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Student Thesis

Level: Master

**Analyzing the impact of shifting between Presidential,
Parliamentary and Hybrid clan federal parliamentary
Systems on Political Stability in Somalia**

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Abstract

This research investigates the impact of shifting governance systems on political stability in Somalia, focusing on three models: Presidential, Parliamentary, and Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary. The study aims to determine which governance system offers the most enduring stability by analyzing each model's influence on Somalia's political landscape from 1960 to 2024. Utilizing a comparative historical analysis approach, the research evaluates how each system manages clan dynamics and contributes to stability or instability.

The findings indicate that while the Parliamentary system (1960–1969) promoted inclusivity, it lacked strong institutional mechanisms to manage clan tensions, leading to frequent political shifts. The Presidential system (1969–1991) centralized power but failed to accommodate clan representation, resulting in increased instability and the eventual collapse of governance. In contrast, the Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary system (2012–present) has combined elements of centralized and decentralized governance, demonstrating greater effectiveness in addressing clan-related challenges and enhancing political stability.

This study provides new insights into the relationship between governance models and political stability in clan-based societies, highlighting the significance of power-sharing mechanisms. It also emphasizes the role of external interventions in shaping governance outcomes, as international efforts have influenced Somalia's political landscape. The research underscores the necessity of balancing traditional clan structures with formal governance institutions to foster sustainable political stability.

The findings contribute to discussions on governance in fragile states, offering policy recommendations for structuring governance systems that accommodate both local political dynamics and broader state-building efforts.

Keywords: Governance Systems, Political Stability, Clan Dynamics, Somalia, Hybrid System, Comparative Historical Analysis

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Since gaining independence in 1960, Somalia has experienced significant shifts in governance systems, each shaped by the country's socio-political dynamics. Initially, a parliamentary system was adopted, reflecting a commitment to multiparty democracy and inclusivity. However, internal conflicts and ineffective governance soon destabilized the system. In 1969, a military coup led by Major General Mohamed Siad Barre replaced the parliamentary system with a centralized presidential regime. While initially stabilizing the country, Barre's authoritarian policies and suppression of clan representation exacerbated tensions, ultimately culminating in his regime's collapse in 1991 and the onset of civil war (Abdulahi, 2022, p. 117). After decades of political fragmentation, the introduction of the Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary System in 2012 marked a new phase. This system integrates clan-based representation with federalism to address historical grievances and enhance inclusivity. While promising, it remains challenged by inefficiencies and persistent clan rivalries (Mohammed, 2014 p.2228).

Somalia's political instability is deeply rooted in historical clan dynamics and governance failures. The traditional clan system has long influenced the distribution of power, often clashing with efforts to establish a cohesive national government. Clan rivalries, compounded by civil conflicts and the rise of extremist groups like Al-Shabaab, have perpetuated instability. The 4.5 power-sharing formula introduced in recent years has improved clan representation but has not fully addressed political fragmentation or mistrust among elites.

Despite ongoing governance reforms, Somalia continues to face significant challenges in achieving sustainable political stability, as entrenched clan loyalties and the absence of effective state institutions hinder progress (Ingiriis, 2018, p. 66).

1.2 Problem Formulation

This research addresses the gap in understanding the impact of transitions between Presidential, Parliamentary, and Hybrid Clan-Federal parliamentary systems on political stability in Somalia. While the country has experienced shifts between these systems amidst prolonged conflict and fragility, limited theoretical analysis explores their effects in Somalia's unique socio-political context (Ingiriis, 2018, p. 66). The absence of comparative studies hampers efforts to identify the most effective governance model for stabilizing Somalia's complex clan dynamics and managing external influences.

1.3 Relevance of the Study

This study makes a substantial contribution to the understanding of governance systems and political stability, particularly in the context of fragile states like Somalia. By focusing on the interplay between governance models and clan dynamics, the research addresses a critical gap in political science, offering insights into how governance transitions influence stability in conflict-prone and culturally complex settings (Menkhaus, 2007, p. 360).

The findings advance the discourse on state-building and governance in post-conflict societies by highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of Presidential, Parliamentary, and Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary systems. In doing so, the study emphasizes the importance of governance approaches that are both culturally informed and ethically grounded, contributing to sustainable peace and stability.

For policymakers, this research provides actionable insights into the design and implementation of governance systems that align with Somalia's socio-cultural realities. Specifically, it underscores the importance of clan-based representation to enhance legitimacy through the recognition of clan identity and the potential of federalism to address regional disparities and reduce inter-clan rivalries and fostering greater national unity.

The recommendations offer a pathway for Somali policymakers to develop inclusive governance frameworks that accommodate clan representation while promoting political stability.

Ultimately, this study serves as a resource for scholars, practitioners, and policymakers, contributing to a nuanced understanding of governance in fragile states and offering practical solutions for fostering stability and unity in Somalia and similar contexts.

1.4 Purpose and research questions

This study aims to investigate how shifts in governance systems: Presidential, Parliamentary, and Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary have influenced political stability in Somalia. By examining Somalia's governance history, the research seeks to identify the system best suited to address the country's unique socio-political challenges and provide long-term stability. In doing so the research addresses the following research questions.

Primary Research Question

To what extent have shifts between parliamentary, presidential, and hybrid clan federal parliamentary governance systems in Somalia (1960–2024) influenced political stability, and which system has proven most effective in fostering sustainable stability in the Somali context?

Secondary Research Questions

What were the key impacts of the Parliamentary system (1960–1969) on Somalia's political stability?

How did the Presidential system (1969–1991) affect political stability in Somalia?

What has been the role of the Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary system (2012–present) in shaping political stability in Somalia?

1.5 Scope and Delimitations

This study focuses Somalia's governance evolution from 1960 to 2024, covering key periods such as post-independence, Barre's socialist era, the twin civil wars, statelessness, and ongoing state reconstruction. The twin civil wars—beginning in 1988 with the overthrow of Siad Barre and continuing after the collapse of the central government in 1991—resulted in prolonged statelessness and chaos. By spanning these critical periods, the study evaluates how different governance systems have influenced Somalia's political stability and instability (Hussein, 2022, p. 12). Likewise, the study acknowledges certain delimitations, such as not considering factors like economic conditions, international interventions, or other controllable factors that influence political stability. These aspects, such as riots, demonstrations, and protests, are not included in the analysis (Le sage, 2010, p. 55).

2. Literature Review

2.1 Historical Overview of Governance Systems in Somalia

2.1.1 Colonial Legacy and Post-Independence Governance

The dual colonial experience of Somalia—British rule in the north and Italian governance in the south—laid the foundation for its fragmented political landscape. Osman, (2019, p. 47) explains that British colonial policies emphasized indirect control, working through local clans while introducing new administrative structures that sometimes exacerbated inter-clan rivalries. Conversely, the Italian administration sought to centralize power, eroding traditional clan governance systems (Shinn, 2009, p. 4). This dualism persisted post-independence in 1960, creating regional inequalities and undermining efforts to establish a cohesive national governance system. The colonial legacy significantly impacted Somalia's ability to achieve

political stability, fostering a divided society grappling with governance challenges even after independence.

2.1.2 Parliamentary System (1960-1969)

Following independence, Somalia adopted a parliamentary system characterized by multiparty democracy. This system was intended to promote inclusivity and reflect diverse clan interests. Between 1960 and 1969, the country held two general elections, with a remarkable number of parties—ranging from 12 to 64—participating, demonstrating the system’s democratic potential (Samatar, 2016, p. 65).

Gilpin, (2009, p. 112) stated that however, this inclusivity also led to political fragmentation, frequent leadership changes, and weak policy implementation. The system’s reliance on clan-based power-sharing often resulted in inefficiency and political gridlock, undermining its ability to deliver stable governance. While the parliamentary system introduced democratic principles, its inability to reconcile clan interests effectively contributed to its downfall.

2.1.3 Presidential System (1969-1991)

Abdulahi, (2022, p. 57) examined that the 1969 military coup led by Siad Barre marked a shift to a centralized presidential system. Barre’s regime aimed to enhance political stability and national unity by suppressing clan-based politics and promoting nationalism

Adan, (2015, p.11) analyzed that however, this concentration of power in the executive, coupled with Barre’s authoritarian rule, exacerbated clan tensions and undermined governance. The banning of clan politics and the imposition of socialist ideals alienated many communities, leading to resistance and eventual state collapse in 1991. The presidential system’s focus on centralization, while initially promising strong leadership, ultimately deepened societal divisions and weakened political stability.

2.1.4 Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary System (2012-Present)

Ingiriis, (2018, p. 66) stated that In response to decades of instability, Somalia adopted a Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary system in 2012. This model integrates federalism with clan

representation, aiming to address clan dynamics while promoting political inclusivity. Lewis, (2008, p. 48) pointed out that By granting regional states increased autonomy and incorporating clan interests into governance structures, this system seeks to balance local and national priorities. However, its implementation has faced significant challenges, including power-sharing disputes, resource distribution issues, and inefficiencies stemming from complex governance frameworks. While the hybrid system represents a step towards inclusive governance, its operational difficulties highlight the need for robust institutional development and conflict resolution mechanisms.

2.2 Governance Theories and Political Stability

Governance structures significantly impact political stability, particularly in fragile states like Somalia. This section explores key theoretical perspectives on governance and their relevance to Somalia's political evolution.

2.2.1 Political Systems and Stability

The choice of political system Presidential, Parliamentary, or Hybrid Clan-Federal parliamentary has significant implications for Somalia's political stability. Each system is rooted in distinct principles that shape governance and state stability, with their design reflecting a nation's history, culture, and politics.

In Presidential systems, power is divided between the executive and legislative branches, with the President holding significant powers, including veto authority (Alasow, 2010, p. 63). While this system aims to create a strong central government, in a clan-based society like Somalia, concentrating power in one leader may exacerbate conflicts, especially when rival clans view the leader as favoring certain groups.

Parliamentary systems, where the executive branch is part of the legislature, foster cooperation among political groups. This system, where the Prime Minister leads the government with parliamentary support, is crucial in Somalia, where clan cooperation is vital for stability

(Ssereo, 2003, p. 27). A Federal parliamentary system in Somalia, shaped by the clan structure, may decentralize power while accommodating clans. However, this requires effective power-sharing agreements and collaboration between political leaders to prevent conflict (Zoppi, 2018, p. 55).

Hybrid systems, blending elements of both Presidential and Parliamentary structures, can cause confusion and power struggles between the branches but can maintain stability if managed properly.

2.2.2 State-Building and Political Stability

State reconstruction has been widely regarded as a critical component in consolidating fragile states, particularly in environments plagued by political instability. Scholars emphasize the intricate nature of state-building in deeply factionalized societies like Somalia, where fragmentation necessitates governance frameworks that integrate ethnic, clan, or religious affiliations (Nur, 2016, p. 34). Ensuring political stability in such contexts requires governance structures that address historical grievances, manage inter-group relations, and foster inclusive decision-making mechanisms (Brinkerhoff, 2005, p. 12-14).

2.2.3 Clan Dynamics and Governance

Clan structures are deeply embedded in Somalia's political framework, influencing governance effectiveness and stability. Clans have historically played a dual role both facilitating political organization and contributing to political fragmentation (Ali, 2016, p. 22). The concept of 'clan federalism' has shaped contemporary governance, wherein power-sharing agreements are structured to prevent domination by any single clan while maintaining inter-clan equilibrium (Hashi and Hock, 2022, p. 103-134). However, while this approach mitigates certain power struggles, it has also institutionalized clan identities in governance, limiting the development of a cohesive national identity (Elmi, 2015, p. 206).

2.3 Comparative Studies on Governance Systems

2.3.1 Comparative Analysis of Governance Models

Empirical studies indicate that governance models influence political stability differently depending on the socio-political context. Parliamentary systems encourage coalition-building and political cooperation, especially in societies with diverse interests, but may suffer from inefficiency in fragile environments (Scharpf, 2019, p. 249). Presidential systems offer strong leadership but often lead to authoritarianism and marginalization in ethnically divided states (Shane, 1988, p. 596; Valenzuela, 1993, p. 15). Hybrid systems combine features of both, aiming for inclusivity, but risk inefficiencies and power struggles in post-conflict settings. These findings highlight the necessity of tailoring governance systems to fit a country's specific conditions (Rose-Ackerman, 2021, p. 116).

2.3.2 Case Studies from Other Fragile States

Case studies of Afghanistan and Iraq provide valuable insights into governance challenges in fragile states. In Afghanistan, the adoption of a Presidential system after 2001 aimed to unify the country but instead deepened ethnic divisions. The consolidation of power in the President marginalized non-Pashtun groups, exacerbating insurgencies and instability (Sahar, 2014, p. 289). This underscores the risks of centralized governance in diverse societies and highlights the need for inclusive representation to avoid marginalization (Johnson, 2018, p. 35).

Somalia shares parallels with Afghanistan in its ethnic and clan-based dynamics. A centralized Presidential system risks intensifying clan conflicts, as marginalized groups are likely to resist exclusion from political processes. Such insights suggest that decentralized, inclusive governance models may be more effective in stabilizing divided societies.

2.3.3 Impact of Governance Shifts on Political Stability

Transitions between governance systems often lead to shifts in power dynamics, institutional changes, and political instability (Menkhaus, 2006, p. 75). For instance, Turkey's shift from a Parliamentary to a Presidential system under Recep Tayyip Erdoğan aimed to strengthen

leadership and streamline governance but resulted in increased polarization and weakened institutional autonomy (Göktan, 2022, p. 336). This transformation demonstrates that while centralized systems may provide short-term stability, they can undermine checks and balances, leading to authoritarianism in the long term.

In Somalia's clan-driven politics, such centralization could worsen conflicts as clans compete for power. A hybrid or decentralized system that incorporates proportional clan representation, like the Hybrid Clan Federal System, may mitigate these risks by balancing power and fostering inclusivity. Thus, Somalia's governance strategy should prioritize mechanisms that address clan grievances while maintaining institutional balance.

2.4 Governance in the Fragile States

2.4.1 Challenges of Governance in Fragile States

Governance in fragile states faces challenges related to legitimacy deficits, external interventions, and internal conflicts, all contributing to instability. A primary issue is the lack of government legitimacy, often due to authoritarian histories, corruption, and exclusionary politics (Bott, Gigler, & Young, 2014, p. 107). Even well-designed systems fail if the population views the state as illegitimate.

In Somalia, clan identities dominate, hindering the establishment of a universally recognized government (Last & Seaboyer, 2011, p. 34). Clan loyalty often trumps allegiance to a centralized government, resulting in a fragmented political landscape. Legitimacy is also tied to the state's ability to provide public goods and security, not just political processes (Dix, Hussmann, & Walton, 2012, p. 30). Somalia's inability to deliver these services has eroded trust.

External interventions, like peacekeeping missions, can undermine local governance by imposing models incompatible with local traditions and political realities (Rotberg, 2003, p. 25). In Afghanistan and Iraq, externally imposed governance systems clashed with local

contexts, resulting in resistance and instability (Roy, 2004, p. 168). In Somalia, international efforts, such as the African Union Mission (AMISOM), have helped stabilize regions but often conflicted with clan-based political culture, worsening instability.

Governance reforms must prioritize context-specific solutions, focusing on building legitimacy, strengthening the capacity to deliver public goods, and integrating local political traditions for long-term stability.

2.4.2 Governance and Conflict Resolution

Governance systems play a critical role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding, especially in fragile states. Studies emphasize that power-sharing frameworks, whether federal or decentralized, are effective tools for fostering peace in divided societies (Binningsbø, 2013, p. 89). Inclusive governance is central to resolving conflicts, as it ensures representation and reduces marginalization (Rocha Menocal, 2011, p. 715).

However, national-level reforms alone are insufficient. Local governance institutions, such as Afghanistan's Shuras or Jirgas, often succeed in resolving conflicts by leveraging indigenous systems tailored to local contexts (Wardak, 2017, p. 187). For Somalia, traditional clan elders and local governance structures must be integrated into peacebuilding strategies, as they are deeply rooted in Somali society and play a vital role in conflict resolution (Gaston, Sarwari, and Strand, 2013, p. 204).

2.4.3 Somalia's Place in the Broader Context

Somalia's prolonged state failure distinguishes it from other fragile states. Decades of conflict, the absence of a central authority, and persistent clan divisions have made it a unique case (Halabo and Berisso, 2022, p. 118). Since the collapse of Siad Barre's regime in 1991, clan-based administrations and local power structures have filled the void, often exacerbating divisions as groups compete for control (Ledesma, 2018, p. 95).

The lack of a unified central authority continues to undermine efforts to restore national stability. Any future central government must emerge from Somalia's fragmented political and

clan-based systems, balancing power among conflicting factions to achieve sustainable governance.

2.5 Research Gaps and Future Directions

The Somali governance landscape presents several unexplored areas, particularly in its impact on political stability. Existing research highlights fragmented insights into traditional governance structures and modern political frameworks but lacks a cohesive synthesis of how these models collectively influence stability. This study seeks to bridge this gap by critically analyzing the parliamentary, presidential, and hybrid clan federal parliamentary systems in Somalia and their implications for political stability (Herring, Ismail, McCullough, & Saed, 2020, p. 187).

While much attention has been given to elements like clan-based power-sharing and federalism, the collective interplay of these factors within governance models remains underexplored. Current studies often adopt narrow perspectives, focusing on isolated governance elements without addressing their integrated impact on political stability. Similarly, research on external interventions tends to concentrate on conflict management without connecting these efforts to Somalia's underlying governance structures. This lack of integration creates a partial and fragmented understanding of governance and stability in the Somali context.

Further research is needed to examine the long-term impact of governance models on political stability. Comparative studies involving other fragile states could provide valuable lessons on best practices for stability-oriented governance structures. Additionally, empirical research exploring the direct and indirect effects of governance choices on citizen perceptions and social cohesion would enhance understanding of governance effectiveness in Somalia's evolving political landscape.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Purpose of the Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study explores the relationship between governance systems and political stability within Somalia's unique socio-political context. The analysis is grounded in three governance models—Presidential, Parliamentary, and Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary—and their impact on political fragmentation, governance structures, and stability. This framework integrates Governance Systems Theory, Political Stability Theory, and the critical influence of Clan Dynamics to address the research question.

3.2 Key Theoretical Concepts

3.2.1 Governance Systems Theory

Governance systems are categorized into Presidential, Parliamentary, and Hybrid models, each with distinct attributes that shape their impact on political stability:

Presidential System: Emphasizing a strong executive independent of the legislature, this system is designed for decisive leadership. However, in factionalized societies like Somalia, centralization of power can exacerbate clan-based rivalries, as evidenced during Siad Barre's regime (1969–1991), which led to political fragmentation and eventual state collapse (Cheibub, 2007, p.43).

Parliamentary System: Combining the executive and legislative functions, this system fosters collaboration and inclusivity. During Somalia's post-independence period (1960–1969), parliamentary governance contributed to initial pluralism but failed to prevent fragmentation due to clan rivalries (Samatar, 2016, p.48).

Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary System: Somalia's current system incorporates clan-based federalism within a parliamentary structure. While it aims to balance inclusivity and

governance, it often suffers from inefficiencies and regional-federal power struggles, reflecting the challenges of balancing clan representation with national unity (Ingiriis, 2018, p.23).

3.2.2 Political Stability Theory

Political stability is defined as the ability of a government to maintain order, ensure effective governance, and manage change without resorting to coercion or violence (Livni, 2019). In fragile states like Somalia, political stability is closely tied to the effectiveness of governance structures and the ability to manage internal divisions, particularly clan dynamics. This study uses political stability as a key metric to evaluate the effectiveness of governance systems, focusing on indicators such as government turnover, institutional cohesiveness, and public trust in political institutions.

3.2.3 Clan Dynamics and Political Systems

The conceptual framework merges Governance Systems, Clan Dynamics, and Political Stability to analyze how governance models influence political outcomes in Somalia. Transitions between governance systems, such as from Presidential to Parliamentary or Hybrid systems, are evaluated to understand their effects on political stability in a clan-dominated society. The framework also acknowledges external influences, including regional and international actors, as factors affecting governance and stability (Elmi, 2015, p. 50).

3.3 Theoretical Models and Frameworks

3.3.1 Parliamentary vs. Presidential Models

Presidential and Parliamentary systems are fundamental political models with distinct advantages and disadvantages, particularly in fragile states like Somalia.

In **Presidential systems**, the concentration of executive power may provide strong, decisive leadership but risks authoritarianism, especially in divided societies where centralized power may provoke opposition from marginalized clans (Reid, 2018). Somalia's experience with the

presidential system under Siad Barre illustrates these risks, as the suppression of clan identities contributed to the eventual collapse of the state (Cheibub, 2006, p. 355).

Parliamentary systems, on the other hand, emphasize collaboration between the executive and legislative branches, fostering more inclusive governance. In Somalia, the parliamentary system introduced after independence aimed to mitigate clan rivalries by promoting political pluralism, but the system struggled to prevent fragmentation and frequent government turnover (Whitney et al., 2015).

3.3.2 Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary Framework

The theory regarding the incorporation of clan elements in hybrid systems is particularly relevant in political structures where clan-based social relations are integral (Aagaard Seeberg, 2018, p. 844). The **Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary system** in Somalia combines elements of both Presidential and Parliamentary governance, tailored to the country's unique clan-based social structure. This framework allows for greater regional autonomy while attempting to maintain national unity through a federal system. However, the system's complexity and the need for constant negotiation between clans and regions have often led to political gridlock and inefficiencies (Ingiriis, 2018). Despite these challenges, the Hybrid system remains an attempt to balance national governance with clan representation, aiming to stabilize Somalia's fragmented political landscape (Gunya et al., 2019, p. 249).

3.4 Integration of Theoretical Frameworks

This section integrates Governance Systems Theory, Political Stability Theory, and Clan Dynamics to analyze the impact of governance systems on political stability in Somalia. By combining these perspectives, the study provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how different governance models interact with Somalia's complex clan-based dynamics and broader socio-political landscape (Mohamoud, 2015, p. 14).

Governance Systems Theory examines how different governance structures function in various political and social contexts. In fragile states like Somalia, governance models play a crucial role in shaping political stability (Cheibub, 2007, p. 43).

The Presidential system, characterized by a strong executive with separate powers from the legislature, was implemented in Somalia during the Siad Barre regime (1969–1991). Although this system aimed to establish a centralized authority, it ultimately led to authoritarian rule, political exclusion, and increased clan tensions, which contributed to the state's collapse (Samatar, 2016, p. 48). This illustrates the risk of power centralization in clan-based societies, where excluded groups may resort to political resistance or violence.

The Parliamentary system, introduced post-independence (1960–1969), emphasized legislative-executive cooperation and inclusivity. However, the system struggled with inefficiency, frequent government turnovers, and an inability to reconcile inter-clan conflicts, leading to its downfall (Ingiriis, 2018, p. 23). The multiparty nature of parliamentary governance created opportunities for political pluralism but also contributed to fragmentation, making stability difficult to maintain.

The Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary system, adopted in 2012, represents a compromise between centralized and decentralized governance. By integrating clan-based federalism with a parliamentary framework, it aims to balance clan representation and national unity. However, power-sharing disputes, weak institutional structures, and conflicts between regional and federal authorities hinder its effectiveness (Aagaard Seeberg, 2018, p. 844). While the hybrid system offers a more inclusive governance model, it still faces challenges in achieving political stability (Bolkvadze, 2017, p. 40).

Political Stability Theory focuses on the factors that contribute to sustained political order, institutional effectiveness, and the capacity of governments to manage conflict. In fragile states, political stability is often measured by institutional cohesiveness, leadership continuity, public trust in governance, and the ability to prevent violence (Whitney et al., 2015).

In Somalia, the hybrid governance model is designed to accommodate clan interests while maintaining national stability. However, regional autonomy disputes, weak enforcement of laws, and corruption have weakened institutional stability (Cheibub, 2007, p. 43). Stability in Somalia also depends on the presence of effective conflict resolution mechanisms and strong governmental institutions that can mediate inter-clan disputes and ensure fair representation (Elmi, 2015, p. 50).

Clan Dynamics in governance, clan structures are deeply ingrained in Somali political life, influencing governance effectiveness and political stability. The Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary system institutionalizes clan representation to prevent dominance by any single faction (Aagaard Seeberg, 2018, p. 844). However, regional and clan rivalries continue to affect the implementation of governance policies, contributing to inefficiencies and periodic political crises (Bolkvadze, 2017, p. 40).

The clan-based power-sharing system, while preventing outright marginalization, has also entrenched clan politics at the national level, complicating efforts to develop a strong national identity. Competition for resources, political appointments, and regional influence often leads to disputes between different clans and political entities (Ingiriis, 2018, p. 23).

Additionally, external interventions by regional and international actors further complicate Somalia's governance landscape. While foreign aid and peacekeeping missions have contributed to stabilization efforts, they have also created dependencies and introduced external political interests that sometimes conflict with local governance structures (Elmi, 2015, p. 50).

This integrated theoretical framework highlights the interplay between governance structures, political stability, and clan dynamics in Somalia. The Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary system, despite its inclusivity, remains challenged by weak institutional frameworks, inter-clan power struggles, and external influences. To achieve sustainable political stability, Somalia must strengthen institutional structures, improve power-sharing mechanisms, and develop more effective conflict resolution strategies while maintaining a balanced governance system

that integrates traditional clan structures with modern political frameworks (Mohamoud, 2015, p. 14).

3.5 Theoretical Justification

The selection of these theoretical frameworks is based on their relevance to understanding the complex interplay between governance systems and political stability in Somalia. **Presidential and Parliamentary theories** provide insights into the benefits and risks of concentrated versus dispersed political power, while the **Hybrid system** reflects the unique challenges posed by Somalia's clan-based society. Together, these frameworks offer a robust foundation for analyzing how shifts in governance affect political stability in a fragile state (Richards, 2020, p, 106). This study advances the theoretical understanding of political stability in fragile states by examining how different governance systems interact with clan dynamics in Somalia. The research contributes to the field of political science by providing a comparative analysis of **Presidential, Parliamentary, and Hybrid systems** within the context of a deeply fragmented society. By identifying the governance models most conducive to political stability, the study also offers practical recommendations for improving governance in fragile states.

4. Methodology

This chapter presents the research design, methodology, data collection approaches, data analysis and research ethics and limitations employed to examine the impacts of governance transitions on political stability within Somalia, a state characterized by clan-based political systems and persistent instability. By justifying the chosen research design and methodological framework, the chapter establishes a foundation for analyzing how shifts in governance affect political stability across various historical periods of governance systems from 1960 to 2024. The chapter adopts a structured approach to address the research questions, utilizing historical documents analysis and qualitative literature review to gather relevant information on Somalia's governance models. The data analysis employs comparative historical analysis to

gain a comprehensive understanding of governance shifts and their impact on political stability. Furthermore, the chapter presents ethical considerations, including adherence to research ethics, ensuring data confidentiality, accurate citations of secondary sources since primary data was not employed in this study as well as ensuring the responsible handling of sensitive information.

4.1 Research Design

4.1.1 Comparative Historical Analysis

This study adopts a **comparative historical analysis** approach to examine the impacts of governance transitions on political stability in Somalia. Comparative historical analysis provides a robust framework for understanding the intricate and contextualized evolution of governance systems over time, particularly in a politically volatile state like Somalia.

Initially, Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) was considered as the methodological approach for this study. While QCA is well-suited for comparing distinct cases in a structured manner to identify causal relationships, it became evident that it could not fully capture the historical complexities inherent in Somalia's governance transitions. These transitions occurred under vastly different historical and political circumstances, including the early postcolonial period, the rise of authoritarian regimes, and the more recent shift toward a federalist system—each accompanied by challenges such as civil war, clan conflicts, and foreign intervention.

By contrast, comparative historical analysis allows for an in-depth examination of each historical period's unique factors, such as governance effectiveness, clan dynamics, and external influences like international interventions. This method provides a detailed and accurate depiction of how governance changes have shaped political outcomes over time. It effectively addresses the methodological challenges of evaluating political stability in a context as multifaceted as Somalia, enabling the study to analyze governance transitions within their

historical and socio-political contexts (Schwartz & Guelke, 2019, p. 223; Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003, p. 81).

4.2.2 Operationalizing Political Stability

One of the main challenges in this study is how to define and measure "political stability," given the diverse political and governance systems across different periods in Somali history. To clarify this, a dedicated subsection operationalizes political stability by identifying key indicators and specifying how they are measured across each governance system.

A table has been created to consolidate these indicators, which include **clan conflict management**, **governance effectiveness**, and **external influence**, providing a clear comparative framework for analysis:

Indicator	Parliamentary System (1960-1969)	Presidential System (1969-1991)	Hybrid Clan Federal System (2012-present)
Clan Conflict Management	Negotiated clan settlements	Military intervention	Decentralized clan-based power sharing
Governance Effectiveness	Parliamentary debates	Centralized presidential control	Regional autonomy and federal institutions
External Influence	Minimal external intervention	Cold War dynamics and foreign aid	Increased international peacekeeping efforts and foreign interventions.

These indicators reflect key dimensions of political stability and allow for a comparative evaluation across the three governance systems (North, Wallis & Weingast, 2009, p. 92). Each indicator is evaluated in terms of how it contributed to stability or instability within the given historical period.

For instance, under the **parliamentary system (1960-1969)**, political stability was largely dependent on negotiated clan settlements, which provided a fragile but functional governance model. In contrast, the **presidential system (1969-1991)** relied on military intervention and centralized control, which ultimately led to instability and civil conflict. The current **federal**

system (2012-present) attempts to decentralize power, using clan-based governance as a mechanism for conflict management, but continues to face challenges from both internal clan dynamics and external pressures. For example, international peacekeeping forces and diplomatic efforts, especially from the African Union and the United Nations, have sought to stabilize Somalia, but foreign interventions have at times complicated internal clan relations and affected local governance structures.

4.3 Data Collection

4.3.1 Secondary Data Sources

Data collection relied exclusively on secondary sources, including historical documents, government reports, academic literature, and scholarly articles. These sources were selected to provide a comprehensive overview of Somalia's governance history, enabling the study to examine the various impacts of governance changes on political stability over time. Given the nature of the research question, secondary sources offered a valuable perspective on how governance transitions have historically played out in Somalia (Dahiye, 2014, p. 31).

4.3.2 Data Collection Process

The data collection process involved an extensive review of archival materials, including official government documents, international reports, and scholarly research. A triangulation strategy was employed to mitigate potential biases, particularly those arising from incomplete or conflicting historical records. By cross-referencing multiple sources and comparing historical accounts, the study ensures a more valid and reliable data set, despite the inherent limitations of relying on secondary data alone (Bans-Akutey & Tiimub, 2021, p. 6).

4.4 Data Analysis

The data were analyzed using a comparative historical analysis framework, guided by the theoretical concepts outlined in the Literature Review and Theoretical Framework chapters. This approach involved a structured comparison of governance systems across different historical periods based on key indicators of political stability. By examining how governance models interacted with clan dynamics and external influences, the study aimed to identify patterns of stability and instability over time (Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003, p. 109).

A key part of this analysis focused on the evolution of governance structures and their impact on political stability. The study contrasted the governance effectiveness, clan dynamics, and external influences across the three historical periods. Notably, the transition from a parliamentary to a presidential system marked a shift that led to the collapse of negotiated clan settlements and a greater reliance on military intervention to manage conflict (Dahiye, 2014, p. 31). This transition was further compared with the more recent shift to a federal system, which attempts to decentralize power but still faces ongoing challenges related to clan-based governance and external intervention (Schwartz & Guelke, 2019, p. 221). By identifying these critical junctures, the analysis provided insight into how governance models have shaped political stability and the continued challenges that impact governance today.

4.5 Research Ethics

The study adheres to strict ethical standards, focusing on the transparent and accurate citation of secondary sources. Given that no primary data collection was involved, ethical concerns primarily relate to ensuring the validity and reliability of the historical data used in the study. The analysis was conducted with sensitivity to the political and historical context of Somalia, ensuring that the research avoids misrepresentation or bias in its interpretation of the data (Green, 2019, p. 54).

4.6 Limitations of the Study

The study acknowledges several methodological limitations, particularly those related to the use of secondary data. Historical records are often incomplete or biased, which presents challenges for data reliability. To address this, the study employed a triangulation approach, cross-referencing multiple sources to mitigate potential biases. Despite these efforts, the study recognizes that its findings should be interpreted with caution due to the inherent limitations of historical data (Green, 2019, p. 54). Additionally, the unique historical and contextual circumstances surrounding each governance period in Somalia make it difficult to draw direct comparisons between systems.

5. Results/Analysis

5.1 Presentation of Results

5.1.1 Introduction

This section presents the findings of the study systematically and objectively, guided by the research questions and objectives. The results are organized into key themes, including governance effectiveness, clan dynamics, and the role of external actors, as they pertain to Somalia's three governance systems: the Parliamentary System (1960–1969), the Presidential System (1969–1991), and the Hybrid Clan Federal System (2012–present). By analyzing these governance phases, the study evaluates their respective contributions to political stability, their approaches to managing clan conflicts, and the influence of international actors on governance outcomes.

The findings are presented in alignment with the research objectives, offering a structured comparison of governance systems to highlight their strengths, weaknesses, and evolution over time. The Parliamentary System, characterized by early attempts at inclusivity, faced challenges in addressing emerging clan grievances, which eventually undermined its political stability. The Presidential System centralized power under a single authority, creating an autocratic governance structure that initially brought stability but ultimately repressed clan representation, leading to political exclusion and civil unrest. The Hybrid Clan Federal System, currently in place, attempts to reconcile the challenges of the previous systems by introducing

a clan-based power-sharing framework through the 4.5 formula, which has enhanced inclusivity but remains vulnerable to regional and clan-based tensions.

This section also examines the historical and socio-political context under which each governance system operated. The Parliamentary era, marked by post-independence optimism, was shaped by Somalia's nascent democratic aspirations but struggled with limited institutional capacity to manage clan disputes. The Presidential era unfolded during the Cold War, with external alliances shaping internal policies, while centralized governance suppressed dissent. The Hybrid era emerged after decades of conflict and state collapse, driven by international reconstruction efforts aimed at fostering a more balanced and inclusive governance structure. These historical dynamics underscore how governance systems were influenced not only by internal challenges but also by external geopolitical pressures.

Additionally, the findings highlight the central role of clan dynamics in shaping governance effectiveness across all systems. Clan-based political appointments under the Parliamentary System created unequal resource distribution and favoritism, leading to escalating grievances. In the Presidential era, the suppression of clan representation by central authorities resulted in rebellion and regime collapse. The Hybrid System has made progress in managing these tensions by institutionalizing clan representation through the 4.5 formula, although challenges in ensuring equitable power-sharing persist.

Finally, the role of external actors is evaluated, showing both their positive and negative impacts on governance outcomes. While international peacekeeping efforts and donor-funded programs have contributed to stabilizing the Hybrid system, over-reliance on external interventions has sometimes undermined local governance and exacerbated divisions among clans.

The results presented in this section provide a comprehensive understanding of Somalia's governance systems, their evolution, and their impact on political stability. These findings set the stage for the discussion section, where the implications of these results will be interpreted

within broader theoretical and practical contexts, offering insights into governance in fragile and clan-based societies.

5.1.2 Comparative Analysis of Governance Systems

This section provides a comparative analysis of Somalia's three governance systems—Parliamentary (1960–1969), Presidential (1969–1991), and Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary (2012–present)—evaluating their performance in inclusivity, governance effectiveness, clan conflict management, and political stability. The analysis also highlights the role of external interventions in shaping governance outcomes.

Parliamentary System (1960–1969):

The Parliamentary System was Somalia's first post-independence governance model, characterized by a democratic framework that aimed to incorporate inclusivity through representation in parliament. While the system introduced democratic processes, it lacked robust mechanisms to address clan-based conflicts effectively. Political inclusivity was undermined by favoritism and unequal resource allocation, which often reflected clan loyalties. Governance during this period was fragile, with frequent shifts in alliances and leadership instability. Leadership transitions were common; for instance, Somalia experienced ten different governments during this nine-year period, each struggling to maintain cohesion in the face of rising clan tensions.

Presidential System (1969–1991):

The Presidential System centralized authority under Siad Barre, marking a shift towards authoritarian governance. Initially, this centralization stabilized the political landscape, as it curtailed political competition and consolidated power. However, the repression of clan representation led to growing dissatisfaction among marginalized groups. This system failed to manage clan grievances, exacerbating divisions. The suppression of dissent and exclusion of clans eventually culminated in widespread rebellion and civil war. The inability to balance inclusivity with centralized control resulted in political instability, and external Cold War

alliances further complicated governance. For instance, Barre’s government relied heavily on Soviet and later U.S. support, which influenced its policies but failed to mitigate internal fractures.

Hybrid Clan Federal System (2012–Present):

The Hybrid Clan Federal System represents an attempt to address the shortcomings of the previous governance models by institutionalizing clan representation through the 4.5 power-sharing formula. This formula allocates parliamentary seats proportionally among Somalia’s four major clans, with a half-share reserved for minority groups. While this system has improved clan inclusivity and provided a platform for conflict resolution, it remains challenged by federal-regional tensions. Political stability has improved compared to earlier systems, but disagreements over resource allocation and power distribution persist. For instance, disputes between the federal government and regional states such as Puntland have periodically disrupted governance processes. External interventions have played a significant role during this period, with the African Union and international donors supporting peace building and capacity development.

The following table illustrates the key metrics utilized to assess and compare the impacts of the three distinct governance systems in Somalia.

Key Metrics for Comparison:			
Metric	Parliamentary System	Presidential System	Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary System
Clan Conflict Management	Weak, unresolved grievances	Repressed, leading to rebellion	Moderate, managed via 4.5 formula

Political Stability	Fragile, frequent transitions	Initial stability, eventual collapse	Improved but inconsistent
Governance Effectiveness	Limited institutional capacity	Centralized but exclusionary	Decentralized, more inclusive
External Intervention	Limited	Cold War alliances	Extensive, mixed outcomes

5.1.3 Historical Overview of Governance Systems

The governance history of Somalia from 1960 to 2024 is marked by three distinct political systems: the **Parliamentary System** (1960-1969), the **Presidential System** (1969-1991), and the **Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary System** (2012-present). Each system had unique impacts on political stability, influenced by clan dynamics, governance structure, and external pressures.

Parliamentary System (1960-1969):

This system was characterized by relatively effective governance, though clan tensions began to emerge. Political stability was fragile, as governance was influenced heavily by clan allegiances, which were not adequately managed within the framework (Ahmed and Mukhongo, 2016, p. 209). Despite some democratic practices, the lack of institutional mechanisms to address clan grievances resulted in increasing instability by the end of this period (Hanshi, 2014, p. 72).

Presidential System (1969-1991):

Under this system, power was centralized under President Siad Barre, which initially provided strong leadership but ultimately led to significant governance challenges. The concentration of power and the failure to address clan issues exacerbated political tensions, culminating in civil

war (Ingiriis, 2017, p. 132). Clan dynamics, rather than being managed, were repressed, contributing to political unrest and instability (Hanshi, 2014, p. 114).

Hybrid Clan Federal System (2012-Present):

The current system seeks to balance power by incorporating clan-based representation (Kluijver, 2023, p. 94). At the core of this structure is the **4.5 clan-based power-sharing formula**, which allocates parliamentary seats to Somalia's four major clans in equal parts, with a half share reserved for minority clans. While this formula has made strides in reducing clan tensions by giving each group a voice in governance, challenges persist in achieving consistent stability. The federal model's decentralized structure has allowed for clan representation at regional levels but has also exposed the system to regional power struggles and competition among local leaders (Osman, 2015, p. 60).

5.2 Comparative Analysis

The comparison of Somalia's governance systems: the Parliamentary System (1960–1969), the Presidential System (1969–1991) and the Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary System (2012–Present) highlights their differing impacts on political stability and clan conflict management. Each system's approach to governance was shaped by Somalia's socio-political conditions, clan dynamics, and external interventions (Lewis, 2008, p. 91).

Parliamentary System (1960-1969):

The Parliamentary System was Somalia's first governance model post-independence, aiming to build a democratic framework with inclusivity. Clan interests were incorporated into the political process, with parliamentary seats and public offices distributed among clans. For example, the proportional representation system sought to include major clans in governance, fostering a semblance of inclusivity. However, this inclusivity was superficial as it failed to address deep-seated clan rivalries effectively (Ahmed and Mukhongo, 2016, p. 209).

The system's key limitation was its lack of institutional mechanisms to mediate disputes between clans. Clan-based favoritism in political appointments often led to unequal resource distribution, causing resentment among marginalized clans. For instance, during this period, politically dominant clans leveraged their power to allocate government resources disproportionately to their regions, exacerbating inter-clan tensions. Additionally, the frequent shifts in alliances and leadership—ten governments in nine years—reflected a fragile political landscape. The weak institutional framework struggled to reconcile clan loyalties with national interests, resulting in periodic political instability (Samatar, 2016, p. 211).

Despite its democratic processes, the Parliamentary System was unable to build a cohesive national identity. Political alliances often shifted along clan lines rather than policy or ideology, weakening governance effectiveness. This system's inability to resolve emerging clan conflicts paved the way for dissatisfaction and laid the foundation for the eventual collapse of parliamentary governance (Bradbury, 2008, p. 77).

Presidential System (1969-1991):

The Presidential System marked a shift towards centralized governance under the leadership of Siad Barre. Initially, the system appeared to stabilize the political landscape by consolidating power and suppressing political competition. For example, Barre banned clan-based politics and implemented socialist policies to promote national unity. However, this centralization of power excluded clans from meaningful political participation, fostering discontent (Ingiriis, 2017, p. 132).

Barre's policies, such as the promotion of his own Marehan clan, alienated other clans, intensifying grievances. In addition, his regime used state resources and coercion to maintain control, further marginalizing opposition groups (Kapteijns, 2013, p. 66). Clan-based grievances were not only ignored but actively repressed, creating a climate of fear and resentment. For example, the 1988 Isaaq genocide in northern Somalia, where government forces targeted members of the Isaaq clan, highlighted the extent of clan-based repression. Such

actions deepened divisions and fueled rebellion, culminating in the regime's collapse in 1991 (Hoehne, 2010, p. 145).

While Barre's government received substantial external support during the Cold War, including aid from both the Soviet Union and later the United States, this support failed to address internal fractures. External alliances were primarily geared toward geopolitical interests rather than fostering sustainable governance. By the end of the regime, the state had fragmented into warring clan factions, with no effective central authority to mediate disputes or maintain stability (Hanshi, 2014, p. 114).

Hybrid Clan Federal System (2012-Present):

The Hybrid Clan Federal System represents a response to the failures of previous governance models, integrating elements of parliamentary and presidential systems while prioritizing clan representation. At the heart of this system is the 4.5 power-sharing formula, which allocates parliamentary seats among Somalia's four major clans, with a half-share reserved for minority groups. This formula has been instrumental in ensuring inclusivity and reducing the marginalization of minority clans (Kluijver, 2023, p. 94).

The system has made notable progress in mitigating inter-clan tensions compared to its predecessors. For instance, the inclusion of clan representatives in the federal parliament and regional administrations has provided a platform for dialogue and conflict resolution (Warsame et al., 2022, p. 360). However, challenges persist, particularly in the relationship between the federal government and regional states. Disputes over resource allocation and power-sharing between Mogadishu and states like Puntland and Jubaland have occasionally led to political standoffs, undermining national cohesion (Osman, 2015, p. 60).

External actors have played a significant role in shaping the Hybrid System. International peacekeeping missions, such as the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), have

contributed to stabilizing the country, while donor-funded programs have supported capacity-building initiatives. Despite these efforts, over-reliance on external aid has created vulnerabilities, including donor dependency and limited ownership of governance processes (Korotayev and Voronina, 2024, p. 350).

5.2.2 Key Factors Affecting Stability

Several key factors emerged as significant in determining Somalia's political stability under different governance systems:

Centralization of Power:

The degree of power centralization has been a defining factor in Somalia's governance systems. The Presidential System centralized authority under Barre, suppressing political pluralism and marginalizing clans. While this initially stabilized the political environment, it eventually led to rebellion as clans sought to regain representation. In contrast, the Parliamentary System was more decentralized, but its weak institutional capacity prevented effective conflict resolution. The Hybrid System strikes a balance by decentralizing power through federal structures, although regional disputes remain a challenge (Korotayev and Voronina, 2024, p. 350).

Inclusion and Exclusion:

The Hybrid Clan Federal System addresses the exclusionary policies of previous regimes by institutionalizing clan representation through the 4.5 formula. This inclusivity has fostered political participation and reduced overt clan conflicts, though achieving equitable power-sharing remains a work in progress. For example, minority clans have voiced concerns about limited access to decision-making processes despite the 4.5 formula (Warsame et al., 2022, p. 360).

Clan Dynamics:

Clan dynamics have consistently influenced Somalia's political stability. In the **Parliamentary System**, clans were represented but not effectively managed, leading to rising tensions. In the **Presidential System**, the repression of clan grievances led to rebellion. The **Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary System** has made more progress by integrating clan representation into the governance structure, though it has not fully resolved the underlying clan conflicts (Osman, 2015, p. 60).

5.2.3 Impact of Clan Dynamics

The role of clan dynamics is central to understanding political stability in Somalia:

Parliamentary System (1960-1969): Clan representation was incorporated in the government, but it was poorly managed, which contributed to political instability as clan rivalries escalated. For instance, clan-based appointments in parliament and the civil service often led to favoritism and unequal resource distribution, fostering resentment among marginalized clans. Additionally, political alliances frequently shifted based on clan loyalties rather than national interests, which destabilized the political process (Ahmed and Mukhongo, 2016, p. 209). This weak clan management approach allowed powerful clans to dominate decision-making, leading to frequent conflicts and an unstable governance structure unable to mediate or resolve inter-clan tensions effectively.

Presidential System (1969-1991): The centralization of power under Barre exacerbated clan conflicts by repressing their representation, ultimately resulted civil war and regime collapse (Ingiriis, 2017, p. 132).

Hybrid Clan Federal System (2012-Present): This system has made greater strides in managing clan dynamics by ensuring representation through the 4.5 power-sharing formula. However, clan conflicts continue to challenge the stability of the federal structure (Warsame et al., 2022, p. 360). The integration of clans into a balanced governance structure has shown some effectiveness in mitigating political instability, but further improvements are needed.

6. Conclusions and Discussion

This section presents a summary of the key findings, interpretation and discussion of the research insights, highlighting both the theoretical and practical contributions of the study. It also addresses the limitations and contextual considerations inherent in the findings, while outlining directions for future research. The findings not only address the primary research question regarding the impact of the shifts between parliamentary, presidential and hybrid clan federal parliamentary systems on political stability but also provide practical insights for policy makers.

6.1 Summary of Key Findings

The research highlights how each of Somalia's governance systems **Parliamentary** (1960-1969), **Presidential** (1969-1991) and **Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary** (2012-Present) impacted political stability uniquely. The **Parliamentary System** aimed for inclusivity by incorporating clan representation; however, it failed to manage emerging clan conflicts effectively, leading to instability. Specifically, the lack of institutional mechanisms for conflict resolution weakened its ability to manage clan rivalries, causing tensions that undermined political stability. In contrast, the **Presidential System**, under the centralization of power in the executive branch initially provided strong leadership but the concentration of authority led to greater instability. Moreover, the failure to adequately address clan grievances exacerbated tensions contributed to the outbreak of civil conflict. Consequently, the marginalization of clans led to political exclusion and dissatisfaction, driving instability as disenfranchised groups rebelled against the regime.

The **Hybrid Clan Federal Parliamentary System**, introduced in 2012, incorporates a more balanced governance structure by integrating strong executive functions with legislative

representation. This system is specifically designed to manage clan dynamics through the 4.5 power-sharing formula, which allocates representation proportionally among clans. Although this model has proven more effective in managing clan dynamics and enhanced political stability, challenges remain in achieving long-term stability, particularly in ensuring the federal structure remains functional amid regional power struggles. The comparative analysis shows the Hybrid clan federal parliamentary system combines the strengths of both the Parliamentary and Presidential models while mitigating their weaknesses. It achieves a more stable political environment by balancing power and providing inclusive governance that addresses clan dynamics comprehensively. Clan tensions were managed more effectively under the Hybrid clan federal system compared to the earlier governance models.

6.2 Interpretation and Discussion

The findings of this study align with theories that argue governance systems impact political stability through distribution of power and inclusivity. The **Presidential System's** centralization of power confirmed that such governance structures often destabilize clan-based societies by marginalizing key groups. This aligns with the theories that centralized, authoritarian governance models tend to exacerbate divisions in multi-ethnic or clan-based societies. In contrast, the **Hybrid system** demonstrated that mixed governance models combining executive authority with legislative representation are more effective at managing such complexities, supporting theoretical frameworks that advocate for power-sharing in fragile states. The Hybrid system's success in reducing clan tensions suggests that a balance of power distribution and inclusivity can mitigate conflicts and foster stability in divided societies.

The governance transitions in Somalia provide important lessons for other fragile, clan-based states. The shift from a Parliamentary to a Presidential system and, ultimately, to a Hybrid model illustrates that centralization tends to exacerbate clan conflicts, while decentralized and inclusive governance structures contribute to improved political stability. The Somali context,

characterized by a strong clan system and political fragility, shows that the Hybrid model's inclusion of clan representation helps address deep-rooted political grievances, suggesting its suitability for other states with similar socio-political dynamics (Osman, 2015, p. 60). This model provides a blueprint for how fragmented societies can integrate power-sharing mechanisms into governance systems to reduce conflict.

Policymakers in fragile and divided states, particularly those facing similar clan-based or communal political systems, can draw valuable lessons from Somalia's experience with governance transitions. The Hybrid Clan Federal System offers an example of how inclusive governance can help stabilize fragile states. It demonstrates that integrating power-sharing mechanisms, such as the 4.5 formula, which ensures proportional clan representation, is essential to preventing political exclusion and managing internal conflicts (Kluijver, 2023, p. 94). For other fragile states, adopting similar hybrid models could offer a pathway to political stability. Policymakers should focus on enhancing inclusivity, ensuring dialogue among political actors and clans, and refining mechanisms for regional autonomy to ensure that all groups feel represented in the political system.

6.3 Limitations and future research

Limitations of the study arise from its reliance on secondary data, which presents certain limitations; Historical sources may contain biases, omissions, or incomplete data that can affect the accuracy and generalizability of the findings. The absence of primary data, such as interviews with Somali political actors, clan leaders, or stakeholders, restricts the ability to gain real-time insights into the contemporary challenges and successes of Somalia's governance systems. Furthermore, reliance on archival data may not fully capture the nuances of current political dynamics, particularly in the post-2024 period, affecting the applicability of the conclusions to current governance contexts.

When interpreting the findings, it is important to consider the unique historical, cultural, and socio-political context of Somalia. Clan dynamics, historical grievances and frequent

governance changes have significantly influenced political stability in Somalia. These factors must be acknowledged when applying the findings to other states, as the dynamics of clan-based political systems vary widely across different contexts. The evolving clan relationships in Somalia, along with the impact of external actors and international interventions, have shaped the effectiveness of the governance models studied, indicating that similar outcomes may not be guaranteed in other fragile states without comparable conditions.

Building on this research, future research could prioritize primary data collection through interviews and surveys with Somali political leaders, clan representatives and stakeholders to enhance the analysis of governance dynamics. For further analysis of the topic, longitudinal impact analyses are vital for understanding the lasting effects of various governance systems on political stability and clan relations. Additionally, comparative studies of other fragile states with similar clan-based systems will deepen understanding of hybrid governance models and their power-sharing mechanisms, ensuring equitable representation for marginalized groups. Lastly, examining the influence of external factors, such as international aid and foreign interventions, will provide essential context for evaluating the stability and effectiveness of these governance frameworks as well as guiding policymakers in building resilient political structures in fragile contexts.

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