



EXAMINING EFFECTIVENESS OF IMPOSED FEDERALISM AS A TOOL OF
CONFLICT RESOLUTION FOR THE POST-CONFLICT SOCIETY:
THE CASE OF SOMALIA

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APPROVAL OF THE THESIS

EXAMINING EFFECTIVENESS OF IMPOSED FEDERALISM AS A TOOL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION FOR THE POST-CONFLICT SOCIETY: THE CASE OF SOMALIA

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ABSTRACT

EXAMINING EFFECTIVENESS OF IMPOSED FEDERALISM AS A TOOL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION FOR THE POST-CONFLICT SOCIETY: THE CASE OF SOMALIA

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Federalism as a tool for conflict resolution has been a focal point in scholarly debates, often employed to manage conflicts. Somalia adopted federalism to address its persistent clan conflicts. This study examines the effectiveness of federalism in resolving conflicts in Somalia's post-conflict society. The main issues in Somalia include reemerging clan conflicts and deteriorating relationships between the Federal Member States (FMS) and the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS), which threaten the country's nascent government. The study investigates the impact of Somalia's governance system on political stability, clan-based power sharing, resource allocation, boundary disputes between FMSs, and the constitutional framework. This study sought to understand why Somalia's federal arrangement has failed. Federalism is the process by which a number of separate political organizations enter into voluntary agreements to work out solutions, adopt joint policies, and make decisions on joint problems. The legitimacy of the Somali governance model is questionable. The study addresses these perceived limitations using a hybrid methodological approach, including surveys and in-depth interviews, with a total population of 136 participants. Key questions explored include whether Somalia's federal system effectively addresses prolonged conflict and political instability and the external and internal factors influencing its implementation. Qualitative data were systematically analyzed, while quantitative data were processed using SPSS 20.0. The results indicated a lack of favourable public opinion

regarding the system's suitability in Somalia. The study concludes that the current system is inefficient in state rebuilding, promoting inclusivity, ending clan conflicts, and preventing secession. The study recommends that Somali people renegotiate a suitable governance system without foreign intervention and suggests a decentralized unitary system as a more appropriate solution for Somalia. This approach could better preserve Somali unity and address the root causes of conflict

Keywords: Imposed Federalism, Conflict Resolution, Post Conflict Societies, Somalia

DECLARATION

I attest that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledge, the work presented is entirely my own.

AI ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my late father, Sheikh Abdi Hussein. His unwavering spirit and tireless work ethic continue to inspire me every day. Throughout the challenging years of the Somali civil war, he remained a steadfast pillar of strength and resilience. His courage and dedication amidst such adversity taught me invaluable lessons in perseverance and determination. Even in the face of immense hardship, he upheld his principles and worked tirelessly for the betterment of our community. His legacy is a constant reminder of the importance of resilience and hard work. This dissertation is a testament to the values he instilled in me and a tribute to his enduring influence on my life and academic journey. I also express my deepest gratitude to my mother, whose unwavering love, sacrifices, and steadfast commitment to my education and well-being have laid the foundation for my academic and personal successes. Her resilience and dedication, especially in the face of adversity, have been a constant source of motivation. Her support has enabled me to overcome numerous challenges, and her unyielding belief in my potential has been instrumental in my achievements. My mother's enduring love and tireless efforts are a testament to the power of a mother's love, and I am profoundly grateful for the strength and inspiration she has provided throughout my journey. This dissertation is a tribute to her remarkable dedication and the significant role she has played in shaping my life. This work stands as a testament to the enduring spirit of my family and a humble tribute to the hardships they have overcome. Through this dissertation, I aim to honor their memory and shed light on the experiences and challenges faced by those who have weathered the storms of conflict and displacement. It is my hope that this research will not only contribute to a deeper understanding of these issues but also inspire resilience and perseverance in others. By documenting these struggles, I seek to pay homage to my family's strength and the strength of all who have endured similar

adversities, highlighting their unwavering spirit and the courage required to overcome such profound challenges.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
BRA	Banadir Regional Administration
CF	Competitive Federalism/Cooperative Federalism
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
DF	Dual Federalism
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
FMS	Federal Member States
IC	International Community
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Scientists
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UREC	UNICAF Research Ethics Committee
USA	United States of America
WW	World War

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The notion of federalism has garnered substantial scholarly focus in the past three decades, particularly regarding its potential as a method to resolve conflicts in societies emerging from conflict (Aliff, 2015). Following the end of the Cold War, federalism was presented to address the surge in intrastate conflicts that defined the late 20th century. Intrastate conflicts, as defined by Bereketeab (2013, p. 5), occur within a state's internationally recognized borders and encompass civil wars and intercommunal disputes. The dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) precipitated numerous ethnic, religious, economic, social, and political conflicts in Eastern Europe, leading to the establishment of new states, exemplified by the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bieber & Keil, 2009).

The newly formed states were compelled to incorporate comprehensive security measures into their adjacent regions. Prominent regional entities, including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union collaborated with various individual nations to mediate conflicts between opposing parties. However, the significant interventions of NATO and the EU in the mediation process often marginalized local communities, restricting their participation in peace negotiations. The viewpoints and requirements of local populations were frequently disregarded during state-building initiatives, with some communities facing discrimination and exclusion from positions of leadership. Keil (2012, p. 5) emphasizes that, “federalism entails the coexistence of centralized and decentralized power, where autonomous regions participate in joint decision-making at the national level.” However, the exclusion of certain community factions from this shared governance has led to significant problems, as dominant groups have exploited democratic processes to monopolize central representation and policymaking. For example, in

Bosnia and Herzegovina, international mediators manipulated peace negotiations, frequently employing federalism as a mechanism to address conflicts (Atiyas, 1995; Keil, 2012). This raises critical questions about whether the implemented federalist model truly provided practical solutions to end violent conflicts or merely addressed surface-level issues without transforming adversarial relationships into cooperative interactions.

The study of peace negotiations has not been limited to Eastern Europe; similar processes have been observed in various post-conflict contexts, such as Iraq, Myanmar/Burma, Cyprus, and Somalia (Abebe, 2014). Empirical research conducted by political scientists has investigated federalism as a means to manage diversity in countries with histories of violent intergroup conflicts (Osaghae, 2014). This approach has enhanced scholarly understanding of federalism as a framework for addressing ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious, and political differences. Federalism is increasingly regarded as a viable model for accommodating diverse populations ensuring inclusivity, through the decentralization of power and permission of regional autonomy while maintaining national cohesion. This method aims to address the root causes of conflict by providing a structured way for different groups to coexist peacefully and equitably.

The academic investigation into federalism's potential has therefore become crucial to conflict resolution strategies in diverse and divided societies, emphasizing its function in cultivating stability and deterring the resurgence of violence. By recognizing the intricacies of managing post-conflict societies, scholars and practitioners can better design and implement governance frameworks that foster lasting peace and inclusiveness.

Existing empirical research yields inconclusive findings on the efficacy of federalism. For instance, in India, federalism has fostered cooperative ties and effective statehood, in cases like

Nepal and Bosnia and Herzegovina, it has resolved conflict without addressing underlying governance flaws (Jacob, 1968). Conversely, in certain contexts, federalism has proven incapable of contributing to peace and has been quickly abandoned, as exemplified by Iraq and Somali is on path on reconsidering federalism's effectiveness in addressing prolonged conflict in Somalia (Keil, 2019).

Somalia presents a particularly stark case, where federalism is on the verge of complete collapse, underscoring the challenges and limitations of federal structures in maintaining stability (Bereketeab, 2013). The varied outcomes suggest that the success of federalism in promoting peace and stability is highly context-dependent, necessitating careful consideration of local political, social, and historical factors. The diverse experiences reinforce the importance of customized approaches to federalism, acknowledging that what is effective in one country may not be applicable or successful in another. Thus, while federalism can be a potent instrument for managing diversity and conflict, it is not a universal panacea and must be adapted to the unique requirements and conditions of each society.

Federalism can undoubtedly offer a resolution to conflicts, but solely when minority groups political, economic and social rights are recognized, and their requirements are considered during post-conflict peace negotiations (Burgess, 2006). Fundamental moral tenets, including respect, tolerance, dignity, and mutual comprehension, are indispensable for establishing stable societies, which often manifest as a federal state or federation. It is likewise crucial to accommodate the interests of all opposing parties and ensure the neutrality of international communities in facilitating the state-building process. This approach fosters a governance system owned by local communities and supported by all factions, thereby enhancing trust among former adversaries and

preventing future conflicts. Ensuring the state-building process is inclusive and unbiased can significantly contribute to the long-term stability and unity of a post-conflict society. Establishing a federal structure where all constituent communities perceive themselves as adequately represented and respected enhances the prospects for enduring stability and cooperative relations. By cultivating an environment conducive to the coexistence and collaboration of diverse groups, federalism can assist in addressing historical resentments and foster a more harmonious and resilient social framework.

The implementation of federalism as a mechanism to address conflict in post-conflict African nations has been the subject of extensive academic and policy discourse in recent years (Yimenu, 2024). Federalism, designed to strike a balance between central authority and regional autonomy, has been viewed as a potential remedy to the diverse and often contentious ethnic, religious, and political landscapes prevalent across many African states (Choudhry & Hume, 2011). For example, in the case of Ethiopia, federalism was adopted to address the historical grievances of various ethnic groups by establishing a system of ethnic federalism, which ostensibly enabled self-governance and the preservation of distinct cultural identities (Aalen, 2006). The practical application of federalism in Somali and Nigerian contexts has encountered significant obstacles, including political interference, ethnic divisions, and excessive centralized control, which have at times aggravated rather than resolved conflicts (Abbink, 2011). Nigeria's federal structure, established post-independence to manage ethnic heterogeneity and regional imbalances, has grappled with persistent challenges related to resource management, ethnic militancy, and ineffective governance (Suberu, 2001). These examples highlight the complexities and potential hazards of implementing federalism in African settings, where the intricate interplay of historical, social, and political factors must be carefully navigated.

South Sudan's experience with federalism has been plagued by significant challenges. Following its independence from Sudan in 2011, the incorporation of federal principles into governance discussions was aimed at accommodating ethnic diversity and promoting inclusive decision-making. However, the outbreak of civil war just two years later exposed deep-rooted divisions that federalism was unable to resolve. Ethnic rivalries, corruption, and the lack of credible state institutions undermined efforts to implement effective power-sharing arrangements. This highlights a key issue in many African contexts: federalism is often introduced without the necessary institutional capacity or political will to ensure equitable governance. Rather than fostering peace, it may instead entrench divisions when political elites manipulate federal structures for personal or factional gain. These experiences demonstrate that without transparency, accountability, and broad-based participation, federal arrangements may exacerbate rather than alleviate conflict.

After a decade of implementing federalism, Somalia faces emerging challenges that the system was designed to address, if not entirely resolve. The current system appears to be deteriorating, with the prospect of civil unrest looming due to a lack of trust among stakeholders, injustice, an imposed federal structure, clan-based power-sharing, and an ambiguous constitutional framework that fails to meet the needs of the Somali populace. Regrettably, the majority of Somalis have lost faith in the present governance system's ability to reunite this fragmented and war-ravaged nation. In spite of more than seventeen peace talks convened to assist Somali people in resolving their differences and agreeing on a suitable governance system, these efforts have been dominated by the international community, who have dictated the terms of peace, and the formulation of the government structure implemented in Somalia. The failure of International Community (IC) attempt to establish a stable, federal government in Somalia is further exacerbated

by the perceived lack of integrity and expertise in the management of foreign aid, which has been a significant source of funding for the country's recovery efforts. As Elmi (2015, p. 5) notes, following the disintegration of the Somali state in 1991, the international community has assumed a prominent position and has sometimes supported the priorities of Ethiopia and Kenya.”

The implementation of federalism as a strategy for resolving conflicts in Somalia has been highly contentious. Following the collapse of the central government in 1991, the country has struggled to establish a stable and inclusive governance system. The international community, heavily involved in Somali peace processes, advocated for a federal structure to accommodate the nation's clan-based divisions and promote regional autonomy (Elmi, 2015). However, the top-down imposition of this federal model has faced significant resistance from various Somali factions, who perceive it as an externally driven agenda that does not align with traditional Somali governance practices. The resulting federal arrangement has been characterized by weak institutions, ongoing inter-clan conflicts, and a lack of genuine national unity (Menkhaus, 2006). These experiences underscore the critical importance of local context and buy-in when designing federal systems in post-conflict African societies. The efficacy of federalism as a conflict resolution tool in Africa remains a debated issue, necessitating a nuanced approach that prioritizes local engagement and addresses the underlying socio-political dynamics.

This study seeks to offer a critical examination of the ineffectiveness of federalism as a conflict resolution mechanism in the Somali context. The research will further investigate the influential role of the international community in shaping the federal arrangement and explore the significance of local communities' involvement in the peace negotiations and state-building process. It will consider the appropriateness of introducing federalism given Somalia's distinct

political culture, clan-based governance traditions, and historical grievances. Furthermore, the study aims to identify the prerequisites for a successful federal system by drawing on comparative insights from both effective and unsuccessful federal models in analogous post-conflict environments.

Ultimately, the study strives to propose a governance structure that is tailored to the unique needs of Somalia, informed by the guiding principles of inclusivity, ownership, and sustainability. Only through a governance model that resonates with local realities can Somalia hope to transition from fragility to lasting peace and development.

Statement of the Problem

The implementation of federalism in Somalia was intended as a transformative governance framework to resolve the country's protracted political crises and catalyzing national stability. Federalism is often recommended in post-conflict areas as a governance model for managing diversity, decentralization of authority and rebuilding fragile institutions. Lapidus (2013) have asserted that federalism emerged as a prominent conflict resolution mechanism, particularly after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, which unleashed political and socioeconomic instability across various regions. However, despite more than a decade of implementation of federalism with the aim to reunite a fragmented polity, mitigate clan-based divisions, and establish a system of decentralized governance reflecting the diversity of Somalia's communities, Somalia's federal experiment has not yielded the anticipated stability. Instead, it has intensified political fragmentation, fostered inter-regional competition, and in some instances, contributed to the resurgence of violent conflict.

A major critique of Somalia's federalization process centers on its origins, which were heavily influenced and led by international actors. Peace processes such as the Eldoret and Nairobi conferences were spearheaded by foreign mediators, with limited involvement of Somali stakeholders. These interventions, although aimed at facilitating reconciliation and nation-building, introduced pre-packaged solutions that failed to adequately reflect the complex historical, cultural, and political realities of Somali society. Samatar (2018, p. 6) critically notes, "non-Somalis dictated the agenda and presented key items in the rules of procedure," such as federalism, without securing genuine consensus from Somali delegates." This externally driven approach to governance restructuring not only undermined the legitimacy of the federal model but also alienated local actors who perceived the framework as externally imposed rather than a product of indigenous political negotiations.

The empirical evidence from Somalia reinforces the constraints of federalism in fragile, post-conflict settings. Blumer (2017) stresses the ambiguity surrounding federalism's role in conflict resolution, emphasizing its highly contingent nature on the political and institutional context. In the Somali context, the federal arrangement has facilitated the rapid expansion of regional administrations, each asserting its autonomy and often clashing with the federal government's authority. This has not only weakened national unity but also exacerbated clan-based rivalries and competition over resources. Consequently, Somalia continues to grapple with key governance challenges, including disjointed security operations, overlapping jurisdictions, and fragmented service delivery all of which undermine the state's ability to deliver peace dividends to its populace.

The ongoing dominance of international stakeholders in hijacking Somalia's federal path represents another side of the problem. According to Elmi (2015) the international community's engagement often prioritizes the strategic interests of external actors over the pressing needs of the Somali populace. This lack of alignment has eroded the credibility of the federal system and reinforced the perception that federalism caters to foreign agendas rather than addressing Somalia's governance requirements. Furthermore, political deadlocks amongst federal member states and between the central government have frequently paralyzed policymaking and precipitated recurrent episodes of conflict and political upheaval.

The academic interest in federalism and external interventions has its roots in the post-Cold War period, particularly after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This geopolitical shift heightened the rivalry between the USSR and NATO, which had a detrimental impact on weaker states that became the battleground for proxy interests. These nations often found themselves unable to restore internal order or sovereignty, leading to the proliferation of fragmented governance models imposed from the outside. In the case of Somalia, international interventions have also extended to the realms of security and resource distribution. Donor-driven priorities have shaped federal structures, frequently conditioning financial support on compliance with externally defined benchmarks. Moreover, the involvement of foreign powers in forming regional governments and conducting unilateral military operations has created parallel systems of authority, thereby weakening state institutions and perpetuating dependence on external actors.

Following over a decade of federalism implementation, Somalia's population has grown increasingly skeptical of the model's effectiveness and pertinence. Persistent political deadlocks, regional power dynamics, and resurgent violence have prompted many to reevaluate federalism's

contribution to peacebuilding. This study examines why federalism has failed to materialize as an effective conflict resolution approach in the Somali context, contrasting with the expectations of political theorists who advocate for it in analogous settings

This research examines the challenges of implementing federalism in Somalia by engaging with diverse stakeholders, such as government officials, traditional elders, civil society representatives, youth, and women. It critically analyses the preconditions identified by political theorists for successful federal systems, including voluntary political unions, intergovernmental collaboration, and inclusive decision-making processes. The study not only investigates the limitations of Somalia's federal experiment but also explores alternative governance models that may be more suitable for the country's unique socio-political context.

Purpose of the Study

This study critically examines the effects of the imposed federalism as a conflict resolution mechanism in Somalia and its implication on political instability. Specifically, the study investigated how Somalia's federal governance system influences political inclusivity, power-sharing, resource allocation, and relations between federal member states and the central government. The study also evaluated the extent to which external actors influence Somalia's federal system and whether the imposed federalism structure has fostered unity or escalated divisions. In doing so, the study directly engaged with the overarching question of whether the imposed federalism is a viable model in resolving Somalia's protracted political instability or whether alternative governance approaches are required.

Bereketeab (2013), asserts that federalism is frequently advocated in post-conflict nations as a strategy for managing diversity and facilitating power-sharing, particularly in contexts where ethnic, religious, or clan affiliations dominate political allegiances. In the case of Somalia, federalism was introduced with substantial backing and involvement from international stakeholders, including the United Nations, African Union, and regional actors. This externally driven approach to governance reform has prompted extensive debate among scholars and practitioners. While proponents contend that federalism provides a framework for stability and shared governance, critics argue that its top-down implementation has undermined Somali ownership and exacerbated factionalism (Elmi, 2015). The current study contributes to this discourse by presenting an empirical and theoretical examination of the federalism model in Somalia and its broader ramifications for peacebuilding and state-building efforts.

This study aims to assess the degree to which federalism has been successful in resolving political stalemates in Somalia. The persistent governance obstacles are highlighted by the ongoing political impasses between federal and state authorities, repeated election delays, and recurrent disagreements over resource distribution. Furthermore, the implementation of the system has been tainted by mistrust among political elites, weak institutional capacity, and unresolved constitutional ambiguities. These limitations have not only hindered effective governance but have also fueled renewed inter-clan rivalries, with some clan leaders threatening armed resistance, thereby raising fears of a return to civil war. As Menkhaus (2006) observed, federalism that is not tailored to the local context can be counterproductive in fragile states, exacerbating rather than mitigating instability.

In addition to analyzing domestic governance dynamics, this study also examines the role of international influence in shaping Somalia's federal framework. External actors played a central role in drafting the provisional constitution and establishing federal institutions. However, their involvement has not always aligned with Somalia's socio-political realities. The conflicting agendas of foreign stakeholders, compounded by inadequate consultation with Somali civil society and traditional leadership structures, have created an environment where federalism is perceived by many as externally imposed rather than organically developed (Samatar, 2018). This perception has significantly affected the legitimacy and functionality of the federal system. Therefore, this study assesses the effects of imposed federalism as a conflict resolution tool on Somalia's political instability.

The study employed a multifaceted methodology, blending qualitative and quantitative approaches, to comprehensively examine the complex issues surrounding Somali federalism. As noted by Biber (2019), a mixed methods approach is particularly valuable for investigating multifaceted social phenomena that cannot be adequately explored through a single method. The quantitative component of the study employed a multi-correlational design to assess the relationships between the imposed federal system and various indicators of political instability, such as clan-based power-sharing arrangements, boundary disputes, constitutional ambiguity, and competition over resources. Conversely, the qualitative component utilized ethnographic tools and open-ended interviews to delve deeper into the lived experiences and local perceptions of the federal system. This dual approach allowed for a comprehensive exploration of both statistical trends and personal narratives, providing a more nuanced understanding of Somalia's political landscape.

The study by John and Clark (2007, p. 79) employed integrative methodologies that proved particularly effective for conflict research, enabling the description, analysis, and interpretation of phenomena related to cultural divergence, behavioral patterns, and linguistic changes over time. The qualitative component of the research focused on understanding how marginalized communities perceive federalism and its implications. Specific attention was given to the perspectives of women, youth, and traditional elders, many of whom voiced concerns about increasing inequality, political exclusion, and social fragmentation under the current governance structure. Participants highlighted instances of injustice, clan bias, and inadequate service delivery as key grievances stemming from the flawed implementation of federalism.

The study investigates how the implementation of federalism has impacted national cohesion and Somali identity. While the system was intended to empower regions and foster local governance, it has frequently reinforced clan divisions and encouraged secessionist tendencies at the regional level. This has resulted in the proliferation of autonomous regional administrations, some of which challenge the authority of the central government, leading to a fragmented political landscape. This phenomenon highlights the risks of adopting a federal system without adequate mechanisms for intergovernmental coordination and conflict resolution. Consequently, the research examines whether the federalist model, as applied, has strengthened or weakened Somalia's prospects for national integration and sustainable development

The research examines the resilience of Somali political institutions and their ability to mediate the inherent tensions in federal arrangements. Despite the proliferation of federal member states, Somalia continues to lack a finalized federal constitution, a functional upper legislative chamber, and an agreed mechanism for revenue distribution and security coordination. These

institutional shortcomings have facilitated elite manipulation and intergovernmental discord, undermining the prospects of a unified national agenda. As observed by scholars such as Burgess (2006), for federalism to be effective, it must be underpinned by robust institutions that foster transparency, equity, and accountability.

The study employed a multi-method approach, utilizing both surveys and in-depth interviews to triangulate data sources. This enhanced the reliability and validity of the findings. The surveys generated quantifiable data on public perceptions of federalism, capturing aspects such as trust in government institutions, satisfaction with service delivery, and views on political inclusion. Conversely, the interviews provided deeper insights into how political elites, civil society actors, and community leaders interpret the federal arrangement and its implications for peace and governance. This methodological rigour enabled a comprehensive assessment of the research problem.

The sampling approach blended purposive and random techniques to generate a diverse and representative data pool. This was crucial in capturing the regional variations in perceptions of federalism, as experiences and outcomes across Somalia's federal member states exhibited significant disparities. For example, while certain regions have welcomed federalism as a chance for local self-governance, others have resisted its implementation, citing anxieties about marginalization or loss of autonomy. These regional discrepancies were meticulously analyzed to formulate broader conclusions regarding the system's effectiveness and legitimacy.

This study provides a critical and evidence-based evaluation of federalism as a conflict resolution and governance model in Somalia. By examining both the theoretical underpinnings and practical realities of the system, the research contributes to a more comprehensive

understanding of its strengths, limitations, and prospects. The findings are intended to inform policymakers, international partners, and Somali stakeholders on the necessary reforms and strategic adjustments required to enhance the inclusivity, legitimacy, and sustainability of the country's governance framework. Fundamentally, the study aligns with broader peacebuilding and state-building objectives internationally supported and other international actors committed to Somalia's long-term stability.

The study offers a comprehensive approach to addressing a critical question in Somali governance: whether the current design and implementation of federalism can provide a foundation for enduring peace and development, or if it necessitates fundamental restructuring to align with the country's intricate social and political landscape. The research provides valuable insights into the routes towards a more unified and stable Somalia, where governance frameworks not only function effectively but also reflect the aspirations and lived realities of the populace.

Research Aim and Objectives

Aim

To assess effects of the imposed federalism as a conflict resolution tool on the Somalia's political instability.

Objectives

1. To critically analyze the concept of federalism as a conflict resolution mechanism and its applicability in Somalia.

2. To evaluate implementation of federalism in Somalia, particularly in terms of political stability, legal framework, relationship between FMSs and Centre.
3. To assess the impact of foreign involvement, particularly in the form of international mediation, peacebuilding and state-building in Somalia.
4. To identify the challenges and limitations of federalism in the Somalia context, particularly with regards to power sharing, resources allocation, representation of minority groups.
5. To provide recommendations for policy-makers and stakeholders on how to improve the effectiveness of federalism as a tool for conflict resolution in Somalia.

Nature of the Study

A hybrid methodological approach was employed in this study, enabling the acquisition of rich information to understand the phenomenon from multiple perspectives. According to Creswell (2016, p. 535), "Hybrid methodological research is a procedure for gathering and analyzing both quantitative and qualitative data within a single study or a series of studies to comprehend the research issue." This approach was deemed optimal as it offers comprehensive options to the investigator, enhancing the authenticity of the results. Given the hybrid paradigm, the study's main research designs combined ethnography and correlation. The ethnographic study was instrumental in exploring cultural and political issues, particularly focusing on the cultural and political oppressions faced by minority groups in Somalia. This aspect aimed to uncover the nuances of these oppressions and their impact on the broader societal framework. Concurrently, a correlation design was utilized to measure the relationship between the dependent variable, the Somali political deadlock, and various independent variables, including imposed federalism, the clan-based power-sharing formula, boundary disputes, resource sharing, and the constitutional

framework. This dual approach allowed for a detailed examination of the intricate dynamics within Somali politics, providing a nuanced understanding of how different factors interrelate and contribute to the ongoing political deadlock. By integrating ethnographic insights with quantitative correlation data, the study aimed to offer a comprehensive analysis that addresses both the cultural dimensions of political issues and the measurable relationships between key variables. This methodological synergy not only enriched the data but also facilitated a more holistic interpretation of the complex political landscape in Somalia.

Data Collection Tool

The study employed a systematic and multifaceted data collection approach, combining in-depth interviews and survey questionnaires (Brayman, 2012). The interviews provided an invaluable opportunity to delve deeply into the research problem and its impact on political stability in Somalia, offering a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the issue. Through these interviews, the researcher gathered a wealth of rich qualitative data, uncovering the intricate dynamics of federalism and its pivotal role in shaping the country's political landscape. Conversely, the survey questionnaires were utilized to collect structured, empirical quantitative data. These surveys aimed to systematically organize information and validate the emergent themes and concepts that surfaced during the interviews. By skillfully integrating these two complementary methods, the study achieved a more comprehensive, multilayered and nuanced analysis of the research problem. While the in-depth interviews offered exploratory insights, the surveys helped confirm those findings with measurable data. This complementary approach not only strengthened the study's reliability and depth but also ensured that the conclusions were

grounded in both qualitative and quantitative evidence, providing a well-rounded perspective on Somalia's political stability challenges.

Data Analysis Method

The data analysis for this study used a blend of qualitative and quantitative techniques to provide a thorough understanding of the findings. For the qualitative analysis, the researcher followed a step-by-step process: becoming familiar with the data, coding it, organizing important codes into categories, refining and grouping these categories, and finally presenting the results in the final write-up. This approach allowed for the identification of recurring themes and patterns, offering deeper insights into the key issues being studied. For the quantitative analysis, the researcher first organized the collected data by coding it into an Excel spreadsheet for easier management. The study employed statistical analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences, (SPSS) version 20. Techniques such as the "Pearson Chi-square" test were utilized to investigate the relationships between the dependent variable and independent variables, including political instability, clan-based power-sharing systems, boundary disputes, resource sharing, and the constitutional framework. By integrating qualitative and quantitative methodologies, the research addressed both the contextual and measurable dimensions of the research problem. The qualitative analysis provided detailed insights into the dynamics of political stability in Somalia, while the quantitative analysis validated these findings by uncovering statistically significant relationships. Together, these methods painted a comprehensive picture of federalism's impact, revealing its role in political instability and pinpointing areas that need attention to improve governance and peacebuilding in Somalia.

Significance of the Study

This study is of profound significance as it provides an in-depth exploration of federalism as a conflict resolution mechanism in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, with a specific focus on Somalia. By examining the interplay of federalism, external interventions, and local realities, the study makes original contributions to the theoretical and practical dimensions of conflict resolution and state-building.

- **Enhancing Understanding of the Effectiveness of Federalism in Conflict Resolution;**

The study advanced scholarly understanding of federalism as a governance model in conflict-affected societies, particularly in fragile states like Somalia. While federalism is often proposed as a solution to ethnic and political conflicts, its application in such contexts is underexplored. This study contributes to existing theories by critically analyzing how federalism operates in a volatile, fragmented setting where trust among stakeholders is limited. It further evaluates whether federalism can promote stability and unity in the Somali context or exacerbate existing divisions. This nuanced understanding enriches theoretical discussions on governance and conflict resolution in fragile states.

- **Highlighting the Challenges of Imposed Federalism;** One of the unique contributions of this study is its focus on the challenges and limitations of imposed federalism. Federalism in Somalia has often been externally driven, with limited input from local stakeholders. This study critiques the top-down imposition of federal structures and highlights the disconnect between externally designed governance models and local sociopolitical realities. By doing so, it provides an original perspective on the limitations of externally imposed governance frameworks, particularly in contexts where local agency and

participation are marginalized. This insight is crucial for revisiting theories that advocate for federalism as a universal remedy for conflict.

- **Examining the Impact of Foreign Involvement and Manipulation;** This study makes a novel contribution by examining the role of foreign involvement in peace talks and state-building processes in Somalia. It highlights how external actors, including foreign governments and international organizations, influence these processes. Unlike many studies that assume neutrality in external interventions, this research delves into the potential manipulation of federalism for geopolitical or economic interests. It analyses the consequences of such manipulation on the effectiveness of federalism as a conflict resolution tool, thus enriching the theoretical discourse on international interventions in state-building. This aspect of the study provides actionable insights for policymakers and practitioners involved in international peacebuilding efforts.
- **Contributing to the Debate on State-Building and Governance in Somalia;** By focusing on the Somali context, the study contributes to the ongoing debate on state-building and governance in post-conflict societies. Somalia's case provides a unique lens through which to explore how federalism interacts with local governance structures, clan dynamics, and historical grievances. The study challenges prevailing assumptions about the universality of federalism and instead argues for more context-specific governance solutions. This contribution is significant for scholars and practitioners who seek to design governance models that are not only theoretically sound but also practically viable in diverse sociopolitical contexts.
- **Providing Recommendations for Future Peace Talks and State-Building Efforts;** Building on its theoretical and empirical findings, the study offers evidence-based

recommendations for improving peace talks and state-building efforts in Somalia and similar contexts. It suggests ways to enhance the inclusivity, legitimacy, and sustainability of federal structures, emphasizing the importance of local ownership in governance models. By integrating lessons learned from Somalia, the study provides a blueprint for policymakers and practitioners to design more effective conflict resolution mechanisms that account for both local realities and the broader geopolitical landscape. These recommendations also have broader applicability to other conflict-affected states where federalism is being considered or implemented.

This study employed an interdisciplinary approach, combining insights from political science, conflict resolution, and international relations to examine federalism in Somalia. Methodologically, it employed a mixed-methods approach that integrated qualitative and quantitative data, including interviews with key stakeholders, analysis of policy documents, and case studies of federalism implementation in Somalia. By doing so, it bridged the gap between theory and practice, providing a comprehensive framework for analyzing the effectiveness of federalism as a conflict resolution mechanism. This methodological innovation can be applied to other contexts, offering a robust tool for researchers and practitioners in the field of governance and conflict studies.

Research Questions

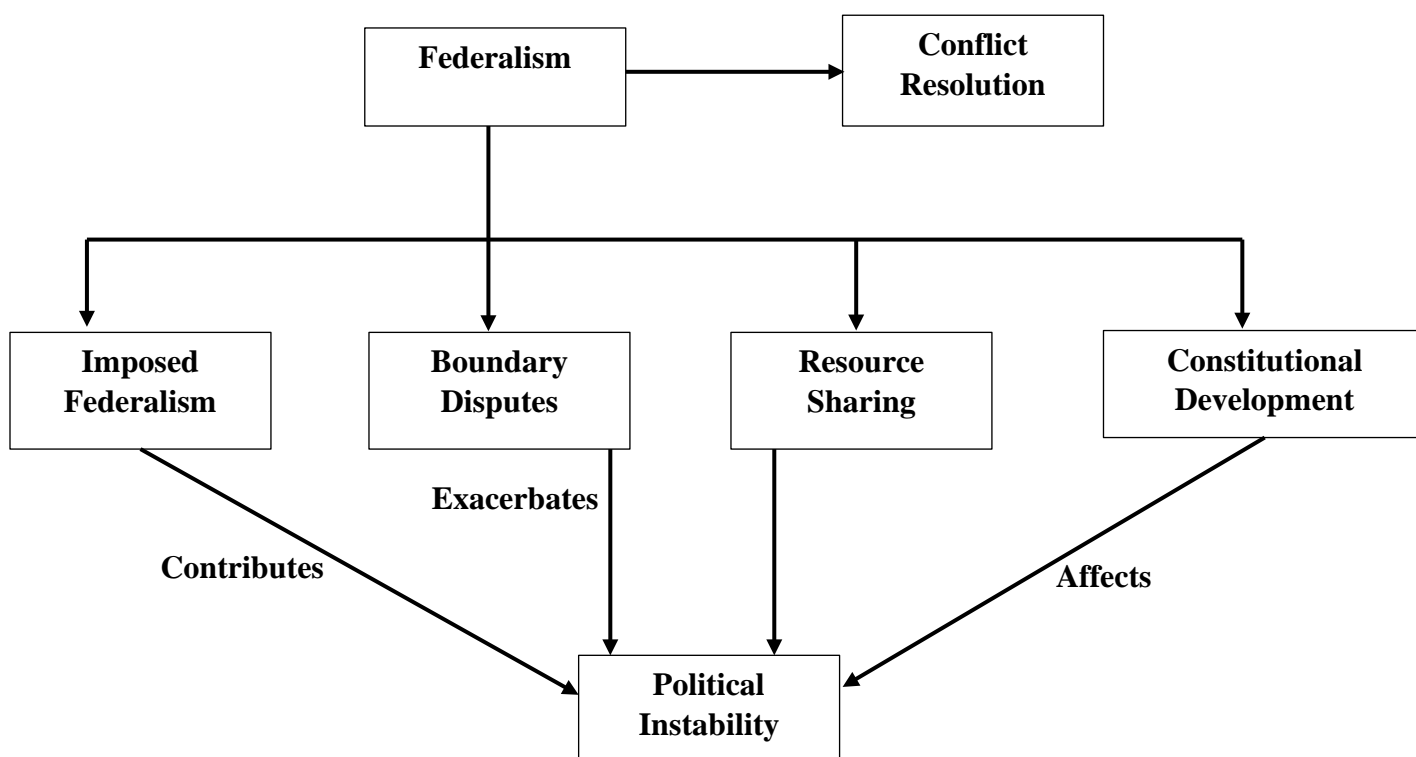
1. How has imposed federalism been conceptualized as a conflict resolution mechanism, and to what extent is it applicable in the Somalia context?

2. In what ways has the implementation of imposed federalism influenced political stability, legal frameworks, and relations between federal member states and the central government in Somalia?
3. How has foreign involvement particularly through international mediation, peacebuilding, and state-building, influenced the imposing of federalism in Somalia?
4. What challenges and limitations have Somalia encountered in the implementation of imposed federalism in Somalia particularly in relation to power-sharing, resource allocation, and minority representation?
5. What governance reforms or policy recommendations could improve the effectiveness of imposed federalism as a tool for conflict resolution in Somalia?

Conceptual Framework

Figure 1

Conceptual Framework



Summary

This chapter set stage for the study by firstly situating federalism within the broader discussions on governance in post-conflict societies and then narrowing the focus to Somalia. It revealed that while federalism has often been promoted as a way to manage diversity and reduce conflict, experiences across the world have produced mixed outcomes, with Somalia facing some of the most pressing challenges.

The statement of the problem emphasized that Somalia's federal system, largely externally driven has struggled to deliver stability and has instead deepened political divisions, The purpose of the study was to examine how imposed federalism has affected Somalia's political stability. Building on this the chapter outlined the aim and objectives, which focus on analyzing federalism as a tool for conflict resolution, assessing its implementation in Somalia, examining the role of foreign involvement, identifying key challenges and proposing reforms.

To guide the study, the chapter also presented the research questions that were drawn directly from the objectives. These research questions provided the directions for data collection, analysis and interpretation of results in the subsequent chapters.

In summary, this chapter presented the context, rationale, and guiding framework for the research, paving the way for Chapter Two, which reviews the existing literature on federalism and conflict resolution.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter reviews existing scholarship on federalism and its role in conflict resolution. The aim is to examine how different models of federalism have been theorized, applied, and evaluated across diverse political contexts, with particular attention to post-conflict societies. The discussion is structured thematically, beginning with definitions and theoretical foundations of federalism, followed by an exploration of its different models, applications, and limitations. The chapter also presents the theoretical framework guiding this study; Cooperative Federalism and Conflict Resolution Theory highlighting their origins, proponents, and relevance to Somalia's political challenges. In doing so, the review identifies both the achievements and shortcomings of federal systems as well as the gaps in the literature that this study seeks to address.

More than three decades of global experimentation with federalism as a mechanism to address conflicts is now being scrutinized. The challenge lies in assessing federalism's ability to create inclusive and efficient governance, as well as its potential to empower local governments and encourage citizen participation in decision-making processes. Theoretically, federalism as a tool of conflict resolution has been extensively described, analyzed, and developed by modern scholars such as Soeren Keil (2019), Ronald Watts (1998), and Dawn Brancati (2009). These scholars have focused on federalism's contributions not only to providing temporary peace but also to addressing the root causes of conflicts within the state-building process. They argue that federalism, by devolving power and promoting regional autonomy, can help transform conflicts by accommodating diverse groups within a single political framework. This approach aims to mitigate tensions by ensuring that various ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and political groups have a

stake in the governance process. Consequently, federalism has increasingly been regarded as a device for transforming conflicts and building sustainable peace. However, the practical application of federalism in diverse and conflict-affected regions remains complex and challenging. The effectiveness of federalism in achieving these goals varies widely depending on the specific context and implementation strategies. The ongoing debate highlights the need for a nuanced understanding of how federalism can be adapted to different settings to promote inclusivity, enhance governance efficiency, and empower local communities, ultimately contributing to long-term peace and stability.

The end of the Cold War has ignited major challenges. These difficulties have been worsened by globalization. International security has changed; new armed conflicts have emerged due to competition over resource-rich regions. Developing societies, in particular, have suffered from foreign intervention. Consequently, internal conflicts have led minority groups, secessionist movements and autonomy-seeking states to enter into dialogue. The international community and regional actors have made substantial efforts to mediate with armed factions. Institutional design and power-sharing are essential for peaceful transition in post-conflict societies. The Somali state has adopted a federal system in an attempt to address its prolonged political stalemate. Federalism has gained prominence as a potential solution for post-conflict nations seeking to establish governance systems that can accommodate diverse communities within the nation. As stressed by Soeren Keil (2019), the process involved in institutional design is manipulated by IC. The conflict resolution process in place is prejudiced, forcing the targeted societies, who are facing grave issues, to endure exclusion and inequality.

The critique centers on the framework of peace processes and methods for resolving conflicts. In particular, efforts to engage in peace talks aiming to resolve conflicts have been inadequate due to the predominant focus on the conflicting parties. This unbalanced method in facilitating peacemaking has resulted to ongoing exclusion and inequality experienced by affected communities (Hirsch, 2020). Strong involvement of the International Community in these talks has also presented challenges. The predetermined terms and conditions that govern the discussions often prioritize the conflicting parties' interests over those of affected populations, creating difficulties. The approach taken by international actors toward armed groups during negotiations, as well as resulting peace agreements, frequently leads to renewed violence due to issues such as resource allocation and inclusion in security structures. These are designed by external parties without sufficient input from local stakeholders (Strategies for Peace: Transforming Conflict in a Diverse World, 2012).

The prevailing one-sided peace process framework has proven inadequate in tackling the root causes of conflicts, thus failing to achieve enduring peace and justice for marginalized communities (Afolabi & Idowu, 2018). This approach's lack of impartiality and comprehensiveness perpetuates a cycle of violence and inequality. Without addressing these underlying issues comprehensively, efforts to resolve conflicts often remain superficial and ineffective, leaving marginalized groups vulnerable and disillusioned. To break this cycle and foster genuine, sustainable peace, it is crucial to adopt an inclusive and balanced strategy. Such an approach would involve addressing the grievances and aspirations of all stakeholders equitably, promoting reconciliation, and ensuring that marginalized communities are actively included in decision-making processes. By addressing the root causes of conflict and ensuring fair

representation, a more holistic peacebuilding effort can be achieved, laying the foundation for long-term stability and social cohesion.

A federal system of government has been identified in established studies as an alternative solution to address conflicts, particularly those rooted in race, identity, and resource distribution (Grasa, Rafael , Camps , & Arnau, 2009). Federalism has been implemented in various contexts to mitigate tensions and promote stability. For instance, in countries such as the United States, Brazil, India, Canada, South Africa, and Australia, federalism has been adopted to manage diversity and accommodate differences in race and identity. Similarly, in nations like the Russian Federation and Nigeria, federal systems have been introduced to address the agitation of minority ethnic groups seeking greater autonomy and representation. Issues surrounding the formulation of equitable revenue-sharing mechanisms have also been addressed through federal governance in countries such as Nepal, Ethiopia, Venezuela, Nigeria, and the Russian Federation. Additionally, federalism has been employed as a framework to manage demands for self-determination and secession, as evidenced in Pakistan, the Russian Federation, Canada, and Spain (Ogunnoiki, 2017). By decentralizing power and granting regional governments significant autonomy, federal systems offer a structure for accommodating diverse interests, reducing tensions, and preventing conflicts from escalating. However, the effectiveness of federalism in resolving conflicts depends on its design, the commitment of stakeholders to uphold democratic principles, and the willingness to address the underlying causes of disputes. This highlights the need for tailored approaches to federal governance that account for the unique socio-political dynamics of each country to ensure lasting peace and stability.

In addressing the baffling challenges explored in this study, we aim to revisit two theoretical frameworks that is the federalism and conflict resolution theoretical frameworks. These frameworks are often intertwined in plentiful intermeshing ways, such that scholars find it hard to define the borders between them while they form the essential cookies for international peace talks and state-building frameworks. Thus, this study will begin in giving definitions of each theoretical framework and thus go on to show how each relates to the other. This, however, is as far as any individual role and the connections go. This is why we outline the theoretical framework that supports the proposal. By doing so, it intends to state the conceptual background behind the analysis of political stability and governance in Somalia. These frameworks are germane to the examination of the role of federalism in conflicts resolution and peace-building. By reviewing the theoretical foundation of the study, it is hoped that perhaps an understanding could be gained concerning the state-building dynamics in Somalia and to the relative effectiveness of federalism in addressing the country's political challenges. The relationship between these two constraints warrants further discussion in order to identify complementary roles that contribute to greater comprehension of existing political and social institutions as well as implications beyond peace and stability. It is in such a context that the feasibility of federalism in the context of Somalia and possibilities for improvement of the governance system will be reevaluated. These theoretical frameworks of federalism and conflict resolution theoretical frameworks provide an in-depth analysis on how federalism influences political stability and how international actors attempt to shape the governance infrastructure in Somalia.

Conflict resolution is a key framework. Desmond Tutu, the former Anglican Archbishop of South Africa, commented during the social revolution in South Africa that "without reconciliation, there is no future" (Wustenberg, 2009, p. 5). Initiatives for reconciliation and

conflict resolution are crucial to addressing injustice, the primary driver of violent conflicts. The fundamental premise of conflict resolution is that any society, with the right tools, can manage prospective conflicts, no matter how complex, through peaceful change. Conversely, if conflicts are mishandled, the outcome will not favour a peaceful resolution. This approach necessitates a specific understanding of conflict prevention and federalism, where the latter encompasses the former. This conflict prevention strategy, therefore, recommends two courses of action in war-torn and conflict-affected societies to manage tense environments and foster peace.

The second framework is based on reconciliation and conflict resolution, although federalism exists as a distinct area within the pedagogical framework. This term is frequently used by scholars in peacebuilding and conflict resolution (Dixon et al., 2018). Political negotiations and peace processes involving power-sharing, security inclusion, economic demands, addressing race and identity, and respecting the free will of affected societies have led to the necessity for institutional design (Adjei, 2019). In this context, federalism has been viewed as an effective approach to handle conflict and alleviate tension in post-conflict societies. The implementation of federalism has resulted in various forms of democratic decentralization and facilitated peaceful change (Acharya & Zafarullah, 2020). It has played a crucial role in devolving power to decentralized authorities while promoting social inclusion to facilitate opposing parties' disarmament.

Having examined the theoretical framework of federalism and its role in conflict resolution, we now turn to define key terms. The term "federalism" is derived from the Latin words *Feodus* and *Fedos*, meaning an agreement, compact, treaty, or covenant (Dosendrode, Federalism and Regional Integration, 2010). Despite its widespread adoption, there remains a lack of consensus

among scholars on a precise definition of federalism. This ongoing debate arises from differing perspectives and interpretations, which is common in the study of social and political terms, where scholars often struggle to reach a unified definition (Ray, 2004). Federalism, as implemented in various countries, is marked by distinct models, designs, and functions. Each country adopts federalism based on its unique socio-political context, which results in differences in the way federal systems operate. The structure of federal governance can vary significantly depending on factors such as historical background, cultural diversity, economic conditions, and the nature of political conflicts within the state. Consequently, while federalism provides a framework for balancing power between central and regional governments, its functionality and implementation are not uniform across nations. In the following sections, we will explore various models of federalism, examining their characteristics and the ways in which they have been adapted to address the specific needs and challenges of different countries. By understanding these different models, we can better assess how federalism has been employed as a solution to political instability and conflict, and evaluate its potential as a tool for state-building and governance in Somalia. This exploration will provide a comprehensive view of federalism's diverse applications and its ability to manage complex political landscapes.

Federalism and its Theoretical Foundations

According to Bednar (2011, p. 2), "Federalism is a governance structure in which political territory is divided into administrative units endowed with their own governments, and these subnational units are unified under a central overarching government". Bednar's definition aligns with the theory of dual federalism, as recognized by modern scholars in the field. This model involves distinct responsibilities for federal and state governments. Various countries, such as

Australia, Canada, India, Pakistan, and the United States, have adopted this approach. Dual Federalism uses a coordinate-authority structure, which is practiced in Mexico, Malaysia, and Russia. There is a hierarchical relationship among government levels, with the national government at the top and privileged communication channels to engage directly with state governments or through relevant agencies. Local governments, lacking constitutional status, serve as service providers whose authority comes from the state government. Crucially, in the coordinate-authority model, states have significant autonomy from the federal government.

As Okhonmina (2007, p. 6) states, “federalism is based on the notion of a voluntary and freely negotiated contract, which involves the exchange of a degree of autonomy in a way that guarantees mutual benefit.” This definition describes cooperative federalism, where responsibilities are interlinked. This allows national and state governments to operate independently as equals. Cooperative federalism has three forms: dependent spheres, marble cake, and independent spheres. In dependent spheres, the federal government sets policies while states implement them, as seen in Germany and South Africa. The constitution protects state voices through a second legislative chamber. In marble cake federalism, responsibilities overlap but states have equal status, as in Belgium. Finally, in independent spheres, constituents enjoy autonomous and equal status, coordinating policies horizontally and vertically, as in Brazil. Fiscal federalism, a component of cooperative federalism, concerns the allocation of financial resources from the national government to regional authorities to support national initiatives and local programmes.

Dicey conceptualized federalism as a system that balances national unity with the rights of member states, where individuals operate under multiple levels of government. The

decentralization of power from the center to regions, as advocated by federalism, enhances good governance through the greater responsiveness of policies to local needs (Kharel, 2022).

In the words of Aliff (2015, p. 2), federalism is the system whereby multiple distinct political entities, such as states or ethnically defined groups, come together to establish cooperative frameworks. Through these arrangements, they can jointly develop solutions, adopt shared policies, and make decisions on matters of common concern. Aliff's definition matches much of what liberal school of thoughts describes as some of the characteristics of federalism. It has been noted that, "four prerequisites pressure for integration: security, wealth, commonness/ familiarity and geography proximity" (Dosendrode, 2010).

There are numerous reasons that may have motivated communities to seek unity. Contemporary factors often compel federalism. These include a sense of military insecurity necessitating common defense, the need to safeguard sovereignty from foreign powers, and the desire to access economic corridors through union. Such factors have driven unification in the United States, Switzerland, Canada and Australia. However, these factors alone do not necessarily create integration. The most crucial factor is decisive leadership which can demonstrate the value of unity and negotiate through any obstacles or disagreements between parties desiring a union.

This study scrutinizes the theoretical underpinnings of federalism and conflict resolution, which inform the examination of federalism as a mechanism for conflict resolution. The purpose of this chapter is to comprehensively review the extensive literature on the relationship between federalism and conflict resolution. Federalism was imposed on the Somali populace and other nations to resolve conflicts, but since its implementation, Somalia has not attained the anticipated level of stability. Instead, the country has experienced new waves of conflicts, including clan

disputes, deteriorating relations between federal member states and the federal government, an ambiguous constitutional framework, and foreign interference. The following sections will first explore the theories of federalism and conflict resolution, and then examine how the concept of federalism is perceived by scholars, particularly in terms of different models, political negotiation processes, and its contribution to peace.

The notion of federalism has been extensively examined in academic discourse, with scholars proposing diverse interpretations of its definition and implementation. Federalism is typically understood as a governmental structure in which authority is shared between a central governing body and constituent sub-national units, such as states or provinces. This arrangement is frequently viewed as a mechanism to accommodate the interests of diverse communities within a nation, as it facilitates a level of regional self-governance and autonomy.

This study is anchored in Competitive Federalism Theory, first articulated by Tiebout (1956) and later developed by Oates (1999) and Bednar (2011). The theory argues that competition among subnational units encourages efficiency, innovation, and accountability. While originally grounded in fiscal and economic debates, scholars such as Anderson (2018) and Keil & Alber (2020) have applied it to fragile states, noting that competition can either mitigate tensions by balancing power or, conversely, intensify divisions if not properly managed.

Alongside this, the study also draws on Conflict Resolution Theory, advanced by Burton (1990), Lederach (1997), and Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall (2011). This perspective emphasizes reconciliation, negotiation, and the design of inclusive institutions as key pathways to peace. The decision to combine these frameworks rests on their complementarity: Competitive Federalism explains the structural dynamics of governance, while Conflict Resolution Theory

illuminates the processes through which competing interests are negotiated. Together, they provide a robust analytical lens for understanding Somalia's governance dilemmas.

Themes and Trends in Literature

The literature reviewed in this study is organized around five key themes:

1. **Cooperative and Fiscal Federalism** – Examining historical roots in contexts such as the U.S., India, and Australia, with lessons on power-sharing and fiscal arrangements.
2. **Competitive Federalism** – Assessing how intergovernmental competition can strengthen accountability but also exacerbate fragmentation in divided societies.
3. **Dual and Asymmetric Federalism** – Exploring cases like Canada and Spain, where asymmetry has helped accommodate diversity, and Russia and Nigeria, where it has reinforced inequality.
4. **Federalism and Conflict Resolution** – Drawing insights from Bosnia, Ethiopia, and Nepal, which demonstrate both successes and failures of federal systems in peacebuilding.
5. **Political Negotiation and Post-Conflict Governance** – Highlighting the role of negotiations, reconciliation efforts, and peace agreements in shaping federal structures.

The review is not presented as a simple catalogue of sources; instead, it engages with scholarly debates. For example, while Brancati (2009) argues that decentralization reduces secessionist violence, Hirsch (2020) cautions that international mediation often reinforces exclusion in fragile contexts. This back-and-forth highlights both consensus and disagreement in the literature and provides a more nuanced understanding of federalism's potential and pitfalls.

Despite the breadth of existing research, significant gaps remain. In particular, there is limited analysis of federal systems that are externally imposed rather than locally negotiated. Somalia illustrates this challenge, where federalism has been unable to resolve boundary disputes, mitigate clan dominance, or secure legitimacy. Few studies examine how imposed governance structures interact with traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution. This is the space where the present study seeks to make a contribution.

Cooperative Federalism

This study aims to provide an overview of three countries considered to be pioneering in the field of federalism: India, the United States of America (USA), and Australia. The objective is to illustrate how each nation has contributed to the advancement and evolution of Cooperative Federalism (CF) over an extended period, encompassing both ancient and modern contexts.

The concept and practice of CF originated in the late 18th century. Historians believe that leaders of ancient Indian societies had established a non-intervention policy. Kingdoms and empires governed the subcontinent through a federal system that respected diversity and local self-governance. This policy of non-interference in community affairs was a practical necessity to accommodate India's diverse population. One of the successful monarchs named Akbar acknowledged the significance of diversities in India and ruled through a CF policy. India's CF can be traced to Regulating Act of 1773 (Douglas, 2003). This Act established a system that granted the British Government oversight of the East Indian Company's operations. India's Federal Government was later introduced through the Government of India Act 1919. This system was initially conceived as a dual form of government; subsequently, a reform was implemented within the Government of India Act 1935. From 1946 to 1950, India's independence movement and

founding fathers were tasked with drafting a constitution to foster unity among the fragmented societies through a federal structure. (Guha, 2021).

The analysis highlights pivotal questions regarding economic parity and self-sufficiency, concentrating on the responsibilities and managerial capacities of diverse governmental tiers as stipulated in the Constitution. A collaborative framework was established, wherein the federal and state administrations cooperate to provide essential services. Within this system, state governments frequently manage federal programmes and depend on federal subsidies to support their endeavours, fostering a symbiotic rapport between the two governmental levels. This interdependence enables state-level initiatives to leverage federal resources, guaranteeing a more equitable allocation of services and assets across the nation. By fostering cooperation, the federal and state governments work together to address economic disparities, promote self-sufficiency, and enhance public service delivery. The partnership between federal and state entities helps to streamline governance, ensuring that both levels of government play complementary roles in meeting the needs of the population. This system is designed to enhance the overall effectiveness of governance by combining the strengths of both levels of government where federal resources provide broader support and state governments tailor services to meet local needs. The collaborative approach ensures that no region is left behind, promoting balanced development and reducing regional inequalities. By aligning efforts toward common goals, such as economic stability and improved public services, the federal and state governments can effectively address challenges that may arise due to disparities in wealth, access to services, and regional differences. This cooperative governance model aims to foster a more inclusive, sustainable, and efficient public administration, benefiting the nation as a whole while simultaneously empowering local governments to cater to the unique needs of their communities.

History shows that Cooperative Federalism (CF) did not originate solely in the sub-continent but evolved in parallel across the globe. The United States, undeniably, has played a pivotal role in the development of modern federalism, tracing its evolution from the 18th century to the present day. The American experience of federalism is rich with examples of CF in action, illustrating the dynamic interplay between state and federal governments in implementing various policies and programmes. For instance, the Swamp Lands Acts of 1849, 1850, and 1860 exemplify early federal-state cooperation by transferring federally-owned swamp and overflow lands to states for reclamation and development. Another landmark in American federalism is the Morrill Act of 1862, which granted federal lands to states to establish universities dedicated to agriculture and the mechanical arts, thereby fostering state-led educational development. The 20th century saw Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal; a monumental demonstration of cooperative federalism aimed at combating the Great Depression. The New Deal's programmes, such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Social Security Act, highlighted a collaborative approach between federal and state governments, working together to provide relief, recovery, and reform. These examples underscore federalism's adaptability and its role in facilitating innovative policy solutions to socio-economic challenges. The evolution of American federalism showcases its ability to adapt to changing circumstances, promoting a balance of power that enhances governance and fosters socio-economic development through sustained federal-state collaboration.

American academic and politician Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson's war on poverty initiative, which transferred greater authority to the central government, is regarded as a manifestation of CF. Three years after Nixon's establishment of the Environment Protection Agency, the Clean Air Act was implemented, followed by the Federal Environment Pesticide Control Act and the Clean

Water Act. When Ronald Reagan became President of the United States, government roles at various levels were reformed, with the aim of dismantling CF and restoring dual federalism. Scholars contend that Reagan's new federalism redistributed power between the states and the federal government, shifting more control to the states. During the presidency of George W. Bush, the national government's capacity to influence state governments increased. After the passage of the Patriotic Act, state governments became agencies responsible for its implementation (Beer, 1973). During President Obama's administration, the Clean Air Act was reinstated, empowering states to enact more stringent regulations aligned with federal standards. In contrast, the Trump government favoured centralizing states' functions and obligations under the national authorities. Furthermore, Congress's legislative influence grew, and financial incentives were leveraged to drive the implementation of federal policy objectives.

The Australian Constitution outlines the system of CF. It enables a seamless transition of power from the colonial administration to the newly formed states, encompassing a variety of subject areas. Within these spheres of state authority, the legislative powers provide avenues for the implementation of CF:

- 1 Increasing states power as services providers, such as civil and criminal processes and judgments of the state courts.
- 2 Australian parliament's recognition throughout the laws of Commonwealth, the public Acts and states judicial proceedings.
3. Commonwealth and the states are in agreement on many subjects; among them are railways constructions and extension of any state, where the federal government seeks states' consent to exercise policies and programmes.

4. Regional assemblies or councils refer their matters to the Australian parliament only if laws extend to states (Wilkinson, McKenzie, & Bolleter, 2021).

Australia's model of CF relies on coordinating a diverse array of programmes and policies.

The national administration wields expansive legislative authority and the ability to coerce state administrations to manage and implement national endeavours. Furthermore, the government employs categorical grants to persuade state leaders and municipal bureaucracies to execute federal programmes. Whilst fiscal federalism will be examined in greater detail under a subsequent subheading, the following section will focus on delineating the defining parameters of the cooperative federalism paradigm.

Defining Cooperative Federalism

Cooperative federalism is all about how different levels of government, national and state work together while still maintaining their independence in certain areas. According to William (1964), as cited by Aliff (2015, p. 4), This system establishes an equilibrium where the national and state governments operate as collaborative partners, each with distinct duties and authorities. Deering (2015) adds that cooperative federalism is essentially a partnership where both levels collaborate on shared goals or projects, showing how governance can be more cohesive when efforts are united. Fischman, (2005) highlights that this concept revolves around the relationship between the levels of government, usually through laws and actions carried out by agencies. The idea is to form a partnership that pools resources, knowledge, and authority to tackle complicated challenges and improve public services. By teaming up, the federal and state governments can align their policies, avoid unnecessary overlap, and fairly distribute services and resources. At its

core, cooperative federalism is built on the principles of teamwork and shared accountability. It uses the strengths of both levels of government to meet national and local needs. This approach not only makes governance more efficient but also ensures inclusivity, addressing the needs of diverse communities. Ultimately, cooperative federalism is about creating synergy and fostering sustainable growth through collaboration.

The definitions of cooperative federalism (CF) reveal variations in its practical application across different countries. For instance, in the United States, the federal government typically sets policies while state governments act as implementing agents. This model, often referred to as the "interdependent sphere," is also implemented in countries like Germany and South Africa. In these systems, states and local governments are represented in the federal parliament through the upper house. In Germany, the Bundesrat (upper house) serves as a platform for state representatives to influence federal decisions, while in South Africa, the Council of Provinces plays a similar role, linking provincial governments with the central government. This framework fosters a collaborative relationship between the different levels of government, allowing for overlapping and shared responsibilities. Such an arrangement promotes mutual support and ensures that both states and the federal government work together to achieve national and regional goals. By treating all constituent governments as equal partners, cooperative federalism establishes a balance of power and responsibility, which enhances governance and policy implementation. The interdependent nature of this model allows for seamless coordination between federal and state governments, reducing conflicts and ensuring a more efficient allocation of resources. Moreover, this structure facilitates dialogue and negotiation, enabling states to influence federal policies while aligning them with regional needs. In essence, cooperative federalism strengthens the ties between central and subnational governments, promoting unity and inclusivity in policymaking and

governance. By leveraging shared authority and collaborative decision-making, this model ensures that diverse interests are represented, fostering a healthy and functional relationship between all levels of government.

Cooperative federalism (CF) models differ across countries, with their structures defined by the statutes of each state. In some systems, provinces or states enjoy considerable autonomy, coordinating their programmes and policies both horizontally (with other states) and vertically (with the federal government). Brazil exemplifies this type of CF, where the federal government uses its financial power to influence state and local governments in managing national priorities (Sharma, 2015). This system operates within a unique coordination mechanism, where all levels of government collaborate to address national and regional goals, with the federal government taking the lead in guiding and facilitating these efforts. CF has the potential to significantly contribute to national development and the welfare of citizens by fostering cooperation and shared responsibility among different levels of government. By aligning efforts and pooling resources, CF can effectively address complex national issues, ensuring a more inclusive and balanced approach to governance. However, challenges can arise when states resist federal intervention and prioritize autonomy over cooperation. Such resistance can create inefficiencies, disrupt coordination, and hinder the achievement of national priorities. Ultimately, the success of CF depends on the ability of federal and state governments to maintain a healthy balance between autonomy and collaboration. When effectively implemented, CF not only enhances governance but also strengthens the relationship between levels of government, ensuring that the needs of citizens are met through a unified approach to policymaking and service delivery. This balance is crucial for promoting national cohesion and sustainable development.

Fiscal Federalism

The term fiscal federalism remains a subject of ongoing debate among scholars, characterized by differing interpretations and unresolved definitions. Central to this discourse are the complex interactions and shared responsibilities regarding expenditure, taxation, borrowing powers, and regulatory functions among different levels of government. According to Valdsalici (2019, p. 93), fiscal federalism encompasses not only the static allocation of powers but also the dynamic processes facilitated through intergovernmental relations. This definition accentuates the evolving nature of fiscal federalism, emphasizing how governmental entities navigate their roles and interactions within the fiscal framework. The challenge lies in reconciling diverse perspectives on the distribution of fiscal powers and responsibilities across federal, state, and local levels, which significantly influence fiscal policy outcomes and governance effectiveness. As scholars continue to grapple with these complexities, achieving consensus on a unified definition remains elusive, reflecting the multifaceted nature and ongoing evolution of fiscal federalism as a critical concept in understanding modern governance structures.

Establishing an inclusive system is crucial. Fundamentally, tax policies and regulations are central to distributing fiscal and financial powers across different government tiers. This further reinforces intergovernmental relations, which is pivotal to the functioning and survival of the federal structure. It serves as the engine and hub of the governmental hierarchy that shapes institutional performance. The institutional landscape in finance-related domains remains challenging, as diverse states champion the interests of local citizens, and persistent pressure from opposing factions may culminate in fiscal centralization or decentralization. State governments implement two jurisdictional designs: one where local government ensures the optimal outcome

for the people, potentially bringing them closer to the administration, and another where the populace exercises the right to vote for their preferred services and corresponding budgets (Shah, 2012). These principles gather ideas and improve the decision-making process in state governments to maintain goals of allocational efficiency. A state's financial authority depends on its specific economic circumstances, including scale and benefit-cost factors.

Although the federal government holds extensive legal authority, this does not undermine the horizontal relationships between federal and state governments, who collaborate to address problems cooperatively. In countries like India, the concept and practice of fiscal federalism make it clear that national and state budgetary powers are balanced. The parliament serves as the point of reference, providing legal guidelines for financial jurisdictions. The goal is to strengthen ties and enhance cooperation among states and between states and the federal government. Both levels of government must act as partners in national development. This requires collective participation at all government levels, irrespective of the distribution of power, with the emphasis on achieving national priorities. The structure of fiscal federalism in countries like India has evolved significantly, with a greater focus on decentralization and empowering state governments.

One of the key methods the federal government employs to influence states to collaborate closely with it is the grant-in-aid. Federal grants come in four varieties:

- 1 Categorical Grants reference specific federal projects and programme
- 2 s. For instance, the Head Start initiative in the USA is a federal programme providing education, health, and nutrition support to low-income families. These funds cannot be redirected to other projects, as they are restricted by the associated programmes.

- 3 Block Grants are the second form, with the federal government providing money to individual states for general purposes, subject to conditions on how the funds can be used. States have the authority to reallocate these funds to best suit their needs. This flexibility empowers states to broaden their responsibilities while implementing their plans, with block grant money being utilized for the benefit of local communities as long as the overarching goals are met. The federal government oversees these programmes and has mechanisms in place to monitor progress and measure outcomes.
- 4 Revenue Sharing represents the third model, which places no constraints. The federal government offers financial assistance to states without any accompanying conditions. President Nixon implemented revenue-sharing initiatives in the United States throughout the 1970s, though these programmes concluded by 1986.
- 5 The fourth form is a Mandate, which is a federal policy and regulation that states are required to follow. The mandate takes the form of a fund as a means of securing compliance, with states risking the loss of allocated money if they fail to comply

Cooperate Federalism and Conflict Resolution

Cooperative federalism, characterized by the collaboration between national and sub-national governments, has been a significant subject of academic discourse. Scholars like Agranoff, (2001) argue that cooperative federalism enhances policy innovation and effectiveness through intergovernmental partnerships. This model fosters collaborative relationships among various levels of government, leading to improved resource allocation and problem-solving capabilities. According to Rabe, (2007), this approach is particularly effective in addressing complex policy issues, such as environmental regulation and public health, where jurisdictional

overlaps and shared responsibilities necessitate coordinated efforts. However, the effectiveness of cooperative federalism is contingent upon the political will and institutional capacities of the involved governments, as highlighted by Zimmerman, (1992), who emphasizes the need for mutual trust and equitable power distribution to avoid potential conflicts and ensure sustainable cooperation.

In the realm of conflict resolution, cooperative federalism plays a crucial role in mediating and mitigating intergovernmental disputes. O'Toole, (2004) posits that the collaborative mechanisms inherent in cooperative federalism provide a structured framework for conflict management, facilitating dialogue and negotiation among governmental entities. This framework helps to address conflicts arising from policy divergences and jurisdictional ambiguities, promoting a more harmonious intergovernmental relationship. Additionally, Hegele & Schnabel,(2017) suggest that cooperative federalism can serve as a platform for institutional learning, where governments can share best practices and develop standardized procedures for conflict resolution. However, the success of these conflict resolution mechanisms depends on the willingness of governments to engage in open communication and compromise, as well as the establishment of clear and consistent rules for intergovernmental interactions.

Several other nations have embraced cooperative federalism as a way to manage conflicts and cater to the needs of varied communities within a federal framework. India, Switzerland, and Belgium serve as three examples that demonstrate the promise of this strategy (Kincaid & Chattopadhyay, 2020). India, like Nigeria, is a highly diverse federal republic with a long history of ethnic, linguistic, and regional conflicts. To tackle these challenges, India has implemented a CF that delegates significant power and resources to its 28 states and 8 union territories (Maurya

& Kwan, CF has enabled state governments to customize policies and services to meet the unique requirements of their citizens, thereby minimizing conflicts over resource distribution and decision-making. Additionally, India has instituted intergovernmental coordination mechanisms like the Interstate Council to promote cooperation and resolve disputes among states (Ahmad & Solre, 2023).

The Indian experience demonstrates how collaborative federalism can provide flexible, context-specific solutions to complex, regionally-rooted disputes. By empowering subnational entities and fostering intergovernmental collaboration, this approach has helped transform win-lose conflicts into win-win outcomes, effectively addressing the diverse needs of various communities. India's quasi-federal system, characterized by a strong central government, plays a pivotal role in this process. The central government's robust authority, coupled with mechanisms for collaboration, ensures an equitable distribution of power and resources among states. This balance strengthens the effectiveness of India's cooperative federalism framework by enabling it to address both national priorities and regional concerns effectively. The model has proven particularly successful in managing India's vast diversity, as it allows for tailored solutions that respect local differences while maintaining national unity. Furthermore, this system fosters a sense of shared responsibility and partnership among various levels of government, enhancing the country's capacity to resolve disputes and deliver public services. By integrating centralized leadership with decentralized implementation, India's collaborative federalism not only mitigates potential conflicts but also promotes inclusive governance and sustainable development. This adaptable and cooperative approach highlights the potential of federalism to reconcile competing interests and build consensus, making it a valuable framework for addressing the complexities of governance in diverse and dynamic societies (Jha, 2022).

Switzerland offers a remarkable example of a highly decentralized federal system, renowned for its effective management of linguistic, religious, and cultural diversity. Through its cooperative federalism approach, significant decision-making authority and financial resources are allocated to its 26 cantons, allowing them to govern in alignment with their unique local contexts. This decentralization has been pivotal in addressing the concerns of Switzerland's distinct language groups and religious communities, ensuring that their specific needs are met within a cohesive national framework. By granting these groups substantial autonomy and opportunities for self-governance, the Swiss model fosters peaceful coexistence among diverse identities while maintaining national unity. The system's emphasis on local empowerment and collaboration demonstrates how decentralized governance can accommodate pluralism and mitigate potential conflicts arising from cultural or religious differences. This cooperative framework not only strengthens the cantons' ability to implement policies that reflect local priorities but also ensures a balance between unity and diversity. By enabling different communities to retain their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness within a unified federal structure, Switzerland exemplifies how federalism can be tailored to manage diversity constructively. Furthermore, the Swiss model highlights the importance of empowering subnational governments to address regional concerns effectively while contributing to the broader goals of national cohesion and stability (Trein & Braun, 2016).

The Swiss example highlights the success of cooperative federalism in addressing conflicts within societies marked by substantial cultural, linguistic, or religious diversity. Switzerland's federal system decentralizes power and resources, empowering its cantons while fostering collaboration among them. This approach transforms potential zero-sum confrontations into positive-sum situations, where the diverse interests of all parties can be more effectively addressed

and harmonized. By encouraging cooperation and shared decision-making, Switzerland's model ensures that different cultural, linguistic, and religious groups feel represented and respected within the political framework. This inclusive governance style helps mitigate conflicts and enhances national unity by acknowledging and accommodating the unique needs of its subnational entities. Such a strategy underscores the importance of balancing autonomy with cooperation, demonstrating that cooperative federalism can create an environment where diverse groups work together towards common goals while preserving their distinct identities (Asfar et al., 2021). This balance of power not only promotes social harmony but also strengthens the overall stability and functionality of the federation, making Switzerland a prime example of how cooperative federalism can successfully manage and resolve conflicts in a pluralistic society.

Belgium provides a compelling example of cooperative federalism as a mechanism for addressing ethno-linguistic conflicts. The country transformed from a centralized state to a highly decentralized federal system through constitutional reforms in the 1970s and 1980s. This change granted substantial independence to its three main language groups and regions. The shift has helped manage tensions between the Flemish and French-speaking populations by promoting inclusive governance structures that lessen the potential for conflict. By devolving authority and empowering linguistic communities and regions to govern their respective areas, Belgium has created a system that accommodates its diverse population while promoting peaceful coexistence. The Belgian model highlights the versatility and effectiveness of cooperative federalism in resolving societal conflicts within multi-ethnic and linguistically diverse nations. By ensuring representation, fostering intergovernmental collaboration, and devolving decision-making power, this framework enables regions and communities to address their unique concerns while contributing to national stability. Furthermore, Belgium's approach underscores the importance of

inclusive governance and shared responsibility in managing diversity and mitigating conflict. For policymakers and practitioners, the Belgian case serves as a valuable example of how cooperative federalism can navigate the complexities of societal divisions, transforming potential sources of tension into opportunities for collaboration and unity. This model demonstrates how decentralization, when paired with intergovernmental cooperation, can support equitable governance, strengthen national cohesion, and ensure long-term stability in diverse federal systems (Wang et al., 2021).

Challenges

The cooperative federalism framework draws the federal government and state governments closer to achieve shared goals. Cooperation is crucial for addressing intricate issues across diverse states, while also presenting the federal government's key challenges. States have their own distinct interests and priorities, which local leaders make efforts to convey to the federal government's senior echelons for their consideration and action. Regional assembly members, governors, and senior bureaucracies strive to ensure that state interests are accommodated in order to provide local citizens with standardized public services. Conversely, the federal government adopts priorities that may conflict with those of the states; consequently, finding common ground for divergent priorities creates a non-cooperative environment. The federal government occasionally intervenes in states' affairs and employs a carrot-and-stick approach. States' autonomy is compromised in exchange for funding or programmes that can generate job opportunities for local communities. States vary in terms of area, population, and production capacity. These three elements compel the federal government to make decisions based on the states' revenue sharing.

This also engenders inter-state competition, as different states under the same government vie to secure significant funds.

Another significant challenge lies in the implementation of federal laws and regulations introduced by the central government. States often contest laws that contradict their long-standing interests, leading to disputes despite the federal government's overarching authority. This dynamic can particularly disadvantage smaller states, which must comply with and enforce national policies that may not align with their local priorities or conditions. Compounding this issue is a weak accountability system at the local government level, which impedes meaningful local participation in public policies. Accountability mechanisms predominantly operate at the federal level, limiting the influence and voice of local government representatives in decision-making processes. As a result, local perspectives and needs may not be adequately considered in the formulation and implementation of national policies, undermining effective governance and potentially exacerbating tensions between federal and state authorities. Addressing these challenges requires enhancing local accountability mechanisms, fostering greater dialogue between federal and local governments, and ensuring that national policies accommodate diverse state interests while upholding overarching national objectives.

Cooperative federalism, which emphasizes collaborative governance between central and state governments, faces significant challenges that can hinder its effectiveness in achieving policy goals and promoting national unity. One major issue stems from conflicts over overlapping responsibilities and unclear jurisdictional boundaries between federal and state authorities. As both levels of government are involved in policy formulation and implementation, disagreements over roles and responsibilities often lead to administrative inefficiencies and delays in decision-making

(Warner, 2013). These disputes can weaken cooperative efforts, creating barriers to the timely delivery of essential services and programmes to citizens. The resulting inefficiencies not only compromise the effectiveness of governance but also erode public confidence in the ability of cooperative federalism to address pressing societal needs. Additionally, such conflicts may strain intergovernmental relationships, further complicating efforts to coordinate and execute policies effectively. Addressing these challenges requires clearer delineation of responsibilities, improved mechanisms for resolving disputes, and enhanced collaboration between federal and state governments to ensure seamless policy implementation and service delivery (Mettler & Soss, 2004). By addressing these systemic issues, cooperative federalism can better fulfill its potential as a governance model that combines the strengths of both centralized and decentralized systems to achieve national goals while accommodating regional diversity

A significant challenge in cooperative federalism lies in the risk of dependency and the erosion of state autonomy. While collaboration between federal and state governments aims to enhance policy outcomes through shared resources and expertise, it can unintentionally lead to states becoming overly reliant on federal funding and support (Anderson & Guillory, 1997). This dependency undermines the capacity of states to govern independently and limits their ability to innovate or address local needs effectively. Over time, excessive reliance on federal resources may constrain states' flexibility and creativity in crafting policies that address regional challenges. Furthermore, these dynamic risks subordinating state priorities to federal agendas, diminishing the principle of state sovereignty that is fundamental to the cooperative federalism framework (Peters, 1998). As states align their goals with federal directives to secure resources, their responsiveness to unique local conditions may decline, resulting in one-size-fits-all policies that fail to address specific regional concerns. This challenge underscores the need to strike a balance between federal

support and state independence to preserve the essence of cooperative federalism. Empowering states to maintain autonomy while benefiting from intergovernmental collaboration can help ensure that the framework fosters innovation, responsiveness, and tailored policy solutions, ultimately strengthening governance and addressing the diverse needs of citizens.

Partisan politics and intergovernmental rivalries present major obstacles to the effective functioning of cooperative federalism. Political disagreements between federal and state governments, often driven by ideological differences or electoral considerations, frequently disrupt collaborative efforts and lead to policy gridlock (Eaton, 2004). These conflicting political agendas can stall or dilute cooperative initiatives, delaying progress on critical issues such as healthcare, education, and environmental regulation (Elazar, 1984). The resulting impasse not only hinders the formulation and implementation of effective policies but also undermines the cooperative spirit necessary for addressing shared challenges. Furthermore, such partisan conflicts erode trust between federal and state authorities, complicating efforts to build and sustain partnerships essential for managing complex societal problems. This mistrust can weaken the institutional relationships required to navigate governance challenges effectively, reducing the overall efficacy of intergovernmental collaboration. Addressing these issues demands strategies to depoliticize cooperative efforts, foster mutual respect, and prioritize common goals over partisan interests. By overcoming these political barriers, cooperative federalism can better serve as a framework for unified and efficient governance, capable of addressing the pressing needs of diverse populations while maintaining a balance of power and respect between federal and state governments.

Cooperative federalism faces substantial challenges due to partisan politics and intergovernmental rivalries. Political conflicts between federal and state governments, often driven

by ideological differences or electoral cycles, can disrupt collaborative efforts and lead to policy gridlock (Eaton, 2004). When political agendas diverge significantly, cooperative initiatives tend to stall or are undermined by partisan maneuvers, which prevents progress on critical issues such as healthcare, education, and environmental regulation (Elazar, 1984). These political disagreements not only hinder the effectiveness of cooperative federalism but also erode the collaborative spirit that is central to its success. In theory, cooperative federalism aims to harness the strengths of both federal and state governments to address complex societal issues for the collective good. However, when political divisions overshadow shared goals, this vision becomes increasingly difficult to realize. Partisan conflicts can lead to delays in decision-making, fragmented policy approaches, and missed opportunities for advancing initiatives that require coordinated efforts at both levels of government. Ultimately, such discord weakens trust and cooperation between federal and state authorities, making it challenging to maintain productive partnerships. To overcome these barriers, cooperative federalism must find ways to mitigate partisan influence and prioritize collaboration over political interests, ensuring that governance remains effective and responsive to the needs of the population.

Administrative complexity presents a significant challenge in cooperative federalism. Involving multiple layers of government in decision-making and implementation processes can lead to bureaucratic inefficiencies and procedural hurdles (Radin, 2000). Coordination among federal, state, and local entities becomes increasingly complex, exacerbated by overlapping regulations and divergent administrative practices across states (Ferguson, 1994). These complexities often hinder the smooth execution of policies and programmes aimed at addressing national or regional priorities. Disparities in administrative capacity and varying levels of expertise among state governments further complicate efforts to achieve cohesive governance outcomes.

Moreover, bureaucratic red tape and intergovernmental coordination challenges can delay the delivery of services and resources to citizens, undermining the intended efficiency and responsiveness of cooperative federalism initiatives.

Cooperative federalism also faces legitimacy concerns, particularly surrounding accountability and transparency in decision-making processes (Fischer, 2003). When multiple levels of government collaborate on initiatives, it can create perceptions of opaque or inaccessible decision-making, making it difficult for citizens and interest groups to understand who is responsible for specific policies or outcomes. This uncertainty regarding the allocation of responsibility between federal and state governments can erode public trust and confidence in cooperative arrangements (McConnell, 2010). Without clear lines of accountability, the effectiveness of governance can be compromised, as citizens may feel disconnected from the decision-making process, questioning the legitimacy of the policies being implemented. Additionally, when the roles of various levels of government are unclear, it can lead to confusion, delays, or inefficiencies in addressing societal issues. To maintain legitimacy, it is crucial for cooperative federalism to ensure transparency in decision-making, clearly define responsibilities, and foster greater public understanding of how decisions are made and who is accountable for their outcomes. Without these measures, the collaborative efforts intended to address complex societal challenges may lose credibility and fail to achieve meaningful results.

Having outlined the challenges of CF, it is essential to consider practical remedies to these issues. In the concluding section of this paper, the current study proposes four viable solutions:

1. The concept of Competitive Federalism (CF) underscores the importance of respecting state autonomy and honoring longstanding state priorities. Central to CF is the idea of

- cooperation that acknowledges and addresses the specific needs of local communities. Policies and programmes formulated at the federal level should align with the preferences and demands articulated by state representatives, governors, councils, and top bureaucrats. Rather than imposing directives, the federal government's role should focus on facilitating locally driven initiatives and responding to state-level requirements. This approach fosters a robust relationship between central and state governments built on mutual respect and cooperative engagement. By empowering states to determine their agendas based on local contexts and priorities, CF seeks to enhance governance effectiveness and responsiveness while promoting collaborative efforts that benefit both federal and state levels of administration.
2. Establishing mutual accountability mechanism for public policies and facilitation of local participation. These two elements strengthen the trust and relationship between state and local communities and ease federal government pressure on agencies, mostly leaving state agencies responsible for executing broad national policy goals. Meeting local expectations is very crucial and to make this happen, the provincial government has to open a discussion floor with the public to take the public's views and contributions into the account. This will help state leaders develop sustainable solutions for most of the state's problems. In addition to that, the issues of laws and regulations can be addressed by presenting well-established local demands at the federal government parliament table.
 3. Encouraging healthy interstate competition is essential for fostering economic development within a federal system. Allowing states to compete freely and fairly can spur innovation, efficiency, and overall growth. The federal government's role in this

dynamic is crucial; it should serve as a facilitator and arbiter to ensure equitable opportunities for all states. When distributing development programmes and resources, the federal government must carefully consider each state's economic circumstances and needs. By adopting policies that promote balanced economic growth and improve living standards across states, the federal government can mitigate disparities and foster a more inclusive and prosperous nation. This approach not only enhances economic competitiveness but also strengthens the cooperative framework between the federal government and states, promoting a collaborative environment where states can thrive based on their unique strengths and challenges.

4. States should refrain from overly expanding national bureaucracies. Instead, they should explore alternative solutions such as empowering state institutions and establishing inter-state councils. These measures can facilitate the adoption of a more pragmatic national approach, alleviating bureaucratic challenges and enhancing communication both vertically between the federal government and states, and horizontally among states themselves. By strengthening state institutions and promoting inter-state cooperation through councils, states can streamline decision-making processes, improve policy coordination, and address common challenges collectively. This approach not only enhances the efficiency of governance but also fosters greater collaboration and mutual support among states, leading to more effective implementation of national policies while respecting state autonomy. Thus, promoting robust inter-state councils and empowering state institutions emerges as a viable strategy to navigate governance complexities and promote a cohesive approach to addressing diverse regional needs within a federal framework.

5. Addressing the challenges of cooperative federalism requires thoughtful solutions that enhance collaboration, clarify responsibilities, and improve governance outcomes. One effective solution is to establish clear frameworks and guidelines for intergovernmental cooperation. This includes delineating specific roles and responsibilities between federal and state governments through formal agreements or compacts (Mettler & Soss , 2004). Such frameworks should outline decision-making processes, resource allocations, and accountability mechanisms to minimize conflicts arising from overlapping jurisdictions and enhance administrative efficiency (Warner, 2013).
6. Moreover, promoting fiscal federalism can mitigate the risk of dependency and preserve state autonomy within cooperative arrangements. By allocating funds based on states' fiscal capacities and needs, rather than unconditional grants, federal governments can empower states to innovate and address local challenges autonomously (Anderson & Guillory, 1997). This approach encourages fiscal discipline while fostering creativity in policy solutions tailored to regional contexts (Peter , 1998).
7. To overcome partisan politics and intergovernmental rivalries, fostering a culture of collaboration and consensus-building is essential. Establishing bipartisan committees or forums where federal and state officials can discuss common goals and negotiate policy priorities can mitigate ideological differences (Eaton, 2004). By promoting dialogue and mutual understanding, policymakers can overcome gridlock and advance cooperative initiatives in critical areas such as healthcare, education, and environmental regulation (Elazar, 1984).

8. Streamlining administrative processes is crucial to reducing bureaucratic complexity in cooperative federalism. Implementing standardized procedures and protocols for policy implementation across states can enhance coordination and efficiency (Radin, 2000). Additionally, investing in technology and digital platforms for intergovernmental communication and data sharing can improve information flow and decision-making, thereby minimizing administrative hurdles (Ferguson, 1994).
9. Lastly, enhancing transparency and accountability mechanisms can address legitimacy concerns in cooperative federalism. Establishing mechanisms for public consultation, feedback, and access to information can increase transparency in decision-making processes (Fischer, 2003). Clear communication of responsibilities and outcomes can build public trust and confidence in cooperative arrangements, ensuring that governance efforts are perceived as fair and effective in addressing complex societal challenges (McConnell, 2010).

Competitive Federalism

Competitive Federalism (CF) is a relatively new concept among federalism scholars, representing a shift towards understanding governance through a competitive lens within the federal political system. It is an intellectual framework that emphasizes open competition in the organization of society, where various governments and jurisdictions within the federal structure engage in friendly rivalry. In this system, states or regional governments compete to attract economic resources, enhance their welfare, or avoid certain costs, such as managing large welfare populations. This competition arises from the decentralized nature of the federal system, particularly where self-governing authorities operate with considerable autonomy. The rivalry

between states is often driven by the need to maximize their share of resources, improve economic conditions, and address social challenges. Additionally, competition in CF is influenced by factors like population mobility, where the movement of people between states or regions can affect the distribution of resources and influence policy decisions. The dynamics of CF are shaped by the interaction between state governments, which must navigate not only internal challenges but also the competitive pressures from neighboring jurisdictions seeking to attract the same resources or investment. While CF encourages innovation and efficiency, it can also lead to disparities in services and outcomes across states, as governments prioritize attracting economic opportunities or minimizing fiscal burdens over collaboration. Therefore, CF offers both opportunities and challenges for governance in decentralized systems, where competition can drive progress but also create tensions and inequalities among different jurisdictions.

Healthy competition between levels of government brings development (Jacobs, 2017). Competition may emerge between state and national governments. The nature of this rivalry varies across different contexts. One of the most prevalent factors involves consideration of economic restrictions. Establishing diverse levels within the governance structure bolsters democratization and enhances accountability. The concept of competitive federalism is implemented in numerous countries, such as India and the United States. States strive to undertake reforms and provide the finest services to their local populace. States adopt the most efficient methods of conducting business and progressing to complete pending initiatives. For example, the 'Race to the Top Programme', introduced by the Barack Obama administration in 2009, set decisive criteria for states to secure the largest grant in US history (Crotty & Staley, 2012). States willing to apply for this grant must submit a well-worked application and comply with related rules and regulations.

Competition among states extends beyond securing federal funds to include attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). In this context, the federal government assumes multiple roles and responsibilities. Firstly, it establishes laws and regulations that govern economic activities and create a framework for states to compete in attracting investments. Secondly, the federal government ensures a free-market environment where states can vie for funds and investments on equitable terms. Additionally, the federal government allocates funds to states, often with conditions tied to the utilization of previously allocated resources. States that adhere to these conditions and demonstrate compliance with federal regulations are more likely to receive substantial funding from both the central government and private investors. This strategic alignment with federal directives enhances states' attractiveness to investors seeking stable regulatory environments and reliable infrastructure.

Moreover, it fosters a competitive environment where states innovate and improve their economic policies to attract FDI and achieve sustainable economic growth. The federal government's pivotal role in overseeing these dynamics ensures that national economic objectives are balanced with state-level autonomy, promoting overall economic resilience and equitable development across the country. Understanding these interactions underscores the importance of federal-state cooperation in fostering a conducive environment for economic competitiveness and growth.

This part of the study focuses on the concept of healthy competition within the framework of CF, which promotes optimal use of resources while minimizing waste. Healthy competition fosters the development of social and physical infrastructure across states, encouraging efficiency and innovation. States competing in a positive manner can enhance their overall governance,

making them more attractive to investors, as CF creates an environment where states strive to outdo one another in terms of economic opportunities and public services. This competitive environment drives future investments and bolsters social life, leading to significant job creation and overall economic growth. A prime example of healthy competition in CF is India's One Nation, One Ration Card scheme, a programme that ranks states based on various development parameters (Sudha & Sunitha, 2010). This ranking system encourages states to improve their performance in areas such as healthcare, education, and infrastructure to attract more resources and investment. Additionally, healthy competition in CF allows for a more flexible and responsive governance system. The national government, by delegating substantial responsibilities to state governments, provides them with the autonomy to plan and allocate resources according to their specific needs. This decentralized approach fosters a competitive environment where states can tailor policies to local conditions while working towards broader national objectives. By empowering states with greater freedom to manage their expenditure and resources, healthy competition in CF leads to more effective governance and promotes sustainable economic growth, ultimately benefiting both the states and the nation as a whole.

In the context of CF, competition among governments in a federal system can be categorized into two types: inter-governmental and inter-jurisdictional competition. Inter-governmental competition, often described as vertical competition by some experts, refers to the rivalry between different levels of government, such as the federal, state, and local governments. This type of competition involves both vertical and horizontal dimensions, as states and local governments within the same territory compete with each other for resources, voters, and policy influence. One of the main drivers of inter-governmental competition is the concept of forum shopping. This refers to the practice where states, governments, and interest groups attempt to

attract voters by offering more favourable services or policies. Voters and interest groups may move from one government forum to another in search of the best available options, which can lead to competition between federal, state, and local governments for public support. Essentially, all levels of government within a federal system engage in a form of competition to win the favour of voters, creating an environment where governments strive to outperform one another in delivering services and responding to constituent needs. This competition can lead to innovation and efficiency in governance but may also result in inefficiencies or inconsistencies in public policy if not properly coordinated. In this dynamic, the rivalry between governments within the same territory becomes a key feature of the competitive federalism model, driving states and local authorities to continuously improve their offerings in an effort to attract and retain voter loyalty.

Inter-jurisdictional competition, also referred to as horizontal competition, involves rivalry among governments with similar powers within a federal system, typically between states or municipalities. This type of competition is driven by the mobility of populations and businesses, where individuals and companies "vote with their feet" by relocating to areas that align with their preferences and needs. As people and businesses move, states and municipalities face pressure to compete for residents and investors by offering better services, lower taxes, or more favourable business conditions. The dynamic of inter-jurisdictional competition encourages governments to innovate and improve governance to attract and retain residents, foster economic growth, and respond effectively to constituent needs. For example, jurisdictions may introduce tax incentives, improve infrastructure, or offer enhanced social services to make their areas more appealing to potential newcomers. This competitive environment creates a sense of urgency for local governments to constantly reassess and refine their policies to stay competitive. It also fosters efficiency, as states and municipalities are motivated to streamline processes, reduce

inefficiencies, and offer more responsive governance in order to maintain or increase their appeal. By responding to the preferences and demands of residents and businesses, jurisdictions can better align with the needs of their constituents, promoting growth and overall well-being. Ultimately, inter-jurisdictional competition within federal systems can lead to more dynamic, adaptable, and efficient governance, as local governments strive to enhance their attractiveness and provide high-quality services that improve the quality of life for their populations.

The government utilizes economic powers such as taxation, spending, and regulatory tools to engage in competition among jurisdictions. Regional governments focus on enhancing their appeal for government funds and foreign direct investment (FDI) through strategies like tax reductions and infrastructure improvements. Simultaneously, the central government competes with local governments by delivering superior services and ensuring citizen protection. These dynamics create an environment of CF, where both levels of government strive to efficiently meet the diverse needs of their constituents. By fostering competition, CF encourages innovation in governance and policy-making, prompting jurisdictions to adopt more effective strategies to attract investments and enhance public services. This approach not only spurs economic development and infrastructure growth but also promotes accountability and responsiveness in governance. The introduction of CF signifies a shift towards decentralized decision-making and local autonomy within a framework of shared national objectives. Moving forward, an exploration of the theoretical foundations underpinning CF will provide insights into its effectiveness in balancing competition and cooperation among governments, thereby contributing to overall economic resilience and societal well-being.

Theoretical Framework

The CF theoretical perspective and its relevance in the modern era continue to pose significant challenges. There are divergent opinions on the application of this concept, particularly when addressing pressing economic, political, social, and environmental issues (2015, p. 1) argues, “The theory of competitive federalism typically emphasizes citizens' ability to "exit" or move between subnational jurisdictions as the primary mechanism for holding governments accountable to the interests of their constituents.” In this theory, the democratic government has two main responsibilities: territorial and jurisdiction. In territorial responsibilities, the government establishes and enforces rules and conditions on all persons, whether citizens or non-citizens. The government is the supreme authority that dictates the laws governing all entities within its territorial jurisdiction, regardless of their citizenship status. Citizens and private entities can carry out their duties within their respective jurisdictions. According to jurisdiction responsibilities, the government defines and enforces membership conditions in the local community.

Additionally, citizens are subject to authority from two levels of government. Governmental laws afford individuals the role of customers who can select among competing territorial jurisdictions. Governments vie to attract individuals and investors based on their perceived attractiveness and offerings. Citizens and businesses are integral members of the polity, participating in a comprehensive exchange of benefits and costs associated with their membership status. This theory posits citizens as customers of territorial powers, with national and state governments competing to lure them by providing superior services and favourable conditions. The competition between governments, whether at the national or state level, underscores the importance of responsiveness and efficiency in governance. By catering to citizen preferences and

needs, governments aim to enhance their appeal and retain or attract residents and businesses, thus fostering economic growth and societal well-being through effective governance strategies.

This theory's classical contribution establishes the foundation for the doctrine of no market-based solution, which determines the appropriate level of expenditure on public goods. Citizens express their preferences for public goods. The existence of this theory enables government leaders to select suitable benefit taxes. The government offers various combinations of public goods. The aim is to identify typical voters who can pay the principal on the revenue side. This theory proposes a regime of fiscal federalism in which citizens are free to choose among local governments providing quality services and tax reductions. In conclusion, this theory shapes the guiding principles of fiscal federalism and promotes a system of healthy competition among different tiers of government. This competition enhances public welfare and strengthens the economic power of the governments.

Advantages of Competitive Federalism

Competitive federalism encourages efficiency and innovation within governmental systems by empowering states or regions to experiment with various policies and approaches to governance. This decentralization facilitates individual states to devise and enact programmes customized to the particular requirements of their populaces, effectively rendering them as "experimental sites for democratic governance." In this environment, states can test diverse solutions to societal challenges, and successful initiatives can be adopted by other states or even scaled up to the national level. The competitive dynamic fosters creativity and motivates states to continually improve their services and policies, striving to enhance their economic conditions and attractiveness to both residents and businesses. As a result, states become more responsive to the

unique needs of their constituents, adapting policies that can drive local economic growth, social development, and overall well-being. Furthermore, this system encourages the sharing of best practices across the country, as states learn from each other's successes and failures. The overall effect is the creation of a more dynamic, adaptable, and efficient governance structure, where competition drives positive outcomes in public policy. By decentralizing power and promoting innovation at the state level, competitive federalism enables tailored solutions that better serve diverse populations while contributing to the collective improvement of governance nationwide (Oates, 1999; Osborne, 2018).

Competitive federalism fosters improved fiscal discipline among states by granting them autonomy to manage their finances. This autonomy incentivizes states to spend judiciously and administer resources effectively to enhance their competitive advantage. The competitive environment discourages reckless spending and promotes the adoption of cost-effective policies. States that fail to manage their resources efficiently risk losing residents and businesses to more financially responsible regions, establishing a self-regulating mechanism that encourages fiscal prudence. Consequently, this competition contributes to a more equitable distribution of resources and a reduction in national debt, as states draw lessons from each other's successes and failures in fiscal governance. By allowing states to innovate and tailor policies to local needs, competitive federalism drives efficiency gains and economic growth while maintaining overall fiscal stability. This approach not only empowers states to optimize their fiscal policies but also enhances the overall resilience of the federal system by leveraging diversity and competition to achieve broader economic and social objectives (Rodden & Wibbels, *Federalism and Economic Performance*, 2019).

An important advantage of competitive federalism is its ability to foster political accountability. By granting states significant autonomy, leaders become more directly accountable to their constituents, as citizens can easily observe the effects of state policies and hold their leaders responsible for either successes or failures. This localized accountability promotes a more engaged and informed electorate, as residents have the ability to compare their state's performance with that of others. Political competition between states further enhances this dynamic by motivating leaders to maintain good governance and improve policy outcomes. In addition, the rivalry between states can act as a deterrent to corruption, as state leaders work to uphold their reputations in order to attract investment, talent, and resources. The competition encourages states to prioritize efficiency, transparency, and responsiveness to their populations' needs. With the possibility of attracting or losing residents and businesses based on their governance and policies, state leaders are incentivized to act in ways that benefit their communities. This heightened accountability ensures that government officials remain attentive to the preferences and concerns of their constituents, striving to deliver better services and improve overall well-being. Ultimately, competitive federalism promotes a more transparent and responsive political environment, where leaders are held to higher standards due to the direct oversight of their populations and the competitive pressures of neighboring states (Bednar, 2011; Tiebout, 1956).

Competitive federalism encourages economic growth and development by creating an environment where states actively compete to attract businesses and investments. This competition often results in policies that lower taxes, improve infrastructure, and streamline regulations, all of which contribute to creating a more business-friendly climate. States that succeed in attracting investments and businesses benefit from job creation and enhanced economic vitality, as businesses expand and create new employment opportunities. Additionally, this competitive

atmosphere motivates states to invest in key sectors such as education, healthcare, and other critical services, further improving their appeal to potential investors and residents. By fostering such an environment, states are driven to continuously innovate and improve their offerings, ensuring that they remain attractive to both businesses and individuals. As states develop specialized industries and niches that leverage their unique advantages, the overall national economy becomes more diversified and resilient, with each state contributing to the broader economic landscape. This specialization allows the country to adapt more effectively to changes in global markets and evolving economic conditions, ensuring long-term stability and growth. The dynamic interplay between states within a competitive federal system can lead to enhanced productivity, innovation, and economic development, benefiting both local communities and the national economy as a whole (Chen & Groenewold, 2019; Weingast, 1995).

Challenges of Competitive Federalism

One major issue with CF is that state and local governments often engage in intense competition to attract citizens and businesses, leading to significant resource expenditures. This competition manifests in substantial tax reduction packages and expenditures on often inconsequential projects funded by taxpayer money. Critics argue that this system perpetuates injustice and discriminatory policies, as regulations, particularly environmental protections, are weakened, and essential spending, such as welfare programmes, is curtailed. The primary focus appears to be on attracting elite classes and investors, potentially neglecting the needs of marginalized groups, including the poor. This approach not only exacerbates socio-economic disparities but also undermines the equitable distribution of resources and opportunities within society. Critics further contend that CF, in its current form, prioritizes economic growth and

competitiveness over social welfare and environmental sustainability, highlighting the inherent tensions between economic development and social justice within the framework of cooperative federalism.

Secondly, challenges to jurisdiction and ambiguous governmental roles within the federal system threaten intergovernmental cooperation. The national government's function is to enact laws and serve as a protector and guide, assisting sub-national governments in enforcing legislation. The interpretation of laws generates conflicts among states, which becomes more complex when such laws relate to taxation power. Economic demand remains the primary challenge that governments endeavour to address in the contemporary world. Different government systems adopt appropriate tax policies designed to appeal to voters. Politicians and leaders promise to introduce laws to reduce taxes and empower local governments with taxation power. These politicians carefully craft key campaign slogans to ensure re-election. Both local and national governments compete to attract voters, and their rivalry over control of territory fuels conflicts. Laws introduced by the national government, ranging from environmental protection to driving licenses and alcohol drinking age, all create vertical challenges. States attempt to reduce regulations to satisfy local citizens, challenging national government laws and struggling to adopt their own rules. This results in punishment and fund suspension, affecting the economies of most states. Tension over the introduction of certain laws also creates an unfavourable environment, leading to a lack of cooperation and an uncooperative relationship between governments.

Third, geographical issues are also considered a challenge. In the words of Guo (2012, p. 1), "territorial boundaries often stem from material or cultural factors, and may also arise from significant domestic and international transformations. In some cases, these territorial disputes can

escalate into geopolitical rivalries and competition between major powers.” As the population of states, counties, and regions expands, the geographical area of states tends to grow. This can lead to disputes among states, with each one attempting to expand its land and gain a larger population. Such disputes are believed to occur in countries where the constitution has ambiguous articles, allowing for differing judicial interpretations. Geographical conflicts can create enmity among states, sometimes escalating into active violence. In cases of weak rule of law, such as in underdeveloped or post-conflict countries, the likelihood of significant tensions arising from these issues is heightened. Having explored the challenges of cooperative federalism, we now turn to consider practical solutions that may address these concerns.

While competitive federalism fosters innovation and efficiency, it also presents significant challenges that can limit its effectiveness, particularly in exacerbating regional inequalities. As states compete to attract businesses and investments, those with greater wealth, resources, and infrastructure often hold a significant advantage, leading to a concentration of economic activity in these wealthier states. This dynamic leaves poorer states at a disadvantage, struggling to generate the revenue needed to improve their economic conditions, thereby deepening regional disparities (Oates, 1999). The cycle becomes self-perpetuating, as financially disadvantaged states find it increasingly difficult to compete, and their inability to attract investment or generate economic activity perpetuates the gap between affluent and struggling regions (Cai & Treisman, 2005). Consequently, the uneven distribution of economic opportunities and resources undermines the principle of equitable development, as the benefits of growth are not shared equally across the nation. This uneven development can also hinder overall national growth and cohesion, as disparities between regions can create tensions and diminish social solidarity. The result is a

federal system that, while promoting competition and efficiency, may inadvertently reinforce divisions and impede the realization of a more balanced and inclusive national development.

Another critical issue stemming from competitive federalism is the phenomenon known as the "race to the bottom," where states engage in a downward spiral of reducing regulatory standards, taxes, and wages to attract businesses. While this strategy may initially create a favourable business environment and attract investments, it often comes at the expense of public welfare. States compelled to lower standards may cut back on essential services such as education, healthcare, and environmental protections (Besley & Case, 1995). This erosion of social safety nets and regulatory safeguards can exacerbate inequality and undermine long-term economic and social stability, as residents experience reduced quality of life and diminished opportunities for advancement (Schneider, 2006). The relentless pursuit of attracting businesses through deregulation and cost-cutting measures can lead to a downward trajectory where states compromise on crucial public services and protections, ultimately jeopardizing the well-being of their citizens while exacerbating disparities between regions.

Competitive federalism, while fostering innovation, can also lead to significant policy fragmentation and inefficiency. As states develop their own distinct policies to attract investments, a patchwork of regulations emerges that complicates interstate commerce and mobility. This results in businesses operating across multiple states facing higher compliance costs due to the need to navigate and adhere to varying state-specific regulations (Feiock, 2009). Similarly, residents who relocate between states may experience inconsistent public services and benefits, creating confusion and undermining the overall effectiveness of government programmes (Weingast, 2009). These variations in policy not only increase administrative burdens and

compliance costs but also obstruct the alignment of national goals and standards. This fragmentation makes it more difficult to implement cohesive national policies, potentially hindering efforts to address broad, national challenges. While competition can spur innovation and efficiency, these complications can reduce the overall effectiveness of governance, ultimately limiting the potential benefits of competitive federalism.

Political conflict is a significant challenge within competitive federalism, as it can amplify rivalries among states and heighten intergovernmental tensions (Inman & Rubinfeld, 1997). States may implement protectionist measures to safeguard their interests, such as erecting trade barriers, which in turn diminishes cooperation between states and complicates interstate relations. This adversarial approach not only weakens national unity but also hinders the resolution of larger, cross-border issues that require coordinated action, such as environmental protection, infrastructure development, and public health responses (Rodden, 2002). As states compete to attract businesses and investments, political conflict intensifies, with each state focusing on its economic agenda rather than collaborating on national-level policymaking. This fosters a competitive atmosphere that undermines the possibility of collective action, potentially impeding efforts to tackle pressing national challenges that require unity and cooperation among states. The prioritization of state-level interests over national objectives exacerbates divisions and undermines the overall effectiveness of governance, complicating the achievement of cohesive policy goals at the federal level.

Finally, the competitive nature inherent in competitive federalism can foster short-termism in policymaking. States, driven by the desire to demonstrate immediate successes in order to attract businesses and residents, may prioritize policies that promise quick gains over those that offer

long-term benefits (Peterson, 1995). This emphasis on short-term outcomes can lead to underinvestment in crucial areas such as education, research, and sustainable development, which are fundamental to fostering long-term economic growth and enhancing social well-being. By focusing excessively on attracting immediate economic opportunities, states may neglect investments in infrastructure, human capital, and environmental sustainability, potentially compromising their future prosperity and resilience. Therefore, while competitive federalism encourages innovation and efficiency in governance, it also necessitates balancing short-term economic gains with long-term strategic planning to ensure sustainable development and equitable growth across all regions.

Solutions

Firstly, states and local governments must prioritize the public interest above all else. Decisions regarding expenditure on projects should reflect the will and welfare of the public. Projects that pose environmental hazards but promise financial gains should be halted in favour of sustainable development practices. Policies characterized by favouritism and discrimination must be replaced with inclusive measures that benefit all communities, irrespective of race or religion. Political leaders should engage consistently with the public, seeking input and feedback beyond election cycles to ensure governance that is responsive and accountable. Government priorities should focus on addressing urgent societal challenges rather than being driven by short-term political agendas. By fostering transparency, accountability, and community engagement, states and local governments can better align their actions with the needs and aspirations of the people they serve, promoting equitable development and social cohesion.

Second, disputes over jurisdiction are commonplace even in developed nations. It is observed that courts within the same country can issue conflicting rulings on the same matter. The recent US election serves as a salient example. In less developed countries, the situation is often more severe, as corruption and weak adherence to the rule of law permeate the political landscape of these nations. Addressing such complex issues is a crucial consideration in the federal constitution. The constitution should clearly delineate the federal and individual state legal systems. When disputes arise, the federal and state courts must respect their respective jurisdictions. As stipulated in the constitution, each legal system must operate under specific laws and unique procedures. However, the jurisdiction of federal courts should be limited to the types of cases explicitly outlined in the constitution, which is approved by the national legislature. For instance, federal courts can adjudicate matters involving violations of the constitution or federal law, under federal jurisdiction. They may also hear cases pertaining to bankruptcy, copyright, patent, and maritime law.

On the other hand, states are tasked with enforcing federal laws and serving as administrative bodies responsible for day-to-day operations. They act as service providers and implement national policies across various domains. In terms of legal jurisdiction, state courts primarily adjudicate criminal cases involving violations of state laws. For example, crimes like robbery fall under the purview of state laws. Similarly, offenses such as drug smuggling, property damage, and driving under the influence are also handled by state jurisdictions. However, there exist certain cases that can be heard by both federal and state courts concurrently. These include matters like racial discrimination, employment disputes, and cases involving bigotry. Victims of such offenses have the option to pursue legal action in either federal or state courts depending on their preference or the specific circumstances of the case. This dual jurisdiction ensures that

individuals have access to multiple avenues for seeking justice and allows for flexibility in legal recourse depending on the nature and severity of the violation. By delineating these roles and responsibilities, the legal system aims to maintain a balance between centralized federal authority and the autonomy of state governments in addressing both local and national legal issues effectively.

Thirdly, geographical disputes constitute another common issue in federal nations. As described in the challenging segment, the primary cause is the expansion of lands and the acquisition of larger populations. Again, this matter is related to the Constitution and how federal legislation defines the borders of the federal states. Leaders must combat the weak institutions inherent within the governmental system. Reinforcing the rule of law is the optimal strategy to prevent and mitigate numerous conflicts pertaining to boundary disputes. Enhancing constitutional institutions can assist in establishing a robust legal framework. Boundary lines ought to be delineated clearly, particularly in areas where conflicts of interest are anticipated to escalate. Finally, the roles and jurisdictions of the states should be elucidated within the Constitution, and any ambiguity in the Constitution should be eliminated.

Federalism is renowned for its capacity to navigate diversity and balance competing interests within a political structure. Nevertheless, tensions between various levels of government can impede effective governance and policy coordination. In response to these challenges, "competitive federalism" has emerged as a prospective strategy for resolving conflicts among federal entities. This approach encourages competition among states or regions within a federation, aiming to enhance efficiency, innovation, and responsiveness in governance. By granting states greater autonomy to enact policies and make decisions, competitive federalism fosters a dynamic

environment where states compete to attract investment, businesses, and residents. This competition can lead to improvements in public services, economic growth, and regulatory frameworks as states strive to differentiate themselves and meet local preferences. Moreover, competitive federalism can mitigate conflicts by allowing states to tailor policies to their unique needs and priorities, reducing the likelihood of centralized decisions that may not adequately address regional variations. Ultimately, competitive federalism seeks to harness competition as a catalyst for cooperative governance, promoting diversity, innovation, and effective resolution of intergovernmental disputes within federal systems.

To address the challenges posed by competitive federalism, it is crucial to implement solutions that mitigate inequalities, foster cooperation, enhance policy coherence, and ensure long-term sustainability. One effective strategy is the introduction of mechanisms to counter regional disparities that arise from economic competition among states. For example, revenue-sharing arrangements or fiscal transfers can be utilized to redistribute resources from wealthier states to poorer ones, promoting more equitable development (Oates, 1999). By providing financial support to less prosperous regions, these policies help reduce the economic divide, enabling balanced growth throughout the nation (Cai & Treisman, 2005). Such initiatives not only address immediate economic hardships but also foster greater social cohesion and national unity by narrowing the disparities that hinder overall development. This approach helps create a more balanced playing field, ensuring that all regions can participate in and benefit from the opportunities generated through competitive federalism. Moreover, these measures contribute to a more cohesive governance structure by aligning the interests of both wealthy and less wealthy regions, ultimately enhancing the sustainability and effectiveness of federalism as a whole. By promoting equitable development and reducing regional inequalities, governments can mitigate the negative effects of

competition while encouraging cooperation among states, ensuring that competitive federalism works in a way that benefits all citizens, regardless of their geographic location.

To address the "race to the bottom" phenomenon in competitive federalism, policymakers can establish regulatory frameworks that set minimum standards for essential services and environmental protections across states. This strategy aims to prevent states from excessively deregulating or lowering standards in an attempt to attract businesses, thereby safeguarding public welfare and ensuring social equity (Besley & Case, 1995). By instituting baseline regulations at the national level, governments can provide a foundation of essential protections while encouraging states to voluntarily adopt higher standards to improve their competitiveness. This approach ensures that while states engage in healthy competition to attract businesses and investments, they do not undermine public welfare or essential social goods. Setting these minimum standards helps balance the economic benefits of competition with the need to preserve crucial public services and environmental protections. Furthermore, it ensures that competition among states can benefit both businesses and citizens alike, creating a more sustainable and equitable system. By implementing such measures, policymakers can foster an environment where competitive federalism encourages innovation and economic growth without compromising the well-being of the population or the environment. This regulatory framework, therefore, enables states to compete effectively while maintaining necessary safeguards to protect public interests, ensuring that competitive federalism works to the benefit of all stakeholders.

To address policy fragmentation and inefficiency within competitive federalism, it is essential to enhance coordination and harmonize regulations across states. One effective approach is through the use of mechanisms such as interstate compacts or cooperative agreements, which

facilitate collaboration on shared issues like transportation infrastructure, healthcare standards, or environmental conservation (Feiock, 2009). These collaborative frameworks allow states to pool resources, share best practices, and streamline regulatory processes, ultimately reducing compliance costs for businesses and improving the overall effectiveness of government programmes (Weingast, 2009). By fostering interstate cooperation, policymakers can mitigate the negative consequences of policy fragmentation, which often results in inconsistencies and inefficiencies that hinder both businesses and residents. Coordination also helps to eliminate duplication of efforts, enabling states to leverage each other's strengths and expertise in addressing complex challenges. Furthermore, such collaborative efforts promote a unified approach to national priorities while maintaining the flexibility of states to tailor solutions to their specific needs. In this way, policymakers can encourage cooperation and innovation, leading to improved services and more effective governance. Ultimately, strengthening coordination across states helps to advance shared national goals, ensuring that competition among states does not undermine broader societal objectives. By focusing on reducing policy fragmentation through cooperation and harmonization, states can maintain the benefits of competitive federalism while addressing its inherent challenges, leading to a more efficient, cohesive, and effective governance structure that works for both businesses and citizens alike.

To mitigate political conflict and foster greater cooperation among states in a competitive federalism framework, it is crucial to promote a culture of dialogue and negotiation. Establishing platforms for intergovernmental communication and dispute resolution, such as councils of governors or bipartisan committees, can facilitate constructive engagement on contentious issues, helping states collaborate effectively even when their interests may initially (Inman & Rubinfield, 1997). Encouraging states to identify common ground and work together on solutions to shared

challenges not only builds trust but also reduces the likelihood of protectionist policies that undermine interstate cooperation. In addition, promoting transparency and accountability in decision-making processes can strengthen public confidence in collaborative governance efforts, ensuring that citizens view intergovernmental cooperation as beneficial to the overall well-being of society. Clear, open communication allows for more informed decisions and prevents misinterpretations that could lead to unnecessary tensions or political friction. Furthermore, when states prioritize transparency and mutual understanding, it creates an environment where compromise and cooperation are valued over competition, ultimately fostering a more unified approach to policymaking. By prioritizing these strategies dialogue, transparency, and accountability states can reduce political conflicts and work more effectively within the competitive federalism framework, enhancing both the efficiency of governance and the overall quality of public services. This not only promotes a more cohesive national policy agenda but also ensures that the states work collaboratively toward shared goals, contributing to a stronger and more responsive federal system.

Addressing short-termism in policymaking within competitive federalism requires incentivizing states to adopt long-term strategic planning and sustainable investment strategies. Governments can offer grants or incentives to states that prioritize initiatives such as sustainable development, investment in education, research, or the adoption of innovative technologies that drive long-term economic growth (Peterson, *Capital ideas: The IMF and the rise of financial liberalization* , 1995). By aligning financial incentives with long-term policy goals, policymakers can encourage states to balance short-term economic gains with essential investments in infrastructure, human capital, and environmental sustainability. Such incentives not only help states mitigate the risks of economic volatility but also foster a more resilient and inclusive growth

model. States that focus on long-term strategies are better equipped to adapt to future challenges and improve overall prosperity, ensuring that economic development benefits all regions within the federal system. This approach also promotes a shift away from reactive, short-term solutions that may offer immediate relief but fail to address deeper structural issues. With a stronger emphasis on long-term planning, states can create policies that support sustained economic growth while addressing pressing issues such as poverty, climate change, and technological advancements. Ultimately, this shift toward long-term strategic thinking contributes to greater national cohesion by ensuring that all regions within the federation move toward shared objectives of sustainable growth and equitable prosperity, reinforcing the strength and resilience of the federal system.

Competitive Federalism and Conflict Resolution

Competitive federalism, characterized by the rivalry among states to attract businesses and residents through favourable policies, has been extensively analyzed for its implications on governance and public policy. According to (Peterson, *The Price of Federalism*, 1995), competitive federalism encourages states to innovate and experiment with policies, leading to a more dynamic and responsive governmental system. This model fosters a competitive environment where states strive to outperform each other, potentially resulting in improved efficiency and public service delivery. However, scholars like (Tiebout, *A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures*, 1956) argue that this competition can lead to disparities and inequalities among states, as wealthier states may be better positioned to offer more attractive incentives, exacerbating regional inequalities. Furthermore, the competitive nature of this federalism model can lead to a "race to

the bottom," where states might undercut each other on regulations and tax policies to attract businesses, potentially compromising social welfare and environmental standards.

Conflict resolution in the context of competitive federalism involves both institutional mechanisms and policy strategies. Intergovernmental institutions play a crucial role in mediating disputes and fostering cooperation among states (Feiock, Metropolitan governance and institutional collective action, 2009). These institutions can provide platforms for dialogue and negotiation, helping to align state policies with national goals and addressing grievances that arise from competitive practices. Additionally, federal oversight and support can ensure that competition does not undermine social equity and public welfare. Effective conflict resolution requires a combination of regulatory frameworks, incentives for cooperation, and continuous monitoring to address the dynamic nature of state competition and its impact on national cohesion and stability (Weingast, 2009).

India serves as a prime example of employing competitive federalism as a strategy for conflict resolution. As a vast and diverse nation comprising multiple ethnicities, India has grappled with numerous regional conflicts since achieving independence (Adeney & Bhattacharyya, 2018). The adoption of a competitive federal model has played a pivotal role in mitigating these conflicts and fostering cooperation among its diverse states. By allowing states to compete for resources, investment, and development opportunities, India's federal structure has encouraged innovation and efficiency in governance. This approach has empowered states to tailor policies that address local needs and aspirations while contributing to the overall unity and stability of the nation. Moreover, competitive federalism in India has facilitated economic growth and social development by leveraging competitive pressures to improve governance standards and service

delivery across different regions. By promoting healthy competition and incentivizing states to perform better, India's federal system has effectively managed internal tensions and fostered a cooperative framework that accommodates diversity while advancing national unity and progress.

In India, states compete to attract investment, drive economic growth, and improve public service delivery, sparking a healthy rivalry that has led to advancements in infrastructure, education, healthcare, and business facilitation. States like Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Andhra Pradesh have taken the lead by implementing pro-business policies and investing heavily in creating a favourable environment for industrial and economic development. This competitive approach has motivated other states to follow suit, adopting similar strategies to enhance their own growth and development. As a result, there has been a gradual alignment in development outcomes, with states striving to improve their infrastructure, social services, and business environments to stay competitive. The competition between states has contributed to a reduction in regional disparities, as states with fewer resources are encouraged to enhance their development strategies and attract investment to foster economic growth (Stathakis & Stamboglou, 2020). The overall impact of this competitive federalism has been positive, with a collective drive towards boosting economic outcomes, improving the standard of living, and creating a more dynamic national economy. As each state works towards improving its infrastructure, governance, and investment climate, India has seen a gradual shift towards greater regional parity in development, with more states moving towards higher growth rates and improved social outcomes. The competition, while encouraging excellence, has also fostered a spirit of collaboration and shared learning, with states continuously learning from each other's successes and challenges. This dynamic competition among Indian states has become a key driver of the country's overall development trajectory.

Furthermore, the dynamic interaction between state and central governments in India has fostered an environment conducive to policy experimentation and innovation. States have been empowered to tailor their policies according to the unique needs and preferences of their residents, promoting a sense of accountability and responsiveness at the local level (Weaver, 2020). This decentralized approach has proven instrumental in addressing longstanding disputes in various regions, as states have been able to devise solutions that resonate with the aspirations of their communities. By granting states the flexibility to implement region-specific policies, India's federal system has facilitated the resolution of historical grievances and promoted harmony among diverse populations. Moreover, this policy customization has not only enhanced governance effectiveness but also encouraged healthy competition among states to achieve higher standards of service delivery and development outcomes. Overall, the collaborative framework between state and central governments under India's competitive federalism model has encouraged innovative approaches to governance, fostering socio-economic progress and reinforcing the country's democratic fabric.

Canada serves as a compelling example of harnessing competitive federalism to effectively manage conflicts and diversity. As a bilingual and multicultural nation, Canada has navigated the complexities of regional diversity and sub-national conflicts by fostering a delicate balance between competition and collaboration among its provinces (Jones et al., 1998). This equilibrium has empowered provinces with a significant degree of autonomy while encouraging cooperation towards shared objectives. By allowing provinces to compete for resources, innovation, and policy initiatives, Canada's federal structure has promoted dynamic governance and responsiveness to local needs. This approach has enabled provinces to customize policies that reflect regional priorities and cultural identities, thereby mitigating tensions and fostering a cohesive national

identity. Moreover, Canada's embrace of competitive federalism has facilitated economic development and social cohesion by leveraging competition to enhance efficiency and effectiveness in public service delivery. Overall, Canada's experience underscores the benefits of a flexible federal framework that accommodates diversity while promoting unity through collaborative efforts and shared governance responsibilities.

Competitive federalism has played a crucial role in resolving conflicts in Canada, particularly in the realm of social welfare. Provinces compete to offer enhanced social programmes, such as universal healthcare, parental leave, and childcare benefits, leading to a more equitable distribution of public services across the country. This competition has not only improved the quality of services but also fostered innovation, as provinces experiment with various social policy strategies. These trials have facilitated the dissemination of effective methods nationwide, promoting overall social welfare improvements (Antony-Newman, 2019). Consequently, competitive federalism in Canada has not only balanced public service allocation but also encouraged creative solutions to social welfare challenges, demonstrating its efficacy in addressing regional disparities and fostering a collaborative yet competitive governance environment.

Simultaneously, the Canadian federal government has played a key role in ensuring a baseline level of social services and promoting financial equalization among provinces. By implementing transfer payments and setting national benchmarks, the federal government has mitigated the risk of reducing social welfare standards while still allowing provinces to compete and specialize in certain areas. This approach balances national cohesion with regional autonomy, enabling provinces to tailor their social programmes to local needs while maintaining overall

equity. Consequently, this system of competitive federalism ensures that all Canadians have access to essential services, regardless of their province of residence, while fostering innovation and efficiency in provincial governance. This balance of competition and cooperation highlights the effectiveness of federalism in addressing regional disparities and enhancing social welfare.

The Canadian example underscores the importance of cooperative decision-making processes and coordination between various levels of government in managing conflicts within a competitive federal framework. Federal-provincial conferences and intergovernmental councils have served as platforms for dialogue, consensus-building, and dispute resolution, fostering a spirit of collaboration despite competitive dynamics. These forums facilitate discussions that address the unique needs and interests of different provinces, ensuring that all voices are heard and considered. This cooperative approach not only helps in resolving conflicts but also promotes unity and strengthens the overall federal structure. By balancing competition with collaboration, Canada effectively manages regional disparities and enhances governance, demonstrating the potential of competitive federalism to harmonize diverse interests within a single national framework.

The examples of India and Canada illustrate how competitive federalism can be effective in resolving conflicts. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that this strategy also presents challenges. Without careful planning and execution, competitive federalism can exacerbate tensions and rivalries between regions, leading to divergent public policies and widening regional inequalities (Schragger, 2019). In India, while competitive federalism has promoted state innovation and responsiveness, it has sometimes intensified inter-state disparities and conflicts over resources. Similarly, in Canada, despite the benefits of provincial competition in enhancing social programmes, there have been issues with maintaining equitable standards across all

provinces. Therefore, while competitive federalism can foster regional development and conflict resolution, it necessitates robust frameworks for cooperation and equitable policy-making to prevent deepening regional divides.

In Germany, the competitive federalist approach has come under scrutiny due to its perceived role in exacerbating unequal development between the eastern and western states following German reunification. The wealthier western states attracted greater investment and resources, contributing to economic disparities that left the eastern states significantly lagging behind (Auel, 2016). This economic imbalance has persisted over the years, leading to persistent regional disparities and heightened social tensions. Critics argue that the competitive federalism model, which allows states autonomy in economic policies and development strategies, has not adequately addressed the structural challenges faced by the eastern states. Instead, it has widened the economic gap and hindered efforts to achieve balanced regional growth and cohesion. The disparities in economic prosperity and infrastructure between the eastern and western states underscore the limitations of the current federal framework in fostering equitable development across the country. Addressing these challenges requires reconsideration of federal policies to ensure more balanced investment and resource allocation, as well as targeted initiatives to promote economic revitalization and social integration in the eastern states, thereby mitigating the enduring consequences of historical divisions.

In the United States, competitive tensions between the federal government and state governments frequently result in policy gridlock and exacerbated partisan divisions (Chenggan, 2022). Both federal and state authorities vigorously pursue their respective agendas and priorities, often leading to difficulty in reaching consensus on crucial issues. This competitive dynamic is

amplified by insufficient intergovernmental cooperation mechanisms and a deeply polarized political climate. The federal-state relationship is characterized by ongoing struggles over jurisdictional authority and policy control, further complicating efforts to achieve bipartisan agreements and enact comprehensive legislation. The divergent interests and strategies pursued by federal and state governments can impede effective governance and hinder responsiveness to national challenges. Moreover, the competition for influence and autonomy between these entities sometimes results in conflicting policies and inconsistent implementation across different regions, exacerbating disparities and undermining cohesive national policies. Addressing these competitive tensions requires fostering greater collaboration, enhancing dialogue, and developing more robust frameworks for intergovernmental cooperation to promote consensus-building and facilitate more effective governance in addressing the diverse needs of the American populace.

Effective conflict resolution in competitive federal systems relies on carefully balancing competition with cooperation. Achieving this balance requires clear delineation of responsibilities between central and state/provincial governments, alongside the implementation of fiscal equalization mechanisms and collaborative decision-making processes. Clearly defining roles helps mitigate conflicts that arise from jurisdictional disputes and overlapping responsibilities, allowing each level of government to understand its specific functions and reduce tensions. Fiscal equalization mechanisms are particularly important, as they help redistribute resources from wealthier regions to those less affluent, ensuring more equitable development and preventing disparities that could intensify intergovernmental conflicts. These mechanisms also play a key role in promoting national cohesion by reducing regional inequalities, which could otherwise create friction. Additionally, fostering collaborative decision-making processes between central and state/provincial governments builds trust and transparency, enabling effective communication and

cooperation on important policy matters. When governments at different levels work together to make decisions, they can address complex challenges more efficiently, fostering a sense of shared responsibility and commitment to the broader national agenda. This collaborative approach encourages mutual respect and understanding, which helps in overcoming conflicts and ensuring that competition between states or provinces remains productive and beneficial for all. In this way, competitive federalism can contribute to national unity by promoting a cooperative governance environment, where competition drives innovation and progress, while collaboration ensures that the benefits of competition are shared equitably among regions. By combining competition with cooperation, competitive federal systems can achieve effective governance, resolve conflicts, and promote sustainable development across all regions.

The effectiveness of competitive federalism as a conflict resolution mechanism also depends on the strength of institutional frameworks and governance practices. Robust institutions uphold the rule of law, protect minority rights, and provide avenues for resolving disputes through legal channels. Transparent governance practices ensure accountability and foster public trust in the fairness of decision-making processes. Furthermore, a shared commitment to the overall welfare of the federation is essential for overcoming partisan interests and achieving collective goals. When central and state/provincial governments align their objectives with the broader national interest, they can harness competitive federalism to promote economic growth, social cohesion, and sustainable development. Ultimately, fostering a harmonious balance between competition and cooperation underpins the success of competitive federal systems in resolving conflicts and advancing the shared prosperity of diverse regions within a unified framework.

Dual Federalism

Dual Federalism (DF) was initially conceptualized in response to the challenges of unity in the emerging nations of the 18th and 19th centuries (Arballo, 2021). As new countries sought to forge their identities, the diversity of their populations presented a significant challenge to national cohesion. In this context, scholars began to debate the viability of a federal system as an alternative governance model. The primary objective was to create a structure that could accommodate the varied political, social, and economic interests of different communities within a single nation. The idea of centralized governance with representatives at the core was questioned, as it was believed that such a system might not adequately address the complexities of governing large populations and expansive territories. The concept of Dual Federalism was proposed to ensure a balanced distribution of power between central and regional governments, thereby allowing states to maintain a degree of autonomy while benefiting from the unity of a federal system. This approach was seen as a way to harness the strengths of diverse regional governance while promoting a unified national policy. The dual-layered structure was envisioned to facilitate effective governance that respects regional diversity and addresses local concerns, thus enhancing the stability and responsiveness of the government to the varied needs of its populace.

Federalism developed gradually in countries like the USA. The American founding fathers, academics and public figures helped establish two autonomous governments within a federal framework. Decades of debate have explored various institutional reforms that enabled the acquisition of federal and state powers. The key elements of federalism include the division of powers and responsibilities between tiers of government, fiscal decentralization, and mechanisms for inter-governmental cooperation and dispute resolution (Young, 2014). The philosophy of this

view divided state power at local and city levels. These multiple governmental layers each focused on the particular needs of their respective communities. Complex cities and scattered natural resources demanded a sophisticated governance system. Communities needed effective, nearby service providers. Such a system cannot rely solely on technocratic views or expert groups; nationwide engagement is essential.

Establishing an appropriate governance framework often requires drafting a robust constitution. The constitution is central to a newly formed nation's federalist system, serving as a foundational document that sets the stage for the nation's political and social structures. Its implications for lawmakers, the amendment process, and other design aspects are crucial in addressing the diversity inherent within a heterogeneous society. Matters like language, religion, and minority representation must be carefully considered and specified in the constitutional provisions to ensure fair and inclusive governance. The distribution of power across various government levels is clearly outlined in federal law, delineating the responsibilities and authorities of each tier. Adopting federalism demands a thorough reconsideration of territorial decentralization, as reflected in the distinct allocation of powers from the apex to the base of a governance system, empowering local communities and promoting responsive decision-making.

Examining countries that adopt Dual Federalism (DF), we observe that both the states and the central government have constitutionally defined roles. In Australia, for instance, amending the Constitution requires a nationwide popular majority and approval from a majority of at least four out of six states, highlighting the significant role of states in the federal structure. States in Australia enjoy independent powers and share sovereignty with the central government, creating a unique form of DF. This model effectively balances the interests of the nation as a whole with

those of individual states. The Australian system, as described by Brown and Bellamy (2006), demonstrates how two distinct levels of power can work together to uphold the unity and integrity of both the national and state governments. This approach not only respects the autonomy of states but also ensures that federal and state interests are harmonized, thereby maintaining a stable and cohesive federal system.

In India, the states play a crucial role in the process of amending the Constitution, especially when amendments involve matters concerning state jurisdiction or constitutional provisions integral to the federal structure. For instance, any Constitutional amendment in India necessitates a two-thirds majority vote in both houses of the central parliament. However, if the proposed amendment affects the division of powers between the central and state governments, the procedure becomes more complex. In such cases, the amendment requires not only the approval of the federal parliament but also endorsement by a majority of state legislatures. This dual requirement ensures that amendments impacting state powers are carefully deliberated and reflect the consensus of both central and state authorities. Additionally, the involvement of the judiciary ensures the amendments adhere to the constitutional principles and do not undermine the federal framework. This intricate process underscores India's commitment to maintaining a balanced federal system where states have a significant say in constitutional amendments that affect their powers and responsibilities vis-à-vis the central government.

In some cases, an unanimity rule may apply to constitutional amendments. The Canadian Constitution provides a general formula stipulating that amendments require the approval of two-thirds of the provinces, representing at least fifty percent of the population. This rule is designed to favour the more populous provinces, such as Ontario and Quebec, granting them a de facto veto

over constitutional amendments. However, there are specific exceptions to this rule, such as amendments relating to languages. For instance, the recognition of English and French as official languages requires unanimous approval from all provinces. Additionally, amendments that specifically impact the rights or powers of individual provinces require the consent of the affected province. This allows provinces to exercise a form of autonomy, giving them the ability to opt-out or withhold approval for changes that could directly affect their own rights or authority. Such provisions ensure that provinces maintain control over matters that are particularly relevant to their unique interests, fostering a system of checks and balances within Canada's federal structure. This system of constitutional amendments allows for both cooperation and protection of provincial interests, while maintaining the integrity of the overall national framework. The combination of a two-thirds majority rule, population-based requirements, and the possibility for provinces to opt-out of certain amendments highlights the balance between central authority and provincial autonomy in Canada's governance.

The USA Constitution, specifically Section 10 Article 1, outlines how dual federalism operates in practice. DF divides governmental authority, with individual states possessing enumerated powers and the federal government wielding federal power. Each level of government maintains independent jurisdiction over its designated geographical domain. In Blavatsky's (2019, p. 1) words, "ultimately, the Constitution both limited and enhanced state authority; it entrenched a framework of dual sovereignty".

Defining Dual Federalism

One of the pioneering thinkers, Edward S. Corwin, outlined the concept of dual federalism through the following four key principles:

- 1 The national government's authority is strictly confined to the explicit powers granted to it.
- 2 Additionally, the constitutional goals it is permitted to pursue are limited in scope.
- 3 Each tier of government functions autonomously within its designated domain, thereby rendering them 'sovereign' and consequently 'equal'.
- 4 The relationship between the two levels of government is marked more by tension than by collaboration. (1950, p. 3).

Corwin's conceptualization defines the responsibilities of each governmental tier, mirroring the distribution of power between the federal and state authorities as enshrined in the United States Constitution. The majority of experts in the discipline agree with almost all the characteristics he ascribed to dual federalism, barring one significant exception. As Kincaid (2016, p. 2) argues, “. As Kincaid argues, "dual federalism does not inevitably give rise to federal-state tension." Tension is inevitable in any form of government. When discussing federalism, one of the compelling factors is to minimize the tension and prevent conflicts. In some cases, tension occurs occasionally between the federal and the constituent governments.

However, dual federalism is deemed to accommodate concurrency, collaboration and cooperation. The concept based on dual federalism is that two orders of government can't practically function separately but rather complements one another. According to ("Definition of Dual Federalism", 2021, p. Parag 3), the term federalism is a political system where power is divided between a central government and regional or state governments. Authority is shared and established by the constitution.”. The latter definition is more appropriate to the contemporary dual federalism model. It balances the power between two governments. As discussed in the earlier

section, it is apparent that a significant change was witnessed in power balance and boundaries between constituent governments. This definition elucidates government authorities between state and central. For this reason, dual federalism has earned its nickname Layer Cake Federalism. This system, however, provides states a power called 'reserved power' in which the central government can't intervene.

In the dual federalism model, the division of jurisdictional responsibilities is well-defined. State governments bear primary accountability for overseeing matters pertaining to individual citizens, such as education, healthcare, and public safety. Conversely, the federal government retains authority over broader-scale issues, encompassing national infrastructure, foreign affairs, and regulation of interstate commerce. It is crucial to emphasize that, as stipulated by the United States federal Constitution, dual federalism accords equivalent levels of authority to both the central and state governments. This highlights the significance of sustaining two parallel governance systems that function concurrently and in a balanced manner, with each tier of government playing a pivotal role in addressing the needs of the populace. As Percy (2015, p. 3) argues, "The theory of DF rests on a relatively sanguine assumption that a distinct separation of powers between federal and state jurisdictions can and does materialize". This theory suggests that authority can be shared equally among different tiers of government, both national and state, enabling them to coexist harmoniously and maintain roughly equivalent powers. Furthermore, the Constitution serves as the primary point of reference during periods of intergovernmental tension. In many countries, including the United States, the Constitution provides a critical framework that formalizes the reserved powers intended to define the boundaries between the two levels of governance

In exploring instances of dual federalism, several countries adhere to a framework where individual states maintain authority over specific services and regulations within their respective boundaries. A clear example of this decentralized governance model can be seen in the issuance of driving licenses, which falls squarely under the jurisdiction of state governments. In such systems, states possess independent powers to enact laws, administer programmes, and regulate activities that directly impact their residents. This division of authority ensures that states maintain sovereignty over certain policy areas without significant interference from the central or federal government. Dual federalism thereby delineates distinct spheres of influence between the national and state levels, aiming to preserve state autonomy in areas deemed critical to local governance and administration. By assigning responsibilities like licensing to state governments, dual federalism promotes diversity in policy implementation and responsiveness to local needs, while reinforcing the principle of subsidiarity in distributing powers across different tiers of government.

A relevant example of federalism in action can be seen in the U.S. case of *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, which involved a state-level decision regarding child labor laws. Initially, the case was handled at the state level, where local law enforcement and state lawmakers were responsible for enforcing and regulating state laws. However, the case was eventually brought before the U.S. Supreme Court, as the federal government's role in law enforcement and regulation ultimately falls under its jurisdiction. This case serves as a prime example of the distinction between state and federal authority in lawmaking. At the state level, state senators are empowered to create laws that govern their respective states. However, federal laws are shaped by Congress, particularly through the Senate and the House of Representatives, which work together as key players in the dual federalism system. Both houses of Congress must engage in the lawmaking process to create laws that apply at the federal level. These laws can either apply nationwide or only to specific

states, depending on the nature of the legislation. This highlights the balance of power in the U.S. federal system, where both state and federal governments have distinct roles in creating, enforcing, and regulating laws. While state lawmakers can address state-specific issues, the federal government, through its judicial and legislative bodies, ensures that national interests and constitutional principles are upheld across the country.

Problems with Dual Federalism

Dual Federalism's structure inherently establishes separate and competing spheres of authority between central and regional governments, fostering continual power struggles that hinder national development. With distinct jurisdictions, both levels of government vie for dominance, leading to inefficiencies and wastage of resources that could otherwise be directed towards collaborative development initiatives. This persistent conflict undermines productivity and prosperity by diverting attention and efforts away from unified, coherent policy implementation essential for sustained progress and maximizing the nation's growth potential. Resolving these challenges necessitates transitioning towards a more integrated governance model that fosters stability and enhances coordination among federal and regional authorities. By aligning objectives and streamlining decision-making processes, such a framework can facilitate effective policy implementation and promote inclusive development strategies that address the diverse needs of the country as a whole.

Dual Federalism, by emphasizing distinct state-level governance and competition between states, inadvertently undermines national unity and patriotism. Rather than fostering a sense of pride in being part of the larger country, it encourages citizens to identify more strongly with their individual states. This regional focus diminishes the broader sense of national identity and

cohesion, as people often prioritize their state affiliation over national allegiance. When asked about their origin, individuals tend to identify with their state rather than the country as a whole, eroding the collective patriotism that is crucial for national solidarity. This trend poses a significant challenge to fostering a strong sense of unity among citizens, as it perpetuates a fragmented identity and diminishes the shared values and aspirations that underpin a cohesive nation. Addressing this issue requires a re-evaluation of the governance structure to balance regional autonomy with a renewed emphasis on national identity and pride, ensuring that policies and initiatives promote unity and collective patriotism across diverse states and communities within the country.

Moreover, accountability is often neglected in dual federalism. With shared responsibilities between central and state governments, each side tends to blame the other for shortcomings, creating a cycle of deflection and inefficiency. This lack of clear accountability leads to significant issues, where substantial problems persist unresolved, ultimately at the expense of taxpayers. The absence of a definitive authority exacerbates inefficiencies, causing delays and mismanagement in addressing critical public needs, and leaving citizens to bear the brunt of governmental failures. This systemic flaw highlights the need for better-defined roles and clearer lines of accountability to ensure more effective governance and the proper utilization of taxpayer funds.

Another significant issue is the persistent inequalities among states exacerbated by the federal governance structure. The central government often fails to address disparities between regional administrations, particularly evident in oversight programmes like education where states allocate varying amounts per capita, leading to substantial disparities. Moreover, federal development initiatives sometimes disadvantage smaller states with stringent qualification criteria, hindering their access despite possessing resources and expertise. Consequently, these welfare

programmes inadvertently exacerbate regional inequalities, perpetuating a cycle where certain states thrive while others lag behind in development and resources. This uneven distribution of opportunities and resources undermines the principle of equitable development across the nation, necessitating a re-evaluation of federal policies to ensure fairer distribution and opportunity allocation among states.

The dual federalism model frequently leads to judicial overload, as disputes between state and federal authorities often end up in court. This ongoing litigation over jurisdictional boundaries and the interpretation of constitutional powers places a heavy burden on the judicial system and delays the resolution of critical issues. According to Kramer, (2000), persistent legal battles over federalism-related conflicts not only clog the courts but also divert attention from substantive policy-making to legal wrangling. This diversion of resources and focus hampers the ability of both state and federal governments to effectively address pressing social and economic challenges. Instead of collaborative efforts towards problem-solving, substantial resources are consumed in prolonged legal disputes, undermining the efficiency and responsiveness of the governmental system. The continuous need for judicial intervention in federalism conflicts highlights a systemic flaw in dual federalism, where the clear separation of powers intended to provide autonomy results in frequent legal confrontations, ultimately detracting from effective governance and public service delivery.

Last but not least, state government leaders often obstruct nationalist policies. Regional governments may be reluctant to enforce national laws or actively resist specific federal mandates. When state governments perceive a conflict between national laws and state interests, they often challenge these laws in court. Even if the courts overrule the state's position, states sometimes

continue to deliberately obstruct the enforcement of national laws. This resistance creates significant friction between different levels of government, undermining the effectiveness of national policies and leading to a fragmented approach to governance. The resulting legal battles and administrative standoffs illustrate the ongoing tensions and complexities inherent in a dual federalism system, where state and federal interests frequently collide.

Solutions to challenges of Dual Federalism

The central objective of implementing DF is to decentralize governing power rather than create competing centers of authority. Administrative duties must be apportioned between the federal and state governments. The manner in which authority is allocated is explicitly outlined in the Constitution. Although federalism manifests differently across nations, the Constitution remains the sole authoritative reference and must serve as its guardian. Specialized judicial bodies are established to interpret constitutional provisions. Constitutional courts play a vital role in safeguarding the Constitution and arbitrating disputes between branches of government. Powers are explicitly delineated within the Constitution. For example, if particular jurisdictions are designated for the federal government, state authorities must refrain from interference, and vice versa. When a power falls under the category of 'residuary powers' those not explicitly assigned to either level due to the impracticality of exhaustive parliamentary enumeration states are permitted to assume responsibility. Rather than establishing two fully autonomous and independent domains of authority, as exemplified by the United States model, a more effective approach involves fostering close collaboration in the execution of constitutional responsibilities. In the Canadian context, the federal government possesses greater dominance, in contrast to the United States, where both the federal and state governments assert equal strength. To mitigate this tension, a

cooperative federalism model is advocated. This model promotes partnership and joint governance between federal and state institutions.

While state governments are undoubtedly more responsive and closer to the citizens, this should not overshadow the importance of unity and harmony within the nation. Delegating power from the central government to state governments aims to ensure that citizens' needs are heard and addressed effectively. However, this decentralization must be balanced with efforts to maintain national cohesion. The federal government has a crucial role in fostering a sense of national identity and promoting patriotism through nationalist programmes and civic education. These initiatives should be compulsory and widely enforced to instill a shared sense of purpose and unity among the populace, ensuring that while local needs are met, the overarching integrity and solidarity of the nation are preserved.

The Somali federal system suffers from a lack of accountability, as sectors often shift responsibility to one another. To ameliorate this issue, the states should be incentivized to innovate and implement robust legislative and policy frameworks. This would empower states to establish effective accountability procedures capable of resolving problems within their jurisdictions. Given the Constitution's delineation of governmental roles and responsibilities, the federal government's role should be to provide supportive facilitation of this process. The Constitutional court must play a pivotal part in adjudicating disputes in accordance with the Constitution. Consequently, an independent judiciary with sufficient authority must be established. This institution can effectively mediate between governmental entities and hold those violating laws, neglecting duties, or misusing power accountable, thereby addressing the prevailing accountability deficit. The federal government should actively encourage state governments to develop comprehensive policies and

robust accountability mechanisms at the state level. Furthermore, the federal government should lead and support state-level programmes introduced by state legislatures. This collaborative approach will significantly bolster accountability as both federal and state governments work in concert towards this shared objective.

To address the judicial overload inherent in dual federalism, a more collaborative and integrative approach to federalism is essential. Cooperative federalism, which encourages shared responsibilities and joint decision-making between state and federal governments, can reduce the frequency of jurisdictional disputes and the need for litigation. By fostering a spirit of partnership rather than competition, cooperative federalism can streamline governance processes, allowing for more efficient policy implementation and problem resolution. This approach involves creating intergovernmental councils and mechanisms for dialogue that ensure continuous communication and negotiation, minimizing conflicts before they escalate to legal battles (Kramer, 2000; Elazar, 1987). Enhancing intergovernmental relations and promoting a culture of cooperation can lead to more harmonious and effective governance, ultimately benefiting the public by reducing bureaucratic delays and improving service delivery.

Inequality and disparity are also mentioned in the problem section. This type of problem often occurs when the federal government introduces vast projects. Such projects are meant to improve the living standards of the state. The other goal of massive projects is to help the state-level government economy. Despite the federal government's huge funds available for the state government economy however all the states don't avail of this resource equally. The reason is that project destinations are pre-determined and draft programmes are developed by contractors who fail to consult with state authorities. State authorities perceive these projects as being imposed

upon them, with the associated funding serving only to persuade state leaders to enforce such initiatives. Fortunately, some state priorities and development projects introduced by the federal government are aligned. This gives rise to an imbalance, whereby states either accept funds and implement the federal programme or reject it and request the federal government to reconfigure the project to match state priorities. To address this issue, the federal government should first engage with state authorities and seek their input on projects and programmes state leaders wish to implement. This would strengthen cooperation and the relationship between the central government and the states.

Dual Federalism and Conflict Resolution

Dual federalism, also known as "layer-cake federalism," is a system that clearly delineates the responsibilities and powers of national and state governments. This model, prevalent in the United States until the New Deal era, emphasizes a strict separation of governmental functions, with minimal overlap or interaction between different levels of government. In this system, the central and state governments operate within their own distinct spheres of authority, each possessing independent and co-equal powers. The separation of powers is intended to prevent one level of government from encroaching on the other's territory and to ensure that each level can carry out its duties without interference. However, this rigid division of powers has been criticized for leading to inefficiencies and a lack of coordination between the different levels of government, particularly when addressing complex issues that span multiple jurisdictions (Grodzins, 1966). Proponents of dual federalism, like Zimmerman, (1992), argue that this clear demarcation helps prevent conflicts and ensures that each level of government can operate within its own sphere of influence without interference. However, critics such as Elazar, (1962) highlight the rigidity of

dual federalism, suggesting that it can hinder effective governance and responsiveness to complex, overlapping policy issues that require intergovernmental cooperation. The lack of collaboration in this model can lead to inefficiencies and a fragmented approach to national challenges, as state and federal governments may struggle to coordinate their efforts effectively.

In terms of conflict resolution, dual federalism presents both challenges and opportunities. The clear division of authority can reduce conflicts arising from jurisdictional ambiguity, as each level of government has a well-defined scope of power (Riker, 1987). However, when disputes do arise, particularly in areas where the boundaries of state and federal authority are contested, the rigid structure of dual federalism can complicate resolution efforts. According to Kincaid J. , (1990), the judiciary often plays a critical role in resolving such conflicts, interpreting the Constitution to delineate the precise limits of state and federal powers. While judicial intervention can provide clarity, it may also lead to protracted legal battles and a reliance on courts to settle policy disputes, rather than fostering intergovernmental negotiation and compromise. Thus, while dual federalism can theoretically minimize conflict through clear boundaries, in practice, it requires a robust judicial framework to address inevitable overlaps and disputes.

A notable illustration dual federalisms' a distinctive feature of the United States' political structure, has proven to be a valuable tool in resolving conflicts. This system, which emphasizes state sovereignty and restricts the federal government's role, has been instrumental in addressing tensions and disagreements between the national administration and individual states over time. By clearly delineating the division of powers, dual federalism enables states to exercise substantial autonomy, thus managing regional concerns more efficiently while still adhering to the

overarching national framework. This equilibrium has historically facilitated the mitigation of conflicts and fostered a cooperative dynamic between state and federal authorities.

The Constitution of the United States delineates distinct powers for both federal and state governments, creating a system designed to resolve conflicts and maintain a balance of authority. The Tenth Amendment, which reserves powers not delegated to the federal government for the states or individuals, serves as a crucial foundation for states to assert their independence and resist federal overreach. This constitutional framework ensures that while the federal government handles national and international matters, state governments retain significant authority over local issues. This division of power has been instrumental in preventing the concentration of authority, allowing states to push back against federal intrusion into their domains and fostering a cooperative yet balanced relationship between the different levels of government.

The issue of civil rights and racial segregation in the mid-20th century was a significant source of tension between the federal government and Southern states. The dual federalist model allowed the federal government to intervene and enforce civil rights laws while recognizing states' autonomy to maintain their own regulations in other areas. This delicate balance, though challenging, helped to mitigate the risk of outright conflicts and hostile encounters. By stepping in to uphold national civil rights standards, the federal government addressed systemic injustices, while states continued to exercise their authority in other domains. This approach aimed to maintain a level of harmony and cooperation between state and federal authorities, even amid profound social and political changes.

In economic policy, the dual federalist approach has enabled states to compete and experiment with different regulatory frameworks, tax policies, and economic development

strategies. This has allowed states to tailor their policies to regional preferences and needs, fostering innovation and local adaptability. Meanwhile, the federal government has maintained a more limited role, focusing on the broader economic environment without overstepping into state jurisdictions. This decentralized method has promoted policy diversity and flexibility, helping to resolve conflicts between states and the federal government. By balancing state autonomy with federal oversight, dual federalism has contributed to a dynamic and responsive economic landscape across the nation.

The rigid delineation of authority between federal and state governments within the dual federalist framework can lead to a lack of collaborative coordination, resulting in policy fragmentation and the emergence of new conflicts. This separation often impedes cohesive policy implementation and creates administrative inefficiencies. Furthermore, the unequal distribution of resources and economic opportunities among states can exacerbate regional inequalities, fostering additional sources of tension. The inflexible demarcation of powers between the federal and state levels can hinder the government's capacity to address complex, cross-cutting issues effectively, impeding its ability to respond swiftly and comprehensively to emergent challenges. Additionally, the duplication of bureaucratic structures and decision-making processes across different tiers of government can contribute to waste, redundancy, and a lack of coordinated action. Overcoming these drawbacks requires a more flexible and adaptive approach to federalism that enables greater coordination, resource-sharing, and unified policymaking. Wealthier states may attract more investment and talent, leaving poorer states struggling to keep up, which can lead to resentment and increased friction between regions. These disparities can undermine national unity and impede the overall effectiveness of governance, highlighting the need for mechanisms that promote cooperation and equitable resource allocation within the dual federalist structure.

To address these challenges, many federal systems have sought a balance between dual federalism and the need for greater cooperation and unity. In Canada, for example, the national government has played a crucial role in establishing uniform standards and providing financial support to the provinces. This approach allows the provinces to maintain significant autonomy in specific policy areas while ensuring consistency and cohesion across the country. By fostering collaboration and supporting provincial independence, Canada has managed to navigate the complexities of federalism, promoting both national unity and regional flexibility. This balanced strategy exemplifies how federal systems can adapt to meet diverse needs and resolve conflicts effectively.

In Germany, "cooperative federalism" has evolved into a model emphasizing collaboration between federal and state governments while respecting their unique spheres of influence. This approach encourages negotiation, compromise, and shared responsibility, thereby minimizing potential conflicts. By pooling their efforts, both levels of government can tackle national and regional issues more efficiently, ensuring policies are rooted in widespread agreement and tailored to meet diverse societal needs. This cooperative strategy not only enhances stability but also strengthens the governance framework by fostering ongoing dialogue and mutual assistance. It promotes a balanced distribution of powers between federal and state authorities, allowing for coordinated decision-making and effective policy implementation across different administrative levels. Overall, cooperative federalism in Germany serves as a foundation for sustainable governance, emphasizing partnership and consensus-building to address complex challenges and optimize public service delivery.

In conflict resolution, the dual federalist strategy can be highly effective in addressing disagreements stemming from significant cultural, linguistic, or ideological disparities among component entities. By clearly delineating distinct powers and safeguarding local independence, dual federalism provides a framework for managing diversity and accommodating the unique needs and preferences of various communities. This approach ensures that local governments have the autonomy to tailor policies to their specific contexts while maintaining overall cohesion within the federal system. Consequently, dual federalism not only fosters a sense of ownership and responsiveness at the local level but also promotes harmony and stability by recognizing and respecting the diverse characteristics of different regions.

The effectiveness of dual federalism (DF) as a method for resolving disputes hinges on the presence of robust institutions, transparent governance practices, and a collective commitment to the welfare of the federation. For DF to succeed, the federal government must balance respecting state autonomy with effectively addressing national priorities, ensuring that decisions are made with the broader interests of the country in mind. At the same time, states must be willing to engage in cooperation and compromise, recognizing that collective goals sometimes necessitate giving up individual preferences. This collaborative approach not only fosters mutual respect and trust between the federal and state levels but also enhances the overall efficiency and responsiveness of governance. By maintaining a delicate balance between local autonomy and national cohesion, DF allows for the effective management of diverse interests and viewpoints within the framework of a unified federal system.

Asymmetry Federalism

Asymmetrical federalism (AF) is a system of governance where different regions within a country gain varying levels of autonomy. In contrast, AF allows all units in the federal system to possess equal power and legal status. Asymmetry does not necessarily bind all federal members together but rather serves as a mechanism enabling emerging states to join together and form a federation. This type of federation offers states or countries the option to remain within the federation with equal terms. Conversely, an established country may choose to divide itself into federated units to accommodate the interests of newly formed states. One key driver for adopting asymmetrical federalism is to fulfil the demand for autonomy, as different parts of the country host communities with diverse cultures, religions, political and economic aspirations.

Asymmetrical federalism aims to address two issues: political asymmetry and constitutional asymmetry. Political asymmetry refers to the differing interests of particular communities within the federation's geographical regions. Constitutional asymmetry concerns the unequal status and institutional powers, such as legislative and executive authority, granted to different federal units in the constitution. India's asymmetrical federalism exemplifies this concept.

A crucial illustration of political asymmetry in India is the manner in which states are represented in the Rajya Sabha, contrasting with the populace-based representation of US states. As Saxena (2012, p. 3) states, the largest Indian states, such as Uttar Pradesh, are allocated a substantially greater number of seats in the Rajya Sabha (the upper house of the Indian parliament) compared to the smaller states and union territories located in the northeast region, including Pondicherry and Goa, which are each granted only a single seat. Certain Indian states, such as Jammu and Kashmir, Nagaland, and Mizoram, possess unique rights and powers enshrined in the

Constitution. Similarly, Maharashtra and Gujarat have the authority to establish dedicated development boards. These boards are responsible for allocating funds, providing facilities for technical education, vocational training, and employment opportunities within their respective states (Bose, 2000).

Spain is one of the European nations that employ asymmetrical federalism, which is particularly evident in regions such as the Basque Country, Navarre, and Catalonia. These regions, with their distinct historical backgrounds, possess robust self-governance and unique linguistic identities, granting them considerable powers, including the authority to levy and collect taxes. For instance, the Basque Country and Navarre enjoy fiscal autonomy, allowing them to manage their finances independently to a significant degree. Conversely, Catalonia has established its own police force, supplanting the national police and civil guard forces of the Spanish state (Bulmer, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2017). The asymmetrical structure of Spain's federal system recognizes and accommodates the diverse cultural and historical contexts within the country. It embodies a model of federalism that tailors governance frameworks to suit the specific needs and aspirations of different regions. By granting varying degrees of autonomy and powers to regions based on their distinct characteristics, Spain's asymmetrical federalism endeavours to strike a balance between unity and diversity. This approach aims to cultivate stability and inclusivity while respecting the unique regional identities and aspirations that shape the country's political landscape.

The Canadian Constitution demonstrates how smaller provinces in the country establish asymmetrical arrangements. While not all provinces have equal constitutional safeguards, many of these provisions aim to protect the rights of minority populations. Linguistic minority groups

commonly receive special accommodation, and provinces such as Quebec are granted unique considerations (Bodnar, 2003). Asymmetry is considered an optimal approach to addressing the diverse interests of communities seeking self-governance and independence. Smaller or less developed states can benefit from the financial support and economic development contributions provided by wealthier states, as well as the funds allocated by the central government to asymmetrically governed regions.

The Concept of Asymmetrical Federalism

The concept of asymmetrical federalism has been a central focus of academic discourse. Scholars have debated whether asymmetry in federal structures leads to secession or national cohesion. While earlier studies tended to support the former view, contemporary comparative analyses emphasize that asymmetrical federalism can, rather than posing a secessionist threat to national unity, also contribute to preventing such a scenario. The concept of asymmetric federalism was one of the earlier theories of federalism.

This scholarly field investigates remedies for fragmented states seeking to establish a cohesive unitary nation-state. The prevailing paradigm is believed to have been shaped by the traditional nationalist model, which fueled both the French Revolution and the emergence of modern federalism amidst the American struggle for independence. The concept of the nation-state was strongly championed during these revolutionary episodes. These upheavals significantly expedited the implementation of asymmetric federalism as a tool for conflict resolution and facilitating political agreements. Embracing federalism is fundamentally justified by its grounding in constitutionalism, which safeguards all individuals irrespective of ethnicity, faith, or racial identity. Asymmetric federalism is envisioned to uphold the principles of equality, liberty, and

solidarity. Furthermore, postcolonial nationalists who fought against oppressors stood against the divide-and-rule policy employed by colonial powers to play one community against another or one region against another. However, some modern nationalists have expressed grave doubts regarding the efficacy of asymmetrical federalism in harmonizing heterogeneous communities and protecting territorial integrity, contending that it may lead to secession.

Powerful states with vast populations and ample resources often dominate smaller states, pressuring them to agree to unequal federal constitutional arrangements. As colonial rule comes to an end, political elites who have maintained good relations with the imperial power take a leading part in the nation-building process. Indigenous communities perceive themselves as the sole legitimate community with the power and right to determine the form of government the state adopts. Conversely, the dominant group who have occupied the land strive to devise a suitable governing system that can accommodate the diverse interests of the communities living there. This dynamic is exemplified in Pakistan's rejection of asymmetrical federal ideas, driven by the magnitude of ethno-national diversities within Pakistani society.

Examining the case of India and Nepal's hesitance to establish a federal structure reveals that the prolonged constitution-drafting process in these two nations has yielded positive outcomes. India pursued its own distinct path, taking nearly half a century to institute asymmetrical federalism. Today, India is among the nations that employ this form of federalism, which has served the country exceptionally well. This is because India's multicultural communities enjoy autonomous leadership within their respective states. Contemporary political science research on multinational federations suggests that a degree of constitutional asymmetry is essential for establishing stable

federal states. Countries such as India, Belgium, and Canada provide instructive examples in this regard.

Asymmetry's Role in Addressing Secessionist Challenge Over Stability of the System

As we have mentioned in the introduction section, asymmetrical federalism's biggest challenge is secessionism. National minorities and their political elites build strong movements within the states. Multinational states do not settle for a successful political agreement between them and the majority political elites. The center of these two confrontations is how to control states rich in resources and recognize minority groups' cultural and political rights. AS Zuber (2011, p. 8) stresses, the asymmetry in the federal system creates a challenging connection between the two components: As the negotiation process between the central government and the nationality-based regions is not independent, the asymmetrical federal institutions prove to be unsustainable. In asymmetry, the components of the system including the center and units strive to acquire substantial authority in areas that affect economic and political rights.

Across the globe, minority communities often apprehend the loss of their cultural and linguistic identities due to the dominance of majority groups. The disparate aims of different factions impact the overall system stability. Politicians advocate for the preservation of the status quo and pursue measures to obtain equitable national self-determination. The perceived asymmetry is believed to enable interest groups to realize the aspirations of the national minority they represent. In instances like Spain, Catalan nationalists resist the notion of Catalonia being treated akin to other non-original autonomous regions within the country. (Stepan A. , 2000). Similarly, Quebec's leaders in Canada reject the notion that Quebec is treated akin to other English-speaking provinces. These types of challenges, alongside numerous others, exist globally.

Asymmetry precludes the exclusion of conflicts, although conflict primarily occurs between one or two states and the central authority. Rarely do all multinational states confront the center simultaneously; thus, both sides must compromise to maintain the system and work towards the common interests of the country. In certain instances, leaders from both sides endeavour to strengthen the relationship between multinational states and the center, emphasizing the principle of equality of all units and autonomy. For example, in Spain, officials demand "coffee for all," a sentiment that promotes asymmetries for all, not just for states where asymmetric power has historically evolved.

The federal government's primary strategy is to engage in negotiation and leverage power instruments to form coalitions through a combination of incentives and deterrents. These coalitions are characterized by institutional interests that may address the needs of all parties involved. Establishing a stable symmetrical system is a challenging endeavour, requiring collective efforts and continuous cooperation among the system's members. However, as interest-based coalitions fail to address many pressing issues, it becomes necessary to form issue-specific ad hoc alliances between multinational states. This is one of the reasons why countries like Canada, Spain, and India opt for a symmetrical system as a long-term solution.

The federalism game theory developed by Charles D. Tarlton introduces two key elements in establishing a stable federal system: the federal or central government, and the federal units. The federalism model is framed as an $N+1$ game, and this expression is used to understand the relationships between the center and the units. In the context of multinational states, asymmetrical scholars have introduced a third element to expand the game elements. In the words of Zuber (2011, p. 6), the federal dynamic framework involves three key groups of stakeholders: executive

authorities from regions with unique constitutional prerogatives, executive authorities from regions with standard constitutional status, and officials operating at the federal governance level (N distinctive + N standard + 1). All three players endeavour to safeguard their distinct interests, which are shaped by their objectives and the unique status they require for maintaining asymmetry. To ensure the functionality of asymmetry, the demands of all three stakeholders must be met. The central government and constituent states must adhere to the country's rules and regulations. The constitution should serve as the point of reference, and the federal-level constitution alone should have the final adjudicative authority in times of conflict or confrontation. National interests should take precedence, and both sides should collaborate towards unity and sustainability.

The notion of majority-minority divisions demands special attention within federal systems. Leaders of all constituent regions should focus on establishing a healthy and robust asymmetrical framework that safeguards political representation, power mechanisms, and constitutional protections for all members. The perception that certain asymmetries privilege one or two states while disadvantaging the rest poses challenges for the relationship between federal units. It is recommended that the foundational principle of asymmetry be grounded in an equitable economic sharing policy, respecting the values and cultures of members and accommodating the diversity of the constituents. The asymmetrical spirit should promote the representation of minority groups' cultural and linguistic identities, strengthening cooperation among units and facilitating mutual solutions. This approach may not prevent secession but will cultivate a fraternal environment where all parties enjoy respectful autonomy and peaceful coherence among federal units.

De Facto Asymmetry

De facto asymmetrical federalism is a phenomenon observed in numerous countries worldwide. The formation of federal arrangements often responds to diverse needs and purposes,

allowing constituent units to establish their own policies and programmes that are not entrenched in the constitution. Examining various federal systems reveals that the comprising units are not uniform in size, population, political influence, administrative capacity, wealth, economic development, climate, urban-rural dynamics, social structures, traditions, or geographic positioning. Scholars have employed these characteristics to analyze their role in shaping de facto asymmetry. Within asymmetrical federal frameworks, prosperous and sizeable regions tend to dominate decision-making at the central level. This can lead to smaller regions feeling weak and powerless, which frequently results in dissatisfaction with the system. While symmetry remains vital in balancing power and enabling effective production-sharing agreements among units, the satisfaction of weaker units should not be underestimated. Addressing the needs of these units can positively impact the relationship between the federation and its member units.

As outlined previously, fiscal capability and independence are additional elements contributing to de facto asymmetry. This correlation is linked to the geographical extent and population size of the constituent units. Prosperous regions endowed with substantial resources and political influence possess unequivocal autonomy within the federation. These resources and power enable larger regions to augment their constitutionally assigned prerogatives and typically do not rely on federal funding. Conversely, this leaves smaller units in precarious situations, dependent on fiscal federal transfer payments and thus more politically quiescent. The diversity of political cultures across the federation shapes the formation of its constituents and how they establish policies and political clout at the regional level.

In a federal system, the representation of member states is a significant issue. Poorer states with smaller populations tend to have fewer representatives in the lower legislative chamber.

However, the upper chamber ensures that regional units receive equal parliamentary representation. In Jordan (2014, p. 12) words, “the parliamentary structure exhibits disparities that lead to an asymmetrical representation of constituent units, which in turn impacts their legislative and policy-making influence. Larger units are granted a more prominent voice compared to their smaller counterparts.” The upper chamber represents a symmetrical institution where constituents hold equal representation, though the authority of senators remains limited. In contrast, key legislative debates occur within the lower chamber's sessions. In numerous instances, senators wield minimal influence over decision-making, as the lower house dominates the introduction of laws affecting all constituents equally. In such a scenario, the lower house majority often proposes policies favouring their own interests. These two chambers exemplify distinctive forms of representation, characterised as *de facto* asymmetry for the lower house and *de facto* symmetry for the upper house.

De Jure Asymmetry

De jure asymmetry refers to the legal recognition of differences between constituent units within a federation, in contrast to *de facto* asymmetry which manifests without formal acknowledgement. Both forms coexist in federations. *De jure* asymmetry arises from the acknowledgement of asymmetric constituent units that necessitate the establishment of *de facto* asymmetry. Factors such as geographic size, social and cultural diversity, population, and economic circumstances are encapsulated within *de jure* asymmetry. Scholars argue that *de jure* and *de facto* asymmetry do not always coincide but are often interlinked. Inequality in representation, political dominance, and economic disparities among units lead to *de jure* asymmetry. Given the presence of *de facto* asymmetry in the federation, finding common ground

for the units is crucial, which is where de jure asymmetry, based on legal agreements between units, becomes pivotal for the federation's stability. De jure asymmetry involves the precise definition of legal terms, with the constitution stipulating the distribution of authorities and revenues among the states. This allows each constituent unit to enjoy a degree of equal power or autonomy. The differences and special treatment are enshrined in the federal constitution. Constitutional amendments accommodate the interests of smaller constituents, who are legally recognized and provided adequate representation in the federal parliament. Asymmetrical federalism balances the larger states' political and economic power with the minority rights and political representation of the weaker states. Both de facto and de jure asymmetry play a significant role in the overall political and economic stability of the federation.

Asymmetric Federalism and Conflict Resolution

Federalism, a recognized form of governance, stands out for its effectiveness in managing conflicts and catering to the unique needs of diverse regions or communities within a larger political entity. It operates on the principle of decentralization, where power is shared between a central authority and constituent units such as states or provinces. Asymmetric federalism, gaining prominence in contemporary discourse, offers a novel perspective on conflict resolution by acknowledging and accommodating varying regional requirements within the governance framework. Unlike traditional federal models that emphasize uniformity in power distribution among sub-national entities, asymmetric federalism allows for tailored arrangements where certain regions, characterized by distinct historical, cultural, or linguistic identities, are granted specific rights and powers. This approach acknowledges the asymmetry in needs and aspirations across different regions, thereby promoting inclusivity and enhancing stability within the larger political

structure. By providing flexibility in governance mechanisms and empowering regions with varying degrees of autonomy, asymmetric federalism aims to strike a balance between unity and diversity, ensuring that governance decisions reflect local contexts while upholding the overall coherence of the state or federation.

Asymmetric Federalism involves a federal structure where individual units, such as states, provinces, or regions, possess varying levels of autonomy, responsibilities, and authority within the broader federal system. Unlike traditional "symmetric" federalism, where all constituent units have similar status and powers, asymmetric federalism allows for greater flexibility to accommodate diverse regional needs and preferences. This structure recognizes that different regions may have unique cultural, economic, or political characteristics requiring tailored governance approaches. By granting specific regions more autonomy, asymmetric federalism can address these unique needs more effectively, promoting stability and cohesion within the nation. This approach can be particularly beneficial in countries with significant regional diversity, enabling more responsive and representative governance while still maintaining national unity.

Asymmetric Federalism provides a substantial advantage in conflict resolution by tailoring governance structures to accommodate the distinct needs and aspirations of different regions or communities (Crommelin, 2001). This approach involves customized power distribution and differentiated arrangements within a federal framework, allowing for greater flexibility and responsiveness to regional dynamics. By acknowledging and empowering regions with varying levels of autonomy and responsibilities, asymmetric federalism mitigates potential conflicts arising from disparities in cultural, economic, or political factors. This nuanced approach fosters a more balanced and inclusive governance model where regions can pursue their developmental

goals while contributing to the overall unity and stability of the nation. Moreover, asymmetric federalism promotes effective management of diversity by recognizing the specific challenges and opportunities faced by different regions, thereby enhancing cooperation and collaboration across the federal system. Overall, this governance strategy not only addresses conflicts more adeptly but also strengthens the legitimacy and resilience of the federal arrangement by aligning governance practices more closely with regional realities and aspirations.

One of the most notable applications of Asymmetric Federalism (AF) can be observed in Spain's constitutional framework established in 1978. This system introduced autonomous communities (*comunidades autónomas*), each endowed with unique legal, political, and administrative structures tailored to accommodate the diverse linguistic, cultural, and historical identities of Spain's regions (Crommelin, 2001). This asymmetric arrangement was a deliberate strategy to decentralize power while recognizing and respecting the distinct identities of regions such as the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia. Each autonomous community exercises varying degrees of autonomy, including the authority to legislate on specific matters like education, healthcare, and culture, reflecting their respective regional aspirations and priorities. Spain's adoption of AF aimed to mitigate historical grievances and foster a more cohesive national identity by granting regions significant self-governing powers while maintaining their integration within the broader Spanish state. This approach has enabled the management of regional tensions and conflicts through negotiated settlements and institutional frameworks that facilitate dialogue and collaboration between the central government and autonomous communities. By accommodating regional diversity within a unified constitutional framework, Spain has sought to promote stability and inclusivity, offering a model where decentralized governance supports both national unity and regional autonomy in a complex, multi-cultural context.

The autonomy granted to regions like Catalonia and the Basque Country under Spain's asymmetric federalism has facilitated the development of distinct policies and institutions tailored to their unique needs and identities (Crommelin, 2001). This decentralized approach has played a crucial role in mitigating conflicts arising from the balance between central governance and regional autonomy. For example, the recognition of Catalan and Basque as co-official languages within their respective autonomous communities has been pivotal in addressing linguistic and cultural tensions. By granting regions the authority to legislate on matters such as language policy, Spain has fostered a more inclusive governance framework that respects and promotes linguistic diversity while maintaining national unity. This flexibility has allowed for the accommodation of regional aspirations and identities within a unified constitutional framework, contributing to stability and cooperation between the central government and autonomous regions.

The financial arrangements within Spain's asymmetric federalism, which grant varying degrees of fiscal autonomy to autonomous regions, have played a significant role in conflict resolution (Agranoff & Gallarín, 1997). By permitting certain regions to retain a larger share of their tax revenues and exercise greater control over economic policies, these arrangements have addressed concerns among regional leaders and residents regarding equitable resource allocation and decision-making authority. This fiscal decentralization has empowered regions like Catalonia and the Basque Country to manage their finances according to local priorities and needs, reducing tensions over central government interference in economic affairs. Moreover, the ability to set regional tax rates and manage revenue streams has bolstered the autonomy of these regions, fostering a sense of ownership and responsibility among local governments. This tailored approach to fiscal management has not only facilitated economic development strategies that align with regional strengths but also enhanced cooperation between the central government and autonomous

communities by respecting their fiscal sovereignty within the broader framework of Spanish federalism.

Another compelling example of asymmetric federalism in conflict resolution can be seen in Belgium's political structure. Over time, Belgium's federal system has evolved to embrace greater asymmetry, delegating specific powers and responsibilities to its regions—Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels-Capital (Belgium, a federal state, 2022). This asymmetric arrangement acknowledges and accommodates the linguistic, cultural, and economic diversity within the country. For instance, Flanders, where Dutch is predominantly spoken, enjoys autonomy in areas such as education and cultural policy, while Wallonia, primarily French-speaking, has authority over economic matters. Brussels-Capital, a bilingual region, functions as the capital and exercises competencies related to urban planning and public infrastructure. This tailored allocation of powers has alleviated historical tensions and conflicts arising from linguistic and cultural differences between the regions. By allowing each region to govern according to its specific needs and aspirations, Belgium's asymmetric federalism promotes a sense of local identity and autonomy while maintaining a unified national framework.

The creation of the Brussels-Capital Region stands as a direct response to the linguistic and cultural tensions between Flanders, predominantly Dutch-speaking, and Wallonia, primarily French-speaking, within Belgium. This region was established under the Belgian federal system to address the unique challenges posed by its linguistic diversity (Lefebvre, 2003). By granting Brussels-Capital Region distinct status and autonomy, Belgium has facilitated governance structures and decision-making mechanisms tailored to its specific needs. Brussels-Capital serves as a bilingual enclave where both Dutch and French are official languages, reflecting its role as

the capital city and administrative center. This arrangement has effectively mitigated conflicts arising from linguistic differences and cultural identities, allowing Brussels to assert its unique position within the federal framework while promoting cooperation and shared governance among Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels.

Additionally, Belgium's system of asymmetric federalism integrates elements of collaborative federalism, fostering partnerships between the federal government and constituent regions in key policy areas such as economic growth and environmental conservation. This approach emphasizes shared responsibility and cooperation, aiming to minimize tensions that could arise from a more rigid, dual-federalist framework (Belgium, a federal state, 2022). By allowing regions like Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels-Capital to have varying degrees of autonomy while engaging in collaborative decision-making at the federal level, Belgium has effectively managed to balance regional diversity with national cohesion. This cooperative approach ensures that each region can contribute its unique strengths and priorities to national policies, thereby enhancing overall governance effectiveness and responsiveness to local needs. Moreover, it promotes a sense of mutual accountability among all levels of government, fostering trust and stability within the federal system.

The cases of Spain and Belgium exemplify how asymmetric federalism can effectively resolve conflicts within diverse, multi-ethnic, or linguistically varied federal systems (Hale, 2004). By tailoring the distribution of powers and responsibilities to align with the specific needs and identities of individual regions, uneven federalism provides a nuanced and adaptable strategy for conflict management. In Spain, the establishment of autonomous communities like Catalonia and the Basque Country with distinct legal and administrative structures has helped accommodate

regional linguistic and cultural differences, reducing tensions over governance autonomy (Hale, 2004). Similarly, in Belgium, the evolution of federalism to grant varying degrees of autonomy to Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels-Capital has addressed linguistic and cultural divides between Dutch-speaking and French-speaking communities (Belgium, a federal state, 2022). This approach fosters a sense of local empowerment while maintaining a framework for national unity, emphasizing collaboration and shared decision-making in policy domains crucial to the entire federation. By allowing regions to manage their affairs according to their unique circumstances, asymmetric federalism not only promotes inclusivity and diversity but also enhances governance effectiveness and responsiveness to local needs.

Implementing asymmetric federalism (AF) presents challenges despite its potential benefits. The differentiated arrangements inherent in AF can introduce new sources of conflict, such as perceptions of unfairness or inequality within the federal system and potential secessionist sentiments among certain regions (Amin & Isharyanto, 2022). AF demands careful negotiation and balancing among regions to prevent power imbalances from exacerbating tensions or fostering hostility. Ensuring equity and maintaining national unity require continual dialogue and cooperative decision-making processes that respect the diverse needs and identities of constituent units. Effective governance under AF necessitates robust institutional frameworks that facilitate transparent communication, equitable resource allocation, and mechanisms for resolving disputes amicably. By addressing these challenges proactively and fostering a climate of inclusivity and mutual respect, AF can harness the diversity within federal systems to promote stability, responsiveness, and sustainable development across all regions.

Addressing these challenges demands that federal systems employing asymmetric federalism prioritize transparency, accountability, and adherence to legal principles. It is essential that the allocation of authorities and responsibilities be clearly delineated and well-understood by all stakeholders, fostering a shared understanding and commitment to the framework. A participatory process for modifying these arrangements must be established, ensuring that changes are made through consensus-building and respectful dialogue among the constituent units. Openness to diverse perspectives and equitable representation in decision-making processes are critical to mitigating perceptions of unfairness or inequality that may arise within asymmetric federal systems. By upholding these values and principles, federal systems can effectively manage tensions and conflicts, promote stability and cohesion while accommodating the diverse needs and identities of their constituent regions.

Furthermore, achieving a delicate balance between preserving the autonomy of constituent parts and ensuring overall stability and unity within the federation is crucial for the federal government. This balance can be achieved by establishing cooperative platforms such as intergovernmental forums and conflict resolution mechanisms. These platforms facilitate discussions and consensus-building among diverse regions or communities, fostering mutual understanding and collaboration. By promoting open dialogue and inclusive decision-making processes, the federal government can address potential conflicts and tensions effectively. Emphasizing cooperative federalism ensures that all stakeholders have a voice in shaping policies and resolving disputes, thereby reinforcing the unity and resilience of the federation while respecting the distinct identities and needs of its constituent parts. This approach not only strengthens governance but also enhances trust and cooperation among different levels of government, contributing to the overall stability and prosperity of the nation.

The effectiveness of asymmetric federalism (AF) in conflict resolution hinges not only on political and institutional factors but also on the broader social and cultural context. It is essential for diverse regions or communities to demonstrate a readiness to engage in dialogue, compromise, and collectively prioritize the welfare of the federation. Successful implementation of AF requires a shared commitment to understanding and respecting the unique identities, interests, and needs of each constituent unit within the federal system. This collaborative approach fosters mutual trust and cooperation among different regions, facilitating the resolution of conflicts through consensus-building and inclusive decision-making processes. By promoting open communication and inclusivity, AF can mitigate tensions arising from perceived inequalities or disparities among regions, promoting a more harmonious and cohesive national framework. Emphasizing social cohesion and cultural sensitivity enhances the resilience and sustainability of AF, ensuring that it effectively addresses diverse challenges while maintaining the unity and integrity of the federation.

Addressing historical resentments, ethnic friction, or aspirations for self-determination through asymmetric federalism (AF) requires the central government to confront the root causes of discord and foster a unified identity and collective vision among diverse regions or communities. This approach is crucial in contexts where unequal agreements stem from deep-seated historical grievances or cultural differences. By acknowledging and addressing these underlying issues, the central government can build trust and solidarity among constituent units within the federal system. Promoting a shared sense of national identity and common goals helps mitigate tensions and promotes stability by aligning regional aspirations with broader national interests. Effective implementation of AF in such contexts involves promoting inclusive governance mechanisms that empower marginalized communities and ensure their voices are heard in decision-making processes. By promoting dialogue, understanding, and respect for

cultural diversity, AF can transform historical grievances into opportunities for reconciliation and sustainable development, thereby fostering a more cohesive and resilient federation.

In the context of addressing regional conflicts, "asymmetric devolution" has emerged as a strategic approach where the gradual and negotiated transfer of powers to constituent units serves as a mechanism for conflict resolution. This model facilitates the customization of governance structures and responsibilities based on the specific needs and aspirations of different regions within a federal framework. By allowing for a flexible and tailored approach to devolution, asymmetric devolution aims to mitigate regional grievances and build trust in the federal system. It provides a pathway for addressing disparities in political, economic, and cultural autonomy among regions, thereby promoting stability and unity. The process involves careful negotiation and consensus-building among stakeholders to ensure that the transfer of powers is equitable and transparent. Through asymmetric devolution, governments can address historical grievances, ethnic tensions, and aspirations for self-determination by empowering regions to govern according to their unique circumstances while fostering a cohesive national identity. This approach not only enhances the effectiveness of federal governance but also strengthens the overall resilience of the federation by promoting inclusivity and responsiveness to diverse regional needs.

Examples from Spain and Belgium illustrate how asymmetric federalism (AF) can effectively serve as a pragmatic and efficient strategy for resolving conflicts within diverse, multi-ethnic, or linguistically varied federal systems. By customizing the allocation of powers and responsibilities to align with the unique needs and identities of constituent units, AF provides a nuanced and adaptable approach to conflict management. In Spain, the establishment of autonomous communities with varying degrees of self-governance and cultural recognition, such

as Catalonia and the Basque Country, has helped mitigate tensions stemming from linguistic and cultural differences. Similarly, in Belgium, the asymmetric federal structure has accommodated the distinct linguistic communities of Flanders and Wallonia by granting them varying degrees of autonomy and governance structures. These examples demonstrate how AF allows for flexibility in addressing regional disparities and grievances, fostering a more cooperative and inclusive federal framework. By empowering regions to govern according to their specific contexts and aspirations, AF not only enhances governance effectiveness but also promotes stability and unity by respecting and accommodating diverse regional identities within the broader national framework.

Effectively applying asymmetric federalism (AF) as a means of resolving conflicts requires a delicate balance between granting autonomy to constituent units and ensuring the overall stability and unity of the federation. This approach hinges on a mutual commitment to transparency, accountability, and adherence to the rule of law. It also necessitates a willingness to engage in constructive dialogue, seek compromise, and cultivate a shared sense of identity and purpose among diverse regions or communities. By empowering constituent units with tailored powers and responsibilities that reflect their unique needs and identities, AF can foster a more responsive and inclusive governance framework. However, to harness its full potential, AF demands robust mechanisms for intergovernmental cooperation, conflict resolution, and consensus-building. These mechanisms should facilitate effective communication and negotiation processes to address grievances and disparities while reinforcing the broader national cohesion. Ultimately, AF serves not only as a mechanism for managing internal diversity but also as a pathway towards strengthening the federation by accommodating regional aspirations within a cohesive national framework.

The experiences of countries like Spain and Belgium in navigating the complexities of asymmetric federalism offer valuable lessons for other federal systems grappling with conflict resolution in diverse political and cultural environments. Spain, through its system of autonomous communities, and Belgium, with its asymmetric division of powers among Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels-Capital Region, provide examples of how tailored arrangements can accommodate distinct regional identities and aspirations. By allowing varying levels of autonomy and decision-making authority based on regional needs, these countries have managed to balance unity with diversity within their federal frameworks. Such approaches highlight the importance of flexibility and adaptation in federal systems, where recognizing and respecting regional differences can mitigate tensions and foster cooperation. The experiences of Spain and Belgium underscore the significance of inclusive governance practices, transparent communication, and mechanisms for intergovernmental dialogue and collaboration. These elements are crucial for federal systems worldwide seeking to manage internal diversity effectively while maintaining national unity and cohesion.

Conflict Resolution

In today's modern era, evading conflict is an immense challenge. The conclusion of the Second World War II (WW II) saw all existing nations collaborate in establishing a robust and unifying entity representing the global community. The world had already endured the horrors of the preceding catastrophic war. World leaders were compelled to devise preventive measures and mechanisms to avert another such devastating conflict. The United Nations was founded in 1945 to promote peace and avert war. The organization's new member states agreed to renounce the deterrence doctrine that Great Powers had employed as a national policy of expansion to acquire

economic resources and influence the state-building processes of emerging nations. While numerous nations in Asia, Africa and Europe grappled to attain independence and wrest national power from colonial authorities, Africa, however, did not achieve full autonomy. The development and prosperity witnessed in Europe stood in stark contrast to the treatment of African nations following their independence.

The aforementioned dynamics did not have a significant impact on Africa, as it is a continent endowed with substantial wealth and the capability to overcome challenges that other regions have grappled with, particularly in the economic domain. Africa became a strategic interest for major global powers. The rivalry among colonizing powers to control African resources opened the door to various ideas, one of which was inciting conflicts within newly emerging African nations. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as "crisis management," a concept that scholars define as a technique employed by foreign countries to intentionally create conflict within a state in exchange for foreign aid. Africa's complex issues, such as civil war, political instability, epidemic diseases, food insecurity, and widespread poverty, left the continent with no choice but to rely on foreign assistance. The presence of the two superpowers, Communism and Capitalism, during the Cold War era placed emerging African nations in a dilemma. Hollow promises persuaded many African countries to align with different sides, and the consequence was costly as Africa became a proxy battleground. The competition between these two powers exacerbated the economic and political situations of numerous African countries. Africa lacked the support and assistance of the developed world.

The state-building process in Africa suffered from foreign intervention, which damaged nascent institutions that lacked the capacity to create an enabling environment to sustain institutional transformation.

Africa's leaders have often lacked the political will and enabling institutional and security environment required for progress. Conversely, Western nations were able to establish robust institutions in the aftermath of the Second World War. Since then, the African continent has experienced a proliferation of conflicts, with few sub-regions free from intra- or inter-state strife. This has resulted in many African countries becoming embroiled in protracted civil wars and political instability. The lack of trust, poor coordination, and limited cooperation among African nations have hampered nation-building efforts. This has provided a long-awaited opportunity for Western countries, which have already interfered in African politics. They have now seized the chance to mediate between opposing parties. The so-called International Community has taken the lead, but the hidden agenda behind facilitating conferences, peace talks, or political negotiations has been to design a governance system that enables the manipulation of African resources. Africa was not the sole victim of such policies, as many European and Asian countries have also suffered from similar agendas.

One thing common to many mediation and peace negotiations is what political science scholars have termed "imposed federalism". Decentralization has been employed as a tool of conflict resolution. This form of federalism is designed to dismantle central governments and subdivide countries into smaller states reliant on the support of international organizations. The key actors in this process are the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. These two institutions impose stringent financial conditions and regulations that no African country can implement. The

objective is to utilize the limited funds guaranteed to African nations as a means of controlling the decisions of African leaders. The aim is to exploit the vulnerability of those countries. This type of policy impoverishes African people, fuels high inflation, increases unemployment, and ultimately fosters political instability leading to violent conflict and potential civil war. The current situation in Somalia represents a prime example of this dynamic. Having outlined a broader picture of how conflict emerges in nations and who benefits from it, the second section will explore the concept of conflict resolution and the process to be followed when addressing conflict.

Defining Conflict Resolution

Conflict is defined in the following words by Udez (2009, p. 5), “the notion of conflict originally referred to overt actions such as combat, attacks against opponents, or confrontations with adversarial forces. However, the contemporary understanding of the term also encompasses exhibiting animosity towards others or sustaining significant differences in perspectives.” Conflict management begins with the ability to manage one's own inner conflict. Developing this skill enhances one's success in influencing others and impacts how opposing parties behave. Experts emphasize the importance of managing self-conflict, as this is necessary to develop the ability to assist others in conflict resolution.

Having defined conflict, I will now move on to discuss conflict resolutions in general. According to, Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (2003, p. 8) conflict resolution is “Conflict resolution encompasses a range of methods designed to constructively address the underlying issues that drive conflicts, with the aim of bringing them to a conclusion. This approach differs from conflict management or transformation strategies.” In this context, conflict resolution refers to a process for addressing deep-rooted conflicts. The aim is to modify the conflict structure by

working on the conduct and perspectives of opposing parties, thereby establishing a supportive environment where all feel valued and respected. Scholars Christopher and Michael (1996, p. 21) put it this way, “a conflict resolution that is accepted by both parties, can be sustained over time, and fosters a constructive and positive relationship between previous adversaries; as well as the approach or process through which such an outcome is achieved.” Academic opinions have long been divided regarding the scale and duration of conflicts. Some scholars view conflict resolution negatively, arguing that avoidance is the optimal strategy. Conversely, others believe conflicts are temporary phenomena that can be permanently addressed through appropriate skills and knowledge. Best (2005) summarizes his views on conflict:

that conflict resolution inherently suggests a final resolution, where the parties involved in the conflict are mutually satisfied with the terms of the settlement, leading to the genuine cessation of the conflict. The author contends that certain disputes, particularly those centered around resources, can indeed be permanently resolved (p. 94).

To succeed in resolving a conflict, it's necessary to manually address the basic needs of the opposing parties. The fear and mistrust have to be removed. As Best (2005) highlights, maybe “non-resolvable conflicts and can at best be transformed, regulated or managed” (p. 95). The following part will focus on conflict management, which is quite identical to conflict resolution.

Conflict Management

From a management viewpoint, addressing conflict is regarded as a long-term endeavour that typically cannot be resolved promptly. Managers may find it more straightforward to oversee individuals, as they are tangible entities. However, the management approach's shortcoming is its failure to directly address the root cause of the problem, instead opting to mitigate or control the conflict. Best (2005, p. 95) advocates this concept and portrays conflict resolution as a process

intended to mitigate the harmful and destructive facets of conflict through various interventions, and by directly engaging with the parties involved. Conflict management is not merely about lowering conflict levels or controlling involved parties; rather, it aims to address conflict constructively at various stages. Furthermore, it plays a crucial role in preventing conflict by equipping parties with advanced skills and knowledge, enabling them to adopt a proactive approach. Conflict management extends beyond areas such as conflict limitation, containment, and litigation, with some scholars also emphasizing the importance of conflict prevention. According to Burton (1990, p. 57), “conflict prevention” as the containment of conflict through the implementation of measures that cultivate environments where cooperative and mutually valued relationships guide and regulate the actions of the conflicting parties.” The conflict management concept indicates the inevitability of conflict, however with the right tools most conflicts can be tackled.

Federalism and Conflict Resolution

Federalism, as a system of governance that divides powers between national and sub-national governments, offers a robust framework for managing and resolving conflicts. One of the primary contributions of federalism to conflict resolution is its ability to accommodate diverse groups within a unified political structure. By granting regional autonomy and allowing local governments to exercise significant control over their affairs, federalism can address the specific needs and aspirations of various ethnic, linguistic, or cultural groups. This decentralization helps to mitigate feelings of marginalization and exclusion, which are often sources of conflict. Watts R. , (1999) highlights that this accommodation of diversity can prevent the escalation of tensions and foster a sense of inclusion and representation.

Moreover, federalism offers crucial institutional mechanisms for negotiation and cooperation among various levels of government, which are vital for resolving conflicts effectively. Platforms such as intergovernmental councils, committees, and conferences enable representatives from both national and regional governments to engage in discussions and work together to address issues. These formal and informal channels of communication foster dialogue, allowing for collaboration and compromise, which helps prevent conflicts from escalating into more severe disputes. According to Elazar (1962), these institutionalized interactions play a key role in maintaining harmony within a federal system. By providing structured opportunities for dialogue, they create avenues for governments at different levels to express concerns, find common ground, and resolve disagreements through peaceful negotiation rather than confrontation. This system of cooperation not only ensures that conflicts are addressed promptly and constructively but also strengthens the relationships between different levels of government, promoting a more cohesive and functional federal structure. In this way, federalism's institutional mechanisms serve as a vital tool for conflict prevention, helping to maintain stability and cooperation among diverse political entities while promoting efficient governance at both local and national levels.

Federalism also encourages judicial mechanisms that are crucial for resolving conflicts arising from jurisdictional ambiguities and constitutional interpretations. A robust and independent judiciary plays a central role in arbitrating disputes between different levels of government, ensuring that the balance of power is upheld and that the federal system's rules are consistently followed. By offering a legal framework for resolving conflicts, the judiciary helps prevent intergovernmental disputes from escalating and becoming insurmountable. As Riker (1987) points out, the judiciary's role in interpreting constitutional provisions and adjudicating conflicts is fundamental to effective conflict management within federal systems. This judicial function not

only provides clarity in cases where the distribution of authority is unclear but also maintains the integrity of the federal system by ensuring that all levels of government operate within the boundaries of the law. The judiciary's ability to resolve disputes impartially and based on legal principles reinforces the legitimacy of the federal system and helps sustain cooperative relationships between different levels of government. In this way, federalism's judicial mechanisms serve as a critical tool for maintaining stability and resolving conflicts efficiently, thereby ensuring that the federal structure functions smoothly and that intergovernmental disputes are settled fairly and effectively.

Finally, federalism fosters a culture of negotiation and compromise, which is essential for sustainable conflict resolution. The inherent need for different levels of government to cooperate and coordinate their activities encourages a political culture where negotiation and compromise are valued. This culture is critical for managing conflicts in a way that all parties can accept. Stepan A. , (1999) argues that the success of federalism in resolving conflicts depends significantly on the willingness of political actors to engage in constructive dialogue and seek mutually acceptable solutions. Thus, federalism not only provides structural mechanisms for conflict resolution but also promotes the development of a cooperative political ethos that underpins effective governance and conflict management.

In the past three decades, federalism has been employed as a tool of conflict resolution on many occasions across the world. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the narrative of conflict seemed to have changed. Established evidence indicates the proliferation of intra-state conflict which is rooted in linguistic diversity, religious and ethnic escalated the conflicts (Kaldor, 2012). These intra-state conflicts have obligated scholars to search for new skills and tools to tackle

and resolve different types of conflicts. Since the nature of the conflict differs, in this part of the study we are discussing conflicts related to religious, ethnic and linguistic diversity. Most of these issues occur in an environment where minority communities feel a threat and seek political and cultural rights. Such Scenarios are extremely complicated; it needs sophisticated conflict management expertise and skills. The main goal of resolving the conflict is to satisfy different parties' needs and sustain territorial integrity. Federalism, which scholars recognize as political decentralization, is considered a perfect tool enabling to accommodate different interests and needs of both minority and majority groups. The Application of this system guarantees minority groups limited control over their own economic political and social affairs while social cohesion and state integrity remain unchanged (Anderson, 2018).

Since intra-state conflict is interpreted as a civil war on many occasions, it's the fight between different groups within one country. The significance of employing federalism to meet the demands of opposing parties appeared to be an effective experiment. As the scholars in this field argue, political decentralization not only ensures resolving conflicts but also created a conducive environment where communities can live in harmony and brotherhood. This system provides minority groups protection, prevents territorial integrity and maintains political stability. While the experiment (federalism as a tool of conflict resolution) has shown a glimpse on many occasions, it has become IC's ideal conflict-resolving mechanism. Federalism attracted peacebuilders and it has proven that it facilitates effective elements that contribute to the state-rebuilding and democratization.

On the other hand, federalism is widely regarded as an effective means for managing modern world conflicts, providing a framework for accommodating diverse interests within a

political system. However, other studies have shown that decentralization and alternative conflict-resolution mechanisms yield mixed results (Anderson, 2018) . Despite this, there is a growing body of literature supporting the success of decentralization in addressing conflicts and political instability. Research indicates that political decentralization offers mechanisms that can transform and prevent conflicts, making it a popular approach globally. The evolution of federalism as a conflict resolution tool has been significant, with federal systems being implemented in various contexts to address and mitigate violent conflicts. This approach has produced tangible outcomes in many regions, where the implementation of federal structures has led to the cessation of violent conflicts and the establishment of more stable political environments. The success of federalism in these instances highlights its potential as a robust framework for conflict management, offering flexibility and accommodation that can address the root causes of political and social unrest.

Defining Federalism

Defining federalism remains a challenge. The reason is, that the term has been employed in many different contexts. This evidences that the term is used differently in a variety of countries. It's a tool that allows communities with different backgrounds to design suitable governance systems. It corresponds to the diversity and needs of scattered minority groups within one state. Federalism is mainly referred to as guaranteeing autonomy within the federal system. In contrast, federalism is considered a system that transfers power from the central to the lower level of federal member regions. There are concepts that consider federalism as shared power and rules between central government and states. According to Bulmer (2017, p. 1), federalism can be conceptualized as a constitutional framework that distributes power across multiple layers of government. This enables federated entities to exercise substantial, constitutionally safeguarded autonomy within

certain policy fields, while also partaking in shared governance structures predicated on mutually agreed-upon protocols in other areas. Bulmer's definition touched on power sharing and agreed rules, these two elements are crucial in the state-building process. The satisfaction of minority groups and granting political will create a functioning system. Bulmer further elaborates federalism as a system that establishes a constitutionally specified division of power between different levels of government.

Different countries have different types of federalism which are designed based on local communities and groups within the country's political desires. For example, Pakistan has a two-level federal governance system; central and regional. The power is divided between the two levels of the government. In some cases, the federal government has three layers of the governance system. South Africa is a country, which fits this example. In some cases, you find a very complicated form of overlapping territorial and linguistic federalism for example Belgium (Bulmer, *Federalism: International IDEA Constitution-Building Primer* 12, 2017).

Federalism represents a system of governance where power is constitutionally divided between a central government and subordinate political units like states or provinces. This structured allocation of authority enables each level of government to exercise a degree of autonomy within their respective jurisdictions, while collectively functioning within an integrated national framework. Such an arrangement can yield benefits, such as fostering local responsiveness and innovation, as well as potential challenges, such as coordinating policies and resolving disputes between the central and constituent governments. Overall, federalism embodies a complex and nuanced governance model that endeavours to balance the principles of decentralization and national cohesion. According to Elazar, (1962), federalism is characterized

by a “combination of shared rule and self-rule” where sovereignty is constitutionally divided to ensure both unity and regional autonomy. This structure is designed to balance the need for a strong central government with the desire for localized self-governance, allowing for diversity and regional differences within a single political system.

Moreover, federalism seeks to provide a framework for managing conflicts and accommodating diverse populations by decentralizing political power. This decentralization aims to bring government closer to the people, enhance democratic participation, and improve the responsiveness of government to regional needs (Riker, 1987). In theory, federal systems can help manage complex societies by enabling different regions to tailor policies to their specific contexts while maintaining overall national cohesion. The effectiveness of federalism, however, depends on the clarity of the constitutional arrangements and the willingness of various levels of government to cooperate and share power equitably.

Federalism allows distinct communities to maintain their territorial boundaries and exercise constitutionally guaranteed powers while remaining part of a unified federal system. Matters of common concern are addressed under federal laws, with shared powers and responsibilities clearly defined in the federal constitution. The federal government operates effectively through the complementary functions of its key components: the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, along with institutions at various levels of government. Each branch and institution play a specific role in supporting the overall governance structure, ensuring that regional and community-specific issues are addressed efficiently. When conflicts arise between different levels of government, the supreme judiciary steps in to adjudicate disputes, ensuring adherence to the constitution and fair resolution. This judicial oversight is crucial for maintaining the balance

of power and upholding the rule of law within the federal system. Through this structured approach, federalism provides a robust framework for governance that can manage diversity, accommodate various interests, and ensure smooth governmental operations even in times of dispute. This system of shared governance promotes cooperation and stability, enabling effective management of complex societal needs.

Having defined federalism, now we look into its effectiveness in addressing conflicts. The term has always been praised as the best conflict resolution strategy. As Anderson (2018, p. 4) argues, “the potential to mitigate grievances and cultivate enhanced cooperation between marginalized minority populations and the central government.” Forming regional parliament and enabling minority groups autonomy to exercise power over certain areas, such as social-economic, political and cultural establishes a sustainable system. In the federal system, groups can work on eliminating discriminatory policies and fear of social asymmetry that triggers conflicts. Regional representatives remain the only hope in the federal system that alleviates minority group spiration and eases the tension between empowered minority federal governments. An example fitting this transformative device can be found in Somalia where the country has been in perpetual civil war for almost three decades. Decentralization contributed little to Somali conflicts. The conflict was not eliminated but reduced to some extent. Another example can be found in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia, in this scenario, decentralization was employed to eradicate ethnic conflicts. Somalia’s case is different from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia. There is no ethnic-related conflict in Somalia. The Somali conflict is more complicated, and scholars are still struggling to understand the reason why neither decentralization nor unitary efforts are helping the Somali conflict to end. There are conflicting views coming out of study fields. Some are arguing that the reason decentralization is not working for Somalia is because the system, itself is alien to

Somali people and it did not come through a voluntary agreement among Somali people thus Somali people recognize it, as an imposed system. While other scholars simply believe that Somali people are homogenous and the conflict in Somalia has been exported. Some others believe it's caused by foreign agendas.

On the other hand, the Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia conflict were deeply rooted in an ethnic-related conflict, which destroyed social relations and trust among ethnic groups. IC introduced decentralization and a power-sharing mechanism to resolve conflicts. After decades of decentralization in many countries, those countries continue to struggle to achieve democracy. The only change that took place is that conflict is reduced substantially. This raises questions over decentralization and power-sharing effectiveness in fully eliminating conflicts. One of the objectives of this study is to understand why decentralization in some cases failed to become an effective device, not only to end conflicts but also to prevent them.

Political Negotiation

The phenomenon of foreign involvement in political negotiations, particularly through international mediation, peacebuilding, and state-building, has been widely studied. International mediation is often regarded as a vital tool in conflict resolution, where third-party mediators facilitate dialogue between disputing parties. Bercovitch & Houston, (1996) emphasize that the effectiveness of mediation largely hinges on the mediators' impartiality and leverage. They argue that mediators can significantly influence the dynamics of negotiations by introducing new perspectives and potential solutions that conflicting parties may not have independently considered. By altering the negotiation framework, mediators help parties find common ground

and explore innovative approaches to resolving their disputes, thereby enhancing the chances of achieving lasting peace and stability.

In the realm of peacebuilding, the international community's role has significantly evolved over the past few decades. Paris, (2004) argues that peacebuilding efforts now encompass not only the cessation of hostilities but also the establishment of sustainable political and economic structures. However, the success of these initiatives often depends on the degree of local ownership and the adaptability of foreign frameworks to the local context. The imposition of external models of governance and development without sufficient consideration of indigenous cultures and practices can lead to resistance and eventual failure. Therefore, peacebuilding strategies must be sensitive to the local environment, ensuring that foreign interventions are supportive rather than prescriptive. This approach increases the likelihood of creating lasting peace by fostering systems that are both resilient and culturally relevant, addressing the unique needs and dynamics of the post-conflict society.

State-building, which frequently intersects with peacebuilding, centers on the reconstruction of governmental institutions and the promotion of political stability in post-conflict scenarios. Fukuyama, (2004) highlights the dual nature of external state-building efforts, noting that while they can supply essential resources and expertise to aid the recovery of war-torn states, they also carry significant risks. One such risk is the potential to create dependency, which can stifle the development of autonomous local governance. Another concern is the possibility of undermining the legitimacy of local authorities, which can erode trust and hamper efforts to establish stable, self-sustaining governance structures. The challenge lies in striking a delicate balance between offering necessary support and respecting the sovereignty of the recovering state.

Ensuring that local authorities are empowered and perceived as legitimate by the population is crucial for long-term stability and success. Effective state-building should aim to strengthen local institutions and enhance their capacity to govern independently, rather than imposing external solutions that may not be sustainable. Therefore, the approach to state-building must be carefully calibrated to provide adequate support while fostering an environment where local authorities can gain legitimacy and effectively manage their own affairs. This balance is essential for creating resilient states that can maintain peace and stability without perpetual external intervention. The ultimate goal should be to develop robust local institutions that can uphold governance and stability, ensuring a sustainable recovery and long-term peace.

The effectiveness of foreign involvement in peacebuilding and state-building is significantly influenced by the geopolitical interests of the intervening states. Doyle & Sambanis, (2000) highlight that such interventions are often driven by the strategic interests of the interveners, which can sometimes conflict with the objective of achieving lasting peace. For instance, prioritizing stability over democratic processes might lead to short-term peace but can undermine democratic consolidation and long-term peacebuilding efforts. This duality underscores the complexity of foreign involvement in political negotiations, where altruistic motives are frequently intertwined with strategic considerations. The interplay between these motives can result in interventions that, while aiming to foster peace, might inadvertently hinder the development of sustainable political structures. Therefore, a nuanced understanding of both the local context and the interveners' objectives is essential for the success of such initiatives. Balancing strategic interests with the goal of long-term peace requires a careful and informed approach to ensure that interventions do not inadvertently perpetuate instability.

The success of international mediation, peacebuilding, and state-building is significantly shaped by the timing and context of interventions. As Lund (1996) suggests, early interventions in conflicts can prevent escalation and reduce the overall cost of conflict resolution. In contrast, interventions that occur late in the conflict cycle, even with substantial resources, often face challenges in achieving sustainable peace due to entrenched hostilities and deep-seated grievances. The unique nature of each conflict requires a tailored approach that considers the specific historical, cultural, and socio-political factors involved. Effective strategies must recognize and address these underlying causes to promote lasting peace. By taking into account the distinct characteristics of each situation, mediators can design interventions that are more likely to resolve conflicts and foster enduring stability. This nuanced understanding of the complexities involved is essential for crafting solutions that go beyond superficial fixes, aiming instead to address the fundamental issues that drive conflict.

Political negotiations have different motives, objectives, circumstances and occasions. In general, political negotiations are categorized at national and international levels. In this part of our study, our emphasis will be on the international level. When we say international level we mean, 'International Communities' (IC) involvement in peace talks and the facilitation it provides state-building dialogues. In the past five decades, there have been global efforts in which world leaders advocated for what the contemporary world describes as millennium goals. These goals were introduced and put into the draft agendas of peace talks. The state-building process is a very fragile process. Opposing parties are very skeptical of the mediators' role, which poses a threat to the entire efforts. The way facilitators approach the opposing parties is key to the success of the talks. Looking into the literature, we realize that IC domination in peace talks has seemed to be the reason for the failure of many dialogues. Established studies indicate that heavy IC

involvement in negotiation talks diverts negotiators' free will (Anderson, *Decentralization as a Tool for Conflict Resolution*, 2018). State building has become one of the leading priorities for IC. It's believed that this is one of the strategies used to influence the state-building process. The goal is to form an ideal regime that can service the strategic interests of key agents facilitating the peace talks. IC understands that state-building is broader and more complex than their conventional work in facilitating conferences. As Fritz and Menocal (2007, p. 4) highlight, international donors have increasingly participated in efforts to construct state institutions, as demonstrated by the expanding breadth of initiatives implemented across a variety of settings, encompassing Afghanistan, Iraq, and numerous countries situated in Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, the Pacific region, and Latin America.

The IC's manipulation of agenda-setting negatively affects the local communities' political desire to actively participate in the state-building process. Literature shows that this has happened on many occasions. As Tull (2010, p. 2) stresses, "the role and agency of local actors are often ignored, partly because external state-builders tend to construe reconstruction as a top-down process, partly because they assume that donors and domestic actors have a shared understanding of reconstruction goals and strategies". Tracking back to how the societies in the medieval period successfully established the first democratic states, we realize that coming together and deciding the future was key for successful political negotiations. One most important lesson learned from this iconic example is the significance of social contracts in the state-building process. In the words of Nyamaka and Mwita (2011, p. 3), "social contract theory focuses on the voluntary agreement of individuals to create a government. It reflects an unwritten understanding within a state about the roles, rights, and responsibilities shared by the state, governing authorities, and citizens."

The success of the state-building process depends on opportunities provided to the negotiators. This is very key as it permits both elite groups and other parties of the communities to negotiate on the best governance system that can accommodate both sides' interests. According to Tull (2010, p. 3) this can only be expected, "after the withdrawal of external interveners, a stable peace is unlikely to take root if the domestic players can't agree on the structure of the state and the rules that should regulate public affairs". One common outcome of most of the political negotiations was federalism. Since the trust and confidence of the negotiators have been lost, IC's only proposal is decentralization. The goal is to devolve power and protect minority groups' interests to avoid future violence and misuse of power.

Billions of donor money were invested in institutional building, economic infrastructure, education and environmental protection. In many cases, such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Cyprus, Somalia, and Bosnia Herzegovina, count as some of the countries employed in this imposed governance system. If local people have little to say in the state-building process therefore there's a likelihood of violence reoccurring shortly. Mediators' involvement in peace talks must be only limited to creating a conducive environment where opposing parties' doubts are eliminated. The goal should be to build trust and confidence among negotiators. This will not only address mistrust among the negotiators but also paves the way for building a sense of sustainable peace and lays a strong foundation for any outcome of the peace talks. We all agree that mediation is not an easy task, however its paramount importance is to remain impartial throughout the process.

There are series of discussions on the procedures to follow when a third-party mediator is sought to resolve conflicts peacefully. For all peace talks to bear fruitful negotiations, all parties or groups must work together. This prevents having a dysfunctional conflict and most likely a

situation wherein all parties may feel that negotiations will lead to a deadlock. Different circumstances demand unique techniques and processes to resolve political instability, specifically when the question pertains to the state-building process. According to (Devon, 2018, p. para 10), the negotiation process entails five distinct phases, each of which must account for pivotal components essential to successful negotiation. These include the lucidity and efficacy of communication, the nature and caliber of relationships between the parties involved, the availability of alternative solutions or options, the perceived validity of the conflict, the underlying interests of each party, and the degree of dedication each party manifests toward attaining a resolution. Ade (2019, p. 11) puts the political negotiation process in this way, Political negotiations possess unique procedural characteristics that distinguish them from other negotiation contexts. Two key features stand out: the dynamic interplay between public and private communication modes, and the emphasis placed on formalized, written agreements. The following section explores Ade's political negotiation framework, assessing its efficacy in promoting constructive political dialogue and outcomes.

Political Negotiation Process

1. Public And Private Communication

In this part, we emphasize the role of communication in creating a friendly environment for both opposing parties and mediators. In politics, negotiators' first step should necessitate building confidence among negotiators. Facilitators on different levels are required to have this in mind. On the other hand, opposing parties convey their arguments and propositions in a calm manner where counterparts feel respected. Negotiators' engagement with the media is key. This sends a positive gesture to the public and citizens who are represented in the talks. It also builds

the confidence of counterparts, as it brings opposing parties closer to the solution. Using media also provides the public to react to the negotiation process. For example, during the United Kingdom (UK) Brexit negotiation in 2016 and 2019, many media outlets played a positive role in calming public sentiments. Regular media updates prepare the public for accepting the anticipated outcome of any political negotiation. Another advantage of using the media is, that it allows negotiators to foresee the future and welcome public views on the matters on the table. This opens up new ideas and recommendations from the public that may offer optimum solutions to the matter. In this case, if peace talks are kept private, it will be very hard to persuade the public to agree with peace terms, especially when the matter affects the future of coming generations.

In a very unique circumstance, there is a need for private talks. In this regard, political negotiators can position themselves in a situation that permits them to influence counterparts and increase pressure on the opposing side. Communicating behind the scenes brings more solution-oriented negotiations. As Mansbridge and Martin (2013, p. 14) explain, “political negotiations are more likely to yield effective outcomes when they occur in private settings, which encourage reflective deliberation rather than ostentatious conduct.” Centralizing talks gives negotiators independence from the public who may eventually be affected by the outcome. In the western world, it is common for negotiators to play double standards. On one side they show they are collaborative and solution-oriented while they proactively remain tough. A classic example of this scenario is how former British foreign minister Boris Johnson pretended to be useful for UK Brexit talks.

2. Written Agreements

A written agreement is key for both record and reference in case one party violates the terms of the agreement. All kinds of written agreements provide a smooth path for implementing agreements. Agreements vary from simple business contracts to political agreements such as declarations, executive orders or international politics and resolutions. In writing agreement, specifically political context distinct from other contexts. Language setting is very important. In most cases, avoiding ambiguous terms simplifies the implementation process. In the contemporary era, mediators' seat with negotiators to prepare the common ground for opposing parties. This also plays a vital role in resolving key issues that mostly cause deadlocks. The tone of the drafts is required to be designed in a form that reflects the common purpose of the talks. This also reveals mediators' experience in the political negotiation process and the impartiality of the team. For Example, the Dayton agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina which is drafted by contracted international experts, did not provide much of what the Bosnia community expected. The impact of this agreement on political, economic, and security remains apparent. The Bosnian community has yet to get political representation, the unemployment problem still exists and security in the country remains fragile (Cox, 2001). Many believe that one of the reasons why political negotiations facilitated by IC fail, is due to the conflict of interest among representatives of IC. This type of scenario affects the outcome of the talks and sometimes imposes a governance system that may not be suitable for the negotiators. Another good example is imposed federalism on Somalia. Somalia's current governance system was introduced at the Eldoret Conference in Kenya. The outcome of the peace talks was influenced by IC and local people's views were simply ignored. Today, Somalia's federalism is problematic and the source of all the problems in the country. It is a unique and complicated system that poses a threat to national unity and the country's trajectory to development. A professionally written agreement based on non-intervention can yield

sustainable peace and development. In many cases, the developed countries and the West play the fair game policy when matters are related to a Western country and is partial when mediators deal with non-Western countries, especially those in Africa and Asia.

3. Political Negotiation Continuum

Political Negotiations as the term indicates is a continuous business. Normally, there is ongoing negotiation in everyday business whether it's corporate companies to the high-level international arena. All the negotiations don't demand or lead to a written agreement, for instance, one may see top leaders of the different countries meet and informally discuss matters. This is the kind of sideline meeting which is at high-level international talks mostly discussing is policy. Other continuous political negotiations include lawmakers discussing bills and climate change or advocacy groups having political events with top world leaders in an effort to persuade them to reduce carbon and promote environmental protection policies. Since political negotiation is continuous as mentioned, it's significant to have guiding political-cultural negotiation. When matters discussed are related to the issues affecting global security, such as nuclear deals, it's desirable to determine a certain cutoff point on the continuum. For example, Iran and North Korea's nuclear talks have yet to produce a political agreement in which both countries and IC agree on the trustworthiness of Iran and North Korea with nuclear power and how these two countries can benefit from nuclear energy to provide better services for their citizen. On the other hand, IC can also benefit from Iran's oil and establish trade relations with Iran. Continuous negotiations mostly bring negotiators closer to the solutions. In the following section we look into negotiation steps.

Negotiation Stage

Since we have discussed the negotiation process in the previous section, now we are turning to the negotiation stage which is the channel for the negotiation process. Negotiation stages take different shapes and prove to be a tough task to achieve. Normally, negotiations about corporate business, trade and marketing pose fewer challenges. In contrast, negotiations related to violent conflicts such as military and affecting sovereignty demand longer processes and tougher stages. Negotiation stages take the following steps:

1. Preparation

Preparing adequately for negotiations requires consolidating all necessary resources and skills beforehand. Successful negotiation outcomes hinge on having the expertise and resources essential for effective participation in the process. Therefore, thorough preparation is crucial to navigating political negotiations successfully.

2. Agreeing to the Principles of the Negotiations

Political negotiations only start when there are disagreement or disputes over something at the national and international levels. At the beginning of the process, parties should realize the importance of negotiations for the matters they are dealing with. The parties must also acknowledge that professionally articulated negotiations can yield satisfactory results. Both sides must compromise and show that their will is to reach a peaceful agreement. On the other hand, mediators should play a positive role throughout the process and show impartiality. The agenda of the negotiations should reflect both sides' key targets and the negotiation principles must be agreed upon, before commencing the process.

3. Setting goals

Setting goals that each side targets in the negotiations, shorten the prolonging of negotiations talks. This can also save resources and achieve a less time-consuming process. When all the opposing parties meet their needs and requirements it's easier to implement terms.

4. Addressing Negotiation Issues

Issues differ but here we mean interventions and modifying pre-agreed principles. These two issues mostly occur when foreign agents want to have a stake in the outcome and pressurize both sides to agree on new terms in the negotiations. These cases are common when the state-building process is underway way, and facilitators hijack the agenda of the meeting. A perfect example of this scenario is the outcome of the Eldoret Conference in Kenya that birthed the Somalia's current governance system. Its opposing parties' responsibility to independently work and ensure to limit foreign countries' intervention in the matter pertaining to the negotiations.

Implementation Process

Implementation is the toughest part and remains to be problematic on the way forward. In some cases, particularly peace agreements, special task forces are assigned to oversee how parties implement agreed terms. Sometimes a whole mission is assigned to monitor the implementation phases of the peace talks. For instance, the UN is one of the entities that provide experts and resources to simplify the implementation terms. In some cases, implementation requires more than half-hearted support, particularly when it involves a state-building process. Such implementation may require committed resources, expertise, and willing leadership. This period of implementation may last more than one decade as the state-building process is one of the most complicated tasks.

It demands everyone's constructive engagement to achieve such a great goal. Local communities should lead the process. This will boost local communities' confidence and sense of ownership of such a critical process.

Conflicts

Conflict is a multifaceted phenomenon that can be defined in various ways depending on the context and the perspectives of those involved. According to Robinns & Judge, (2018), conflict is " a phenomenon that occurs when one entity determines that another has negatively affected, or is likely to negatively affect, a matter of concern of importance to the first entity." This definition underscores the subjective nature of conflict, emphasizing perceptions and the potential for harm or interference with interests. Jehn & Bendersky, (2003) Conflict is a complex phenomenon that can be further explored by emphasizing its involvement of interdependent parties who perceive their goals as incompatible and experience interference from one another in attaining those goals.

The causes of conflict are numerous and can stem from various sources, including but not limited to, resource allocation, power imbalances, and differing values or beliefs. Deutsch, (2014) identifies three primary sources of conflict: competition over scarce resources, disparities in power and status, and differences in values and beliefs. Competition over resources can lead to conflicts in both personal and organizational settings, as individuals and groups vie for limited assets. Power imbalances, on the other hand, can result in conflicts where one party seeks to dominate or control another, leading to resistance and strife. Finally, differences in values and beliefs often lead to conflicts as individuals and groups strive to assert their own norms and ideologies.

Conflict manifests differently across various contexts, such as interpersonal relationships, organizational settings, and international relations. In interpersonal relationships, conflicts often arise from misunderstandings, miscommunications, or differing personal needs and desires (Wilmot & Hocker, 2018). In organizational settings, conflict can stem from structural issues, such as poorly defined roles and responsibilities, or from interpersonal dynamics, such as personality clashes or competition for advancement (Rahim, 2017). On an international scale, conflicts are frequently driven by political, economic, and cultural factors, as well as by historical grievances and territorial disputes (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). Understanding the specific context and underlying causes of conflict is crucial for developing effective strategies for resolution and management.

Post conflict Societies

Post-conflict societies are characterized by the transition from a state of conflict to a state of peace, where efforts are concentrated on rebuilding social, political, and economic structures. According to Paris (2004), post-conflict societies are often marked by fragile peace agreements, where the risk of returning to conflict is high due to unresolved grievances and weakened state institutions. The primary challenge in these societies is to maintain peace and prevent the resurgence of violence. This involves addressing the root causes of the conflict, rebuilding trust among communities, and ensuring the effective functioning of state institutions (Lederach, 1997).

Economic and social reconstruction are vital for post-conflict recovery. Collier and Hoeffler (2004) emphasize that economic stability is crucial for sustainable peace, arguing that creating employment opportunities and rebuilding infrastructure can significantly reduce the risk of conflict relapse. Social reconstruction, on the other hand, involves reintegrating displaced

populations, rebuilding community trust, and fostering social cohesion. According to Muggah (2010), addressing the needs of marginalized and vulnerable groups, such as women and children, is essential for social stability in post-conflict societies. Together, these efforts ensure a comprehensive approach to recovery, promoting both economic resilience and social harmony, which are indispensable for lasting peace. By prioritizing both economic and social reconstruction, post-conflict societies can better navigate the challenges of recovery and build a more stable and cohesive future.

Effective governance and the strengthening of institutions are pivotal for the long-term stability of post-conflict societies. Fukuyama, (2004) highlights that building legitimate and effective state institutions is essential for preventing the recurrence of conflict. This includes establishing a functioning legal system, ensuring the rule of law, and promoting democratic governance. Additionally, post-conflict societies often require significant international support to rebuild their governance structures. According to Doyle and Sambanis (2000), international interventions can play a crucial role in providing the necessary resources and expertise for institution building. However, these interventions must be carefully designed to avoid creating dependency and to support local ownership of the reconstruction process.

Reconciliation and transitional justice mechanisms play a crucial role in addressing past injustices and promoting societal healing in post-conflict societies. According to Roht-Arriaza and Orlovsky (2009), Transitional justice encompasses a wide range of judicial and non-judicial measures employed by societies to address the aftermath of human rights violations and promote accountability. These measures include truth commissions, legal proceedings against perpetrators, compensation and restorative initiatives for victims, as well as structural and institutional reforms

intended to prevent future abuses. Transitional justice processes aim to provide redress to victims, restore the rule of law, and foster social cohesion. However, their effectiveness depends on factors such as political will, societal acceptance, and the extent of international support (Roht-Arriaza & Orlovsky, 2009).

International involvement in post-conflict societies is often vital for peacebuilding and reconstruction. Paffenholz, (2014) highlights that international actor, such as intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, and donor countries, provide essential financial, logistical, and technical support to rebuild infrastructure, strengthen governance, and promote reconciliation. However, these interventions can be controversial, raising concerns about sovereignty, dependency, and the imposition of external agendas. Effective international engagement demands coordination among stakeholders, alignment with local priorities, and a long-term commitment to sustainable development and peace. By ensuring that international efforts are well-coordinated and locally informed, the likelihood of successful and sustainable outcomes in post-conflict recovery can be significantly enhanced.

Peace

Peace, a multifaceted concept, is central to international relations and conflict resolution literature. Scholars define peace not merely as the absence of conflict but as a positive state characterized by harmony, cooperation, and the absence of violence (Galtung, 1964). Johan Galtung's seminal work introduced the distinction between "negative peace," which refers to the absence of overt violence, and "positive peace," which involves addressing the root causes of conflict and promoting social justice and equality (Galtung, 1969). This framework underscores

the importance of addressing structural inequalities and promoting sustainable development to achieve lasting peace.

In contemporary discourse, peacebuilding has emerged as a critical approach to fostering sustainable peace in societies affected by conflict. According to Paris (2004), peacebuilding encompasses a range of activities aimed at preventing the recurrence of violence, promoting reconciliation, and rebuilding institutions and communities affected by conflict. Effective peacebuilding requires addressing the grievances and root causes of conflict, fostering inclusive governance, and promoting socio-economic development (Paris, 2004). International organizations, governments, and civil society actors play pivotal roles in supporting peacebuilding efforts through funding, technical assistance, and diplomatic engagement.

The concept of "positive peace," as articulated by Galtung, (1964), shifts the focus of peacebuilding beyond mere absence of conflict to encompass broader societal conditions. It underscores the significance of social justice, human rights, and sustainable development in fostering enduring peace. Positive peace endeavours to tackle underlying structural inequalities and promotes equitable access to resources and opportunities (Galtung, 1969). Richmond, (2011) further emphasizes that sustainable peace necessitates addressing the root causes of conflict, such as poverty, inequality, discrimination, and exclusion. Achieving sustainable peace requires transformative processes that foster social cohesion and resilience within communities. By addressing these structural drivers, societies can build a foundation for long-term stability and peaceful coexistence. This holistic approach to peacebuilding aims not only to prevent the recurrence of violence but also to create conditions conducive to inclusive development and well-being for all members of society (Richmond, 2011).

Civil society organizations (CSOs) have become increasingly prominent in scholarly discourse on peacebuilding. They are recognized for their pivotal roles in conflict prevention, peacebuilding, and post-conflict reconstruction efforts. According to Paffenholz, (2014), CSOs contribute significantly by advocating for human rights, facilitating dialogue between conflicting parties, and delivering essential services to affected communities. Their involvement not only enhances the legitimacy of peace processes but also fosters societal reconciliation and strengthens social cohesion. By bridging divides within societies, CSOs play a crucial role in addressing the root causes of conflict and promoting sustainable peace. Their activities range from grassroots initiatives to international advocacy, influencing policies and practices that underpin peaceful coexistence and stability in conflict-affected regions (Paffenholz, 2014).

Summary

In the contemporary world, global security issues are compounded. Nations are fragmented, states are disintegrated, confidence and sense of brotherhood have been lost. Global insecurity varies in its cause and location. Problems in the West are less damaging than those in the East. As you go to the West side, one realizes the existence of a big gap between the two sides of the globe. Inequality in economic development, advanced technology and military power certainly makes the difference. This has created the two main ideologies in the 1918s and 1990s (Capitalism and Socialism) respectively which divided big powers. This division has caused military competition among big powers. The goal of the competition was to secure core areas to gain economic resources and strategic allies. This has made conditions in the East worsen. Eastern nations that were struggling with complex issues such as poverty, weak institutions, insecurity and lack of advanced education systems became prey for big powers. Newly emerging nations seeking

economic support fell for propaganda tactics that used big power and joined either capitalist or socialist groups. One of the greatest mistake some of emerging countries did was taking sides with competing powers.

The assumed independence from colonial powers did not deliver the freedom and autonomy that emerging nations anticipated. Instead, colonial powers adapted their strategies, giving rise to what modern social science scholars describe as modern colonialism or neocolonialism. Neocolonialism operates by allowing powerful nations to maintain control over weaker countries through indirect means, dictating their political, economic, and social policies. These dominant powers impose restrictive economic conditions, such as structural adjustment programmes and trade barriers, that are nearly impossible for smaller nations to fulfill. By doing so, they ensure continued dependence on external aid and resources, leaving these nations trapped in cycles of poverty and instability.

One of the core objectives of these neocolonial policies is to implement "crisis management," a concept strategically used by powerful nations to destabilize regimes that align with their rivals' interests. Through this tactic, they foster internal divisions and create governance crises that undermine the sovereignty of weaker states. Many countries have fallen victim to such practices, resulting in prolonged civil wars, weakened institutions, and, ultimately, state disintegration. In essence, these policies serve as tools to maintain global dominance, ensuring that smaller nations remain politically fragmented and economically dependent. The case of several African nations, including Somalia, exemplifies the devastating impact of neocolonialism, where external interference has fueled internal conflicts and hindered genuine nation-building efforts. This demonstrates the enduring legacy of colonialism, reconfigured through neocolonial

frameworks, and its far-reaching consequences on the stability and development of emerging nations.

Western policies and direct interventions in foreign affairs have often contributed to instability in many countries, with Somalia being a prime example. During the Cold War, Somalia became entangled in the geopolitical and military rivalry between the Soviet Union and NATO, which fueled internal divisions and external meddling. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, a new world order emerged, leaving NATO as the dominant global power. In this unipolar context, many nations in both Eastern and Western regions were compelled to align with capitalism's political and economic ideologies. This shift was often accompanied by external pressure to adopt governance systems that aligned with Western interests, particularly in fragile or conflict-affected states. One such political tool heavily promoted by Western countries was federalism, introduced as a mechanism for conflict resolution and state-building. The primary objective of federalism in these contexts was to decentralize power and distribute authority across smaller regions, theoretically fostering inclusivity and reducing centralized control. However, critics argue that federalism in such cases often served to disorganize nations further, creating fragmented regions vulnerable to external manipulation. In Somalia's case, federalism was imposed as part of international efforts to rebuild the state after decades of civil war, but its introduction failed to consider the country's unique historical, social, and political dynamics. Instead of fostering unity and stability, federalism exacerbated clan-based rivalries and weakened central governance, leaving the country susceptible to ongoing conflict and foreign influence. This highlights the unintended consequences of imposing Western political frameworks on nations with complex sociopolitical landscapes.

There has been a great debate on the necessity of employing federalism, in an effort to resolve prolonged civil war or violent conflict. The question mark is being put them on the role of foreign agents, in the facilitation process. In the past three to four decades, IC communities have facilitated uncountable peace talks between communities in the same country or interstate conflicts. Since communities already struggling with poverty, instability and disease had no option except to obey countries providing financial support. Western countries take advantage of the vulnerability of the weak state and manipulate negotiation talks. The outcome of the negotiation talks is influenced by foreign agents, blueprinting the kind of governance that would fit their interests. Today many countries across the world today have experienced such policies and governance systems imposed to function and deliver services. A good example is Somalia, Iraq, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The list can go longer as exploitation of natural resources increases and the economic conditions of the western nations are getting worse.

Looking at the literature on federalism's employment as a tool of conflict resolution, it's clear that the practicality of the term, has on some occasions produced a temporary solution to some cases. Literature also indicates that a mixture of the results, attracts politicians and scholars. Additionally, there is no debate over the effectiveness of the system, in addressing conflicts however what is being questioned is the process followed to adopt such a system. The focus is to assess whether local communities have free will and independence in the state-building process. The question being asked is, are local people voluntarily entering into an agreement to adopt a federal form of government or it was dictated and enforced by IC. Does the system imposed fit to address differences among local communities such as political representation? Does the local community have the resources, knowledge, and experience to implement such an expensive system? Another issue with the imposed federalism is ascertaining if local people perceive it as a

foreign agenda which serves the interest of those who created it in the first place created in the first place.

This study assessed the effectiveness of imposed federalism when addressing conflicts and bringing sustainable peace. It focused on Somalia as a case study, for highlighting the reason the system is failing in Somalia. The study also analyzed the role of IC in the state-building process and why federalism worked for some nations and others did not. The study also elaborated on the relationship between federalism and conflict resolution, and how one term paves the way for another as many examples are drawn in the introduction section. Since federalism is a generic term, we have highlighted different models that many countries in the world employ. The reason is to elucidate different models is to provide an overview and broader picture of what federalism and its kinds are. Types of federalism highlighted include cooperative federalism, competitive federalism, dual federalism and asymmetrical federalism.

The study identified a connection between federalism, conflict resolution, and political negotiation, illustrating their mutual influence. Intra-state conflicts, which are conflicts within a state, can escalate into civil wars, potentially leading to state collapse. Such conflicts erode trust among local populations, fostering internal suspicions. Often, IC intervene in civil wars, initiating mediation efforts between opposing parties. This marks the beginning of the conflict resolution process, during which political negotiations also take place. These negotiations aim to address the parties' political, social, cultural, and economic interests, paving the way for a new government system capable of accommodating diverse needs and fostering long-term stability and peace.

The literature reviewed further underscores the complexity and multifaceted nature of conflict, post-conflict societies, and peacebuilding efforts. Conflict, as defined by Robbins and

Judge (2018), emerges when one party perceives a threat to its interests from another, highlighting the subjective nature of conflict perception. Causes of conflict identified by Deutsch (2014) include competition over resources, power imbalances, and differing values, which manifest across interpersonal, organizational, and international levels. Post-conflict societies, according to Paris (2004), are characterized by fragile peace agreements and the challenges of rebuilding trust and institutions. Economic and social reconstruction, governance strengthening, and transitional justice mechanisms are critical in these contexts (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004; Roht-Arriaza & Orlovsky, 2009).

Peace, as conceptualized by Galtung (1964, 1969), extends beyond the mere absence of violence to encompass positive peace, which involves addressing structural inequalities and promoting social justice and sustainable development. Peacebuilding, as outlined by Paris (2004) and Richmond (2011), necessitates tackling root causes, fostering inclusive governance, and promoting economic development to achieve lasting peace. Civil society organizations (CSOs), according to Paffenholz (2014), play crucial roles in conflict prevention, peacebuilding, and post-conflict reconstruction through advocacy, dialogue facilitation, and service delivery. These efforts enhance social cohesion and reconciliation, contributing significantly to the broader peacebuilding process by addressing underlying issues and fostering an environment conducive to enduring peace.

Additionally, the literature reviewed provides a comprehensive understanding of conflict dynamics, the challenges faced by post-conflict societies, and the strategies employed in peacebuilding. It highlights the interconnectedness of structural factors such as resource competition, power disparities, and value differences as underlying causes of conflict. Post-

conflict societies are depicted as transitional phases fraught with risks of relapse into violence, necessitating robust economic, social, and governance reforms. Peacebuilding efforts focus on addressing root causes through inclusive processes and sustainable development, with CSOs playing pivotal roles in bridging societal divides and promoting long-term peace and stability. These insights underscore the interdisciplinary nature of conflict studies and the importance of integrated approaches in promoting peaceful coexistence and societal resilience.

In this closure, this study planned to critically analyze federalism further and provide recommendations by studying the prerequisites of federalism and which community can benefit from such a system. And finally, explore a suitable governance system for Somalia.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHOD

Introduction

Somalia has introduced a federal form of government to address a protracted political stalemate. The use of federalism as a mechanism to address political deadlock has become prevalent among political scientists and peace-building scholars, as it provides alternative solutions to post-conflict nations seeking to negotiate suitable governance systems that can accommodate the interests of different communities in the nation. However, after a decade of implementation of federalism in Somalia, the country has faced political impasses, sometimes encountering violent conflicts, and clan supremacy is gradually reappearing in the Somali political landscape. This study intended to investigate why federalism as a tool of conflict resolution failed in Somalia, explore prerequisites and characteristics set by political scientists for nations willing to adopt federalism, address perceived limitations of the system, and discover a suitable governance system that may be relevant to Somalia.

A hybrid methodological approach was deployed in this study, as it sought out the contradictions and different layers of meanings to understand the complexity of the social world. The study employed correlation design and was set out to investigate the relationship between the dependent variable (Imposed federalism) and independent variables (Political instability, clan-based power-sharing formula, boundary disputes, resource sharing, and constitutional framework). The ethnographic design was employed to explore how the newly adopted federal system is affecting the life of Somali people, especially marginalized groups, the injustice they are facing, and how the system is promoting hatred culture, inequality, political oppression, social discrimination, and threatening the unity of the Somali nation.

This study employed a hybrid method that combined surveys and in-depth interviews as data collection tools. The primary goal of utilizing these two approaches was to minimize the potential biases that can arise from relying on a single data collection tool. By integrating both quantitative and qualitative methods, the study aimed to enhance the depth and reliability of the findings. The survey component was designed to capture descriptive data, allowing for a broader understanding of key trends and patterns within the population. This quantitative approach provided measurable insights into the research questions and ensured a representative sample of participants.

In contrast, the in-depth interviews were exploratory and aimed to provide a richer, more nuanced understanding of the issues under investigation. The qualitative component focused on eliciting detailed responses, capturing the lived experiences, perceptions, and perspectives of the participants. The inclusion of open-ended and probing questions allowed for greater flexibility in exploring complex topics that could not be easily quantified. Leading questions in the qualitative component were carefully crafted to encourage participants to share their thoughts openly while avoiding undue influence on their responses.

The complementary nature of these two methods ensured that the limitations of one approach were mitigated by the strengths of the other. This hybrid method enabled the study to achieve a balance between breadth and depth, providing a more comprehensive understanding of the research problem. By employing both surveys and in-depth interviews, the study was able to eliminate biases and capture a holistic view of the phenomena under investigation.

This study aimed to delve into the impact of Somalia's current federal governance system on political stability. It closely examined the role of foreign involvement in establishing this system and its influence on Somali politics. Additionally, the study sought to gauge the popularity of federalism and assess its effectiveness in addressing Somalia's political deadlock. Central to this investigation was the exploration of various political dynamics that have unfolded within the framework of imposed federalism. By scrutinizing these aspects, the study aimed to generate a comprehensive understanding of how federalism has shaped Somalia's political landscape, identifying both its successes and shortcomings. The analysis considered the complexities and challenges associated with implementing federalism in a context where historical, cultural, and socio-political factors intersect. Ultimately, the study aimed to offer insights into the broader implications of federalism on Somalia's governance, stability, and future political trajectories, highlighting the complexities and multifaceted nature of Somalia's federal governance experience.

Research Approach

This study aimed to address a range of challenges in Somalia, including political instability, clan conflicts, and boundary disputes, which often arise during the implementation of federalism as a conflict resolution tool. To achieve this goal, the study utilized an explanatory hybrid approach. This hybrid method aimed to identify factors that cause federalism to fail in Somalia. By employing a hybrid methodological approach, the study was set out to understand the complexity of the social world by exploring the contradictions and different layers of meaning. This approach valued the contribution of both qualitative and quantitative methods in addressing complex research problems, such as cultural, political, and clan conflicts (Biber, 2019). This approach served as a counter-explanation to the more prevalent perspectives on the nature of

prolonged conflict in Somalia. By employing a hybrid method, the researcher examined the range of political dynamic processes taking place at the expense of imposed federalism.

Research Design

The study utilized a hybrid methodological approach to comprehensively investigate the phenomenon from multiple perspectives. This method, as described by Creswell (2016, p. 535), involves integrating both quantitative and qualitative methods within a single study or across a series of studies to gain a deeper understanding of the research problem. By combining these approaches, the study aimed to gather diverse and rich information that could illuminate different facets of Somalia's federal governance system and its impact on political stability. Drawing from John & Clark (2007, p. 79), the hybrid approach enabled the description, analysis, and interpretation of various phenomena related to conflicts arising from cultural differences, behaviors, and language dynamics over time. This integrated methodology allowed for a nuanced exploration of how external influences have shaped Somalia's federalism, the effectiveness of the governance structure in addressing political deadlock, and the perceptions of stakeholders involved. By leveraging both quantitative data and qualitative insights, the study sought to offer a comprehensive assessment of Somalia's federal system, shedding light on its complexities and implications for future governance strategies in the region.

One advantage of the hybrid methodological approach is its ability to produce authentic results and provide optimal options to the investigator. This study utilized a combination of correlation and ethnographic research designs. The correlation design aimed to measure the relationship between the independent variable, imposed federalism, and the dependent variables, which included political instability, clan-based power-sharing formula, boundary disputes,

resource sharing, and the constitutional framework. This approach facilitated a quantitative analysis of how federalism-imposed influence various aspects of political stability and governance. Simultaneously, an ethnographic study was employed to investigate cultural and political issues, focusing on the lived experiences of minority groups and disadvantaged communities under the implementation of federalism. This qualitative approach allowed for an in-depth exploration of cultural and political oppressions that these groups face. By immersing in the social and cultural contexts of these communities, the study aimed to uncover the nuanced impacts of federalism on their daily lives and political realities. Combining these methods provided a comprehensive understanding of the effects of imposed federalism in Somalia. The correlation design offered a broad statistical overview of the relationships between federalism and various political factors, while the ethnographic approach provided rich, contextual insights into the specific challenges and oppressions experienced by minority and disadvantaged groups. This dual approach ensured that the study could address both the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the research problem, leading to more robust and well-rounded conclusions.

In the section of the quantitative part, the study employed a correlation design and sought to investigate the relationship between the dependent and independent variables while the qualitative part of the study employed an ethnographic design. This study design offers an optimum tool to elucidate the ontology of Somali political instability and its relation to the emergence of federalism. This study also explored how this newly adopted governance system affects the life of Somali people, especially marginalized groups, the injustice they are facing and how the system promote clannism, inequality, political oppression, social discrimination and threatening the unity of the Somali nation.

Data Collection Tool

According to Dudovskiy (2018, p. 88), “Data collection involves the structured and methodical process of gathering relevant information from appropriate sources. The purpose is to address the research questions, validate the proposed hypotheses, and evaluate the resulting outcomes.” On the other hand, Creswell J. W (2012, p. 32) describes the data collection method as the procedure encompassing the identification and selection of study participants, obtaining their consent for participation, and gathering information through interrogation or observation of their behaviours.” Data collection was a systematic process of collecting data from all relevant sources to answer any given research question, testing a hypothesis and investigating results. The main objective of employing the data collection tool was to collect various types of data. Data may include a situation, person, problem, or phenomenon which is fit to address research questions, hypothesis and purpose of the study. Gathering quantitative and qualitative data on specific variables is a core process that underpins academic research and inquiry. This data collection exercise aims to assess outcomes and glean actionable insights, which can then inform decision-making and catalyze meaningful change. Crucially, this process facilitates a deeper comprehension of the subject matter, reveals emerging trends, and uncovers avenues for enhancement or further investigation. When a study commences, in most cases, the researcher is required to collect relevant information however in some cases, the information needed has already been presented.

Research paradigms encompass two primary categories: primary and secondary data. Primary data refers to firsthand information collected through interviews, questionnaires, and direct observation (Smith, 2018). In the context of this study employing a hybrid approach, both

quantitative and qualitative primary data were gathered separately. Quantitative primary data typically involves numerical data and statistical analysis, which aids in quantifying aspects of the research problem. On the other hand, qualitative primary data focuses on exploring meanings, experiences, and perceptions through open-ended interviews, observations, or textual analysis (Creswell, 2014). The hybrid approach allowed for a comprehensive collection of both types of primary data, enhancing the study's ability to capture diverse perspectives and insights related to Somalia's federal governance system. This dual data collection strategy aimed to provide a thorough examination of the impact of federalism on political stability, the role of foreign involvement in shaping governance structures, and the suitability of federalism in addressing Somalia's political challenges. By integrating quantitative and qualitative primary data, the study aimed to achieve a robust analysis that could inform policy and practice in the context of Somali governance.

On the other hand, secondary data is “secondary data encompasses information that has been previously published in a range of sources, including books, newspapers, magazines, academic journals, and online platforms(Dudovskiy, 2018, p. 69).” Secondary data for study involved collecting information that is already available. This type of data is considered statistically proven data. The researcher employed secondary to support and boost research credibility in an effort to establish a concrete research outcome. Secondary data was presented in the literature review part of the study. Each element and background in the literature review chapter was obtained from books, academic journals, peer review journals, internet sources and published research papers. Now we look into how primary and secondary data were collected through the hybrid approach of the study.

Qualitative Data Collection Method

The qualitative primary data of this study involved collecting unstructured data. The study employed this data collection tool to acquire rich and in-depth information. The goal was to discover the root cause of Somali political instability and its relation to Somalia's current governance system. The unstructured method was intended to explore the phenomena from different perspectives. This data collection tool permitted us to obtain information about the data on the population's opinion and how issues such as political instability are affecting them. This data collection was deemed to play a vital role in evaluating the impact of (clan-based federalism effect on political stability). According to Lunenburg and Irby (2018, p. 211), "qualitative researchers often utilize open-ended interview techniques, whereby questions are posed without providing respondents with pre-determined response options like Likert scales, multiple-choice formats, or binary yes/no choices." One of the main advantages of qualitative primary data collection was that it did not limit the interviewee's opinion on the phenomena. Participants enjoyed the flexibility of the open-ended questions where the root cause of the problems was discovered. It provided additional context and explained something that numbers alone are unable to reveal. The qualitative' flexible approach was instrumental to obtaining insights that are significant for the study. The researcher quickly adapted questions and change the setting or any other variable to improve responses. This was one of the greatest advantages of the qualitative method and the main reason the study employed a qualitative approach as part of the hybrid paradigm.

The unstructured interview method was chosen for this study because it allows for the collection of rich, detailed information. This approach enabled the researcher to conduct in-depth

interviews with a small, purposive sample, allowing participants to describe the problem in their own words and providing a comprehensive pool of qualitative data. Opting for a small sample size was strategic; interviewing a large number of participants would have required considerable time and resources, making it less practical. The purposive sampling technique was therefore selected for its time efficiency and cost-effectiveness, allowing the researcher to focus on obtaining high-quality data from a carefully chosen group of participants. During the qualitative data collection phase, themes and concepts that emerged from the unstructured interviews were identified and explored. These initial findings informed the subsequent quantitative phase of the study, where they were investigated further to validate and expand upon the qualitative insights. By integrating the qualitative and quantitative methods in this way, the research was able to capture both the depth and breadth of the issues under investigation, ensuring a more comprehensive understanding of the problem. This mixed-methods approach provided a robust framework for analyzing the complex dynamics at play, ultimately leading to more nuanced and actionable findings.

Quantitative Data Collection Method

The quantitative part of the study employed a structured questionnaire. The reason was to utilize statistical tools and describe data numerically. This approach was employed to address the research questions that are fit for the purpose of the study. The researcher evaluated different data collection tools, specifically in this quantitative part. All the characteristics were given viable considerations in order to obtain unbiased information. A quantitative data collection tool is a versatile and powerful research method. It includes self-reporting, questionnaires and observations. This paradigm is commonly used for various research purposes and to fit the

purposes, different techniques are used to gather information. Before describing the appropriate data collection tool used for this study, it's necessary to highlight common data collection methods.

Experiment: Quantitative experiments are widely applied in the social sciences and are considered highly reliable by most researchers. They facilitate efficient data collection and are particularly useful for establishing causal links, where changes in an independent variable are assessed for their impact on a dependent variable. Typically conducted in laboratory settings, these experiments are valued for their credibility, as they involve carefully selected sample units that provide trustworthy results. The controlled environment of a laboratory allows for precise manipulation of variables, thereby enabling researchers to draw clear and valid conclusions about causal relationships. By using quantitative experiments, social scientists can generate empirical evidence that supports theoretical frameworks and contributes to the advancement of knowledge within the field. This method's reliability and structured approach make it an essential tool for exploring and understanding complex social phenomena. While a large-scale experiment was not feasible on the fragile context of Somalia, the experimental technique was embedded in the structured survey questions. Respondents were presented with hypothetical governance scenario for example power-sharing formulas, resource distribution models to assess how they might respond under controlled variations. This quasi-experiment approach provided insights on the potential casual relationships in the variables in the study.

Observation: The observation data collection tool is a straightforward technique that researchers use through systematic observations. This method involves counting the number of people or instances that the researcher intends to observe within a specific population or substance present at a particular occasion, time, and location. Researchers employing this technique need

naturalistic observation skills, enabling them to discern which data are applicable and relevant to the study's purpose. This approach can be used to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. In the observation method, structured techniques are often utilized to gather quantitative data, ensuring that observations are consistent and reliable. By systematically recording and analyzing observed behaviors and events, researchers can obtain valuable insights into the phenomena under study, seeing method a versatile and effective tool in various research contexts. In this study, observation was used to understand how the clan-based power dynamics, political negotiations, and governance practices play out in the real-life situation. The researcher employed naturalistic observation during political meetings, community dialogues and government sessions, systematically recording behaviours and interactions relevant to the research objectives.

Survey: A survey or questionnaire is mostly used on both online platforms and in person. There is various software designed to collect information. Scaled questions are used to obtain data in numerical form. This technique is known for its cost-effectiveness and less time-consuming. In addition to that, checklists and scaled questions simplify quantifying the behavior and attitude of the participants. In the quantitative part of the study, the researcher employed an online structured questionnaire. The reason was that the study variables could be measured using descriptive and correlation statistics. The goal was to understand how independent and dependent variables are related statistically. A structured questionnaire was useful to extract information from a large population in minimum time and broaden the scope of context about the issue and quantify data in numeric and statistical form (Creswell & Poth, 2018). A structured questionnaire provides credible data which could be redone statistically. And lastly, the availability of different data analysis software makes data collection and data analysis work simple and accurate. An structured online questionnaire was administered to a representative sample of 136 participants across different

federal member states. The online structured questionnaire comprised of three sections. The first section captured information on the demographics of the respondents including age, gender, qualification and profession. The second section captured information of informed consent of the respondents. A brief writeup about the study was made and the respondents were required to append their electronic signatures as a form of consent to participate in the study before proceeding to respond to the other questions. The third section of the questionnaire captured information on the impact of federalism on political stability, political instability, boundary disputes, resource sharing, clan-based power sharing and constitutional framework in Somalia. The respondents were required to indicate their level of agreement with the five statements that were made under each sub-theme on a 5-point Likert scale of 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree and 5 = Strongly Agree.

Interview: In the qualitative part of the study, in-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted with purposively selected participants including political leaders, civil society representatives, and community leaders. The data was collected through the open-ended interview guide which was based on individual face-to-face interviews. This method provided an opportunity for the researcher to dig deeper into the phenomenon and explore the root cause of the problem. It enabled acquiring quality data since it had a scope of detailed questions. This method allowed the researcher to probe further. In addition to that, this method enabled the researcher to explore complex socioeconomic and political issues. The interview guide comprised of three sections. The first section captured information on the demographics of the respondents including age, gender, qualification and profession. The second section captured information of informed consent of the respondents. A brief writeup about the study was made and the respondents were required to append their electronic signatures as a form of consent to participate in the study before proceeding

to respond to the other questions. The third section of the interview captured information on the impact of federalism on political stability, political instability, boundary disputes, resource sharing, clan-based power sharing and constitutional framework in Somalia.

Since this study employed a hybrid approach, both a closed-ended survey questionnaire and an open-ended face-to-face interview were operationalized. Combining data collection methods allowed the researcher to gain a holistic understanding of the study problem as it manifests reliable results. This method also addressed the shortcomings and limitations of relying on one method. The intention was to further boosted the study's credibility and deliver useful conclusions while increasing the overall confidence and validity of the study findings. The hybrid approach helped to obtain different perspectives which were hard to capture or explain while using one approach. The researcher took into consideration that mixed methods could be costly and time-consuming however research benefits far exceed the cost.

Research Population and Sampling

The target population represents the complete set of individuals or entities that a researcher seeks to investigate, and from which broader conclusions or deductions are intended to be made. The population represents a larger group of samples, in other words, a subset of the entire group from which the sample is selected. The research population definition is determined based on specific criteria and characteristics. The research questions and goals of the study are relevant factors shaping uniqueness and type of population such as age, gender, location and health status. Running data collection on the entire population remains one study's greatest challenge due to the time and cost involves. Different sampling techniques were employed to overcome challenges that enabled guiding appropriate sample techniques to select a representative for the study population.

Finding from the sample data were drawn to make conclusions about the study population. According to Sekaran and Bougie (2016, p. 236), “the concept of “population” denotes the comprehensive collection of individuals, events, or entities pertinent to the research inquiry. It encapsulates the broader group from which the researcher aims to derive conclusions or generalizations through sample-based statistical analysis.”

The study’s target population were selected from all the FMS and the capital city of Somalia which hosts the largest population in the country. The federal system Somali adopted divides the country into five FMS: Puntland State Galmudug State, Hirshabelle State, Southwest State, Jubaland State, and Banadir Regional Administration (BRA), also known as Mogadishu. The constitutional status of BRA remains unresolved, with ongoing discussions in the Somali federal parliament to determine whether it will have the same status as the other FMS or require special treatment. This complexity highlights the study's focus on exploring the impact of federalism on political stability and assessing the role of foreign involvement in shaping Somalia's governance structure. By examining these dynamics across different regions and the capital, the study aims to provide insights into the suitability of federalism in addressing Somalia's political deadlock and promoting stability amid diverse regional interests and constitutional uncertainties.

To ensure trustworthy representation, the researcher allocated proportional representation to all FMS. The reason was to obtain data reflecting all FMS views on the phenomenon and explore why federalism does not yield sustainable political stability and peace in Somalia. Also, to elucidate the way Somali people experience the current governance system in terms of peace and stability. As the study’s adopted hybrid design, the instruments employed, the research questions and the purposes, the study required a larger group population. This was the reason; the researcher

considered the significance of accommodating all FMS including Mogadishu. Selecting a few FMS could not provide adequate data to enable us to acquire some FMS's views and experiences.

To overcome challenges hindering the study's trustworthiness, the target population of the study's sample frame was 136 participants in which the sample size was drawn. This number was selected to provide an appropriate number of participants who were selected from all the FMS based on specific characteristics and criteria. These specific characteristics determined who was most suited to participate in the study. Gender equality was ensured. The specific characteristics that were considered were; people holding a minimum of bachelor's degrees or experience equivalent in conflict resolution and mediation, familiar with Somali customary law or politicians, technocrats, scholars who hold knowledge in Islamic jurisprudence, intellectuals and professors in various fields of social science were selected. Participants with these characteristics were believed to provide the right answers for the research question, address the research problem and fitted the purpose of the study as well moreover the age group of the study ranges from 35 to 80 years.

Although it was unrealistic to survey the entire country's population due to time consumption and fund challenges however the study opted to select the ideal representation from the FMS including BRA. According to the 2014 census report, United Nations Population Fund (UNPFA) published, 12,316,895 inhabitants in Somalia (United Nations Population Fund, 2014).

The data in the report presents each region's population as illustrated in the Table 1 below.

Table 1 above census was based on 18 regions Somali comprised prior to the civil war. The current governance system has a federal form of government which comprised five FMS. The study population was distributed FMS proportionally. Somali estimated population of the last census

was 12,316,895, in order to ascertain each FMS population, the researcher divided individual FMS populations into entire populations and multiplied by the study population. The Somali provisional constitution states, FMS with at least comprise two or more regions for FMS became a member of the federal government of Somalia. Puntland State comprised Bari, Mudug and Galgaduud, Galmudug State comprised of Mudug and Galgaduud, Hirshabelle comprised of Hiran and Lower Shabelle, Southwest State comprised of Bay and Bakool, Jubaland State comprised of Gado, Middle Jubba, and Lower Jubba, and BRA stood alone and till in need of parliament discussion if the BRA becomes FMS or provided special treatment.

Table 1

Urban, rural, nomadic and IDPs population by region

Region	Urban	Rural	Nomadic	Internal Displaced People	Total
Awdal	287,821	143,743	233,709	7,990	673,263
Waqoyi Galbed	802,740	138,912	255,761	44,590	1,242,003
Togdheer	483,724	57,356	154,523	25,760	721,363
Sool	120,993	13,983	187,632	4,820	327,428
Sanaag	159,717	30,804	352,692	910	544,123
Bari	471,785	65,483	133,234	49,010	719,512
Nugaal	138,929	31,047	213,227	9,495	392,698
Mudug	138,929	31,047	213,227	9,495	392,698
Galgaduud	183,553	52,089	214,024	119,768	569,434
Hiran	81,379	135,537	252,609	51,160	520,685
Middle Shabelle	114,348	249,326	100,402	51,960	516,036
Bandir	1,280,939			369,288	1,650,227
Lower Shabelle	215,752	723,682	159,815	102,970	1,202,219
Bay	93,046	463,330	195,986	39,820	792,182
Bakool	61,928	134,050	147,248	24,000	367,226
Gado	109,142	177,742	144,793	76,728	508,405
Middle Jubba	56,242	148,439	131,240	27,000	362,921
Lower Jubba	172,861	161,512	124,334	30,600	489,307
All Regions	5,216,392	2,806,787	3,186,965	1,106,751	12,316,895

Using Table 1 population distribution allowed extracting each FMS population and finding the population representation of individual FMS by employing the following formula.

$$FMS\ Population = \frac{FMS\ Population}{Total\ Population} \times Study\ population.$$

1. Puntland State	1471132/12316895x136 = 16.2439731766813	≈ 16
2. Galmudug State	928365/12316895x136 = 10.25076855814716	≈ 10
3. Hirshabelle State	1036470/12316895x136 = 11.44443628040996	≈ 11
4. Southwest State	2361627/12316895x136 = 26.07648047661363	≈ 26
5. Jubaland State	1360663/12316895x136 = 15.02409235444485	≈ 15
6. Banadir Regional Administration	1650227/12316895x136 = 18.22138387962226	≈ 18
7. Sol and Sanag	871551/12316895x136 = 9.623442921288198	≈ 10
8. Northern States	2636629/12316895x136 = 29.11298212739493	≈ 29
9. Total		135

Table 2

Study Population Distribution by FMS

No.	Category	Number of Respondents	Location
1.	Puntland State	16	Bar, Mudug, Nugal
2.	Galmudug State	10	Mudug, Nugal
3.	Hirshabelle State	11	Lower Shabelle, Hiran
4.	Southwest State	26	Bay, Bakol, Middle Shabelle
5.	Jubland State	15	Middle Jubba, Upper Jubba, Gado
6.	BRA	18	
7.	Sol iyo Sanag	10	Sol and Sanag
8.	Northern Staes	29	Awdal, Waqoyi Galbed, Togdheer
9.	Total Population	136	

Table 2 above presents the study population distribution of the study sample across the selected FMS in the study.

Sampling Technique

The sampling technique is a crucial process that involves the selection of a subset of individuals or objects from a larger population, with the objective of making statistical inferences about that population (Arifin, 2013). Sampling techniques are widely employed in different fields among them are market study, social science, statistics, and other related fields. One of the key aspects of the study was to determine the appropriate sample size. It boosted the study reliability and representativeness of the population. Krejcie and Morgan (1970) stressed that determining samples requires a given population. This study employed the widely used formula in the research field proposed by Krejcie and Morgan.

This study employed Krejcie and Morgan's formula to determine the appropriate sample size for a population of 136, used for both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The Krejcie and Morgan formula employed aimed to calculate sample size when the population size is known. The formula was expressed are in equation (1) below;

$$n = \frac{N}{(1+Ne^2)}, \quad (1)$$

n stands for the sample size, N represents the population size, and e the desired margin of error. The margin error is a statistically acceptable level of error in the sample of the data, its commonly expressed as a percentage of proportional. For example, a margin of error of 5% was targeted, then $e = 0.005$. To determine the precise sample size required for this study, we apply Krejcie and Morgan's formula to the population size of 136.

Using the formula, we get:

$$n = \frac{136}{(1 + 136x(0.00^2))}$$

$$n = 99.06 \approx 99$$

Thus, the study required a sample size of approximately 99 or 100 to meet the requirement for a margin error of 5%. The notion based on this study was to employ both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Focusing only on one approach may require adjusting the sample size accordingly. Ensuring appropriate sample uplifts accuracy and representation of the study results. Utilizing Krejcie and Morgan formula facilitated a useful tool for calculating the sample size for the given population size and margin of error. Since this study employed a mixed approach, a sample size of approximately 100 was targeted for a population of 136.

The correct way to adjust the sample size was to assign 80% of the sample (79 participants) for the purpose of quantitative data collection while 20% of the sample were dedicated to (20 participants) for the purposes of qualitative data collection. This approach enabled targeting a larger sample size for quantitative data analysis while providing adequate participants for qualitative data collection. This percentage was based on the fact that conducting a quantitative survey required more than 50 participants. The reason this small number was, the inclusive criteria set for this study demanded participants to acquire unique knowledge and experience thus conducting data collection based on a huge number of a survey may not only provide substantial information but also proved to be financially unrealistic and time constrain.

Table 3*Table of Distribution of Size Against FMS*

No.	Category	Study Population	Sample size
1	Puntland State	16	13
2	Galmudug State	10	7
3	Hirshabelle State	11	8
4	Southwest State	26	19
5	Jubland State	15	11
6	BRA	18	13
7	Sol iyo Sanag	10	7
8	Northern Staes	29	21
	Total Population	136	99

As qualitative research studies typically involved smaller sample sizes than quantitative studies. A sample size of 20 participants provided rich and detailed information. In this part, the participants were selected purposefully to represent diverse perspectives. The reason was to reach a saturation point where new data or information was no longer emerging from the analysis. Qualitative studies often use saturation as a criterion for determining sample size. If saturation is reached with 20 participants, then it was sufficient to draw conclusions and make generalizations. The researcher had to bear in mind that qualitative research studies could be time-consuming and resource intensive. The study employed a sample size of 20 participants, which was considered practical and achievable given the constraints of time and resources. This sample size enabled the generation of in-depth, nuanced insights into the lived experiences, perspectives, and behavioral patterns of individuals within the context of political instability in Somalia. The selection of participants was guided by purposive sampling, whereby individuals were chosen based on their alignment with pre-established inclusion criteria.

Sampling Criteria

Participants for this study were chosen based on specific criteria, including politicians, intellectuals, traditional elders, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), technocrats, religious leaders, and women. These groups were identified as key stakeholders due to their substantial expertise in politics, knowledge of Somali customary law, and their roles in influencing decision-making and policy development within the state-building process. By including diverse voices from these sectors, the study aimed to capture a comprehensive range of perspectives on federalism's impact on political stability and governance in Somalia. This approach ensured that insights from various sectors of society were considered, providing a nuanced understanding of how different stakeholders perceive and navigate the complexities of Somalia's federal governance structure.

Purposive sampling was employed to identify participants acquiring relevant experience and knowledge related to research questions. The inclusion criterion for the study was based on participants' roles, positions and expertise in their respective fields. Twenty participants were selected for the interview; equal numbers were allocated for each group. Participants comprised five politicians, five intellectuals, five traditional elders, five CSOs, five technocrats and five women. The selection process ensured diversity in terms of age, gender, education level and experience. Participants were approached via emails, WhatsApp and personal visits. Informed consent was signed by all participants before the study data collection phase commenced. Participants were guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity throughout the study.

Instrumentation of Research Tools

Research tools are indispensable components of any study, facilitating data collection from participants and offering insights into research inquiries (Pereira, Tay, Desmet, Maeda, & Gentry, 2021). This section delves into the instrumentation of the research tools utilized, namely the test study survey and in-depth interviews. These tools were strategically employed to investigate the impact of Somalia's federalism on political stability, clan-based power sharing formulas, boundary disputes, resource allocation, and constitutional frameworks. The survey provided quantitative data, offering statistical analysis on key variables, while the interviews offered qualitative depth, capturing nuanced perspectives and experiences of key stakeholders. Prior to full deployment, the instruments underwent pilot testing to refine their effectiveness and ensure clarity and relevance to the study's objectives. Ethical considerations were addressed through verification with the UNICAF Research Ethical Committee (UREC), ensuring adherence to ethical standards in data collection and participant engagement. Additionally, findings were subjected to peer review in reputable journals to validate the rigor and reliability of the study's methodologies and conclusions.

Materials and Instrumentation

To study the impact of Somali imposed federalism on political stability, various materials and instruments were used, including tests, surveys, and in-depth interviews. The study employed measurement tests designed to grasp the participants' knowledge and understanding of federalism and its impact on political stability. The surveys employed in this study were designed to collect data from the participants about the federalism effect on political stability, clan-based power sharing formula, boundary disputes, resource sharing, and constitutional framework. Lastly, in-depth interviews were operationalized to obtain detailed information on how communities and

marginalized groups experience federalism, its effect on clan representations, and conflicts. A reliable rigorous instrumentation process was followed. In the words of Smith and Johnson (2017.p23), “In order to ensure the reliability of the research tool, the researcher was required to implement a rigorous instrumentation process”.

Pilot Testing and Verification with UREC

Before conducting the study, the research instrument was pilot tested to ensure that it was valid and reliable. The pilot testing involved administering a series of tests to assess survey and interview questions. The researcher employed multiple methods to assess the validity of their research tool, including expert review and pilot testing (Garcia et al., 2019). The tests, surveys, and in-depth interviews conducted prior to the study were a trial to run a small sample of a population and analyzed responses to determine the validity and reliability of the instrument. The feedback from the pilot testing was used to refine the research instrument. To ensure validity of the study genuine instrument was developed. According to Jones (2015.p29), “The validity of a research tool depends on the quality of its instrumentation”.

Additionally, the research instrument was verified with the UREC to ensure that it was ethical and followed the guidelines for conducting research with human subjects. The verification process involved submitting the research instrument and consent letter to the UREC and obtaining approval before conducting the study. The UREC ensured that the research instrument protected the rights of the participants and minimized any potential harm that could result from participating in the study. Instruments were sent via E-mail or WhatsApp which is believed to be most convenient way to collect data.

Survey

The survey used in the study was designed to gather information on the participants' opinions about the federal system and its impact on political stability, clan-based power sharing formula, boundary disputes, resource sharing and constitutional framework. Closed-ended questions were instrumented in this study in an effort to cover various aspects Somali federal system, its effectiveness in delivering political stability, its impact on the relationship between central and FMS, its role in resource distribution and managing national resources in equity across Somalia. The survey was operationalized to a sample of the population with the aim to analyze and determine the opinion of the participants about the effectiveness of the Somali present federal government in ensuring stability and harmony to the Somali nation. Time restraints and funds were given due consideration in order to obtain rich information and table recommendations and policies. The authors note that the process of instrumentation can be time-consuming and resource-intensive but is essential for producing high-quality research (Brown & Lee, 2016).

In-Depth Interview

The in-depth interviews conducted in this study were tailored to delve deeply into the experiences of participants with the federal system. Designed to gather comprehensive insights, the interviews were administered to a purposive sample selected from the population. Each interview comprised open-ended questions aimed at exploring various challenges faced by communities under the federal government. Specific topics included representation issues, clan conflicts, constitutional disputes, resource sharing dynamics, and obstacles encountered in the implementation of the federal system. This approach allowed participants to articulate their perspectives and experiences in their own words, providing rich qualitative data that illuminated

the complexities and nuances of federal governance from diverse community viewpoints. By focusing on open-ended questions, the study ensured that participants could elaborate on their experiences and perceptions, offering a deeper understanding of the multifaceted issues surrounding federalism in practice. The interviews were instrumental in capturing detailed narratives and insights that contributed to a more nuanced analysis of the impact and challenges associated with the federal system in the study context.

Operational Definition of Variables

Operational definitions are crucial in research as they provided a clear and concise description of how the researcher intended to measure and manipulate variables in their study. This study examined the relationship between imposed federalism and various dependent variables, including political instability, clan-based power-sharing formula, boundary disputes, resource sharing, and constitutional framework. To obtain insights and explore the internal and external factors of the Somali conflict, the research operationalized a hybrid method. As for the quantitative approach, the study operationalized one independent variable and five dependent variables. The independent variable for this study was identified as imposed federalism, while the dependent variables were political instability, clan-based power sharing formula, boundary disputes between federal member states, resource sharing, and constitutional framework.

Operational Definitions

Imposed Federalism: It refers to the creation of a federal system of government in Somalia as a result of external pressure from the international community. This was

operationalized as the degree to which the federal system is established, including the number of federal member states.

Evaluating the effectiveness of imposed federalism in Somalia to resolve conflict, examining the role of foreign involvement in manipulating peace talks which led to the imposition of federalism in Somalia and over the system's efficiency in keeping the country united and preventing fragmentation.

Political Instability: The level of political unrest and violence in Somalia affects the ability of the government to provide security and stability for its citizens. This variable was operationalized to the extent to which political instability decreased since the introduction of federalism in Somalia.

The Clan-based Power sharing Formula: This dependent variable was measured based on the provisions of the federal constitution and the power-sharing agreements between the federal government and the member states. This was operationalized as the degree to which clan representation was reflected in the federal institutions and the distribution of power and resources between the clans.

Boundary Disputes Between Federal Member States: This dependent variable was measured based on the number and severity of boundary disputes between the federal member states. This was operationalized to the extent to which boundary disputes between FMS intensified since the implementation of federalism and whether boundary disputes have led to tensions and conflicts among FMS.

Resource Sharing: It is the level of equitable distribution and management of natural resources, such as oil, gas, and minerals, in Somalia. This was operationalized by examining whether the imposition of federalism has resulted in more equitable resource sharing in Somalia, or it actually led to more unequal and politicization. In addition to that, the variable was employed to analyze whether resource sharing has reduced inter-regional conflicts in Somalia or led to cooperation and collaboration between FSM and FGS.

The Constitutional Framework: This variable was operationalized as the degree to which the Somali Constitution provides a clear and comprehensive legal framework for governance institutions, classification of powers between FSM and FGS, human rights, and accountability.

Appropriate Statistics

Descriptive statistics, such as frequencies, percentages, and means, were used to describe the distribution and characteristics of the variables.

Inferential statistics, such as chi-square tests and coefficient analysis, were used to examine the relationships between the variables.

Primary Construct and Research Questions

The study used both descriptive and inferential statistics to analyse the data. Descriptive statistics, such as frequencies and percentages, were used to summarize and overview the dataset. Inferential methods, including correlation analysis and the chi-square test, were then applied to examine the relationships between independent and dependent variables. The research questions were:

1. What are the key factors that led to the imposition of federalism in Somalia, and what role did foreign involvement play in this process?
2. How has the implementation of federalism affected clan-based power sharing in Somalia, and has it contributed to greater political inclusion and stability?
3. What challenges have emerged in the implementation of federalism in Somalia, particularly in relation to boundary deputies and resource sharing?
4. What lessons can be learned from the experience of Somalia with imposed federalism, and how can these lessons inform future efforts to use federalism as a tool for conflict resolution in other countries?

Documenting Previous Authors Instrumented Variables

Documenting instrumented variables from prior research is a critical aspect of academic investigation. While this study encompasses numerous instruments and validation procedures, the focus here is on a select few relevant to its specific objectives and research questions. In identifying suitable instruments, the researcher engaged with authors whose work has been published in reputable international journals. This approach ensured that the chosen instruments aligned closely with the study's requirements and theoretical framework. By consulting established literature, the study aimed to adopt validated tools that have demonstrated reliability and validity in similar contexts. This selective approach not only streamlined the process of instrument selection but also bolstered the study's methodological rigor. Each instrument was carefully scrutinized to ensure it effectively measured the constructs of interest, such as political instability, clan-based power-sharing formulas, boundary disputes, resource sharing dynamics, and constitutional frameworks.

Through this focused selection process, the study sought to leverage existing research expertise while maintaining a clear methodological alignment with its investigative goals.

The authors and their publications consulted include Abdinor Dahir and Ali Yassin Sheikh Ali's "Federalism in Post-Conflict Somalia: A Critical Review of Its Reception and Governance Challenges" (2021), published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group; Mohamed Bishar Barre's "Effects of Federal Governance on Political Stability of Somalia" (2017), published in the International Journals of Academics and Research - IJARKE ISSN: 2617-703X IJARKE Humanities and Social Sciences Journal; Liam Anderson's "Federal Solutions to Ethnic Problems" (2021): Accommodating Diversity, published by Routledge. (<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203082027>); Abdirizak Aden Muhumed's "How Political Division, Constitutional Ambiguity, and Unitary Mindset Thwart Power sharing in Somalia" (2022), published by Heritage The Institute for Policy Studies; Dr. Ali Issa, Dr. Nehemiah Ngeno, and Dr. Hodan Isse's "Building Comparative Physical Federalism in Somalia" (2019), published by National Economic Council; and Afyare Abdi Elmi's "Decentralization Options for Somalia: Paper for Heritage Institute for Policy Studies."

Construct/ Variable 1: Imposed Federalism

Imposed federalism refers to the creation of a federal system of governance through external intervention, without the consent or input of the local population (Migdal, 2017). In the case of Somalia, imposed federalism was the result of efforts by the international community in an attempt to resolve decades of conflict and political instability. The process of imposed federalism involved the formation of federal member states with defined territorial boundaries and the devolution of power from the central government to these states (Menkhaus, 2017). According

to Jibril and Farah (2019.p12), "imposed federalism in Somalia" has been a topic of debate among scholars and policymakers.

The impact of imposed federalism on Somalia's political instability has been significant, as it has contributed to a number of challenges facing the country. Following decades of civil war and political turmoil, the international community, led by the United Nations, engineered a federal system of governance for Somalia in 2004. While the goal was to promote stability and improve governance, the implementation of this system has been fraught with challenges and has not necessarily achieved the desired results. Imposed federalism in Somalia was a strategy proposed by the international community to bring about political stability in the country. In 2004, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was established with a mandate to bring peace and stability to Somalia. As part of this mandate, the international community encouraged implementing a federal system of governance, which would distribute power among the various clans and regions of Somalia.

One of the primary challenges of imposed federalism in Somalia was the lack of local ownership and participation in the process. According to Ahmed (2021), the international community played a significant role in shaping the federal system in Somalia, without adequate consultation with local stakeholders. This has led to a sense of alienation and frustration among some segments of Somali society, who feel that they were not consulted in the process and that their voices were not heard. This has contributed to a sense of distrust and skepticism towards the federal government, hindering efforts to promote stability and cooperation.

Another challenge of imposed federalism in Somalia is the weak institutions and capacity of the federal government. As Ahmed (2021) notes, the federal system was imposed on Somalia

when the country's institutions and capacity were weak, leading to challenges in implementing and enforcing federal policies and laws. This has led to a lack of effective governance, with some federal member states failing to implement federal laws and policies, leading to further instability and conflict.

Moreover, imposed federalism in Somalia has precipitated power struggles and a lack of accountability at the highest levels of leadership. Yusuf (2021) notes that the current power-sharing formula fosters a system of patronage, exacerbating inequality and corruption, and thereby contributing to instability. This federal system has intensified competition among federal member states for resources and influence, igniting conflicts that further hinder stability. Moreover, imposed federalism has deepened societal fragmentation along clan lines, complicating efforts to achieve cohesive governance. These dynamics create an environment where federal member states are not just vying for political dominance but are also engaging in resource-based conflicts, which disrupt efforts towards peace and development. The resulting political landscape is characterized by entrenched interests and a fragmented society, where the quest for power and resources overshadows national unity. Consequently, the federal structure intended to provide balanced governance and equitable resource distribution instead perpetuates divisions and conflict. This underscores the necessity for a re-evaluation of the federal system to address the inherent challenges and move towards a more stable and inclusive political framework in Somalia.

To measure this variable, a Likert scale of 1-5 was used, where 1 represents "strongly disagree" and 5 represents "strongly agree." Participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with a series of statements related to imposed federalism in Somalia, such as "I believe imposed federalism is necessary for stability in Somalia" or "I feel that imposed federalism is an

infringement on the sovereignty of Somalia's constituent states." Primary data was collected by recording participants' responses to each Likert scale statement. The scores for each participant were derived by summing the responses to all Likert scale statements, with a higher score indicating a greater level of agreement with imposed federalism in Somalia.

Construct/ variable 2: Political Instability

Political instability refers to the situation in a country where the political system is unable to provide effective governance, leading to the breakdown of law and order, violence, and social unrest (Khan & Gill, 2021). It is characterized by the inability of the government to maintain social order and provide essential public services to the population, resulting in a general sense of insecurity and chaos. Political instability can arise due to a variety of factors, including economic crises, ethnic tensions, corruption, weak democratic institutions, and conflicts over resources and power (Adejumobi, 2020). The consequences of political instability can be severe, including mass displacement, refugee flows, and the breakdown of social and economic structures (El-Mallakh, 2019).

Numerous studies have explored the link between imposed federalism and political instability in Somalia. Ahmed and Ali (2022) found that the imposition of federalism has exacerbated political instability, resulting in violent conflicts and the displacement of millions. Their research highlights how the federal structure has intensified existing tensions, leading to widespread violence and significant human suffering. Similarly, Hassan (2021) argues that competition for resources and power among the federal states has further fueled political instability. This competition often manifests in violent clashes and strategic maneuvering for control over valuable resources, undermining efforts to establish a stable and cohesive governance

system. The fragmentation created by federalism has not only deepened clan divisions but also weakened the central authority, making it difficult to implement national policies effectively. Consequently, the intended benefits of federalism, such as improved governance and equitable resource distribution, have been overshadowed by its role in perpetuating instability and conflict. These findings underscore the critical need to reassess the federal framework in Somalia to address its flaws and work towards a more unified and stable political environment.

A Likert scale of 1-5 was used to measure the political instability variable, where 1 represents “strongly disagree” and 5 represents “strongly agree.” Participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with a series of statements related to political instability in Somalia, such as “Political instability has decreased since the introduction of Federalism.” or “Political instability in Somalia is mainly caused by external factors and not federalism”. Primary data was collected by recording participants’ responses to each Likert scale statement. The score of each participant were derived by collecting all responses in Likert scale forms with a higher score indicating a greater level of agreement with political instability in Somalia.

Construct/ Variable 3: Clan-based Power sharing Formula

Clan-based power sharing formula is a political arrangement that emerged in Somalia as a result of the adoption of federalism, where power and resources are shared among different clans and sub-clans to ensure equitable representation and political stability (Mukhtar, 2020). The clan-based power-sharing formula is another critical factor contributing to Somalia's political instability. The clan-based power-sharing formula, also known as 4.5, allocates political power among the four major and minor clans. This system has resulted in a political deadlock, leading to political fragmentation and regionalism. The clan-based system has created a system of patronage,

nepotism, and corruption that has weakened the country's political and social fabric. This system has perpetuated inequality and marginalization, as political power is concentrated in the hands of a few clans.

This formula has also been criticized for perpetuating clan divisions and entrenching elite power. The power-sharing arrangement has created a system of patronage where clan leaders use their positions to enrich themselves and their clans rather than serve the interests of the broader Somali population. This has resulted in a lack of accountability and transparency in the government, which has fueled public discontent and weakened the legitimacy of the state. The perception centrality of clan supremacy to Somali culture has earned Somali state 'a failed state. As Jones notes (2016), the widespread consensus is that two key factors contributed to the failure and eventual collapse of the Somali state: a legacy of ineffective governance, exemplified by the leadership of Siad Barre, and a sociocultural framework deeply rooted in clan dynamics.

The governing bodies of these new federal states are particularly alarming because they want to maintain their clan's power and control over others. This desire for dominance is coupled with a lack of input from the local community and the exclusion of women and minority groups, which is also concerning. The Somali-style clan-based power sharing system prevents the establishment of a centralized national government, which results in a lack of accountability. Clan federalists segregate minority clans within their territories, leading to conflict and disputes over clan boundaries. In addition, the clan-based power-sharing formula has limited the representation of women and marginalized groups in the political process. Women and minority groups have been largely excluded from the decision-making process in Somalia, despite efforts to promote their

participation. The clan-based system has reinforced traditional gender roles and made it difficult for women to enter the political arena.

The formation of federal member states based on clan allegiances in Somalia could threaten the unity and integrity of the country by creating clan enclaves. It is likely that elected officials would come from the larger clans, resulting in political and economic power being concentrated in the hands of a small, powerful clan oligarchy. This would lead to the very thing that opponents of a centralized system sought to avoid. Additionally, mid-sized and minor clans/sub-clans would have little chance of receiving a fair share of political representation. Clans have become a major issue in Somalia, with clannism determining power, resource distribution, and even recruitment to influential positions. While clans have always been a part of Somali culture, their significance was solidified by colonial institutions, perpetuating divide-and-rule tactics.

The variable was measured using a Likert scale of 1-5, with respondents indicating their level of agreement with statements related to the effectiveness of the power sharing formula. Scores were derived from primary data collected through surveys with key stakeholders in the political process. The responses were analyzed using SPSS statistical software.

Construct/ Variable 4: Boundary Disputes

Boundary disputes between federal member states in Somalia refer to conflicts arising from disagreements over territory and resources among the various regions in the country. These disputes have been a major source of political instability in Somalia, with violent clashes and displacement of people being common outcomes. Several studies have suggested that imposed federalism has contributed to the boundary disputes between federal member states in Somalia.

According to Jibril and Abdulkadir (2018), the lack of consensus on the boundaries of the federal member states has been a major challenge to the implementation of federalism in Somalia. They argue that the federal government's imposition of boundaries without proper consultations with the regional states has fueled conflicts and insecurity.

A Likert scale of 1-5 were used to measure the clan-based power sharing variable, where 1 represents "strongly disagree" and 5 represents "strongly agree." Participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with a series of statements related to boundary disputes in Somalia, such as " Boundary disputes between FMS in Somalia have intensified since the introduction of federalism. " or " The federal government has been effective in mediating boundary disputes between FMS." Primary data was collected by recording participants' responses to each Likert scale statement. The score of each participant was derived by collecting all responses in Likert scale forms with a higher score indicating a greater level of agreement with boundary disputes in Somalia.

Construct/ Variable 5: Constitutional Framework

The constitutional framework in Somalia refers to the legal and institutional structures that define the political system of the country. The current constitution was adopted in 2012, and it outlines the federal structure of the state, which consists of the federal government and five federal member states. The constitutional framework has been a subject of debate and scrutiny, particularly in relation to the implementation of federalism. According to academic research, the constitutional framework has a significant impact on the success of imposed federalism in Somalia (Warfa, 2020). The level of support for the constitutional framework can be considered a dependent variable in this context.

To measure the level of support for the constitutional framework, a Likert scale of 1-5 was used, where 1 represents "strongly disagree" and 5 represents "strongly agree." The scale consisted of a series of statements related to the constitutional framework, such as "The current constitution adequately addresses the needs of all regions in Somalia," and "The federal structure outlined in the constitution has been effective in promoting stability and unity in the country." Respondents will be asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with each statement using the Likert scale. The scores were derived from primary data collected through surveys administered to a representative sample of the population.

Study Procedure and Ethical Assurance

The present study was conducted following approval from the UNICAF Research Ethical Committee (UREC), ensuring full adherence to ethical standards from the outset. To guarantee confidentiality and anonymity, stringent measures were implemented: all participants' personal information was kept strictly confidential, and all collected data were securely stored with access limited to the researcher and authorized personnel. These protocols were meticulously followed to protect participants' privacy, fostering trust and ensuring the study's integrity. By maintaining rigorous ethical standards, the research process upheld the principles of confidentiality and data protection, underscoring commitment to ethical research practices. This approach not only safeguarded sensitive information but also enhanced the credibility and reliability of the research findings. The secure handling of data and the emphasis on participant privacy were pivotal in maintaining the trust of all involved, thereby reinforcing the ethical foundation of the study and ensuring its alignment with best practices in research ethics.

The study was designed to involve minimal risk to participants, with ethical considerations meticulously observed throughout the research process. Participants were thoroughly informed about the study's purpose and assured that their participation was entirely voluntary. They were also made aware of their right to withdraw from the study at any time without facing any penalties. Informed consent was obtained from all participants before their involvement in the study, ensuring they understood their rights and the nature of their participation. This approach not only safeguarded the participants' well-being and autonomy but also reinforced the ethical integrity of the research, fostering a transparent and respectful interaction between the researcher and the participants.

The study employed a mixed-methods research design, integrating quantitative and qualitative techniques through surveys and structured interviews. The survey was administered electronically, allowing participants the flexibility to respond at their convenience. Structured interviews were primarily conducted in person to gather more in-depth insights. To ensure precision and enable comprehensive analysis, all interviews were audio-recorded with the participants' informed consent. This mixed-methods approach facilitated the collection of both statistical and narrative data, thereby enhancing the depth and breadth of the study's findings. The combination of these methodological techniques resulted in a more comprehensive and methodologically sound dataset.

Data collection for the study was conducted over two months, during which the researcher reached out to potential participants through email and social media platforms. Participants were chosen based on specific inclusion criteria, ensuring they had the relevant knowledge and expertise for the study. The selection process was designed to ensure a diverse and representative sample,

enhancing the validity of the research findings. All participants were informed about the study's purpose and assured that their involvement was entirely voluntary. They were also made aware that they could withdraw from the study at any time without any repercussions. This thorough and respectful approach to participant recruitment helped secure a high level of engagement and trust, ultimately contributing to the robustness of the data collected.

During data collection, cultural sensitivities were carefully considered to ensure the research process respected Somalia's deeply rooted clan dynamics and social structures. The research team acknowledged that clan affiliation is a central aspect of Somali identity, influencing social interactions, power dynamics, and decision-making processes. To address this, efforts were made to include participants from diverse clans to ensure balanced representation and avoid perceptions of bias. Key community elders and local leaders, who hold significant influence within their clans, were consulted early in the process to gain their support and endorsement for the study. Their involvement not only legitimized the research but also fostered trust among participants, encouraging open and honest responses. The research team also emphasized neutrality and avoided aligning with any specific clan or political group to mitigate the risk of perceived favouritism or potential conflicts.

Moreover, the data collection methods were adapted to align with Somali cultural norms and practices, ensuring participants felt comfortable and respected throughout the process. Given the oral nature of Somali culture, where storytelling and verbal communication are highly valued, interviews and focus group discussions were prioritized over written surveys. These methods allowed participants to express themselves freely in their preferred manner. Additionally, gender sensitivities were considered, as women's participation in discussions can be limited in certain

clan settings. Separate focus groups were organized for women to create a safe and inclusive environment for their voices to be heard. The research team also included local enumerators familiar with Somali traditions, language, and customs to facilitate culturally appropriate interactions and minimize misunderstandings. These measures helped to navigate the complexities of Somalia's clan dynamics while maintaining cultural sensitivity and ethical integrity throughout the data collection process.

Ethical Assurance

The present study received approval from the UNICAF Research Ethical Committee (UREC), ensuring full adherence to ethical standards from the outset. Stringent measures were implemented to guarantee confidentiality and anonymity: participants' personal information was kept strictly confidential, and all collected data were securely stored with access limited to the researcher and authorized personnel. These protocols were meticulously followed to protect participants' privacy, fostering trust and ensuring the study's integrity. By maintaining rigorous ethical standards, the research process upheld the principles of confidentiality and data protection, underscoring the commitment to ethical research practices. This approach safeguarded sensitive information and enhanced the credibility and reliability of the research findings. The secure handling of data and the emphasis on participant privacy were pivotal in maintaining the trust of all involved, reinforcing the ethical foundation of the study and ensuring its alignment with best practices in research ethics. Such diligence not only protected the participants but also solidified the study's integrity, making the findings more robust and trustworthy.

Data collection for this study employed a mixed-methods approach, incorporating both a survey and structured interviews. The survey was administered online via a secure platform,

allowing participants to complete it at their convenience. Structured interviews were conducted in person and audio-recorded with participants' consent. Potential participants were contacted through email and social media, and their participation was entirely voluntary, based on specific inclusion criteria. The researcher strictly adhered to ethical standards throughout the process, ensuring the protection of participants through informed consent procedures, confidentiality measures, and obtaining formal approval from relevant ethical bodies. This rigorous ethical approach ensured that all participants' rights and privacy were safeguarded, fostering a trustworthy research environment. These comprehensive measures not only protected the participants but also enhanced the integrity and credibility of the study, ensuring that the data collected was reliable and ethically sound.

Informed consent is a pivotal ethical principle that ensures study participants are fully cognizant of the research and their right to withdraw at any time. To obtain consent, participants received a thorough form outlining the study's purpose, procedures, and their rights, including confidentiality assurances. This form provided clear information to facilitate participants' informed decision-making regarding their involvement. Confidentiality is also paramount in ethical research, and participants were assured their personal information would be safeguarded with strict confidentiality. The commitment to confidentiality and informed consent cultivated a sense of security and respect throughout the research process, bolstering trust and integrity.

Data Collection and Data Analysis

The study adopted a blended methodology, drawing upon both quantitative and qualitative data sources for information gathering. The quantitative facet involved the collection of primary data via a close-ended survey instrument, which was preceded by a pilot exercise to validate its

reliability. Furthermore, the researchers consulted pre-existing, validated tools to bolster the verification process (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Following this, quantitative data collection commenced. Alongside primary data collection, a desk study was conducted to gather secondary quantitative data from various sources, including books, academic journals, and government publications. This comprehensive approach ensured a robust and multi-faceted understanding of the research topic, leveraging both firsthand data and existing literature to provide a thorough analysis.

The qualitative section followed the same primary data collection steps as the quantitative section, with one key difference: while the quantitative section relied on a survey, the qualitative section utilized one-on-one interviews. To ensure the validity of the data collection process, previously published studies on federalism in the area were consulted (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). The qualitative data collection process involved developing interview questions, conducting a pilot test of the interview questions, refining the interview questions based on the pilot test, selecting study participants based on the study sample, conducting one-on-one interviews with the participants, audio recording and transcribing the interviews, and verifying the interview transcripts with participants for accuracy (Yin, 2014).

The quantitative data collection process began with developing a survey questionnaire, followed by conducting a pilot test to ensure its effectiveness. Based on the feedback from the pilot test, the survey questions were refined for clarity and relevance. A sample of participants was then selected according to the study's sample criteria. The refined survey was administered to these participants, ensuring a systematic approach to data collection. Once the survey responses were gathered, they were meticulously entered and coded for analysis. This structured process ensured

that the data collected was accurate, reliable, and reflective of the research objectives, providing a solid foundation for subsequent analysis.

Data Analysis

Analyzing research data is crucial for drawing meaningful conclusions (Gall et al., 2021). This dissertation details the analysis process for studying the imposition of federalism in Somalia, focusing on its role in political instability, foreign involvement in peace talks, and federalism's limitations in conflict resolution. Utilizing a mixed-methods approach, the study collected both quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The analysis involved a thorough coding process for both data types, ensuring that each piece of information was systematically categorized and interpreted. Quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS, a powerful statistical software, while qualitative data were examined using Atlas.ti, a tool designed for qualitative analysis (Field, 2013). This comprehensive approach provided a robust framework for understanding the complex dynamics at play in Somali federalism.

The initial phase of research analysis involved revisiting the research questions and objectives to determine the most appropriate analytical techniques (Gall et al., 2021). The researcher meticulously verified the completeness and accuracy of the collected data, ensuring that it underwent essential data-cleaning processes to eliminate any inconsistencies or errors. This preliminary step was critical for preparing the data for subsequent analysis stages, thereby establishing a robust foundation for generating accurate and reliable results. By aligning the research methods with the study's aims, the researcher ensured that each step of the analysis was systematically designed to address the specific research questions. This comprehensive approach allowed for a thorough examination of the data, facilitating a deeper understanding of the

complexities involved. By integrating these initial preparatory steps, the researcher laid the groundwork for a detailed and methodical data analysis, ultimately contributing to the reliability and validity of the study's findings. This systematic preparation enabled the researcher to effectively navigate the intricacies of the research, ensuring that the analysis was both rigorous and aligned with the overarching objectives of the study.

In the subsequent phase of the analysis, the data underwent a meticulous process of sorting, categorization, and logical grouping, guided by established methods (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This systematic organization was crucial as it enabled the researcher to manage the data effectively and streamline the analytical process. By categorizing the information into distinct groups based on relevant themes or variables, the researcher facilitated easier retrieval and manipulation of data subsets. This approach not only enhanced the efficiency of data management but also provided a structured framework for identifying patterns and relationships embedded within the dataset. The logical grouping of data categories further supported comprehensive exploration and interpretation of the findings. This systematic arrangement ensured that subsequent analytical steps were built upon a solid foundation of well-organized data, minimizing the potential for errors and enhancing the overall reliability of the research outcomes. By adhering to rigorous categorization principles, the researcher could uncover nuanced insights and trends that might otherwise have been overlooked. Moreover, this methodical approach fostered a clearer understanding of the complexities inherent in the data, thereby facilitating more informed conclusions. Ultimately, the systematic sorting and categorization of data not only facilitated efficient analysis but also contributed to the robustness of the study's findings. It underscored the importance of methodological rigor in research, ensuring that each step of the analysis process was grounded in a structured and well-defined approach. This methodological clarity was instrumental in enabling

the researcher to derive meaningful conclusions and insights from the collected data, thereby advancing understanding within the research domain.

In the subsequent phase, the research progressed to assigning numerical codes to the data, a critical step facilitated by software tools like SPSS and Atlas ti (Field, 2013). This process involved categorizing qualitative data into themes, concepts, or ideas, while quantitative data were coded by assigning numerical values to responses. The purpose of this coding was to systematically organize the data in a structured format conducive to rigorous analysis. By employing numerical codes, the researcher enhanced the efficiency of handling large datasets, enabling the application of advanced statistical techniques and software tools for extracting meaningful insights. This methodological approach not only streamlined the analysis but also ensured that both qualitative and quantitative data were treated with methodological rigor, aligning with the study's objectives. The systematic coding of qualitative themes and quantitative responses allowed for comprehensive exploration and interpretation of the dataset, facilitating a deeper understanding of the research questions. Moreover, this coding process laid the groundwork for subsequent analytical procedures, ensuring that the data were processed accurately and systematically. By adhering to established coding practices, the researcher-maintained consistency and reliability throughout the analysis, thereby enhancing the credibility and robustness of the research findings.

Following the completion of coding, the data analysis phase commenced, leveraging inferential statistics and regression analysis for quantitative data, and content, thematic, and discourse analysis for qualitative data (Gall et al., 2021; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). These analytical methods facilitated a comprehensive exploration of the dataset, yielding both numerical

insights and thematic understanding. By integrating qualitative and quantitative approaches, the study achieved a holistic interpretation of the data, ensuring a robust evaluation of the research outcomes. The application of inferential statistics and regression analysis enabled the researcher to uncover relationships and patterns within the quantitative dataset, offering numerical evidence to support the study's hypotheses. Concurrently, content, thematic, and discourse analysis of qualitative data provided nuanced insights into the underlying themes and perspectives, enriching the interpretation of findings. This combined analytical approach not only broadened the scope of inquiry but also enhanced the validity and reliability of the study's conclusions. Moreover, the utilization of diverse analytical techniques allowed triangulation of results, validating the consistency and coherence of findings across different data types. By rigorously applying these methodologies, the researcher ensured methodological rigor and comprehensiveness in data analysis, thereby reinforcing the study's contributions to the field of research on federalism's impact on political stability and conflict resolution.

Lastly, the researcher undertook an analysis of the results to derive meaningful conclusions and formulate recommendations in accordance with the study objectives (Field, 2013). This analytical phase encompassed the generation of descriptive statistics, including frequency distributions, percentages, and chi-square values. These statistical summaries served to provide a comprehensive overview of the dataset, elucidating key characteristics and trends. By employing descriptive statistics, the researcher synthesized quantitative data into meaningful insights, quantifying relationships and patterns identified during analysis. This approach facilitated the identification of significant findings, allowing for a structured interpretation of the research outcomes. Moreover, the utilization of chi-square values enabled the assessment of associations and dependencies within categorical data, enhancing the depth of analysis and supporting robust

conclusions. Furthermore, the analytical process included a qualitative synthesis of themes and patterns identified through content and thematic analysis. This qualitative examination provided nuanced perspectives on the research phenomena, complementing the quantitative findings with contextual understanding. By integrating both quantitative and qualitative approaches, the study achieved a comprehensive evaluation of the research questions, thereby informing evidence-based recommendations for stakeholders and policymakers. The rigorous analysis of results not only contributed to advancing knowledge in the field but also provided practical implications for addressing issues related to federalism's impact on political stability and conflict resolution.

The researcher utilized the Chi-square test for association to investigate the relationships between the dependent variable, political instability, and several independent variables, namely imposed federalism, clan-based power sharing, boundary dispute resolution, resource sharing, and the constitutional framework. This statistical method was selected due to its suitability for analyzing associations between categorical variables. The Chi-square test assesses whether there is a significant difference in the distribution of one variable based on the levels of another variable. By applying this test, the researcher aimed to determine if there were statistically significant relationships between the variables under study. Specifically, the Chi-square test allowed for the examination of how each independent variable might influence political instability within the context of Somalia's governance framework. This analytical approach provided insights into the potential impacts of imposed federalism, clan-based power dynamics, boundary dispute resolutions, resource allocation policies, and constitutional arrangements on political stability. Through rigorous statistical analysis, the study aimed to contribute empirical evidence to understanding the complex interplay between these variables and their implications for governance and conflict management in Somalia.

Specifically, the researcher applied the Chi-square test for independence to assess the relationship between political instability and several independent variables. This statistical method was chosen for its effectiveness in analyzing categorical data and determining whether there exists a significant association between the categories of the independent variables and the dependent variable, political instability. Specifically, the Chi-square test for independence helped to elucidate whether changes in political instability were statistically linked to variations in the independent variables under investigation. By conducting this test, the researcher aimed to uncover meaningful insights into how imposed federalism, clan-based power sharing dynamics, boundary dispute resolutions, resource allocation policies, and constitutional frameworks influenced the political stability within Somalia's governance structure. This analytical approach allowed for a rigorous examination of the interdependencies between these factors and political stability, contributing empirical evidence to the understanding of governance challenges and conflict dynamics in Somalia. The findings from this analysis were pivotal in formulating informed conclusions and recommendations aimed at enhancing governance effectiveness and stability in the region.

The results of these tests provided valuable insights into how different factors influenced political instability. For instance, significant associations might suggest that certain factors like imposed federalism or resource sharing have a measurable impact on political instability. These findings helped in drawing conclusions that were directly relevant to the study objectives, enabling the researcher to make informed recommendations. These recommendations aimed to address the identified issues and suggest potential strategies for mitigating political instability based on the empirical evidence gathered during the study.

Summary

The effectiveness of imposed federalism in post-conflict societies is a subject of ongoing research that focuses on Somalia. The research problem is that Somalia's current federal system has not produced the anticipated results, as it was intended to address political instability, clan conflict, boundary disputes, resource sharing, and constitutional framework, but instead, it has created more instability and threatens the unity of the Somali people. (Abdi, 2021; Ismail, 2019).

A mixed approach was employed to gain an in-depth understanding of why federalism is not working in Somalia, which employed ethnographic and correlation designs (Ahmed, 2020; Mohamed, 2021). The ethnographic design enabled the researcher to observe and interact with the participants and examine how they experience the imposition of federalism, while the correlation design examines the relationship between variables (Ahmed, 2020; Abdilahi, 2019).

Data analysis was conducted using SPSS and Atlas ti. Correlation coefficient and thematic analysis are used to analyze the relationship between the independent variable (imposed federalism) and dependent variables (political instability, clan conflict, boundary disputes, resource sharing, and constitutional framework) (Abdi, 2021; Ahmed, 2020). This approach allows researchers to identify patterns and trends in the data.

The findings of this study are crucial in enhancing the understanding of the effectiveness of federalism in conflict resolution. The study aimed to help scholars and policymakers to understand the reasons federalism is not working in Somalia and the extent to which federalism can be an effective tool for resolving conflict, particularly in fragile and conflict-affected contexts like Somalia (Abdilahi, 2019; Ismail, 2019).

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study on the effectiveness of federalism as a mechanism for addressing political instability in Somalia. The purpose of the chapter is to report both the quantitative and qualitative results in a systematic and coherent manner, demonstrating how the data collected responds to the study's objectives and research questions. The chapter is organized into four main sections. The first section presents descriptive statistics from the quantitative data, followed by inferential analyses that examine the relationships between key variables. The second section discusses the qualitative findings, drawing on narratives from interviews and observations to provide deeper insights. The third section integrates the quantitative and qualitative results, highlighting convergences and divergences. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of key findings, setting the stage for the discussion in Chapter Five.

Reliability and Validity of data

Reliability of data

The assessment of data reliability constituted a pivotal aspect of this research endeavour, and one prominent method employed for this purpose was the Cronbach Alpha test. This statistical tool was instrumental in gauging the internal consistency of a set of measurements, thereby serving as a reliable metric for evaluating the dependability of the corresponding data. Cronbach's alpha theoretically yields results within the spectrum of 0 to 1, with higher values indicative of greater reliability. Nevertheless, it is pertinent to acknowledge that, in certain instances, the results may deviate from this range and present as negative.

The theoretical framework underpinning Cronbach's alpha establishes its potential values within the 0 to 1 range, representing the continuum of reliability (Cronbach, 1951). While conventionally, researchers anticipate positive results, it is noteworthy that negative outcomes can indeed be obtained. Such negative results serve as cautionary signals, suggesting potential anomalies within the data collection process. One plausible explanation for a negative outcome could be the omission of a critical step, such as the failure to execute a reverse scoring procedure for specific items. This underscores the imperative of meticulous attention to detail throughout the research journey, from the design of data collection instruments to the subsequent analysis.

In the context of interpreting Cronbach's alpha results, researchers often adhere to established guidelines. A widely accepted rule of thumb posits that a Cronbach's alpha value of 0.70 and above is indicative of good reliability, reflecting a satisfactory level of internal consistency. Moreover, a value surpassing 0.80 is considered even better, signifying an enhanced degree of reliability. Furthermore, an alpha exceeding 0.90 is deemed optimal, representing the zenith of reliability in the data (Smith & Johnson, 2018).

Applying these benchmarks to this study, the Cronbach Alpha value was computed to be 0.722. This numerical output assumes significance in the context of evaluating the reliability of the amassed data. In alignment with the established benchmarks, a Cronbach's alpha of 0.722 falls within the category of "good" reliability. Consequently, this implies that the measurements utilized in the study exhibit a commendable level of internal consistency.

The employment of the Cronbach Alpha test in this study yielded a result of 0.722, signifying good reliability of the data. This information was instrumental in instilling confidence in the robustness of the measurements, facilitating subsequent analyses and interpretations.

However, it is crucial for researchers to approach the findings with a nuanced perspective, recognizing the supplementary value of incorporating diverse reliability and validity measures into their methodological arsenal.

Table 4

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
0.722	29

Validity of data

To ensure the validity of the data, a rigorous analysis was conducted using bivariate correlations for each of the six constructs: political stability, political instability, clan-based power sharing, resource sharing, boundary disputes, and constitutional framework. Each construct was meticulously defined, with five items contributing to their composition. Bivariate correlations were computed to examine the relationships among these items, providing a thorough evaluation of the construct validity. This method allowed for a comprehensive assessment of how the items within each construct related to one another, thereby validating the consistency and coherence of the data collected. By scrutinizing these interrelationships, the researcher could ascertain the robustness of the constructs and ensure that they accurately captured the intended dimensions of political stability, instability, and the other variables under investigation. This systematic approach bolstered the reliability of the study's findings and reinforced the overall credibility of the research outcomes.

Remarkably, significant correlation values ($p < 0.000$) were obtained for items within each construct, affirming the robustness of our data. The statistical significance, coupled with the use

of the product moment correlation coefficient, provides a comprehensive perspective on the interplay between the variables under consideration. These findings serve as a robust foundation for asserting the validity of the items within each construct.

In examining political stability, our study revealed a nuanced interconnection among the constituent items. The correlation analysis demonstrated a strong and significant relationship ($p < 0.000$) between the various indicators, emphasizing the coherence and reliability of the construct. This aligns with previous research by Jhon & Clark, (2007), who argued that a stable political environment is crucial for societal development and economic progress.

Similarly, the construct of political instability exhibited significant bivariate correlations among its constituent items, underscoring the internal consistency of the construct. This resonates with the research of Coruk & Okten, (2023), who emphasized the detrimental effects of political instability on governance and socio-economic development.

In exploring clan-based power sharing, the study found compelling evidence of significant correlations ($p < 0.000$) between items encapsulated within this construct. This aligns with the findings of Brown & Bellamy, (2006), who highlighted the role of clan-based power sharing in mitigating political tensions and fostering inclusive governance.

The construct of resource sharing emerged as a vital aspect of our analysis, with significant correlations observed ($p < 0.000$) between its constituent items. This corresponds to the work of Fukuyama, (2004), who underscored the importance of equitable resource distribution in promoting political harmony and societal well-being.

Examining boundary disputes, our study identified noteworthy correlations ($p < 0.000$) among the items within this construct. This resonates with the research conducted by Brown and Miller (2017), who emphasized the disruptive impact of unresolved boundary issues on regional stability.

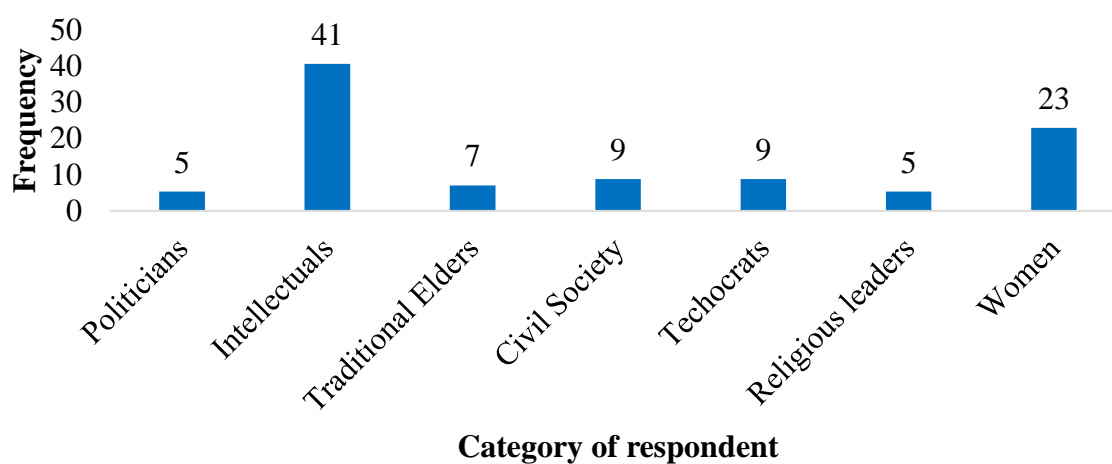
Finally, our investigation into the constitutional framework revealed significant correlations ($p < 0.000$) among the items encapsulated within this construct. This is consistent with the argument put forth by Ogunnoiki, (2017), emphasizing the pivotal role of a well-defined constitutional framework in ensuring political order and institutional integrity.

In conclusion, the rigorous examination of bivariate correlations for items within each of the six constructs has provided compelling evidence for the validity of our data. The significant values obtained ($p < 0.000$) affirm the robustness of the individual items within each construct. This study contributes to the existing body of knowledge by offering a comprehensive analysis of political factors, shedding light on the interconnectedness of political stability, instability, clan-based power sharing, resource sharing, boundary disputes, and constitutional framework. The findings not only validate the construct measurements employed in this study but also offer insights that can inform future research and policy decisions.

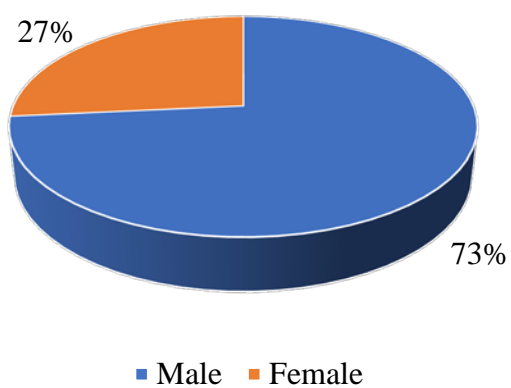
Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Category of Respondents

Findings in Figure 2 indicate that majority (41) of the respondents were intellectuals. This was followed by women (23), there were equal numbers from civil society and Technocrats (9) and equal numbers of politicians and religious leaders (5)

Figure 2*Category of respondents***Gender of Respondents**

Results in Figure 3 below indicated that the majority (73%) of the respondents were male whereas 23% were female.

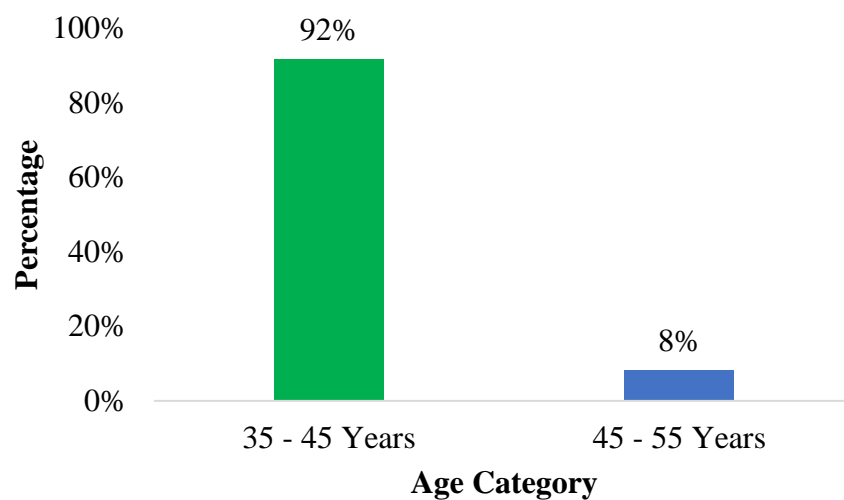
Figure 3*Gender of respondents*

Age of respondents

Regarding age majority (92%) of the respondents were aged between 35 – 45 years, only 8% of the respondents were aged between 45 – 55 years. This is presented in Figure 4 below

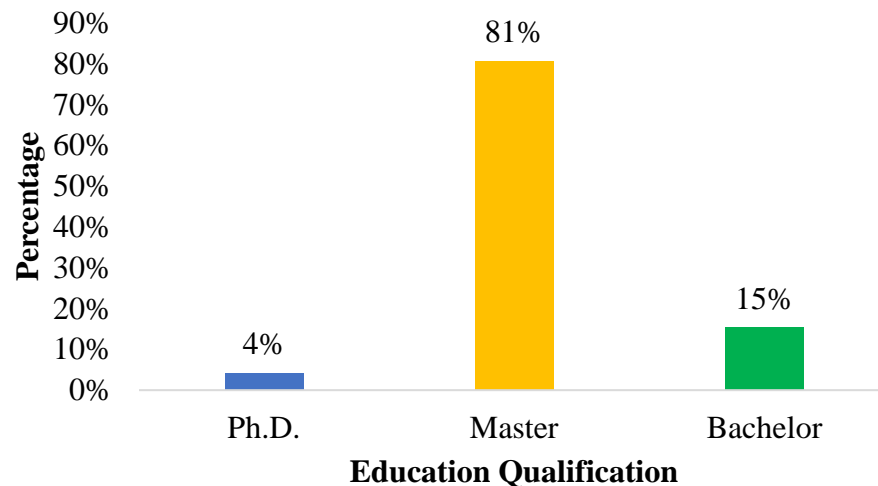
Figure 4

Age of respondents



Education Qualification

With regards to education qualification, majority (81%) of the respondents had Master degree qualifications. This was followed by those who had Bachelor's degree qualifications accounting for (15%) and those with Ph.D qualification accounting for 4%.

Figure 5*Education Qualification of respondents***Descriptive Statistics**

Findings in Table 5 shows that slightly more than half (52.6%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that imposed federalism was necessary for the stability in Somalia, this was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that imposed federalism was necessary for the stability in Somalia accounting for 39.2% and those who were neutral accounting for 8.2%. Regarding foreign involvement in peace talks, more than two third (67%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that foreign involvement in peace talks was the key factor that led to the imposition of federalism in Somalia. This was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that foreign involvement in peace talks was the key factor that led to the imposition of federalism in Somalia accounting for 18.6% and those who were neutral accounting for 14.4%.

Table 5*Influence of federalism on political stability*

	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
A	18	18.6%	33	34.0%	8	8.2%	26	26.8%	12	12.4%
B	29	29.9%	36	37.1%	14	14.4%	12	12.4%	6	6.2%
C	16	16.5%	30	30.9%	11	11.3%	28	28.9%	12	12.4%
D	18	18.6%	25	25.8%	14	14.4%	23	23.7%	17	17.5%
E	22	22.7%	32	33.0%	23	23.7%	17	17.5%	3	3.1%

A - Imposed Federalism I believe that imposed federalism is necessary for stability in Somalia.

B - Foreign involvement in peace talks was the key factor that led to the imposition of federalism in Somalia.

C - Federalism has contributed to political stability in Somalia.

D - The imposition of federalism has improved the representation of minority groups.

E - I feel that imposed federalism is an infringement on the sovereignty of Somalia's constituent states.

Basing in the contribution of federalism to political stability, majority (47.4%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that Federalism has contributed to political stability in Somalia, this was closely followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that federalism has contributed to the political stability in Somalia accounting for (41.3%) whereas 11.3% of the respondents were neutral. With reference to improved representation of minority groups; most (44.4%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the imposition of federalism has improved the representation of minority groups, this was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that the imposition of federalism has improved the representation of minority groups accounting for 41.2% while 14.4% of the respondents were neutral. With regards to

infringement on the sovereignty of Somalia's constituent states, more than half (55.7%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that imposed federalism is an infringement on the sovereignty of Somalia's constituent states, this was followed by that those who were neutral on infringement on the sovereignty of Somalia's constituent states accounting for 23.7% whereas those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that imposed federalism is an infringement on the sovereignty of Somalia's constituent states.

Table 6

Influence of federalism on political instability

	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
A	7	7.2%	43	44.3%	12	12.4%	30	30.9%	5	5.2%
B	27	27.8%	51	52.6%	9	9.3%	7	7.2%	3	3.1%
C	16	16.7%	35	36.5%	18	18.8%	21	21.9%	6	6.3%
D	7	7.2%	41	42.3%	17	17.5%	27	27.8%	5	5.2%
E	8	8.2%	45	46.4%	12	12.4%	27	27.8%	5	5.2%

A - Political instability has decreased since the introduction of Federalism.

B - The introduction of federalism has not addressed the root cause of political instability in Somalia.

C - Political instability in Somalia is mainly caused by external factors and not federalism.

D - The introduction of federalism has worsened political instability in Somalia.

E - The introduction of federalism has provided a framework for solving political instability

Findings in Table 6 indicates that with reference to decreased political instability, slightly more than half (51.5%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that political instability decreased since the introduction of federalism, this was followed by those who disagreed and

strongly disagreed that political instability has decreased since the introduction of federalism accounting for 37.1% while those who were neutral accounted for 12.4%. Regarding addressing root cause of political instability in Somalia, more than three quarter (80.4%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the introduction of federalism has not been addressed the root cause of political instability in Somalia, this was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that the introduction of federalism has not addressed the root cause of political instability in Somalia accounting for 10.3% while those who were neutral accounted for 9.3%. Referring political instability being mainly caused by external factors, more than half (53.2%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that political instability in Somalia is mainly caused by external factors and not federalism, this was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that political instability in Somalia is mainly caused by external factors not federalism accounting for 28.2% while those who were neutral accounted for 18.8%. With regards to worsening of the political instability in Somalia, most (49.5%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the introduction of federalism has worsened the political instability in Somalia, this was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that the introduction of federalism has worsened the political instability in Somalia accounting for 33% whereas those who were neutral accounted for 17.5%. Findings on providing a framework solving for political indicate that most (54.6%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the introduction of federalism has provided a framework for solving the political instability, this was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that the introduction of federalism has provided a framework for solving the political instability accounting for 33% while those who were neutral accounted for 12.4%.

Table 7*Influence of federalism on clan-based power sharing*

	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
A	11	11.3%	36	37.1%	9	9.3%	30	30.9%	11	11.3%
B	18	18.8%	49	51.0%	14	14.6%	12	12.5%	3	3.1%
C	12	12.4%	39	40.2%	12	12.4%	27	27.8%	7	7.2%
D	36	37.1%	47	48.5%	3	3.1%	6	6.2%	5	5.2%
E	14	14.4%	50	51.5%	12	12.4%	18	18.6%	3	3.1%

A - Clan-based power sharing formula in Somalia has increased the representations of all clans in the government of Somalia.

B - Clan-based power sharing formula has perpetuated clan-based discrimination in Somalia.

C - Clan-based power sharing formula has created a sense of political stability in Somalia.

D - The clan-based power sharing formula has not provided equal opportunity for all clans in Somalia's politics.

E - The clan-based power sharing formula has led to political instability and gridlock in Somalia.

Findings in Table 7 shows that regarding clan-based power sharing formula in Somalia has increased the representations of all clans in the government of Somalia, most (48.4%) of respondents agreed and strongly agreed that clan-based power sharing formula in Somalia has increased the representations of all clans in the government of Somalia. This was closely followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed accounting for 42.2% while those who were neutral accounted for 9.3%. Regarding clan-based power sharing formula has perpetuated clan-based discrimination in Somalia, majority of the (69.8%) respondents agreed and strongly agreed that clan-based power sharing formula has perpetuated clan-based discrimination in Somalia. This was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that clan-based power sharing formula

has perpetuated clan-based discrimination in Somalia whereas 14.6% were neutral. For Clan-based power sharing formula has created a sense of political stability in Somalia, slightly more than half (52.6%) of respondents agreed that Clan-based power sharing formula has created a sense of political stability in Somalia, this was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed accounting for 35% while those who were neutral accounted for 12.4%. Referring to the clan-based power sharing formula has not provided equal opportunity for all clans in Somalia's politics, most (85.6%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the clan-based power sharing formula has not provided equal opportunity for all clans in Somalia's politics. This was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that the clan-based power sharing formula has not provided equal opportunity for all clans in Somalia's politics whereas those who were neutral accounted for 3.1%. With reference to clan-based power sharing formula has led to political instability and gridlock in Somalia, nearly two third (65.9%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that clan-based power sharing formula has led to political instability and gridlock in Somalia. This was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that clan-based power sharing formula has led to political instability and gridlock in Somalia by 21.7% while those who were neutral accounted for 12.4%.

Findings in Table 8 indicated that with regards to boundary disputes between FMS in Somalia have intensified since the introduction of federalism, majority (82.3%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that boundary disputes between FMS in Somalia have intensified since the introduction of federalism. This was followed by those who were neutral accounting for 12.5% while those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that boundary disputes between FMS in Somalia have intensified since the introduction of federalism.

Table 8*Influence of federalism on boundary disputes*

	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
A	20	20.8%	59	61.5%	12	12.5%	5	5.2%	0	0.0%
B	12	12.4%	45	46.4%	17	17.5%	20	20.6%	3	3.1%
C	18	18.6%	52	53.6%	21	21.6%	6	6.2%	0	0.0%
D	27	27.6%	56	57.1%	12	12.2%	3	3.1%	0	0.0%
A - Boundary disputes between FMS in Somalia have intensified since the introduction of federalism.										
B - Boundary disputes between FMS in Somalia are mainly caused by historical grievances, not federalism.										
C - Boundary disputes between FMS have led to increasing tensions and conflicts.										
D - The lack of a proper dispute resolution mechanism at the federal level affects the relationship between FMS.										

With reference to boundary disputes between FMS in Somalia are mainly caused by historical grievances, not federalism, more than half (58.8%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that boundary disputes between FMS in Somalia are mainly caused by historical grievances, not federalism. This was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that boundary disputes between FMS in Somalia are mainly caused by historical grievances, not federalism accounting for 23.7% while those who were neutral accounted for 17.5%. Regarding boundary disputes between FMS have led to increasing tensions and conflicts, nearly three quarter (72.2%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that boundary disputes between FMS have led to increasing tensions and conflicts, followed by those who were neutral accounting for 21.6% whereas those who disagreed accounted for 6.2%. Regarding lack of a proper dispute resolution mechanism at the federal level affects the relationship between FMS, majority (84.7%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that lack of a proper dispute resolution mechanism at the

federal level affects the relationship between FMS, followed by those who were neutral accounted for 12.2% while those who disagreed that lack of a proper dispute resolution mechanism at the federal level affects the relationship between FMS accounted for 3.1%.

Table 9

Influence of federalism on Resource sharing

	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
A	12	12.2%	26	26.5%	11	11.2%	37	37.8%	12	12.2%
B	21	21.4%	53	54.1%	9	9.2%	10	10.2%	5	5.1%
C	19	19.4%	59	60.2%	11	11.2%	8	8.2%	1	1.0%
D	10	10.3%	21	21.6%	16	16.5%	43	44.3%	7	7.2%
E	11	11.2%	23	23.5%	15	15.3%	43	43.9%	6	6.1%

A - The introduction of federalism has resulted in more equitable resource sharing in Somalia.

B - Resource Sharing in Somalia has become more unequal and politicized since the introduction of federalism.

C - Resource-sharing disputes in Somalia have led to increased tensions and conflicts.

D - Resource sharing has promoted cooperation and collaboration between FMS and FGS.

E - Resource sharing has reduced inter-regional conflicts in Somalia.

Findings in Table 9 shows that regarding the introduction of federalism has resulted in more equitable resource sharing in Somalia, half (50%) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed that the introduction of federalism has resulted in more equitable resource sharing in Somalia, followed by those who agreed and strongly agreed that the introduction of federalism has resulted in more equitable resource sharing in Somalia accounting for 38.7% whereas those were neutral accounted for 11.2%. Referring to resource sharing in Somalia has become more unequal and politicized since the introduction of federalism, three quarter (75.6%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that resource sharing in Somalia has become more unequal and

politicized since the introduction of federalism. This was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that resource sharing in Somalia has become more unequal and politicized since the introduction of federalism accounting for 15.3% while those who were neutral accounted for 9.2%. Regarding resource-sharing disputes in Somalia have led to increased tensions and conflicts, more than three quarter (79.6%) agreed and strongly agreed that resource-sharing disputes in Somalia have led to increased tensions and conflicts, followed by those who are neutral accounting for 11.2% while those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that resource-sharing disputes in Somalia have led to increased tensions and conflicts accounted for 9.2%. With reference to resource sharing has promoted cooperation and collaboration between FMS and FGS, slightly more than half (51.5%) disagreed and strongly disagreed that resource sharing has promoted cooperation and collaboration between FMS and FGS. This was followed by those who agreed and strongly agreed that resource sharing has promoted cooperation and collaboration between FMS and FGS accounting for 31.9% while those who were neutral accounted for 16.5%. Referring to resource sharing has reduced inter-regional conflicts in Somalia, half (50%) of the respondent disagreed and strongly disagreed that resource sharing has reduced inter-regional conflicts in Somalia followed by those who agreed and strongly agreed that resource sharing has reduced inter-regional conflicts in Somalia whereas those who were neutral accounted for 15.3%.

Results in Table 10 shows that with regards to the struggle of power between FMS and FGS over jurisdictions in areas of foreign relations leads to tension and conflicts majority (85.7%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that the struggle of power between FMS and FGS over jurisdictions in areas of foreign relations leads to tension and conflicts. This was followed by those who were neutral accounting for 9.3% while those who disagreed and strongly disagreed

that the struggle of power between FMS and FGS over jurisdictions in areas of foreign relations leads to tension and conflicts accounted for 5.1%.

Table 10

Influence of federalism on constitutional framework

	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
A	28	28.6%	56	57.1%	9	9.2%	4	4.1%	1	1.0%
B	33	34.0%	56	57.7%	6	6.2%	2	2.1%	0	0.0%
C	36	36.7%	43	43.9%	13	13.3%	6	6.1%	0	0.0%
D	45	45.9%	41	41.8%	7	7.1%	4	4.1%	1	1.0%
E	64	66.0%	28	28.9%	2	2.1%	2	2.1%	1	1.0%

A - The struggle of power between FMS and FGS over jurisdictions in areas of foreign relations leads to tension and conflicts.

B - Ambiguity in the classification of authority between FMS and FGS remains an obstacle to functioning federal and regional institutions.

C - Completion of the Federal Constitution is key to peace and stability in Somalia.

D - The establishment of a constitutional court is key for political stability in Somalia.

E - The constitution must be consistent with the Islamic Sharia and the customs and values of the Somali people.

With reference to ambiguity in the classification of authority between FMS and FGS remains an obstacle to functioning federal and regional institutions, most (91.7%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that ambiguity in the classification of authority between FMS and FGS remains an obstacle to functioning federal and regional institutions, followed by those who were neutral accounting for 6.2% while 2.1% disagreed that ambiguity in the classification of authority between FMS and FGS remains an obstacle to functioning federal and regional institutions. Regarding completion of the Federal Constitution is key to peace and stability in Somalia, most (80.6%) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed that completion of the

Federal Constitution is key to peace and stability in Somalia. This was followed by those who were neutral accounting for 13.3% while 6.1% of the respondents disagreed that completion of the Federal Constitution is key to peace and stability in Somalia. Referring to the establishment of a constitutional court is key for political stability in Somalia, majority (87.7%) of the respondent agreed and strongly agreed that the establishment of a constitutional court is key for political stability in Somalia, followed by those who were neutral accounting for 7.1% whereas those who agreed and strongly disagreed that the establishment of a constitutional court is key for political stability in Somalia account for 5.1%. With reference to the constitution must be consistent with the Islamic Sharia and the customs and values of the Somali people majority (94.9%) agreed and strongly agreed that the constitution must be consistent with the Islamic Sharia and the customs and values of the Somali people. This was followed by those who disagreed and strongly disagreed that the constitution must be consistent with the Islamic Sharia and the customs and values of the Somali people accounting for 3.1% while those were neutral accounted for 2.1%

Chi Square Test for Association

The Pearson Chi square test for association was used to establish the relationship between the dependent variable (Political instability) and the independent variables (imposed federalism, resource sharing, clan-based power sharing formula, boundary dispute resolution, and constitutional framework). The chi square was calculated to determine if there was a relationship between the dependent and independent variables (Stephen, 2009). However, the chi square does not tell the magnitude and direction of the relationship. To determine the magnitude and direction of the relationship, a linear regression model was used and results are presented in Table 11

Table 11*Chi square test for association*

	Chi square	df	Sig
Clan-based power sharing formula	209.333 ^a	234	.875
Boundary dispute resolution	193.984 ^a	162	.044
Resource sharing	310.464 ^a	234	.001
Constitutional Framework	200.854 ^a	180	.137
Imposed Federalism	1345.062 ^a	1242	.021

In trying to establish relationship between the study variables, the study used the chi square test for association. Findings in Table 11 revealed that political instability was significantly associated with boundary dispute resolution ($p < 0.05$), resource sharing ($p < 0.01$) and imposed federalism ($p < 0.05$). These findings suggest that unresolved boundary disputes, inequitable resource sharing, and imposing federal systems are likely to contribute to heightened political insecurity. On the other hand, results show that there no statistically significant association between political instability and clan-based power sharing and constitutional framework. This implies that within the study context, clan-based power-sharing arrangements and constitutional provisions may not have a direct influence on political instability. Instead, political instability appears to be more strongly linked to structural issues such as how resources are distributed, how boundaries disputes are resolved, and the extent to which federal systems are imposed. These findings mirror the findings of Brancati (2009) that highlighted the limitations of imposed decentralization in fragile states, and reinforce the idea from Bednar (2011) that structural design alone cannot guarantee stability without political legitimacy.

Coefficient of Determination (R^2)

Findings Table 12 indicates that the R Square is 0.805 implying that about 81% variation in political instability (dependent variable) is explained by Constitutional Framework, Resource Sharing, Boundary Disputes, Clan-based Power Sharing Formula, Imposed Federalism (Independent variables). The rest 19% is explained by the other factors not studied in this research.

Table 12

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	0.897 ^a	0.805	0.793	0.32194

a. Predictors: (Constant), Constitutional Framework, Resource Sharing, Boundary Disputes, Clan-based Power Sharing Formula, Imposed Federalism

The study employed ANOVA to determine the significance of the regression model. Statistical significance was established by considering a p-value of 0.05 or less as significant. This threshold indicated that if the p-value was below or equal to 0.05, the results were statistically significant, suggesting a strong likelihood that the observed relationships in the data were not due to random chance. By using this criterion, the researcher could confidently identify significant predictors within the regression model, ensuring that the findings were robust and meaningful.

The significance of the regression model, as shown in Table 12, is indicated by a p-value of less than 0.05. This demonstrates that the regression model is statistically significant in predicting factors contributing to political instability.

Table 13*ANOVA*

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	36.340	5	7.268	70.123	.000 ^b
Residual	8.810	85	.104		
Total	45.150	90			

a. Dependent Variable: PS

b. Predictors: (Constant), Constitutional Framework, Resource Sharing, Boundary Disputes, Clan-based Power Sharing Formula, Imposed Federalism

The significance of the regression model, as shown in Table 12, is indicated by a p-value of less than 0.05. This demonstrates that the regression model is statistically significant in predicting factors contributing to political instability. By setting the confidence level at 95%, the analysis indicates a high reliability of the obtained results. This level of confidence suggests that there is only a 5% chance that the observed relationships are due to random variation, thus reinforcing the robustness of the findings. The overall ANOVA results further support the model's significance, with an F-value of 70.123 and a p-value of 0.000. These ANOVA results confirm that the regression model is highly effective in explaining the variability in political instability based on the included independent variables. Therefore, the model's predictive power is both statistically significant and reliable, providing a strong foundation for drawing meaningful conclusions and making informed recommendations regarding the factors influencing political instability.

The regression equation established that, considering all factors (political instability due to imposed federalism, resource sharing, clan-based power sharing formula, boundary disputes, and

constitutional framework), the constant level of political instability is -0.734. This baseline indicates the level of political instability when all other variables are held constant.

Table 14

Regression Coefficients

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	
(Constant)	-.734	.236		-3.114	.003
Imposed Federalism	4.217	.253	2.116	16.644	.000
Resource Sharing	-.758	.096	-.644	-7.884	.000
Clan-based Power Sharing Formula	-.842	.100	-.588	-8.424	.000
Boundary Disputes Resolution	-.601	.088	-.434	-6.855	.000
Constitutional Framework	-.720	.094	-.490	-7.635	.000

a Dependent Variable: Political Instability

The regression equation was;

Where;

=Dependent variable (Political Instability)

= Imposed Federalism

= Resource Sharing

= Clan-based Power sharing formula

= Boundary dispute resolution

= Constitutional Framework

The findings reveal specific impacts of each independent variable on political instability.

A unit increase in imposed federalism leads to a 4.217 increase in political instability, indicating a

positive and significant relationship. This suggests that as imposed federalism intensifies, political instability worsens considerably. Conversely, a unit increase in resource sharing results in a 0.758 decrease in political instability, showing that better resource distribution can significantly reduce instability.

Similarly, a unit increase in clan-based power sharing results in a 0.842 decrease in political instability. This negative relationship highlights the stabilizing effect of inclusive power-sharing arrangements. Boundary dispute resolution also has a stabilizing impact, with a unit increase leading to a 0.601 decrease in political instability. Effective resolution of boundary disputes appears to mitigate conflict and promote stability.

Lastly, an improved constitutional framework results in a 0.720 decrease in political instability for each unit increase. This finding underscores the importance of a robust and well-designed constitution in maintaining political stability.

In summary, the analysis indicates that while imposed federalism exacerbates political instability, other factors such as resource sharing, clan-based power sharing, boundary dispute resolution, and a strong constitutional framework contribute to reducing instability. These results suggest that enhancing these stabilizing factors can mitigate the adverse effects of imposed federalism and promote a more stable political environment.

Qualitative Results

Based on the findings, a number of themes are presented to conceptualize the effectiveness of imposed federalism as a tool of conflict resolution in post conflict areas using the research questions and emerging themes are presented in the Table 15 below;

Table 15*Themes for thematic Analysis*

Research Questions	Themes
Effect of Somalia's Governance System on Political Stability	<p>Rule of law and legal frameworks</p> <p>Accountability mechanisms within the governance system</p> <p>Power dynamics among different political entities</p>
Contribution of Imposed Federalism to Sustainable Peace	<p>Power-sharing arrangements and their effectiveness</p> <p>Management of intergroup conflicts and reconciliation efforts</p> <p>Perceptions of legitimacy and inclusivity within the federal system</p>
Effectiveness of Clan-Based Federalism in Ensuring Inclusivity, Justice, and Equality	<p>Representation of different clans and ethnic groups in decision-making processes</p> <p>Social justice and equity in resource allocation</p> <p>Mechanisms for addressing grievances and resolving conflicts between clans</p> <p>Perceptions of fairness and inclusivity among different segments of society</p>
Somali People's Perception of Current Governance System	<p>Trust in government institutions and leadership</p> <p>Views on the effectiveness of governance structures in addressing community needs</p> <p>Perceptions of transparency and accountability within the governance system</p> <p>Assessments of the government's ability to promote social cohesion and unity</p>
Foreign Elements in Somali State Formation and Neighboring Countries' Influence	<p>Motivations and strategies of foreign actors in Somali state formation</p> <p>Geopolitical interests of neighboring countries in Somalia's governance</p>

	<p>Influence of international actors on governance dynamics and decision-making processes</p> <p>Perceptions of sovereignty and external interference among Somali stakeholders</p>
Rationality of the Governance System in a War-Torn Country	<p>Role of international aid and donor support in sustaining governance institutions</p> <p>Trade-offs between security and development priorities in governance planning</p>

Effect of Somalia's Governance System on Political Stability

Rule of law and legal frameworks

The study findings indicate that the Somalia's governance system has not been effective in ensuring political stability in the country. This is because the governance system "Federalism" has not adequately addressed the root cause of the political instability such as inequality among Somali communities, clan-based power-sharing formula and contradictions in the constitutional mandates of the FMS and FGS. One of the members of the CSO mentioned that;

"Let us look back at what is causing political instability. Federalism itself is one of the elements causing political instability. I have just talked about the compound problems that federalism holds. Lack of clear distribution of power between government institutions, ambiguity of powers between FGS and FMSs, constitutional contradictions between FGS constitution and FMSs constitutions, clan-based power-sharing formula, and inequality among Somali community are contributing political instability. These are all fundamental for the current government system. So, do you expect federalism can address the root causes of political instability? The simple answer is no, and the reasons are things I have just highlighted." (CSO Member-2)

Findings also show that there is a lack of clarity on the areas of power distribution between the FMS and FSG in the Somalia provisional constitution, this has resulted in the poor relationship between FGS and FSM. Furthermore, findings reveal that there is no constitutional court in

Somalia and this has provided the politicians a soft ground to misuse their power thus creating instability and violent conflicts across the country.

“Another example is the lack of Somali provisional constitution clarity on areas of power distribution between FMS roles and responsibilities and FSG mandates. The Somali provisional constitution remains a major cause for the deteriorating relationship between FGS and FSM. Completing the constitution has become a project for every government that holds office. Since 2012, there has been no progress in the completion of the federal government's provisional constitution. It seems politicians hold the Constitution as ransom to achieve political goals by manipulating government institutions. The absence of a constitutional court allows politicians to misuse power which creates instability and potentially violent conflicts across the country. A good example is the current political stalemate between FGS and Puntland. All these I have just mentioned are the result of imposed federalism which lacks popularity among the Somali community.” (CSO Member-2)

“The lack of ownership among Somalis is a major obstacle to completing the Provisional Constitution, as it hampers consensus-building and genuine engagement in the process. Without widespread commitment and participation from all stakeholders, progress towards finalization remains challenging. Overcoming this hurdle necessitates fostering a sense of ownership and empowerment among Somalis to actively shape the constitution.” (CSO Member – 6)

Findings also indicate that the political instability in Somalia is as a result of social, economic and historical factors and that the Somalia system of governance has been identified as one of the contributing factors to these challenges thus the federal governance system has resulted in political deadlocks and impasses on multiple occasions. Another CSO member had this to say;

“It is evident that the federal model adopted by Somalia has led to political deadlocks and impasses on multiple occasions. These instances of political instability can have various underlying causes, including social, economic, and historical factors. In the case of Somalia, the governance system itself has been identified as a contributing factor to these stalemates and challenges. Another major issue is the unpopularity of the system among Somali people and its lack of ownership. The majority of Somalis see this current federal system as imposed and did not come through proper social contract and political dialogue.” (CSO Member-1)

Findings also show the importance of compromise between FMS interests especially when it comes to amendment of the constitution. This ensures that disagreements are resolved, ensuring political stability.

“So, I think that federalism, the way that we have taken it if you look at it on a positive side is that when there are some issues, I think that conflict is inevitable and we need it sometimes. So, for example, when there's something that the federal government wants to do. And I think that the Parliament wants to do it, but sometimes when the federal Member States see it as a threat, like now we have the amendments to the Constitution and some federal members see it as a threat, it can be a positive thing that since you know that they have to come together to try to work out a compromise on how to move forward, so sometimes it can be like in the absence of a check and balance when there's a dictatorship or something. Like that, these guys can take that role and they can come together, look at an issue if they have disagreements, they can try to work together to look at and come like a compromise, yeah. It can be effective sometimes in that way. So, when we can resolve that issue?” (Politician-1)

Accountability mechanisms within the governance system

The lack of political will from the politicians to complete the process of developing the constitution has been a hindrance to strengthening the rule of law, enhancing inclusivity and fostering accountability. One of the CSO members mentioned the following regarding the accountability mechanism within the governance system;

“One of the main challenges is keeping the status quo. There is a lack of political will. Somali politicians do not want to transfer power to the public. Their worst nightmare is true democracy. Completion of the constitution means investing power in the people's hands. This allows the public to exercise its constitutional demands strengthens the rule of law, enhances inclusivity, and fosters accountability.” (CSO Member-3).

As (Menkhaus, 2017) highlights, the enactment of the constitution and the empowerment of the people in Somalia are likely to encounter substantial hurdles and delays unless Somali politicians exhibit a genuine commitment to embracing democratic principles and relinquishing power to the public. Without an alteration in the attitudes of Somali politicians towards true democracy, uncertainty will persist regarding both the finalization of the constitution and empowering citizens.

Power dynamics among different political entities

Whereas the introduction of federalism has resulted in a marginal improvement in the representation of the minority clans in the federal parliament, it has not stretched to the key top leadership roles like the presidency and prime minister roles of the FGS. The lack of political inclusion is attributed to the lack of a functioning democratic system. One of the elders said;

“Since the introduction of federalism in Somalia, there has been a marginal improvement in the representation of minority clans in the federal parliament. However, this progress has not extended to key leadership positions such as the president or prime minister of the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS). The lack of political inclusion for all clans can be attributed to the absence of a functioning democratic system within the federal system adopted by Somalia. The current federalism system is primarily based on power-sharing among clans, resulting in the election or appointment of parliament members, the president, the prime minister, and other significant positions based on clan affiliation. Unfortunately, this system is not conducive to achieving a peaceful and prosperous Somali nation. It has harmed stability and political inclusivity.” (Elder-1)

Another elder-2 also expressed his discontent current power sharing system which discriminated against small clans. The system is designed to serve the interests of major clans, depriving minority clans of competing for top government positions where it is FMS or FGS level. This was one of the factors that caused civil war in Somalia thus it seems Somali politicians are not learning anything about the recurring scenarios. This was aided by the (Ssereo,2003) findings stating that the perpetuation of the discriminatory power-sharing system in Somalia demonstrates a lack of progress and learning from past conflicts, ultimately hindering the country's stability and inhibiting inclusive governance.

Contribution of Imposed Federalism to Sustainable Peace

Power-sharing arrangements and their effectiveness

It is believed that Somalia did not have voluntarily adopted the federalism system but rather it was forcefully imposed and implemented with support from the IC and UN-backed peacekeeping forces in the country. This implies that for federalism systems to realize their goals and objectives including power-sharing there is a need for it to be voluntarily adopted by the people of Somalia.

A member of the CSO had this to say;

“Somalia did not agree to adopting federalism, it was rather imposed and forcefully implemented with the support of IC and UN-backed peacekeeping forces in Somalia. How do you expect to have sustainable peace where people are forced to implement a federal form of government which doesn’t respect the religion and culture of the Somali people? I think political stability is the result of the model of federalism Somalia adopted not federalism generally” (CSO Member-3).

Management of interclan conflicts and reconciliation efforts

Findings revealed that whereas federalism was supposed to create a united society that trusted each other, it has instead disunity along clan lines among the people of Somalia. One of the elders had this to say;

“Federalism in Somalia was supposed to create a fraternity society that trusted each other and contributed to the cause of Somali unity. But in the case of Somalia, we witness scattered communities along clan lines. Thus, the introduction of federalism to address the root cause of the Somalia conflict is a waste of resources and energy” (Elder - 4).

“Politically, nothing much except parallel powers competing to control the government resources and authority. Socially, each region tried to establish it’s one state which in somehow good for security and that political society.” (Scholar – 2)

“It is certain that the civil war in Somalia has profoundly caused the separation of Somali society along clan lines, which also allows politicians to exploit the divisions for their own political gains. Given that Somalia is linguistically and religiously homogenous, some argue that imposing

a federal system intensifies political instability rather than alleviating it. They argue that the homogeneity of the country does not match the decentralized nature of federalism, making it an unsuitable governance model for Somalia.” (Scholar – 1)

Abdi (2023) argues that federalism in Somalia has been limited in its ability to foster unity and resolve underlying causes of conflict due to the division of society along clan lines.

Further findings show that the Somali conflict is one of the most dynamic and complex conflicts that cannot be addressed by a federalist governance system.

“Somehow, but not all. This is because Somalia’s conflict is one the most dynamic and complex conflicts in the world’s recent history, which has many root causes that cannot addressed merely through federalism” (Politician-2).

“The introduction of federalism in Somalia has addressed some aspects of political instability, but it hasn't fully resolved the root causes such as governance challenges, security issues, and deep-seated clan divisions.” (CSO member - 3)

Perceptions of legitimacy and inclusivity within the federal system

There is a varied perception of legitimacy and inclusivity within the federal system. Some argue that the system has been more inclusive and addressed the political imbalances while others oppose that the system has not been able to fully meet its intended goals thus resulting in complications of clan relationships, allocation of resources and political divisions among the people of Somalia. A member of the CSO said this;

“Perceptions of the effectiveness of federalism in resolving conflict in Somalia vary. Some argue that federalism has helped to create a more inclusive political system and has the potential to address power imbalances, while others contend that it has not fully met its intended objectives. The complexities of clan relationships, allocation of resources and political disagreements remain significant barriers to achieving effective conflict resolution. In my experience, federalism is causing more conflict than addressing existing ones in Somalia” (CSO Member - 6).

Findings also revealed that whereas the system was set out to ensure equal representation of all communities, minority clans are still being marginalized and denied a fair share.

“The rise of dominant clans in top positions has led to the current situation. Despite the idea of federalism aiming to ensure equal representation for all communities, minor clans are being marginalized and denied their fair share. This exclusion has resulted in widespread oppression. The federal system adopted by Somalia has failed to bring stability to the country, exacerbating political instability instead. A sense of ownership and inclusivity could have prevented conflicts, but unfortunately, this has not been achieved” (Elder - 3).

Barrow (2020), the lack of strong democratic processes within the federal framework has played a role in maintaining power dynamics based on clan affiliations, which hinders the development of a governance system that is more comprehensive and fairer. Due to the absence of ownership and inclusivity for all social groups, the federal system has been unable to confront the fundamental societal and political forces that have fueled instability in the country.

Effectiveness of Clan-Based Federalism in Ensuring Inclusivity, Justice, and Equality

Representation of different clans and ethnic groups in decision-making processes

There was a mixed perception on the effectiveness of clan-based federalism in ensuring inclusiveness, justice and equality. Clan-based federalism has translated in competition and tension between FMS despite localizing governance structures that incorporate clan dynamics and representation for various clans.

“The implementation of federalism in Somalia has had both positive and negative effects on clan-based power sharing, political inclusion, and stability. While federalism has allowed for localized governance structures that incorporate clan dynamics and provide representation for various clans, it has also led to competition and tensions between different Federal Member States. The emphasis on clan-based power sharing can hinder meritocracy, perpetuate corruption, and exclude marginalized groups. To achieve greater political inclusion and stability, federalism needs to strike a balance between clan representation and broader principles of inclusivity, meritocracy, and good governance. Strengthening institutions, promoting the rule of law, and addressing the concerns of marginalized communities are essential steps in this direction” (CSO Member - 4).

Findings show that clan-based federalism has promoted clan supremacy in that it has promoted the interests of the powerful clans and oppressed the marginated clans thus the clan-

based power-sharing formula is not effective in ensuring the representation of different clans in decision-making.

“The truth is, what Somalia has today is clan-based federalism. Everything is run by a clan. Government decisions, policies, and even the Constitution are influenced by clan supremacy. It created injustices and equality among Somalis. It promotes powerful clan interest and oppresses margined clans. Since the introduction of federalism only two clans became president, the rest were deprived of the country's top leadership due to their clan. Therefore, there is no inclusivity in the clan-based power-sharing formula, it rather a courage opposite” (CSO Member - 5).

Findings also revealed that clan-based power sharing is perceived to underscore the importance of indigenous ownership and inclusivity in governance reforms.

“As Somalis I think we have learned that the clan-based federalism underscores the importance of indigenous ownership and inclusivity in governance reforms. Future efforts to use federalism as tool for conflict resolution should prioritize genuine representation and participation of all stakeholders, and beyond clan affiliations to ensure sustainability and stability.” (Scholar -1)

Social justice and equity in resource allocation

The clan-based federalism system has also created an economic disparity with a few major clans holding top positions and the minority clans being oppressed.

“Additionally, economic disparity is prevalent in this federal system, with only a few major clans holding top positions while marginalized minor clans face oppression within their own country. This results in unequal representation among communities residing in each Federal State Member, which ultimately undermines overall stability. Implementing measures to ensure fair representation, such as reserving certain positions for smaller clans, could help address this issue” (Elder - 5).

“Clan-based power sharing alone is unlikely to fully tackle political instability in Somalia. While it may provide a framework for representation, addressing broader governance, security, and socioeconomic challenges is essential for sustainable stability.” (CSO Member - 5)

Addressing this challenge could involve implementing affirmative action policies to guarantee fair and just representation of all ethnic groups within each Federal State Member (Mengie,2017).

Perceptions of fairness and inclusivity among different segments of society

Clan-based federalism is expected to reduce social injustices and promote equity in resource allocation. Study findings however indicate that the power-sharing has had numerous setbacks that have resulted in the exclusion of minority groups deepened social division and created a network of patronage that foster corruption.

“In Somalia, power sharing among clans has a number of drawbacks that need to be taken into account. It frequently causes marginalization of people without substantial clan representation, results in the exclusion of minority groups, and deepens social divisions. The current system has the potential to sustain existing disparities, impede representation, and establish networks of patronage that foster corruption. The emphasis on clan interests might take precedence over national priorities, and decision-making procedures can be cumbersome and prone to deadlock. Furthermore, power-sharing agreements based on clans are susceptible to exploitation by powerful political groups. These drawbacks show that in order to effectively combat political instability in Somalia, a well-rounded strategy that takes these issues into account and encourages inclusivity, transparency, and good governance is required.” (CSO Member - 3)

“The 4.5 formula in Somalia's politics emerged as a clan-based power sharing mechanism following the civil war. It allocates political positions based on the four major clans, with a smaller share for minority clans, aiming to ensure representation but also perpetuating clan divisions in governance.” (CSO Member – 5)

“Most federal member states do not have good relations with the federal government and there are also no agreed mechanisms or frameworks for equitable sharing of resources, which increases disputes between the FMS and FGS. On the other hand, the FMS argued that the FGS should share resources since they are members of the federal government. However, they themselves are opposed to sharing their resources with the FGS. This impasse therefore deepens the dispute between the federal government and the federal member states, leading some FMS to declare their dissociation from the FGS.” (Scholar – 1)

It is also worth noting that the federalism system initially intended to address the conflicts between rival clans however it stalled. This implies that the system is less sustainable in the long run and thus does not enable sustainable peace.

“No, it was a starting point for bringing rival clans together to form an inclusive government, but it cannot be permanent solution. Somalia should move on to the more democratic system of resource and power sharing” (Politician - 3).

“The 4.5 formula, developed during Somalia's peace and reconciliation processes, is a clan-based power-sharing mechanism implemented through the Transitional Federal Charter. It aims to address clan divisions and conflicts by allocating political power based on the representation of major clans and a minority coalition. However, the formula has faced criticism for perpetuating the dominance of major clans and marginalizing smaller clans and minority groups. There have been discussions about reforming the system to achieve greater inclusivity and representation.” (Politician – 4)

“Since the implementation of federalism in Somalia, resource sharing has faced challenges due to inequality and politicization. Factors contributing to these challenges include the lack of clarity and legal frameworks, disputes over revenue generation and collection, political interference, competing interests and regional rivalries among the Federal Member States (FMS), weak governance and institutions, and security challenges. The absence of clear rules and procedures has created ambiguity, allowing for unequal distribution. Disputes have arisen over revenue sources and management, leading to disagreements and disparities in resource allocation. Political considerations and power dynamics have influenced resource sharing, undermining equitable distribution. Competing interests and regional rivalries have further contributed to unequal resource distribution. Weak governance and institutions have hindered effective resource sharing, including fiscal management and accountability mechanisms. Security challenges, such as the presence of armed groups, have complicated resource sharing and exacerbated regional tensions.” (Political – 5)

“Since the imposition of federalism, resource sharing in Somalia has become more unequal and politicized as different regions vie for a larger share of resources, leading to disputes and favouritism based on political interests rather than equitable distribution.” (CSO member – 6)

“Challenges in implementing federalism in Somalia include boundary disputes between regions, often fueled by competing claims over territory and resources. Additionally, equitable resource sharing has been difficult to establish, leading to tensions and hindering effective governance at the federal and regional levels.” (CSO Member – 2)

“It’s not yet clear how this formula came out. In my personal view, I believe it’s something that has been transported from outside Somalia’s context.” (Scholar – 2)

Somali People's Perception of Current Governance System in strengthening trust and restoring brotherhood bond among Somali Communities

Trust in government institutions and leadership

The study findings show that there is a lack of trust in government institutions and leadership. This is mainly a result of tribalism, the involvement of foreign countries in peace-building. This implies the current governance system has not earned the trust and strengthened the brotherhood bond among Somali communities.

“The loss of trust among Somalia, tribalism, and foreign countries' involvement in not only peacebuilding but also feeding rebels before civil war broke out is a key factor of the emergence of Federalism in Somalia. If you look at how the West participated destruction of Mohamed Siyad Barre's regime, you realize the West's enmity toward the Somali government. It took almost two decades to build the current government. The same system of government we Somalis has today did not come through freewill and permission of Somali, instead, it was proposed and imposed by IC who facilitated Somali peace talks. It was clear that the way the current system was designed was not intended to address the Somali conflict. New ways of conflicts emerged as federalism was put in place as a result political instability and even violent conflicts were witnessed across the country” (CSO Member - 4).

“Wide range of political division among the Somalis. Nothing concrete that has been agreed to complete the constitution. Lack of trust.” (Scholar - 2)

Study findings also revealed that the application of Sharia Laws plays a pertinent role in ensuring legitimacy and building trust among the Somali people

“Many Somali citizens consider the application of Sharia law essential for the legitimacy of the government system due to its alignment with religious and cultural values, fostering trust and acceptance among the population.” (CSO member - 6)

“The Somali constitution's consistency with Islamic Sharia law is significant for justice, peace, and stability in the country as it reflects the religious and cultural values of the majority of the population. Ensuring alignment with Sharia principles can foster legitimacy, respect for the rule of law, and social cohesion, contributing to overall stability and peace.” (Scholar – 1)

“The perspective on the application of Sharia law and its role in the legitimacy of the government system in Somalia varies among Somali citizens. While some consider it essential for legitimacy, others have differing opinions. Legitimacy encompasses factors beyond Sharia law, such as the rule of law and accountability. In a diverse society like Somalia, it is crucial to consider different perspectives and promote an inclusive process that respects diverse viewpoints. The Somali Provisional Constitution recognizes Islam as the state religion and allows for the application of Sharia law within constitutional boundaries. Achieving legitimacy depends on the perspectives of Somali citizens and the establishment of an inclusive governance framework that upholds the rule of law and respects fundamental rights while addressing the needs of the people.” (Politician – 5)

Views on the effectiveness of governance structures in addressing community needs

Findings revealed that the governance structure has failed to address community needs in various ways including sorting out boundary disputes. The boundary disputes have been attributed to the negligence of the provisional constitution to provide guidelines and mechanisms for the establishment of FMS. One member of the CSO had this to say;

“Yes, there have been a quite number of disputes related to boundaries among FMSs. This has emerged after the establishment of FMSs. One of the main reasons are negligence of the Somali provisional constitution which provides guidelines and mechanisms to establish FMSs. Ignoring the constitution has created problems in lands that lay between two FMSs and eventually caused conflict between FMSs arguing over control and legitimacy over disputed areas” (CSO Member 2).

“The implementation of the federal system has actually increased the intensity of boundary disputes between federal member states, although the current situation in the country does not allow more to be said about the boundary since most of the terrestrial federal member states are under control of Al-Shabaab while the boundary dispute increases day by day.” (Scholar – 1)

It was also argued that the boundary disputes are the model of federalism that promotes clan supremacy and threatens Somalia's Unity. A member of the CSO mentioned that;

“We have witnessed many times that boundary disputes have led to conflict between FMSs. The case of Galka'yo is a good example and also a Las'anod conflict. Territorial disputes among FMS members can trigger this type of conflict. It has happened and it will happen for sure. The reason is the model of federalism that Somalia adopted which promotes clan supremacy and threatens Somali unity” (CSO Member-2).

Furthermore, the rise of the various conflicts has resulted in change of priorities from community needs such as health, education to financing security expenditures thus not addressing the community needs. One of the politicians mentioned that.

“Yes.... So, I think that it's created more problems and the resources that these soldiers will be using to guard our national borders. Now. They are used to guard our FMS port, so I think that our resources are also being wasted in this area, which could have been used to guard our national borders instead of our FMS borders. OK, yes” (Politician-3).

Perceptions of transparency and accountability within the governance system

The finding further show that federalism governance system is perceived not to encourage transparency and accountability. This is attributed to the continued misuse of power, clan supremacy, and nepotism persistent within government institutions as noted by one of the elders who mentioned that;

“The existing form of federalism in Somalia is unable to effectively address the underlying issues causing political instability in the country. Despite the civil war in 1991, problems such as misuse of power, clan supremacy, injustice, and nepotism continue to persist within government institutions. The current state of peace is fragile, and there is a risk of renewed conflicts emerging. Additionally, power distribution among Somali clans is heavily skewed towards major clans, leading to the marginalization of minor clans and unequal access to resources and economic opportunities within government institutions, regardless of whether it is the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) or Federal Member States (FMS)” (Elder-3).

As Kaplan (2010.p19) stresses, Despite the reasons for the Somali civil war, there were many however the current government system seems repeating old mistakes that triggered civil unrest across the country. Unless you address such issues, future social unrest is inevitable”.

Assessments of the government's ability to promote social cohesion and unity

The findings further show that the power-sharing formula does not promote social cohesion and unity, it is characterized by injustices and oppression which does not foster social cohesion and unity among clans. A member of the women's group had this to say;

“This formula is the source of injustice and oppression. All Somali clans should have equal opportunity in political participation. There should not be major clans and minor clans as of the current power-sharing formula. It promotes injustice and deprives large members of the community of deserved political offices. I don’t believe clan-based power-sharing addresses political instability. It creates political instability. It also promotes clan supremacy and jeopardizes the sense of unity. It further dives Somali people into clan lines which sometimes triggers clan conflicts” (women group-1).

Foreign elements in Somalia State formation and Neighboring countries’ influence

Motivations and strategies of foreign actors in Somali state formation

Involvement of foreign actors in the Somalia state formation was founded to be triggered primarily to advance their interests and gaining leverage in negotiations through their support and aid inform of investment of substantial amount of money in the development of Somalia state and in peace talks and ultimately designed the system. This is what one of the elders said;

“Upon examining the process and foreign involvement, it becomes evident that foreigners are primarily driven by their interests. Their self-interest takes precedence over any other considerations. The support and aid provided by foreign countries are not purely altruistic gestures, but rather strategic moves aimed at gaining leverage in negotiations. This country, with its vast untapped natural resources and fertile soil teeming with various valuable commodities, is precisely what these foreigners are pursuing. They have invested substantial amounts of money in the development of the Somali state and in peace talks, which have ultimately shaped the current government system. It is the foreigners who have meticulously designed a system that fosters the establishment of fragmented Federal Member States (FMS), each operating as an independent entity. The underlying objective is to create divisions and establish a framework where each state can be courted and influenced by foreign nations to further their agendas.” (Elder-1)

“Foreign involvement in Somalia peace talks has encouraged the adoption of federalism as a means to stabilize the country. However, it has also influenced the emergence of federalism by shaping power dynamics among local actors and reinforcing external interests. While federalism offers potential for conflict resolution by accommodating regional grievances, foreign influence has sometimes prioritized short-term stability over long-term reconciliation, potentially undermining the effectiveness of federalism as a tool for sustainable peace.” (CSO – 5)

Geopolitical interests of neighboring countries in Somalia's governance

The geographical location and coastlines coupled with the vast natural resources have been viewed as the biggest attraction of foreign countries to influence Somalia's governance system. For instance, the introduction of the 4.5 formula is viewed as a tool used by foreign countries to influence the local politics of Somalia. This is one of the religious members had to say;

“I believe it is one of the policies that are exported from abroad. As we all know, Somalia has extensive natural resources which have not been discovered yet. The country's geographical location and coastline Somali possesses attract big countries. To invest fairly is not one of the big countries' cultures, instead, they prefer to destabilize and involve local politics. To create opportunities to steal natural resources, they ensure local communities turn on each other. To achieve such goals, the 4.5 formula was one of the propositions that foreign countries suggested to address conflicts. This formula was introduced by some Somali politicians who serve their Western Masters. The architecture of such policy is now playing its role in ensuring Western countries' agenda to further destabilize Somalia and steal natural resources” (Religious member-1).

One of the main interests of the foreign countries was found to be the untapped natural resources of Somalia. The divide-and-rule policy was the strategy that the foreign countries employed to achieve their mission in Somalia. They signed collaboration agreements with the FMS to work together as they advanced their interests. A religious member mentioned said this during the interview;

“Glancing at the process and foreign involvement. Foreigners are running after their interests. They put their interest first. All the support and aid you see we receive from foreign countries are intended to be used as a bargaining chip. This country you see has undiscovered natural resources. It has a rich soil which contains all types of resources. This is what these foreigners running after. They spent billions of dollars on Somali state-building, and peace talks

which yield the current government system. It is them who designed the current system of government. If you look at how it is shaped, it shows that such a system is designed to create scattered FMS which operates as an individual independent state. The goal is to divide and a role where each state can be courted to inter agreement with foreign countries” (Religious member-2).

Influence of international Actors on governance dynamics and decision-making processes

Active engagement of the Somali people in deciding their fate has been greatly hindered by the involvement of foreigners in the affairs of Somali a case in point was the Eldoret Peace Talks which was greatly influenced by the host country and the IC who had hidden intentions thus creating instability in the entire country. One of the Elders had this to say;

“The peace talks held in Eldoret serve as a prime example of how the Somali people were denied the opportunity to actively participate in shaping their future. These conferences were heavily influenced by the leaders of the host countries and the International Community (IC), who harbored hidden agendas. The repercussions of these talks are evident today, as the entire country finds itself in a state of disarray. The existence of a small number of Federal Member States and a Federal government at the center has led to ongoing struggles over jurisdiction, legal matters, and economic control. The Somali people were never afforded the chance to engage in meaningful discussions or express their perspectives on the international stage, in order to find solutions to their differences and establish a government system that truly aligns with the Somali context. Instead, they were coerced and manipulated into accepting the current federal system, which is tailored to suit the interests of external actors” (Elder-4).

Perceptions of sovereignty and external interference among Somali stakeholders

Findings show that the federal system is perceived as an outcome of external influence and does not portray the interests and aspirations of the people of Somalia and does not give them the room to make their own decisions on their governance. One of the elders who is strongly against the foreign involvement had this to say;

“The federal system currently in place is the result of external influence and does not necessarily reflect the genuine aspirations and needs of the Somali people. It is a system that has been imposed upon them, leaving little room for their own agency and decision-making. The Somali people have been marginalized and compelled to conform to a framework that may not be

the most suitable for their unique circumstances. The absence of a comprehensive and inclusive dialogue has hindered the exploration of alternative government systems that could better address the specific challenges faced by Somalia. Consequently, the Somali people find themselves grappling with internal power struggles, legal disputes, and economic instability, all of which could have been mitigated through a more participatory and locally-driven decision-making process.” (Elder-3)

“Foreign inference and influence cannot be overruled; however, nevertheless the idea of federalism gained interest from many Somali clans and politicians. Noteworthy to mention that some of the clan and political leaders in British Somaliland regions wanted a more extreme system of co-federation” (Politician-5).

The involvement of foreigners is perceived to be instrumental in the implementation of federalism in Somalia. This is in the form of the provision of technical expertise, financial aid, and diplomatic engagements that enable negotiations and mediation of disputes. One of the CSO members said the following in this regard;

“International involvement also played a significant part in the implementation of federalism in Somalia. The global community, along with regional organizations and foreign governments, provided assistance and guidance to facilitate the establishment of a federal system. This support included technical expertise, financial aid, and diplomatic engagement to help Somalia navigate the complexities of transitioning to federalism. Foreign actors contributed by facilitating negotiations among Somali stakeholders, mediating disputes, and providing political as well as financial support for the process of federalization. Their involvement sought to promote stability, peace, and effective governance within Somalia. However, the issue was that there was limited opportunity for parties to decide the best governance system that may address the root causes of the Somali conflict.” (CSO Member-2)

Rationality of Governance system in a war-torn country

Role of international aid and donor support in sustaining governance institutions

International aid and donor support was found to be instrumental in supporting the federal system though it is not sustainable. This is because it promotes dependency and provides room for external influence and interference. One of the religious member and Scholar had this to say;

“There is a popular saying that emphasizes the negative consequences of relying on others for resources. It fosters a cycle of dependency where individuals wait for someone else to provide for them, whereas self-reliance is regarded as the ultimate solution. The current government system in Somalia has been largely influenced by external forces, leaving limited autonomy in shaping its destiny. Foreign experts develop policies and laws imposing Western culture and values, leading to conflicts within society. The introduction of federalism serves the interests of external actors but has proven counterproductive in resolving conflicts and led to jurisdictional disputes between neighboring regions” (Religious member-2).

“The role of foreign involvement in Somalia peace talks has had a significant impact on the emergence of federalism and its effectiveness as a tool for conflict resolution. Foreign actors have played a crucial role in facilitating dialogue and negotiations between various Somali political actors and regional entities. Through mediation efforts, they have helped bring stakeholders together to discuss and agree on the principles and structures of federalism.” (Scholar – 3)

Participant’s comment is in line with Waal (2020) research findings as it highlights the implementation of federalism in Somalia has overlooked the significance of clan connections and identity, leading to the exclusion and marginalization of minority clans. This exacerbates divisions and creates potential sources for future conflict. Foreign actors participating in Somalia peace negotiations have also impacted federalism's development.

Trade-offs between security and development priorities in governance planning

Political divisions clan-based politics, security concerns, limited institutional capacity, external interference were found to be hinderance to ensuring public participation and awareness. This has affected the setting of development priorities and governance planning. One of the Women group members had this to say;

“Obstacles preventing the completion of the Somali Provisional Constitution include political divisions, clan-based politics, security concerns, limited institutional capacity, external interference, and challenges in ensuring public participation and awareness. Disagreements among key stakeholders and competing visions for the country's future, along with the influence of clan affiliations, impede consensus-building. Ongoing security challenges and limited institutional capacity pose significant hurdles, while external actors and a lack of public engagement further complicate the process. Overcoming these obstacles will require political will,

dialogue, reconciliation, and international support to foster inclusive processes, strengthen institutions, and build consensus among diverse groups in Somalia.” (Women group-2)

Findings also show that the lack of functional government institutions to provide essential services has been one of the rationalities behind the adoption of the federal systems of governance. This has resulted in persistent conflict among the people of Somalia.

“The primary motivation for the Somali people to establish a state was to overcome the ongoing cycle of war, droughts, and diseases and achieve lasting peace. The objective of forming a Somali government was to create an efficient administration that could rival other governments in Asia and Africa in terms of economic development, trade, and stability. However, the current government has failed to meet the expectations of the Somali people. It lacks functionality and fails to provide essential services. The absence of justice and equality within the government exacerbates the existing problems. Conflict among Somali people persist, with opposition groups mobilizing clan militias against the government, and the deployment of foreign troops, such as ATMIS, to maintain stability in conflict zones. It is crucial to recognize that only the Somali people themselves can resolve the issues plaguing their country, as foreign troops alone cannot establish lasting peace” (Women group-3).

As another Women group member echoes the significance of accommodating all segments of Somali communities regardless of clan affiliation,

“Somalia's experience with enforced federalism provides important lessons for the potential use of federalism in conflict resolution. To enhance its effectiveness, future implementation should focus on involving all segments of society, especially marginalized groups affected by conflict. International actors have a vital role in creating mechanisms to enable these marginalized groups to participate and address their grievances during state-building processes. It is also crucial to prevent the empowerment of war criminals or power-seeking elites through conflicts, as their involvement can perpetuate crimes and marginalize minority groups” (women group-4).

The findings resonate with other qualitative studies that examined federalism in divided societies. For example, Hashi & Barasa, (2022) revealed that externally driven models in the Horn of Africa struggled to gain local legitimacy, while Lederach (1997) framework highlighted the importance of inclusive dialogue for peacebuilding paralleling respondents' emphasis on reconciliation.

Summary

The research conducted delves into the intricate dynamics of federalism and its influence on various aspects of political stability, instability, clan-based power sharing, resource sharing, boundary disputes, and constitutional frameworks within the context of Somalia. Employing a multifaceted approach encompassing reliability analysis, validity assessment, descriptive statistics, chi-square tests, and regression analysis, the study provides comprehensive insights into the interplay between these variables.

Reliability Analysis: The study begins by assessing the reliability of the data using Cronbach's alpha test, yielding a result of 0.722, indicating good reliability. This underscores the robustness of the measurements employed, instilling confidence in subsequent analyses.

Validity Assessment: Validity of the data is scrutinized through bivariate correlations, revealing significant correlations among items within each construct. These findings affirm the validity of the measurement tools and contribute to the understanding of political factors in Somalia.

The demographic characteristics of the respondents reveal key insights into their gender, age, and educational qualifications. As illustrated in Figure 1, the majority of the respondents were male, comprising 73% of the sample, while females accounted for 23%. This indicates a significant gender disparity among the respondents.

In terms of age distribution, a predominant portion of the respondents (92%) were aged between 35 and 45 years, with only a small fraction (8%) falling into the 45 to 55-year age bracket, as shown in Figure 2. This suggests that the majority of respondents are in their mid-career stage.

Regarding educational qualifications, the data shows that a significant majority (81%) of the respondents hold Master's degrees. This was followed by those with Bachelor's degrees, making up 15% of the sample, and a smaller group with Ph.D. qualifications, accounting for 4%. This distribution highlights that the respondents are generally well-educated, with a substantial proportion having advanced degrees.

Descriptive Statistics: The descriptive statistics shed light on the perceptions of respondents regarding the influence of federalism on political stability, instability, clan-based power sharing, boundary disputes, resource sharing, and constitutional frameworks. The findings capture diverse viewpoints, reflecting nuances in public opinion and highlighting areas of contention.

Chi-Square Test for Association: The chi-square test establishes significant associations between political instability and boundary dispute resolution, resource sharing, and imposed federalism. These results underscore the interconnectedness of political dynamics within the Somali context.

Regression Analysis: The regression analysis further elucidates the relationships between political instability and various independent variables, revealing insights into the predictive power of factors such as imposed federalism, resource sharing, clan-based power sharing, boundary disputes, and constitutional frameworks. The analysis highlights the significance of these factors in shaping political stability in Somalia.

Overall, the findings of the research contribute significantly to the understanding of federalism's impact on political dynamics in Somalia. The study not only validates existing

knowledge but also offers new insights that can inform future research endeavours and policy decisions. By employing a rigorous methodology and analyzing multiple dimensions of the problem, the research provides a comprehensive framework for understanding and addressing political challenges within the Somali context.

The qualitative research findings provide a comprehensive analysis of the effectiveness of imposed federalism as a tool for conflict resolution in post-conflict Somalia. The study addresses several research questions focusing on the impact of Somalia's governance system on political stability, the contribution of imposed federalism to sustainable peace, the effectiveness of clan-based federalism in ensuring inclusivity, justice, and equality, the perception of the Somali people regarding the current governance system, and the role of foreign elements in Somali state formation.

Effect of Somalia's Governance System on Political Stability: The study highlights significant challenges within Somalia's governance system, particularly regarding federalism. It suggests that federalism has not effectively addressed the root causes of political instability, such as inequality among Somali communities, clan-based power-sharing, and constitutional contradictions. Lack of clarity in power distribution between federal and regional authorities has led to strained relationships and political deadlocks. Additionally, the absence of a constitutional court has enabled politicians to misuse power, exacerbating instability and conflicts.

Contribution of Imposed Federalism to Sustainable Peace: Imposed federalism, without genuine acceptance from the Somali people, has raised concerns about its sustainability in achieving peace. The system's imposition by external actors without considering Somalia's cultural and religious context has hindered trust and unity among communities. Instead of fostering unity,

federalism has exacerbated divisions along clan lines, leading to disunity rather than reconciliation. There are also doubts about the legitimacy and inclusivity of the federal system, with some arguing that it has not fully met its intended objectives.

Effectiveness of Clan-Based Federalism in Ensuring Inclusivity, Justice, and Equality: Clan-based federalism has generated mixed perceptions regarding its effectiveness in promoting inclusivity, justice, and equality. While it has provided representation for various clans in decision-making processes, it has also intensified competition and tensions between Federal Member States. The emphasis on clan interests has marginalized minority clans and perpetuated economic disparities. Furthermore, the system's focus on power-sharing along clan lines has hindered meritocracy and fostered corruption, undermining broader principles of inclusivity and fairness.

Somali People's Perception of Current Governance System: There is a widespread lack of trust in government institutions and leadership among the Somali people. The current governance system is viewed as externally imposed and not reflective of Somali interests, leading to skepticism about its ability to strengthen unity and trust among communities. Moreover, the system has failed to address community needs adequately, particularly in resolving boundary disputes and promoting transparency and accountability within government institutions.

Foreign Elements in Somali State Formation: The role of foreign actors in Somali state formation, particularly the motivations and strategies of external forces, has contributed to the complexity of the governance landscape. Geopolitical interests of neighboring countries and international actors have influenced governance dynamics and decision-making processes, raising concerns about sovereignty and external interference among Somali stakeholders.

The assessments regarding the government's ability to promote social cohesion and unity in Somalia reveal significant challenges and complexities stemming from both internal dynamics and external influences. The power-sharing formula, often touted as a mechanism for fostering unity, is criticized for perpetuating injustices and oppression among different clans, ultimately leading to further division rather than cohesion. Members of various groups, including women's groups and religious leaders, express concerns that this formula exacerbates clan supremacy and political instability, thereby undermining the sense of unity among the Somali people.

Foreign involvement in Somali state formation and governance dynamics is seen as primarily driven by self-interest. Foreign actors, attracted by Somalia's geographical location and untapped natural resources, are perceived to manipulate local politics to advance their agendas. Strategies such as the introduction of the 4.5 formula, purportedly aimed at addressing conflicts, are viewed as tools for foreign powers to maintain control and exploit Somalia's resources. The divide-and-rule policy, coupled with collaboration agreements with Federal Member States (FMS), further underscores the influence of foreign interests in shaping Somalia's governance landscape.

International actors' influence on governance dynamics and decision-making processes, particularly through initiatives like peace talks, is criticized for marginalizing Somali voices and perpetuating instability. The Eldoret Peace Talks, for instance, are cited as examples where external actors, including host countries and the International Community (IC), imposed solutions without genuine input from the Somali people. This lack of meaningful participation hampers the establishment of a government system aligned with local aspirations and needs.

The perception of sovereignty and external interference among Somali stakeholders reflects a sentiment that the current federal system does not represent the genuine interests of the Somali people. Instead, it is perceived as a product of external influence, limiting local agency and decision-making autonomy. While international involvement in implementing federalism is acknowledged, concerns arise regarding the sustainability of this approach, as it fosters dependency and allows external actors to wield disproportionate influence.

In terms of international aid and donor support, while instrumental in sustaining governance institutions, there are reservations about its long-term efficacy. Relying on external assistance risks perpetuating a cycle of dependency and external interference, rather than fostering self-reliance and local ownership. The current governance system, influenced by foreign actors, is criticized for prioritizing Western values over local needs, leading to conflicts and jurisdictional disputes.

Finally, the trade-offs between security and development priorities in governance planning highlight the multifaceted challenges facing Somalia. Political divisions, clan-based politics, security concerns, and external interference hinder effective governance planning and development prioritization. Overcoming these obstacles requires political will, dialogue, reconciliation, and international support to foster inclusive processes and strengthen institutions.

The qualitative findings underscore the intricate challenges facing Somalia's governance system, particularly in the context of federalism. While federalism was intended to address political instability and foster peace, its imposition and lack of genuine acceptance have led to a myriad of issues, including political deadlock, clan divisions, and mistrust in institutions. Moving forward, there is a need for a more inclusive and participatory approach to governance that

prioritizes Somali interests and addresses the root causes of conflict and instability. Additionally, efforts to promote transparency, accountability, and equitable representation are essential for building a sustainable and peaceful future for Somalia.

The findings also underscore the complex interplay between internal dynamics and external influences in Somalia's governance landscape. While international involvement can provide support and expertise, it also risks undermining local agency and perpetuating dependency. Addressing these challenges requires a nuanced approach that prioritizes local participation, ownership, and the alignment of governance systems with the aspirations of the Somali people.

CHAPTER 5: IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

Somalia has implemented a federal system of government to resolve a prolonged political deadlock. The notion of employing federalism as a strategy to resolve political impasse emerged within the academic sphere following the USSR (Lapidus, 2013). The utilization of federalism as a mechanism for resolving conflicts has gained prominence among scholars and specialists in peace-building and political science, offering alternative approaches for post-conflict nations grappling with establishing governance systems that can accommodate diverse community interests. Blumer's (2017) work has prompted ongoing academic discourse regarding the efficacy of federalism as a mechanism for conflict resolution. Experts are being prompted to further scrutinize the validity and ramifications of this theoretical framework in cultivating durable peace and harmonious community relations within post-conflict societies.

The interest of scholars in this phenomenon has grown since the dissolution of the USSR, which led to numerous countries in Western and Eastern Europe experiencing political, economic, and military competition between the USSR and NATO. This rivalry left smaller countries struggling to maintain law and order. Somalia is among these nations, enduring one of the longest civil wars in modern history that has now entered its third decade. Despite multiple efforts by the people of Somalia to reconcile their differences, most peace talks facilitated by international organizations have failed to yield positive outcomes. The term "distorted minor countries" describes how these nations were manipulated into depending on foreign aid from either the USSR or NATO by implementing unrealistic foreign policies for self-benefit. This manipulation can be

observed through their political and economic agendas as well as subsequent high expectations for stringent economic measures leading to political instability and conflicts.

Peace negotiations ultimately failed due to the intervention of international actors, who imposed peace terms that served the interests of foreign countries facilitating the talks. The competing interests among these international actors overshadowed the goals and purposes of the dialogues, as each state sought to promote a specific type of government similar to what Somali people had adopted. According to Samatar (2018, p. 6), during the Eldoret conference, non-Somalis took charge of setting agendas and outlining key items in the rules for procedure and declaration of hostilities cessation; one such item was establishing federal governance. In many instances, Somali representatives were treated as special guests but were deprived of their right to determine a suitable governance system for their country.

Purpose of the study

This research aimed to explore the effects of federalism, Somalia's current governance structure, on political stability. The study aimed to analyze the role of external involvement in establishing the system and its impact on Somali politics. Additionally, it sought to assess public opinion about the system and its ability to address Somalia's political stalemate. After almost a decade since its adoption, the country continues to grapple with political instability as clan dominance resurfaces in its political landscape. Leaders representing major clans are threatening violence, posing a risk of potential civil conflict that could disrupt the fragile peace maintained by the UN-supported government.

Additionally, the research sought to evaluate how federalism affects marginalized communities in Somalia, addressing concerns such as unfair treatment, unequal opportunities, political repression, social bias, and challenges to national cohesion. The results of this investigation are essential for comprehending the role of federalism in fostering political security and representing the needs of various factions in Somalia. They also provide insight into the obstacles encountered during the shift to a federal governance system and suggest potential alternative governance structures suitable for Somalia's distinct circumstances.

The research also sought to assess how federalism influences the allocation of resources and delivery of crucial services to disadvantaged groups in Somalia. By evaluating the effectiveness of federal governance in tackling socio-economic disparities and ensuring access to necessities, the study intends to reveal important insights for policymakers and stakeholders in Somalia. Moreover, the results provided potential strategies for enhancing inclusivity and fairness within the federal framework, thereby contributing to sustainable development and social harmony in the nation. The thorough examination of federalism's effects on marginalized communities emphasizes the necessity for a governance structure that addresses their needs while guaranteeing equal representation.

Federalism, as a complex and multifaceted system, plays a pivotal role in determining how resources are allocated, and essential services are delivered to marginalized groups in Somalia. The study conducted a comprehensive investigation into the intricate dynamics of federal governance, particularly its influence on socio-economic inequality and the equitable distribution of basic necessities. By meticulously analyzing the nuances of federalism, the research unearthed critical mechanisms that shape governance at the federal level, shedding light on the intricacies

involved. It highlighted key aspects such as resource allocation and service provision, illustrating how federal structures impact underserved communities and contribute to broader socio-economic disparities. Through this examination, the study provided valuable insights into the operational complexities of federal governance in Somalia, offering a nuanced understanding of its implications for socio-economic equity and the delivery of essential public goods.

In addition to the immediate findings, the study provided valuable insights into strategies to enhance inclusivity and equity within the federal system. It underscored the critical need for policies and institutional frameworks that ensure fair representation and effectively address the concerns of marginalized groups. Moreover, the study proposed pathways to promote sustainable development and foster social cohesion across Somalia, serving as a roadmap for policymakers and stakeholders grappling with the complexities of federal governance. By emphasizing the importance of inclusive governance structures and equitable resource allocation, the study advocates for approaches that can mitigate historical disparities and strengthen national unity. It calls for proactive measures to integrate marginalized communities into decision-making processes and development initiatives, thereby contributing to a more cohesive and equitable society under the federalist framework.

The detailed scrutiny and evaluation of federalism's impact on marginalized communities underscored the pressing need for a governance system that not only acknowledges their challenges but also proactively addresses them through inclusive policies and empowerment initiatives. It advocated for a governance framework that prioritizes inclusivity, equitable representation, and fair distribution of resources, aiming to foster sustainable development and enhance social cohesion in Somalia. This approach highlights the importance of ensuring that

marginalized groups have a voice in decision-making processes and access to opportunities that promote their socio-economic advancement. By emphasizing proactive measures to integrate marginalized communities into governance structures and socio-economic development efforts, federalism can potentially mitigate historical disparities and promote a more cohesive and equitable society in Somalia.

This research employed a mixed methodological approach to investigate discrepancies and various levels of significance in order to understand the intricacy of the social environment (Biber, 2019). This strategy highlights both qualitative and quantitative techniques for addressing intricate research issues such as cultural, political, and clan disputes. By using this blended method, the researcher could present an alternative interpretation of the underlying causes of enduring conflict in Somalia that challenges more widely-accepted viewpoints. It allowed for an analysis of diverse political dynamics taking place amidst established federalism.

Considering the intricate nature of the social landscape in Somalia, the research employed in-depth interviews with key stakeholders and community members to gain a deeper understanding of their viewpoints on cultural, political, and clan conflicts. These interviews facilitated a nuanced comprehension of the underlying factors contributing to conflicts and the complexities involved. Additionally, statistical analysis was conducted to examine data pertaining to political dynamics and the impact of federalism on the country. This analytical approach enabled the identification of patterns and correlations that contribute to a more comprehensive grasp of the situation. By combining both qualitative and quantitative methods, this study provided a holistic examination challenging traditional perspectives while offering alternative interpretations. The adoption of

mixed methodological approaches was crucial in capturing multiple aspects of Somalia's social and political dynamics.

In the quantitative analysis of this study, a chi-square test was utilized to examine the association between the dependent variable (stability under imposed federalism) and independent variables (political instability, clan-based power-sharing formula, boundary disputes, resource sharing, and Constitutional framework). The qualitative aspect of the research employed an ethnographic design. According to John & Clark (2007, p. 79), “it describes, analyzes and interpret phenomenon related to conflicts in culture difference, behavior, and language which progressed overtime”. This study provides an effective method to understand the fundamental nature of instability in Somalia and its connection to the rise of federalism in the country. It also investigates how this recently implemented system is impacting the lives of Somalis, particularly marginalized communities. The study examines the injustices they experience, as well as how the system contributes to a culture of animosity, inequality, political repression, social discrimination, and undermines national unity.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of federalism's impact in Somalia, it was crucial to analyze its effects on governance and security. The adoption of the federal system has introduced significant challenges to governance structures at regional and national levels, exacerbating political tensions and fostering competition among different regions. This has contributed to a fragmented governance approach, where regional administrations vie for authority and resources, sometimes at the expense of national unity and coherence. The decentralization of power under federalism has led to divergent policies and priorities among regions, complicating efforts to coordinate national governance strategies and security initiatives. As a result, Somalia faces

complexities in achieving cohesive governance and effective security measures across its diverse regions, highlighting the intricate dynamics influenced by the federalist framework.

The federalist model has profoundly influenced the security landscape in Somalia. Power distribution among regional administrations has resulted in varying security policies and practices, contributing to a complex and sometimes contradictory environment for national security initiatives. This decentralized approach to governance has implications for the coordination and effectiveness of security measures across different regions, potentially affecting the overall stability and security of the country.

Beyond these challenges, there are concerns regarding the efficacy of federalism in addressing historical injustices and meeting the needs of marginalized communities. It is crucial to examine whether the implementation of federalism exacerbates or alleviates existing social and political disparities, especially for groups historically marginalized and excluded from decision-making processes. Understanding how federalist structures impact these communities requires careful analysis of policies and governance practices at both federal and state levels. This scrutiny should encompass issues of representation, resource allocation, and the accessibility of opportunities for marginalized groups within the framework of federalism. By critically assessing these aspects, researchers and policymakers can determine whether federalism fosters inclusivity and equitable development or reinforces historical inequities and power imbalances. Therefore, evaluating the impact of federalist systems on marginalized communities is essential for informing policies that promote social justice and ensure that federalism serves as a mechanism for addressing, rather than perpetuating, societal inequalities.

Understanding the impact of federalism on governance and security in Somalia is essential for developing effective strategies to address the country's underlying issues and promote an inclusive and stable society. Federalism in Somalia influences various aspects of governance, including the distribution of power, resource allocation, and conflict resolution mechanisms. By examining these impacts, policymakers and stakeholders can identify both the benefits and challenges associated with federalism. This understanding allows for the creation of tailored strategies that strengthen governance structures, enhance security, and ensure that all segments of society are represented and included in the political process. Addressing the complexities of federalism is key to building a cohesive and resilient state, capable of overcoming its challenges and achieving long-term stability and development.

As part of this chosen hybrid approach, this research utilized a questionnaire and thorough interviews as methods for gathering data. The decision to use questionnaires was based on the need to acquire concrete data for measuring the correlation between the variables. Thorough interviews were employed to gather information that would provide a deeper understanding of the research problem (imposed federalism) and its impact on political stability in Somalia. Purposive and randomized sampling methods were used deliberately to prevent survey bias that may result from relying solely on one method of data collection. By using two different approaches, biases in this study were minimized. Open-ended questions characterized the qualitative component, whereas closed-ended questions formed part of the quantitative section.

The combined method employed in this research allowed for a comprehensive examination of the issue, incorporating both quantitative and qualitative aspects. By using a mixed-methods

approach, the study was able to draw on the strengths of both data collection techniques, providing a more nuanced and detailed understanding of the research problem.

The survey component generated specific and measurable data that was crucial for analyzing the relationships between the variables under investigation. This quantitative data provided a strong basis for identifying trends, patterns, and correlations, thus supporting a comprehensive statistical analysis. The survey data could quantitatively illustrate the impact of various factors, such as imposed federalism, resource sharing, and boundary disputes, on political instability in Somalia. By examining these relationships, the study can reveal the extent to which each factor contributes to instability, offering valuable insights into the dynamics of political conflict. Furthermore, the data enables a deeper understanding of how these variables interact, helping to identify potential areas for intervention to promote stability and conflict resolution.

Conversely, the in-depth interviews provided a qualitative dimension, enabling the researcher to explore the complexities of the research problem more thoroughly. These interviews offered rich, nuanced insights into the experiences, perceptions, and opinions of individuals directly impacted by the issues under investigation. By capturing personal narratives and contextual details, this qualitative data complemented the quantitative findings, helping to explain the underlying reasons behind the statistical relationships identified in the survey data. Moreover, the interviews provided a deeper understanding of the social, cultural, and political contexts influencing these dynamics, thus enriching the overall analysis. This approach ensured a more comprehensive interpretation of the results, bridging the gap between numerical trends and real-world experiences.

By integrating these two methods, the research was able to provide a more holistic view of the factors influencing political stability in Somalia. The survey data offered a broad, generalizable picture of the trends and patterns, while the interviews provided depth and context, revealing human stories and intricate dynamics behind the numbers. This combined approach ensured a thorough and well-rounded examination of the research issue, ultimately leading to more informed and actionable conclusions and recommendations.

Purposive and randomized sampling techniques were intentionally chosen to minimize survey bias and ensure the data represented a broad spectrum of perspectives and experiences. Purposive sampling allowed the researcher to intentionally select participants who were particularly knowledgeable or affected by the research issue, ensuring that critical insights were captured. This method was crucial for gaining an in-depth understanding from individuals with specific experiences relevant to the study's focus. By strategically selecting these participants, the study was able to delve deeply into the nuances and complexities of the issues at hand, providing a rich qualitative context that complemented the broader quantitative data obtained through randomized sampling.

On the other hand, this study utilized randomized sampling to ensure that the sample population accurately represented the broader group, thereby bolstering the generalizability of its findings. Through random participant selection, the study sought to encompass a wide range of perspectives, thereby minimizing potential biases that may arise when samples are not chosen randomly. Random sampling enhances the study's validity by providing each member of the population with an equal chance of being selected, ensuring that the findings are more likely to reflect the diversity of opinions within the larger group. This methodological approach contributes

to the robustness of the research outcomes, offering a more comprehensive understanding of the subject matter while adhering to rigorous scientific standards in data collection and analysis.

By combining these two approaches, the study leveraged the strengths of both sampling methods. Purposive sampling provided detailed, context-rich data, while randomized sampling ensured a representative and unbiased dataset. This dual strategy minimized potential biases and enriched the overall depth and breadth of the findings. Consequently, the research presented a more comprehensive and accurate picture of the factors influencing political stability in Somalia, capturing both general trends and specific, nuanced insights. This methodological synergy enabled a holistic understanding of the complex dynamics at play, ensuring that both the broad patterns and the intricate details were effectively addressed in the analysis.

In the qualitative segment of this research, open-ended questions enabled participants to express their views, experiences, and insights in their own words, providing rich qualitative data that complemented the numerical findings. This approach facilitated a deeper exploration of the research topic, capturing nuanced perspectives and personal stories that quantitative data alone could not reveal. Participants' narratives offered valuable context and depth, shedding light on the underlying factors and complexities of the issues being studied. By incorporating these detailed personal insights, the research gained a more comprehensive understanding of the topic, revealing dimensions that purely quantitative methods might overlook.

Conversely, the quantitative section used closed-ended questions to systematically collect data for statistical analysis. These questions facilitated the measurement of variable correlations, enabling the identification of trends, patterns, and relationships within the data. The structured nature of closed-ended questions ensured consistency in responses, making it easier to aggregate

and compare data across different participant groups. This approach allowed for precise and reliable measurements, providing a clear picture of how various factors interrelate. Consequently, the quantitative data complemented the qualitative insights, enhancing the overall depth and rigor of the research findings and contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the factors influencing political stability in Somalia.

By integrating both open-ended and closed-ended questions, the research effectively combined qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative data enriched the study with detailed personal insights, while the quantitative data provided a foundation for statistical analysis. This complementary approach ensured a comprehensive understanding of the research problem, allowing for more robust and well-rounded conclusions and recommendations regarding the factors influencing political stability in Somalia. The use of qualitative data brought depth and context to the findings, while quantitative data allowed for generalizations and pattern identification, ensuring the study addressed the complexity of political stability from multiple perspectives and enhancing the validity and reliability of the results.

Overall, this mixed-method approach significantly enriched the research by diversifying data types and providing a more comprehensive understanding of the variables' interrelations with political stability in Somalia. By integrating qualitative and quantitative methods, the study captured a broader spectrum of insights and perspectives. The qualitative component, utilizing open-ended questions, allowed participants to articulate their views and experiences in their own words, offering rich, detailed data that revealed the complexities and nuances behind the issues. This narrative data provided context to the numerical findings, uncovering underlying factors that quantitative methods alone might overlook. Conversely, the quantitative component, employing

closed-ended questions, facilitated the systematic collection of data that could be statistically analyzed to identify trends, patterns, and correlations. This structured approach ensured the reliability and generalizability of the findings, allowing for the measurement of the strength and direction of relationships between variables. Together, these methods complemented each other, with the qualitative data adding depth and detail to the statistical trends observed in the quantitative data. This mixed approach not only minimized biases and enhanced the reliability of the results but also offered a well-rounded, multi-dimensional view of the factors influencing political stability. It enabled a thorough examination of how elements such as imposed federalism, resource sharing, and clan-based power sharing impact political stability, leading to more informed and actionable conclusions. By leveraging the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative research, the study provided a richer, more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics at play in Somalia's political landscape.

Study Procedure and Ethical Assurance

The current research study obtained ethical approval from both the UNICAF Research Ethical Committee (UREC) and Somali Research Authority before commencing data collection. Upholding stringent ethical standards, the study prioritized the confidentiality and anonymity of participants' personal information, which was securely stored and accessible only to the researcher and authorized personnel. Comprehensive measures were implemented to mitigate any potential risks to participants, ensuring their well-being throughout the study. Participants were provided with clear information regarding the study's objectives, their voluntary participation, and their unconditional right to withdraw from the study at any stage without consequences. Prior to their involvement, informed consent was obtained from all participants, affirming their understanding

and agreement to take part based on the disclosed procedures and safeguards. This approach underscored the researcher's commitment to ethical conduct and participant protection, fostering a trustworthy environment conducive to rigorous and reliable research outcomes.

Data collection employed for this study is a mixed-methods approach, combining an online survey hosted on a secure platform with structured interviews conducted in person or via audio recording, contingent upon participant consent. Over a period of two months, potential participants were recruited through targeted outreach via email and social media, aligning with predefined inclusion criteria. Participation in the study was entirely voluntary, emphasizing the ethical principle of informed consent. The online survey facilitated broad data collection, ensuring efficiency and reach, while the structured interviews provided deeper insights through qualitative interactions with participants. To maintain participant confidentiality and data security, all personal information collected during both the survey and interviews was strictly protected and accessible only to authorized personnel involved in the research. The researcher adhered to stringent ethical guidelines throughout the data collection process, ensuring that participants were fully informed about the study's purpose, their right to withdraw from participation at any time, and the confidentiality measures in place to safeguard their responses. This mixed-methods approach was designed to capture diverse perspectives and nuanced insights into the participants' attitudes and experiences related to the study's objectives. By integrating quantitative survey data with qualitative interview narratives, the study aimed to comprehensively explore the multifaceted aspects of the research topic. The combination of methods allowed for a triangulated analysis, enhancing the reliability and validity of the findings while offering a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under investigation.

Ethical Considerations

The current research adhered to a rigorous ethical process, commencing with approval from the UREC before data collection began to ensure compliance with ethical standards. Confidentiality of participant personal information was rigorously maintained throughout the study, with all collected data securely stored and accessible only to authorized personnel. Stringent measures were in place to protect participants, who provided informed consent prior to their involvement. They were fully informed about the study's objectives, their right to withdraw at any stage without repercussions, and the assurance of confidentiality regarding their responses. These ethical safeguards were integral to the study's design, reflecting a commitment to respecting participant autonomy and ensuring their welfare throughout the research process. The adherence to ethical guidelines, as underscored by Marshfield (2011), highlights the importance of safeguarding participant rights and confidentiality in research involving human subjects. By upholding these ethical principles, the study not only maintained integrity and credibility but also fostered trust and transparency with participants, reinforcing the ethical foundation of the research endeavour.

Furthermore, participants were provided with access to dedicated support hotlines to address any physical or mental health concerns that may have arisen during the course of the study. Ethical considerations were paramount throughout the research process, reflecting a commitment to ensuring the safety and well-being of all participants involved. The researchers adhered to comprehensive ethical guidelines, emphasizing protective measures to safeguard participants' rights and welfare. This ethical framework was instrumental in guiding the study's conduct, underscoring the researchers' dedication to upholding moral principles and ethical standards in

research practice. Marshfield, (2011) highlights the importance of such ethical rigor in studies involving human participants, ensuring that ethical considerations are integrated into every aspect of the research design and implementation. By prioritizing participant safety and welfare, the study not only upheld ethical standards but also enhanced the credibility and reliability of its findings, fostering trust and integrity in the research process.

Data collection in this study utilized a hybrid approach, integrating both a survey and structured interviews. The survey was administered online via a secure platform, ensuring accessibility and security for participants. Concurrently, structured interviews were conducted in person, with participants consenting to audio recording of discussions. Potential participants were initially contacted through email and social media, and their participation was voluntary, contingent upon meeting predefined inclusion criteria. Ethical guidelines were rigorously adhered to throughout the research process to safeguard participant welfare. This included obtaining informed consent from each participant, guaranteeing confidentiality of their responses, and securing formal approval from pertinent ethical review boards before commencement of the study. These measures were implemented to uphold ethical standards in research and to ensure the protection and privacy of all participants involved in the data collection phase.

The survey and interview data collected underwent comprehensive statistical analysis and qualitative evaluation to yield insightful findings on perceptions and engagement with federalism among individuals in Somalia. This study aimed to assess public attitudes toward federalism, examining its implications for political stability in the country. Furthermore, it explored alternative governance models that could potentially address perceived shortcomings of federalism and better suit Somalia's socio-political landscape. Dinan & Heckelman, (2020) highlight the study's focus

on understanding why federalism has proven ineffective as a conflict resolution mechanism in Somalia and propose exploring other governance systems that might foster stability and inclusivity more effectively. Through rigorous statistical analysis, the study provided nuanced insights into the challenges and opportunities associated with federalism in Somalia. It sought to uncover underlying factors influencing public perceptions of federalism and its impact on political dynamics. Qualitative evaluation complemented these findings by capturing in-depth perspectives through structured interviews, enriching the understanding of stakeholders' experiences and perspectives on federal governance. The research aimed to contribute empirical evidence to ongoing debates on governance reform in Somalia, emphasizing the need for context-specific solutions that resonate with local realities and address governance deficits. Moreover, by investigating alternative governance models, the study aimed to broaden the discourse beyond federalism to explore innovative approaches that could promote stability and inclusivity. This approach was grounded in a comparative analysis of governance frameworks, drawing lessons from other countries' experiences to inform potential reforms in Somalia. The research underscores the importance of adaptive governance strategies that evolve with the country's socio-political dynamics and aspirations for sustainable peace and development.

Informed consent is an essential ethical principle that ensures that participants are aware of the research being conducted and their right to withdraw from the study at any time. To obtain informed consent, participants were provided with a detailed consent form that outlines the purpose of the study, the procedures involved, potential risks and benefits, and their right to confidentiality. Confidentiality is also a critical aspect of conducting research ethically as it helps in building trust between researchers and participants. Additionally, during the data collection process, steps were taken to protect participants' privacy and ensure that their personal information

was kept confidential. Furthermore, all data collected during the study was encrypted and stored securely to prevent unauthorized access. By prioritizing informed consent and data protection, the researcher upholds the human rights of participants and maintains the integrity of the study.

Influence of federalism, clan-based power sharing, boundary dispute resolution, resource sharing and constitutional framework on political instability

After ten years of implementing federalism in Somalia, the expectations of the Somali people have evolved. The country has continuously faced political deadlocks and occasional violent conflicts. This research aims to investigate why federalism as a mechanism for conflict resolution failed in Somalia, while also seeking to emphasize the conditions (separate political entities/associations, voluntary agreements, adoption of shared policies, and decision-making on common issues) identified by political experts for countries considering federalism. The objective is to shed light on why federalism has become a necessary choice for nations. Additionally, this study plans to address perceived limitations of the system by examining limited opportunities given to opposing parties and heavy involvement from external factors such as the international community. Scholars in this field have emphasized that there are very few opportunities provided to opposing parties and significant intervention from international actors manipulates the system, leaving no space for local communities who become victims of what political scientists refer to as imposed federalism. This study was set out to identify an appropriate governance system relevant to Somalia.

The current study noted that there was a positive and statistically significant association between political instability and imposed federalism. This implies that an increase in imposed federalism translates into an increase in political instability. This could be attributed to the fact that

while federalism distributes power, an overly decentralized system with a weak central authority may struggle to maintain overall stability. A lack of coordination and a centralizing force during crises can contribute to political instability. This finding is contrary to the findings of Remigios, (2007) existing research suggests that federalism holds promise for promoting political stability in diverse societies recovering from conflict. However, the implementation of federalism requires careful consideration to prevent exacerbating pre-existing tensions. While decentralization can empower local governance, it must be complemented by strong institutional frameworks and mechanisms for intergovernmental coordination. Without these, federalism risks creating power vacuums or competing authorities, which can heighten instability. Lessons from this finding suggest that post-conflict states considering federal systems must prioritize institution-building and ensure that decentralization does not undermine national unity. This aligns with global experiences where successful federal systems, such as in Germany and Switzerland, maintain a balance between local autonomy and central authority.

Furthermore, the study findings revealed that there was a negative and statistically significant relationship between political instability and resource sharing. This implies that as equity in resource sharing increases, political instability decreases. This could be attributed to the fact that weak governance and institutions can hinder effective resource-sharing mechanisms. If institutions responsible for managing and distributing resources lack capacity, transparency, or credibility, it can contribute to political instability as citizens lose trust in the government's ability to fairly handle resource distribution. The study finding is in alignment with the findings of Ghali, Abba, & Bibi, (2014) that argued that uneven resource sharing creates vulnerability of national unity. Post-conflict governments must prioritize the establishment of transparent and accountable mechanisms for resource distribution. This includes involving diverse stakeholders in decision-

making processes, ensuring marginalized groups have equitable access to resources, and fostering public trust through transparency. Countries such as Rwanda, which has emphasized equitable resource distribution in its post-genocide recovery, demonstrate the stabilizing impact of such measures.

The study finding also revealed that there was evidence of a negative and statistically significant association of clan-based power sharing formula and political instability. This implies that as equitable clan-based power sharing increases, political instability increases. This could be explained by If the power-sharing formula reduces the institutionalized dominance of certain clans over others, it can perpetuate social and economic inequalities. This equal distribution of power and resources may lead to reduced grievances and fuel stability, especially if there is a perception that the political system is not inherently biased. The findings of this study diverge from those of Hashi and Hock, who contended that consociationalism as a power-sharing approach has exacerbated identity-based conflicts, amplified sectarian values in Iraq, and reinforced clan-based dynamics in Somalia. The findings also agree with the findings of Karienyé & Warfa , (2020) that revealed that unequal sharing of county resources was a key driver of clan conflict in Wajir County, Kenya. Post-conflict settings can be learned from these examples by adopting adaptive power-sharing models that prioritize inclusivity and national integration. This involves building trust among communities, fostering cross-clan collaboration, and avoiding the perception that governance structures are biased toward certain groups.

Findings show that there was a negative and statistically significant relationship between boundary dispute resolution and political instability. This indicates that as boundary dispute resolution increases, political instability reduces. Boundary disputes are potential sources of

conflict between neighboring regions or countries. When these disputes are effectively resolved, it reduces the likelihood of tensions escalating into armed conflicts or other forms of political instability. A clear and agreed-upon demarcation of borders can contribute to stability by eliminating a source of contention. This finding is aligned to the findings of Petrus Amupanda, (2021) that indicated that lack of proper boundary dispute resolution mechanism greatly fueled instability between Namibia, South Africa and Angola. Boundary dispute resolution mechanisms that involve all stakeholders, including local communities, can foster long-term stability. The African Union's Boundary Programme provides a framework for resolving boundary disputes peacefully, which can be adapted to other post-conflict contexts. Lessons from this finding emphasize the importance of proactive and inclusive approaches to dispute resolution in maintaining stability.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that there was a negative and statistically significant association between constitutional framework and political instability. This implies that as constitutional framework increases, political instability reduces. A robust constitutional framework provides a foundation for the rule of law. It establishes clear legal principles, delineates the powers of different branches of government, and outlines the rights and responsibilities of citizens. When the rule of law is upheld through a strong constitutional framework, it promotes legal stability and helps prevent arbitrary actions that can lead to political instability. The research findings disagree those of Coruk & Okten, (2023) which suggested that constitutional amendments in Kyrgyzstan are not indicative of political stability but rather reflect the leaders' desire to consolidate their power and relationships. The implications of this finding are significant for post-conflict settings. Developing a strong constitutional framework involves not only drafting comprehensive laws but also ensuring their implementation and enforcement. Public participation

in constitutional processes can enhance legitimacy and public trust. For instance, South Africa's post-apartheid constitutional process serves as a model for inclusive and participatory constitution-making process.

The findings of this study make several contributions to the theory of federalism, particularly within the context of fragile states such as Somalia. First, the study challenges the normative assumption that federalism is inherently stabilizing in divided societies. While much of the federalism literature, including Watts (1998) and Brancati (2009) emphasizes the potential of federal arrangements to accommodate diversity, this study demonstrates that in fragile states, externally imposed federal systems can exacerbate instability if they lack local legitimacy. This extends the theoretical debate by highlighting the conditions under which federalism may fail rather than succeed.

Second, the study suggests that legitimacy should be considered a threshold condition for effective federalism in fragile states. Existing theories of Competitive Federalism, as articulated by Tiebout (1956) and Oates (1999) focus largely on efficiency and accountability gains from competition among subnational units. However, the Somali case illustrates that when such competition is not grounded in locally accepted frameworks, it fosters fragmentation and conflict instead of efficiency. This insight advances theory by proposing legitimacy as an essential variable in the federalism–stability nexus.

Third, by revisiting Conflict Resolution Theory Burton (1990) and Lederach (1997) the study shows that reconciliation and inclusive negotiation are not just desirable outcomes but prerequisites for the functionality of federal structures in fragile states. The findings suggest that externally engineered institutional designs cannot substitute for locally negotiated processes of

legitimacy-building. This refines existing theory by integrating structural and process-oriented perspectives, emphasizing that institutional design must be accompanied by reconciliation mechanisms to achieve stability.

In summary, the study contributes to the theoretical literature by demonstrating that externally driven federalism in fragile states must meet both structural design and legitimacy thresholds to function effectively. It thus offers a more nuanced understanding of the conditions under which federalism can serve as a conflict-resolution mechanisms.

The lessons from this study have broad applicability to other post-conflict contexts. Key takeaways include:

1. **Balancing Decentralization and Central Authority:** Federal systems must be designed to empower local governance without undermining national unity. Institution-building and mechanisms for coordination are critical.
2. **Promoting Equitable Resource Sharing:** Transparent and inclusive resource management is essential for building trust and reducing grievances. Institutions must be strengthened to ensure fairness in resource distribution.
3. **Designing Adaptive Power-Sharing Models:** Power-sharing arrangements should address historical grievances and promote inclusivity without entrenching divisions. Collaborative and flexible models are more likely to succeed.
4. **Resolving Boundary Disputes Proactively:** Effective boundary dispute resolution mechanisms prevent localized tensions from escalating into broader conflicts. Inclusive and transparent processes are key.
5. **Strengthening Constitutional Frameworks:** Robust constitutional frameworks promote the rule of law and stability. Public participation in constitutional processes enhances legitimacy and trust.

Recommendation for Application

Political instability is a multifaceted challenge influenced by various factors, including imposed federalism, resource sharing, clan-based power-sharing formulas, boundary disputes, and the strength of the constitutional framework. The regression analysis conducted offers valuable acumens into the relationships between these factors and political instability, offering a foundation for strategic recommendations to address and mitigate instability. Based on the research findings and theoretical insights presented in this thesis, this section offers concrete, stakeholder-specific recommendations aimed at promoting inclusive, locally legitimate, and functional governance in Somalia. The proposed measures below seek to bridge the gap between imposed federal structures and culturally resonant forms of political organization by advocating for an inclusive national dialogue and incremental, evidence-based reforms.

Reassess Federalism Implementation:

- Given the observed correlation between imposed federalism and political instability in Somalia, Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) and the Federal Member States (FMS) along with the Ministry of Interior should commission a National Federalism Review Taskforce that compromise of representatives from FGS, FMS, traditional elders, women, youth, and civil society to conduct a comprehensive review of federalism's implementation. This assessment should aim to identify weaknesses and opportunities for improvement, focusing on addressing the challenges associated with political instability. By thoroughly analyzing the existing federal structures, governance practices, and power-sharing mechanisms, policymakers can pinpoint specific areas that need reform. This review should involve input from a wide range of stakeholders, including government officials,

civil society organizations, traditional leaders, and marginalized communities, to ensure that the proposed solutions are inclusive and address the diverse needs of all regions. Additionally, the assessment should consider the historical, cultural, and socio-economic contexts of Somalia to develop tailored strategies that promote stability and cohesion. By undertaking this rigorous review, policymakers can implement more effective and equitable federalism, thereby reducing political instability and fostering sustainable development and peace in Somalia.

- To address concerns about uneven resource distribution and potential regional conflicts, the FGS along with the FMS develop a federalism reform road map with clear milestones ensuring reforms to accommodate diversity and prevent the centralization of power. This can be achieved through fair resource allocation, inclusive decision-making processes, and safeguards against marginalizing specific regions or communities. Implementing transparent and equitable distribution mechanisms ensures that all regions receive their fair share of resources, reducing the risk of regional disparities. Inclusive decision-making processes, which involve a broad range of stakeholders from various regions and communities, help to ensure that diverse perspectives are considered and respected. Additionally, safeguards such as legal frameworks and oversight bodies can prevent the marginalization of certain areas and promote a more balanced distribution of power. By prioritizing these methods, FGS and the FMS can mitigate grievances, foster regional equity, and enhance stability within the federal system while ensuring that federalism is grounded in Somalia's realities rather than external prescriptions.
- Furthermore, the FGS should prioritize transparency, accountability, and effective governance mechanisms within the federal framework is crucial for its success.

Strengthening institutions responsible for resource management and encouraging citizen participation and oversight are key components. Enhancing transparency involves making government actions and decisions open to public scrutiny, which helps build trust and legitimacy. Accountability ensures that officials are held responsible for their actions, preventing corruption and misuse of resources. Effective governance mechanisms include clear policies, efficient processes, and strong legal frameworks that support fair and equitable resource distribution. By addressing these governance issues, the federal system can become more legitimate and effective, ultimately leading to better outcomes for all stakeholders.

Policy Options for the Model of Somali Federalism

Table 16 illustrates three different federal forms Somali people may consider when reconfiguring the current federal system.

Table 16

Policy Options for the model of Somalia Federalism

Federal Model	Roles of States/Regions	General Power	Fiscal Power	Service Delivery	Advantages	Disadvantages	Common Ground
Cooperative federalism	Shared responsibility for governance between federal and state governments	Diplomacy Sovereignty (control of land, sea, airspace) - National	Diplomacy Sovereignty (control of land, sea, airspace) - National	Education Healthcare Public Safety Transportation Social services	Enhanced collaboration and coordination between federal and state governments - Efficient utilization	Potential for conflicts and disagreements between federal and state governments	Establishing clear guidelines for collaboration and coordination Balancing state

		elections - Trade agreeme nts	elections - Trade agreeme nts	Environme ntal protection Economic developme nt	of resources - Improved national decision- making	ts - Challenges in harmonizin g policies and priorities	autonomy with national interests in service delivery and decision- making
Dual Federalis m	Distinct and separate spheres of authority between federal and state governmen ts	Limited role in diploma cy, primaril y at the federal level - Sovereig nty (control of land, sea, airspace) - National elections - Trade agreeme nts	Limited fiscal power, primaril y focused on state- level revenue generati on	Limited role in service delivery, primarily at the state level and focused on areas not explicitly assigned to the federal governmen t	Clear division of powers and responsibilit ies between federal and state government s - Preservatio n of state autonomy and local decision- making	Potential for inconsisten cies and disparities in policies and services between states - Challenges in addressing national issues that require collective action	Defining clear boundaries of authority and responsibil ities - Collaborati on on matters of national importance that transcend state boundaries
Competit ive Federalis m	Emphasis on inter- jurisdiction al competitio	Limited role in diploma cy, primaril	Greater fiscal autonom y, includin	Diverse service delivery approaches , with	Encourage ment of innovation and experimenta	Potential for disparities and inequalities	Promoting knowledge -sharing and best practices

	n and autonomy for states or regions.	y at the federal level - Sovereig nty (control of land, sea, airspace) - National elections - Trade agreeme nts	g revenue collectio n authority , taxation power, and custom control	states or regions competing to provide efficient and innovative services in areas such as education, healthcare, public safety, transportat ion, social services, environme ntal protection, and economic developme nt	tion by states - Efficient resource allocation and utilization - Tailoring of services to meet the specific needs of states or regions	between states or regions in service provision - Challenges in achieving national consistenc y and equity - Fragmentat ion and duplication of efforts	among states - Establishin g national standards and framework s for essential services - Collaborati ng on issues of national significanc e and mutual interest
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***Cooperative federalism** involves shared responsibility for governance between the federal and state governments and includes roles in areas such as sovereignty, diplomacy, national elections, trade agreements, revenue collection authority, taxation and customs control. Additionally, states are responsible for service delivery in various sectors including education, healthcare public safety and transportation. While it offers benefits like collaboration and resource utilization. It can also lead to conflicts and challenges regarding harmonization of policies.*

***Dual federalism** aims to preserve state autonomy but may result in inconsistencies when addressing national issues while competitive federalism encourages innovation but can lead to disparities.*

Given Somalia's current political instability, the study identifies cooperative federalism as more appropriate to the Somali context due to its focus on promoting collaboration among different levels of government thereby providing an opportunity for coordinated efforts towards stability and development. To tackle challenges mention, the study suggests the following solutions:

- 1. Respecting the autonomy of states and their long-standing priorities is crucial for fostering cooperative federalism, which emphasizes collaboration and consideration for local community needs. Policies and initiatives at the federal level should align with the requests of state representatives, governors, councils, and top bureaucratic bodies. It is important for the federal government to support locally driven needs rather than impose its own agendas on states. This approach strengthens the relationship between central and state governments, enhancing mutual respect and cooperation. By prioritizing the autonomy of*

states and their specific priorities, a more harmonious and effective governance framework can be established, benefiting all levels of government and their constituents.

2. Establishing mechanisms for mutual accountability in public policies and promoting local participation are crucial elements that enhance trust and collaboration between the state and local communities. This shift reduces federal government pressure on agencies, as state agencies take up more responsibility in implementing national policy objectives. Meeting the expectations of local communities is vital, and to achieve this, provincial governments need to engage in dialogue with the public to consider their perspectives and contributions. By doing so, state leaders can develop sustainable solutions for addressing most of the state's challenges. Furthermore, presenting well-defined local priorities at the federal government level enables to address issues related to laws and regulations at federal parliament discussions.

3. Promoting healthy competition between states is essential for economic development. The federal government should ensure equal treatment of all states and take their economic conditions into account when allocating development programmes. By adopting policies that foster economic growth and enhance living standards, the federal government can create an environment where states strive to improve their economic performance. This approach encourages innovation and efficiency, benefiting the entire nation. Equal consideration and support from the federal level help ensure that all states have the opportunity to thrive, leading to balanced and sustainable economic development across the country.

4. Finally, states should avoid relying excessively on the establishment or expansion of a national administrative system. Instead, they should focus on strengthening state organizations and forming inter-state coalitions. These coalitions can facilitate the

implementation of effective nationwide strategies while minimizing bureaucratic hurdles. By empowering state institutions and promoting regional cooperation, states can develop tailored solutions that address their unique needs and challenges. This approach not only enhances the efficiency and responsiveness of governance but also fosters innovation and resource-sharing among states. Strengthening state-level capabilities and encouraging inter-state collaboration can lead to more effective policy implementation and a more resilient and adaptable national framework. This strategy ensures that governance remains closer to the people, promoting accountability and responsiveness while reducing the dependency on a centralized administrative system.

Enhance Transparent and Equitable Resource Sharing

- The Parliament should legislate the establishment of an Independent Resource Allocation Commission an independent body tasked with developing and implementing a transparent resource allocation framework. This commission should include a diverse range of stakeholders, representing various regions and communities including the FMS, Civil Society Budget Coalitions and technical experts to ensure fairness and address potential grievances. The responsibilities of the Commission would encompass evaluating resource needs, developing an objective formula for resource distribution using criterias such as population size, poverty indices, and development needs, and overseeing the implementation of resource allocation policies. By ensuring equitable distribution, the commission aims to advance equity goals and minimize political instability. Such an

approach ensures that resource allocation is both fair and transparent, fostering trust and cooperation among different regions and communities.

- Strengthen cooperation between the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) and the Federal Member States (FMS) to enhance the local governance structures at regional and community levels. This includes granting more authority to local authorities in decision-making processes related to resource distribution and improving their capacity to manage resources effectively. Additionally, promoting transparency and accountability in local resource management practices through publishing annual allocation reports to make them accessible to the public to foster transparency. By decentralizing power and resources, leaders can foster a sense of ownership among local communities, encouraging grassroots development initiatives and addressing regional disparities more effectively. This approach can significantly reduce political instability stemming from disputes over resource sharing, as local authorities are better positioned to manage and distribute resources fairly and efficiently. Ultimately, empowering local governance structures can lead to more equitable development and greater political stability across regions.
- The FGS and FMS should develop clear and transparent guidelines for resource allocation is essential for promoting fairness and minimizing corruption or bias. Establishing objective indicators, such as population size, socio-economic factors, and development needs, can guide decision-making around resource distribution. These criteria ensure that resources are allocated based on quantifiable and equitable measures rather than subjective or biased considerations. Implementing such guidelines involves creating a robust framework that specifies the methodology for assessing needs and determining resource distribution priorities. This framework should be publicly accessible to ensure transparency

and accountability, allowing stakeholders including the Civil Society Budget Coalitions and community leaders to understand the basis for allocation decisions and reducing the likelihood of disputes. Additionally, regular independent audits and assessments should be conducted to monitor the effectiveness and fairness of the resource allocation process. By adhering to these principles, policymakers can foster trust among the population, ensuring that all communities receive their fair share of resources based on clearly defined and transparent criteria. This approach not only promotes equity but also enhances the overall efficiency and legitimacy of the resource allocation system, contributing to social cohesion and stability by addressing the needs of diverse populations in a balanced and just manner.

Promote Inclusive Clan-Based Power Sharing

- The negative and significant relationship between clan-based power-sharing formulas and political instability demonstrates that rigid clan-based power-sharing formulas while designed to prevent domination, have paradoxically deepened exclusion and reinforced divisions. Therefore, the National Constitutional Review Commission in collaboration with Elders' Council, Women's Movements and Youth Associations should introduce reforms that replace the rigid clan quotas with hybrid models combining proportional representation with merit-based appointments. This can be done through public participation initiatives and educational efforts can help engage marginalized groups and amplify their perspectives. Moreover, leaders must establish inclusive frameworks for power-sharing that consider the needs of diverse clans. This may entail reassessing the allocation of resources, roles, and decision-making authority to guarantee fair representation and discourage the supremacy of specific clans. Introducing policies such as rotational

leadership positions or proportional representation enables leaders to foster inclusiveness while mitigating the marginalization of any clan. Implementing such policies can promote a sense of ownership and trust among the Somali community, reducing historical grievances and the potential for conflict.

- Additionally, the National Constitution Review Commission should work with the Elders' Council, Women's Movement and Youth Associations to facilitate dialogues and negotiations to address intra-clan competition is crucial for promoting stability within the political system. This can be achieved by establishing a Clan Mediation and Arbitration Councils comprised of specialized organizations or institutions with skilled mediators, and creating platforms for open and transparent communication for inter and intra-clan negotiations. Additionally, implementing easily accessible conflict resolution mechanisms can foster positive interactions. By encouraging inclusive conversations among a diverse range of stakeholders and promoting a willingness to compromise, leaders can effectively reduce intra-group tensions, diminish power conflicts, and significantly enhance the stability of political systems. These cooperative endeavours contribute to a more harmonious political environment, ensuring that all parties feel represented and heard, ultimately fostering a more resilient and unified society.

Prioritize Boundary Dispute Resolution

- Given the recognized negative and significant relationship between boundary dispute resolution and political instability, it is crucial to prioritize diplomatic efforts aimed at resolving ongoing disputes. The FGS and FMS should jointly establish a National Boundary Commission that is legally empowered to oversee delimitations and resolution

process by drafting a Boundary Resolution Act which details clearly the procedures for dispute settlement ensuring they adhere to international standards and principles. This process may also involve clarifying procedural aspects of legal resolution, defining clear jurisdictional responsibilities, and establishing precise guidelines for managing conflicts related to boundaries. Strengthening these legal frameworks is essential as it provides a robust foundation for resolving disputes peacefully and promoting enduring stability in affected regions. By aligning legal mechanisms with global norms, Somalia can facilitate effective boundary dispute resolution processes that contribute to regional harmony and diminish potential triggers for political turmoil.

- The FGS and FMS should also utilize international legal frameworks such as the International Court of Arbitration and diplomatic channels like the African Union Border Programme to establish clear and agreed-upon boundaries, fostering a predictable and stable geopolitical environment. This is done by facilitating the establishment of clear procedures and mechanisms for boundary delimitation and demarcation which is guided by a standardized legal framework. This might also include forming joint technical teams comprising experts from all involved parties, employing modern mapping technologies, and undertaking field surveys to accurately determine boundary locations. Adhering to established protocols and utilizing scientific methods can assist policymakers in reaching agreed-upon and precisely marked boundaries, thereby minimizing the risk of future disputes, strengthen intergovernmental relations and respond directly to the empirical finding that unresolved boundaries are destabilizing.

Strengthening Constitutional Frameworks

- In light of the identified negative and significant relationship between the constitutional framework and political instability, The Federal Parliament in partnership with the Constitutional Review Commission and the Judiciary should to prioritize the enhancement of constitutional institutions and mechanisms. Central to this effort is advocating for the rule of law, which involves ensuring the independence and impartiality of the judiciary, strengthening law enforcement agencies, and promoting equal access to justice for all citizens. By establishing a robust legal framework and enforcing it consistently, a reliable and secure atmosphere can be fostered, thereby bolstering public trust in governmental institutions and reducing opportunities for power abuse. Critical to this endeavour is the allocation of sufficient resources to judicial bodies, enabling them to operate effectively and efficiently. Strengthening the capacity of judicial institutions through adequate funding and training initiatives enhances their ability to adjudicate disputes fairly, uphold constitutional rights, and contribute to political stability. Moreover, promoting transparency and accountability within the judiciary reinforces its role as a cornerstone of democratic governance, ensuring that laws are applied equitably and in accordance with constitutional principles. By prioritizing these measures, Somalia can lay a foundation for enduring peace and stability, grounded in a robust constitutional framework that safeguards the rights and interests of its citizens.
- Furthermore, the FGS and FMS should implement reforms to enhance the rule of law, institutional checks and balances, protection of individual rights, and clear political processes to ensure the stability of the political system. This is done by giving priority to

strengthening constitutional institutions and mechanisms through thorough reforms. This might require a review and revision of the constitution to align it with the diverse population's aspirations and requirements. It is important to examine the allocation of powers, checks and balances, protection of fundamental rights, as well as effective governance mechanisms. Embed clear constitutional amendment procedures to involve a wide array of stakeholders such as civil society groups and constitutional law experts can contribute to inclusivity and legitimacy in the reform process. Such reforms shall enhance legal certainty, protect rights and reduce political contestation, thus addressing one of the critical drivers of instability identified in the study.

Foster Local Engagement and Conflict Resolution

- Acknowledging the interconnectedness of boundary dispute resolution, resource sharing, and clan-based power-sharing formulas is crucial in diplomatic efforts. This entails prioritizing intergovernmental communication and dialogue between the Federal Government of Somalia and the Federal Member States. By creating regular opportunities for discussions, both parties can address boundary disputes peacefully and collaboratively. Establishing transparent communication channels fosters an environment of trust, facilitating effective resolution of conflicts. Cultivating robust intergovernmental dialogue not only enhances understanding but also promotes inclusivity in decision-making processes related to resource allocation and power-sharing mechanisms. This approach aims to mitigate tensions, build consensus, and strengthen the foundations for sustainable governance and stability in Somalia.

- The Local governments, CSOs, Universities and traditional elders should jointly establish locally customized mediation mechanism which reflects on international standards to foster dialogue to reduce tensions. This is done by customizing and putting into effective mediation and conflict resolution mechanisms to handle disputes over boundaries among Federal Member States. This may also include setting up district peace committees or leveraging the knowledge of local, regional, or international organizations with experience in resolving conflicts. These approaches can create a systematic structure for discussions, encourage dialogue, and provide unbiased assistance to aid parties in reaching agreements that are acceptable to all involved. Make sure that all pertinent stakeholders, including minority clans and marginalized groups, participate in decision-making processes related to federalism.

Engage Civil Society and Public Awareness

- To foster transparency, accountability, and public trust in political decision-making, it is essential to involve civil society organizations, academia, and the public in the process. By engaging these stakeholders, including academic institutions and think tanks, in research and policy analysis related to the challenges of implementing federalism, policymakers can benefit from evidence-based insights. This approach supports the generation of research papers, policy briefs, and recommendations that are grounded in rigorous analysis, aiding informed decision-making. Furthermore, cultivating collaborations between academia and government entities can enhance the application of research findings in policy formulation and execution. By bridging the gap between theoretical research and practical policy implementation, these

partnerships contribute to more effective governance and sustainable development outcomes. Such initiatives not only enrich the knowledge base but also promote a participatory approach where diverse perspectives contribute to comprehensive solutions for the complexities of federal governance.

- The Local governments and traditional elders should launch national wide civic education campaigns through radios, schools and community dialogues to educate the public on the benefits of stability and the importance of inclusive governance reforms as well as encourage constructive citizen participation. This is done to regularly organize public outreach initiatives and engagements to collect input, worries, and recommendations from the populace on the obstacles faced in implementing federalism. Also, establish avenues for communication between decision-makers and citizens to tackle their inquiries, solicit feedback, and cultivate a feeling of involvement and responsibility in the process. Public consultations can offer valuable perspectives that enable policymakers to address issues and adjust policies to align more closely with the requirements and ambitions of the people.

International Community Best Practices Mediation Mechanisms

- To ensure that mediation processes are effective and sustainable, The International Actors including the UN, AU, IGAD and bilateral partners should transition from prescriptive interventions to facilitative mediation ensuring Somalis lead their own reform processes thus prioritizing locally-led and inclusive solutions by engaging a diverse range of local stakeholders. This includes government officials, civil society groups, traditional leaders, and marginalized communities. By actively incorporating their input in decision-making

and empowering them to participate fully in the process, international mediators can significantly enhance the success of mediation efforts. International mediators should function as facilitators, assisting local stakeholders in reaching consensus and taking ownership of the state-building process. This approach not only respects the local context and culture but also fosters a sense of ownership and accountability among those directly affected by the outcomes. Moreover, by involving a broad spectrum of voices and perspectives, mediators can address underlying issues and grievances that contribute to conflict, leading to more comprehensive and long-lasting solutions. Ultimately, the goal of international mediation should be to support and strengthen local capacities for conflict resolution and governance, ensuring that peacebuilding efforts are both effective and enduring.

- Adopt a long-term perspective in mediation that extend beyond immediate conflict resolution. The International Community should redirect their support towards capacity building of Somali institutions such as the Judiciary, Commissions, and Parliament through training programmes, institution-building, and governance support to enhance local actors' abilities to sustain peace and state-building efforts. The development of sustainable institutions, advancement of good governance principles, and reinforcement of the rule of law are essential elements for effective state-building. Collaborative work with local actors by mediators in developing strategies for long-term development and institution-building plays a critical role in addressing underlying causes of conflict and establishing an environment conducive to peace and stability. Table 17 elucidates simplified mediation mechanism guideline for IC.

Table 17*Practice Policy Implementation: Best Practices in Mediation Mechanisms*

Policy Component	Description	Implementation Strategies
Locally-Led Solutions	Prioritize mediation processes that are locally-driven and inclusive, engaging a diverse array of stakeholders including government officials, civil society, traditional leaders, and marginalized communities.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conduct stakeholder mapping to identify key local actors. Facilitate workshops to gather input and ensure representation from all community segments. - Create forums for ongoing dialogue among stakeholders.
Empowerment and Ownership	Empower local stakeholders to actively participate in decision-making processes, fostering a sense of ownership and accountability for the outcomes of mediation efforts.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Develop training programmes focused on negotiation and consensus-building skills for local actors. - Provide resources and platforms for local stakeholders to express their views and contribute to the mediation process.
Role of International Mediators	Position international mediators as facilitators who assist local stakeholders in reaching consensus rather than imposing solutions. This approach respects local context and culture, enhancing the relevance and effectiveness of mediation efforts.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Train mediators in cultural competence and local context understanding. - Establish guidelines for mediators to ensure facilitative rather than directive roles in mediation processes. - Utilize feedback mechanisms to adapt mediation strategies based on local needs.
Addressing Underlying Issues	Ensure mediation efforts address the root causes of conflict by involving a broad spectrum of voices and perspectives, thereby leading to comprehensive and long-lasting solutions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conduct comprehensive conflict analyses to identify root causes. - Incorporate findings into mediation strategies. - Engage in continuous monitoring and evaluation of mediation impacts on underlying issues.
Long-Term Perspective	Adopt a long-term view in mediation, focusing on sustainable peace and state-building rather than just immediate conflict resolution.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Develop long-term strategic plans for peacebuilding initiatives.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Foster partnerships with local institutions to support governance and capacity-building efforts. - Seek sustained funding and resources from the international community for ongoing support.
Capacity Building	Invest in training programmes, institution-building, and governance support to enhance the capabilities of local actors in sustaining peace efforts and state-building initiatives.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implement capacity-building workshops tailored to local governance needs. - Collaborate with local educational institutions to develop curricula focused on conflict resolution and governance. - Establish mentorship programmes linking local leaders with experienced practitioners.
Sustainable Institutions	Focus on the development of sustainable institutions and the reinforcement of good governance principles to create an environment conducive to peace and stability.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support initiatives aimed at institutional reform and strengthening. - Promote transparency and accountability measures within local governance structures. - Facilitate partnerships between local and international organizations to share best practices.

Periodic Review and Adaptation

- Periodically review and adapt policies based on evolving societal needs, ensuring that governance structures remain responsive to changing circumstances.
- Foster a culture of adaptability within the constitutional framework to address emerging challenges and sustain stability over the long term.

In conclusion, addressing political instability requires a comprehensive and context-specific approach. By reassessing federalism, enhancing resource sharing, promoting inclusive

power-sharing mechanisms, prioritizing boundary dispute resolution, strengthening constitutional frameworks, fostering diplomacy, engaging civil society, and ensuring adaptability, policymakers can contribute to a more stable and resilient political environment. The implementation of these recommendations should be guided by a commitment to good governance, inclusivity, and the rule of law, laying the groundwork for sustainable political stability.

Recommendation for future research

Political stability is a critical aspect of a nation's governance that significantly influences its development, economic growth, and overall well-being. The findings from the regression analysis, which considered various factors including imposed federalism, resource sharing, clan-based power-sharing formulas, boundary disputes, and constitutional frameworks, offer valuable insights into the complex interplay of these elements on political instability. To build upon this knowledge and guide future research endeavours, it is essential to identify gaps, propose new avenues for exploration, and suggest methodologies for more nuanced investigations. In light of the presented findings, the following recommendations for future research are outlined:

Nuanced Examination of Imposed Federalism:

- The current analysis reveals a positive and significant relationship between imposed federalism and political instability, highlighting the complexities and potential drawbacks of this governance model. However, further research is essential to understand the nuances of this relationship. Future studies should explore the specific conditions under which imposed federalism exacerbates instability, such as variations in implementation processes, the role of local governance structures, and the socio-political context of the regions

affected. Additionally, examining the perspectives of different stakeholders, including marginalized communities and political elites, can provide a comprehensive understanding of how imposed federalism influences political dynamics. Investigating case studies from diverse geopolitical settings can also offer valuable insights into the mechanisms through which imposed federalism impacts stability. By delving deeper into these aspects, researchers can identify strategies to mitigate the adverse effects of imposed federalism and enhance its potential benefits for promoting political stability and inclusive governance.

- Investigate the sources of instability in elements of federalism implies examining some major factors. A significant element is the autonomy granted to the subunits, be they states or provinces. Where the subunits are significantly empowered in political, economic, and legislative matters, tensions are created, especially if imbalances in the distribution of the resources, or jurisdictional disagreements, are involved. A mechanism to the distribution of the resources, another source, could be inadequate or biased. This could result in regional imbalances, causing resentment and instability. The failure to establish effective mechanisms to reconcile disagreements between the governments at the subunit and the national level also fuels conflict. It is necessary to consider all these factors in the design of a federal structure balancing autonomy and integration at the national level.

Dynamic Analysis of Resource Sharing:

- The observed negative and significant relationship between resource sharing and political instability suggests that equitable resource allocation is crucial for promoting stability. This finding highlights the importance of fair distribution of resources in mitigating conflicts and fostering a stable political environment. Future research should delve into the dynamics of resource sharing over time, examining how equitable allocation impacts long-term stability. Investigating the processes and policies that govern resource distribution, the effectiveness of different resource-sharing models, and their adaptability to changing socio-economic conditions will provide deeper insights. Additionally, understanding the role of transparency, governance, and stakeholder involvement in resource allocation can shed light on mechanisms that enhance or undermine stability. By exploring these dynamics, researchers can identify best practices and policy recommendations to ensure that resource sharing contributes to sustained political stability in diverse contexts.
- Consider the impact of changing economic conditions, natural resource fluctuations, and shifting political landscapes on the relationship between resource sharing and political stability.

In-Depth Exploration of Clan-Based Power Sharing:

- The findings reveal a significant negative relationship between clan-based power-sharing formulas and political instability. This suggests that implementing such formulas can help mitigate instability in regions with diverse clan structures. However, the mechanisms through which clan-based power sharing contributes to stability warrant further investigation. Future research should delve into the specific processes and factors that make

clan-based power sharing effective in promoting political stability. Understanding these mechanisms could provide valuable insights for policymakers and practitioners aiming to design and implement effective governance strategies in similarly diverse contexts. This deeper exploration could uncover best practices and potential pitfalls, enhancing the efficacy of clan-based power-sharing systems in achieving sustainable peace and stability.

- Investigate how inclusivity within power-sharing arrangements mitigates internal conflicts and whether variations in the design of power-sharing mechanisms affect their effectiveness.

Fine-Tuned Analysis of Boundary Dispute Resolution:

- The research reveals a negative and significant relationship between boundary dispute resolution and political instability, suggesting that effective resolution of territorial conflicts can contribute to greater political stability. To build on these findings, future studies should delve deeper into the complexities of boundary dispute resolution. This includes examining the specific processes and strategies employed in resolving such disputes, the roles of various stakeholders, and the impact of historical, cultural, and socio-political factors on the resolution outcomes. By gaining a comprehensive understanding of these intricacies, researchers can identify best practices and potential pitfalls in boundary dispute resolution, ultimately contributing to more effective strategies for achieving long-term political stability in regions prone to territorial conflicts.
- Explore the role of international law, diplomatic efforts, and multilateral organizations in facilitating successful boundary dispute resolution and examine the long-term impact of such resolutions on political stability.

In-Depth Examination of Constitutional Frameworks:

- The findings underscore a negative and significant relationship between the constitutional framework and political instability, indicating that robust constitutional frameworks can enhance political stability. Future research should delve into the specific constitutional elements that contribute to this stability. This involves examining the roles of various constitutional provisions, such as the separation of powers, checks and balances, federal versus unitary structures, and the protection of minority rights. Additionally, the effectiveness of constitutional amendments, judicial independence, and mechanisms for conflict resolution within the constitution should be explored. By investigating these elements, researchers can identify which aspects of constitutional design are most effective in promoting political stability and preventing instability. This deeper understanding will aid in the development of more resilient and adaptable constitutional frameworks tailored to the unique political and social contexts of different regions.
- Investigate the role of constitutional provisions related to the separation of powers, protection of individual rights, and mechanisms for constitutional amendments in promoting political stability.

Cross-Country Comparative Studies:

- Conduct cross-country comparative studies to identify patterns and variations in the relationships between the specified factors and political stability.
- Explore how contextual differences, historical legacies, and cultural factors influence the impact of imposed federalism, resource sharing, clan-based power sharing, boundary dispute resolution, and constitutional frameworks on political stability.

Longitudinal Analysis and Causality Testing:

- Undertake longitudinal studies to assess the causal relationships between the identified factors and political stability over extended periods.
- Utilize advanced statistical methods, such as panel data analysis or structural equation modelling, to better understand the temporal dynamics and causal pathways among these variables.

Public Perception and Qualitative Insights:

- Supplement quantitative findings with qualitative insights to capture the nuances of public perceptions and experiences related to imposed federalism, resource sharing, clan-based power sharing, boundary disputes, and constitutional frameworks.
- Explore how public perceptions and experiences influence the effectiveness of these governance structures in promoting or hindering political stability.

Role of External Factors:

- Investigate the role of external factors, including international actors, global economic conditions, and geopolitical dynamics, in shaping political stability in countries facing challenges related to imposed federalism, resource sharing, clan-based power sharing, boundary disputes, and constitutional frameworks.

Policy Implications and Comparative Case Studies:

- Conduct in-depth case studies to explore the policy implications of the identified relationships in specific country contexts.

- Analyze instances where countries have successfully addressed challenges related to political instability, drawing insights from their experiences and policy approaches.

The recommendations outlined above provide a roadmap for future research endeavours in the realm of political stability. By delving into the intricacies of imposed federalism, resource sharing, clan-based power sharing, boundary dispute resolution, and constitutional frameworks, scholars can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the factors that shape political stability. The interdisciplinary nature of this research agenda calls for collaboration between political scientists, legal scholars, economists, and experts in international relations to comprehensively address the complex dynamics at play. Through rigorous and comprehensive research, scholars can contribute valuable insights to inform policy decisions and promote sustainable political stability across diverse global contexts.

Conclusion

The findings of this regression analysis shed light on the complex relationship between various factors; political instability resulting from imposed federalism, resource sharing, clan-based power-sharing formula, boundary disputes, and constitutional framework. The purpose of this dissertation was to explore and understand the dynamics of these factors in the context of political stability. The regression equation provided a quantitative framework to analyze the impact of each factor while controlling for the influence of others.

The constant term of -0.734 in the regression equation represents the baseline level of political instability when all other factors are held constant. This serves as a reference point for interpreting the coefficients associated with each independent variable.

Imposed federalism emerged as a noteworthy factor positively influencing political instability. The coefficient of 4.217 suggests that a unit increase in imposed federalism leads to a substantial 4.217-unit increase in political instability. This finding implies that centralizing power through imposed federalism may contribute significantly to destabilizing the political environment.

On the contrary, resource sharing, clan-based power-sharing formula, boundary dispute resolution, and constitutional framework exhibited negative and significant relationships with political instability. A unit increase in resource sharing resulted in a 0.758 decrease in political instability, suggesting that equitable distribution of resources contributes to a more stable political landscape. Similarly, clan-based power sharing and boundary dispute resolution were associated with decreases of 0.842 and 0.601 in political instability, respectively. These results underscore the importance of inclusive governance structures and effective conflict resolution mechanisms in fostering political stability.

The negative relationship between constitutional framework and political instability, as indicated by a coefficient of -0.720, highlights the role of a well-defined and resilient constitutional framework in mitigating political unrest. This finding aligns with existing literature emphasizing the significance of strong institutional frameworks in ensuring political stability.

Putting these results into context, it is evident that the factors examined in this study play crucial roles in shaping the political landscape. Imposed federalism seems to be a potentially destabilizing force, while resource sharing, clan-based power sharing, boundary dispute resolution, and a robust constitutional framework act as stabilizing factors.

The implications of these findings extend beyond the scope of this study. They contribute to the existing literature on political stability by providing quantitative insights into the specific relationships between these factors. Scholars and policymakers can use this information to refine existing theories and develop more effective strategies for managing political instability.

The findings of this study provide valuable practical implications for policymakers and practitioners engaged in governance and conflict resolution efforts. Specifically, the emphasis on equitable resource distribution, inclusive power-sharing mechanisms, and robust constitutional frameworks offers actionable insights for fostering political stability in regions grappling with challenges associated with imposed federalism. By prioritizing fair allocation of resources, policymakers can mitigate competition and conflicts among federal states, thereby promoting cooperative governance and reducing tensions. Implementing inclusive power-sharing mechanisms ensures that diverse societal interests are represented, enhancing legitimacy and trust in governance structures. Moreover, establishing effective constitutional frameworks lays the groundwork for clear governance principles and mechanisms for conflict resolution, fostering long-term political stability. These recommendations underscore the importance of addressing structural issues and fostering inclusive governance processes to build resilience against political instability and promote sustainable peace in diverse and divided societies.

It is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study, including the potential for omitted variable bias and the reliance on cross-sectional data. Future research could build upon these findings by incorporating longitudinal data, considering additional variables, and conducting case studies to provide a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics at play.

In conclusion, this dissertation contributes valuable insights into the relationship between imposed federalism, resource sharing, clan-based power-sharing formula, boundary disputes, constitutional framework, and political instability. The nuanced understanding provided by the regression analysis has practical implications for policymakers and contributes to the academic discourse on political stability. As we navigate the complex terrain of governance and conflict resolution, the findings of this study offer a foundation for informed decision-making and further exploration of these critical issues.

Summary

This chapter examined the study's findings in light of the research objectives, existing scholarship, and the guiding theoretical frameworks of Cooperative Federalism and Conflict Resolution Theory. The discussion revealed that Somalia's experiment with externally imposed federalism continues to face serious obstacles, particularly unresolved boundary disputes, entrenched clan dominance, and questions surrounding the legitimacy of federal institutions. The quantitative results highlighted widespread dissatisfaction with the federal system, while the qualitative evidence offered a richer understanding of the political, social, and cultural dynamics that underpin these perceptions.

The analysis further showed how the findings resonate with and, in some cases, diverge from prior research. In line with the work of Brancati (2009) and Hagmann and Hoehne (2009), the study confirmed that decentralization is unlikely to produce stability in contexts where governance frameworks lack genuine local ownership. At the same time, the voices of participants in this study underscored that federalism could still serve as a viable governance arrangement if restructured through inclusive dialogue and locally driven processes.

By drawing on the chosen theoretical frameworks, the chapter demonstrated that Cooperative Federalism helps explain how unregulated rivalry among federal units can fuel instability, while Conflict Resolution Theory highlights the importance of reconciliation, negotiation, and inclusive governance for restoring legitimacy.

In conclusion, the chapter argued that Somalia's current federal arrangement has been inadequate as a mechanism for resolving conflict. Nonetheless, it pointed to clear opportunities for reform—such as strengthening local legitimacy, addressing territorial disputes, reducing clan-based dominance, and fostering inclusive negotiation platforms. These insights carry important implications for policymakers, practitioners, and scholars seeking to design governance systems that are both context-sensitive and resilient.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Questionnaire

I am Abu Bakar Hussein, a doctoral candidate in Philosophy at UNICAF University, conducting research on the effectiveness of imposed federalism as a conflict resolution tool, with a specific focus on its implementation challenges in Somalia. In order to gather valuable insights and data for my research, a questionnaire comprising six questions has been developed, which should not require more than 10 minutes to complete. It is important to note that all responses will be kept confidential and anonymous. Your participation in this study is highly appreciated, and I extend my gratitude for your time.

Part I: Quantitative Questions

Section: I Demographic

Gender:

Male ☐ Female ☐ Prefer not to mention ☐

Age:

35-45 ☐

45-55 ☐

55-65 ☐

65-75 ☐

75-80 ☐

Qualification:

Ph.D. ☐

Master ☐

Bachelor ☐

Profession _____

Section II: Informed Consent

The goal of this research is to look at how imposed federalism can be used to resolve conflicts, specifically in Somalia. The study's goal is to investigate the experiences and viewpoints of people who have been directly influenced by this policy, as well as to get an understanding of its effectiveness and limitations as a conflict resolution strategy. To accomplish this, we will collect data through a questionnaire distributed to persons with expertise or experience with imposed federalism in Somalia. Participation in this survey is entirely voluntary, and all replies will remain confidential.

I have read or heard the preceding information regarding this study. I've got the opportunity to ask questions and debate the topic. I received satisfactory replies to all of my queries and sufficient information regarding this study. I accept that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any moment without providing a reason and without incurring any negative consequences. I agree to the use of multimedia (e.g., audio and video recordings) for the purpose of my participation in this study. I accept that, unless otherwise mentioned, my data will be kept anonymous and secret. I provide my voluntary consent to participate in this study.

I have read and understand and agreed to participate above statement _____ ☐

Rate the following questions from 1-5, where 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree.						
No	Imposed Federalism	SD	D	N	A	SA
1.	I believe that imposed federalism is necessary for stability in Somalia.					
2.	Foreign involvement in peace talks was the key factor that led to the imposition of federalism in Somalia.					
3.	Federalism has contributed to political stability in Somalia.					

4.	The imposition of federalism has improved the representation of minority groups.					
5.	I feel that imposed federalism is an infringement on the sovereignty of Somalia's constituent states.					
	Somali Political Instability					
1.	Political instability has decreased since the introduction of Federalism.					
2.	The introduction of federalism has not addressed the root cause of political instability in Somalia.					
3.	Political instability in Somalia is mainly caused by external factors and not federalism.					
4.	The introduction of federalism has worsened political instability in Somalia.					
5.	The introduction of federalism has provided a framework for solving political instability					
	Clan-Based Power-Sharing Formula					
1.	Clan-based power sharing formula in Somalia has increased the representations of all clans in the government of Somalia.					
2.	Clan-based power sharing formula has perpetuated clan-based discrimination in Somalia.					
3.	Clan-based power sharing formula has created a sense of political stability in Somalia.					
4.	The clan-based power sharing formula has not provided equal opportunity for all clans in Somalia's politics.					
5.	The clan-based power sharing formula has led to political instability and gridlock in Somalia.					
	Boundary Disputes					
1	Boundary disputes between FMS in Somalia have intensified since the introduction of federalism.					
2	Boundary disputes between FMS in Somalia are mainly caused by historical grievances, not federalism.					
3	The federal government has been effective in mediating boundary disputes between FMS.					
4	Boundary disputes between FMS have led to increasing tensions and conflicts.					

5	The lack of a proper dispute resolution mechanism at the federal level affects the relationship between FMS.					
	Resourcing Sharing					
1	The introduction of federalism has resulted in more equitable resource sharing in Somalia.					
2	Resource Sharing in Somalia has become more unequal and politicized since the introduction of federalism.					
3	Resource-sharing disputes in Somalia have led to increased tensions and conflicts.					
4	Resource sharing has promoted cooperation and collaboration between FMS and FGS.					
5	Resource sharing has reduced inter-regional conflicts in Somalia.					
	Constitutional Framework					
1	The struggle of power between FMS and FGS over jurisdictions in areas of foreign relations leads to tension and conflicts.					
2	Ambiguity in the classification of authority between FMS and FGS remains an obstacle to functioning federal and regional institutions.					
3	Completion of the Federal Constitution is key to peace and stability in Somalia.					
4	The establishment of a constitutional court is key for political stability in Somalia.					
5	The constitution must be consistent with the Islamic Sharia and the customs and values of the Somali people.					

Appendix II: Interview Guide

Section: I Demographic

Gender:

Male ☐ Female ☐ prefer not to mention ☐

Age:

35-45 ☐

45-55 ☐

55-65 ☐

65-75 ☐

75-80 ☐

Qualification:

Ph.D. ☐

Master ☐

Bachelor ☐

Profession _____

Informed Consent

The goal of this research is to look at how imposed federalism can be used to resolve conflicts, specifically in Somalia. The study's goal is to investigate the experiences and viewpoints of people who have been directly influenced by this policy, as well as to get an understanding of its effectiveness and limitations as a conflict resolution strategy. To accomplish this, we will collect data through a questionnaire distributed to persons with expertise or experience with imposed federalism in Somalia. Participation in this survey is entirely voluntary, and all replies will remain confidential.

I have read or heard the preceding information regarding this study. I've got the opportunity to ask questions and debate the topic. I received satisfactory replies to all of my queries and sufficient

information regarding this study. I accept that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any moment without providing a reason and without incurring any negative consequences. I agree to the use of multimedia (e.g., audio and video recordings) for the purpose of my participation in this study. I accept that, unless otherwise mentioned, my data will be kept anonymous and secret. I provide my voluntary consent to participate in this study.

I have read, understand, and agreed to participate above statement _____ ☐

Federalism

1. Do you think that the federal model adopted by Somalia is the cause of political instability?
2. What are the key factors that led to the imposition of federalism in Somalia, and what role did foreign involvement play in this process?
3. How has the role of foreign involvement in Somalia peace talks influenced the emergence of federalism, and what impact has this had on the effectiveness of federalism as a tool for conflict resolution?
4. How have Somali citizens and civil society organizations responded to the imposition of federalism, and what are the perceptions of its effectiveness in resolving conflict?
5. What lessons can be learned from the experience of Somalia with imposed federalism, and how can these lessons inform future efforts to use federalism as a tool for conflict resolution in other countries?

Political Instability

1. Has Political instability decreased since the introduction of Federalism?
2. Has the introduction of the federal addressed the root cause of political instability in Somalia?
3. Do you think clan-based power sharing can tackle political instability in Somalia?

Clan-based power sharing formula

1. How do you think 4.5 formula came into Somalia politics?
2. Do you think the boundary disputes among FMS can lead to conflict?
3. How has the implementation of federalism affected clan-based power sharing in Somalia, and has it contributed to greater political inclusion and stability?

Boundary Disputes

1. What challenges have emerged in the implementation of federalism in Somalia, particularly in relation to boundary deputies and resource sharing?
2. Has the intensity of boundary disputes between FMS increased since the implementation of Federalism?
3. What has been the impact of boundary disputes between FMS and how have they contributed increasing tension and conflicts?

Resource Sharing

1. In what way can equitable resource-sharing agreements improve the relationships between FMS and FGS?


2. How have resource-sharing disputes in Somalia contributed to increasing tension between FMS and FGS?
3. Since the imposition of federalism, how has resource sharing in Somalia become more unequal and politicized?
4. Do you think that both FGS and FMS can agree upon a harmonized physical federalism system?

Constitutional Framework

1. In your opinion, what are the obstacles preventing the completion of the Somali provisional Constitution?
2. To what extent has the constitutional framework for federalism in Somalia addressed the concerns of all stakeholders and provided framework for conflict resolution?
3. How significant is the Somali constitution to be consistent with Islamic Sharia law in terms of justice, peace, and stability in the country?

Thank you for your time and information you shared.

Appendix III: UREC DS1 Approval



UREC Decision, Version 2.0 ☐

Unicaf University Research Ethics Committee Decision	
Student's Name:	Abubakar Abdi Hussein
Student's ID #:	R1807D5647017
Supervisor's Name:	Dr Tshepo Mvulane Moloi
Program of Study:	UU-DOC-900-1-ZM ▼
Offer ID /Group ID:	O23333G23507
Dissertation Stage:	DS 1 ▼
Research Project Title:	How Federalism be a Solution for Somalia: Conerning Applicability of its Transformation NEW Examining Effectiveness of Imposed Federalism As Tool of Conflict Resolution For Post-Conflict Society Case of Somalia (submitted)
Comments:	No comments
Decision*:	A. Provisionally approved without revision or comments ▼
Date:	08-Jul-2021

*Provisional approval provided at the Dissertation Stage 1, whereas the final approval is provided at the Dissertation stage 3. The student is allowed to proceed to data collection following the final approval.

Appendix IV: UREC DS3 Approval



UREC Decision, Version 2.0

Unicaf University Research Ethics Committee Decision

Student's Name: Abubakar Abdil Hussein

Student's ID #: R1807D5647017

Supervisor's Name: Dr Tshepo Mvulane Moloi

Program of Study: UU-DOC-900-3-ZM

Offer ID /Group ID: O45832G46826

Dissertation Stage: DS3

Research Project Title:

Examining Effectiveness of Imposed Federalism As Tool of Conflict Resolution For Post-Conflict Society: The Case of Somalia


Comments: No comments.

Decision*: A. Approved without revision or comments

Date: 16 May 2023

*Provisional approval provided at the Dissertation Stage 1, whereas the final approval is provided at the Dissertation stage 3. The student is allowed to proceed to data collection following the final approval.

Appendix V: Data Collection Summary Details

 Dissertation Stage 4



Data Collection Summary / Details

Student's Name: Abu Bakar Abdi Hussein

Student's ID: R1807D5647017

Start date for data collection: 01/10/2023

End Date for Data Collection: 01/12/2023

UREC Decision Date: 13/05/2023

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Select the tools to be used in your study	Select how the tools selected in column A will be administered (select one or more)	Select what types of questions will be included in the tools previously selected in column A (select one or more)	Number of Participants Participating	Gender of Participants	Age of Participants	Participants Consents
Interviews <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Face-to-face <input type="checkbox"/> Online with camera (synchronous live discussion with camera) <input type="checkbox"/> Audio only (synchronous live discussion without camera, i.e., via phone)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Open-ended questions <input type="checkbox"/> Close-ended questions <input type="checkbox"/> Both open- and close-ended questions <input type="checkbox"/> Includes section related to demographics		Male <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Female <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	From <input type="text" value="35"/> To <input type="text" value="80"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Physical (completion of the actual consent form) <input type="checkbox"/> Retrieved online (through the questionnaire for instance) <input type="checkbox"/> Guardian Informed Consent
Focus Groups <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Face-to-face <input type="checkbox"/> Online with camera (synchronous live discussion with camera) <input type="checkbox"/> Audio only (synchronous live discussion without camera, i.e., via phone)	<input type="checkbox"/> Open-ended questions <input type="checkbox"/> Close-ended questions <input type="checkbox"/> Both open- and close-ended questions <input type="checkbox"/> Includes section related to demographics		Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/>	From <input type="text"/> To <input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Physical (completion of the actual consent form) <input type="checkbox"/> Retrieved online (through the questionnaire for instance) <input type="checkbox"/> Guardian Informed Consent

Dissertation Stage 4



A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Select the tools to be used in your study	Select how the tools selected in column A will be administered (select one or more)	Select what types of questions will be included in the tools previously selected in column A (select one or more)	Number of Participants Participating	Gender of Participants	Age of Participants	Participants Consents
Tests <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Face-to-face self-administered questionnaire <input type="checkbox"/> Online i.e., via phone or any other platform. The researcher reads the questions to the participants <input type="checkbox"/> Online asynchronous self-administered questionnaire (i.e., via email)			Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/>	From <input type="text"/> To <input type="text"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Physical (completion of the actual consent form) <input type="checkbox"/> Retrieved online (through the questionnaire for instance) <input type="checkbox"/> Guardian Informed Consent
Other (i.e. observation Check list)						

Appendix VI: Somalia National Bureau of Statistics Approval

JAMHUURIYADDA FEDERAALKA
SOOMAALIYA
HAY'ADDA ISTAATISTIKADA
QARANKA SOOMAALIYEED
AGAASIMAHA GUUD



جمهورية الصومال الفيدرالية الجهاز
الوطني للإحصاء الصومالي
مكتب المدير العام

The Federal Republic of Somalia
Somalia National Bureau of Statistics
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

Date: 05/25/2025

To. It may Concern

Subject: Guaranteeing Permission for Data Collection

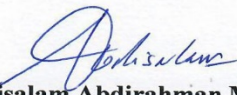
I am requesting permission to collect data for my research project. This project is solely academic. The purpose of my research is to examine the effectiveness of imposed federalism. I believe that the data I collect will be valuable in helping me achieve my research objectives.

To collect the necessary data, I will need to develop a structured questionnaire and interview to obtain adequate data. I assure you that all data collected will be kept strictly confidential and will be used solely for the purpose of my research.

I understand that your organization may have certain policies or procedures in place regarding data collection, and I am willing to comply with any requirements you may have. I will also ensure that my research is conducted in an ethical and professional manner.

Please let me know if you require further information from me to grant permission for data collection. I appreciate your time and consideration, and I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Thank you for your cooperation.


Dr. Abdisalam Abdirahman Mohamed
Director General
Somali National Bureau Of Statistics



Address: Via Afgoi, Mogadishu, Banadir, Somalia
Email: dq@nbs.gov.so & snbs@nbs.gov.so, Tel: +252-614960003

Appendix VII: Informed Consent



UU_IC - Version 2.1



Informed Consent Form

Part 1: Debriefing of Participants

Student's Name:	Abu Bakar Abdi Hussein
Student's E-mail Address:	lugadhere@gmail.com
Student ID #:	R1807D5647017
Supervisor's Name:	Dr. Tshepo Mvulane Moloi
University Campus:	Unicaf University Zambia (UUZ)
Program of Study:	Doctor of Philosophy
Research Project Title:	Examining Effectiveness of Imposed Federalism As a Tool of Conflict Resolution For the Post-Conflict Society: The Case of Somalia.
Date:	

Provide a short description (purpose, aim and significance) of the research project, and explain why and how you have chosen this person to participate in this research (maximum 150 words).

The is to Assess the effects of imposed federalism as a tool of conflict resolution on Somali Political deadlock. The objective is to To analyze the nature of Somali political instability, identify factors impacting Somali political stability, examine imposed federalism effectiveness in contributing to sustainable peace for Somalia, analyze the perception of Somali people on the popularity and sense of ownership of Somali's current Governance system, and explore role of foreign influence in the state formation process plying behind the scene and blueprinting Somali Governance system. The study this study will unveil the danger that lies in international communities' manipulation of the state-building process. It will also explore best practices for adopting a federal governance system. This study will broaden scholars understanding and knowledge of the importance of self-determination in the state-building process for post-conflict societies while addressing the theory's limitation in failure to accommodate preconditions and characteristics of adopting federalism and acknowledge characteristics of societies that this system is suitable.

The above named Student is committed in ensuring participant's voluntarily participation in the research project and guaranteeing there are no potential risks and/or harms to the participants.

Participants have the right to withdraw at any stage (prior or post the completion) of the research without any consequences and without providing any explanation. In these cases, data collected will be deleted.

All data and information collected will be coded and will not be accessible to anyone outside this research. Data described and included in dissemination activities will only refer to coded information ensuring beyond the bounds of possibility participant identification.

I, Abu Bakar Abdi Hussein, ensure that all information stated above is true and that all conditions have been met.

Student's Signature: Abu Bakar

Informed Consent Form

Part 2: Certificate of Consent

This section is mandatory and should to be signed by the participant(s)

Student's Name: Abu Bakar Abdi Hussein

Student's E-mail Address: lugadhere@gmail.com

Student ID #: R1807D5647017

Supervisor's Name: Dr. Tshepo Mvulane Moloji

University Campus: Unicaf University Zambia (UUZ)

Program of Study: Doctor of Philosophy

Research Project Title: Examining Effectiveness of Imposed Federalism As a Tool of Conflict Resolution For the Post-Conflict Society: The Case of Somalia.

I have read the foregoing information about this study, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and discuss about it. I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions and I have received enough information about this study. I understand that I am free to withdraw from this study at any time without giving a reason for withdrawing and without negative consequences. I consent to the use of multimedia (e.g. audio recordings, video recordings) for the purposes of my participation to this study. I understand that my data will remain anonymous and confidential, unless stated otherwise. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.

Participant's Print name:

Participant's Signature:

Date:

If the Participant is Illiterate:

I have witnessed the accurate reading of the consent form to the potential participant, and the individual has had an opportunity to ask questions. I confirm that the aforementioned individual has given consent freely.

Witness's Print name:

Witness's Signature:

Date:

Appendix VIII: REAF DS



REAF_DS - Version 3.1 AP



UNICAF UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS APPLICATION FORM DOCTORAL STUDIES		UREC USE ONLY: Application No: Date Received:
Student's Name:	Abu Bakar Abdi Hussein	
Student's E-mail Address:	lugadhere@gmail.com	
Student's ID #:	R1807D564701	
Supervisor's Name:	Dr. Tshepo Mvulane	
University Campus:	Unicaf University Zambia (UUZ) <input type="button" value="v"/>	
Program of Study:	UUZ: PhD Doctorate of Philosophy <input type="button" value="v"/>	
Research Project Title:	Examining Effectiveness of Imposed Federalism As Tool of Conflict Resolution For Post-Conflict Society: The Case of Somalia	

1. Please state the timelines involved in the proposed research project:

Estimated Start Date: 01-Jan-2021 Estimated End Date: 30-Nov-2023

2. External Research Funding (If applicable):

2.a. Do you have any external funding for your research?

☐ YES ☒ NO

If YES, please answer questions 2b and 2c.

2.b. List any external (third party) sources of funding you plan to utilise for your project. You need to include full details on the source of funds (e.g. state, private or individual sponsor), any prior / existing or future relationships between the funding body / sponsor and any of the principal investigator(s) or co-investigator(s) or student researcher(s), status and timeline of the application and any conditions attached.

2.c. If there are any perceived ethical issues or potential conflicts of interest arising from applying or and receiving external funding for the proposed research then these need to be fully disclosed below and also further elaborated on, in the relevant sections on ethical considerations later on in this form.

3. The research project

3.a. Project Summary:

In this section fully describe the purpose and underlying rationale for the proposed research project. Ensure that you pose the research questions to be examined, state the hypotheses, and discuss the expected results of your research and their potential.

It is important in your description to use plain language so it can be understood by all members of the UREC, especially those who are not necessarily experts in the particular discipline. To that effect ensure that you fully explain / define any technical terms or discipline-specific terminology (use the space provided in the box).

The purpose of this study is to investigate the impact of Somalia's current governance system (federalism which was employed as a tool of conflict resolution) on the Somali political stability. The study intends to closely examine the role of foreign involvement in the establishment of the system and its influence on Somali politics. The process followed in the implementation of federalism as a tool of conflict resolution for Somali political instability is on a question mark, as the debate on the root cause of the system's failure exposes diverse perspectives.

It has been nearly a decade since the implementation of federalism that the country has encountered political instability, where clan conflict is gradually reemerging in the political sphere. Leaders of major clans threaten using violence and possible civil war may swipe fragile peace protected by UN backed government if powerful clan leaders are not provided political privilege. The study also intends to highlight prerequisites and characteristics set by political scientists for nations willing to adopt federalism. The goal is to spotlight on what makes federalism inevitable for nations to opt. And finally, the study addresses limitations of the system in which as scholars of the field stressed that very limited opportunities are provided the opposing parties and heavy involvement of international communities manipulate system, leaving no room for local communities; views who are happening to be victims of what political scientists called it imposed system. Thus, this study seeks to answer following questions:

1. What are the key factors that led to the imposition of federalism in Somalia, and role did foreign involvement play in this process?
2. How has the implementation of federalism affected clan-based powersharing, boundary disputes, resource sharing and constitutional framework in Somalia, and has it contributed to greater political inclusion and stability?
3. How has the role of foreign involvement in Somali's peace talks influenced the emergence of federalism, and what impact has this had on the effectiveness of federalism as a tool for conflict resolution?
4. How have Somali citizens and civil society organizations responded to the imposition of federalism, and what are the perceptions of its effectiveness in resolving conflict?

3.b. Significance of the Proposed Research Study and Potential Benefits:

Outline the potential significance and/or benefits of the research (use the space provided in the box).

Enhancing understanding of the effectiveness of federalism in conflict resolution: The study will help scholars and policymakers to understand the extent to which federalism can be an effective tool for resolving conflict, particularly in fragile and conflict-affected contexts like Somalia.

□ Highlighting the challenges of imposed federalism: The study will shed light on the challenges and limitations of imposed federalism as a conflict resolution mechanism, particularly in a context where external actors are involved in the peace talks and state-building process.

□ Examining the impact of foreign involvement and manipulation: the study will provide insight into the impact of external actors, including foreign governments and international organizations, on the peace talks and state-building process in Somalia.

□ Contributing to the debate on state-building and governance in Somalia: The study will contribute on the going debate on the state-building process and governance in Somalia by exploring the potential of federalism as a mechanism for addressing conflict and promoting stability.

□ The study will provide recommendations for policymakers and practitioners on how to improve the effectiveness of peace talks and state-building efforts in Somalia, particularly in the context of federalism and as a conflict resolution mechanism.

4. Project execution:

4.a. The following study is an:

- ☐ experimental study (primary research)
- ☒ desktop study (secondary research)
- ☐ desktop study using existing databases involving information of human/animal subjects
- ☒ Other

If you have chosen 'Other' please Explain:

This study employs a mixed-method approach to gain a comprehensive understanding of the complex research problem by leveraging the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect rich data from multiple perspectives.

4.b. Methods. The following study will involve the use of:

Method	Materials / Tools
Qualitative:	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Face to Face Interviews
	<input type="checkbox"/> Phone Interviews
	<input type="checkbox"/> Face to Face Focus Groups
	<input type="checkbox"/> Online Focus Groups
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other *
Quantitative:	<input type="checkbox"/> Face to Face Questionnaires
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Online Questionnaires
	<input type="checkbox"/> Experiments
	<input type="checkbox"/> Tests
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other *

*If you have chosen 'Other' please Explain:

5. Participants:

5 a. Does the Project involve the recruitment and participation of additional persons other than the researcher(s) themselves?

☐ YES If YES, please complete all following sections.

☒ NO If NO, please directly proceed to Question [7](#).

5 b. Relevant Details of the Participants of the Proposed Research

State the number of participants you plan to recruit, and explain in the box below how the total number was calculated.

Number of participants

The study's target population for recruitment purposes includes individuals from all Federal Member States (FMS) in Somalia, with a total population of 136 to ensure the representation of all FMS. The sample size for the study was determined using Krejcie and Morgan's formula, which is a widely used formula for determining sample size in research. The formula was utilized to calculate the sample size of 99 participants.

Describe important characteristics such as: demographics (e.g. age, gender, location, affiliation, level of fitness, intellectual ability etc). It is also important that you specify any inclusion and exclusion criteria that will be applied (e.g. eligibility criteria for participants).

Age range From To

Gender ☒ Female

☒ Male

Eligibility Criteria:

- Inclusion criteria

Holding University degree from bachelor to PhD in Social Science, conflict resolution, mediation and peace-building. Politicians. Having strong knowledge of Somali customary law and Islamic jurisprudence and professors in field of federalism.

- Exclusion criteria

Underage group, Warlords, illiterate and semi-literate people High school graduates

Disabilities

Disabilities participants will be consulted with their consent for themselves, but people with mental disabilities are excluded from the study.

Other relevant information (use the space provided in the box):

5 c. Participation & Research setting:

Clearly describe which group of participants is completing/participating in the material(s)/ tool(s) described in 5b above (use the space provided in the box).

The recruitment of participants is a critical aspect of the study, as it is essential to target individuals who possess the necessary knowledge and experience to contribute effectively to the research. The study aims to recruit participants from diverse groups, including politicians, intellectuals, traditional elders, civil society organizations (CSOs), technocrats, and religious figures, both male and female. The inclusion of a wide range of participants from various backgrounds and perspectives enhances the robustness and validity of the study, ensuring that the research findings are comprehensive and representative of the population under investigation.

5 d. Recruitment Process for Human Research Participants:

Clearly describe how the potential participants will be identified, approached and recruited (use the space provided in the box).

Three strategies will be followed to identify, approach and recruit participants.

1. The researcher will gather demographic data on age, gender, education, and occupation. Ethical approval will be sought from UREC via a Gatekeeper's letter. The researcher will use their connections with public figures, including politicians, government officials, traditional elders, and university lecturers to aid in the recruitment of participants. Interested individuals will be contacted through email and phone, and will be required to sign an Informed Consent Form before participating in the study.
2. In terms of geography, all of Somalia's FMS will have proportional representatives in the study participants in order to ensure inclusivity and avoid bias.
3. Psychographics: This strategy will help to screen the right professions and recruit intellectuals; people who actively and routinely study this phenomenon.

5 e. Research Participants Informed Consent.

Select below which categories of participants will participate in the study. Complete the relevant Informed Consent form and submit it along with the REAF form.

Yes	No	Categories of participants	Form to be completed
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Typically Developing population(s) above the maturity age *	Informed Consent Form
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Typically Developing population(s) under the maturity age *	Guardian Informed Consent Form

* Maturity age is defined by national regulations in laws of the country in which the research is being conducted.

5 f. Relationship between the principal investigator and participants.

Is there any relationship between the principal investigator (student), co-investigators(s), (supervisor) and participant(s)? For example, if you are conducting research in a school environment on students in your classroom (e.g. instructor-student).



YES



NO

If YES, specify (use the space provided in the box).

The researcher has identified potential participants who are considered experts and possess knowledge relevant to the phenomenon under investigation. Some of these participants have been previously collaborated with the researcher on different research projects, while others are former colleagues in public and private sectors. The researcher intends to contact these individuals before commencing data collection. However, data collection will not be commenced without prior approval from UREC.

6. Potential Risks of the Proposed Research Study.

6 a. I. Are there any potential risks, psychological harm and/or ethical issues associated with the proposed research study, other than risks pertaining to everyday life events (such as the risk of an accident when travelling to a remote location for data collection)?



YES



NO

If YES, specify below and answer the question 6 a.II.

6 a.II Provide information on what measures will be taken in order to exclude or minimise risks described in 6.a.I.

6 b. Choose the appropriate option

	Yes	No
i. Will you obtain written informed consent form from all participants?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ii. Does the research involve as participants, people whose ability to give free and informed consent is in question?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
iii. Does this research involve participants who are children under maturity age? If you answered YES to question iii, complete all following questions. If you answered NO to question iii, do not answer Questions iv, v, vi and proceed to Questions vii, viii, ix and x.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
iv. Will the research tools be implemented in a professional educational setting in the presence of other adults (i.e. classroom in the presence of a teacher)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
v. Will informed consent be obtained from the legal guardians (i.e. parents) of children?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vi. Will verbal assent be obtained from children?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vii. Will all data be treated as confidential? If NO, explain why confidentiality of the collected data is not appropriate for this proposed research project, providing details of how all participants will be informed of the fact that any data which they will provide will not be confidential.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
viii. Will all participants /data collected be anonymous? If NO, explain why and describe the procedures to be used to ensure the anonymity of participants and/or confidentiality of the collected data both during the conduct of the research and in the subsequent release of its findings.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Yes	No
ix. Have you ensured that personal data and research data collected from participants will be securely stored for five years?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
x. Does this research involve the deception of participants? If YES, describe the nature and extent of the deception involved. Explain how and when the deception will be revealed, and who will administer this debrief to the participants:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

6 c. I. Are there any other ethical issues associated with the proposed research study that are not already adequately covered in the preceding sections?

☐ Yes ☒ No

If YES, specify (maximum 150 words).

6.c.II Provide Information on what measures will be taken in order to exclude or minimise ethical issues described in 6.c.I.

6 d. Indicate the Risk Rating.

☐ High ☒ Low

7. Further Approvals

Are there any other approvals required (in addition to ethics clearance from UREC) in order to carry out the proposed research study?

☐ YES ☒ NO

If YES, specify (maximum 100 words).

8. Application Checklist

Mark ✓ if the study involves any of the following:

- ☐ Children and young people under 18 years of age, vulnerable population such as children with special educational needs (SEN), racial or ethnic minorities, socioeconomically disadvantaged, pregnant women, elderly, malnourished people, and ill people.
- ☐ Research that foresees risks and disadvantages that would affect any participant of the study such as anxiety, stress, pain or physical discomfort, harm risk (which is more than is expected from everyday life) or any other act that participants might believe is detrimental to their wellbeing and / or has the potential to / will infringe on their human rights / fundamental rights.
- ☐ Risk to the well-being and personal safety of the researcher.
- ☐ Administration of any substance (food / drink / chemicals / pharmaceuticals / supplements / chemical agent or vaccines or other substances (including vitamins or food substances) to human participants.
- ☐ Results that may have an adverse impact on the natural or built environment.

9. Further documents

Check that the following documents are attached to your application:

		ATTACHED	NOT APPLICABLE
1	Recruitment advertisement (if any)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
2	Informed Consent Form / Guardian Informed Consent Form	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Research Tool(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Gatekeeper Letter	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Any other approvals required in order to carry out the proposed research study, e.g., institutional permission (e.g. school principal or company director) or approval from a local ethics or professional regulatory body.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

10. Final Declaration by Applicants:

- (a) I declare that this application is submitted on the basis that the information it contains is confidential and will only be used by Unicaf University for the explicit purpose of ethical review and monitoring of the conduct of the research proposed project as described in the preceding pages.
- (b) I understand that this information will not be used for any other purpose without my prior consent, excluding use intended to satisfy reporting requirements to relevant regulatory bodies.
- (c) The information in this form, together with any accompanying information, is complete and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief and I take full responsibility for it.
- (d) I undertake to abide by the highest possible international ethical standards governing the Code of Practice for Research Involving Human Participants, as published by the UN WHO Research Ethics Review Committee (ERC) on <http://www.who.int/ethics/research/en/> and to which Unicaf University aspires to.
- (e) In addition to respect any and all relevant professional bodies' codes of conduct and/or ethical guidelines, where applicable, while in pursuit of this research project.



I agree with all points listed under Question 10

Student's Name: Abu Bakar Abdi Hussein

Supervisor's Name: Dr. Tshepo Mvulane

Date of Application: 16-May-2023

Important Note:

Save your completed form (we suggest you also print a copy for your records) and then submit it to your UU Dissertation/project supervisor (tutor). In the case of student projects, the responsibility lies with the Faculty Dissertation/Project Supervisor. If this is a student application, then it should be submitted via the relevant link in the VLE. Please submit only electronically filed in copies; do not hand fill and submit scanned paper copies of this application.

Appendix IX: Gatekeeper Letter



UU_GL - Version 2.0



Gatekeeper letter

Address: Mogadishu-Somalia

Date: 26-Jan-2023

Subject: Request for Research Data Collection

Dear UREC

I am a doctoral student at Unicaf University Zambia.
As part of my degree I am carrying out a study on Examining Effectiveness of Imposed Federalism As a Tool of Conflict Resolution For the Post-Conflict Society: The Case of Somalia.

I am writing to inquire whether you would be willing to permit me to recruit in this research. Subject to approval by Unicaf Research Ethics Committee (UREC) this study will be using hybrid approach which combines both qualitative and quantitative method. Data collection tool employed will be instrumenting structured and unstructured questionnaire with probabilistic and non-probabilistic sample. Descriptive and inferential statistics will be used to analyze data.

This project is intended to investigate effectiveness of federalism as a tool to address prolonged conflicts within the state. Federalism was employed to address conflicts in many occasions however different results were witnessed. The process followed in state-building, role of conflict mediators, influence of foreign agents in peace talks and local communities opportunity to decide their will be examined and impact they had on emergence of new governance systems. Thus, this project will discover the reason federalism as a tool of conflict resolution did not work in many countries and influence of international community in negotiation process. The study will focus on Somali and reason federalism employed in Somalia is nonfictional. Dr. Tshepo Mvulane will supervise this project.

Study participants will provided freedom to withdraw and recall information they provide. Researcher will seek their consents to participate the study. Participants will be allowed to review data. E-mails/whatsApp will be used to send out structured questionnaire while face to face in-depth interview will conducted. Estimated time for each person's interview will be 30 to 45 minutes while the questionnaire will be around 5 to 10 minutes.

Thank you in advance for your time and for your consideration of this project. Kindly please let me know if you require any further information or need any further clarifications.

Yours Sincerely,

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