnic groups in Bay and Bakool, Maay is spoken in this region (Somali dialect). Only Mirifle was erroneously referred to as Rahanweyn in the traditional anthropological literature on Somalia. where Digil and Mirifle were classified as separate but closely related clan groupings Digil and Mirifle are considered clans after the creation and success of the RRA, and both are grouped under the Rahanweyn clan family (Bakonyi, 2013). 396 delegates from the Bay, Bakool,

and Lower Shabelle regions came together in Baidoa in November 2014 to elect Sharif Hassan Sheikh Aden as the elected president of the three regions of the Southwestern State of Somalia. Sharif Hassan previously served as the country's finance minister and as speaker of the parliament. The FGS and the international community welcome Shareef as they saw that he is a great fit for the position, to promote security, infrastructure, education, etc... (Abdikarim, 2015). Since then another election was held and Hassan Mohamed (Laftagareen) was elected as president (Hassan, 2018).

2.3.6 Hirshabele

The chief clans of Hirshabelle come to the understanding to create the last Federal Member State of Somalia in 2016, and this state is made up of Hiran and Middle Shabelle. Located in central-south Somalia its northern border is with Galmudug State, its southern border with South-west State of Somalia and the Banadir area, its western border with Ethiopia, and its eastern border with the Indian Ocean. 97 members of parliament were chosen by clan leaders, and in October 2016 they elected Ali Abdullahi Osoble as the first president of the state. Two further presidents have been elected since then, Mohamed Ali Ware as the second president of the state in 2017, and Ali Abdullahi Hussein this previous vice president as the third president of the state in 2020, despite Ware's attempt to be in the chair. The state has four distinct seasons, two dry seasons which cause the people low water accessibility, and two rainy seasons. However, due to the lack of a strong government, the water is not stored properly in the rainy seasons which causes famines in the dry seasons of the year. The estimated population of the state in 2014, was about 1.03 million residents, the state is naturally blessed with a wealth of various natural resources, such as agriculture, livestock, and fish. Hirshabelle also has some of the factories that were demolished during the civil war in Somalia such as; the Somali textile factory in Balad, and the sugar factory in Jawhar. The state is rich in natural resources so the investment is necessary for the state to thrive economically (UNFPA, 2021).

CHAPTER III: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES OF FEDERALISM IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

3.1 The Opportunities of Federalism in Community Development

This part of the research will analyze the opportunity of federalism in community development and demonstrate how it benefits the Somali communities.

3.1.1. Security

After many years of conflict after the establishment of the Somali federal government, the aim was to create a shared vision of federal and state-level security institutions that share the trust, capability, and boldness to fight the terrorist organization and warlords in Somalia. Although AMISOM was a huge part of the fighting with Al-Shabaab in the majority of Somalia. However, the effectiveness of creating security organizations such as the police, army, and intelligence agencies depends on the government's ability to manage political security. The Somali government had to establish a Somali National Army to defend the country's security.

An attempt to bolster and reconstruct the Somali security sector during the previous ten years has fallen short of this shared aim. A National Security Architecture agreement was reached in May 2017, at the London conference. The conference was between the FGS and FMS, and it served as the foundation of the security pact. Which served as the starting draught of a shared Somali vision for effective, reliable security institutions at the federal and state levels this approach was unusually ambitious. Therefore, reestablishing security institutions is essential to re-establishing the Somali state, and during the past 20 years, external interventions and Somali political players have primarily focused on this demand to improve (Keating and Abshir, 2018).

In Puntland Al-Shabaab arrived for the first time when AMISOM operations drove Al-Shabab out of central Somalia it drove into Galgala mountains, around 60 miles south of Bossaso, the group initially established a base in Puntland several years ago. The terrorist organization has now become firmly established there, even though it fled at the time, and frequently launches attacks from the hills. American airstrikes tried to remove al-Shabaab from the area but fail (Brown, 2017). However, the Puntland Security Force made a significant effort to combat Al-Shabaab, and Puntland adopted its strategy for

dealing with terrorists, termed the anti-terrorist act. This law outlines how to control and fight terrorist organizations in the state. According to the anti-terrorist act 2011, Whoever establishes, organizes, leads, trains, funds, implements, or participates in a terrorist group will be punished by death, and the property that they committed the act on will be taken by the government. And anyone who aids, supports, hides, or promotes any national or international terrorist organization will face a prison sentence ranging from 10 years to life in prison, as well as confiscation of any property derived from the crime and the property on which the act was committed. Puntland adopted this strategy to control and punish whoever is willing to support any terrorist group within the area that they control. And this strategy was used by Puntland when they capture terrorists in the area.

Somali piracy became a major issue for global trade and maritime security. Although Somalia has the longest coastline in Africa, the Somali people have never fully used its marine resources. Those who had ventured out to sea were outmatched by illegal foreign fishing trawlers. And they poured nuclear and hazardous waste into these territorial waterways, depleting the fisheries and contaminating them. The Somalis tested novel means of sustaining their livelihoods as a result of adversity. To hijack those ships' ex-fishermen team up with militia and unemployed teenagers to abduct the crew members and ask them for money. The hijack was something that started as innocent because there was no protection of Somalia's oceans and became an act of terror in the world. And since the pirates saw the money they started to hijack every ship, they could get their hands on including cargo ships, transportation ships, etc (Kantharia, 2011). Puntland Maritime Police Force (PMPF) is a security force that fights against piracy in Puntland. According to the anti-piracy act in Puntland, anyone who committed an act of piracy on the oceans of Puntland or internationally if the act does not result in a serious crime is the Shariah law then the punishment will be between 5 to 10 years and a fine of 50 million-to-100-million-shilling Somali and this property confiscated. Whoever gives hand, encourages, provides information, or hides the act of piracy the punishment will be between 1 to 3 years of punishment and a fine of 50 million to 100 million Sh. Som. This act was used to control pirates in Puntland.

Somaliland is the most peaceful part of Somalia, after its proclaimed independence the region maintains sustainable peace and security. That does not mean that the state is perfectly peaceful or completely safe. However, peace has a different description, nevertheless, compared to south Somalia the state maintained its peacefulness. According

to Ali (2014), the strategies used by Somaliland's leaders to promote peace and maintain security are key factors in defining the peace and security of the state, Resolving internal conflicts among the community without using physical violence is the method that was discovered to maintain peace and security. Somaliland used 50% of the national budget to maintain sustainable peace and security, this can be the reason that the state's security is more stable than the rest of Somalia.

According to Keating and Abshir (2008), Even though the Somali National Army (SNA) was re-established in 2008 and the integrated militias in and around Mogadishu were somewhat successful, it did not provide any forces from outside of Mogadishu, due to the force being not well established. However, the state member's army is well developed in some states and there is no AMISOM in those states, for example, Puntland Security Force, and Somaliland National Armed Force. Taking this as a blueprint Jubaland also establish the Jubaland force and South-west state established the South West Police, these forces may not be well established, however, they fight alongside AMISOM against terrorist groups. SNA alongside AMISOM fights Al-Shabaab in the capital city and the area surrounding the capital city. AMISOM is all in Somalia except Puntland and Somaliland due to the local forces of these states fighting Al-Shabaab with the help of international donors (Keating and Abshir 2018).

To strengthen the military forces within Somalia, the FGS has received military assistance from Turkiye, after the first visit of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan to Mogadishu. Turkiye opened the largest military training base abroad in Mogadishu. And it was the first time a well-trained Somali graduated from Somalia since the collapse of the Somali government. They graduated from the Turk-Som Military Training Academy in Mogadishu in July 2019. A total of 152 skilled and trained officers, along with 81 lieutenants and 71 sergeants (Waal, 2019). Al-Shabaab lost authority in the major cities of the country; however, they remained in rural areas and maintained underground networks, launched attacks, and collected taxes. Throughout history, thousands of people have died, been injured, or been displaced in Somalia; nonetheless, security improvements have been seen all around Somalia in recent years.

3.1.2. Education

Due to the country being failed state for many years, the quality of education was not great. Many students lost their homes, their parents as well as their sources of income

which forced them to drop out of school and work. 55% of adults in Somalia are literate according to a World Bank study. Although the rate differs from state to state in Somalia In Puntland 42.9 % can read and write, in Somaliland 45.3%, and in South-central Somalia 38.3% (Abdullahi, et al, 2020). The rate of illiteracy is high in Somalia, it is not surprising compared to the country's growth and development of the country. According to UNDP the rank of Somalia is 165 out of 170 countries on the human development index, the high rate of total illiteracy is expected considering the out-school children in the country. However, the country went from one university before the civil war to 44 in 2012 Somalia has seen an amazing expansion in the number of universities in the country. There are an estimated 124 universities in the country with over 70 of them located in Mogadishu alone. A study conducted by the foundation Iftin in 2018 indicated that 14971 students graduate from 54 universities and mostly from faculties of social science (Abdullahi, et al, 2020).

However, the drought that Somalia was going through for the last couple of years for lack of rain, caused 36 schools to be closed and 19,647 students to drop out. Out of that 19,647 students, 15,992 of them are from rural areas that the drought-affected, according to data that Regional Education Officers gathered. And the Education in Emergency Unit was launched by the MoEHE and with the support of UNICEF helped provide water storage facilities, school meals safe drinking water, and creating temporary classrooms, and teacher bonuses. In Puntland alone 1 million dollars was raised so that the children can continue to have a safe place to study throughout the emergency and try to mobilize resources (MoEHE, 2020).

The strategic plan for 2018-2020 was to increase the percentage of students from Central South Somalia (CSS) and the federal government of Somalia from 96% to 98% in 2020. To reduce educational gaps in CCS/FGS by boosting IDPs' access to secure learning space from 16.8% to 25% in 2020. To increase from 0% in 2016 to 40% by 2020 school safety and protection in CSS/FGS schools by adopting the safety and protection measurement act. As for the financial status, the FGS increases the budget for education from 1% of the national budget in 2016 to 12% by 2020 (MOECHE, 2017). FGS started taking the unified national examination for the first time in 2015 after decades, In 2017 the schools that took the unified examination 77 across South-central Somalia. Banadir, Jubaland, Southwest, Galmudug, and Hirshabeele regions were the regions that sat for the unified examination.

Nevertheless, Somaliland and Puntland did not sit for these particular exams as these states have regional centralized exams (AMISOM, 2017) Both Somaliland and Puntland have been taking centralized exams for a long time; in Somaliland, the centralized exams have been held since 1999, and have continued ever since. And in Puntland, according to the PNEB website, the Puntland National Education Board (PNEB) was established in 2001, and the first unified exams were taken in 2003. It has since improved; in 2012, a centralized exam was introduced for both public and private schools, and ever since then, these exams have taken place. Puntland and Somaliland start taking centralized examinations so that they can give students authentic certificates. According to a study that UNICEF conducted, in comparing the educational systems, of Somaliland, Puntland, and South-central Somalia, Somaliland and Puntland performed better than South-central Somalia since these states had been stable politically and had been focusing on the improvement of the education system in their states long before FGS started focusing on the education of the nation. These results come from the Gross enrolment ratio, Net Enrolment Ratio, and gender equality numbers of this study (UNICEF, 2020). So, in order to improve educational quality, the FGS launched the 2020 teacher training policy, which states that all teachers must participate in teacher training programs and complete mandatory practical teaching depending on the level they teach. For primary school at least the teacher has to finish high school and take 18 months to 2 years of primary teacher training and pass the required exam. Secondary school teachers must have completed a degree or a postgraduate in the education field. And those who do not graduate from education have to get a diploma in the education field at least (Faqih, 2021). The education system in Somalia has been improving for the last few years. Now there are Turkish schools in the capital city of Mogadishu, the University of Simad, Mogadishu University, Amoud University, Hargeisa University, and East Africa University, and there are thousands of students that are graduating from these and many other universities in Somalia.

3.1.3. Healthcare System

Following the implementation of Somalia's federal system, the country's healthcare system appears to have changed, and both the FGS and FMS are attempting to provide society with a better healthcare system with the assistance of international organizations. A compact for Sustainable Peace signed by the Federal Government, and the international

community, Somalia is poised to embark on a new stage of political and economic growth. And the area, where the Somali authorities were seen to be significant, was the building of the health system (Warsame et al., 2016).

From 2013 to 2016, the country's first post-civil war Health Sector Strategic Plan (HSSP) was created with the monitoring of the Ministry of Health, the Joint Health and Nutrition Program (JHNP), and international donors. The health care system aimed to outline the Somali Health Policy, which offers a framework for the country. The formulation of the second phase health sector strategy plan (HSSP II) for the period of 2017–2021 was based on regular review through annual reviews that evaluated major accomplishments and problems throughout the execution of the HSSP I and the roadmap of the National Health Plan in 2014. The purpose of analyzing existing sector and inter-sectoral documents while developing the HSSP II was to align the strategic plan with them. The international agreements and conventions that Somalia has adopted were also considered, particularly the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This plan aims to guarantee that everyone in Somalia to access to high-quality necessary health, and nutrition services. Strengthening national and local capacity to provide evidence-based and affordable services based on the (Essential Package of Health Service) EPHS and Primary Health Care Approach, with a focus on women, children, and other vulnerable populations (MOH, 2017:14).

Somalia currently has three well-functioning ministries of health: Puntland, Somaliland, and South and Central Somalia. Somaliland's Ministry of Health was functioning since 1991; it may not be perfect but it functions all right, however, it is the country's longest-functioning ministry of health since the collapse of the Somali government. Puntland has also been operating and improving the state's health system since 1997; both Somaliland and Puntland had existing strategic health plans, and the recognition of the varying objectives in each area, as well as strengthening and providing these local ministries, may play a significant role in improving Somalia's healthcare system. The Ministry of Health in Puntland is responsible for managing all basic healthcare facilities in Puntland, while the rest of the states are mostly managed by International Non-governmental Organizations. In Puntland and south and central Somalia, there were 661 public healthcare facilities in 2019. (305 in Puntland, 29 in the Southwest, 92 in Galmudug, 93 in Jubaland, 81 in Hirshabelle, and 61 in Banadir) (Warsame, 2020).

Accessing a quality healthcare system is a basic human right, and the success of a country can be measured by if the people can access a quality and affordable healthcare system. According to Siddiqi et al. (2009), better health outcomes may be attained with the help of good governance, which is seen as essential to a successful healthcare system. Even if the number of private health transactions is increasing, the majority of developing countries' ministries of health (MoH) play a significant role as suppliers of healthcare services. So if the MoH of Somalia restricts its involvement in the medical processes of state members and in providing public services. The state member's ministries are in charge of creating the circumstances that will make service providers more accountable in both the public and private sectors. And the state members are trying to improve the healthcare system of their region. However, the development that is taking place in Somalia currently may benefit the nation's healthcare system; new hospitals are opening and the healthcare policies of the government may also influence it for a better healthcare system. The old hospitals that were closed before due to civil war are reopening, such as Digfer Hospital, which was reconstructed with the assistance of Turkey and renamed Erdogan in honor of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

3.1.4. Economic Growth

Following federalism, Somalis in Somalia and the diaspora came home to invest in the country, and the economy of Somalia thrived. Years of violence and political unrest left the nation one of the poorest in the world; yet, it was able to rebuild political stability, which may be the reason why the nation's economy is now slowly but steadily growing. Numerous studies contend that federalism can help preserve long-term economic growth. According to Rodrik et al. (2002), In the agglomeration of economic necessities decentralized governments facilitate to stronger focus (cited Feld, Zimmermann, Döring, 2004). The example Somalia has recovered from being a formally failed state, and its economy of the nation is expanding. The state members started negotiating agreements with international investors to grow their states. A state can be a testing ground for social and economic ideas without affecting the rest of the country if the resident desires and that is an incredible feature of the federal system (Feld et al., 2004).

Due to the nation's status as a failed state for the previous two decades, there were no foreign investors in the nation; but, after adopting federalism, improvements began to occur as a result of the safety and political stability of the nation. Large portions of

Somalia's economy are in the private sector, including the majority of the country's banks, and the electricity and telecommunications industries. Somalia has one of the cheapest telephone systems, and the majority of people make purchases over the phone. The vast majority of the population that receives money from overseas does it through private banks, also known as Hawala.

And in order to develop the economy of the country over the past few years, FGS and FMS have been constructing and renovating ports to ease trade routes throughout the nation and the entire maritime community. These projects include the Garacad port, which is located in the Mudug region and connects it to the rest of the maritime community, as well as the building of the Garacad road, which will link the port and Garacad city to Galkayo then the rest of Somalia, and Ethiopia. This will facilitate the items' easy arrival into the whole nation. Foreign investors are investing in the ports of Somalia hence, the reconstruction of Barbara Port, Somaliland's second-largest port, was made possible by a \$442 million investment by an Emirati company. When the activity in Mogadishu's port increased, a Turkish corporation is investing in its renovation. The country's GDP increased from \$4.57 billion in 2013 to \$7.60 billion in 2022, suggesting possible improvement in the nation's economic growth. These investments make the ports work more frequently and that increases the income of the country.

3.1.5 Youth and Women Empowerment

Following federalism, a significant number of young people are running for political offices in Somalia, participating in both the parliament and several government ministries. The country has never seen such a large number of young people participate in politics and voice their opinions on national affairs, being part of the policy-making and decision-making of the country. Youth participation in politics is essential since they are the nation's future leaders. It may also serve to inspire and encourage young people to advance their skills. Federalism makes it simple to seek work in Somalia due to the country's multiple governments, and during the past few years, the nation's investments have increased, leading to job creation. According to JIGA (2017), the international community has worked together to achieve Peacebuilding and State-building Goals (PSG) under the Somali Compact since the adoption of FGS in 2012. In 2014-2016 to restore and strengthen the Somali economy, the PSG4 Economic Foundation listed youth employment as one of its top goals. It had an emphasis on creating jobs, improving

livelihoods, and inclusive growth to revive and expand the Somali economy. Between 2014 and 2016, the development partners invested a total of US\$73 million in the growth and employment of the private sector. Several of these donors have been working on vocational training for young employees as one of the important components of supporting PSG4. Society realized that in order to develop the country the youth has to be empowered and educated and provide training will so that they can develop the country. After the collapse of the Somali government, women were the backbone of Somali society providing orphans and helping to rebuild the society. Which shows the Somali society that women have to be well educated and also be part of politics and policy-making as well. However, despite an increase in women's political engagement over the decade, the Somali Federal Government's constitution requires that 30% of the parliament be made up of women, and women's representation in the upper house increased by 14% after quotas for women were implemented in 2012. Although the system is far from ideal, it helped women's ambitions and normalized their place in society (Koshin, 2022). Women in Somalia made up 8% of the parliament in the early 2000s, 14% of the parliament in 2012, and 19% of the house of parliament in 2022. Scholars have different opinions when it comes to the effects of federalism on women's empowerment. Stockemer and Tremblay (2015) stated that the empirical research that examines how state structures federal vs unitary affect female representation rates is lacking. The issue of women's descriptive representation in parliament is not covered in the few studies that analyze the impact that federalism may have on gender representation. Scholars take a theoretical approach to look at theories explain in terms of political concerns or the mobilization of women and they conclude in their findings that the parliament federation has 3% to 4% more than the unitary states. This can be the reason that there is a rise in the number of women in school, and in the workforce, and positions of authority are higher than even before the collapse of the Somali government. This shows that the youth and women in Somali society benefited from the federal system of Somalia.

3.1.6 Political Stability

It was smart for Somalia to adopt federalism as it allowed the formation of the state governments under the Somali federal government. The clan diversity of Somalia and the mistrust within the Somali community led the country to be a failed state. Some Somali experts argued that federalism is a method to divide the community, however, the Somali

community is divided into clans and was never united. This contradicts the idea that the federal system will lead to the diversity of the Somali community. Nonetheless, federalism may prevent conflicts to arise under unitary systems, as it did before the collapse of the Somali government. As Muhammad (2007), stated the connection between federalism and political stability is inescapable since it entails setting up the state in a way that fosters unity while maintaining existing diversity within a larger nation. This statement also implies that federalism is a system that regulates potential and actual conflict that frequently results from heterogeneity within a political entity. In communities that are ethnically, linguistically, or religiously diverse, federalism brings people together and creates an African governing structure so that conflicts and bloodshed can be avoided. Nigeria (2001), Ethiopia (1994), South Africa (1990–1994), and Somalia (2004–2012) adopted federalism to avoid conflicts (Jama, 2019). Federalism can be a strategy to avoid the entire country from collapsing and becoming a failed state again. States such as Puntland and Somaliland demonstrate that federalism can prevent the collapse of the whole government if the central government fails, and establishing a federal government allows some regions to be politically stable. Due to the fact that Puntland and Somaliland had political stability long before the rest of Somalia. In Somaliland, the presidents are elected under the democratic principle of “one man, one vote.” And in Puntland, the parliament elects the president and achieves political stability for the state. South and Central Somalia went down the same route after the federation, giving the remainder of the country its stability. And allowing people to elect whom they want and preventing a dictator from ruling Somalia. “The kind of federal system that Somalia wants is the type in which powers and resources should be shared among all FMS to prevent history from repeating itself, and if the FGS collapses, the state governments should surely be stable rather than the entire country collapsing with it,” Puntland’s former president said at Garowe II (Jama, 2012). Following federalism, Somalia held its first election, and every candidate was willing to accept defeat if they lost. The former presidents were also willing to step down from their positions if they lost, and elections have been happening ever since.

3.1.7 Power Distribution

Opposite to the unitary system, federalism allows for the distribution of national authority among state members. By distributing authority, state governments will be able to handle

local affairs per their state's interests and avoid having one region dominate all nations. Power distribution is perhaps the most crucial element of a federal constitution since it helps to prevent instability and conflict between the two opposing jurisdictions. Even though many nations have accepted the idea of power distribution each has made its version. However, the common standers of all federal systems are that states should have control over regional concerns while the central government handles the national interest (Fasih, 2021).

And in Somalia according to the Somali constitution, State members and the federal government of Somalia, each have part of the authority, international relations, currency printing, and national security are under the authority of the federal government. The federal state member has power over their respective state and the FGS has to negotiate with the representative of that state any agreements related to state members. And in article 53 of the Somali constitution, the federal government should consult the federal Member States on negotiations relating to foreign aid, trades, treaties, or other significant issues linked to international agreements in the spirit of intergovernmental cooperation. The state governments have the power to control regional courts, primary and secondary education administration, municipal affairs, and maintain the state military and police, and livestock. And the federal government cannot interfere with state governments unless it comes to international negotiations, which both the federal and state governments have to discuss and deal with together. Communities are guaranteed to have survival on their state members due to the power distribution between the federal state and federal governments, even if they lack a voice at the federal level. By strengthening and balancing the available local resources with their awareness of and ability to respond to local needs, they could have a positive influence on the development of their communities. The various power structures may be manipulated to assist community development projects through such activities.

3.2 Challenges of Federalism in Community Development

This part of the thesis will discuss the challenges of applying federalism in the community development of Somalia. Such as border conflicts, power disputes between the federal government and state members, the injustice of minorities, and the exploitation of natural resources.

3.2.1 Border Conflict

Federalism was implemented to avoid conflict within the Somali community and achieve sustainable peace, however, it appears that the borders have also led to new disputes between states. People who live close to the borders where conflicts happen live unstable lives due to state-to-state conflicts that cause death, destroy schools, roads, internal displacement, and the economy of that community. The designation of disputed territories following clan borders has been one of the biggest obstacles to the federal state's restoration in Somalia. As the South West states of Somalia assert that Lower Shabelle, Bakol, Bay, Gedo, Lower Juba, and Middle Juba are their territory. As the conflict between Puntland and Somaliland over Sool and Sanaag. Similarly, Galmudug and Puntland also have disputes over borders (Mohamed, 2016).

Conflicts between Somaliland and Puntland over the regions of Sool and Sanaag cannot be easily resolved since Somaliland is a self-declared government and Puntland is an autonomous part of Somalia. Additionally, the residents of that region have different opinions and are divided into more than three groups, some of which want to be a part of Somaliland and some of which want to be a part of Puntland, while others established their own un-recognized state Khatumo state. Sool and Sanaag are claimed by Somaliland since they were under British colonial administration, while Puntland also claims it because the people that live there are Harti clan. This can be the negative effects that former colonizers left the country. As Lockhart quoted Ismael and Ismael (1999), Ibn Al-Haytham claims that British colonial authority in the Middle East and North Africa was a component of a larger British plan to prevent any Arab unification by installing colonial borders and it was politically gained and not geographical, demographical, ethnic, linguistic, or religious divisions (Lockhart, 2014). Nonetheless, some experts argue that the cause of this conflict is more complex than the division of British and Italian colonizers in the area. And the cause of the security clashes between Puntland and Somaliland in April 2014 in this area may have only been the beginning of the intense tensions and deadly conflict that come with hydrocarbon exploration and production in Somalia's hydrocarbon-rich areas (Balthasar, 2014).

3.2.2 Power Dispute

The state members of Somalia have challenged the government of Somalia many times, while states like Puntland threaten to declare independence government. The cause of that challenge can be that Puntland and Somaliland had been on their own for a decade before the federal government's establishment. Lack of unanimity and the absence of a defined constitution may distinguish the federal government's authority and state members. Due to the differences in the syllabus, Puntland opposed the announcement of a centralized test being held throughout Somalia. The centralized exam had been held in Puntland for more than a decade and would be challenging to change overnight. They encourage the central government to send a committee to evaluate the exams. However, due to this refusal, the federal government declares that it cannot provide a federal certificate, and students should apply to the federal government after receiving their Puntland certificate. In addition to the exam stress, many students are also forced to apply for two certificates: one from Puntland and one from FGS. Students with grades below C+ are not eligible to apply for the federal certificate. The federal government's interference with the states led to the emergence of an authoritarian regime. President Farmajo's government was alleged to have attempted to create a unitary system in Somalia and destroy the country's federal system. Farmajo and Khayre are alleged to have attempted to exert the power of the state members' governing authorities that support them. And interfere with the federal state members' internal elections of state members like Hirshabelle, Galmudug, and Jubaland. Furthermore, the federal government's intervention-related activities, including social media campaigns, coercive tactics, and additional funding, are used to carry out the intervention (Nor, 2020). The federal government's interference was an abuse of power; the state members should have been the only ones to concentrate on matters that affect the local community and should have chosen or elected whom they see as fit for the local community. Ingiriis stated that the government structure fails to properly define the duties and obligations of each authoritative institution, which triggered conflicts between the political stakeholders (Ingiriis, 2018). And to prevent power disputes, there should be a written agreement or include a constitutional amendment in Somalia's constitution that take action against those who violate the structure of the government. The Federal government and state members should be flexible and create a safe ground for the people of Somalia and focus on the community instead of their gains.

3.2.3 Exploitation of Natural Resources

Natural resources such as oil, gas, fish, and other minerals are abundant in Somalia. However, the civil war, corruption, and lack of consequences caused the natural resources of the country to be exploited easily. Foreign countries come to Somalia for illegal fishing and to throw the waste of industrial substances which causes the fishermen in Somalia to suffer. And tuna cans from Thailand are less expensive than local fish in some Somali regions due to the country's neglect of its natural resources. However, the Somali government decided to trade fish with Ethiopia in exchange for khat (khat is narcotic leaves that some people chew and are widely exported to Somalia from Ethiopia and Kenya). Nevertheless, with Soma Oil and Gas and Somalia-Fishguard, the Somali Federal Government has signed two significant agreements. And those contracts will impact the existing contracts between international fishing corporations and local governments. Because regional authorities used to provide fishing permits to international businesses. And it is unknown how many foreign fishing boats there are in the waters surrounding Somalia. Nevertheless, the agreements that the state governments sign with international companies cannot be revoked (Ahmad, 2014). Due to Somalia's constitution, Puntland and Somaliland, or any other state members are not authorized to sign any agreements with international investors; instead, the federal government may do so in the presence of representatives from the state members (Ahmad, 2014). It is important to stop the state members and federal government alone to sign contracts with international companies to avoid further exploitation of the country. And the country's constitution to be followed. As well as for the legal system of the country is working properly. As stated in the Somalia constitution, the federal government and state members, particularly the state where the resources are being explored, must discuss and reach an agreement on the terms before exploring Somalia's natural resources. Nonetheless, this did not prevent certain politicians to come to an agreement with international investors without the awareness and approval of anyone. For instance, when the minister of Petrol and Mineral resources Abdirashid Ahmed sign a Production Sharing Agreement (PSA) with the U.S.-Based Coastline Exploration. After the signature of the contract the minister Ahmed thanked the president of Somalia Farmajo for the support of the process, however, since it was an unlawful agreement, the President and Prime Minister of Somalia both denied it. And the Prime Minister suspended all the individuals involved in the agreement until court take actions against them (Cavcic, 2022). The exploitation of Somalia's natural resources did

not end there; the country's wildlife was also affected by it, the wildlife of Somalia is severely impacted by illegal wildlife trafficking, especially endangered animals like the cheetah, lion, elephant, hirola, Beira, and Speke's gazelle. Although both the federal government and state members should protect the wildlife of the country, and work together to prevent it. They are less interested in taking steps to end its exploitation. The country's legal system should be functioning correctly to avoid the exploitation of the community, and officials must pay the consequences of their decisions.

3.2.4. Minority Injustice

The Somalis were tribe-based people who would always turn to their tribal elders for help with the problems they caused or to them. The tribal elders always resolved the problem either by paying dia or resolving it in any way possible. However, Somalis also exploit the tribes to loot, murder, rape, and commit other major crimes against minority tribes. The vast majority of people think that tribalism serves as the basis for Somalia's federalism, which can be a disaster when it comes to the minority groups, due to the state being built for clans then minorities can suffer injustice. Many local governments in America are imposing harsh penalties and treating the nation's minorities unfairly. And the majority of local leaders ignore the discrimination against minorities. American political systems are rooted in racial injustice in current criminal politics. And to show how there are imbalanced power and interest distributions between the local area where minority experience crime, victimization, and punishment and the bigger national context where these realities are meant to be reduced (Miller, 2010). Even though it has one of the strongest federal governments, the United States is unable to protect its minority population. This demonstrates that, unless minorities reside in jurisdictions where they make up the majority of the population, federalism does not protect them.

The 4.5 formula was used during Somalia's transition to federalism to distribute power among the Somali people. The total number of minority clans is half that of one major clan, with four representing Somali's major clans (Dir, Darood, Rahanweyn, and Hawiye) and .5 representing minority clans. Minorities in Somalia account for the majority of child marriages, child laborers, and out-of-school children. A study done by the Minority Right Group (MRG) stated that although the Somaliland constitution in articles 8.1 and 8.2 stated that all citizens of Somaliland have equal rights and shall not be discriminated against on the ground of ethnicity, clan affiliation, or residence. However, that did not

stop the discrimination against the minority, however, Somaliland is more advance in the rights of the minority than the rest of Somalia, still very few minority members hold influential or executive roles as a result of their lack of political involvement, low educational attainment, and limited career possibilities, makes it possible discrimination and harassment still possible (Hill, 2010). In a 2006 study on minority rights, the Voice of Somaliland Minority Women Organization (VOSOMWO), discovered that 20% of minority children attend school while the rest 80% do not attend schools for reasons such as discrimination, poverty, and are afraid of not getting employed other than handiwork. In Puntland, there are no seats in Puntland's parliament for minorities or any influential work, the majority of the work that is available for them is handiwork. IDP women and children from minority groups frequently had their rights violated in Puntland (Hill, 2010). In addition, the most severe human rights abuse against the IDP minority that were reported to MRG's researchers were rape, being denied access to justice, and a lack of protection from the police and courts. Regardless of where they live in Somalia, minorities experience the same discrimination, poverty, lack of political participation, refusal of intermarriage, etc.

3.3 DATA ANALYSIS

A quantitative research design was adopted in this study to analyze the opportunities and challenges of federalism in community development in Somalia. The major technique of data collection in this study will be a self-managed online survey using a questionnaire. A questionnaire is a set of questions designed for a particular group of individuals or the entire society, to get information from those people. The questionnaire is an inexpensive way to do research and it is a primary data collection (Roopa and Rani, 2012). This survey was sent to 150 members and get a response of 109.

Tables one, two, and three are to show the gender, age, and status of the individuals that participated in this survey.

Table 1: Gender of the respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Female	40	37%
Male	68	63%

Total	108	100%
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Table 2: Age of the respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage %
18-25	27	24.8%
25-30	64	58.7%
30-35	13	11.9%
35 and older	5	4.6%
Total	109	100%

Table 3: The status of the respondents

Status	Frequency	Percentage
Students	37	34.3%
Employed	62	57.4%
Unemployed	9	8.3%
Total	108	100%

3.3.1 Descriptive Analysis of Opportunities of Federalism of Community Development

In this research quantitative data analysis was used. Microsoft Excel was used for the data analysis. To achieve more accuracy in the variables being observed within a particular sample and to describe the data collected in research studies, descriptive statistics were used (Marczy, DeMatteo, et.al, 2005). Indicators such as mean, standard deviation, and rank were used in an item analysis to show the strengths and weaknesses. The recommendations came up as a result of these strengths and weaknesses.

Following are details on the study's mean range.

Table 4: Mean Standard

No	Mean Range	Interpretation
1	1.00 up to 1.75	Strongly Disagree

2	1.76 up to 2.50	Disagree
3	2.51 up to 3.25	Agree
4	3.26 up to 4.00	Strongly Agree

Table 5: Opportunities of federalism in community development

No	Question	Agree	Strongly agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	Federalism is a way to improve communities in Somalia	56	36	9	7
2	Federalism is a way to gain democracy.	52	39	10	7
3	Federalism promotes economic growth by allowing state governments to run local economies autonomously.	58	39	9	3
4	Federalism is the strategy to maintain the country's security and political stability.	47	40	16	6
5	Federalism is an easy way to know the needs of the people in the community and find solutions easily.	49	45	12	3
6	Federalism makes it simple for people to get an education by enabling state governments to	48	41	15	5

	administer their own education systems.				
7	Federalism allows state governments to improve the local healthcare system, which increases access to healthcare facilities.	54	38	13	4
8	Federalism will work in Somalia if people learn more about it and follow the constitution.	46	53	7	3

Source from the survey data

Table 6: Descriptive Statistics for The Opportunities of federalism in Community Development

Questions	Mean	Std. deviation	Interpretation
OP1	3,31	0,22	Strongly Agree
OP2	3,26	0,20	Strongly agree
OP3	3,43	0,24	Strongly Agree
OP4	3,20	0,18	Agree
OP5	3,31	0,21	Strongly Agree
OP6	3,24	0,19	Agree
OP7	3,33	0,21	Strongly Agree
OP8	3,33	0,24	Strongly Agree
Overall mean Index	3,30		Strongly Agree

Tables 5 and 6 show question one “Federalism is a way to improve the community in Somalia” the respondent’s answers strongly agree by a mean of 3,31 and a stander deviation of 0,22. For the second question “Federalism is a way to gain democracy” the respondents also strongly agree by a mean of 3,26 and std. Deviation of 0,22. In their

answer to the question three “Federalism promotes economic growth by allowing state governments to run local economies autonomously” the respondents strongly agree as well with a mean of 3,43 and std. deviation of 0,24. Question four “ Federalism is the good strategy to maintain the country’s security and political stability” with a mean of 3,20 and std. deviation of 0,81 the respondents agree. In question five “Federalism an easy way to know the needs of the people in the community and find solutions easily” the respondents strongly agree with a mean of 3,31 and std. deviation of 0,21. Moreover question six “Federalism makes it simple for people to get an education by enabling state governments to administer their own education systems” the respondents agree with a mean of 3,24 and std. deviation of 0,91. Question seven “Federalism allows state governments to improve the local healthcare system, which increases access to healthcare facilities” the respondents agree with a mean of 3,33 and std. deviation of 0,21. Respondents strongly agree with the statement in question eight, “Federalism will work in Somalia if people learn more about it and follow the constitution” with a mean of 3,33 and std. deviation of 0,24.

3.3.2 Major Findings and Discussions

Federalism helps improve Somalia’s community, according to the majority of respondents who participated in this quantitative study to examine the subject. The study’s sample size was 109 participants to achieve the study’s objectives, and the overall mean index was 3,30, with “strongly agree” as the primary possibility. Federalism helps community development, particularly for Somali communities. To find the objective of the research, the researcher asked: “if federalism is a way to develop the communities in Somalia.” As evidenced by the question, the majority of the respondents “strongly agree,” with a mean of 3,31 and a standard deviation of 0,22.

When asked “if federalism will work in Somalia if people have enough knowledge about it and follow the constitution,” the majority of the respondents “strongly agree,” which shows that federalism needs to be understood by the Somali population and the national court of Somalia must take legal action against those who violate the nation’s constitution. To look at the overall opportunities that federalism brought to Somalia, we can say that it benefited the entire Somali community. Federalism has provided significant benefits to Somalia, and it has aided in the restoration of the Somali community.

3.3.3 Descriptive Analysis of Challenges of Federalism in Community Development

This part of the thesis will discuss the challenges of federalism in community development, findings, and discussion, and will find if challenges of federalism in the community development in the survey we collected from 109 members of the Somali community.

Table 7: Challenges of federalism in community development

No.	Questions	Agree	Strongly agree	disagree	Strongly disagree
1	Federalism does not help the development of the communities in Somalia.	22	9	50	28
2	Federalism increases the tribal conflict which causes discomfort in some areas of the country.	39	15	40	14
3	Federalism increases the border conflict which causes discomfort in some areas of the country.	49	18	33	9
4	Federalism causes some areas to have access to more of the investment and resources of the country.	38	21	38	11
5	Federalism has the potential to exclude the minority from political participation.	39	15	36	19
6	Federalism makes foreign intervention easy for the country.	35	20	41	12
7	Federalism creates a disagreement between the central government and state governments.	49	17	34	9

8	Federalism will never work in Somalia even if people have more knowledge about it and follow the constitution.	14	11	32	50
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Source: survey data

Table 8: Challenges of Federalism in Community

Questions	Mean	Std. deviation	Interpretation
CH1	2,23	0,16	Disagree
CH2	2,71	0,13	Agree
CH3	2,98	0,16	Agree
CH4	2,77	0,12	Agree
CH5	2,68	0,11	Agree
CH6	2,70	0,12	Agree
CH7	2,97	0,16	Agree
CH8	1,86	0,17	Disagree
Overall Mean Index	2,61		Agree

Tables 7 and 8 show the responds of people in challenges of federalism in the community development of Somalia. Question one “Federalism does not help the development of the communities in Somalia” the majority of the respondents “disagree” with a mean of 2,23 and std. deviation of 0,61. Question two “Federalism increases the tribal conflict which causes discomfort in some areas of the country” the majority of the respondents “agree” with this question with a mean of 2,71 and std. deviation of 0,61. Question three “Federalism increases the border conflict which causes discomfort in some areas of the country” the majority of the respondents “agree” with a mean of 2,98 and std. deviation of 0,61. When question four was asked the respondents “Federalism causes some areas to have access to more of the investment and resources of the country” the majority of the respondents “agree” with this statement with a mean of 2,77 and std. deviation of 0,21. Question five “Federalism has the potential to exclude the minority from political participation” the respondents agree that federalism can be caused a potential exclusion of minorities with a mean of 2,68 and std. deviation of 0,11. Question six “Federalism

makes foreign intervention easy for the country” the respondents “agree” that federalism can make a foreign intervention in the community easily with a mean of 2,70 and std. deviation of 0,12. Question seven “Federalism creates a disagreement between the central government and state governments” majority of the people “agree” with a mean of 2,97 and std. deviation 0,61. Question eight “Federalism will never work in Somalia even if people have more knowledge about it and follow the constitution” the respondents “disagree” with a mean of 1,87 and std. deviation of 0,17.

3.3.4 Major Findings and Discussion

Quantitative data was collected and the majority of respondents to this survey were on the challenges of federalism, which included 109 people. The majority of the participants “disagreed” with the main question, “Federalism does not help the development of the communities in Somalia”. This indicates that there is a high likelihood that federalism will contribute to community development and most of those who participated in the survey agreed on that. Although federalism has its disadvantages, as seen by the overall mean of “2,61”, it still supports Somalia’s local community development.

Although border disputes, minority injustice, resource exploitation, and power struggles are some of federalism’s disadvantages, the majority “strongly disagrees” that “federalism will never work in Somalia even if people have more knowledge about it and follow the constitution,” suggesting that federalism will function in Somalia if people abide by the constitution and are more aware of federalism. When we look at the challenges that federalism presents, we can see that the majority of them contribute to the fact that politicians are the ones who caused the majority of these challenges in comparison to Somali society. And to overcome these challenges, the Somali people have to elect their political representatives wisely.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Before the British and Italian colonizers, Somalis were people that dealt with everything through a clan structure, including the economy, marriage, criminal activity, and international and domestic trade. Up until the colonial forces' invasion of the nation, this system was operating flawlessly for Somalis. Following its independence, Somalia experienced a brief period of democratic rule, although it was short-lived until Barre toppled the administration. The dictatorship period of Barre's administration then ensued. Barre's government was exclusively interested in constructing the capital city; the rest of the country was not a priority, giving people who could afford to move to the capital city a better life and education. Then Barre's administration was overthrown. Then clan militias began to fight to control the nation, jeopardizing its peace and stability in the process, which caused the country to be in a failed state. To address the disagreements that resulted in a centralized government system, Somalis put effort to bring peace to Somalia and failed 15 times.

A federal political system was chosen during the Eldoret and Mbaghati peace conferences, which took place between 2002 and 2004. So, Somalis decided to officially adopt a federal political system as a result of the inherent federalist characteristics of self-rule and shared rule in Somalia. Following federalism, Somalia saw a positive impact federalism has been advantageous to Somalia in many ways, yet there are still challenges. The majority of respondents to the researcher's survey indicated that they considered federalism the ideal way to develop Somali communities. The Somali community has experienced challenges with federalism, including the exploitation of the nation's natural resources, minorities' injustices, border conflicts, and power struggles. These problems may be avoided if individuals uphold the constitution or endure the consequences if they do not.

After all, Somalia has had a federal system of government for ten years, and the nation's sustained federalism may be attributed to the opportunities. Therefore, it is necessary to consider how to resolve the challenges of federalism, and the constitution must be explicit.

According to the study's findings, the majority of the respondents had a positive opinion of the federalism in community development in Somalia by strongly agreeing that federalism is a way to develop the Somali community by a mean of "3,31" and std.

deviation of 0,22. Furthermore, the researcher has demonstrated how federalism might help Somalia's communities develop. By granting state governments the authority to understand and address the needs and issues that the community is experiencing and quickly find solutions.

Somali federalism has challenges, yet the opportunities for community development outweigh these challenges. As the research has shown the overall mean index of the opportunities federalism has for community development is "3,30" which is interpreted as strongly agree on that federalism has opportunities in community development in Somalia. And the challenges of federalism overall mean index of "2,61" which is interpreted as "agree" with the challenges of federalism in community development.

Therefore, based on the findings this research suggests balancing the state member's power and the federal government of Somalia, in order to promote education, security, and economic growth of the country. For the state members to be able to assist and serve local communities, the federal government must recognize the power of the state members.

These are the researcher's recommendations based on this study:

- One man, one vote must apply to the upcoming election. People can only pick someone who is ready for an actionable change in Somalia in this way.
- To protect the interests of all local citizens, a robust and inclusive local democracy is required.
- Members of the federal and state governments must put aside their personal interests and be willing to negotiate for the sake of the people.
- The government of Somalia has to focus on building national and constitutional courts that are powerful to resolve the conflicts between the states and between the state members and the federal government.
- Minority groups have to have a system that works fairly and effectively so they can report the crimes committed against them.
- The constitution of the federal government has to be completed.

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