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Student Thesis

Level: Dalarna University, Master's Thesis In Political science: Democracy, Citizenship and Change

The Cost of Identity Construction in the Somali Society: Lessons from the Past and Future Prospects.



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Examiner:

Subject/main field of study: Political Science

Course code:

Credits: 60

Date of examination:

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Abstract:

Nation-states are described as failed states when they fall into internal violence, stop providing affirmative political services to their citizens, lose their legitimacy and show flawed institutions and disharmonies between communities. Nations fail and recover but Somalia seems to be the only failed state in the longest period of thirty years as of 2021, which has not so far recovered from the failure. It is, thus, important to understand why the Somali state collapsed after thirty years of independence and has not recovered in the succeeding thirty years. The international community has been trying to support the process of reconciliation, peace-building and state building but to no avail. It is not easy to find a sound answerer to why the state has failed while the problem can be attributed to various issues. This thesis tries to respond to that by exploring how the ethnic and identity constructed idea for greater Somalia in the Horn of Africa contributed to the collapse of the state. To better analyse the problem, theoretical framework has been established and a previous study on the subject has been used. The thesis concludes that the failed experiment of the idea of uniting the Somali society inhabiting in the Horn of Africa countries under one greater Somali state which is no longer valid has to be left behind and new ways of thinking have to be developed for future prospects.

Table of Contents

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List of Abbreviations

COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
NFD	Northern Frontier District
OAU	Organization of the African Unity
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
USSR	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Problem

The struggle for independence in Africa was aimed at giving African countries the independence and freedom to decide their own destiny. The struggle was based on the idea of building a greater Africa (Pan Africanism) but within each country there were divisions within clans and ethnic groups which colonialists took advantage for their interests on these foundations to divide and rule. Pan-Africanism is “ an ideology and movement that encouraged the solidarity of Africans worldwide, based on the belief that unity is vital to economic, social and political progress and asserts that the fates of all African peoples and countries are intertwined. At its core, Pan-Africanism is ‘a belief that African peoples both on the continent and in the diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny (Hakim, 2018, p.1). It is this Pan-Africanism that the ideology of greater Somalia was intertwined and in the case of Somalia, this same idea has been viewed by the other African Countries, especially Ethiopia and Kenya, as an expansionism or irredentism.

Now as most of the Sub-Saharan Africa gained independence, most of the countries have faced internal divisions as colonial borders divided same clans and ethnic groups. This became a serious issue and was widely discussed at the 1963 founding conference of the Organization of the African Union in Addis Ababa where it was agreed to keep colonial borders intact.

Somalia, which is a one ethnic people, was one of the societies divided by the colonial powers into five parts. The struggle for independence of Somalia was aimed at gaining the independence of Somalis living in these countries and uniting them into one great Somali state. This has not been an easy task and has met international political pressure from Africa and worldwide.

Prior to independence, the Somali people in the horn of Africa was divided into five historical territories: The Somaliland British Protectorate, The Italian Colony of Somalia, the British Administration of Kenya, the French Somaliland (Djibouti) and the Somali Region in Ethiopia. The political problems in the Horn of Africa are said to “revolve around the Somali claim for national unification and the establishment of an independent Somali nation state” (Touval, 1963, p.38). The Somali struggle for freedom before the independence in 1960 was based on uniting the five parts into one great Somali state on the basis on identity and ethnicity where every Somali living anywhere (in those countries) has been given the same rights of automatic citizenship to those born in Somalia.

The idea of a greater, united Somalia was sought by mobilizing people through nationalism, which is known by opposing forces of Ethiopia and Kenya as irredentism. Irredentism is defined as a “territorial claim by a sovereign state against another sovereign state, aimed at reaching congruence between the boundaries of the nation and the borders of the state” (Kornprobst, 2008, pp.8-11). Thus Irredentism which Somalia has known as reclaiming the lost territories has not ended with the independence but became the main policy of the various governments in Somalia and was “a priority over urgent social concerns and economic development making use of the high popular support made these policies a tool to legitimize the power of the country's elites and allowed national unity against common enemies” (Ledesma, 2018, p.97).

That notion has not changed much since the creation of the Somali republic in 1960 though there are some different scenarios after the collapse of the Somalia state in 1991. One of these scenarios regards the first two Somali inhabited regions, which gained independence in 26 June 1960 and 1st July 1960 making the new Somali republic. The constitution of the new Republic of Somalia recognized the border with Ethiopia and Kenya as a temporary one while each side of the 5-pointed star of the Somali flag represents one of the five territories. In a few years time, Somalia has fell in war with Ethiopia and Kenya and the new Somalia Republic was in crises under brutal dictatorship of 21 years resulting the secession

of Somaliland, civil war, terrorism and complete collapse of the state, thirty years of anarchy with no government at all.

The vision of the failed idea of greater Somalia/pan-somalism or irredentism as known otherwise which has been one of the major contributors to the collapse of the Somali state is still in the minds of many Somali leaders and the public

The purpose of this thesis is therefore to analyse the cost of the Somalis for building a nation based on identity and ethnicity. The political and the historical development of the issue will be explored in the study while some recommendations will be provided for future prospects.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of my thesis is to analyse the high cost of Somali society in the Horn of Africa in search of a nation state regarding citizenship, national identity and ethnicity. "High cost" is meant the total collapse of the Somali state while the purpose was the creation of greater Somalia State. The study explores the theories of nationalism, identity, expansionism, and irredentism, in the context of Somali society in the region. These theories will be further explained in the theoretical framework and conceptual parts of the thesis. Identity is hereby meant belonging to a unique Somali ethnicity, which is entitling them to share land and state and to secede from Ethiopia and Kenya where they are part of larger multi-ethnic communities. These endeavours are viewed by the Ethiopians and Kenyan as a Somali irredentism, while they recognize Somalia as an expansionist State.

This thesis will also contribute to the previous studies in the Horn of Africa region and the Somali society in particular in regards to the notion of greater Somalia or the five Somalis currently living in various countries united in a single Somali state based on identity and ethnicity.

The thesis will focus responding to the following main research question: What are the impacts of the identity constructed state in the Somali society in the horn of Africa? The research question will, thus, examine how the idea of greater Somalia,

based on Somali identity as one ethnic society, contributed to the collapse of the Somali state by looking from different perspectives including the view of the Somali people, previous research and the views of other scholars.

On focus of the research question, the thesis will answer the research problem stated by using theoretical framework and empirical study on the basis of the analysis of the findings. The thesis will also highlight lessons and experiences learnt from the past to avert similar conflicts and to build a better future that contributes to the stability in the Horn of Africa where Somalia, on its part, plays a major role.

1.3 Limitations

While there is an academic gap to be filled in the area of the impact of the idea of greater Somalia to the collapse of the Somali state and the thesis will contribute to the information about this subject, there are some limitations realized at the time of the study. One of the limitations is the broadness of the topic, which is not exhaustive in this short study.

Another limitation is that the subject matter of the study needs to be looked at from different perspectives, as it is complex and difficult to have common understanding as many people have different views. A lot of political views, ethnic and national interests are involved in the issue, which might jeopardize the academic freedom of the study. To avoid this, my research is purely academic and does not provide detailed and holistic analysis but rather contributes to the existing literature leaving the rest for future researches. As such, the thesis does not give information of the post state collapse of Somalia in 1991 apart from some highlights on the secession of Somaliland and other Somali inhabited territories beyond the mainland of Somalia.

1.4 Thesis structure

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter one, covers the introduction, aims, research questions, and provides full details of the research methodology, methods and material. Chapter 2 presents theoretical framework on which the thesis is build upon including previous research and relevant literature as well as exploration of the previous studies. Chapter four summarizes key findings, discussion and analysis of the thesis while; chapter 5 is the conclusion and recommendations from the case and the theoretical framework. It also provides some suggestions for future research.

2 BACKGROUND

Presentation of the Case: Somalia

Before the arrival of the colonial powers, Somali people in the Horn of Africa have been pastoral and nomadic society and had no central authority or unifying. Administration. The society was organized in tribal and clan lineages with traditional leaders independent from each other. The foreign powers including the Egyptians and Turkish have been forming contacts and treaties with these clan leaders. I. M. Lewis (1980) provides an extensive study of the modern history of Somalia before partition, the imperial partition, Somali unification, the problems of independence, the Somali revolution, nationalism, ethnicity and revolution in the horn of Africa "until the late 19th century the history of the eastern Africa is dominated by the protracted Somali expansion from the north. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Somalia was rapidly drawn into the theatre of colonial competition between Britain France and Italy on the African continent itself Egypt was also involved, and later Abyssinia, expanding and consolidating its realm in this period" (Lewis, 1988, p.18).

The colonial powers either signed protectorate treaties with the local, traditional clan leaders (Britain and France) or colonized (Italy) and consequently divided the Somali society into five territories: Italian Somalia in the south, British Somaliland

in the north, French Somaliland (now Djibouti), and the Northern Frontier District (NFD) in Kenya and Ogaden, Haud and Reserve area transferred to Ethiopia by Britain. That was the fate of the Somali people before independence.

While our discussion is on how nationalism shaped the Somali society at the pre-colonial times for their struggle for freedom and the post-colonial era for the search of uniting the Somali territories under one greater Somali state, we have to reflect on how other societies used nationalism for various purposes, using relevant methods and strategies to their struggle for nationhood.

In Turkey, for instance the idea of nationalism has been the product of the media, especially newspapers that as according to Ziya Gokalp (2006) induced the feelings of prestige and in the public and has therefore produced a consciousness of national cohesion and integrity. He continues stating “ The newspaper has given a common consciousness to those who speak the same language by uniting them into a public collaboration.” (Gokalp, 2006, p.190). This, I think, is suitable for highly literate societies but is not applicable to an illiterate society like the Somalis as the Somali script has been written in 1972, twelve years after independence.

Tom Mboya, a scholar and former Minister of justice in Kenya explains that a nationalist movement is crucial for “the effective struggle against colonialism and for the work of economic reconstruction after Independence” for the purpose mobilizing of all available types of people in the country for the single struggle. He adds that the mobilization has to be based on a simplification of the struggle into:

“Certain slogans and into one distinct idea, which everyone can understand without arguing about the details of policy or of governmental program after Independence. Mobilization is planned on the assumption that, for the time being, what is needed is to win independence and gain power to determine one's own destiny.” (Mboya, 2006, p.477).

He gives an example that the slogan in Kenya is built on that everyone “is taught to know the one enemy-the colonial power-and the one goal-independence”

meaning that people have to be organized so that they are like an army with a general and a symbol where in many cases the symbol is the national leader himself, and it is necessary to have unquestioning discipline among the different groups and personalities who should rally their followers behind him where the national leader needs an organization, whose pattern allows him to lead and also to impose discipline and demand action whenever it is necessary". (Mboya, 2006, p.477).

While the main purpose of mobilizing people was each nation's struggle for independence and national territory (Yat-sen, 2006, p.305), the techniques and strategies used were quite different that every society used appropriate and unique methods for its people. Religion, spirituality and inherited cultural values have been used by many societies including the Muslim world and some Asian countries (Arslan, 2006, p.337). The message given was that the colonialist is destroying the peoples' religion while the real intent was to gain independence. Changing attitudes was quite important for the struggle. The European colonialists taught the African that the "never-never policy"-independence can- not come in your lifetime, it is too complicated to hope to win, you cannot run a government unless you have reached a certain high standard of education". On the contrary, the African nationalists used different messages showing that their resources are looted and their freedom is jeopardized (Mboya, 2006, p.477).

The Somali nationalism in search of greater Somali ethnic-based identity nation-state goes back to the era of the colonial presence in the Somali territories, especially after the world war II when four of the 5 Somali inhabited territories where under the British rule. This was a wind of change in the world, especially in Africa and Asia and it is the time nationalism was very strong. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Britain, Ernest Bevin, proposed what is known as the "Bevin Plan" in 1946 for the unification of the Somali inhabited territories under the British Military Administration rule at that time. Prior to this proposal, Italy, a former colony, created the basis of pan-Somali nationalism, which has encouraged the Somalis to fight for a pan-somali nation-state that surpassed colonial borders and coincided with the foundation of the new Somali political parties (Mukhtar, 2003, p.XXXV).

Nationalism was the tool for political change to oust colonial powers and gain independence, however, Somalia after independence in 1960, failed the theory of modernism that nations and nationalism are intrinsic to the nature of the modern world and to the revolution of modernity by trying to build a nation on ethnicity and identity. Its political culture has violated the international and regional instruments and charters including the OAU charter, which stipulates respecting sovereignty of free countries. Articles 3 and 4 of the Charter specify “Non-interference in the internal affairs of States and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and, for its inalienable right to independent existence” (Oau, 1969).

That was the time when political consciousness and the nationalism movements of the Somali-inhabited territories born with the struggle for freedom against the foreign powers including Britain and Italy. Immediately after the independence, the new Republic of Somalia put in its constitution that all Somalis living in other Somali inhabited territories other than Somalia will have equal and automatic citizenship while the colonial borders with the neighbouring will not be recognized “All citizens, without distinction of race, national origin, birth, language, religion, sex, economic or social status, or opinion, shall have equal rights and duties before the law” (Wipo, 1960). The flag with the five angled star of the state also represents the five Somali territories which would be annexed to the Somali Republic in the future.

This was not an easy move after the independence of the Somali Republic in 1960 and the first challenge was that of NFD referendum in 1962 before the independence of Kenya where 62 % of the people favour unification with Somalia but concludes that the status of the NFD cannot be determined until Kenya is independent (Mukhtar, 2003, p.XXXV). The USA, UK and other powers refuted and NFD become part of Kenya immediately after its independence 1963. That forced the Somali government to cut the diplomatic relationship with Britain. By then, Somalia has immediately resorted to a new relation with the USSR after which it has gone into war with Ethiopia in 1964. Ethiopia and Kenya signed a

mutual military defence pact in 1963 whereby either country agrees to come to the aid of the other if it is attacked by a third party to defend from what they called the aggression of Somalia or Somalia's expansionist ambitions which would envisage the annexation of Ethiopia's Ogaden region as well as Kenya's NFD. French Somaliland (Djibouti) was under French until it got its freedom in 1977 an independent country (The Times, 1963).

During the period of 1967 to 1969 the elected government made significant changes in Somalia's foreign policy and instead of focusing on resolving issues by force, has moved towards an open approach to resolving issues through dialogue and understanding. Somalia has now resumed its relation to Africa and the rest of the world replacing the hostile relations of the neighbouring countries of Kenya and Ethiopia with friendly relations. Unfortunately, the new state and the nascent and growing democracy have been slaughtered by a military coup on October 21, 1969. The military regime had the opportunity to maintain existing positive relations with neighbouring countries, but instead turned to the use of military force to annex the Somali territories in the adjacent countries, relying on the military treaty with the Soviet Union. This has led to the devastating 1977 war between Ethiopia and Somalia, resulting the defeat of Somalia, and to the total collapse of the Somali Republic. After 21 years of military, authoritarian rule in Somalia, the State has finally collapsed in early 1991.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Previous research on Somali Nationalism

Horn of Africa has been a volatile region for a long time. War, inter-state and intra-state conflicts, droughts, famine, refugee influx has been the result of political problems across the region.

To better understand the case, we have to reflect how the Somali nationalism and search for greater Somalia is affected by many issues including colonialism, post-

independence or post-colonialism, and the cold war as well as internal issues of tribalism and ethnicity, creating unending regional crises, insecurity and instability. Huge literature has been written in the Somali issue regarding political, security and historical aspects. However, one of the extensive academic researches is that of Saadi Touval (1963) on Somali nationalism entitled “ Somali Nationalism”. Touval provides comprehensive study of the determinants of the Somali nationalism at national, regional and global levels. His research focuses on the Somali nation-land and people, partition of the horn, development of national consciousness, nationalism of politics, the problems of the politics of unification, the question of boundary line and the international environment. The study explores the impact of the politics of French Somaliland, the Problem of the Ethiopian Somalis and the Problem of the Kenya Somalis. He examines the border problem, ethnicity, national identity, tribalism, religion, language and culture and Somali consciousness. He also looks at the impact of the colonialism of the Somali territories and people as well as the social and political problems with the neighbouring countries in land dispute. He examines the International environment and the conflicting role of Britain, Italy, USA, USSR, China, and Egypt on the issue in an era of global political rivalry and cold war.

According to Touval (1963), the key political problems in the Horn of Africa are said to:

“Revolve around the Somali claim for national unification and the establishment of an independent Somali nation state. The underlying assumption of these claims is that the Somali people constitute a distinct nation entitled to a separate existence and to the rights and duties similar to those of other nations in the world” (Touval, 1963, p.38).

The time of the study of Touval was 1963 and till now, 2021 nothing much has changed.

Touval argues the Somalia’s approach to the border problem is conditioned by their commitment to the principle that all Somali inhabited territories ought to be placed under one Somali government. He states that the cases are in part not an African or local problem but “the legacy of the colonial era when boundary

agreements have been influenced more by rivalries among the European powers than by local conditions in the horn” (Touval, 1963, p.155). Touval raises the question of whether the Somalis can properly be regarded as a nation hinges essentially upon the question of “what nation is.” Adding that:

“Nations normally are supposed to have language, to be associated with a certain territory and to have a common culture history and tradition. Often nations are also bound by common racial origins and practice the same religion. If these criteria are used there seems to be a strong case for considering the Somalis as a nation. Their common language not only facilitates communication among them but also differentiates Somalis from their neighbours who speak different languages” (Touval, 1963, pp.23-24).

His main thesis is that the Somali nationalism stems from a feeling of national consciousness in the sense of “we, Somalis” as opposed to “they, Somali inhabited neighbouring countries” which has existed among the Somalis for many centuries but takes no one to nowhere and ends in a futile.

Building on the description of Touval on what it takes to be a nation, how the Somali society fits into that and how nation and nationalism are linked, we will try to highlight the main points on his study regarding border problems, national consciousness and search of identity-built nation state. He indicates that it is nationalism that brought the unity of British Somaliland and Italian Somalia and that is why they are seeking the union of the five Somali territories where borders are recognized as artificial borders. A main argument of his study is that there is a link between the Somali populations of the various territories, but there are no bonds that unite the Somali Republic with the neighbouring states. The links that are supposed to form the basis for such a union do not necessarily constitute a bond between peoples. It usually facilitates contacts, but in the Horn of Africa these have produced conflict rather than harmony.

Other scholars who write on Somalia include I. M. Lewis, who specializes in Somali political and modern history. Lewis argues that issues related to ethnicity

and nationalism is not limited to Somalis but has been widespread in post-colonial Africa. In particular, the Somali issue speaks of the fact that its nationalism has been influenced by Pan-African and Arab nationalist movements. Lewis (1980) states that the idea of greater Somalia would rekindle wider Somali nationalist sentiments which will jeopardize the peace and security of the region (Lewis, 1988, pp.18-40).

Both experts, I. M. Lewis and Saadia Touval, agree that post-independence Somali nationalism, which was later aimed at a greater Somalia, has had a political, hostile and social impact on peace and stability in the Horn of Africa region. The border dispute between Kenya and Ethiopia has led to deadly conflicts, which have ultimately devastated the growing nation of Somalia.

3.2 Theoretical framework

The main purpose of this theoretical framework is to try to study the impacts of nationalism and identity constructed nation-state on the Somali society in the Horn of Africa. This chapter tries to provide broad comprehension of the theoretical framework analysis reflecting the interrelated key concepts of nationalism, identity, ethnicity and political culture in regards to building an ethnic based nation-state in a volatile region. Relevant literature grounded on the subject matter will be studied to provide comprehensive and conceptual understanding of the said purpose.

Though this study is not completely comparative analysis of two or more cases, it will briefly make a comparison of a same case in historical sequence to illustrate and make better understanding of the case. Besides, the comparative analysis used by this study is more on historical comparison of the unfolding and over time sequence of the same case on the basis of nationalism, ethnicity and national identity.

The case of the Somali society in the horn of Africa across the neighbouring countries in the region such as Somalia (now Somalia and Somaliland), Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya falls in the category of “contextualized comparison” and is shaped by the process tracing and causal mechanism of sequential events from the colonial era, struggle for independence, post independence and the total collapse of the Somali state and the practical diffusion of the much sought after notion of greater Somalia which has been tried to reach through pan-Somali nationalism on ethnic and identity basis.

One of the prominent scholars, Ernest Gellner (1983), provides a comprehensive definition of the concept of nationalism as:

Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent. Nationalism as a sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle. Nationalist sentiment is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment. A nationalist movement is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind. 654321 (Gellner, 1983, p.119).

Gellner augments that Nationalism is “a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones, and, in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state should not separate the power-holders from the rest.” (Gellner, 1983, p.119). The definition of Gellner stresses the terms: state and nation where having the same nation means sharing same culture in a system of ideas, signs, and associations and ways of behaving and communicating and recognizing each other as belonging to the same nation.

In an overview of contextual analysis, we will capture how the notion of nations and nationalism may fit into the Somali case. Greenfeld (2019) discusses how the emergence of nationalism from the 16th century to the globalization of nationalism shaped world nations, emphasizing that all the time from their earliest days of history, nations have engaged in a never-ending race for respect and dignity where dignity is implied in “national membership, or nationality, as we

would say today, made national populations deeply invested in the dignity of the nation as a whole. This national dignity was expressed, above all, in international prestige—the relative standing of one’s nation among other nations, and their regard for it—which made national consciousness (nationalism) inherently competitive” (Greenfeld, 2019, pp.1-22). From this explanation, we understand that the dignity of the individual citizen depends on the dignity of the state and its people and this stresses the claim of Somalia that all Somalis are citizens of Somalia no matter in which other country they belong to as they are striving for dignity and pride rooted in a shared, common and cultural identity which they believe could be realized through the annexation of the Somali inhabited territories of the neighbouring countries to the Somali Republic.

Greenfield (2019) continues to expand his argument that each society in which nationalism developed has its own history of nationalism. This could be real in Europe and other countries but Africa has a shorter history and hasn’t developed its own yet. As the African nationalism has started in the colonial period in the struggle for freedom, the struggle for political space subsequently followed in the independence and post independence period where the freedom of the new states has brought the pride of nationalism and search of nation state, expanding boundaries to the neighbouring countries on the bases of ethnicity.

In the notion of boundary expansion, Caramani (2004) highlights on what he calls *external boundary-building* which defines the external borders of the space that occurs along two dimensions: (1) *Territorial physical boundary building* (corresponding to territorial delimitation) and (2) *functional sociocultural boundary building* (corresponding to membership delimitation) (Caramani, 2004, pp.18-19). These two types of boundary building exist in the Somali context that the Somali republic has justified the annexation of the missing territories to the new republic claiming shared cultural and ethnical identity that cannot be compromised. On the contrary, the opposing countries of Ethiopia and Kenya where Somalis lived had different views that what Somalis are claiming is actually a territorial expansion and irredentism. Despite Somalia’s claim being expansion or irredentism, nationalism was the bottom part of the claim in a time where many

African nations were gaining their independence and somewhere falling apart or making union. It is a natural process for some nations to come together and others to fall apart. Most scholars agree, however, that nation building entails national identification as in the argument of Wimmer (2018) that citizens begin to see themselves as members of a national community and feel loyal to that, above and beyond their attachment to an ethnic group, a tribe, a village community, or a religion (Wimmer, 2018, p.23). Nationalism as such was the main object of people's mobilization and warfare for defending the pride and the dignity of the nation. This is linked to the definition of Anderson (2006) that "nation" is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson, 2006, p.16). On the contrary Gellner claims that "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness but invents nations where they do not exist" (Anderson, 2006, p.16). But the opposite is true as have been observed in the colonial world where nationalism was used as a means to peoples' consciousness in their struggle for freedom and in the post-colonial era and an inclusive and liberating force (Smith, 2003, p.1) where it was the tool used to ethnic nationalism causing border problems, territorial claims and conflicts across sovereign nations.

Hobsbawm (2013) agrees that people's mobilization on nationalism could cause the post-colonial African States may fall into chaos and disorder which could be true in the case of Somalia and Ethiopia as the result of the unquestionable right of people to secede or form their own independent sovereign nation-states. However, he acknowledges that conflict between ethnic groups and clashes, often, violent ones, between them, are older than the political agenda of nationalism, and will survive it (Hobsbawm, 2013, p.164).

Whenever the concept of nationalism is raised, the concepts of national identity and ethnicity have to be related to the discussion, as they could be basis for peoples' mobilization. According to Eriksen (2010), Identity is defined as "an aspect of social relationship between persons who consider themselves as essentially distinctive from members of other groups of whom they are aware and

with whom they enter into relationships” (Eriksen, 2010, p.17). This implies that one ethnic society can be mobilized faster than a multi-ethnic society where it takes time to harmonize interests and views towards the desired purpose and vision. The Somali society has thus been mobilized on shared ethnicity and national identity giving them the right to one identity built Nation State. That is why we call the issue of Somalia as an identity constructed because it is constructed only through the unique ethnic identity shared by all Somalis.

However, this same theory of identity based nationalism of state construction in the Somali context is negatively viewed by others, including Ethiopia and Kenya, as an irredentism and expansionism when speaking of Somalia and separatism and secessionism when denoting to the Somali inhabitants in their respective countries.

Sorens (2012) defines “secessionism” to refer to “all movements seeking extensive self- government for their territories, whether or not they explicitly endorse full independence” while according to him “separatism” encompasses both irredentism and secessionism. (Sorens, 2012, pp.5-114).

Irredentism as has been mentioned in the introduction part of this study is defined as a “territorial claim by a sovereign state against another sovereign state, aimed at reaching congruence between the boundaries of the nation and the borders of the state” (Kornprobst, 2008, pp.8-11).

The issue is therefore a multi-faceted and complex that Somalia considered it a right to self-determination for Somalis living in neighboring countries to join Somalia and be part of it which has to be mobilized through nationalism. Somali inhabitants in those countries see themselves as freedom fighters, while Ethiopia and Kenya perceive them as separatists and secessionists. Ethiopia and Kenya also see Somalia as an expansionist country. The issue was hence confusing where each party has given its own theory such as self-determination, nationalism, separatism, secessionism, expansionism and irredentism and use it as a political tool for propaganda.

4 RESEARCH METHOD

4.1 Methodology

Qualitative research methods are found most suitable for this study and in that case, process tracing has been selected as it can be used for both theory building and theory testing. Since case study is a basis for this study, process tracing can be useful for both descriptive and causal inference (Mahoney, 2016, p.494). Besides that, Process tracing is a research method for empirical analysis in tracing “causal mechanisms using detailed, with- in-case empirical analysis of how a causal process plays out in an actual case. It can be used both for case studies that aim to gain a greater understanding of the causal dynamics that produced the outcome of a particular historical case and to shed light on generalizable causal mechanisms linking causes and outcomes within a population of causally similar cases” (Mahoney, 2016, p.494).

Process tracing in social science is generally defined by “ its ambition to trace causal mechanisms” while causal mechanism can be defined as “ a complex system, which produces an outcome by the interaction of a number of parts whereas it involves attempts to identify the intervening causal process—the causal chain and causal mechanism—between an independent variable (or variables) and the outcome of the dependent variable” (Bennett, 2015, pp.6-10). Hence the link between the causal mechanism and outcome is very crucial for the case under study. Number of steps are taken during the process training: Developing a hypothesised causal mechanism, operationalizing the causal mechanism, collecting evidence, assessing the inferential weight of evidence and the conclusions of a process tracing exercise (Punton, 2015, pp.4-8).

If the causal mechanism is accepted based on the evidence collected, we will have confidence on the desired outcome from the process and this how this method used for this study. Once the process is complete, the researcher should be able to state a level of assurance in each part of the hypothesized mechanism, based on the evidence collected and the tests used. The reliability of each source and its possible limitations will be deliberated while appropriate steps will be taken to intensify the reliability and validity of the evidence used.

Thus, process tracing, like any other method, has its own pros and cons regarding its development, its use, validity and reliability. Beach (2017) further elaborates that the advantage of process tracing allows solid causal conclusions to be made about how underlying and causal developing processes work in everyday practical cases based on studying within the same case systematic evidence. Beach (2017) further explains that “process tracing is a single-case method, meaning that only inferences about the operation of the mechanism within the studied case are possible because this is the evidence gathered through tracing the process in the case and that link them with outcomes in a productive relationship” (Beach, 2017, pp.1-3).

On the advantage of process tracing, Ricks and Liu (2018) further explain that this method gives us the opportunity to use timeline for the purposes clarifying the researcher’s thought process, forming chronological precedence, providing validity to test for the argument and helping to determine main events that could have formed the outcome of interest (Ricks, 2018, p.843).

The method selected and used to analyse why and how the identity based concept of building a greater Somalia failed and how it has impacted the security, peace and democracy of the Somali inhabited Horn of Africa region. Process tracing method will thus be used in setting out the timeline of the case of Somali societies for the period under discussion (1960-1991). The process tracing method will thus focus the said timeline within the scope of the thesis. The validity and the reliability of the empirical materials used including the OAU Charter and the Constitution of the Somali Republic has been assured.

4.2 Empirical Material

The study counts on secondary data sources and prior documents in official archives to be used for empirical analysis. My knowledge of the political situation of the Somali society and the political dynamics and history of the Horn of Africa region will also help shape the thesis for in-depth analysis.

Reliable secondary source of documents and materials from the OAU website, such as the Charter of the OAU and from the Somali archives such as the constitution of Somalia in 1961 are selected to analyze, and confirm validity and reliability for a better theoretical comprehension of the case. The Somalia constitution provides information on the citizenship, identity of the Somali people and the issue of boundary and political culture of the Somalis. These materials will be used in the findings and analysis chapter of the thesis.

The materials used will be selected on the consideration of international and local perspectives to ensure a more inclusive approach of creating a discussion on the study. The presented material is sufficient to address the research problem and answer the research question.

Process training method was used for an analytical framework of different time periods of events and how they were related. An accurate timeline was used to describe how events are interrelated and how they affect the political changes that the thesis discusses. It was analyzed, for example, the contradictions of the Constitution of the Republic of Somalia which stipulates the unification of five Somali territories and lack of recognition of the borders of neighboring countries with Somalia and the OAU/AU Charter which states that the borders of the countries should be intact as they have been before independence and the sovereignty of States to be respected. These contradictions and the problems resulted is where the first step of the process training starts. The Empirical materials were thus based on using the process training method to analyze the eventual changes throughout the time in nexus with more detailed literature.

5 RESULTS

This chapter is an analysis of the data collected to answer the research question of “What are the impacts of the identity constructed state on the Somali society in the horn of Africa? “As an outcome of the analysis the thesis anticipates finding out the impact of identity-constructed nation-state on the Somali society in the Horn of Africa territories and the regional stability of the countries in the region in general. It is historical analysis of the long process and time and what it took for the state to

collapse. The research findings are partly similar to those of Touval (1963) in the aspect of the core problems of Somalis nationalism impact on the situation, elaborated by this thesis with the historical and political changes long after that research. The study analysis what happened, when and how it happened regarding the impact of nationalism and identity on the total collapse of the state. The empirical data and the literature reviewed will sufficiently answer the research question.

In this chapter I will also examine the history of Somalia's ethnic and identity constructed idea across both time and space to determine its impact on the collapse of the State.

Process training was used to analyse the Empirical material and the overall process of Somali statehood in terms of causal mechanism and outcome at each stage. For example, the Charter of OAU looked at how the issue of Somalia was applied to the boundaries and existence of the country. The Charter gives an extensive background regarding sovereignty, boundaries and cohesion of the African states. They also looked at the Somali constitution, which does not recognize Somalia's borders with Ethiopia and Kenya. The constitution and its role in the quest for a greater Somalia were also examined. A critical point to understand is the contraction of the Somalia constitution and the OAU charter. Reconciling these with the claim of Somalia was difficult and that is why the case of Somalia has not been taken forward by the OAU countries for consideration and that has brought diplomatic isolation to the Somalia and deterioration of relationship with the neighbouring countries.

The pan-Somali ideology was fostered during the colonial era on the Bevin plan proposal by a feeling of national consciousness which focuses on the shared heritage of Islam, belief in a common ancestor, language and culture and, in addition, the geographical continuity of the Somali inhabited territories (Issa-Salwe, 2001, pp.79-80). The main purpose of the Bevin plan, proposed by the Foreign Minister of Britain at the time was to unite under one British

administration. This initiative has triggered the Somali people which a long history of anti-colonialism. The fire has been kindled but never put off.

The Somali republic was build on the idea of greater Somalia nation state or pan-somalism and that is why Somaliland which has got its independence from Britain in 26 June 1960 decided to sacrifice its independent statehood and made union with the UN Trust territory of Somalia (Italian colony) on 1st July 1960 for the sake of creating a new sovereign state through a unification with the South. The finalization of the union of the two Somali territories on 1 July denoted the end of the independent existence of Somaliland after only four days. At the time people in both territories widely believed that their act of union was a prelude to the unification of all Somali territories under a single flag – an ideal widely shared by all Somalis (Deon, 2009, pp.129-33).

The formation of a Greater Somalia that combined Somalis in the two former protectorates and colonies, calling those living in the three adjacent and bordering countries to the union, became a sacred duty for independent Somali Republic established in the Horn of Africa. That pan-Somali dream, called also by the opposing forces as irredentism or expansionism was signified in the design of the five-pointed star on the national flag, representing the five Somali territories making them the largest homogeneous ethnic group in Africa and providing justification for union (Deon, 2009, pp.129-33). It was already a clear message that the idea of the greater Somalia promulgated during the independence struggle was still a main agenda for Somalia and has to be realized in any means. Besides that vision, the celebration of the new independent Republic of Somalia made from the union of the former British Somaliland and the colony of Italian Somalia started with problems that would endanger the fibre of the nation in the future.

To reinforce their commitment to the integration of all the Somali inhabited territories, Somalia included in a clause in Article VI, Section 4, of their constitution stated: "The Somali Republic shall promote by legal and peaceful means, the union of Somali territories." That has been divulged in the wars that followed independence in NFD Kenya (1963) the Ogaden, Ethiopia (1964) and in

(1977) For Somalia, the Somali communities in these territories of Kenya and Ethiopia were conceived as national imagined communities regarding language and culture that the colonial borders make no meaning to them as their uniqueness as a homogeneous society reinforces their identity in the Horn of Africa (Anderson, 2006, p.49).

Besides building the new state, Somalia called on the independence of the Somalis in Ethiopia and Kenya (and Djibouti which was under French control until mid 1977) insisting to exercise their rights to self-determination; hoping they would then opt to eventually join with the Somali Republic. The perception and the feeling was that the Somalis in Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti are one organic nation (Issa-Salwe, 2001, pp.79-80).

In order to achieve that agenda, the leaders of the new republic have undertaken new steps in realizing that vision. It is worth noting that Somalia was pro west being the product of Italian colony and British protectorate and the expectation was that it will still remain linked to the west for state building, nation building, governance, financial; and the diplomatic relations would be maintained and further enhanced. However, the leaders of Somalia had a wider but ambiguous goal that the end justifies the means, denoting to resort to and ally with anyone of the great world powers that would support their plan for receiving military aid to their vision for greater Somalia.

The first endeavour was joining the British ruled, Somali inhabited Northern Frontier District, now in Kenya, Somalia. To determine the will of the inhabitants of NFD, the British government established a commission carrying out a referendum in the Northern Frontier District where and 62 % or five out of the six administrative districts within the District voted to secede and join to the Somali Republic. The British colony, however, rejected the commission's findings on the grounds of not taking a unilateral decision on the future of the territory until Kenya's independence in 12 December 1963. The NFD inhabitants and the Somali Republic wondered why the British government has conducted the referendum if it is refusing the result. That has been a good excuse for Somalia to

break the diplomatic relations with Britain and resort to USSR and China. The British has been expelled and their diplomats deported in 1962. The NFD problem escalated when Kenya gained its independence in december1963 and immediately, a border war broke out between the two countries.

In September 1960, the USSR and Somalia established full diplomatic relations exchanging high-level delegations and within a month the Somali Prime Minister, Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, and several members of his cabinet, travelled to the Soviet Union; the result was a major economic and technical assistance agreement signed in Moscow on 2 June 1961 (Patman, 1990, pp.48-55).

In November 1963, Mogadishu refused a offer of Western military assistance, because of the 'political conditions which accompanied and what they called political and economic colonialism in contrast to the Soviet arms offer which was free from formal conditions. In addition to the aid from the USSR, Somalia received direct assistance in the form of annual grants from the colonial powers, Britain and Italy; it also received aid and loans from America and Egypt, as well as generous assistance through various UN agencies (Patman, 1990, pp.48-55).

Another reason Somalia was opting to relation to the west was envisaging to use the military aid to the neighbouring countries. The Soviet was aware of this and providing the military aid for internal use only. What Somali leaders did not calculate was the previous, historical relationship between Russia and Ethiopia and that the USSR if given the choice of the two countries would go for Ethiopia as would have happened later in 1977 when Somalia was at war with Ethiopia.

Another interesting opportunity for Somalia was the foundation of the OAU in 1963 in Addis Ababa where Somalia presented its proposal of the Somali territories to the agenda of the summit. All African head of states have not admired that agenda. The president of Somalia said:

Briefly the Somali problem is this: unlike any other border problem in Africa, the entire length of the existing boundaries as imposed by the colonialists, cut across the traditional pastures of our nomadic population.

The problem becomes unique when it is realized that that no other nation in Africa finds itself totally divided along the whole length of its borders from its own people)

While the Prime Minister of Ethiopia responded:

Ethiopia has always existed in history for centuries as an independent state and as a nation, for more than 3,000 years. That is a fact, second fact: the historical frontiers of Ethiopia stretched from the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean, including all the territory between them. Third fact: there is no record in history either of a Somali State or a Somali nation. That too is a fact. I apologize for stating it (Au.Int, 1963).

None of the African head of States supported the claim of the Somalia president and the Somalia delegation left the meeting.

There have been border tensions between Somalia and Kenya and Somalia and Ethiopia that has caused a violent conflict between the parties. Somalia and Kenya had a border war in 1963 immediately after the independence of Kenya. Moreover, Somalia and Ethiopia had a border war in February 1964, which has continued until 30 March 1964 when both Ethiopia and Somalia agreed to respect an OAU cease-fire resolution. This has been resolved in a resolution, at the OAU Summit in Cairo, to confirm the principle concerning the preservation of the existing territorial boundaries at independence, passed by the overwhelming majority of the Heads of State present. This has eased the tension despite Somalia declaring it did not feel bound by the resolution, which was a setback for any hopes of ending border and territorial claims through peaceful means (Patman, 1990, pp.48-55).

With all these problems faced by the new republic, the political atmosphere changed in 1967 when the new Prime Minister of Somalia, Mohamed Ibrahim Egal has changed the strained policy and opted for détente resolving the issue through political dialogue and diplomatic solutions by replacing the hostility with understanding. The new Prime Minister signed with President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya the famous Arusha Memorandum of Understanding in a meeting hosted by Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanzania. The tension between Ethiopia and

Somalia has also been eased through exchange of diplomatic missions by the two countries. In MOU, the two countries agreed on these points:

- 1 Both Governments have expressed their desire to respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity in the spirit of paragraph 3 of Article III of the OAU Charter;
- 2 The two Governments have further undertaken to resolve any outstanding differences between them in the spirit of paragraph 4 of Article III of the OAU Charter;
- 3 The two Governments have pledged to ensure maintenance of peace and security on both sides of the border by preventing destruction of human life and property;
- 4 Furthermore, the two Governments have agreed to refrain from conducting hostile propaganda through mass media such as radio and the press against each other (Au, 1967).

The Horn of Africa was now in a better position of peaceful negotiations in resolving conflicts, however, things fell apart when the military overthrew the democratically elected government of Somalia in a coup d'état in 21 October 1969 and a new era of authoritarian rule and brutal dictatorship for the following 21 years has begun for Somalia. The democratic leaders including the Prime Minister, the former President and the Speaker of the Parliament have all been jailed. The constitution has been suspended; media, social gathering and international agreements have all been banned while the private property of foreigner investors (banks, airlines, fuel..) have all been nationalized and taken over by the revolutionary government. The democratic governments in first nine years (1960-1969) have been pro west while the military government resorted to the USSR signing military agreement and base with the USSR. The ethnic and identity based idea for a greater Somalia has again been started by the military government through non-peaceful manner or through the use of violence. The relationship with Kenya and Ethiopia has again deteriorated.

On 11 July 1974, Somalia and USSR reinforced the existing friendly relations by signing a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation while the relationship reached a qualitatively new and higher stage. This treaty, along with the events immediately

preceding it, marked 1974 as a historic year in the Horn of Africa. As a result of these arrangements, about 3600 soviet advisers whom 1400 were military personnel have flocked into Somalia by 1974. On 15 February 1974 Somalia joined the Arab League being the first black and non-Arab member (Patman, 1990, pp.48-55).

As the politics of Somalia was wavering, things have again been changed when Somalia entered into war with Ethiopia in July 1977. On 20 november 1978 the USSR and Ethiopia signed a treaty of friendship and co-operation similar to the one Somalia renounced, stressing the principles of “sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers’ and committed both parties to continue to cooperate in the military field (Patman, 1990, pp.48-55). That was shortly after the expulsion of Somalia of the USSR union and renouncing the treaty in 3 november 1977 during the war with Ethiopia and the USSR sided with Ethiopia.

Authoritarian rule and brutal dictatorship in 21 years diverted the Somalia state vision regarding its place in the region and pursuing of the idea greater Somalia or irredentism. While the 9-year (1960-1969) democratic governments worked well, the dictatorship has completely changed the direction of the state. The democratic government (1967-1969) changed the violent claim of the Somali territories through dialogue and open discussions while the ownership of the case owners for the Somalis living in those countries, and the role of Somalia was to merely support their right to self-determination according to the UN Charter. The dictatorship government has, however, changed the détente and opted to violence and war while the most deadly war was that with Ethiopia in 1977.

For 30 years of independence, Somalia was a problem in the Horn of Africa because of pursuing an identity-constructed state accommodating all Somali societies in the region. From the beginning it was clear that this dream could not be realized without regional and international support but the successive government of Somalia insisted continuing it. The independence of Kenya in 1963 put paid to any chance of uniting the Somali-inhabited Northern Frontier District, while Djibouti’s achievement of independence in 1977 equally thwarted the

chances of engaging former French Somaliland (Djibouti) into the Somali Republic. In 1977 Somalia launched an failed military attack to the Somali region of Ethiopia, ending in a devastating defeat in 1978. While the quest for a Greater Somalia had promoted unity within the Somali Republic in the early years, its obvious failure, especially the Ogaden war in Ethiopia has undermined the legitimacy of the Somalia government and encouraged a long suffering people and armed opposition movements in Somalia to rebel against the dictatorship in Somalia in years after the 1977 war until the collapse of the state in 1991 (Deon, 2009, pp.129-33).

The politics of Somalia was wavering all the time and has not learn from its colonial powers as was happening in the new states in Africa. One reason is perhaps their resentment against the colonial governments as argues by Touval (1963) that “before the partition of the Horn of Africa, the Somalis had never been subject to an institutionalized government, though they had been subject to the authority of the elders and to the consensus of the *shir* (the assembly of all male members of the clan” (Touval, 1963, p.38).

The end result of the identity construct idea of greater Somalia is that it caused war and instability in the region of Horn of Africa, which is impediment to state building, democracy, good governance, and economic integration as happened in the other regions of Africa; SADC, ECOWAS, COMESA and the East Africa Community.

This idea has finally accelerated the total collapse of the state of Somalia in 1991. On the positive side, there are some prospects visible in the other Somali inhabited territories in the adjacent countries. The Somalis in Kenya and Ethiopia are better off economically and political participation after the collapse of the Somalia state. Somalis in Ethiopia and Kenya prosper after the collapse of the Somalia state in 1991 when the idea of greater Somalia is forgotten. Was it because of hostility fuelled by Somalia in those regions or antagonism from the government of those regions showing Somalis as second citizens? When Tom Mboya, Kenya’s Minister of Justice in 1963 was asked about the rights of Somali, the majority population in

Kenya's North Eastern province he replied that they "could exercise their right of self-determination anytime they wanted- all they had to do was to walk outside the border into Somalia" (Cabestand. J., 2013, p.25). Interestingly, after the collapse of the Somalia state, that difficult situation of the Somalis in Kenya has significantly changed much and they had received the opportunity to fully participate politics and have influence and higher rank positions in the government.

The ethnic and identity constructed idea of unify the five Somali territories ended up with the disintegration of the Somali Republic and the secession of Somaliland on 18th May 1991. Since then, Somaliland has achieved peace, democracy. It is referred as the beacon of Africa, an oasis of Africa and the only peaceful part from the former Somali republic. Somaliland, a de-facto state, is rated "partly free" by Freedom House in its evaluation of democracy considering political rights and civil liberties while the other countries in IGAD region, apart from Kenya which is partly free, are rated "not free": Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Uganda (Freedom House, 2020). Despite all these challenges and problems, some Somali elites are still eager to repeat the same failed idea while the reality is that the idea for a greater, ethnic and identity constructed state is the complete collapse of the Somali state. In short, the collapse of the Somali nation-state can be traced back to the identity-constructed notion of unifying Somali society under one greater Somalia government, a dream that has never been realized.

6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Somalia has gone through thirty years of both crises and opportunities. It has neglected the opportunities and as soon as it had gained independence in 1960 and opted to forcibly pursue its ambition of unified greater Somalia, annexing the Somali territories in the adjacent countries into the State of the Republic of Somalia. The conclusion of the thesis presents a summary of its contribution to new knowledge by answering the research question of "*What are the impacts of the identity constructed state in the Somali society in the horn of Africa?*" It also

provides suggestions for future research related to thesis topic. Process tracing method, to understand the causal mechanisms, has been used.

Besides, the aim of the thesis has been to present and understand how the identity-constructed idea in search of a Somali nation-state has failed. The nation failed after the nascent democracy skidded into authoritarianism and brutal dictatorship choosing violence for settling conflicts rather than through dialogue and diplomacy. Due to a wavering and unstable policy, Somalia was politically isolated from the rest of the world as it has lost connection to the world, Africa, and its friends in the Organization of the African Unity (OAU), now the African Union, in the early years of independence where no single State in the continent was happy with the so called irredentism policy of Somalia regardless of its accuracy or flaws.

The theories of secessionism, nationalism, expansionism and irredentism have been highlighted and discussed in the context and scope of the thesis. However, the two most contradicting theories in the context of the Somali case are nationalism from the perspective of Somalia and irredentism from that of the opposing countries, especially Ethiopia. Though irredentism has been used by Somalia as a policy of control for its internal affairs, it has also posed a threat to its neighbors regarding peace, security, economy and diplomatic relations. In addition, Siad Barre, the President of Somalia and his government were fully aware that their expansionist policies ‘posed a threat to the stability of Haile-Selassie's ethnically and religiously fragmented empire of Ethiopia and therefore used as a tool for foreign policy. However, the terms “irredentism” and “expansionism” have never been used by the governments of Somalia but instead preferred “nationalism” and “self-determination.” Irredentism formally ended to be used as a foreign policy with the collapse of the Somali state in 1991 but is still asserted by many Somali elites as a right for all Somalis to unite all Somali inhabited territories under one greater nation of Somalia.

Nevertheless, during the authoritarian rule and its strategic position in Africa, Somalia had the opportunity to ally one of the cold war political blocks but was

unfortunately and strategically shifting sides. That has also been a lost opportunity, which was a liability to the nation.

From the birth of the Somali Republic as an independent nation-state in 1960 till the collapse of the state in 1991, Somalia was chasing the wild idea of greater Somalia despite pitfalls and constant failures. The conclusion of the findings of the thesis is that the idea of identity-constructed state-building policy for the Somali society in the Horn of Africa has not worked and will not work in the future as it has been the root cause of the complete collapse and the disintegration of the state. The recommendation is that the self-determination of the case of the Somali societies in the Horn of Africa, outside the Somali Republic, including an independent Somaliland, should be left to their own people to decide their future.

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