



Federalism and Socio-Economic Development in Post-Conflict

Somalia:

Governance Challenges and Pathways Forward

By

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DECLARATION

To the best of my knowledge, I, Sharif Sheikh Amin, have not submitted any portion of my dissertation for any award other than this degree, unless the sources were properly cited.

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Chapter 01

1.1 Background of the Study

Since the collapse of its central government in 1991, Somalia has faced decades of conflict, instability, and underdevelopment. Political fragmentation, clan-based rivalries, and the rise of militant groups like Al-Shabaab have further complicated efforts to establish governance and promote socio-economic development. In response to the political and security crises, Somalia adopted federalism in 2004 through the Transitional Federal Charter, and efforts to operationalize this governance model began in earnest with the Provisional Federal Constitution of 2012 (Hassan, 2019; Mohamed & Samatar, 2019; A. M. Samatar et al., 2023). Federalism was seen as a tool to decentralize power, foster local governance, and address the historical grievances of marginalized clans and regions. The new governance system aimed to restore political stability while promoting equitable development by empowering federal member states to manage their own resources and local services.

Federalism has become an increasingly popular governance model globally, particularly in post conflict societies. The idea is that devolving power to local levels can enhance political inclusion and promote regional development. However, Somalia's unique challenges—including weak state institutions, fragmented political allegiances, and active militant insurgency—raise questions about whether federalism can succeed in fostering meaningful socio-economic progress (Afrax, 2023; Hodder & Asiwaju, 1986; A. I. Samatar, 1992, 1997; A. I. S. and A. I. Samatar, 2008; SAMATAR, 2021). In the Somali context, power-sharing arrangements between the federal government and regional states have frequently resulted in political disputes, resource competition, and governance breakdowns, weakening both central and local administrative capacities.

The implementation of federalism in Somalia has also encountered major governance challenges, including:

- Constitutional ambiguities regarding the division of powers between the federal government and member states.
- Disputes over the formation and boundaries of federal member states.
- Persistent insecurity and militant violence, particularly from Al-Shabaab, limiting development efforts.
- Fragmented fiscal policies and resource misallocation, leading to significant disparities in development across regions.

Professor Ahmed Samatar has emphasized the need for political and institutional reforms in post conflict Somalia, stressing that good governance must go beyond state-building to include equitable resource allocation and the promotion of social welfare. He warns that without inclusive and functional governance, the federal system may exacerbate existing inequalities and contribute to regional instability (ABDĪ YONĪS & YUSUPOV, 2022; Bishku & Samatar, 1990; Hageman & Samatar, 2020; Roble, 2015; Spaulding, 1989). The success of federalism in fostering socio-economic development requires that both the federal and regional governments work together to build a functioning public administration, deliver basic services, and ensure equitable access to resources.

This study examines the relationship between federalism and socio-economic development in post conflict Somalia, addressing whether the federal system has been able to promote sustainable growth, reduce inequalities, and improve public service delivery. The research will also investigate how the governance challenges embedded within federalism have affected the

realization of development goals. This dissertation thus contributes to the broader discourse on post-conflict governance frameworks, offering insights into Somalia's unique experience with federalism and its impact on long-term development.

1.2 Research Problem

The primary research problem addressed by this study is the extent to which federalism has facilitated or hindered socio-economic development in Somalia. Although federalism was intended to foster governance reforms and regional empowerment, Somalia's experience reveals several challenges. Key issues include:

- Constitutional ambiguities regarding the division of powers between the federal government and the member states,
- Uneven distribution of resources, leading to disparities in development outcomes across regions,
- Persistent insecurity fuelled by Al-Shabaab insurgency, which limits the effectiveness of governance and development programs (Samatar, 2016).

While much attention has been given to the political dimensions of Somalia's federalism, there is limited research on how federalism affects socio-economic outcomes such as infrastructure development, healthcare, education, and local employment. Additionally, the ongoing political rivalry between the federal government and regional states raises questions about the feasibility of decentralized governance in fragile contexts. This study seeks to fill this gap by examining the practical outcomes of federalism in promoting development and identifying governance reforms that could enhance socio-economic progress in Somalia's post-conflict setting.

1.3 Research Questions

This dissertation aims to answer the following key research questions:

1. What is the relationship between federalism and socio-economic development in post conflict Somalia?
2. What governance challenges have emerged under the federal system, and how have they impacted development outcomes?
3. How have federal and regional governments managed resource distribution, public services, and security issues?
4. What role has the international community played in shaping Somalia's federal governance and development strategies?
5. What policy recommendations can enhance the effectiveness of federalism for development in Somalia?

1.4 Research Objectives

The main objectives of this research are:

- To analyse the relationship between federalism and socio-economic development in Somalia.
- To identify the key governance challenges hindering development under the federal framework.
- To examine how the distribution of resources and responsibilities between federal and regional governments has affected development outcomes.
- To evaluate the role of international actors in supporting or undermining federal governance and development efforts in Somalia.

- To propose policy recommendations for enhancing the alignment of federal governance with development priorities.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research is significant for several reasons. First, it contributes to the academic discourse on federalism in fragile states, a subject of increasing relevance as more countries transition from conflict to decentralized governance structures. Somalia's experience offers valuable lessons on both the potential benefits and risks of federalism in post-conflict reconstruction.

Second, this study provides practical insights for Somali policymakers and regional leaders, who continue to grapple with the challenges of implementing federalism. Understanding the governance obstacles that hinder development is essential for crafting policies that can promote economic growth and reduce regional disparities.

Third, this dissertation will contribute to the body of knowledge on Somali political economy and development, building on the work of Professor Ahmed Samatar and other scholars who have analysed the intersection of politics, governance, and economic progress in Somalia.

Finally, the findings of this study will offer policy recommendations for international donors and development partners involved in Somalia's rebuilding efforts, providing guidance on how external support can align with local governance frameworks to promote sustainable development (Njoku, 2018; Paramaditha et al., 2022; A. I. Samatar & Zmolek, 1994; Vilas-Bôas, 2013)

1.6 Scope and Limitations

This dissertation focuses on the impact of federalism on socio-economic development in Somalia from 2012 onward, when the federal framework was formally implemented. The study

primarily examines areas such as resource distribution, public service delivery, and governance challenges within both federal and regional governments. Given the security constraints in Somalia, fieldwork and primary data collection will not be feasible. Instead, the study will rely on secondary data sources, including academic literature, government reports, and policy documents. Remote interviews with Somali scholars and policymakers will supplement the data.

The limitations of this research include the lack of direct access to field data from Somalia and potential biases in the secondary data sources. However, the study aims to mitigate these challenges by using multiple data sources and expert opinions, including insights from Professor Ahmed Samatar's work.

1.7 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into fifteen chapters, each focusing on a specific aspect of federalism and development in Somalia.

1. Introduction – Provides an overview of the study, research problem, objectives, and significance.
2. Literature Review – Reviews relevant literature on federalism, governance, and development, with a focus on Somalia.
3. Methodology – Explains the research design, data sources, and methods of analysis.
4. Historical Context of Federalism in Somalia – Traces the evolution of governance in Somalia.
5. Constitutional Ambiguities and Legal Framework – Analyses challenges in the legal structure of Somalia's federalism.

6. Formation and Demarcation of Federal Member States – Discusses the state formation process and border disputes.
7. Fiscal Federalism and Resource Allocation – Explores economic disparities and financial management.
8. Local Governance and Development Outcomes – Examines the role of regional governments in promoting development.
9. The Impact of International Aid and NGOs – Analyses external influences on development efforts.
10. Security and Stability under Federalism – Investigates the relationship between governance, security, and development.
11. Community Perceptions and Grassroots Engagement – Explores local views on federalism and development.
12. Comparative Analysis with Other Post-Conflict Federal States – Draws lessons from other contexts.
13. The Role of the Somali Diaspora – Examines the contributions of the diaspora to development efforts.
14. Policy Recommendations for Enhancing Federalism and Development – Provides practical recommendations.
15. Conclusion – Summarizes key findings and discusses implications for future research.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the central theme of the dissertation, which investigates the relationship between federalism and socio-economic development in post-conflict Somalia. It outlined the research problem, objectives, and significance, emphasizing the need for governance

reforms to promote equitable development across the country. The next chapter will review the existing literature on federalism, governance, and development, setting the foundation for the study.

Chapter 02

2.Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an extensive review of existing scholarship on federalism, governance, and socio-economic development, focusing particularly on post-conflict settings and the Somali context. Federalism, often adopted in fragile states to mitigate political division and promote unity, can present both opportunities and challenges in regions like Somalia, where long-standing clan affiliations and socio-political complexities dominate the governance landscape. By assessing theoretical foundations, historical analyses, and contemporary studies on federalism, this literature review will highlight the multifaceted nature of governance in post-conflict Somalia. The review integrates insights from Somali scholars, such as Professor Ahmed Samatar, whose work underscores the influence of politics, economy, and identity on governance frameworks. Samatar's analyses of Somali politics and federalism provide a critical foundation for understanding the governance and socio-economic challenges in the country. This literature review provides an essential conceptual framework for examining the potential of federalism as a governance strategy to address Somalia's unique post-conflict needs.

2.2 Theories of Federalism and Decentralization

2.2.1 Defining Federalism

Federalism, as a system of governance, involves a formal division of power between central and regional governments, allowing for both unity and regional autonomy in managing a country's diverse interests. Scholars have debated federalism's efficacy in multi-ethnic and fragmented societies, where it can offer stability by recognizing regional identities and mitigating the centralization of power (Watts, 2008). Federalism is seen by many as a system capable of balancing national integrity with local autonomy, a feature that has made it popular in post-conflict nations where diverse groups seek representation and protection within a unified state structure.

This arrangement not only helps in representing regional interests but also aims to improve governance by tailoring policies and administrative approaches to local needs. According to Stepan (2004), federalism provides a structure for managing diversity within states that otherwise struggle to maintain cohesion under centralized rule. In Somalia, where clan identity strongly influences political allegiance and governance structures, federalism theoretically offers a mechanism to balance these identities while striving for a unified Somali nation. However, the model's success depends on its ability to accommodate local governance practices, historical grievances, and existing clan dynamics.

2.2.2 Federalism in Post-Conflict Societies

Federalism's appeal in post-conflict societies stems from its potential to institutionalize peace and encourage power-sharing among various groups that have historically been in conflict. Scholars argue that in such societies, federalism offers a means to manage ethnic diversity and

prevent power concentration, a factor often implicated in civil conflicts (Bakke & Wibbels, 2006). In the Somali context, federalism was adopted with the goal of decentralizing power, ensuring regional representation, and reducing the historical influence of dominant clans over national politics. However, the Somali federal model has encountered obstacles, including political fragmentation and institutional weaknesses that hinder effective governance. Dahir and Sheikh (2021) highlight that the lack of a strong central government has complicated the federal structure's implementation, as power-sharing agreements are often disrupted by local rivalries and security concerns. This post-conflict adoption of federalism in Somalia reflects a complex balancing act where the federal model must simultaneously encourage regional autonomy and foster a cohesive national identity—a challenge heightened by the fragility of the Somali state.

2.2.3 Federalism vs. Decentralization

While often confused, federalism and decentralization represent two distinct approaches to governance. Decentralization involves transferring administrative responsibilities to local governments while keeping authority centralized, whereas federalism divides sovereignty constitutionally between the central and regional governments, granting regions significant control over their own affairs. In Somalia, the choice of federalism over decentralization signifies a strategic shift aimed at providing greater autonomy to regional administrations to better manage local needs while maintaining national unity. Riker (1964) argues that federalism suits countries with deep-seated regional identities, offering a constitutional guarantee for local governance, unlike decentralization, which can be revoked by central authorities. In Somalia, federalism theoretically promotes regional autonomy while still holding to the ideal of a unified Somali state. However, the application has been contentious, as some regions and local communities perceive federalism as undermining central governance rather than enhancing it.

Samatar (2016) contends that the federal structure in Somalia risks empowering regional elites, who may prioritize clan interests over national cohesion, suggesting that without strong institutional checks, federalism could exacerbate regional inequalities and tensions.

2.3 Governance Challenges in Federal Systems

2.3.1 Political and Institutional Fragmentation

Implementing federalism in post-conflict societies often faces obstacles stemming from political and institutional fragmentation. Somalia's transition to federalism, influenced by external actors and internal clan-based dynamics, has exposed governance issues such as constitutional ambiguity, lack of consensus on power-sharing, and inter-regional disputes (Elmi, 2014).

Political fragmentation in Somalia is closely tied to clan affiliations, with regional leaders often prioritizing clan interests over national unity. Professor Ahmed Samatar (2016) argues that without institutional strength, federalism can result in inter-state conflicts and governance deadlocks, with regions vying for control over resources and political influence. This fragmentation is further complicated by Somalia's dependency on international aid, which sometimes reinforces regional autonomy at the expense of national unity. The fragmented political landscape has hindered effective policy implementation and has created a complex environment where the central government lacks the authority to enforce unified governance practices, thereby limiting federalism's potential to stabilize the country.

2.3.2 Resource Allocation and Fiscal Federalism

Fiscal federalism, or the allocation of financial resources between levels of government, is essential for effective governance in federal systems. Equitable resource distribution enables regions to meet local administrative needs and facilitates socio-economic development.

However, Somalia faces significant challenges in establishing a transparent fiscal federalism system, leading to tensions between the central government and federal member states (Dahir & Sheikh, 2021). Unequal resource allocation, compounded by weak fiscal policies, has limited regions' capacities to implement development programs effectively, leading to disparities that fuel regional grievances. This issue has sparked debates over the necessity of a robust fiscal framework that can ensure resources are shared fairly across federal member states. In Professor Samatar's (2016) assessment, Somalia's fiscal federalism must prioritize transparency and accountability to avoid exacerbating regional inequalities and to support sustainable socio-economic growth across the country.

2.3.3 Security and Militant Threats

The security landscape in Somalia is marked by the presence of militant groups like Al-Shabaab, whose activities undermine federalism's efficacy by destabilizing regions and disrupting state building efforts (Bryden, 2013). The insurgency presents severe challenges for governance, as resources meant for socio-economic development are frequently redirected to security initiatives. This constant threat from militants weakens regional governments, limits access to essential services and hampers public trust in the federal system. According to Samatar (2016), Somalia's federalism cannot be effective without a comprehensive security strategy that protects both citizens and state institutions from militant threats. The ongoing instability, combined with insufficient governmental capacity to counteract it, creates a vicious cycle where insecurity perpetuates governance challenges, which in turn further destabilizes the regions, complicating the federal structure's intended benefits.

2.4 Socio-Economic Development in Post-Conflict Settings

2.4.1 The Role of Governance in Development

Effective governance is a cornerstone of socio-economic development, as it promotes stability, ensures service delivery, and enables resource mobilization essential for growth and poverty reduction. Studies on post-conflict settings emphasize that governance systems emphasizing inclusivity, transparency, and accountability are crucial for realizing development goals (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). However, Somalia's persistent governance challenges—marked by weak institutions, inter-clan conflicts, and power disputes—hinder its capacity to implement effective development policies. Samatar (2016) argues that Somalia's federal model must improve its governance capacities to achieve socio-economic development, with particular attention to establishing policies that support equitable growth and mitigate poverty. Addressing these issues through stronger institutional frameworks and unified development strategies is essential to overcoming the obstacles Somalia faces in its quest for post-conflict recovery.

2.4.2 Impact of Federalism on Socio-Economic Development

The impact of federalism on development is multifaceted and varies based on how well regions can exercise autonomy in addressing local needs. In Somalia, the federal structure was intended to empower regions and enable locally tailored policies (Rondinelli, 2007). However, federalism's benefits have been limited by administrative inefficiencies, political tensions, and resource disputes between federal and regional governments (Elmi, 2014). Samatar (2016) notes that unless federalism is supported by transparent governance structures and equitable resource-sharing mechanisms, it may hinder rather than promote development. This reflects a broader need to balance regional autonomy with national policy cohesion to address disparities and foster comprehensive socio-economic growth.

2.4.3 Regional Disparities in Development Outcomes

One of the primary criticisms of federalism in Somalia is the uneven development across federal member states. Studies indicate that regions with stronger political influence or international support tend to receive greater resources, while marginalized regions remain underdeveloped. This disparity undermines the goal of equitable development that federalism seeks to achieve (Samatar, 2016). The need for inclusive governance and targeted development policies is critical to addressing regional inequalities and fostering sustainable development.

2.5 The Somali Perspective on Federalism and Development

2.5.1 Federalism as a Foreign Initiative

A recurring theme in Somali political discourse is the perception that federalism is an externally imposed model, primarily supported by international donors. This perception, as noted by Dahir and Sheikh (2021), has contributed to scepticisms and resistance among segments of the Somali population, who view federalism as incompatible with Somalia's traditional governance structures. Professor Samatar (2016) argues that federalism's association with foreign intervention may undermine its legitimacy and hinder its acceptance among Somali citizens, further complicating governance and development efforts.

2.5.2 Clan Dynamics and Governance

Somalia's federalism cannot be understood without considering the role of clan dynamics, which are deeply entrenched in Somali society and politics. Scholars highlight that federal member states often represent clan-based regions, leading to tensions between clans over political power and resource allocation (Elmi, 2014). Professor Samatar (2016) emphasizes that unless Somalia's

federalism incorporates mechanisms to manage inter-clan relations and promote national unity, it risks reinforcing social divisions and undermining governance.

2.6 Conclusion

The literature reviewed highlights the complex relationship between federalism, governance, and socio-economic development in post-conflict Somalia. While federalism was adopted to decentralize power and foster stability, it faces significant obstacles, including political fragmentation, security threats, and regional inequalities. Somali scholars like Professor Ahmed Samatar underscore the need for inclusive governance frameworks and sustainable development strategies that reflect Somalia's unique socio-political context. This literature review lays the groundwork for an empirical analysis of federalism's impact on development in Somalia, emphasizing the importance of addressing governance challenges to achieve equitable socio-economic progress.

Chapter 03

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology employed in analysing the interplay between federalism, governance, and socio-economic development in Somalia, with particular attention to the Somali clan system's pivotal role. Clans are the backbone of Somali social organization, influencing political structures and economic processes. This chapter provides a detailed account of the research design, data collection and analysis strategies, the role of the clan system, and the limitations encountered during the study.

3.2 Research Design

This study adopts a qualitative research approach, which is particularly suited to exploring complex and deeply embedded socio-political phenomena, such as the interplay between federalism, clan dynamics, and socio-economic development in Somalia. Qualitative research emphasizes the understanding of human behaviour, experiences, and cultural contexts, which are integral to unpacking the nuanced relationships that define governance in Somalia. By focusing on rich, descriptive data rather than numerical measurements, this approach allows for a deeper examination of the unique cultural and political factors that influence the Somali federal system.

Qualitative methods facilitate the exploration of subjective experiences and perspectives, particularly those of Somali communities, scholars, and policymakers. These insights are critical for understanding how federalism is perceived and practiced within the context of a deeply rooted clan system. Furthermore, this approach accommodates the exploration of historical and cultural narratives, such as the genealogies and roles of Somali clans like the Isaaq, Darod, and Hawiye, as well as the contested power-sharing frameworks such as the 4.5 clan formula. The qualitative framework also allows for a comprehensive understanding of the socio-economic disparities that exist among Somalia's federal member states and the factors that contribute to these inequalities.

By employing semi-structured interviews, document analysis, and archival research, the qualitative approach enables the researcher to triangulate data, ensuring a robust and multifaceted understanding of the research questions. Additionally, the flexibility inherent in qualitative research makes it well-suited for navigating the challenges of limited access to fieldwork in Somalia, allowing the researcher to adapt to available data sources and engage with the Somali diaspora and experts who provide valuable firsthand insights. This approach aligns

with the study's overarching objective of producing a culturally sensitive and analytically rigorous investigation into Somalia's governance and development challenges.

3.3 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework integrates theories of post-conflict reconstruction, federalism, and socio-economic development, along with insights from cultural anthropology. It identifies clans and their historical significance as a lens for understanding federalism's performance in Somalia.

A specific focus on the 4.5 clan formula sheds light on how the power-sharing mechanism influences governance. By prioritizing clan representation over merit-based appointments, this formula embodies both the strengths and weaknesses of balancing traditional systems with modern governance. This framework provides an avenue to evaluate federalism's socio-political impacts, particularly in fragile states.

3.4 Data Collection

3.4.1 Primary Data

Primary data will be gathered through pre collected semi-structured interviews with Somali scholars, diaspora members, and community leaders. These interviews will focus on federalism's implementation, governance challenges, and the economic implications of clan-based power structures. Special emphasis will be placed on capturing clan-specific narratives to illustrate the nuances of governance in a clan-based society.

3.4.2 Secondary

Data Secondary data will encompass scholarly articles, historical texts, and reports by international organizations. A significant source of analysis includes works by Somali scholar Ahmed Ismail Samatar, whose research into Somali political systems and development provides

foundational insights. Additionally, reports by the United Nations and think tanks such as the Heritage Institute for Policy Studies will inform the study.

3.5 The Role of the Somali Clan System

3.5.1 Historical and Cultural Significance

The Somali clan system, a hierarchical kinship network, has shaped the region's social and political landscape for centuries. Clans serve as the primary unit of identity, social organization, and conflict mediation. The major clans—Isaaq, Darod, Hawiye, Dir, and Rahanweyn—along with their numerous sub-clans, dominate Somalia's social and political structures. Each clan has its historical narratives, often tied to Islamic scholars and leaders who contributed to the region's Islamization and socio-political development.

3.5.2 The 4.5 Clan Power-Sharing Formula

The 4.5 system, introduced during the Arta Peace Conference in 2000, allocates political representation among clans to ensure inclusivity in governance. Under this formula:

- The four major clans (Darod, Hawiye, Dir, and Rahanweyn) are each allotted equal shares of political representation.
- Minority clans collectively receive a "half" share.

This formula emerged as a pragmatic solution to Somalia's history of clan rivalries, which often fueled political instability. While it succeeded in bringing various factions to the negotiation table, the 4.5 system has institutionalized clan divisions in politics, reinforcing a zero-sum competition for power and resources.

3.5.3 Impacts on Federalism and Development

The 4.5 system's emphasis on clan representation often undermines meritocracy, limiting the effectiveness of governance institutions. Clans exert significant influence over resource allocation and political appointments, which can hinder equitable development. Furthermore, disputes over territory and representation within federal member states, often along clan lines, pose significant obstacles to federalism's success.

3.5.4 Contemporary Challenges

In the context of federalism, clan-based governance creates several challenges:

- **Conflict over Boundaries:** Federal member state formation often mirrors clan territories, leading to disputes.
- **Economic Inequality:** Clan dominance in resource-rich areas perpetuates regional disparities.
- **Loyalty to Clan over State:** Clan allegiance frequently supersedes national identity, complicating efforts to build a cohesive federal system

3.6 Data Analysis

The study employs qualitative analysis methods to interpret primary and secondary data.

Thematic analysis will identify patterns and recurring themes in interviews and historical texts.

Comparative analysis will situate Somalia's federal experiment within broader contexts, drawing parallels and contrasts with other post-conflict nations.

3.7 Limitations and Ethical Considerations

Conducting field research in Somalia is fraught with security challenges, necessitating reliance on secondary data and diaspora interviews. Cultural sensitivities surrounding clan discussions

require careful navigation to ensure respect for local norms. The study also acknowledges limitations in accessing first-hand data from remote regions of Somalia.

3.8 Summary

This chapter presents the methodological framework for analysing Somalia's federalism, with an emphasis on the Somali clan system. By integrating historical, cultural, and political perspectives, this study seeks to provide a nuanced understanding of governance challenges in post-conflict Somalia.

Chapter 04

4. Federalism and the Clan System in Somalia

4.1 Introduction to Federalism in Somalia

Federalism in Somalia represents both an opportunity and a challenge. Its adoption in 2004 and subsequent institutionalization in 2012 aimed to reconcile the country's fragmented political landscape (Elmi, 2010). This governance framework sought to balance power among diverse regions and clans, preventing dominance by a single group and addressing grievances of historically marginalized communities (Bradbury, 2008). However, Somalia's experience with federalism is unique, influenced by decades of centralized dictatorship under Siad Barre, the ensuing civil war, and ongoing external interventions. The federal experiment highlights the intricate tension between traditional clan governance and modern state-building. Understanding these complexities is essential to evaluating the efficacy of federalism in promoting peace, unity, and development in Somalia.

4.2 The Clan System and Governance in Somalia

The clan system is central to Somalia's societal organization and governance. Traditionally, clans provided mechanisms for conflict resolution, resource allocation, and collective security (Samatar, 1992). The primary Somali clans—Darod, Hawiye, Dir, Isaaq, and Rahanweyn—are further divided into sub-clans, each with its own alliances and disputes. This decentralized kinship network often supersedes formal state institutions, creating a dual system of governance. In the post-1991 state collapse, clans filled the vacuum left by weakened government structures, but this reliance on clans also entrenched divisions and fuelled competition over resources and political power (Hesse, 2015).

The introduction of the 4.5 power-sharing system during the Arta Peace Conference (2000) institutionalized clan identity as the foundation for political representation. While this approach ensured inclusivity, it also perpetuated clan divisions and undermined the meritocratic selection of leaders. Governance in Somalia is frequently viewed through a clan-based lens, where federal member states (FMS) often operate as extensions of dominant clans. For example, Puntland aligns closely with the Darod clan, while Somaliland's push for independence is driven primarily by the Isaaq clan (Bradbury, 2008). This dynamic poses significant challenges to fostering a unified national identity and implementing coherent federal policies.

4.3 The Genesis of the 4.5 Clan Formula

The 4.5 formula was introduced as a pragmatic solution to Somalia's fragmented sociopolitical landscape. Emerging from the Arta Peace Conference in Djibouti, the formula allocated equal political representation to four major clans, with a "0.5" share for minority groups (Hesse, 2015). Advocates viewed this as a mechanism to foster inclusivity, reduce competition for power, and mitigate inter-clan conflicts. However, critics argue that it entrenches clan divisions and

legitimizes unequal representation (Elmi, 2010). The formula has also been criticized for marginalizing women and minority clans, reinforcing a hierarchical political culture dominated by patriarchal clan structures (Samatar, 1992).

The influence of the 4.5 system extends to federalism, shaping the creation and functioning of FMS. These states, often aligned with specific clans, have become arenas of contestation over resources, territorial boundaries, and political autonomy. For instance, Jubaland's leadership reflects the interests of dominant clans in the region, while Hirshabelle struggles with internal divisions over clan representation. These dynamics underscore the challenges of implementing a federal system that accommodates Somalia's diverse identities while promoting national cohesion.

4.4 Federalism: A Mechanism or a Mask?

Federalism in Somalia was envisioned as a means to decentralize power, address historical grievances, and promote equitable development. However, its implementation has revealed significant limitations. In practice, federalism has often been co-opted by regional elites to consolidate power and advance parochial interests (Bradbury, 2008). Conflicts over natural resources, border delineation, and revenue sharing frequently arise, reflecting the inability of federal institutions to mediate competing demands effectively. For example, disputes between the Galmudug and Puntland states over oil reserves illustrate the difficulties of balancing federal principles with the realities of clan politics (Hesse, 2015).

External actors, including Ethiopia, Kenya, and international organizations, have also shaped Somalia's federal experiment. While these stakeholders provide financial and technical support, their involvement has fuelled suspicions that federalism is an externally imposed agenda

designed to fragment Somalia. This perception undermines public trust in federal institutions, reducing their legitimacy and effectiveness (Elmi, 2010). To succeed, federalism in Somalia must evolve beyond clan-based politics and address the structural inequalities that hinder development and national unity.

4.5 The Clan System and Socio-Economic Development

The interaction between the clan system and federalism has profound implications for socio-economic development. In Somalia, clans often act as gatekeepers to resources and opportunities, with political representation determining access to services and investments (Samatar, 1992). This dynamic has created significant disparities between regions, with wealthier clans or those in resource-rich areas enjoying disproportionate benefits. For example, Mogadishu's concentration of resources has fuelled grievances among peripheral states, exacerbating regional inequalities (Bradbury, 2008).

The clan system also shapes Somalia's informal economy, which constitutes a significant portion of national economic activity. Clan-based networks facilitate trade, remittances, and other economic activities, but they also create barriers for outsiders, perpetuating inequalities. The absence of a unified national development strategy limits Somalia's capacity to address these disparities, as federalism often devolves responsibilities without providing adequate resources or institutional capacity (Hesse, 2015).

4.6 The Role of Women and Minority Clans

Women and minority clans remain marginalized within Somalia's federal and clan systems. Despite their critical roles in society and the economy, women face significant barriers to political participation, with representation often limited to token appointments under the 4.5

formula (Elmi, 2010). Minority clans, similarly, struggle to access resources and opportunities in a system dominated by major clans. Addressing these inequities requires a multifaceted approach, including policy reforms, cultural shifts, and efforts to promote gender equality and minority rights (Samatar, 1992).

4.7 Conclusion

Federalism and the clan system are deeply intertwined in Somalia, shaping its governance, development, and social dynamics. While federalism offers a framework for managing diversity and decentralization, its effectiveness is undermined by the entrenched clan system, which prioritizes parochial interests over national unity. Addressing these challenges requires a nuanced approach that balances federal principles with Somalia's social realities, fostering inclusivity and cohesion in a fragmented society.

Chapter 05

6. Constitutional Ambiguities and Legal Framework Challenges in the Legal Structure of Federal Somalia

5.1 Introduction

Federalism in Somalia, introduced formally in 2012, sought to replace a fractured state system with a more decentralized approach to governance, aimed at fostering inclusivity, stability, and development. However, its implementation has been marked by constitutional ambiguities and significant legal challenges. This chapter examines the various legal and constitutional issues that have hindered the successful execution of federalism in Somalia, focusing on the division of powers between federal and regional governments, the status of Mogadishu, and the challenges

in state formation. The analysis will draw heavily on the work of Professor Ahmed Samatar, whose critiques provide a crucial framework for understanding the complexities and shortcomings of Somalia's legal structure in this context.

5.2 Constitutional Ambiguities and the Division of Powers

One of the most significant challenges for the Somali federal system is the lack of clarity in the division of powers between the federal government and the regional states. The Provisional Federal Constitution (PFC) of Somalia, adopted in 2012, outlined the general principles of federalism but left many crucial details unresolved, particularly regarding the roles and responsibilities of the federal and regional governments. This ambiguity has led to conflicts over jurisdictional authority in various sectors such as security, education, and natural resources (Bradbury, 2008; Samatar, 1992).

Professor Samatar highlights how the vagueness of the PFC has allowed for interpretations that favour regional autonomy over federal unity, particularly by those who seek to leverage clan-based power dynamics to maintain control over local resources and governance (Samatar, 2012). The PFC does not clearly delineate which issues are federal, which are shared, and which remain exclusively within the purview of the regions. This has created a situation where many areas of governance are contested, particularly in border regions where clan affiliations significantly influence political power (Hesse, 2015). As a result, the federal government has struggled to assert authority and establish uniform policy across the country (Bradbury, 2008).

The failure to resolve these constitutional ambiguities has contributed to a fragmented state structure, where regions operate semi-autonomously. This has led to disputes over border demarcations and the jurisdiction of federal institutions, exacerbating tensions between different

clans and threatening the stability of the federal state (Elmi, 2010). The lack of a clear constitutional framework has also hindered efforts to integrate marginalized groups into the political process, particularly those from minority clans who feel excluded from both federal and regional power structures (Samatar, 1992).

5.3 The Status of Mogadishu: A Contested Capital

The status of Mogadishu as the capital of Somalia is another critical issue in the legal framework of the federal system. The PFC designates Mogadishu as the federal capital, but in practice, this designation has not translated into clear governance structures that effectively link the federal government with its capital city. Mogadishu remains a contested space, with significant authority exercised by the regional states and clan militias. The city's economic and political control is a source of power for the Hawiye clan, which has historically dominated the city and its surrounding areas (Bradbury, 2008).

The presence of multiple clan militias and autonomous zones within Mogadishu has made it difficult for the federal government to assert control over its capital. This has implications for both security and governance, as the lack of a unified command structure within Mogadishu complicates efforts to implement federal policies and maintain law and order (Hesse, 2015).

Professor Samatar notes that the challenge of governing Mogadishu reflects deeper issues with the federal system's reliance on clan-based power structures, which limit the central government's ability to manage national affairs effectively (Samatar, 2012). The competition for control over resources and political influence in Mogadishu underscores the failure to create a stable and functional federal capital under the current constitutional framework.

5.4 Challenges in State Formation and the Role of Clan-Based Politics

The process of state formation in Somalia has been contentious, with the federal member states (FMS) often being established along clan lines rather than through a process of inclusive and representative political dialogue. The 4.5 clan formula, originally devised to distribute power among Somalia's major clans, has led to the formation of semi-autonomous regions, each dominated by a particular clan or coalition of clans (Bradbury, 2008). This has resulted in a highly fragmented political landscape where clan affiliation remains a primary determinant of political power and economic resources (Elmi, 2010).

The clan system's influence on state formation has had both positive and negative effects. On one hand, it has allowed for the accommodation of diverse interests and the creation of spaces for marginalized groups, which might not have been represented in a more centralized system (Hesse, 2015). On the other hand, it has reinforced clan divisions, making it difficult to build a unified national identity or to implement national development strategies effectively. Professor Samatar critiques the clan-based approach, arguing that it undermines the legitimacy of the federal system by prioritizing local interests over national unity and governance (Samatar, 1992).

The challenge in state formation lies in balancing the need for local autonomy with the requirements for a centralized national government. This balance has not been adequately addressed in the federal structure, leading to ongoing disputes over resource allocation, political representation, and the sharing of power among the FMS (Bradbury, 2008). The absence of a coherent legal framework for state formation has also meant that many regions have adopted semi-autonomous status without formal federal approval, further complicating governance and development efforts (Elmi, 2010).

5.5 The Impact of Clan Politics on Federal Legal Structures

Clan politics have deeply influenced the development of the federal legal system in Somalia. The reliance on clan-based representation through the 4.5 formula has meant that key decisions, including the formation of states and the allocation of resources, are often made through negotiations between clan leaders rather than through institutionalized legal processes (Samatar, 2012). This has led to a reliance on informal agreements and power-sharing deals that lack the transparency and legitimacy required for effective governance.

The clan system's influence is evident in the difficulties faced in implementing fiscal federalism, where clan-based control over resources often dictates economic policy and expenditure. This has resulted in uneven development across the country, with wealthier regions being able to exert more influence over federal policy, while poorer regions remain marginalized (Bradbury, 2008). Moreover, the use of clan elders and leaders as intermediaries in negotiations has further complicated the legal landscape, creating a system where power is frequently negotiated outside the formal legal frameworks (Hesse, 2015).

Professor Samatar's work highlights that the use of clan politics in federal governance often leads to a situation where power is concentrated in the hands of a few dominant clans, thus undermining the federal structure and perpetuating conflict and inequality (Samatar, 1992). The failure to incorporate legal reforms that can challenge the predominance of clan-based power in Somalia has been a significant barrier to effective governance and the implementation of federalism (Elmi, 2010).

5.6 The Legal Framework for Resource Allocation

Resource allocation remains one of the most contentious issues within the Somali federal system. The Provisional Federal Constitution (PFC) provides guidelines for revenue-sharing between the federal government and the FMS, but these guidelines are vague and open to interpretation, leading to conflicts over resource control (Hesse, 2015). The unequal distribution of resources, often dictated by clan control, exacerbates economic disparities and limits the federal government's ability to deliver development projects effectively (Bradbury, 2008).

The challenge is further complicated by the informal economy in Somalia, where much of the wealth and resources are controlled outside of formal state structures. This informal economic activity is heavily influenced by clan networks, which often bypass the federal government's authority, creating a parallel system of power and control (Elmi, 2010). Professor Samatar's analysis suggests that this reliance on informal systems hampers development efforts and reduces the capacity of the federal government to manage resources effectively (Samatar, 2012).

The legal framework needs to be revised to provide clearer guidelines for resource sharing and to reduce the impact of clan-based control over economic resources. There needs to be a more inclusive approach to development planning that incorporates the needs and perspectives of all regions, particularly those that are marginalized under the current system (Hesse, 2015). This will require significant legal reform and the political will to break down the barriers created by clan politics.

5.7 The Role of International Involvement in Legal Reform

The role of international actors in shaping the legal framework of the Somali federal system has been significant, although not without controversy. International donors, including the United

Nations, the United States, and the European Union, have been involved in drafting legal documents, providing technical assistance, and facilitating dialogue between Somali factions (Bradbury, 2008). However, the imposition of external solutions without sufficient consultation with Somali stakeholders has often led to resistance and a lack of ownership over the reforms (Hesse, 2015).

Professor Samatar has been critical of this external involvement, arguing that it has often reinforced clan divisions rather than promoting national unity. The international community's focus on security and counterterrorism has sometimes overshadowed the need for broader legal reforms aimed at creating a more inclusive federal system (Elmi, 2010). The complexity of Somalia's legal landscape requires a more nuanced approach to international involvement, one that is tailored to the specific needs and realities of the Somali context (Samatar, 1992).

Chapter 6: Formation and Demarcation of Federal Member States in Somalia

6.1 Introduction

The process of forming federal member states in Somalia represents a defining chapter in its post conflict governance strategy. This process seeks to establish a federal structure that accommodates the socio-political realities of clan dynamics, geographic distribution, and resource allocation. However, it has been fraught with challenges, from border disputes to competing claims over authority and resources. Federalism, as envisioned in Somalia, aims to balance decentralization with national unity, ensuring stability, equitable resource distribution, and the inclusion of historically marginalized communities (Lewis & Samatar, 1999).

6.2 State Formation Processes

6.2.1 Clan Dynamics and Governance

Somalia's political and administrative structures are deeply influenced by its clan-based social organization. Clans serve as the primary unit of identity and allegiance, dictating access to resources and political representation. In the federal framework, this system is both a tool for negotiation and a source of contention. Scholars such as Ioan Lewis (2004) and Abdi Samatar (1999) have explored how clan identities shape political interactions, emphasizing the need for inclusive processes that address inter-clan rivalries and power imbalances.

The 4.5 power-sharing formula, which allocates representation among major clans and minority groups, illustrates an attempt to institutionalize inclusivity. While this formula has facilitated initial agreements, it has also perpetuated clan divisions, limiting the prospects for national unity and fostering grievances among underrepresented groups (Ahmed, 2019). The challenge lies in transitioning from clan-based politics to a meritocratic and democratic governance system.

6.2.2 Administrative Structures

The formation of federal member states involves establishing administrative structures that balance local autonomy with national oversight. This process requires significant negotiation among clans, regional leaders, and the central government. The provisional constitution of 2012 provides a framework for federalism but leaves many details ambiguous, leading to disputes over jurisdiction and authority (Lewis & Samatar, 1999).

Efforts to form states such as Jubaland, Galmudug, and Southwest State illustrate these challenges. The role of international actors, including the African Union and IGAD, has been

crucial in mediating these disputes and fostering agreements. However, external interventions often face resistance from local actors who view them as infringements on sovereignty.

6.3 Border Demarcation Challenges

6.3.1 Historical Legacies

The colonial-era borders that divide Somalia into regions often fail to align with traditional clan territories. These arbitrary boundaries have exacerbated conflicts, as clans contest ownership of land and resources. For instance, disputes in Jubaland involve rival clans vying for control over fertile land and lucrative trade routes. As Hamilton (1967) observes, the legacy of colonial borders continues to shape the geopolitical landscape of the Horn of Africa.

6.3.2 Disputes Among Neighbouring States

Border disputes are not confined to internal divisions. Somalia's boundaries with Kenya and Ethiopia remain points of contention. The Ogaden region, predominantly inhabited by ethnic Somalis, has long been a source of conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia. Similarly, disputes over the maritime boundary with Kenya highlight the intersection of national and regional tensions (Lewis & Samatar, 1999).

Negotiating these disputes requires a combination of local dialogue and international mediation. Organizations such as the United Nations have facilitated discussions, but progress is often slow due to deeply entrenched positions and the influence of external powers.

6.4 Resource Allocation and Economic Implications

6.4.1 Equitable Distribution

The allocation of resources, including water, land, and revenue from natural resources, is a critical issue in the federalization process. Clan rivalries often manifest in competition for control over these resources, leading to instability and violence. Abdi (2024) emphasizes the need for transparent mechanisms to ensure that all communities benefit from economic development.

Federal member states face significant challenges in generating revenue and providing public services. Many rely on international aid and remittances, which are insufficient to meet the demands of growing populations. Developing a sustainable economic model requires investments in infrastructure, education, and agriculture, as well as effective resource management.

6.4.2 Economic Opportunities

Despite these challenges, federalization offers opportunities for regional economic development. By decentralizing governance, federal member states can tailor economic policies to local needs, fostering innovation and growth. Regions such as Puntland and Somaliland have demonstrated the potential for economic resilience, leveraging their strategic locations and natural resources to attract investment.

6.5 Inclusive and Equitable Processes

6.5.1 Civil Society Engagement

The success of federalization depends on the active participation of all stakeholders, including women, youth, and marginalized communities. Civil society organizations play a vital role in advocating for inclusivity and holding governments accountable. Initiatives such as community

consultations and participatory budgeting have shown promise in enhancing transparency and building trust.

6.5.2 Addressing Marginalization

Addressing historical injustices and inequalities is essential for fostering national cohesion. Minority clans and marginalized groups, such as the Bantu-Jareer community, have historically faced exclusion from political and economic opportunities. Federalism must include mechanisms to protect their rights and ensure their representation in governance structures (Eno, 2008).

6.6 Conclusion

The formation and demarcation of federal member states in Somalia is a complex but crucial process for the country's recovery and long-term stability. Federalism holds the promise of reconciling deeply entrenched clan dynamics with the need for national unity, providing an opportunity to decentralize governance and empower local regions. However, as highlighted throughout this chapter, these efforts are fraught with challenges that require deliberate and sustained efforts to overcome.

One of the most pressing issues is the delicate balance between autonomy and central authority. Ensuring that federal member states can govern effectively without undermining national cohesion demands clear constitutional guidelines and mechanisms for conflict resolution. The legacy of colonial-era boundaries, which often disregard traditional clan territories, adds another layer of complexity. Addressing these historical grievances is essential for reducing territorial disputes and fostering cooperation among regions.

Resource allocation remains a contentious aspect of federalism. Transparent and equitable distribution of resources is critical to addressing economic disparities and mitigating clan

rivalries. By leveraging federalism, Somalia can create opportunities for localized economic growth, which, in turn, strengthens the legitimacy of regional governments. Regions like Puntland and Somaliland demonstrate the potential for self-sustaining governance when local resources are effectively managed.

Inclusivity is the cornerstone of successful federalization. The participation of women, youth, minority clans, and marginalized communities is essential for fostering a sense of belonging and ensuring that governance structures reflect Somalia's diverse population. Mechanisms such as participatory decision-making, civil society engagement, and legal safeguards for minority rights must be integral to the federalization process. As Abdi (2024) notes, achieving inclusivity is not just a moral imperative but also a pragmatic strategy for sustainable development.

Despite these challenges, the federalization process offers Somalia a pathway to redefine its identity and build a governance model that accommodates its unique socio-political realities. This requires not only the commitment of Somali leaders but also continued support from international partners. Mediating disputes, providing technical assistance, and investing in capacity-building initiatives are critical roles for the international community in supporting Somalia's federalization journey.

In conclusion, while the road to federalism in Somalia is arduous and laden with obstacles, it also holds immense potential for transforming the country into a more stable and inclusive state. By addressing clan rivalries, historical grievances, and resource disputes through equitable and transparent processes, Somalia can lay the foundation for lasting peace and prosperity. The success of this endeavours will depend on the collective efforts of Somali leaders, communities, and international stakeholders to foster trust, dialogue, and collaboration. Federalism, if

implemented thoughtfully and inclusively, can become a unifying force that reconciles Somalia's past with its aspirations for a brighter future.

Chapter 7: Federalism and Socio-Economic Development in Post-Conflict Somalia: Governance Challenges and Pathways Forward

7.1 Introduction

In Somalia, fiscal federalism occurs when there is a need to disburse funds between the central government and the regional states within the country. Ali (2022) states that this divides Somalia's highly politicized and economically varied regions so that resources are allotted while respecting regional autonomy politically. Somalia is one of the nations that have experienced fiscal inequality in a more complex context defined by severe civil war and a shattered state. This low level of economic development has centralized the loose ends of power in the hands of the federal state, weakening local governmental authority.

Before its dissolution in 1991, the unitary state of Somalia had a highly central government that was highly influential and controlled economic assets. In 2004, Somalia shifted to embracing a federal system after its central government collapsed and regional governments assumed authority. The transition was done to enhance the local government and political stability. While newly formed, Somalia's federalism has introduced asymmetries in the allocation of resources across its various regions, and this is particularly brought about due to varying levels of economic activity across the various regions. Abdi Ismail Samatar's article *Somalia's Post-Conflict Economy: A Political Economy Approach* is full of understanding regarding these issues and goes on to describe how the collapse of Somalia's state after years of conflict has

exacerbated economic imbalances and rendered the process of equitable distribution of resources between the central state and regional states more complicated.

7.2 Economic Disparities Between Somali Regions

The disparities between the regions are significant obstacles to resource allocation as well as the Somali federal states' economic development. The major causes for inequalities include drought and aridness in economics, differences in the existing infrastructure, as well as the level and regions that are exposed to natural resources. The self-declared Somali Republic of Puntland and Somaliland have developed infrastructure relative to the southern regions of Jubaland and Galmudug, which do have underdeveloped infrastructure. However, the central and southern regions have more conflict, instability, limited access to markets, and weaker economic opportunities. The imbalance does not stop there: the absence of natural resources, namely, land, water, and oil, in some regions provides unequal economic advantages for the regions that do have these resources.

Abdi et al. (2022) mention that Somali self-declared republics, tribes, and clans have intensified competition to access and utilize these resources, which results in armed conflict and civil wars. The Somali Central government's reliance on the weakest self-governing regions with semi-autonomous governments leads to competition for more funds access. These resources impact the middle government tasked with providing services for the nation. The central government is responsible for allocating the budget, but distribution is a challenge for them since poorly developed regions are not receiving the funds they should be. Samatar (2007) examines Somalia's post-conflict economic challenges, especially in federal governments and resource distribution, pertinent to such imbalances. The country's fragmented nature and weak government confront infrastructural and resource imbalances. Competition for resources, such as

land, water, and oil, emphasized in the article, is the cause of ongoing conflicts. Rural-urban imbalances, with cities possessing a good infrastructure and rural areas being behind, are discussed in the article and the case. Samatar's approach identifies structural and governance forces behind such imbalances, rendering equitable development in Somalia challenging. The rural-urban divide worsens this issue since cities enjoy better facility access, while rural areas, particularly in the hinterland, are characterized by poor infrastructure and public facility provision. Additionally, catering to more marginalized communities entail special policies and much investment in a bid to develop the communities economically.

Farah (2021) states that uneven resource distribution also causes friction between the national government and regional states because less developed states believe that they are neglected or underfunded. The greatest challenge is to establish a fiscal framework that balances national unity with the requirement for regional equity in such a manner that all regions, regardless of their economic status, are equipped with the resources they need to foster development and growth.

7.3 Revenue Generation and Distribution Mechanism

Revenue accumulation in Somalia is a combination of different formal and informal methods, such as taxation, aid, remittances, and natural reserves. The federal government's revenue mainly comes from customs duties, taxation on imports and exports, and business taxes (Farah, 2021). However, considering the informal nature of a significant portion of Somalia's economy, tax revenue collection remains capricious. Various regional states also collect their own business local taxes, land taxes, livestock, and even useful resources within their regions, such as minerals or agriculture. A considerable part of the national income, remittances from the Somali diaspora, are important revenue sources for the federal government and other regions, and international aid

also remains relevant, although to a lesser extent, in terms of humanitarian aid, development assistance, and funding for infrastructure projects.

Sahgal (2025) mentions that developmental aid poses sustainability challenges and complicated elements to the accompanying aid. The revenue division procedures followed between the federal government and the regional states are also quite intricate and often irritable. The article by Samatar is useful in examining the challenges, wherein Samatar delineates the complexity of fiscal decentralization, competition for resources, and the interests of an equitable and transparent revenue-sharing agreement (Samatar, 2007). Samatar's examination is effectively linked to challenges in Somalia's revenue collection and allocation systems, with emphasis on the underlying structural challenges in equal resource sharing between the federal state and the regional states. The Somali Federal Government (SFG) does retain control over certain funding; however, regions have their systems and revenues, which creates further problems in establishing a reasonable revenue allocation system (Farah, 2021). Existing revenue-sharing deals are negotiated and not formulaic or standardized. This results in disparities in the shares received by various regions, with the developed regions receiving a larger share of the revenue. Along with a lack of transparency and accountability, these factors reduce the efficiency and equity of the system. A more formalized and transparent revenue-sharing system is required to bring about a more equitable distribution of resources.

7.4 Challenges in Financial Management and Governance

The Somali case is due to poor federal and regional institutions. Corruption within the government and regional authorities erodes accountability and effectiveness in financial transactions, weakening their trust and ease of allocating resources. It denies financial resources to development and halts investment and foreign assistance, deteriorating the economy. The

organization's public financial management is inefficient, dominated by antiquated, non-functional budgeting, accounting, and auditing systems (Farah, 2024). The inefficiency results in the inability to measure or distribute resources, thereby resulting in an extensive level of inefficient resource management and, by extension, wasteful expenditure tendencies.

Additionally, the skills of mobilizing and managing resources are inefficient and contribute to the general inefficiency in financial management. Samatar (2007) focuses on reconstructing post-conflict Somali institutions with poor governance, corruption, and absence of accountability undermining the management of resources.

He underlines the requirement for the reform of institutions and the use of open financial systems to enhance fiscal management in Somalia (Samatar, 2007). The political instability of the regional states causes more difficulty in developing governance. Eliminating these issues will involve deep-rooted changes in improving the transparency, the capacity of institutions, and the financial management structures. It is imperative to establish strong public sector institutions and an open, transparent system of resource allocation to stabilize and develop Somalia.

7.5 The Role of International Aid and Resource Allocation

Foreign aid has played a significant role in the recovery and development of Somalia, often mirroring the predominance of economic resources in the nation. Foreign government agencies, international donors, and NGOs have provided vital humanitarian assistance, development assistance, and infrastructure investment (Abdi et al., 2022). This assistance alleviates the fiscal burden caused by low revenue collection in Somalia. However, because most of this assistance is based on foreign funding, there is a possibility that the allocation of humanitarian assistance will be more influenced by the interests of foreign actors than by Somalia's actual needs and devolved

institutions. Bos et al. (2018) state that donors focus on specific areas or sectors, and the outcome is uneven economic growth and increased poverty in low-priority areas.

Samatar (2007) provides a critical analysis of how foreign dependence has eroded economic autonomy in Somalia. Samatar acknowledges that foreign aid has been of a short-term nature but creates a dependence that erodes the ability of Somalia to have its economic policy and have an autonomous system. He also acknowledges that foreign aid tends to hijack the priorities of the outside world, which can be contradictory to Somalia's national interests and regional agendas and thus undermine fair resource allocation.

Finally, while foreign aid is important, Somalia has to be watchful in designing a good system of financial management that minimizes dependence on aid and ensures foreign aid is channelled in compliance with the overall objectives of achieving financial independence and sustainable development.

Chapter 8: Local Governance and Development Outcomes

8.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the contribution of regional governments to socioeconomic development according to Professor Samatar's paper "Leadership and Ethnicity in the Making of African State Models: Botswana versus Somalia". The learnings from the country of Somalia help the other countries in understanding that the ethical politics, governance, and leadership aspects are critical for the growth of a country. However, in the specific case of Somalia, the ethnic instability and leadership issues have a crucial impact on the overall development of the country. It cannot proceed toward advanced growth due to the underlying conflicts within its territory. This has been causing social inequality in which there is a lack of respect for the different cultures within

the country (Leadership and Ethnicity in the Making of African State Models: Botswana Versus Somalia, 1997). This chapter critically evaluates how regional governments like the countries of Somalia struggle while implementing efficient measures within their territories through all means. Hence, the country addresses social inequalities eventually to moderate these issues. The country, however, struggles with integrating the creation of effective institutions within its premises as it might challenge the fair delivery of public services within the country.

8.2 Strong Local Governments as the Foundation for Effective Governance

Professor Samatar states that good local governance is vital for socioeconomic progress in ethnically diverse societies. He states that comes greater power of decision making through devolution and local self-governance. Rather than constraining numerous ethnic or regional divisions into one centrally controlled framework through a nationalized government, local regions are afforded the freedom to manage things as they see fit. This paradigm enables local authorities to appreciate and resolve issues within their regions. Samatar adds to the discussion by underscoring the need to deal with local governance issues such as accountability.

Elmi (2021) claims that accountability at the local level fosters good governance because where citizens are in a position to question their local leaders, services are rendered more effectively. In addition, such accountability enhances the ownership of resources, which, when done correctly, guarantees that the people's needs are met. In addition, Samatar moves on to explain the importance of local government in facilitating ethnic representation. Local government can serve as a voice for the numerous and varied interests of different ethnic communities and incorporate the views of the ignored or lesser heard into the decision-making sphere. This assists in alleviating ethnicity-based conflicts for enhanced social harmony (Elmi, 2021). Lastly, local officials have a better appreciation of the needs of their citizens, particularly when they are

situated in small or peripheral communities. Being among citizens whom they hope to serve, they are capable of disbursing funds less wastefully and more effectively and ensuring that these communities' concerns are met.

8.3 Regional Governments' Role in Socioeconomic Development

Public service improvement is achieved more easily by regional governments, especially in ethnically diverse societies. Because fragmented states have local governments, the differences within communities are better understood, and the geographic specificities of the population are better served. Still, local governments have enormous challenges in such circumstances. The ethnic lines may make governance exceptionally difficult by concentrating resources in certain groups and to the detriment of others. This situation impedes effective service provision while creating resentment amongst the ethnic factions. To deal with these problems, strong accountable leadership is crucial as it compels communities to feel represented, which in turn ensures service equity.

On issues of economic development, regional governments have a similar role to play, addressing the needs of the regions in education, infrastructure, and natural resources (Mohamed, 2021). Economic development can be prompted by improvement in local business, infrastructure, and education. Local governments in Somalia have attempted this, but they have not had leadership and coordination, which has immobilized the institutions. Local governments can also be vital in eliminating ethnic-based social inequalities. With inclusive leadership, local authorities can devise policies that will assist in reducing education, health, and employment disparities and see that resources are equally distributed, and every group has an opportunity to thrive.

8.4 Implications for Other African Countries

The socioeconomic aspects of the countries within Africa are brought out efficiently through the work of Samatar and its valuable insights (Leadership and Ethnicity in the Making of African State Models: Botswana Versus Somalia, 1997). The in-depth analysis between the countries of Somalia and Botswana helps in finding out the loopholes in the countries of Africa. It acts like a source that grapples with the root causes of the issues in these countries through a brief analysis. The African country of Somalia goes through several challenges that downgrade the functionality within the location in several aspects. It highlights the aspects of leadership failure that are evident through the unstable elements within the location. On the other hand, the country of Botswana is successful in grasping several elements within its location through a strategized approach that makes it different from Somalia.

These countries learnt that they should support political stability for streamlining their operations and ensure that the local conflicts are solved on priority. The local groups and communities should feel respected within the country so that each culture can be appreciated by the government of the country without being biased, as this discrimination among different cultures might create a sense of social unrest for the people residing within the country. Hence, overall, the implications of the other African Countries had been pleasant so far because of the learnings gained from the detailed analysis.

8.5 Strengthening Regional Governance for Development

According to Hassan (2002), the regional governance for development encourages the countries in Africa to perform better leadership strategies so that they can streamline their operations and ensure that they address the internal issues. The regional governance postulates stability within their operations through this concept. They work on their resource distribution

strategies and manage the local affairs. The governance also ensures that there is no discrimination among certain groups so that the authorities do not practice favouritism within their countries. They would assure that the financial statements are coming out transparently to the public so that they are not deceived. This means that the government takes financial responsibility for their action and would stand up if any mistake shows up. The strong civic sense in the country of Botswana enables the other regions to get inspired and practice the same in their territory. However, the struggles of Somalia were studied deeply to know what the key causes behind it were.

9. The Impact of International Aid and NGOs

9.1 Introduction

The country of Somalia is located in Africa and goes through a plethora of leadership and discriminatory issues. This report reviews these issues in which international aid and NGO influence is studied (Samatar & Samatar, 2022a). The country goes through issues of conflict and security that cause many humanitarian crises within its operations. International aid can be termed as the complimentary aid provided to one country by other countries in which they assist with strategic moves for the country. This assistance can be received in the form of technical, financial, or any form that will benefit the country down the line. However, NGOs play an important role in a country as well through supporting a particular cause and helping people settle down. All these topics will be collaboratively studied within the report in which the impact of international aid and NGOs will be witnessed on the developmental outcomes of the country. The report also includes views of the famous scholar, Abdi Ismail Samatar who has always raised his voice against the challenges faced by the country.

9.2 Background of the Problem

The country Somalia began with the journey that went toward the implementation of a federal constitution back in the year 2012, which was later disrupted. This was witnessed because of the involvement of the people in several rivalries after the year 2012. The Federal government of Somalia is inclusive of the executive branch, a judicial branch, seats of the government, and many more who are collaboratively responsible for making decisions for the country. Apart from this, the Federal Member States of the country of Somalia are inclusive of the current FMS, Somaliland, and many more, which are self-declared institutions that go through the conflicts and challenges going on within the country and make an attempt to resolve them in all the ways possible. The country of Somalia faces struggles regarding high poverty rates as most of the population within the country stays in extreme poverty. This challenges the economic development of their country as most of the population struggles with poverty. The aspect of security is also challenging in the country as the population constantly falls into conflicts that hamper their lifestyle. These conflicts create a sense of social inequality for the residents of the country. Hence, these issues are related to internal aid and NGOs within the country to review the causes deeply.

9.3 Influence of International Aid in Somalia

The aspect of international aid has heavily influenced the developmental issues in Somalia. This has been witnessed through the perspectives of Abil Ismail Samatar who believes that the country of Somalia has been so globalized that it failed to look through the processes (Sayid, 2021). This has resulted in the fact that the internal governance of the country is weak and overshadowed by other aspects which are not as important. Usually, a country should globalize and focus on developing the operations within its premises. However, it is the opposite in the

case of Somalia where international aid tends to downgrade the awareness of the country in its strategies. Another perspective of Samatar is showcased when he talks about the breaking of the political collaboration within the country that seems to be disrupted due to foreign aid. The policies and guidelines implemented with the assistance of international aid in the country of Somalia might impact the relationship with the public. This is more likely to happen as the interests of the public can deviate from the policies that are implemented through the assistance of international aid. Hence, overall, the aspect of international aid negatively impacts the political and social development of the country and goes against the public interest at times causing conflicts.

9.4 Influence of NGOs in Somalia

The aspect of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has played a crucial influence on the development of federalism within the country after its government collapsed due to a lack of proper coordination. These NGOs have shaped the strategies of the country in many ways as they have reached the ethical way to perform several operations. They have provided assistance and the right governmental support to enhance the current practices of the country. The major aspect of filling up the aspect of the efficient institution within the country has been marked by the NGOs and targets to eradicate. These institutions will develop a proper sense of federalism within the country through their valuable insights. Apart from the individual support provided by these NGOs, it is essential to notice that they have not been completely proven efficient for the country. These NGOs have an individual problem with each solution that distracts the stakeholders from the major purpose of development within the country. Hence, these NGOs should rather take the initiative of national unity within their decision-making to improve their operations. Samatar mentions a similar statement in this case that NGOs have done the opposite

of uniting the operations of the country. He goes against the culture of the NGOs within the country due to its poor management skills.

9.5 External Influences on Development in Federal Somalia

The scholar, Samatar has particularly addressed the issue of international intervention within the operations of the country. He had related it to the downfall of the country and its instability (Samatar & Samatar, 2022b). The federalism of the country of Somalia is believed to be fostered through the element of external influences in the domains of healthcare, governance, and NGOs. The aspect of external influences somehow disrupts the tendency of the country to look into its operations and how it is against national unity. It causes deep levels of differentiation within the governance system of the country negatively impacting the public interests. The concept of a centralized government is far from the governance of the country due to external factors. Another aspect brought out by the scholar is the fact that the country is highly dependent on the foreign aid it receives somewhere undermines the abilities of the local government. Hence, it is pretty evident that the aspect of foreign interference has negatively impacted the development of Federal Somalia.

9.6 Conclusion

The detailed study discussed above concluded to the fact that international Aid and NGOs harmed the development of a Federal Somalia in all the ways possible. It begins with a discussion of the background of the problem so that the severity of the issues within the country can be understood. It was seen that Somalia is dealing with poverty and many other issues. It deals with the major problem of poor leadership that was witnessed through the aspect of foreign aid and NGOs. The first aspect of international aid has negatively impacted the governance of

the country. It begins with the non-integration of the public interest who might wish to go the other way which is opposite to the assistance provided by the international authorities.

The policies and guidelines will go against the values of the people residing in the country.

Another aspect of international aid was witnessed in the case of monetary support provided by foreign authorities that somewhere undermines the abilities of national tendencies. However, the element of NGOs has also been negatively impacting the country because it tended to tackle things individually, this hampers the ability of the country to unite for a single purpose. Overall, the impact of international aid and NGOs has been analyzed deeply in this report through the valuable insights given by the Somalian-American critique, Samatar.

Chapter 10: Security and Stability under Federalism

10.1 Introduction

This chapter takes focus on the intricate interplay between security, socio-economic development, and federalism in Somalia, specifically the conundrum of insecurity and more so the activities of Al-Shabaab. Drawing on the work of Professor Samatar on the security-development nexus, this chapter examines how insecurity dislocated good governance and the delivery of development programs, and the potential that federalism has in preventing such setbacks and ushering in stability.

The Impact of Insecurity on Federalism in Somalia

Al-Shabaab presence has destabilized Somalia for more than a decade already. They are blamed for making indiscriminate attacks against state and military leaders, and civilians, in a bid to overthrow the Somalia government and form an Islamic state. Al-Shabaab is a terrorist faction funded by Al-Qaeda and employs a globalization style of terrorism (Namatovu, 2023). The

group's radical Sharia Law terrorism was made possible because there is a vacuum of governance due to a feeble central government which has allowed them to dominate vast expanses of the countryside while paralysing urban centers.

Al-Shabaab complicates the federalism model in Somalia because where there is insecurity, there is disintegration, not integration. Federalism attempts to distribute power to a myriad of regional states such as Puntland, Jubbaland, and Southwest, which is further exacerbated by the parasitic insecurity that splits the central government and the regional administrations even more. These cleavages, brought about by internal conflicts and failure to coordinate security properly, render national security policies ineffective and, in the process, reduce the legitimacy of the federal government, while increasing the complexity of governance and development.

Security, Governance, and the Erosion of Development Projects

Kellar (2024) insecurity Al-Shabaab has rendered Somalia's governance, especially in the federal states, very poor. Terrorism and violence substantially cripple governance functions such as policing, adjudication, and the delivery of services to the people. In the areas controlled or influenced by Al-Shabaab, local governance structures are often shattered and replaced by Al-Shabaab's system of governance. The widening gap between the central government and the regional authorities makes cooperation and policy enforcement more difficult. For instance, Abdulkadir notes that the citizens in the South-Central state of Somalia, particularly in Mogadishu, experience terror and violence which stifles the exercise of state authority and effective governance.

There is also a lack of progress in socioeconomic development because of violence. Education, healthcare, infrastructure, and agriculture are put on hold or completely ignored because of Al-Shabaab's activities. Al-Shabaab's extortion of aid agencies and local business also makes the

situation worse by reducing the international aid and stopping the much-needed development work. Both federal and regional governments remain at a loss because all focus is on the security issue, which prevents progress being made. The African Union and the UN are also hindered in their efforts to obtain development projects in these unstable areas, and they are thus unable to support long-term development in Somalia.

The Security-Development Nexus and Federalism's Role in Somalia

Samatar (2022) examination of the security-development interrelation in Somalia focuses on its underlying causes, such as poor governance and political division, which obstruct the progress. He proposes a twofold solution: a robust centralized security system together with the independence provided by federalism. While addressing national security threats can only be effectively handled with a centralized security structure, the control of security by individual states makes it easier to respond to insurgency actively.

Federalism on the other hand, is both enabling and constraining. For instance, greater regional autonomy allows local governments such as Puntland to respond to security issues more effectively and, consequently, enjoy a level of stability. Meanwhile, the absence of an all-encompassing national security strategy coupled with the tug of war between the central authority and regions works against the efficacy of federalism, making development more challenging.

There is a need to promote cooperation from both the federal and regional levels to enhance federalism. Some suggestions are the enhancement of the security and reconstruction of the infrastructure, the establishment of local peace covenants, and the safeguarding of development

programs from harm violence, which would all work together towards a firm development environment.

Chapter 11: Community Perceptions and Grassroots Engagement

11.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at Somali community understandings of federalism to show how geographical areas within the country and segments of society weigh the pros and cons of federalism and how mobilization has been shaped at the grassroots level by the federal arrangement (Samatar, 2005). Professor Abdi Ismail Samatar's work on the role of citizens' participation in government used as a point of reference in the study of such processes. Samatar's academic exploration of the potential for how federalism can foster or stifle development within a country like Somalia, which is ruled and politicized within a framework where clan politics as well as history's centralizing forces are behind the levers of control, is an important model of community-level reaction towards the federal system.

11.2 The Federalism Debate in Somalia - A Historical Perspective

The Somali federalism debate has its roots deep in the past, an effect of the country's centralist history and the legacy of the civil war. The central state that existed before 1991 had a highly centralized state ruling Somalia, with the power resting in the central city, Mogadishu. The system created tensions, particularly between the clans and regions of Somalia, which were marginalized by the central state. The tensions were intensified by the civil war, and the regional and ethnic diversity of the country called for a new political system that would be in a position to contain it.

Federalism has been thought of as a potential solution, a promise of reconciliation between unity and local self-government (Dahir & Sheikh Ali, 2024). Local opinion on federalism is, however, polarized. Federalism is seen by some as a means of securing greater autonomy and redress for past grievances, but others see federalism as most likely to entrench divisions and undermine national unity. Professor Abdi Ismail Samatar's narrative of the experiment in state-building in Somalia provides an example of how federalism, even when used to enhance inclusion and peace, needs to contend with the intricacies of clan politics and regional agendas. Samatar suggests that, if federalism is to work in Somalia, it needs to be approached carefully so that it does not reinforce the very divisions that it seeks to transcend but instead brings with it real unity and development.

11.3 Regional Variations in Views on Federalism

Abdulahi (2022) federalism in Somalia is conceived differently in its regions based on the different political and historical contexts of its regions. Puntland tends to conceive federalism as an addition, in that the state has adopted the system as a way of increasing autonomy while linking to Somalia's broader national system. Puntland conceives federalism as a way of safeguarding its economic and political interests. Somaliland, having declared itself outside of Somalia in 1991, has a more nuanced conception. Although Somaliland remains outside of Somalia's federal system, Somaliland's attempt at autonomy has led some in the region to be suspicious of federalism on the grounds it might take away from de facto independence. Jubbaland, with a vast clan-based political landscape, also conceives federalism as a way of gaining more regional control over assets and administration. But there is always the fear that federalism will further split along clan lines and destabilize. South-Central Somalia is a different threat, where federalism is more often conceived in ambivalence or resistance due to the

insecurity and conflict within. Professor Abdi Ismail Samatar's position is that autonomy at the level of the regions must be carefully balanced with that of national solidarity, and inclusive models of government that build on unity while respecting regional difference are required.

11.4 Grassroots Engagement and Local Governance

Samatar (2005) in Somalia, politics of local government and grassroots citizen participation have long been marred by serious constraints imposed by centralized political systems and institutionally weak structures. Federalism brings new and innovative alternatives that may potentially improve grassroots participation, particularly at the regional level, and offer a chance for the voice of grassroots communities to be heard more effectively in the government. The federal system is meant to facilitate power transfer so that power is transferred accordingly, and different regions are more autonomous. Ideally, the system would give local communities more power to take care of things on their own and solve issues related to them directly. On paper, such possibility aside, there has been uneven implementation of grassroots participation in Somalia.

Federal systems have improved the establishment of local councils and grassroots associations with the function of delivering services for the community in some areas (Hussein, 2023).

Elsewhere, political breakdown, clan rivalry, and weak state institutions have discouraged the involvement of citizens. Professor Abdi Ismail Samatar's works focus on bottom-up development strategies and encourage participatory governance whereby the citizens empower themselves in the ability to take an active role in decision-making. Active grassroots participation requires the strengthening of local institutions and providing the people with access to resources and facilitation to enable them to act in governance.

11.5 Federalism's Impact on Economic Development

Federalism in Somalia has had mixed implications for economic development at the local level. Decentralization has enabled governments at the regional level to prioritize local-level development matters, including infrastructure, education, and healthcare, and potentially achieve more responsive and targeted policies. The possibility of attaining balanced economic growth in different regions, however, has not yet been fully achieved in all areas. Contrary to this, Puntland and Somaliland have made tremendous progress in building their infrastructure in addition to enhancing their capacity to attract and absorb investments effectively. Contrarily, other areas, particularly those in South-Central Somalia, have fallen far behind for several reasons such as continued insecurity, weak governance mechanisms, and the absence of development resources. Consequently, regional imbalances began to manifest themselves, with the uneven distribution of resources where some regions have been benefiting more from federal programs compared to others, thus making these imbalances evident (Barre, 2024). Professor Abdi Ismail Samatar's incisive understanding of economic development in a federal system is the most reasonable explanation of how such regional imbalances are most likely to emerge and spread in a decentralized system. He is convinced that without a fair policy, federalism is sure to aggravate inequalities and not eliminate them. To ensure that federalism delivers sustainable economic growth, local governments are to be endowed with resources and powers to implement regional development effectively. Federal policies are also to be designed to respond to the economic requirements of peripheral regions, so that all regions can gain from Somalia's federal system.

11.6 Challenges and Opportunities in Strengthening Grassroots Participation

Constructing the grassroots base in Somalia's federal system of government is a titanic task, but it is a task of titanic promise. One of the largest challenges is quite possibly the largest

opportunity: the ubiquity of clan politics that can erode inclusive government and equitable distribution of resources. Clan membership has the power to undermine cooperation across regional and national borders, and this makes it challenging to maintain a common platform to build people. Furthermore, Somalia still lacks scarce resources and weak institutional capacity at the grassroots level that limits the ability of regional governments to mobilize their citizens and implement development programs. Notwithstanding the foregoing limitations, tremendous opportunities exist to enhance grassroots participation. Lessons learnt from Professor Abdi Ismail Samatar's writings on participatory governance can be employed to bestow grassroots institutions with openness, which can be harnessed to instil trust among citizens and their government representatives. Activating political awareness through platforms of advocacy and education will increase the capacity of grassroots societies to engage actively in platforms of decision-making. In addition, the establishment of platforms for people's participation and discourse will offer channels where people can express their voice and needs (Ahmed, 2024). Civil society organizations also can be drivers of grassroots participation through advocating for policy interventions that enhance inclusivity and compelling local governments to be accountable. Through aggregation of these efforts, Somalia will be able to build a more participatory, transparent, and accountable system of governance that resonates with the language of people's aspirations and needs.

Chapter 12: Comparative Analysis of Other Post-Conflict Federal States

12.1 Introduction

For decades now, federalism has been the normative solution that post-conflict nations usually embrace in their quest to stabilize and rebuild. This system of government is best suited to deal

with and contain internal divisions in a nation, particularly in the case of post-conflict nations such as Somalia that are facing tremendous challenges in ethnic, regional, and political fragmentation (Samatar & Samatar, 2022). Through federalism, such nations are given this precious blueprint that foresees decentralized decision-making, where power is distributed and shared between central authorities and regional governments. This split helps manage tensions among different groups because the groups attain more autonomy, and each region or ethnic group can maintain its identity even if they are under one state. For Somalia, a country plagued by decades of incessant civil war, chronic clan grievance, and non-centralized state, embracing federalism can potentially offer new paths towards a more stable and more inclusive system of government.

The careful and insightful research carried out by Professor Abdi Samatar on comparative federalism is full of useful lessons on the complex and sometimes problematic politics of governing states that are perceived to be vulnerable and fragile. Samatar points out that federalism can culminate in peace and stability but is highly dependent on the actual practice, specifically in societies beset by inherent grievances and polarization. The Somali federal experiment is still in progress, and lessons can be learned from other post-conflict nations such as Ethiopia, Bosnia, and Iraq on the Somali experiment. Ultimately, federalism in Somalia to succeed will be required to toe the fine line of reconciling power-sharing agreements, inclusive politics, and capacity building of institutions in a way that can fulfil governance concerns.

12.2 Comparative Case Studies of Federalism in Post-Conflict States

Federalism has been embraced by the majority of post-conflict nations as a paradigm for managing domestic cleavages and stability. Bosnia and Herzegovina, for instance, embraced a federal system after the genocidal war of the 1990s, since ethnic cleavages between Bosniaks,

Croats, and Serbs resulted in humongous violence. The Dayton Agreement established a complicated federal system with the intent of providing power-sharing among the three. Although it ushered in peace, the system has worked to produce a disjointed and sometimes ineffective system of government, where ethnic cleavages still play a critical role in politics (Dahir & Sheikh Ali, 2024). Federalism was also implemented in Sudan following the civil war to control the various and sometimes conflicting ethnic and religious groups. However, such issues as the disparity in resource allocation and conflicts between the central authority and the regional actors eventually left the country still unstable, for example, the secession of South Sudan in 2011.

Federalism was introduced into Ethiopia to deal with the ethnic diversity of the nation, and with the guarantee of ethnically delineated areas of autonomy. Although to the extent that the system has been able to contain ethnic tensions, it has seeded regional inequality and has been charged with triggering ethnic nationalist movements and national strife. Iraq's post-2003 invasion federal system was supposed to include the Sunni, Shia, and Kurdish communities. The system has not been free from corruption, sectarianism, and power-struggle between the central government and autonomous regions like Kurdistan. The lessons of such experience emphasize both the possibility and risk of federalism in war-torn societies. For Somalia, they reinforce the imperative of a well-designed federal system that will harmonize power-sharing with national cohesion, not slide too far, and permit effective governance.

12.3 The Role of Ethnic and Regional Identity in Federal Systems

Abdulahi (2022) ethnic, religious, and regional identities shape the form and functioning of federal systems, especially in post-conflict states. Such identities are usually an expression of deep cleavages in society, and hence federal systems need to address them in a way that reduces tension and increases inclusion. Professor Abdi Samatar's effort highlights that all such cleavages need to be considered when conceptualizing federalism in weak states. Federalism cannot remain an exclusively political phenomenon, he argues, but must acknowledge social realities and historical grievances of various ethnic and regional groups. In societies where clan and ethnic cleavages have been the very substance of conflict, as in Somalia, federalism must be so constructed that every such group feels represented and empowered within the state.

Baker & Qaas (2021) in nations like Ethiopia and Iraq, the application of ethnic identity in the name of federalism has been a two-edged sword, a strong source of power and vulnerability. Within the nation of Ethiopia, the special ethnic federal system that has been put in place allows for very high levels of autonomy in different regions that are delineated along ethnic lines. In most cases, the policy has served to very effectively reduce ethnic tensions that are present in parts of the nation. That being said, however, it is not to indicate that the same policy, at other times, has not served to increase ethnic nationalism and has served to fuel very fierce competition among different ethnic groups as they compete for access to necessary resources. This has ultimately served to be very bad for the overall unity and cohesion of the nation as a whole. In Iraq, sectarian power-sharing accommodated plural populations but also deepened sectarian cleavages and encouraged conflict. Samatar's criticism is that while federalism can be an effective tool for containing and managing the various regional and ethnic identities within a nation, it must be done so with a measured balance. This is to avoid it worsening the divisions

that already exist or creating new sources of tension among different groups. In the particular case of Somalia, the federal system must be built with a proper appreciation of the complex and complicated dynamics of clan and ethnic forces in the country. This careful design is needed to avoid the kinds of failure that have been observed in other post-conflict federal nations elsewhere in the world.

12.4 Governance and Institutional Capacity in Post-Conflict Federalism

Samatar (2022) in federal post-conflict countries, institutional efficiency and integrity are decisive to stability as well as development. Federal institutions are always hindered from performing effectively in such a scenario by corruption, weakness of the central government, and unavailability of resources. Professor Abdi Samatar points out that federalism, in providing a system of administration for divisions, demands robust institutional capacity to ensure that power-sharing mechanisms and decentralized state government function effectively. In Somalia, decades of the absence of a strong central government have left regional governments to function with degrees of autonomy and little coordination. This decentralized administration system has led to inefficiencies because every region is operating in a silo and is plagued by corruption, poor infrastructure, and poor access to resources.

Similarly, other post-conflict federal states like Bosnia, Sudan, and Iraq have all been beset by the same problem of governance. In Bosnia, the highly complex political system to enable power-sharing on an ethnic basis has been vulnerable to inducing gridlock and ineffective government. In Iraq, institution-building since the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime has been jeopardized by corruption and sectarianism that undermined good national and regional governance (Ahmed Ali Afyare, 2024). Decentralized government, according to Samatar's view, can be the answer by providing local autonomy and accountability. Institutional capacity at

regional and central levels must be established with a joint effort to be successful. Institutional building through transparency, accountability, and management of resources could give Somalia's federal system a better foundation to guarantee good government and sustainable development.

12.5 Recommendations for Somalia's Federalism: Drawing from Global Experiences

Somalia federalism has some lessons to draw from post-conflict systems. Inclusivity should be prioritized, whereby all the regions and clans have important political positions. Power-sharing institutions should make sure that the marginalized communities are represented. Somalia should avoid domination by particular groups to guarantee against alienation and instability.

Founding of democratic institutions is the foundational theme of Somalian federalism. Abdi Samatar argues that Somalia should have institutions which are robust and capable of containing corruption, clan politics, and foreign interference (Harun, 2021). Somalia must set its priorities for building central government and regional government capacity in pursuing transparency, accountability, and the rule of law.

Somali federalism can guarantee stability through equitable distribution of resources, particularly its natural resources and elimination of regional disparities. An open resource allocation system can avoid tensions and guarantee confidence between the regions and the federal government. To avoid fragmentation as in other federations, Somalia must balance regional autonomy and national unity. Through learning from other post-conflict countries and prioritizing inclusiveness, robust institutions, and equity in resources, Somalia can attain a more stable federal system.

Chapter 13: Role of Somali's Diaspora in the Country's Development under Federalism

13. 1 Introduction

Diaspora means people residing outside their country while preserving traditions and heritage in a new country. Diasporas in Somalia are the refugees who escaped the civil conflicts and migrated to the neighboring countries (Kleist & Abdi, 2021a). Those refugees are now settled in Somalia adjusting to the heritage of the country while preserving their traditions. The diasporas form an important factor responsible for the development of the country. These people have left their relatives behind in different countries. The diasporas encompass individuals enduring challenging situations who often rely on remittances for their livelihood. Welcoming the diasporas in the country inhibits diverse knowledge, expertise, and skills in the country which are needed for the professional and personal development of the residents of Somalia (Kleist & Abdi, 2021b). The Somalis can build diplomatic relations with other countries through the connection of the diasporas with several countries. The relationship with the diaspora impacts Somalia economically, politically, and socially. The factors are elaborated in the paper which helps in maintaining the sustainability of the country.

13.2Economic Contribution

The diasporas contribute significantly to the economy of a country. For Somalia, the diasporas have been a significant source of financial support for the country (Osman, 2023a). Members of the Somali diaspora send substantial financial support back home, which serves as a lifeline for the families. These funds are often used for necessities like food, education, and healthcare. Additionally, diasporas play a vital role in the establishment of new businesses and creation of job opportunities. Consequently, it leads to the development of the country. There have also been discussions among the locals about the negative impact of the involvement of the diasporas on

the economic condition of the country. According to them reliance on the remittances promotes a culture of dependency which interferes with the development of the local community (Osman, 2023b). The economic sustainability of Somalia will be prevented. Moreover, restrictions on access to financial institutions and investment opportunities constrict the diasporas to contribute significantly to the development of the economy. Despite the challenges faced, the Somalian diaspora substantially contributes to the economic development of the country. The country strives to provide better investment opportunities to the diasporic communities through more generous policies. This will foster job creation and business development in the country.

13.3 Political Influence

Somalian diaspora has a crucial impact on the political condition of the state. The diaspora often participates in political decision-making. They leverage their international networks and exposures (Osman, 2023c). The diasporas argue that they have the potential to support and develop the country through their knowledge and resources that are necessary for the quick recovery from the country's condition. However, the involvement of the diasporas in political decision-making has been a source of controversy in the country. Some locals raise questions about the diaspora's understanding of Somalia's current realities. Moreover, their lack of comprehensive connection with the country's culture and condition is seen as a hindrance to effective decision-making (Osman, 2023d). However, the diasporas play a crucial role in the economic and political development of the country. They have a set of diverse and unique skills, expertise, and experience that are essential for guiding the country towards a stable and flourishing future.

13.4 Social Development

The diasporas have profoundly influenced Somalia and the global Somali community. Exposure to diverse cultures and lifestyles has influenced the diaspora to adapt to new cultures, norms, and lifestyles. The culture adopted by the diasporas diverges from that of the norms established by Somalis (Osman, 2023e). These shifts in some cases have led to cultural identity loss and have also contributed to the breaking down of the traditional families and communities. The young Somalis are motivated by hard work and education which will have a positive impact on the society as a whole. The social impact of the Somalian diaspora is intricate since sometimes it is viewed positively or negatively (Osman, 2023f). The adoption of different norms and lifestyles by the diasporas is bringing challenges to the country. On the other hand, it is also significantly influencing the younger Somalian diaspora. The younger generations are particularly influenced by the achievements of the diasporas particularly in the field of education and professionalism which have provided them with new opportunities for their personal and professional development (Osman, 2023g). Diasporas face integration challenges with the host country. This often leads to identity struggle and alienation. Despite the challenges, the diasporas have a crucial impact on the global community for its development.

13.4 Challenges Faced by the Diasporas

Though the diasporas have a significant contribution to the development of Somali, they face challenges and dilemmas in many ways. The relationship between humanitarian systems and diaspora-driven efforts is often marked by doubt and mutual mistrust regarding the intentions, outcomes, and methods, although notable exceptions and instances of collaboration occur. The diasporas often face challenges in terms of financial abuse (Samatar, 2011a). They face significant restrictions while transferring money especially larger sums. The diasporas also face

allegations of terrorism from the locals of Somalia. The restrictions on money transfers may result in a delay in reaching the places of crisis-affected areas and communities. This may result in life loss and other such distress due to lack of help on time. The residents of Somalia believe that diasporas do not hold much knowledge about the realities of the condition of the state, hence they cannot provide significant support to the state.

Apart from these challenges, the diaspora faces the challenge of living in Somalia. The challenge of living encompasses issues in the field of education, kin, genders, religion, work, and more. It is in the tradition of Somali that men interact more in public places than women do. Patriarchal kinship, female genital mutation, arranged marriage, and polygamy are practiced in Somalia (Samatar, 2011b). These trends were a diverge of the traditions and culture of Western feminism. The gender inequality in Somalia also posed a significant challenge and threat for the diasporas. The language has also been an important barrier for the community. The youth was unable to communicate properly due to the language barrier. The younger community faces cultural disconnects with the local communities in Somalia. Excessive dependency can be a limitation to long-term sustainable development. The mistrust and skepticism lead to ineffective collaboration and poor results of the diaspora-led initiatives.

13.5 Conclusion

The above research shows that the impact of diasporic involvement in the culture of Somalia is multifaceted, it has both negative and positive impacts on the Somalian community. The positive impact shows that the involvement of the diaspora is significant for the political, economic, and social development of the country. The remittances of the diasporas have a significant on improving the financial condition of the country. The remittances received foster the establishment of small businesses within the country thus enhancing the employment

opportunities for the people residing there. Diaspora members often invest in sectors like telecommunication, real estate, and trade which play a vital role in the development of the Somalian economy.

Diverse, skill expertise and knowledge contribute significantly to the overall development of the country. The diasporas share their knowledge and information to Somalia to influence the political decisions of the country. Their exposure to the federal system of other countries provides valuable insight into how Somalia can navigate through the prevailing political challenges. However, the social impact of the diasporas on Somalia has not been very positive. The culture and traditional differences have been a challenge. Apart from the culture, there are many restrictions that the diasporas face from the Somalian community. The transfer of money has been restricted which renders the families and communities of the diasporas in other countries helpless in the time of crisis. The gender inequality and language barriers have also been vital challenges for the diasporas. Addressing the challenges and issues will enhance their impact and foster stronger ties between diasporas and federal institutions of Somalia.

Chapter 14: Policy Recommendations for Enhancing Federalism and Development

14.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a thorough set of policy suggestions specifically designed to promote the values of federalism to spur and foster genuine socio-economic development across Somalia. By the findings collected through the extensive research undertaken, in addition to commentary offered by Professor Ahmed Samatar's scholarly work, the following suggested recommendations are closely aligned with some of the most significant and most basic areas of concern. These are obligatory constitutional reform, fair and equitable distribution of resources

to the different regions, decentralization to the regional level of government, international cooperation with the states, and investment in capacity-building programs (Samatar & Samatar, 2022). By acting on the most urgent and most compelling problems that now face the country, the policies laid out here aim not only to strengthen the federal system in Somalia but also to build development for all. Ultimately, the goal is to construct a freer, safer, and more prosperous Somalia that sustains a healthy sense of national unity but also promotes and celebrates regional diversity.

14.2 Constitutional Reform for Federal Governance

Dahir & Sheikh Ali (2024) to establish the legal and institutional foundation of federalism in Somalia, there must be a general overhaul and rebuilding of the 2012 Provisional Constitution. The rebuilding must first address the outlining of the division of power between the regional and federal governments in such a way that regional states have sufficient autonomy to govern but maintain the integrity of an integral national framework. This would facilitate the creation of an equilibrium system of government that promotes national integration and local self-governance. The reorganization must also delineate in precise terms mechanisms for the conflict resolution, particularly in a situation of conflict between the federal and regional governments. Power-sharing mechanisms should be spelt out in a way that ensures that all regions have a say in decision-making to the extent that they are not shut out. Mechanisms for protecting minority rights groups within the federal system should be incorporated. An open and stronger constitutional foundation would solve the causative factors of political instability, rendering Somalia's federal government predictable, inclusive, and effective in terms of promoting long-term stability and development.

14.3 Equitable Resource Allocation and Revenue Sharing

For the sake of equal and sustainable resource distribution towards socio-economic development, there should be an open and fair system of resource and revenue sharing. The system would allow for equal representation of the federal government and the states towards national resources sharing, foreign aid, and federal tax collections. A fair and mutually acceptable distribution formula will cut imbalances and foster equity and justice among regions. Self-determination accorded to regional states to manage and distribute resources in territorial areas is also very crucial for local economic activity development (Mohamed & Abdi, 2024).

Decentralization of the resource distribution will allow the regions to respond more meaningfully to their development visions, fostering development as per the needs of each region. Previously, unevenness in the resource distribution has been the cause of tensions and instability between the federal government and the regional states. The creation of an open and fair mechanism of sharing resources will thus minimize tensions, offer national harmony, and derive benefits from the resources of Somalia by all the regions. This will not only bring economic growth at the local level but also an integrated and stable national environment, which is critical for Somalia's long-term development.

14.4 Decentralization of Governance and Strengthening Local Institutions

Samatar (2022) decentralization must extend to the creation of local institutions to tap the full potential of Somalia's regional and local governments. Increased autonomy in infrastructure, health, education, and security will improve the capacity of the local governments to deliver services better to the people. Local government improves service delivery because it is more responsive to the needs of the people, helps in regional disparities reduction, and promotes integrated development. Besides autonomy, the new regional institutions also need to be

endowed with adequate capacity-building resources to enable them to adequately respond to the new challenges. These include appropriate training, skill sets, and sufficient financial resources.

Improving the administrative skills of the regional and local governments ensures service delivery and management is performed at the expected levels. Also, the center is unburdened with too much work and can coordinate national affairs, adding credibility to regional leaders as well (Tarabi, 2021). This brings responsibility and jurisdiction to local governments over major governance functions, and this enhances accountability and ownership of development processes. This manner, decentralization promotes local development while, at the same time, enhancing the overall stability and unity of Somalia through the fulfilment of different regional demands.

14.5 International Cooperation and Development Assistance

Enhancing the development gains of Somalia as it is integrated more meaningfully into the world economic system will call for development assistance cooperation between Somalia and other nations, trading activity, as well as other cooperation and technical assistance Somalia needs (Mourad, 2023). For this purpose, Somalia will be most likely to obtain the resources and capacity required to develop infrastructure, agriculture, education, and health. Enhancement of relations with the world at large will enhance investment, knowledge, and technology transfer required to stimulate growth and development in Somalia.

Secondly, Somalia will also need to secure international partners who will invest in federal and regional government capacity building programs. The programs are aimed at imparting suitable local level development managerial skills needed to empower the local governments to assume responsibility for their devolved functions. By enlarging Somalia's engagement in the international trade and development circles, the nation can be able to unlock new opportunities

for economic development, employment, and improved standards of living. In the end, Somalia's integration into the international economy will propel it far towards becoming a sustainable development and socio-economic stability nation.

14.6 Capacity-Building and Human Resource Development

Ahmed (2023) to build up the Somali regional and federal government capacity, the government needs a national capacity development strategy that will equip government personnel, civil service, and leaders with training on effective governance, public administration, and development management. The strategy will include providing more education, creating leadership programs, and instituting specialized training institutions for public administration. Such measures will offer the necessary know-how and abilities for dealing with the intricacies of governance and policy implementation both at the regional and national level.

In addition, proactive alliances need to be formed and nurtured with international and regional organizations, since these alliances need to be founded on facilitating the key processes of knowledge sharing and skill acquisition in the country. Through such alliances, Somalia will be able to acquire valuable access to a treasure house of best practices, technical know-how, and general training programs specifically designed to increase the professional competence and overall efficiency of its government employees. Through such partnerships, both the federal and regional governments of Somalia will be able to construct a strong and effective workforce. Such a workforce would be sufficiently empowered to address and resolve the various socio-economic issues of the country. It is widely known that human capital dictates the effectiveness of any governance system, and therefore, investing in the training and continuous development of government personnel will greatly empower Somalia to implement its development policies

more effectively. This strategic step will not only lead to enhanced governance but will also have a positive effect on the long-term stability and sustainable growth required for the entire country.

Chapter- 15 Conclusion

15. Key Findings of the Dissertation

According to Said & Kicha (2024), the first chapter is based on the introduction to implementing federalism in Somalia, which has brought about several governance challenges. This chapter ended positively as the dissertation delves into the connection between federalism and socio-economic development in post-conflict Somalia. The overall importance of the need for governance reforms is highlighted in this chapter. The major finding in the chapter was that these governance reforms tend to support the development of the country. However, the second chapter was based on a literature review that revolves around the concept of Federalism and the development of Somalia. According to Samatar & Samatar (2022), the major finding of this paper was based on the works of Professor Ahmad Samatar who states that the country of Somalia is in dire need of sustainable development strategies and governance policies so that it continues to grow from its current position.

The third chapter focuses on the concept of methodology used for the entire paper and is taken from the views of Professor Samatar. This is concluded by the fact that the paper utilized a qualitative method for research in which several primary and secondary data had been considered. The paper also makes use of thematic and comparative analysis that draws a deep insight into the issues that are going on within the country of Somalia (Samatar & Samatar, 2022). The fourth chapter is based on the historical context of Federalism within Somalia, in

which the key findings were that federalism shapes the diversity within the country in the right direction and ensures that parochial interests are considered before national unity.

The fifth and sixth chapters are based on the topics of constitutional ambiguities and legal frameworks and the formation of the Federal Member states respectively that delve into the deeper section's operation within the country of Somalia. The findings of both chapters were that the former mentioned that there should be a mindful implementation of a sustainable legal framework in the country, while the latter focused on the pathway that will define the identity of Somalia so that the loopholes between the governance model of the country of Somalia can be churned down. According to Said & Kicha (2024), the seventh and eighth chapters, Fiscal Federalism and resource allocation and local governance and development outcomes delve into the social inequities and other essential issues going on within the location of Somalia. The key findings within these chapters were that the former dealt with the importance of foreign aid within the country so that it aids toward the growth and compliance of the laws. However, the latter focuses on implementing a strong sense of civility within the country through their actions and practices.

The ninth and tenth chapters in the dissertations study the impact of international aid and NGOs and security, and stability under Federalism that deeply analyzes the socioeconomic development in the country of Somalia and ensures that the security development aspect is studied briefly. The key findings of the two chapters are that international aid is a negative influence on the country of Somalia as the government jeopardizes the opinions of the public over foreign assistance, whereas the tenth chapter is about collaboratively working toward a solid development of the different departments in the country so that the different aspects of the country can be safeguarded (Sayid, 2021). However, the eleventh and twelfth chapters in the dissertation are

based on the perceptions of the community and comparative analysis of the post-conflict Federal States that eventually encourage the officials within the country to enhance its governing laws and federalism through the valuable insights gained with the help of the works of Professor Samaritan.

The key findings of the eleventh and twelfth chapters are based on the explorations of the local communities of the country that is filled with social inequality, whereas the twelfth chapter deals with a brief comparison of the federal system and the experiences revolving around it. However, the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters are based on the role of the Somali diaspora, and policy recommendations for enhancing federalism and development that eventually help the readers to understand the negative impacts going through the country of Somalia and the resource allocation strategy of the country respectively.

15.2 The Success and Limitation of Federalism in Post-Conflict Somalia

Federalism is one of the essential aspects for the country of Somalia that will cater to its challenges efficiently. According to Said & Kicha (2024), It gradually became a popular form of governance model throughout the entire country of Somalia. The political disputes within the country had become prominent, causing governance breakdowns and disrupted the administration to fail eventually. However, implementing the Federalist approach was unsuccessful within Somalia, as per the previous chapters studied in the dissertation. Certain limitations in the implementation of Federalism in Somalia begin with constitutional ambiguities. These ambiguities are based on the different divisions of power in the governmental stakeholders present within the country. The decisions of these stakeholders turn out to be biased at times due to the chapters in which foreign aid was studied. This negatively impacts the decisions of the federal government.

There were several disputes over the implementation of Federalism within the country due to the member states. The aspect of constant insecurity that was coming from the higher officials also highly limited the developmental efforts. This resulted in the misplacement of the resources required for the implementation process and led to social inequality among the people staying in the country (Sayid, 2021). The issues stemmed from the side of a political and institutional framework that disrupts the transition to federalism that exposes certain instincts of governance. The political parties of the country of Somalia regarded international aid as an essential aspect and disregarded the perspectives of the public of the nation. This imbibed negativity among the public of the nation as their concerns for the nation were never considered in the decision-making process.

The dependency of the country of Somalia on international aid has been negatively impacting its sense of authority and other operations (Said & Kicha, 2024). These external actors who are not present in the country will impose laws that are not familiar to the locals of the country which ultimately make the public skeptical about the current laws being implemented within the country. This has led the fragmented political landscape of the country to deeply impact its inner operation which led to its gradual downfall. The government of the country of Somalia had turned out to be a complex autonomy due to international aid and being too dependent on foreign aid. The central government of the country lacks several governance practices that further hinder the country's Federalism to sustain the operations occurring within the country.

15.3 Social Inequality and Resource Allocation

The resource allocation aspect within the country of Somalia has also been impacted by different levels of the government that hinder socio-economic development. The aspect of a coherent federal system is missing within the country causing tensions among the government. The

government cannot perform resource allocation for this reason as they lack transparency and accountability within their framework. The country also goes through social inequality in which the people stay within the country. According to Sayid (2021), Social inequality leads to conflicts within the people as they are discriminated against from the culture, they come from which is not addressed by the government. This necessitates the conclusion that the government should implement policies for supporting sustainable growth and eradicating regional inequalities among the people staying in the country.

Professor Samatar mentions that federalism cannot function efficiently within Somalia due to the constant military insecurities that make the government insecure (Samatar & Samatar, 2022). The efforts that were supposed to go toward socio-economic development are redirected toward military efforts that hinder the growth of the country and lift the trust of people in the Federal system of the country. The government of the country is incapable of dealing with military threats. The country has a weak command over controlling poverty and taking accountability. This results in constant governmental challenges for the people staying there. The country requires several policies and frameworks to mitigate poverty and ensure that people staying there remain safe.

15.4 Implications of the Findings for Future Research and Policymaking

There is a huge significance in understanding the role of federalism for the government of the country. This was possible after the government flaws within the country of Somalia where several problems were highlighted. The framework of Somalia reveals that international aid is not always the best option for a country's strategic growth. This is also revealed through the works of Professor Samatar who mentioned that Somalia cannot function according to the people and situation it is going through due to foreign aid (Samatar & Samatar, 2022). Being too

dependent on international aid hampered the internal growth of the country. This opens gates for further research on the topics of international aid impacts in the Federal implementation of a country (Said & Kicha, 2024). Apart from this, the country of Somalia gave several lessons on policy making. These lessons begin with making policies for the eradication of social inequality. Social inequality causes conflicts not only with the government but also with the people staying in the country. Hence, there should be strict policies for eradicating it. Another policy-making strategy learned from the country of Somalia is about eradicating poverty in which the people will get several benefits from the government. Overall, the study on the country of Somalia turned out to be insightful because of its diverse practices.

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