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## EXAMINING CITIZEN`S PERCEPTION TOWARDS FEDERALISM PERFORMANCE IN SOMALIA: A CASE OF CAPITAL MOGADISHU

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### ABSTRACT

*This study examining citizen`s perception towards federalism performance in Somalia: a case of capital Mogadishu, yet a little know misunderstanding citizens perception towards federalism performance and lack of clear perception about the concept of federalism and type of federalism in Somalia .the purpose of this study was examining citizen`s perception towards federalism performance in Somalia. we also examine factors that influencing citizen`s perception towards federalism performance ,social trust in federal government, political stability, division of powers and federal political culture these factors plausibly related those perception, this study used cross-sectional design the target population of this study was 500 respondent while sample size was 222 questionnaire administered and conducted in Mogadishu Somalia ,The results show that social trust in federal government, political stability, division of powers and federal political culture have significant and positive influence towards federalism performance in Somalia: a case of capital Mogadishu. an implication for federalism in Somalia was Lack of library and little previous literature about federalism in Somalia .*

**KEYWORDS:** *concept of federalism, social trust in government, political stability, division of powers, federal political culture.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

A little research carried out adopted federalism system in Somalia Research about federalism systems has focused heavily on evaluating citizen`s perception towards federalism performance in Somalia and how society understand their of government`s system.

Although many researchers paid extra attention federalism and understanding this system, the word federalism originated from latin word foedus which reveal fact that kind a agreement among or more government institution on the other hand contemporary federation originated in 1787 in the United States (which is often accepted as first federal system) federalism has a much more very old history. The earliest recognized federal system was that of the

prehistoric Israelite tribes that came into being in the thirteenth century prior to the Common Era or over 3200 years ago (Farah 2013)

Some Scholars describe federalism in diverse ways; Heywood (1999), told that federalism is the distribution of law-making authority between a federal government and a number of regional states; on the other hand Daniel, Harper & Row (1984) explain federalism as a system of shared power between two or more governments with influence over the similar public and geographical area. Federalism is a method of organizing a state so that two or more level of government have formal power over the same part and people (Ronald,1998). Little know about newly adopted federal system of government and its type which exist in Somalia there is lack of understanding

and clear perception of citizen's towards federalism performance.

According to Elmi (2014), the majority of the Somali people agreed on federalism in order to rebuild the state; however, the kind of federalism has not been clear yet, so it is compulsory to retain its discuss" (Elmi, 2014, p.7). Elmi (2014) argued that it is not easy to find a system of government, which can serve towards a speedy solution for a state, which experienced such a long conflict, and extreme collapse of its institutions. He noted that the case of Somalia is rather unique and so are its solutions.

furthermore a number of rising challenges faced Somalia federal system of government barwani(2015) concur with elmi , it is unbelievable to merely contextualize what type of state model of federalism that Somalia can implement, in common sense that the difficulty of building a workable state in Somalia is far behind the political top down interventions which is a regular a model that experimented over the past years in the post Siyad Barre period.

Past research on federalism in Somalia were mostly about internal and external challenges and adoption of federalism these literature were generally silent factors that influence citizen's perception towards federalism performance.

the purpose of this research is to examining citizen's perception towards federalism performance in Somalia: a case of capital Mogadishu. more specifically the research has four objective

- *To evaluate social trust in federal system of government*
- *To evaluate political stability and federalism in Somalia.*
- *To analysis division of powers between state and federal government*
- *To understand federal political culture of federalism.*

The rest of this article is structured as flows first the extant literature of federalism in Somalia and other countries, concepts of federalism, challenges of federal system of government in Somalia. specially we examine factors that plausibly related citizen's perception towards federalism performance in Somalia .this flowed by description of research methodology and procedures used in this study .the result of our enquiry are then discussed and finally implication, limitation and direction of future research are offered.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

This research aims at examining citizen's perception towards federalism performance in Somalia

### **2.1 Concept of Federal System**

kayode, a(2015)The idea of federalism has been severally defined by several scholars from diverse perspectives. The word is used to express a system in which autonomy is constitutionally separated between

a federal government and regional states (such as or provinces). It is a system based upon democratic set of laws and institutions in which the authority to rule is shared between federal government and regional states, Similarly, Chukwuma (2014) defines the term as "a system in which two levels of government - federal and regional (or state) exist side by side, with each possessing certain assigned powers and functions". The most widely acceptable definition of federalism was given by K.C. Wheare, who described federalism or federal principle as "the method of dividing powers so that the general and regional governments are each within a sphere coordinated and independent" Monahan (1997:1).

From the definitions given above, there are some basic features that distinguish a true federal system from other political system, namely: There should be at least two levels of government as well as the division of power and authority between the two [i.e. federal (central) and regional (state) governments]; Each of the level of government is coordinated and independent; Both the federal and state government derives their powers from the constitution which is not only written

but also rigid; The supremacy of the constitution. Also, in amending the constitution, no any level of government should have undue advantages over the other; Existence of bicameral legislature; Existence of independent judicial institutions to interpret the constitution to justly and fairly settle disputes, among other functions. There must also be duplication of organs of government at both levels (see Monahan 1977; Anyaele, 2003:172, Chukwuma 2014).

According to Watts (1990:6), three terms are distinguishable in the explanation of federal system of government; federalism, federal political systems and federations. He explains federalism as a concept that is basically not descriptive but a normative term that refers to the advocacy of multi tiered government combining elements of shared-rule and regional self-rule. It is based on the presumed value and validity of combining unity and diversity and of accommodating, preserving and promoting distinct identities within a larger political union. The essence of federalism as a normative principle is the perpetuation of both union and noncentralisation at the same time. The emphasis here is that the term federalism connotes a desire by a group of people who have distinct identities to come together in a political union without losing their distinct identities. It is normative in the context that there is no empirical state of federalism rather it is an abstraction people aspire to attain.

## 2.2. factor that influence citizen`s perception towards federalism performance

These factors are plausibly related citizen`s perception towards federalism performance in Somalia: a case of capital Mogadishu. chose in order to build my conceptual framework and formulate literature review in the flowing table indicate that factors in order to measure all related factors, especially when evaluating citizen`s perception it`s to get factors those applicable Somalia countries.

### 2.2.1 Social trust in various order of government

Social trust and assurance in various order of government is aimed to be great significance for democracy “trust in government” is great concept and complex but we use and measure in ways normally got political science (e.g., Hardin 1998). In a federal government, there are extra dimensions of trust in local government, regional states (constituent units) and federal government trust can both reverberate and impact functions of a federal system as well as the real and coveted distribution of authority

Rotter (1967) refer trust as, “An expectancy held by an individual or a group that the word, promise, or verbal or written statement of another individual or group can be relied upon.” However, definitions of trust are mostly different, as trust is not an easily defined concept that scholars promptly agree upon (Bouckaert and Van de Walle 2003; Job 2005; Kim 2005).

As Uslaner (2002, 2008) defines trust in word that means various diverse things with different circumstances assisting to establish kind of trust the related studies on trust in government incline to support this averment by associate belief of trust in government to issue ranging in civic engagement engagement (Putnam 1995; Uslaner and Brown 2005), to government performance (Vigoda-Gadot and Yuval 2003; Yang and Holzer 2006), to government public relations and e-government (Tolbert and Mossberger 2006; Welch, Hinnant, and Jae Moon 2005).

The factors related with why we trust, whom we trust and result of trust remarked in these functions are all needful not reliable as earlier remarked the very contextual nature of trust for this ground scholars incline to group trust in government in to several class (Thomas 1998),but typically concur that citizen`s trust in government is work of their policy prospect(expectations)and taste being satisfied (Bouckaert and Van de Walle 2003; Christensen and Laegeid 2005; Job 2005; Van Ryzin 2004; Yang and Holzer 2006).

### 2.2.2 Political stability

Political stability is the regularity of the stream of political interchanges. The more than regular the

flow of political interchanges, the more stability. Instead, we might say that there is political stability to the point that group of people limit themselves to the behavior system that spill within the restrict imposed by political function expectations (prospect). Whatever enactment that abarent from these limits is a example of political instability. To ascertain the existence of political stability of a government we must be cable consistently to identify both regularities and irregularities in the stream of political interchange changes. Political conduct or enactment or interchange is regular if it does not break the system (or pattern) of political exchanges; it is irregular if it break that pattern.(Guerra, Snijders, te Velde, & Baerends, 1998) Ake argues that the political structure in society constitutes a network of role expectations which impose constraints upon the political acts performed by individuals. His view of political stability is that such a condition exists to the extent that members of society restrict themselves to behavior falling within the limits imposed by the political structure: ‘Any act that deviates from these limits is an instance of political instability’ (Ake, 1975, 273).

The level that is used to jurist the regularity or irregularity of acts is ‘the most authoritative definition of role expectations that the society has - namely, its laws and conventions, and particularly the former’ (Ake, 1975,273). Thus enactment are stabilizing or destabilizing in relative to the laws and conventions of special systems and what destabilizes one system may stabilize another. This view bend stability into something that relate to enactemnt and not to governments, systems, institutions, and so on.

Political stability is the almost beloved situation. Security of a nation is a significance feature that has been ranked as one of the basic needs, without ideal stability everything will be stop and get stake on. A state can in no way thrive nor develop with political instability (Bujra, 2002). Political instability in the main up rises as a consequence of lack of ability of government to do do assigned duties and the weakness of national institutions and competency of rule of law in the country.(Ahmed & Mukhongo, 2018)

### 2.2.3 Division of powers

In federalism, the power of the state is divided across governments. State governments often have little power compared with national government. Sub nationals can enforce functions such as: roads, schools, waste disposal, education, health, and others, while the federal government have legitimate power to enforce state functions and some monopoly functions: national defense, coinage, Citizenships, public finance and international relationships.

The constitution of the federal states makes clear the power division as above, but a challenge can be a misunderstanding of the division of powers.

Sometimes a state tries to have ultimate power over central governments, so this is an obstacle of the federalism because unitary systems should not have such obstacle (Farah 2013)

Abubakar (2014) Currently, there are dispute in understanding this between the Somali Federal Government and the regional states, which are still negotiating. This can only be resolute effectively by an agreed and clear constitution, which makes clear the powers and responsibilities of regional states and federal government The power sharing agreement was innovate in Somalia behind a decade of clash and civil war. on the other hand, this deal has had some further value to sustainable peace and political stability, which was the real aim of the system in the first place. The best example of this is the leadership meeting, which was established in early 2015 jointly by the Federal Government and regional state leaders as a platform to discuss all important issues related to power allocation and responsibilities under a federal system.

This small period achievement is an over basic analysis which, while solving the political struggle based on ethnicity does not move forward the other enablers of successful and long term solutions like democracy, accountability, rule of law and effective governance.

Power distribution arrangements clearly showed how rock-hard it is to persuade different groups and preserve democracy in the system of government particularly in environments of conflict and competition for authority.

However Somalia federal system of government was adopted to acquire and find solution conflict between difference groups but there is still small obstacles based on absent of clear power indication of the groups which regional states had little explained power and responsibilities between the president and prime-minister as well as federal state and federal member states. For this time Somalia federal state leadership and federal member states leadership need a platform to discuss all relevant issues related to power sharing responsibilities related who is doing what since, all power reserved to the federal state, do not properly functional there is no National Monetary policy there is no national defense and Immigration controlled the borders may be it would be better to be negotiated by federal state and member states farah (2017).

#### **2.2.4 Federal political culture**

A J Brown, 1 John Kincaid, Richard Cole<sup>3</sup> & Jacob Deem (2014) “Federal political culture” can be referred as the degree to which the political culture and trust of a people reflect attachment to key values associated with federalism.

Daniel J. Elazar argued that “there is no federal system that is commonly viewed as successful whose

people do not think federal, that does not have a federal political culture and a strong will to use federal principles and arrangements” (1987: 192).

William H. Riker contend that “the federal bargain is maintained by loyalties to both” the federal and regional orders of government (1964: 136). Riker contend that the essential of the federal deal is ascertain largely by the structure of the political party system, but the party system itself is largely a reflection of public attitudes expressed through the ballot box (at least in democratic federations). Disaffection with a dominant centralizing party, for example, can lead to a proliferation of regional parties having decentralizing impacts on a federal system, as happened in India (Verney 2003; Shastri 2013).

‘Federal political culture’ has been described as ‘a set of orientations toward the federal political system and attitudes towards the role of self in the system’ (Duchacek 1987: 341; see Cole et al 2004: 214). More particularly, it can be understood as the degree to which the political attitudes and viewpoint of a people reflect attachment to key values associated with federalism. Citizen attitude surveys in North America in 2004 and 2009 indicate that federal political culture is a possible perception that can be operational zed for empirical research. Its measurement can serve to update trends in intergovernmental relations, supplying a forecaster of public interest to transfer in associations between levels of government, and a barometer of political health and harmony by identifying the degree of alignment between institutions, political practices and public preferences (Cole et al 2004: 201; Kincaid & Cole 2010: 72).

Federal political culture’ (Duchacek 1987: 341; Cole et al 2004: 214) can be seen as one subset of political culture more generally defined in Australia to mean citizens’ ‘collective assumptions’ about governing institutions and processes, embedded in wider power relationships and ‘woven in various ways into their assumptions about other parts of life’ (Smith 2001: 5).

In this article, federal political culture is in use to mean the degree to which the political attitudes (culture) and opinion of a people reflect attachment to key values associated with federalism. In the past, as noted by Duchacek, measurement of federal culture has focused on the degree to which regional states of federations command the trust, loyalty and recognition of their citizens, relative to the whole. In Australia, where criticism of federalism has drawn on the nation’s clear cultural and political homogeneity, empirical proof of State differences in political attitudes has also been used to assist claims of federal political culture (Holmes & Sharman 1977; see Smith 2001: 282).

Finally, we looked to measure “federal political culture.” Scholars frequently refer to the “culture” of federalism or, as Duchacek called it, “the federal political culture” (1987: 343–44). For some, such a culture is necessary for the development, maintenance, and effectiveness of a federal system. Even rational-choice theorists resort to federal political culture (e.g., Bednar 2009). Elazar contend that “there is no federal system that is commonly viewed as successful . . . whose people do not think federal, that does not have a federal political culture and a strong will to use federal principles and arrangements” (1987: 192). Ronald L. Watts suggested that “the effectiveness of a federal political system depends on the degree of public acceptance of the need to respect constitutional norms and structures, and on a spirit of compromise and tolerance” (1998: 133).

Duchacek said, “the federal culture should be considered an important though not yet fully explored part of any study of extra constitutional aspects of federalism.” He acknowledged the difficulty of measuring and evaluating this concept when he dubbed it an “unexplored area, a blank that we have tentatively called federal political culture” (1987: 346).

While a lot of scholars have the same opinion on the concept’s significance, one cause why the empirical study of federal political culture is a “blank” is because authors Operationalize the notion in a different way. Duchacek defined it as how people view and value government arrangements: “the habit of looking for guidance to the national capital and not questioning its directives constitutes prima facie evidence of a unitary political tradition thinking primarily in terms of local initiative and responsibility may perhaps present prima facie evidence of a federal political culture” (1987: 333–34).

According to Daniel J. Elazar contended that “there is no federal system that is commonly viewed as successful whose people do not think federal, that does not have a federal political culture and a strong will to use federal principles and arrangements” in context of Somalia Based on the provisional constitution, Somalia adopted a federal system and upon approval of the constitution in August 2012, Somalia transformed into a Federal Republic. According to Kouroutakis (2014), the aim of the adopted constitution was to end the two decade long conflict and the political turbulence by creating a responsive and transparent system of governance and strong institutions (Kouroutakis, 2014).

According to Elmi (2014), “most of the Somali citizens agreed on federalism in order to reconstruct the state; however, the type of federalism has not been defined yet, so it is necessary to maintain its debate” (Elmi, 2014, p.7). Elmi (2014) contended that it is not

simple to get a method of government, which can serve towards a immediate solution for a state, which familiar such a long conflict and clashes, and uttermost collapse of its institutions. He remarkable that the case of Somalia is quite sole and so are its solutions. He explicate that the main defy of reaching sustainable solution for Somalia is how to balance the conflicting trends and challenges within Somali society (Elmi, 2014: 8).

### 3.0 METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted through describe the research design as a blueprint, or outline, for conducting the study in such a way that maximum control will be exercised over factors that could interfere with the validity of the research results. The research design is the researcher’s overall plan for obtaining answers to the research questions guiding the study The researcher used cross-sectional descriptive design n in order to establish the relationship between the independent and dependent variables and to identify, analyze and describe factors influencing citizen’s perception towards federalism performance .questionnaire was used as a framework for collecting data in the Mogadishu.

The target population of this study was 500 and sample size 222 for the total of target pultaion by using Slovenes formula. the sampling procedure of this study was used non- Probability sampling procedure particularly purposive sampling or judgmental sampling. The researcher was selected this sampling technique because it gives the opportunity to Choose the member target population who provides the accurate information or data. Judgmental sampling is a way to select population members who are good prospects for precise information

Data collection instruments refer to devices used to collect data such as questionnaires, tests, structured interview schedules and checklists (Seaman 1991:42). Polit and Hungler (1997:466) define a questionnaire as “a method of gathering information from respondents about attitudes, knowledge, beliefs and feelings”. The questionnaire was designed to gather information about citizen’s perception, federalism performance, knowledge, attitudes and beliefs.

Data collection is the systematic approach to gathering and measuring information from a variety of sources to get a complete and accurate picture of an area of interest. Proceeding from general to specific research questions, makes the research activities in any project more focused - in terms of data needed to answer the research questions.

Field data were entered through FoxPro and analysis will made using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) programme. Requisite tables were generated and so also the study findings. Five chapters

were finalized to present the key findings of the study in the form of a Study Report. Copies of interview schedules used under the study are appended to the Study Report.

**4.0 SUMMARY FINDING OF THE STUDY**

Based on the findings of this study, the following conclusions were drawn. The results reveal that social trust in federal government, political stability, division of powers and federal political culture have significant and positive influence towards federalism performance in Somalia: a case of capital Mogadishu. Standard multiple regression analysis was conducted for hypotheses testing (Cooper, 2013) in order to establish the best combination of independent (predictor) variables would be to predict the dependent (predicted) variable and to establish the best model of the study (Schindler, 2013).

The research wanted to examine citizen’s perception towards federalism performance Somalia. Table 4.8 summarizes respondents' level of agreement on social trust in government .The respondents agreed that Social trust towards federal government decline last years. As shown by mean of 2.47. The respondents also agreed that Somali society not trust their government actions. As reported by a mean of 2.85. The respondents also agreed that Somali society satisfied with the government services .As shown by mean 2.97. The respondents also agreed federal government have confidence of Somalia people. As shown by mean 2.75. The study is to examine citizen’s perception towards federalism performance Somalia: a case of capital Mogadishu, table 4.9 summarizes respondents' level of agreement on political stability affects federalism performance. The respondents agreed that Last year’s political stability in Somalia increased. As reported by a mean of 2.77. The respondents also agreed that federal government in Somalia try to destruct regional states and political stability. As shown by mean of 2.95. The respondents also agreed that There is external powers intervening political stability of Somalia. As reported by a mean of 3.06. The respondents also agreed that Somalia place where exist political stability and sustainable peace, as shown mean of 3.43. This study to examine citizen’s perception towards federalism performance Somalia: a case of capital Mogadishu, table 4.10 summarizes respondents' level of agreement on

division of powers a towards federalism performance. The respondents agreed that The Somalia transitional constitution is ambiguous and not well defined division of powers between federal and regional states, obtaining a mean of 3.23. The respondents also agreed misunderstanding between federal government and regional states base division of powers, obtaining a mean of 3.11. The respondents also agreed that The federal government want to dictate regional states ignoring division of powers and regional autonomy, obtaining a mean of 3.13. The respondents also agreed that If division of powers well applied Somalia can reach direct democracy, obtaining a mean of 2.77. A number of questions were asked to examine citizen’s perception towards federalism performance Somalia: a case of capital Mogadishu. Table 4.11 summarizes respondents' level of agreement on federal political culture a towards federalism performance. respondents agreed that Somalia citizen’s have no knowledge federal political culture, as shown mean of 3.06. The respondents also agreed that Federal political culture not applicable Somalia culture, as shown mean of 3.01. The respondents also agreed that Federal political culture and its principles can create pure federal system, as shown mean of 3.19. The respondents also agreed that If public awareness give society federal political culture can benefit, as shown mean of 3.32. A number of questions were asked examine citizen’s perception towards federalism performance Somalia: a case of capital Mogadishu. Table 4.12 summarizes respondents' level of agreement on federalism performance respondents agreed that Federalism performance Understanding the government specific needs of the society, as shown mean of 2.47. The respondents also agreed that Somali society satisfied with the government services, as shown mean of 3.43. The respondents also agreed that Increasing awareness of factors that influence federalism performance result trust in federal government, as shown mean of 3.43. The respondents also agreed Federalism performance indicates how democracy well function Somalia, as shown mean of 3.23. it also clear that the adjusted R2 was .900 indicating that a combination of social trust, political stability, division of powers and federal political culture at federalism performance in Mogadishu Somalia.

**Model Summary**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.900 <sup>a</sup>	.810	.807	2.43193

## 5.0 RECOMMENDATION

The findings of this study was to examine citizen's perception towards federalism performance Somalia: a case of capital Mogadishu. Based on the findings of this study and the conclusions drawn, the following recommendations were made

1. Establishment of reconciliation and justice commissions.
2. increase democracy and peoples freedom of speech in order to show their opinion
3. complete constitution and reviewing to pass the challenges related division of powers and ambiguous of the constitution
4. To do public awareness of federal political culture and its principles which Somalia society need more.
5. In order to ensure lasting peace and to rebuild a stable Somali state, there is a need to revisit the relationship between Somalia and Somaliland. It was the unification of these two polities in 1960 that had historically allowed for the evolution of the Somali state in the first place.
6. Without Somaliland and Somalia negation and agreement the constitution cannot complete because it part Somalia and get sovereignty of and universal recognition statehood.
7. Federal government should stop dictation and intervention in regional states in order to ensure their regional autonomy
8. Increase political stability and tenure of official when performing their duties.
9. Eradicate corruption and miss use of public money such as election of regional states and other same team members

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