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Minnesota State University, Mankato

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**The Political Crisis in Somalia and the Clan System: A Sociological Review of News Media
Analyses**

By

Hirat Abdi Muse

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Degree of Master of
Arts
In Sociology**

Minnesota State University, Mankato

Mankato Minnesota

July 10th, 2019

The Political Crisis in Somalia and the Clan System: A Sociological Review of News Media
Analyses

Hirat Abdi Muse

This thesis has been examined and approved by the following members of the student
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The Political Crisis in Somalia and the Clan System: A Sociological Review of News Media Analyses.

Abstract

This research explores the roles and patterns of clan conflicts as underlying causes and outcomes of the political crises in Somalia. Following a historical research design, I intended to explain the Somali clan-based political system and clan involvement in the political conflicts in Somalia. I used the historical method and qualitative content analysis of the international news media reports (for e.g., 50 news reports by CNN, BBC, Hiiran, and Shabelle) from 1991–2019 on clan involvement in the Somalian civil war. The study was guided by the sociological theory of economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital by Pierre Bourdieu. I identified how various types of capital or other resources possessed by the different clans became involved as causes and outcomes of the political crises in Somalia. A theory-informed coding system will be developed to analyze news media articles from international (BBC, CNN, Al Jazeera, and Reuters) and local (Hiiran, Garoowe, Kismayo, and Shabelle) news media sources, which would help to understand and explain the patterns of clan differences, the causes and outcomes of conflict in Somalia. The link between the clan system and political crises would explain the deep-rooted problems in Somalia. I argue that Somalia have fallen victim to civil war due to an effort to eradicate the traditional Somali culture and common fidelities based on clanship and the ancestry system.

Chapter 1

Introduction:

The present study aims to understand the political crises in Somalia and the involvement of the clans. The Somalian people have been historically divided into various “Qabiil”, which are groups or clans based on ancestry and region they inhabited (Farah 2010:90). Somalia political system is structured under a complex clan system that have maintained wide range of cultural, social, political, and economic differences among the clans. The clan differences led to constant misunderstanding, confusion, and dysfunction of the country’s political system hence resulted in the escalation of the Somalian civil war in 1991 to present. For the last three decades, this country in East Africa witnessed continued political, humanitarian, and social crises. Few systematic researches explored the Somalian crisis from the clan-based perspectives.

The present study aimed to investigate the question; Are clans involved in the Somalian political crisis? Through conducting a review of the news media reports and analyses of clan engagement and events, this study introduces Somali clans as important actors in the field of Somalian civil war. In addition, the study examined about the structure and patterns of clan system in Somalia during the periods of conflicts. The news media interpretations were used in this study as they were considered the public’s eye to specific topics about the Somalian conflict and the clan system so that we can understand it better (Osman 2007:104). Notably, the study w focused on the structure and patterns of the clan system and their engagement in Somalian politics during the periods of conflicts. Besides, I intend to identify the differences between various clans and their gains and losses due to their involvement in the civil war.

In order to understand the Somali clan-based cultural, social, political, and economic system, the study uses historical research design and qualitative content analysis of news media

articles. The news media reports will provide how the clans' involvement patterned the conflict in the country and the various incidents related to the conflict. The study will be using 50 news media articles to analysis and demonstrate the functions of clan in Somali politics. "Media analysis as a route to understanding how historical, institutional, cultural and political contexts combine to influence education policy" (Saraisky 2016:29). This research will be using various news media articles both international and local (BBC, CNN, Hiiraan, Shabelle, Aljazeera, Puntland, Kismayo, Reuters, Somaliland) to analysis the violence and the impacts of political crisis in Somalia.

In Somalia clan politics, competition for resources, power, and colonial legacy have contributed the various clans to wage war against each other. The present study focused on the social, economic, and political aspects in the Somali community and the similarities between structural and cultural perspectives contributing to the political crisis in Somalia (Bellou 2014:58). The study uses historical method and qualitative content analysis for the period between (1990-2019) in finding out how clan militias have led the country into lawlessness for fighting power and resources. The study will be using theory informed coding systems i.e cultural capital, economic capital, habitus and illusion from the news media article to organize and analysis themes that relevant to the study.

Objectives of the Study:

Through these news media reporting, I explored the historical background of the conflict, and it's dynamic so that we can understand how clan power had been used for the civil war in the country. Particularly, the study examined how clan has influenced the conflict in Somalia, considering the role and the engagement of clan in the conflict since the collapse of Said Bare's government in 1991. In Somalia, the clan was a tool used to gain political goals (Sakamoto et al.

2015:35). Historical research also benefits the general public, for it lets the public observe how information searches and restoration organization has evolved over time. Meanwhile, the educationalist cannot prepare leaders of tomorrow without an adequate understanding of what has happened in the past therefore, it's significant to understand the historical background of Somalia in relation to the political crisis.

The study was guided by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of various capitals (e.g., cultural, economic, social, and symbolic capitals) to understand the causes and outcomes of the clan conflicts in Somalia (Bourdieu et al. 1992:11). A major primary objective of the study is to explain the challenges faced by different clans and how those affected the political structure in Somalia. I argue that addressing the political crisis in Somalia needs to be expanded to a more cultural and structural analysis of how clan system has contributed to the continued conflict, which has been going since the collapse of Siad Bare's government in 1990.

Culture is a significant aspect of social life that can have both negative and positive influence in the political structure of any country in the world (Kihl 2015:39). Somalis are very curious people and they would want to know about you. It is best to talk about what you do, where you come from, which clan you belong, how many families you have, and if you are married or have children (Menkhaus 2007:78). During the civil war civilians was killed without any justifiable reasons due to inter- clan conflict that is reported by the news media. Political wrangling, including within federal member states, delayed greatly that needed justice and security sector reforms and on occasion led to violence affecting civilians.

Study Rationale:

Somali political structure was primarily based on clans and it was important to find out how it has been related to the political crisis in the country (Compagnon et al.1992:11). The clan-

based alignments would provide information about the lines of conflict along which struggles for recognition for status and prestige but also, and significantly, for social injustice and inequality. For countries like Somalia that are struggling for stability in all sectors, such as, economic, political, social, and cultural, etc., always have to take into account of addressing the inequality that exists among larger groups of people, here, in this case, the clans in Somalia.

The study also provides a path that gives a clearer explanation on how the media news is viewed in relation to the Somali politics based on the clan systems and level of discrimination among the various clans (Herzog 1999:446). The clan militia have contributed the disunity and confusion among the people living in the country which has also resulted in the failure of the state. The violence and the clan rivalry have led killing of citizens and many other aspects of life for the Somali society in terms of politically, socially and economically. Somalia political crisis, as it escalated, could be explained based on clan structure and clan differences.

This study will help us to point out all the limitations that are disrupting the peaceful coexistence of the people and how clan have influenced the political crisis in the country. The significance of this study would help to investigate the link between clan system and political crisis. To explore the deep-rooted causes of the political turmoil in Somalia, the engagement of clan in Somali politics and its influence is significant to be considered (Bakonyi et al.2005:366). The current conflict in Somalia is based on the tactics of which Barre have used when he was the sitting president. Barre created a lot of enmity, mistrust, and held responsible for the failure of his government (Menkhaus 2007:80). Between former President Siad Barres' Darood and the Hawiye clan was the starting point for the current political conflict in the country. In this research, I found that clan identity and clan structure have fueled the political conflict.

This study used sociological concepts of cultural, economic, social, and symbolic capitals by Pierre Bourdieu, I aim to understand and explained that clan differences, caused the conflict in Somalia. Society and culture play a significant role when individual pursue power and status in population one lives through politics and other means. “Social capital illuminates the value of social relationships and networks to societies and individuals” (Holt et al. 2008:228). Social and cultural capital along with economic capital contributed to understanding the inequality. The news media reported and analyzed the political crisis in the country and the unending conflicts in Somalia.

The theoretical concepts of various capitals by Bourdieu give us a way of thinking about media contents as production of those capitals for the clans that were shaped by larger structural arrangements, as well as, something that plays out in praxis, in the everyday world of doing things. Also, these tell us where to look for things like domination, hegemony, and reproduction of media in relation to Somali politics.

The analyses and assessments of the media inform these interventions that are often based on a formal governance structure, e.g., state institutions, and looks informal arrangements too that might be instrumental for political and development goals. This research prepossessed a framework that can incorporated the news media as modes of communication and participation that characterized in Somali politics.

Chapter 2

Background and Literature

For the last three decades, Somalia was in a political crisis whereby thousands of innocent people have been killed due to the civil war that has started in 1990. The major causes of the conflict in the country have attributed to the political, social, cultural, and economic difference among various groups and clans (Bongartz 1991:15). These political and economic inequalities and differences have long been embedded within the Somalian social system (Osman 2007:95-97). Concurrently, the differences among people was also supported under and/or spearheaded by the political and economic elites in the society and the clan elders. The Somalian civil war also brought confusions among people as an outcome which benefited few clan-based political elites in terms of gaining popularity and personal wealth (Walls 2009:375). The inter-clan conflict in the country had a major challenge in ending or controlling the continued political crisis in Somalia today (Gundel 2009:23-24). The historical background and contemporary literature suggest that Somalia faced a mounting crisis that was facilitated by clan warlords using clan identity to safeguard their interest and gaining political mileage.

The present chapter discusses the Somali politics in terms of its challenges that led to the country's political turmoil. Especially, I highlight how competitions among different clans for resources and political power have led to the political crisis. While the Somali political, security, and economic challenges are increasing, the country's government too continuously challenge with the clans for political authority (Brons 2001:29).

In this chapter, I discussed different scenarios of Somalian political crisis under five sections, which included, 1) historical background to provide an overview of how it all started, 2) the effects of the political crisis to highlight the implications to Somali political, social, cultural, and economic structures, 3) Major focus and gaps in contemporary literature (4) Theoretical Perspective (how the Somalian crisis could best be studied using sociological theories and methods), and finally, I conclude this chapter by discussing, 5) the anticipated outcome of this study.

Historical Background of the Somalian Crisis

The historical account of the political crisis in Somalia in relation to clan engagement could be summarized in terms of, i) the involvement of the clans in the politics, ii) the role of regionalism in Somali politics, and iii) the role of clan leaders in Somali politics. Somalia has undergone continued political crisis since the escalation of the civil war in early 1988 due to resistance against the former President Said Barre's military dictatorship. Within two years, by 1990, the Somalian government engaged the military to subside various armed rebellious groups, such as the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) and the United Somali Congress, etc.

The engagement of the military have caused a lot of confusion and mayhem, which resulted in the division among the clans. Clan leaders have created armed militias for every clan to protect and save guide their political interest. The clan militias and clans leaders have created conflict among the clans rather than working together for the country's development. Civil war in Somalia started when the military and institutions have changed into clan structure and clan networks. "The institutionalized principles of clan equality and representation in politics constituted a conceptual framework and basis for power-sharing and government crisis management but failed to resolve the intense socio-political conflicts of the decade. The Somali

government used the framework, although in a limited way, to promote representative democracy, crises management, and conflict resolution” (Ssereo 2003:27). The sources of the Somali war had roots both in local influences, including social, cultural, economic and political personalities of the Somalis, and external factors, including the geopolitical and planned desire of powers from inside and outside the region.

Since its start, the causes of the internal war in Somalia have remained a mystery for both Somalis and non-Somalis who were living in the country since the collapse of Bare's government in 1991. "the failure and collapse of the Somali state rests on two key factors; a history of bad leadership, with a focus on the individual figure of Siyaad Barre; and the Somali culture characterized by clannism" (Ali 2016:1). After the political unrest, there were ineffective economic policies in the government; hence, increased poverty level and crime related issues like murder, looting, and raping of women.

In addition to national identity, each Somali individual is a member of a clan. This substantial identity have a long history. The colonist divided the country into regions Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland which has also contributed the division among the various clan in the country (Elmi 2016:5). The division among the different regions in the country resulted in each group to have its territory and boundaries. Since the Somali community is mainly pastoralist whenever there are droughts and famine, they search green pasture for their animals and cross their borders, hence, caused clan conflict.

i) The involvement of the clans in the politics:

The Somali people have always lived under a strong clan or tribe-based system that dominated every aspect of the country's inhabitants including their social-political, cultural, economic, and symbolic life and wellbeing. The contemporary investigations conducted by

Florence Ssereo describe the role of clan elders in Somalia and how they have influenced the political structure in the country (Ssereo 2003:26). The nature of the political crisis in Somalia have largely engaged by the clans throughout the period of 1990 to 2019. Since Somalia became an independent country in 1960, the country was divided into regions (Zoppil.2018:56). The decentralized structure of clans in Somalia traditions seems to have regional regional states that was created by colonial masters. Different clan regional states have their own leadership structure.

“The clan system has survived the colonial and the post-colonial period, and thus the Somali clans continue to maintain their traditional forms of social organization. This enduring nature of the clan system suggests that Somalis attribute a great deal of value to its organizational ability” (Ali 2016:41). These have contributed each clan to have its territory and boundaries; therefore, during the famine and drought seasons, the pastoralist go beyond their borders in search for pastures resulting clan conflicts.

“In Africa's conflictual post-Cold War era, the multiplicity of this institutional land-Scape can only be seen to accelerate, as the various areas of political domination and opposition has come to include new networks of transboundary interaction and exchange that are often connected to the continent's expanding conflict complexes” (Raeymaekers et al. 2008:9). Somalia's problem lies in the complicated nature of its clan-based politics; hence, after the government collapsed in 1991, factional warfare destroyed Southern Somalia.

The conflict which resulted in economic plunder, violent banditry, and the killing of innocent people also fueled the long-lasting political, economic, social, and cultural discrimination. The consistent forms of oppression between clans who were considered the minority is also a contributing factor that resulted the conflict. "some of the men who had been

long-time key players in the Barre regime were thus welcomed in USC ranks as heroes on the basis of their clan background, others such key players, as well as large numbers of ordinary people who had nothing to do with the regime or had suffered more at the hands of the regime than those who now wanted them dead, were being purposely targeted for violence on the basis of their clan background as the president and his Red Berets, although they were among the targets” (Kapteijns 2012:135). On the Somalian civil war, while highlighted the economic and political causes and effects, did not consider the clan systems and their differences in exploring the hidden causes of this incessant crisis.

Among the clans in Somalia there are some sorts of discrimination that have increased the political crisis in Somalia. “Minorities are not clans, although this is what the Somali nomadic clans call them because they want to assimilate them into their structure. Among the minorities, one can find the ‘outcaste’ groups, or bondsmen known collectively as sab, as well as groups of ethnic Bantu descent and the coastal groups, including those of Arabic descent such as the Bajunis and Barawanis. Minorities are not counted, and their languages and cultures are neither accepted nor respected” (Gundel 2009:14). Some minorities, such as Bantus, are in many places in South Central Somalia in fact local majorities. However, they are being oppressed systematically by the stronger clans. In the Somali context, they are a minority, because they are not overall dominant and therefore don’t participate political leadership and clan power sharing. .

Some researchers described institutions and ethnic politics in Africa as affected by the dynamics of identity and ethnic political competitions (Posner et al. 2005:10). According to Posner et al. (2005), the inter-ethnic competitions have been the root cause of conflict that have resulted in widespread bloodshed in different parts of Africa, e.g., Rwanda, and Nigeria. The

conflicts had devastating impacts on the security, economic, and social lives of the population living in those countries.

In Somalia, Inter-clan conflict and the horror in the city was started by common people who took weapons to participate in the war. Most of the people who started the fight were taxi drivers, businesspeople and other civilians who were mainly the Hawiye clan, aiming to revenge the government which were dominated by the Marehan people (Kapteinjns et al.2012:125). During the colonial era, there was a competition between multiple countries to seize Somalian territory. In the early 19th century, Britain, French, and Italia all seized land from this country for their own agendas. However, they were unable to receive the territory, hence occupied a portion of Somalia instead. The French region was around Djibouti known as Côte Française des Somalis and remained a colony until they gained their independence in 1977 becoming the Republic of Djibouti. After France had taken their portion it was between Italy, and Britain to claim the remaining portions. Where the Britain took the North of Somalia (currently Somaliland) while Italia colonized Southern part.

The existing fighting in southern Somalia is between former President Abdullahi Yusuf's Darood clan and the Habargidir sub-clan of the Hawiye clan. Though it harbors uncertainty that the defeated Islamic Courts regime is merely hiding under the banner of the Hawiye clan to continue its struggle against the government (Menkhaus et al. 2007:76-78). In Somali politics, clan relationship is the basic principle of any political competition. Transformation of individual's rights and resources sharing that has exacerbated the fragmentation and ethnic division among the people in the country (Zoppi 2018:59).

The Somali people have a strong historical, cultural background, which have necessitated the people to be loyalty to their clan (Njoku 2013: 49). The clan conflict has

worsened the lack of institution and government structure. In addition, the killing of civilians have become widespread, innocent population like young children and women are massacred for clan revenges. An examination of the role of clans in the Somali political crisis would help to understand the deep-rooted causes and the outcomes of this constant conflict.

i) Regionalism in Somalia politics.

While Somalia is ethnically, religiously, and linguistically homogenous, the country is divided into territory Somaliland, Puntland, South Central Somalia, Galmudug, Hirshabelle and Jubaland (Ingiris 2018:58). The clans-based regions draw their lineage back to a common ancestor. "Turning to the two most important individual decision-makers, Yusuf Haji was considered a staunch supporter of his own clan, the Ogadeni, and he was considered the mastermind behind the idea of establishing Jubaland state to be led by his relative Muhammad Abdi Gandi. The aim of these two persons was to unite the Ogaden clan in Kenya, Ethiopia, and Somalia" (Olsen.2018:49). Every region is occupied by a certain clan and governed by clan warlords who were selected by elders. The regionalism was mainly established for every clan to have some sort of governance structure so that they can control their boundaries and serve the interest for their people hence, damaging the sovereignty and the peaceful coexistence of different clans in the country.

Due to the civil war in 1990s when the government system collapsed, clan functionalism and warlords have become the order of the day, resulted the political crisis. "There was evidence of a systemic planning for land grabbing, where Hawiye militias were moving into the settlements belonging to minority farming and fishing communities in Afgoi, Bur Hakaba, Shalambood, Jilib and beyond, to gain control of the productive plantation zones and their adjacent ports for banana export business" (Bahar 2017:4).

Mogadishu, the capital city, have all those clans mixed up but the Hawiye clan mainly dominates. The news media reports describe the incidents and the blast that had happened in the country from the start to the present. Moreover, a reasonable justification for the magnitude and the level of clan violence that escalated the conflict in the country can be seen from the reports. Clan elders and political leaders have the primary targets of violence since; they remained the decision makers for their clans (BBC January 2018). Many influential clan politicians have created regionalism where every clan have their own system of governance and leadership structure. There is no notable progress for the different regions created by tribal warlords. Through regionalism, many politicians are opposing the legitimacy of the Federal government, which is intimidating and causing security concerns for the central government to operate and perform its required task across the country.

i) The role of Clan leaders in Somali politics:

Ethnic politics is complex, leaders and politician beats the ethnic drums when they want to gain political mileage without considering the distractions and the outcome of ethnic cleansing (Lynch 2006:253). "If a local Warlord perceives he is losing authority over conquered territories, he will insist that the intervening forces provide assistance either to retain the status quo or to return to an earlier situation more favorable to the warlord" (Clarke 2018:12). Somali history is clear that the country and the people fail to produce leaders that can rise above the clan systems. The current leadership is unable to address matters related to clan and its influence due to the historical background of Somali politics, which is based on clan identity.

"The elusiveness of tangible African ties may not matter then if the purpose of the African American cultural offensive was less to discover discrete African sources of cultural unity than to create a stronger sense of group identity" (Martin 1991:90). One of the significant

aspects regarding the intense involvement of the clan in the political system is the failure of educated class individuals who fail to provide progressive services and plans to the illiterate nation. Those individuals have a personal interest and use clan systems to gain political their personal interest (Burgess et al. 2017:59). The crisis further exacerbated as the same system of clan in the political and individual life provides a source of kinship, protection, and justice (Samatar1992: 625). The arrangement makes it difficult for many international and local commentators in the political conflicts to understand the extended role of a clan in Somalis life. There have been many times that political leaders used different clans for their invested interests, and it happened in the armed conflicts which are continued in the present destructed political environment (Mubarak 1997:2030). There were different interventions from international peacemaking organizations but was fruitless due to the clan and political interference from clan elders.

The clan elders were also the easy targets of violence because they have influence over the decision of clan politics in the country. The conflict in Somalia started when Bare was the president in the country because of clan power and militia rebellion groups who were against the government. After the formation of different groups such as the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF). The civil war was already on the drawing board making the country into fragile and lawlessness.

The Effects of the Political Crisis in Somalia:

After the collapse of the government in Somalia, economic plunder developed, violent shooting and warfare waged for looting resources whereby more than 200,000 people lost their life due to the inter-clan conflict in the country (Samatar 1992:632). “Lawlessness remains a serious problem in Somalia, but the egregious levels of violent crimes and level of impunity

associated with the early 1990s are generally a thing of the past” (Menkhaus 2007:89). The security in the country become out of hand, human rights violation like killing, raping and looting of both public and private property become a culture in the country (Hansen et al. 2008:596). When there are no institutions function in a state, we expect violation in all aspects of human life economically, socially, politically and culturally as in the case of Somalia.

The warlords in the country have created enmity among the various clans in Somalia. The political leaders have escalated the conflict in the country without considering the consequence of the civil war (Rothchild et al.1997:565). Traditionally, society mastered the art of forming alliances to protect their interests of kingship and ensured water and grazing land are secured. Rainfall is very critical to the life of pastoral communities in Somalia. Some clans compete with other clans and move from one inhospitable place in search for green pastures for their animals creating conflict.

Sometimes back, Somalia had the most potent military in Africa and, was a receipt of the US and Soviet military aid in the cold war unlike the present it is considered as a disastrous state with the highest level of terror activities in Africa (Ahmed 1999:116). The divisions among the various clans of Somalia have affected the military rule. Politicians and clan elites prioritized clan interest over the sovereignty of the state. After the State misshapen due to the absence of functional government businesspeople organized themselves to come up strategies to take overpower in the country through establishing Islamic Union group which was against the clan warlords and the state government (Mwangi 2010:89).

“Somalis remain deeply divided between centralist and federalist camps, a split that was not easily papered over in the declaration of the TFG. Advocates of some form of decentralized, federal, or even confederal system claim that only that approach can guarantee to local

communities” (Menkhaus 2007:83). The concurrent conflict in the country have tried their best to oppose the government in place to gain their interest that intensified the conflict in the country. The conflict have facilitated the grouping of different people according to either their clan Structure or relationship of personal interest that resulted in the fragmentation and regionalism. The establishment of the different regions in the country was contributed by lack of proper leadership and governance (Reno et al.2018:499). Due to the concurrent conflict in the country, people was misplaced from their home country to seek refuges and became an asylum to foreign countries. Some lost their cultures and religious background due to the influence of western ideology.

Major Focus and Gaps in Contemporary Literature:

These part of the chapter summaries how other scholars explained the Somalian crisis. As the political turmoil in Somalia poses a significant threat to the stability of the region, potential ways that can be used to resolve the conflict are among the most popular themes discussed in the scholarly literature. The problem of peaceful resolution of the Somali crisis is increased by the fact that the history of the Somali civil war witnessed various unsuccessful attempts to restore peace. For example, Malito (2016) criticizes the United Nations operations in the beginning and the middle of the 1990s, which have been “an instrument of division, as well as leverage for political and military advantage” (Malito 2016:280). The analysis showed that the international communities, particularly international organizations, tried to resolve the political crisis in Somalia. Thus, there exists a need for greater involvement of peacekeeping activities of the international community, but the need to discuss the disunity among the various clans in the country is significant since clan militias are the forefront for the political crisis in Somalia.

The involvement of neighboring countries, particularly Kenya and Ethiopia, is another essential question from the perspective of crisis resolution (Menkhaus 2007; Elmi 2016). These countries relate to Somalia by shared geographical borders and should be interested in Somali political stability. At the same time, some researchers post that “powerful and well-positioned” Ethiopia even further contributes to the development of the political crisis, being “a hostile neighbor that aims to maintain a weak and divided Somalia.” (Elmi et al. 2006:39). Though directly participating in the process of establishing peace in Somalia (Menkhaus 2007), Kenya also weakens the positions of Somali central government. Consequently, resolving the crisis in Somalia would inherently require more significant involvement of Kenya and Ethiopia in this process (Elmi et al. 2006:43). Relatedly, it is essential to engage Somali clan leaders, which sometimes possesses vast financial resources and decisions but through its financial support of opposition groups, often further complicates the political crisis in Somalia instead of helping resolve it.

On a related note, Balthasar contends that the political crisis in Somalia is deeply rooted in the contemporary history of this country as an independent state, which have arguably lacked shared national identity since the beginning of its existence (Balthasar 2014:225). The relative success of Somaliland, a self-proclaimed state that was not controlled by the central government of Somalia for several decades, arguably further contributes to the political instability (Balthasar 2014:229). The other scholars who have written about the political crisis in Somalia indicated the historical distinction among the clans but, didn’t emphasized about clan conflict which have been factor contributing to the political instability in the country.

Considering the specific feature of Somalia’s original scene, attacks on hostels make intellect as a critical component of Al-Shabaab’s plan of weakening. Al-Shabaab's year of

delivery in the core of the capital city started with January carmine, that besieged the government officials and a Turkish delegation (Reno 2018:132). The central administration in Mogadishu is multifaceted. The regular exercise where each state functions as a self-governing organization. The management in Hargeisa had expressed its purpose in creating a self-governing Somaliland. The leaders of other regions behave in the same way too. They have their institutions like; foreign affairs and economic policies that deal on matters of foreign policy (Elmi 2016:14). Those scholars have not included in their research about the social, cultural, and political difference among the various clans in Somalia that caused the political crisis in Somalia. The resolution of the problems of clan power and clan dispute in the country can reduce the civil war in Somalia, which I focused in this study.

Some argued that the invasions of United Nations and African Union troops have worsened the political crisis in Somalia and without their intervention Somalia could be stable (Rubinstein et al 2008:542). Although some early witnesses observed that many parallel and upright problems had cultural structures. For the most part it was unusual for culture to be stated in initial analyses of intermediation, which in its place inclined to focus on the realities of diplomacy or its geopolitical features. The crucial matters many scholars have not addressed is the clan structure which my studies emphasizes.

Some scholars discussed that due to the terrorism activity in the country it's very difficult for Somalia to be stable. Extremisms an anxiety-inspiring system of recurring forceful action whereby the direct goals of violence are not the main targets (Sonmez 1998:235). In order to explore potential ways of resolving the political crisis in Somalia, particularly the role of clan influence. I am on the view that social, cultural, and political problems, which resulted the

division of the country into regional states, is primarily facilitated by clan structure and clan elders and their need to address those problems.

Theoretical Perspectives:

The discussion of the literature exhibit Somalia's experience of incessant political crisis and conflict that call for unity among the different functions of clans. However, clan despite playing a positive becomes the misery for the country. The clan system is a cultural identity that is inherited from the clannism and patriarchal ancestors, and as a political ideology, it determines everything that have occurred in the country. Expansion of territory, resources, power distribution, and recruitment to the higher position are some of the significant areas where clans have significant control, which eventually affects the political environment of the country.

In Somalia, Clan is a cluster of people unified by actual or perceived similarity and ancestry. Even if family details are unknown, clan members may be organized around a founding member or lineages. Clan-members derive their identity from their shared ancestors rather than the sense of regional belonging. The clan is in other words the greater limit of political action, and have some territorial belongings, therefore often led by a clan-leaders, but remains without national government (Gundel 2009:8). The most distinct heredity set within the clan is the 'primary lineage, defined as the lineage to which a person describes himself as a member for the last seven to ten generation.

The political crisis was a period of instability in Somalia from 1990 to present time. The removal of former president, Siad Bare was the main influence that created the crisis in the Country. The political crises are believed to have negative changes in the political, economic, and social progress of the country, especially when conflicts occur abruptly, with little or no warning (Elmi 2016:13). Political Crisis in Somalia was witnessed when state capacity was

greatly reduced under the influence of clan which had led the country to divide its territory into clan regions. “The uneven distribution of benefits can be direct causes of conflict. As will be shown from the recent history of the Horn of Africa, regional cooperation schemes can trigger conflict precisely when economic cooperation reaches the highest level without proper mechanisms to address the question of differential benefit” (El-Affendi et al.2009:5).

Considering the complex nature of the political situation in the country, this study applied Bourdieu concept of social, cultural, economic, and economic capital in analyzing the study.

"I developed the concept of 'habitus' to incorporate the objective structures of society and the subjective role of agents within it. The habitus is a set of dispositions, reflexes and forms of behavior people acquire through acting in society. It reflects the different positions people have in society, for example, whether they are brought up in a middle-class environment or in a working-class suburb. It is part of how society produces itself. But there is also change. Conflict is built into society. People can find that their expectations and ways of living are suddenly out of step with the new social position they find themselves in... Then the question of social agency and political intervention becomes very important" (Bourdieu 2000:19). The social inequality that Bourdieu points are existing in Somalia causing the political crisis in the country. Resources and power sharing in Somalia are not based on merits and objectives but rather clan identity and affiliation. Those clans that are the majority in terms of military power and those who are represented adequately in the government always takes the most significant share. The unequal distribution of resources among the people living in the country also contributed to the political crisis in the country.

Some clan elders in Somalia ignores the leadership structure and the government in place for their own personal interest (Menkhaus 2007:78). Due to lack of governance and leadership

structure in the state, the weak government have not endured the pressure and the interferences from clan politics. Institutions and other agencies was not in a position to effectively and efficiently carry their duties as per-required. Bourdieu explains such kind of social structure through social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital relationship which are seen in habitus and how the various structures function (Ritzer et.al. 2017:504). The influence from clan leaders and other regional politician makes it difficult to rule the country hence, contributing the political crisis in the country. The mindset behind the conflict in Somalia is the different ideology of the various clans that inhibits the different regions in the country which is consistent due to cultural, economic and social aspect of lifestyle of the Somalia community.

According to the sociological theories of Bourdieu, the idea of social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital is a determinant of human behavior and innate structures in human mind (Bourdieu 1986:150-165). Considering the involvement of clan elders in administering law and order in Somali political system without policy and clear constitution, I expect the country to be in crisis. In Somalia, elders in the clan are regarded as the final decision makers, hence, greatly contribute the political crisis. As a result of the conflict among the various clan, the elders makes decision over a group of people as opposed to a system that would include everybody's input. The participation of the various clans in politic was contributing factor for the instability in Somalia.

The geographical location and the inhabitants of the different clans also fueled the political crisis in the country. The various clans and sub-clans in the different regions of the country allowed every regional state to have leadership and governance opposing the central government in place. The regional state of those clans is included; Somaliland, Puntland, Jubaland, South Central, Hirshabella, and Galmudug (Ingiris 2018:60). The division among the

different clans in terms of regionalism and political ideology, which is based on clan identity and clan structure, is the bedrock of the crisis in the country.

“The concept of social capital expresses the sociological essence of communal strength. A solution to the problem of common action and opportunism presupposes the development of voluntary collective action, and it is connected to the inherited social capital in the community. Forms of social capital are general moral resources of the community, and they can be divided into three main components: first, trust (and more generally 'positive' values with respect to development); second, social norms and obligations; and third, social networks of citizens' activity, especially voluntary associations” (Siisiainen 2003:3). In the context of Somali politics there are no systems and institutions that govern the people. The population depends on cultural and historical beliefs which are mainly based on clan structure. The moral value in Somalia is such that when someone is murdered no one will justify the evil act but rather they will avenge the deceased with his clan. This is one of the reasons why the country is in crisis hence, resulted in the unending political conflict.

The leaders in the country lack any vision to solve the problems in the country and the parliamentarians who were selected by the clan elders to present them have no strategic plan in taking the country to a better level. Their motive is to loot the resources and create inter-clan conflict for the purpose of suiting their own interest. Somali power structure is based on clan. The most powerful clan have the opportunity to lead the country and manipulate resources that caused the minority to suffer under the clan politicians who only value their own clan. "Symbolic violence... is the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity... I call misrecognition the fact of recognizing a violence which is wielded precisely inasmuch as one does not perceive it as such" (Bourdieu et al. 1992:86). The roots or sources of symbolic

capital can be almost anywhere, its central criterion is that actors observe and identify its existence.

“Cultural capital can exist in three forms; in the embodied state, that is, the form of long-lasting disposition of the mind and body, in the objective state, in the form of cultural goods; which are the traces or realization of theories or critique of these theories and institutionalized state, a form of objectification that must be set a part” (Bourdieu 1986: 57). The Somali population is made up of different clans that have several cultures in relation to their regional locations which contributed the long-lasting conflict in the country. Some clans believe that if a member from another clan holds political position in their region it demeans their status quo. The strange effect of the cultural capital in Somalia is the division of clans and regions that escalated the political crisis in the country.

“Bourdieu restores time and strategy (thus, concrete time) to a consideration of exchange process. He points out to the fact that the initial, economic, exchange only initiates a process as a result of which use value may be transformed into a new form of value and thus may produce cultural capital, at a scene removed from economic exchange” (Beasley et al.2000:109). The unemployed youth population contributed significantly to irregular migration and participation in extremist activities, including terrorist groups which is viewed as another form of employment. With the increase of unemployment among the youth and low overall labor force participation (particularly by women). It's hard to achieve higher economic growth, create jobs, and absorb the Somali refugees returning from Kenya; remittances flows; and prioritizing social safety nets and pressing humanitarian conditions that contributed the instability in the country.

I conclude this chapter by discussing, the anticipated outcome of this study. The analysis shows that the issue of the Somali political crisis has been extensively studied in the scholarly

literature. The main themes discussed in the body of the literature devoted to the problem included the roots of the crisis, its current form in the country, and proposed ways of resolving the political crisis. The literature showed that the political crisis in Somalia is rooted in the historic clan division of the country and the lack of national unity. As the current political crisis in the country results to the detrimental consequences for Somalia's development, the crisis might be resolved through greater involvement of the various clans in Somalia to come up with strategic plan in peace building process so that stable Somalia can be realized.

In addition, the media news reports in the country also played a great role in giving information's that are relevant to the political crisis in Somalia. The various media system in the country shows the status, strength, and weakness of the country of which the study have used as a secondary means of data collection. In Somalia, power was concentrated in a narrow clan coalition as viewed in the background and the literature of the study. State institutions, including the security apparatus, have experienced a profound collapse. Despite extensive international efforts for three decades to rebuild state institutions and stabilize the country, Mogadishu-based national governments have had limited operational capacity and physical reach into much of the country. Critically, they have been weakened by narrow-minded political competition among the country's clans and powerbrokers. Thus, the official state has been mostly unable to deliver even a measure of governance to local populations while battling strong and agile military opponents and separatism. Characteristically, the most effective, even if brutal, stabilizing actors in Somalia are the clan warlords.

Chapter Three

METHODOLOGY:

This chapter outlines overall research design of the present study. The study applied historical method and qualitative content analysis of news media to explain the participation and outcomes of clan engagement in the political crisis in Somalia. The contents and information would contribute to sociologically analyze on how clans have been influenced in various events of conflicts at different time periods between (1990-2019) as well as on the cultural, social, political, and economic structure of Somalia. This study aimed to dig deep into the roots of the political crisis in Somalia and examined the clan system and clan structure.

The methodology for this research have described herewith under four sections, which included 1) Data collection, 2) Data organization and coding and, 3) Data analysis methods. This study is based on secondary and content data collection and analysis, therefore, no IRB (Internal Review Board) approval is not necessary. However, the data collection, data organization and coding, data analysis, and presentation of findings will be conducted using established evidence based qualitative methodology.

Data Collection:

The study was built up on analysis of information gathered from news media articles collected over a specific period (1990-2019). The information contents from international and local news media articles was selected for this study. The international level news media sources in the study included; the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation from United Kingdom), and CNN (Cable News Network from the United States), Reuters, and Aljazeera. The data from other local Somali newspapers, such as, Hiiran, Shabelle, Puntland news, Kismayo news and Somaliland will also be collected as additional sources of information about Somali conflict and

clan's involvement. All these news media have online publications, which are archived and readily available and easily retrievable from their websites. For example, the BCC website was retrieved from (www.bbcsomali.com/).

The purpose for the news media is to receive information from various events of conflicts as well as a direct analysis from the witnessed point of views on how the various events of political conflicts had happened in the country. Besides, the news media articles also derive meaningful concepts that would explain visible patterns (if any) of clan involvement in Somalian politics from cultural, social, political, and economic point of views. The news reports and analyses would work as cultural artifacts (Mariam et al. 2002:2-3). Different news sources have explained violence and related impacts through the media by using content analysis (Krippendorff 2018:75). I have collected information from historical media news items in order to find out the role of clan in Somali politics.

The text of the news articles was analyzed using sociological concept. "I recommend that for the first time or small-scale studies code on hard-copy printout firsts not via a computer monitor. There is something about manipulating qualitative data on paper and writing on codes in pencil that gives you more control over and ownership of the work. Perhaps this advice stems from my old school ways of working that have become part" (Saldana 2015:29). I have copied and pasted selected text passage from the media platforms into spreadsheet or other database in order to create a relevant information that matches the research objectives.

Having seen in our literature about the dynamic of clan politics in Somalia. "The use of written and spoken text as the basis of social and cultural search" (Tonkiss et al.2004:368). I have created an excel sheet to capture information's about the different events of clan politics and how they have engaged in Somali politics. The study identified the various clan and sub-

clans in Somalia in order to understand how clan power influences the political system in the country. The information collected from the news media was the basis for investigating the various incidents and provide raw data in identifying the risk associated with the political crisis in the country. Different tables were shown how the various news media articles, clans and sub-clans, and emerging themes related to clan conflicts in Somalia which gives us an image on how clan structure impacts the political crisis in Somalia.

Data Organizing and Coding:

There are different reports and incidents in the news media article which help us to get information for the study. It also provided an example of how the data are organized in the study so that information retrieved from the news media was used to explain how those incidents reported impacted the political crisis in the country. The organized data was coded by identifying specific themes, topics, issues, and similarities of various events in the news media. The emerging themes will be classified and grouped into various categories after which there are sorted and presented in spreadsheet (Bryman et al. 2012:13). These helped us to understand clearly the role of clan in Somali politics considering the number of incidents caused by inter-clan conflict and its consequences.

I have done hand coding by copying the transcript, making notes, highlighting and naming sections of the text. “After coding the first few transcripts, all researchers involved should meet to compare the labels they have applied and agree on a set of codes to apply to all subsequent transcripts. Codes can be grouped together into categories” (Gale et al. 2013:4). Coding the text in the news media articles helped to understand the theme in the study analyzed the information which are relevant to the research questions.

I have coded the data through sorting the different news media articles that are relevant to the study. I will have created one main folder and sub-folders based on the type of data and contents of the news and separate them according to the type of news media sources, date, incidents, and main themes. I have only used those articles that are reasonable, necessary, and can answer the research question.

This study identified the news items, organize and categorize them into groups and compared. “The framework approach has many similarities to thematic analysis, particularly in the initial stages when recurring and significant themes are identified. However, analytical frameworks such as thematic networks and the framework approach appear to have a greater emphasis JS/JF April 2009 4 on making the process of data analysis.....” (Smith et al 2011:3). The purpose of the study is to create a theoretical framework that helped the readers to understand the theme of the research.

I have used Bourdieu concept in justifying the data and respond the research questions. “In order to transcend the artificial opposition that is created between structures and representations” (Bourdieu 1989: 15). The purpose of coding the above text is identify potential risk associated with the study so that it can come up with a theme that can support the study. The political crisis in Somalia have started as a result of clan conflict, which facilitated every clans to have political ideology.

The political situation in the country was based on merits and objectives. Creating enmity among the clan in the country for fighting resources and power contributed the conflict in the country. The inequality and stratifications among the different clan in Somalia where resources, and power sharing is measured on majority versus minority was a contributing factor that necessitated the political crisis.

Data Analysis:

Qualitative research analysis identified thematic issues and categorize them according to the relevant topic of discussion so that the ideas in the data are relevant to the topic of discussion (Pope et al. 2000:11). The study will Identified the various clans and sub-clan in the country. I have analyzed them in relation to the information organized and coded in the data collection section which helped us to understand the theme of the study.

In this study, I have analyzed the data in comparing the various clans in Somalia and their regional location. There is no clear agreement on the clan and sub-clan structures as many among them didn't agree on the peace building process which was held at Arta in neighboring Djibouti (BBC August 2000). The Hawiye clan mostly inhabits south and central parts of the country and mostly live in around the capital city of the country (Gundel and Joakim 2009: 8). Most of the Hawiye clan opposed the current government under the leadership of Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo who comes from the sub-clan of Marexaan of Darood clan.

The Dir Clan is one of the oldest clan in Somalia. Most of the Dir sub-clan lives in Somaliland. The Rahweyn clan lives in south central side of the country. The main city of the clan is Baidhao and Hudur. There are mostly farmers and their dialect are different from the other clans (Gundel 2009:13). In addition, the minority clans are not given any consideration when powerful clans shared resources and political power. The clan structures also paved way the creation of regionalism in Somalia. For one to understand the influences and the dynamics of Somali politics, clan system need to be considered. The study presented the table 1 below to show and analysis news media reports on clan related incidents and how the information collected impacted the political system in the country.

Table 1: Analyzing News Media reports on clan related incidents in Somalia.

Sources of News Media	Headline	Date	Lesson learnt
BBC	Somalia clan fighting kills 20	14 th July 2001	Clan militia fighting in capital city for political and resources.
Shabelle	Inter-clan Battle erupts in Southern Somalia	17 th March 2019	Inter-clan conflict escalated the political crisis in Somalia after the killing of innocent civilians.
CNN	Shooting leaves 13 dead in Somalia	October 29, 1996	thousands of supporters of the secular warlords joined protests against the Islamic militia in northern Mogadishu
Wardheer News	Why Clan identity in Somalia should be promoted rather than stigmatised: A short lesson from theory & history	January 4, 2018	Somali elites over the years lacked the efforts to address the failure of developing a national identity

There is also a reflective certainty among the various news media reports that the political crisis in Somalia was inevitably contributed by the clan systems and its structure. “The deadly inter-clan fighting broke out in the morning in a remote village called Godad vicinity, located in the outskirts of Galkacyo, the regional capital of Mudug province” (Garowe September 2017). The illustrative of such complexities and clan conflicts are the driving forces that caused the conflict in the country. Clan discriminations and rivalries continue to prevail and weaken governance, producing fluctuated governments unable to produce laws and policy. At the federal

level incessant political infighting among the clans are common while discriminating against minorities in taking political leadership.

Neither the security situation nor the state of politics in Somalia currently give reason for optimism that stability Somalia can be realized recently. However, there is yet little agreement on what kind of federalism will be created and what the relative balance of power between the center and subnational states that are managed by clan leaders. The regional leaders accused the federal government failed to provide security in the country and adequately combat al Shabab and fulfill its federal responsibilities toward the federal states. They demanded more self-rule and a greater share of foreign aid, lobbying foreign governments to provide them with aid directly hence, creating the political crisis. Without more inclusive and accountable governance, violence reduction and stabilization of Somalia was not sustainably achieved.

Essentially, whether Somalia thrives in breaking out of decades of conflict, famine, misery, corruption, and mis-governance depends on the Somali people. Whether a sufficient citizenry for better governance and less conflict ultimately emerges or whether Somali businessmen and politicians continue to find the way to maneuver around conflict or make money depends to Somali people. While the Somali people hardly scrape out survival amidst the harshest conditions without mobilizing for change it may worsen if the situation continues.

Chapter 4

Findings of the Study:

The history of political crises in Somalia would be incomplete without investigating the various clans in Somalia and their involvement in the Somalian political crisis. Somalia lacked any recognized institutions safeguarding the rights to meaningful self-rule at the regional and local levels. The urban elite who was supposed to formulate policies was mainly clan warlords.

Throughout the history, Somalia have been a clan-based society. Clans dominated almost every sphere of Somali social structure and culture (Bestesmen 1997:128). This chapter discussed why the involvement of clans in Somalia's political crisis was evident. In addition, the chapter provided a roadmap and examined whether clan conflict have caused the political crisis in Somalia. The discussions in this chapter was based on international and local news media reports related to clan conflicts as well as their analyses related to clan's profiles, structure and culture in Somalia. The following tables provided numbers and time periods of news articles.

Table 2: Numbers of each news Articles retrieved from different international and Somali local news websites:

News Articles	Number of Articles	Year published
BBC	13	1999-2016
CNN	8	1996- 2012
Hiiraan	11	2006-2019
Shabelle	14	2009-2019
Reuters	4	2007-2019
Others (Kismayo, Garowe, Wardheer, Somaliland)	5	2008- 2019
Al Jazeera	3	2016

Table 3: Comparing the international and local Media reports in relation to clan politics in Somalia.

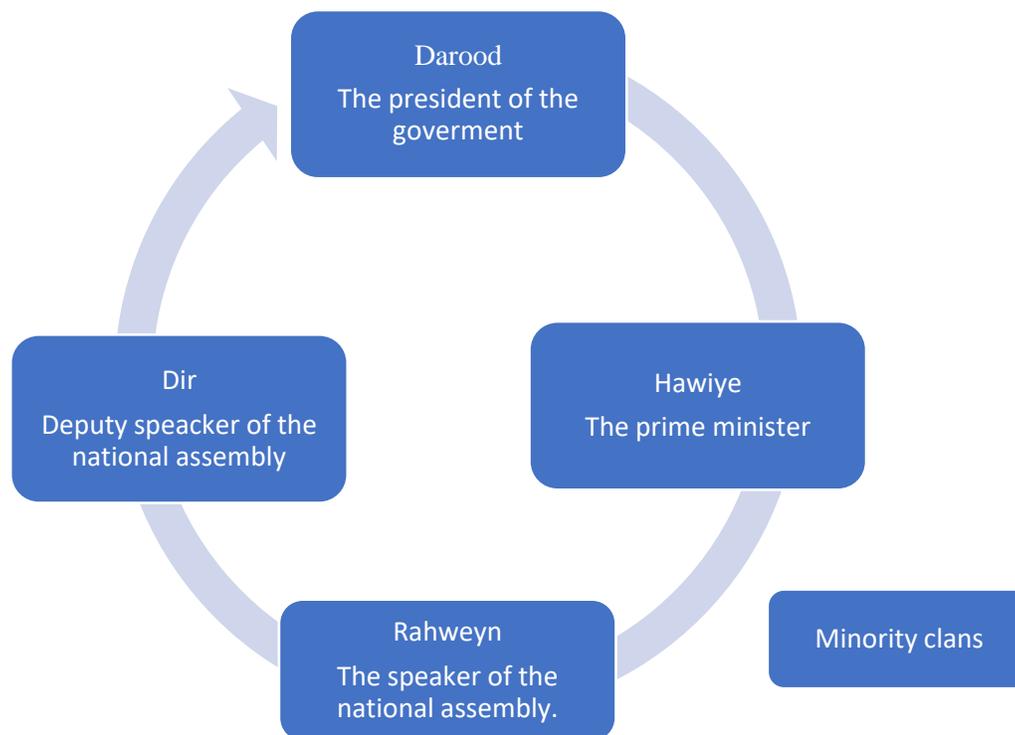
International news		Local news media	
BBC: Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo the current president is a dual US-Somali citizen (BBC 4 th January 2018)	Western ties/connection of the government.	Puntland: The deadly inter-clan fighting in Mudug resulted the killing of many civilians (Puntland news September 23 rd , 2017)	Inter-clan conflict.
CNN: Civilians were killed as Somali militants attacked peacekeepers (September 24, 2008).	Overall lack of law and order.	Shabelle: Shabelle media network closes Mogadishu radio when government official opened fire to the building destroying radio equipment (Shabelle Oct 27, 2009).	Government in conflict with the local news media.
Al Jazeera: Fighting in Somalia's Galkayo city killed 29 civilians (7 th November 2016)	Conflict between regional States.	Hiiraan: In September 2012 president Hassan Sheikh was elected as the first president of a permanent Federal government following the end of transitional government since 2000 (Hiiraan August 1 st , 2016)	Change of political climate.
Reuters: 19,000 civilians lost their life since start of 2007 and uprooted 1.5 million created the world's worst humanitarian emergencies (January 29 th , 2010)	Humanitarian emergency responses.	Kismayo: clan identity was promoted in Somalia rather than stigmatized: A short lesson from concept and history (Kismayo January 6, 2018).	Importance of clan identity.

The news media articles emphasized the inter-clan conflicts characterized much of the Country's landscape since the start of the civil war. The preexisting clan-based divisions formed the basis of the country's social structure. The Darood clan lives principally in the north, with a presence in Kismayo, as well as in the Gedo region. The Darood are commonly divided into three major groups. Hawiye clan dissatisfaction is considered to have played a major role in the travails of the interim government since its inception (Gundel 2009: 12). The prolonged differences and divisions among the clans led to the competition and conflict. Most of those clans are directed by powerful warlords who have played critical roles in the conflicts that have rocked Somalia for decades. The dominant clans engaged in the context of mutual suspicion and mistrust regarding political power. Somalia is currently composed of territories, each controlled by powerful clan. The clan structure was intertwined deeply into the Country's system over a lengthy period of time, and remained the primary factor for identity in Somalia.

Clan Profile in Somalia:

In Somali descent, most Somalis are born into one of four 'big tent' clans. These clans are; the Darood, Dir, Hawiye, and Rahweyn. Somalis further classify themselves into sub-clans, or even sub-sub-clans and beyond (Gundel, Joakim 2009:8). For example, the Dir clan, which is mainly Isaaq have different sub-clans that are included; Haber Awal, Habar Jaalo, and the Harhajis. Certainly, clan dynamics continued to drive conflict amongst Somalis, although these changing aspects are not always apparent to the casual observer. The figure 1 below provided the main clans in Somalia and how they share political power. The president is from Darood, the prime minister from Hawiya, the speaker of the national assembly from Rahweyn and the deputy from speaker from the Dir clan. The clearly showed the structure was based on clan systems and clan structure resulting the political crisis.

Figure 1: The figure below shows the main clans in Somalia and how they share political power.



The above figure above shows the main clans in Somalia and how they share resources and power to the four "major" clans and a half-point to a cluster of "minority" clans (Gundel 2009:11). Thus, the transitional Somali parliament has 275' representatives,' each "major" clan having an equal seat of 61. Those "major" clans are Hawiye, Rahanweyn, Dir (including Isaaq clan) and Darood (Elmi 2014). The problems in Somalia was heightened by the engagement of clans, the 4.5 formula finds its origin in the collapse of the Somali state in January 1991 following the ouster of the ruling dictator Mohamed Siad Barre.

Gundel (2009) also explored that the Hawiye clan inhabits Southern and Central Somalia, included the capital Mogadishu. The Clan's ancestors is Irir Sammale, and its sub-groups includes; the Hawadle, Habargidir, Murosade, Galjaceyl, and Abgaal. The Hawiye have significant players in the Country's conflicts in a bid to achieve political power. The Darood clan

formed an autonomous region named Puntland, complete with its own President and system of administration. The clan traces its ancestry to Abdirahman bin Isma'il al- Jabarti, a descendant of Prophet Muhammad. The clan inhabits the northern region, with communities in Gedo and Kismayo and its subgroups being the Harti, Absame, Leikase, Ortable and the Marehan. The Darood remained suspicious of the Southern clans, and thus hindered the political unification of Somali.

The Digil Rahanweyn is part of the larger Rahanweyn clan and have seven subgroups which included the Garre, Geledi, Tunni, Bagadi, and Jiida. This clan is mainly comprised of coastal and farming communities (Gundel, Joakim 2009:11). The Dir clan inhabits the northern parts of Somalia and are comprised of sub-groups such as the Akisho, Gurgure, Surre, Issa, Isaaq, Gadaburse, and the Biimaal. The Bimal populate the southern part of the country and are famous for leading a widespread resistance on Italian resistance. The Dir is also spread out in the neighboring countries of Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Kenya. The clan populates northwestern Somalia and has declared the region independent and named it Somaliland. The Isaacs were colonized by the British, and have their own administrative, economic, and security structure.

The complex clan structure demonstrated why Somalia's civil war remained clandestine, and indeed, why it is prolonged. The news media reports also found the various incidents and how the different clans have fighting each other. This study examined that the Somali population living Somalia are homogenous that is; they have same language and religion, but the main differences that caused the conflict in the Country was due to clan influence and differences.

Somalia appears to be incomplete without reference to the media as documented on how the media reports to the escalation, and at times rise the conflicts within the Country. BBC Somalia news reports, after the collapse of the Somali government, there was a peace conference

held in Djibouti that was meant to form a government for the Country that was in political crisis (BBC July 2000). Even though, the meeting was a hope to the Country, it was unfortunate that clan warlords have opposed on the structure and how the different clans have shared the government power. "Some of the clan warlords and faction leaders who opposed the peace conference could be indicted for war crimes" (BBC July 2000). The report showed how the clan leaders hindered the peacebuilding process in the Country. Some of the most prominent warlords have boycotted the peace talks, raised fears that their militias will block any new government from taking office or push the Country into a new civil war. The table below provided a clan-based profile and some news coverage of the involvement of clans in Somali political crisis.

Table: 4 clan-based profile and some news coverage for the contribution of clans in Somali Politics.

Clan Profile	News Media Coverage.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hawiye clan: They live mostly in the capital city (Mogadishu). Hussein Aideed, Hussein Haji Bod, Osman Ali Atto, Mohamed Qanyare Afrah and Ali Mahdi Mohamed represent them. Each of these warlords controls a part of the capital. • One key warlord, Musa Sudi Yalahow, who controls south-western Mogadishu and part of the northern section of the city, has once again refused to join the proposed administration. • One of the warlords, who were against the peacebuilding process Ali Mahdi Mohammed, welcomed the plan, but supporters of his rival, Hussein Mohammed Aideed, held a smaller demonstration in the city accusing the Djibouti president of meddling. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BBC NEWS: Wednesday, December 22, 1999. "Warlords agree on Mogadishu authority." • BBC NEWS: Wednesday, December 22, 1999. • BBC NEWS: August 13, 2000

Clan Profile	News Media Coverage.
<p>Darood Clan: They Live in Puntland and Jubaland. Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, one of two men claiming the presidency of Somalia's autonomous state of Puntland, has seized the region's commercial capital Bossaso, following a three-day sweep across the region</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deadly inter-clan fighting broke out in a remote village which is the outskirts of Galkayo. Six people have been killed. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BBC Somali 8 May 2002, "Bossaso falls to a Somali warlord." • Garowe online 23.09.2017
<p>Dir Clan: They most live Somaliland, President Musa Bihi fires two ministers who are ostensibly said to be involved in corruption. President Bihi's government has in the past displayed commitment in the battle against graft.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shebelle: March 30, 2019
<p>Rahweyn Clan: Live in the Southwest side of the Country. Residents said the fighting caused casualties as both militias engaged each other using heavy artilleries, causing much killing and wounded other civilians.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shabelle news March 17, 2019
<p>Minorities: The Country's minorities are from ethnic groups including Bantu, Benadiri, Gaboye or occupational groups, and also include religious minorities such as Christians. All have suffered marginalization and exclusion from mainstream life despite, according to the UN, making up at one time a third of the Country's population.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hiiraan Online: November 24, 2010

Some researchers like Elmi (2016) in the literature review also examined the topic and finds out their study that Somalia clan-based regions are divided by colonialism. Somali society continues to be defined by clan identities, and clan rivalries frame the balance of power across Somalia. Somali clans and sub-clans are geographically associated rather than divided between homogeneous clan territories, although certain sub-clans exert significant power in specific

regions. For example, the capital of Mogadishu is divided among Hawiye sub-clans while the Rahanweyn (also called the Digil-Mirifle) continue to play a crucial role in central Bay and Bakool regions. The Isaaq dominated Somaliland in the northwest, and various Darood sub-clans reside mainly in Puntland, the north-central provinces, and the southern Juba region. These geographic divisions often corresponded to battle lines, as clans vie for influence and resources.

Puntland news reported that after the clashes of clan militia, six people was killed while several wounded during an incident in Galkacyo (Garowe Sept 2017). The residents have witnessed heavy gunshots within the city of Galkacyo, where there was a destruction of resources. Most of the fight was on behalf of the Puntland government that was carried out by the Puntland Intelligence Service (PIS), the most active armed group in Puntland, where it absorbed an enormous amount of the annual budget. The PIS was mainly formed from the Osman Mahmud sub-clan of the Majerteen (which also dominated the Puntland administration) and was accused of inciting clan warfare against the Warsangeli Clan of the Darod in Bosaso. The complex and interlocked system established the rules by which Somali politicians, warlords, and even terrorists must abide. As al-Shabaab have developed in recent years and sought to balance domestic priorities with international jihadi ideals, the role of clan have continued to plague and shape the organization.

The conference chaired by Djibouti president tried to end divisive disagreements in parliament, but the assembly was divided along clan lines (BBC August 2000). There are some factors which have constrained the efforts of Djibouti to revolve around the competing strategic interests of regional and non-regional state. Coupled with peculiarities of the Somali crisis and the lack of interest of the international community, unless in rare instance it led to a situation where the consequences rather than the root causes attracted attention, therefore some region

governed by clan warlords declared that they would not recognize the new government escalated the political crisis in the Country.

Residents and community elders were targeted during the conflict since the clan elders make most of the political decision in the Country. This have escalated the conflict in the Country. "BBC correspondent in Somalia says Mr. Yalahow was angered by the presence of the authorities' forces on what he regarded as Abgal clan territory, despite other clan elders invited theirs. He denied shelling other areas of the city" (BBC July 2001). The Country have long disputes between the breakaway of different states like Somaliland, Puntland, Hirshabelle, Jubaland, South Central, and Galmudug. Those regional states continued opposing the federal government. Somalia's numerous clans made up of sub-clans, and extended networks are a defining feature of society and identity.

Hiiraan online news reported that every government of Somalia have exploited the country's population. Foreign interference created the Transitional Federal Government and, unintentionally, a more powerful clan group spearheaded by clan warlords (Hiiraan Dec 2015). If either group was to a real government, the population likely would once again become oppressed. In the meantime, the various clan groups appeared to be in civil war, which resulted chaos within the country thus created the political crisis in Somalia. "Gunmen ambushed Somali troops who were patrolling the main intersection in the battle-scarred capital Saturday, fatally shooting two soldiers in the back, witnesses said" (Hiiraan April 2007). As per the news report, the capital city was the center of clan violence related issues that increased the death of many civilians in the country that led political instability hence, enabled terror activities to take place.

The highest percentage of Somalis in all cities of the country was against the long-run clan power-sharing formula, whereas small minority approved it, due to this reason whenever an

election is approached the country will have a prolonged conflict. The different clan in the country caused a lot of disorganized political campaign which will heighten the political crisis in the Country (Hiiraan August 2016). The news report focused on how elections are organized in August 2016. Consequently, Somali political actors have engaged in a process to gather consensus, which have proved elusive, on a substitute electoral model to elect members of parliament.

The involvement and the role of regional leaders, whose legitimacy was questionable was also another concern. The leaders did not enjoy the support of a significant segment of the population and clans in the various interim regions. “It is well known internationally that Somalia has been eradicated by a prolonged civil war that continued over 25 years. As a result, Khadijo and I longed to be part of the solution and the process of recovery by facilitating peace training in Mogadishu: the city of paradoxes where ghost, danger, and mystery coexist alongside hope and fear” (Hiiraan August 2016). The instability and chaos include the growing militias of warlords, centers of Islamic extremism that conflicted the formation of a government administration,

While the dispute have mostly presented as a difference based on the electoral model, the underlying sticky point was the lack of trust in terms of the control and supervision of the electoral process (Hiiraan Dec 2015). The controversy surrounded the appointment of members of the Electoral Commission reflected the causal disputes among the clans. A proposal to empower an independent vetting commission, rather than the Electoral Commission, verifying the clan leaders was selected to address concerned issues.

In the capital city of Mogadishu and other areas of the South, the militia troops have a field day. They are engaged in a highly profitable criminal enterprise that operates traffic

checkpoints. The militias have created various checkpoint in different parts of the city that caused much violence in the capital city. “Gunfire could be heard amid reports that several people, mostly government workers, were trapped in the ministry on what had been a normal business day. More than ten people were wounded, and the death toll could rise, Col. Ahmed Mohamed said. Witnesses said some ministry staffers died or were injured while leaping from windows or walls to escape” (Hiiraan July 2018). The Al-Qaida group claimed that there are the ones who have facilitated the killing and the violence of the incidents. Ironically, there are some clan militias who promoted the execution of the innocent people in the city. As per the news media reports, the political situation in Somalia is as unpredictable as ever. The possibility of consensus on the electoral model is tricky. Another delay and another widespread frustration at the slow pace of change seems unavoidable. The high level of insecurity drifts over the whole country thus caused the political crisis in the country.

The report from the Reuters media stated that a flashy explosion devastated the office in the capital city of the country and sent up huge clouds of smoke. The reporter saw five bodies and the body parts of a sixth person (Reuters Sep 2007). The destruction of government structures, its institutions and the death of the citizens caused devastation of both human and material resources which have increased the political turmoil in the country. While federal and regional authorities made some progress in clarifying roles and responsibilities in the security and justice sectors, political infighting diverted from much-needed reforms.

Tensions between the different local states and the federal government are alarming and cause political instability in the country. “A statement says forces of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) opened fire on the building in Mogadishu Wednesday and Thursday, destroying radio equipment. The chairman of Shabelle media calls it a fierce and savage attack

on freedom of speech" (Shabelle Oct 2009). There was a politically motivated issue that was meant to sabotage the media reports uncovering the various incidents and political calamity in the country. President Farmajo reiterated the move to drive the Country forward and declared his forgiveness to all leaders across the political spectrum in the Country. The President underscored the need to engage in the spirit of forgiveness. "I forgive everyone, and I also call on your forgiveness as well," he said (Shabelle Jan 2019). The President of the federal government of Somalia tried his best to shape and take the Country forward but, regional leaders who have the support of clan militias have become an obstacle to the progress. The head of state have spoken to the local leaders and held a meeting at the capital of Puntland regional state during the inauguration ceremony of Said Abdullahi Deni on Saturday night.

There are different inter-clan conflicts in the Southern part of Somalia, which gives for the clan-warlords to effectively engage their clan militia in creating hostility among the various clans in the Country hence, the political crisis (Shabelle March 2019). Since the beginning of the civil war, a new breed of power broker has emerged to fill the vacuum left by the Country's power structure. Their political ambition was based on clan identity and clan power that has a detrimental impact and paved away to the conflict in the Country.

Clan Structure in Somalia:

This study provided analysis that continued to acknowledge the creation of clan-states within the failed state of Somalia. Based on various new media articles of different sources, this research offered a new perspective on the current state formation processes occurred in the purview of the Somali State. Ingiris (2018:12) also discovered that Somali clans are determined to come to terms with the state collapse by averting the return to the political power of the

detested military regime. The regional states was based on structure that inclined to terrify other rival clans and deprived of any equal power and resource-sharing agenda.

The case of political failure and government collapse in Somalia is almost entirely attributed to the clan elders and clan structure, which has heightened the political crisis in the Country that had a negative consequence in the Country. Recent research by Menkhaus (2007) also emphasized that Somalia was frightened via power-sharing accords without stern attempts at reconciliation of issues such as territorial occupation and subjugation in southern Somalia. These have partially account for the high failure rate of the various clan structure, which increased the political temperature in the Country.

Galmudug and Puntland are clashing in the town, which straddles their common border and is divided under the control of rival clan militias. As violence between these groups began to escalate a month ago, schools in Galkayo were forced to close, and some people fled the town (Aljeezira Nov 2016). The region of Galmudug had 13 soldiers killed and 20 wounded, said Hirsi Yusuf Barre, the mayor of southern Galkayo. These have also increased the political crisis in the Country.

Every Clan in Somalia have their leadership structure, which decides for the Clan. "A report from the regional leader's office on Saturday has named of the seven-member committee assigned to prepare presidential elections for the state. Following Jubaland regional state of Somalia charter and (after) consultation with deputy regional leader, I have appointed a new electoral commission to commence their task," the letter from Ahmed Madobe reads in part" (Shabelle March 2019). Without the consultation of the federal and any other administration, the Jubaland president is making his own decisions on a matter related to the electioneering process.

These have created some misunderstanding and lack of trust between the regional President and the federal government.

Different clan militia groups have caused many incidents that have led the killing and violence, which enabled the country to be in a messy scenario. Due to the simultaneous incident that was created by clan leaders caused the instability. "The two were identified as Bashir Raghe and Muse Sudi Yalahow, who represented forces that had been defeated by the Islamist militia that now controls Mogadishu, the capital of the East African nation of Somalia" (CNN June 2006). The two warlords controlled the city with the support from their clans. The clan leaders have the mentality that the most potent group will have the opportunity to lead the capital city regardless of political ambition. It is due to this that the country is in political crisis. "The deadly bombings in Uganda's capital may have heralded a chilling new chapter in the history of a Somali Islamist group with links to al Qaeda" (CNN July 2010). It is believed that the deadly explosion is politically organized and was meant to create diplomatic problems between Somalia and the neighboring countries like Uganda.

While the disputes have mostly presented as a difference based on the electoral model, the underlying sticky point appears to be the lack of trust in terms of the control and supervision of the electoral process (Hiiraan Dec 2015). The controversy surrounded the appointment of members of the Electoral Commission reflects the underlying dispute among the clans. A proposal to empower an independent vetting commission, rather than the Electoral Commission was verified. In the capital city of Mogadishu and other areas of the South, the militia troops have a field day. They engaged in a highly profitable criminal enterprise which is increasing the insecurity in the country. The structure and how the clan influenced the political system in Somalia caused the crisis in the country.

Discussion and Conclusion of the Study:

After finding out the themes in the study and the news media articles, the study examined and concluded that clan conflict is a key factor that resulted the political crisis in Somalia. Some of the researchers in the literature and other scholars who also addressed on the topics fail to clarify on this matter. This study investigated how clan inclined the political crisis in Somalia through the news media reports. These helped to answer the research question and justified the information collected from news media articles. In this part of the study, it is evident that the characteristic of clan conflict and misuse of power have influenced the Country's sovereignty, which led to the political crisis.

The study identified some themes that have escalated the political crisis in Somalia. The structure of the clan system have played a great role in creating conflict among the various clan in the country. When the former government collapsed in 1991 and a civil war started. Clan loyalty intensified the conflict in Somalia, and any peace settlement that does not tackle clan engagement in Somali is desperate to failure ((Gundel 2009). As competing warlords tore the country apart into clan-based fiefdoms, an internationally backed government was formed in 2000. The government struggled to establish control to the south side of the country that was in critical condition. The northern regions of Somaliland and Puntland established regional state government that had its leadership structure which was opposing the former government (BBC January 2018). Since 1991, Somalia was battered by rolling phases of a civil war that was played out among the Country's many fractious clans. Larger entities aspiring to statehood, warlords, and Islamist groups. State institutions, included the security apparatus, have experienced a profound collapse.

The other theme that was identified in the study was the involvement of clan in politics. Despite extensive international efforts for three decades to rebuild state institutions and stabilize the country, Mogadishu-based national governments had limited operational capacity and physical reach into much of the Country (Ingiris 2018). Critically, clan engagement have resulted the disunity and lack of government institutions to function adequately thus created a room for political crisis. The government was weakened by clan leaders and the regional political competition among the country's clans and powerbrokers. The federal government was unable to deliver services to the civilians. Usually, the most effective, even if brutal, stabilized actors in Somalia was the Islamist extremist groups that was originally based on clan.

In grouping with Somali clan militias and the remainders of Somali national forces (SNF) supported by the broader international community, have succeeded in wresting control of large parts of Somalia from al Shabab as election approaches (Hiiraan Dec 2015). However, since 2015, military efforts against al Shabab have delayed. The capacity of Somali national forces remains minimal, and AMISOM is reducing its presence. Meanwhile, Al Shabab terrorized the security situation in the country and reduced the power of the government. The terrorist remained profoundly entrenched and undefeated. So, the prospect is for conflict to intensify and insecurity to worsen.

International efforts to improve the capacity of the Somali government have registered some meaningful progress: Somalia successfully, although quite imperfectly, conducted two presidential and parliamentary elections (Hiiraan August 2016). Crucially, it has embarked on a significant political and institutional overhaul, including the writing of a new constitution and formation of federal states. Significant tensions and disagreements between the federal government and federal states persist. In 2019, this had produced an intense conflict that resulted

long crisis. Meanwhile, corruption and favoritism was rampant and affected every sector of the government.

There were several attempts in forming a national government for Somalia; the latest one being the Nairobi meeting that was elected a Transitional Federal Government and Parliament. Unfortunately, the participants were mainly warlords and their sidekicks, rather than the genuine clan leaders (BBC Aug 2000). The lack of recognition also led to the legitimacy problems of the Abdullahi Yusuf government. The other problem is that the President came from the Darood clan and the Hawiye, especially the Habargidir sub-clan are afraid that he might facilitate the return of properties belonged to the Darood that was stolen when the former government collapsed. The struggle is not only for power but also for the control of resources.

There was always numerous reports that al-Shabab may have formed some links with other militant groups in Africa, for example, Boko Haram in Nigeria and al-Qaeda in Middle East. The political system in Somalia was based on clan identity and clan structure, when the civil war started the hatred entrenched and escalated the violence among the various clans whose members were part of the rebel movements (which incidentally included most Somali clans, including the President's own). The sharing and the allocation of resources for the "minor clans" is reflective of the general treatment meted out to members of these clans in all aspects of life. For example, many members of the so-called significant clans refuse to intermarry with the minority groups, to the extent where families disown members if they do go ahead (Elmi 2014:15). The Somali state cannot be revived unless the people themselves can decide how they want to be governed. The so-called clan representative should allow the people to freely express their political choices rather than always claiming to speak for them. Until the Somalis completely eradicate the

abomination that is the 4.5 formula, there is no hope for the Somali state. Moreover, no one is to blame for that but the Somali people.

The clan system have damaged the country for the prolonged conflicted. Rather than the people coming together and solving the problems amicably the clan politician are creating conflicts between the clans. Instead of promoting inclusive and nationalistic politics, the 4.5 system have institutionalized clan politics, which affected every layer of government and administration. It had directly led to the adoption of clan power sharing system. This have unsettled and alienated a large section of the Somali population.

The decisive criteria for symbolic violence is that it is imposed on the dominated without reflection and without a lengthy process with the help of a secret code that is silent and insidious, insistent and inventive, and therefore authoritative and hard to resist (Bourdieu 1997:32). The way Somali politicians sought power and resources was based on Bourdieu concept in which there are no structural objectivity and subjectivity, and clan nepotism is a tool used for sharing resources and power. The clan-based structure hinders any attempt to stabilize and form a government institution that can serve the best interest of the citizens. When a nation is concerned with clan interest rather than the state interest, then there will be much fragmentation among the different regions in the country, hence losing the sovereignty of the country.

Bourdieu's sociology of education related to his general ideas about the (re)production of symbolic power structures. One of the questions for this study is also connected on Bourdieu's social order via the arbitration of the divisions (clan structure, power, influence, regions classifications) blessed by the "clan identity" to the political crisis. "Social reality exists twice, in things and minds, in fields and habitus, outside and inside of agents. Moreover, when habitus

encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like “fish in water”: it does not feel the weight of the water, and it takes the world about itself as granted” (Bourdieu et al.1992, p. 127).

Humanitarian organizations and peacebuilding forces was deployed from various parts of the world for responding to the political crisis in the Country. There was a formation of terror groups in the Country. The extremist groups have massacred innocent people in the Country, claimed that citizens have supported missions against their agendas like the United Nations and Western ideology. The terrorist groups kidnapped humanitarian aid worker for not abiding their policies and protocols. Different charitable organization stopped their implementation due to insecurity from the extremist groups.

The Country can only work better when there is power balance. The heavy focus on clan-based politics facilitated the country to be in chaos; hence mounted the conflict in the Country. The study concluded that for Somalia to be stable people should be more diplomatic and have consolidated political vision that can result better goals. The recurring political crisis in Somalia under the influence of clan have blocked any progress that the country needed.

The struggle of power between the various clans and sub-clan led under the influence of clan politics, human rights abuse and the killing of civilians was a common problem during the conflict. Regionalism was developed under the leadership of clan warlords undermining the dignity of the state. Millions of people were displaced from their home country and fled in different parts of the world as refugees and asylum to survive.

The politicians and the clan elites who were supposed to bring peace, reform, and progress in the country have causing the political crisis in the country. Political vision and security were immensely neglected. The clan leaders fail to bring unity and coexistence between the various clans which is disastrous in multiple levels that included; economic bankruptcy, lack of

sovereignty, and human rights violation that resulted the collapse of former government. Due to lack of proper foreign policy and clan loyalty, the country was divided into regional states and tribal boundaries for each clan to safeguard its resources and borders. A critical factor that necessitated the fragmentation that has intensified the political crisis in the country is due to the division of the different state into clan territory.

In relation to Bourdieu sociological theory, various capitals, e.g., cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capitals of the clans or their interplay smoothed the clan identity and clan structures in the Somali society. For the clans, exercising and acquisition of various capital have led numerous inequalities in this clan-based society, which contributed to continued conflicts among the clans. These created the social biases and disparities among the various clans in Somalia that resulted the continued political conflict. The cultural, social, economic, and symbolic differences among the clans due to their drive advantageous position over other clans necessitated the social, economic, political injustice that resulted the political crisis. The inequalities, favoritism, and nepotism caused by the clan warlords caused every regional state to have its separate rule. Social inequality and the lack of equal distribution of resources and power is the main challenge that resulted the political crisis in the country.

The study aimed to provide an examination of Somali politics in terms of clan structure and clan involvement for the present and future researchers, especially, for those who wanted to study and understand it more deeply. It can also help policy maker to understand clan system and it's influences in Somalia. This would help international organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and government to understand the real scenario and develop programs and projects and how they can go about it. I have observed some shortcoming during the study.

However, the value and reliability of the data collected from the news media articles were highly individualistic. I could only generate data and analysis from the reporter's point of view that might contain their own biasness. Some of the information reported from the news media articles were not be fully relevant to the study. The need to search and spend more time in different news articles that are applicable to the study is indeed time consuming and tedious task. My future for this study is to conduct an interview from different people that come from various clans in Somalia. This will help me to get firsthand information related to the topic.

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