

UNDERSTANDING WHAT LIES BEHIND PUBLIC BAD LEADERSHIP IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF SOMALIA

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Abstract: This study investigates what lies behind public bad leadership in Somalia's federal government by analysing the perspectives of 21 respondents including senior policy analysts, senior government officials, and representatives of the NGOs, local communities, the youth, religious leaders, and scholars. The key findings of this study are that bad leadership in Somalia manifest in those who operate the federal system against society's needs, lack a clear vision and purpose, put their personal interests ahead of the public interest, dictate what they want to the community, have no prior experience in politics or federalism, and sign unverified deals with foreigners are viewed as bad leaders. Favoritism, clan-based recruitment in government institutions, dictatorship, rapid property creation, short-sightedness, lack of vision, and corruption are major behaviors and activities exhibited bad leadership in Somalia. This study concludes that bad leadership is a fundamental contributor in Somalia's political collapse. Therefore, the study suggests certain measures that may be implemented to address the problem of bad leadership in Somalia including reforming the electoral system, finalizing the provisional constitution, boosting civic education, and thoroughly examining individuals' biographies before allowing them to run for public office.

Keywords: Role of Public Leaders, Bad Leadership, Behaviour, Actions, Measures, Political Disintegration, Somalia Federal Government, Political Collapse, Clan-based.

I. INTRODUCTION

Studies suggest for bad leadership researchers to explore the concept of leadership from many perspectives, not just through the lens of effective leadership, to fully realize and comprehend it. Studying bad leaders should be one of those angles because we may learn just as much from persons we consider being poor examples of leaders as we can from the far fewer good examples available these days [1], [2]. While constructive leadership remains the focus of most leadership research, a growing number of studies are looking into distinct types of destructive leadership and the terrible consequences of bad leadership behavior alone make this a topic worth research [3], [4]. Just as crucial as good leadership, teaching and researching bad leadership is equally important and such studies would be appropriate, given that bad leadership, such as "pilot-ship," can cause a great deal of harm to a large number of people, not to mention the economic assets and natural resources that bad leadership can contribute to destroying [5], [4], [6], [7].

The African continent has been plagued by terrible governance and bad leadership, weak institutions, state disintegration, genocide, and seemingly unsolvable conflicts over the years. Despite enormous natural resources, the population lacks fundamental services and infrastructure, as well as a stable environment that can provide their basic requirements and the

continent has been first and foremost held back by bad leadership [8]. Studies claim that Africa's failings are due to frequent leadership changes, a lack of ideology, policy reversals, and inadequate institutional patterns and the quality of emerging countries' future leaders will determine their long-term survival. It has long time ago been argued that Africa's problem is a lack of leadership [9]. Other researches point out that in both the private and public sectors in Africa, we are currently afflicted by a plague of bad leadership; as Somalia enters post-conflict reconstruction, it's important to look into how earlier mistakes in leadership characteristics contributed to the Somali society's societal disintegration. According to the existing studies, previous leadership personalities are to blame for Somali societal disintegration, which has manifested as political marginalization, economic disparity, corruption, election fraud, unemployment, social injustice, alienation, and poverty. Similarly, current post-conflict reconstruction is unlikely to succeed unless leadership personality adapts to the current social integration condition [10], [11].

Previous studies concluded that the most pressing issue confronting Somalia is political that demands a leadership change and, it is obvious that the Somali crisis was also exacerbated by a lack of far-sighted leadership and political preparation on the so-called liberation front [12], [13]. History has repeatedly demonstrated that people can obtain and maintain power and authority while being completely unethical and narcissistically self-serving. Bad leaders who are poisonous, corrupt, or simply misguided harm stakeholders' interests and welfare; they cause misery and suffering to their organizations, as well as the employees and stockholders [2], [10]. Recent studies confirm that majority of leadership research has focused on identifying the elusive ingredients of good leadership. While the intuitive case for investigating bad leadership is compelling, there is surprisingly little empirical research on the subject in the literature, and when anecdotal evidence reveals that bad leaders exist in many spheres of life, this lack of research is perhaps even more perplexing. The studies reveal the perceived prevalence of bad leadership, emphasizing the need for further research on the subject [1], [14].

According to recent studies, despite the growing attention paid to the subject, attempts to define and measure bad leadership conduct as a broad-level concept have yet to be made. Though research into the 'dark side' of leadership has exploded in the last decade, bad leadership has gotten far less attention than its opponent, which focuses on good leadership traits and behaviors. Current state of study on the subject has three major flaws. First, bad leadership has been misunderstood in the past as simply a lack of good leadership. Second, rather than striving toward a general understanding of negative leadership, there is an emphasis on notions that describe relatively limited sets of actions (e.g., abusive supervision). Finally, there is a scarcity of systematic examinations into bad leadership constructs in extant literature. As a result, we don't know much about ineffective or bad leadership [15], [16], [3]. According to the existing studies, Leader-member exchange theory, Neocharismatic theories of leadership, Social network theory, and Complexity theory have been used.

This study tries to fill knowledge gaps about bad leadership's role in Somalia's political disintegration, and it does so in a variety of ways. To begin, this study extends the limited body of knowledge about bad leadership and how it influences Somalia's political integration [3]. Our research is the first to look at bad leadership as a factor in Somalia's political disintegration. Second, the study investigates how bad leadership can have a big impact on the public sector, an area where research is severely lacking [1], [14]. Third, though systematic research on bad leadership is severely lacking, this research would contribute to our understanding of bad leadership in politically divided countries like Somalia as the study adds to the body of knowledge on bad leadership by examining its implications for political disintegration in a federal system.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Bad Leadership

Bad leadership is defined as decision-making that impedes or prohibits the attainment of goals and objectives [17]. Bad leadership is transactional, relying on power over trust and compliance over commitment. Similarly, it is defined bad leadership as the use of influence over followers by a person without conscience in order for the leader to maximize the fulfillment of his or her desire to gain by any means necessary and without concern for the consequences to others [18]. From a military perspective, bullying, yelling, threatening, and creating a toxic work atmosphere are all examples of bad leadership. In this sense, a bad leader is defined by three major characteristics: lack of care for the Soldiers' safety, a personality that will have a detrimental impact on the command climate of the unit, and the unit's view that the leader is motivated by personal gain [19].

One of the most noticed and least understood phenomena on the planet is leadership. A demand for a greater focus on leadership and governance is urgent, significant, and unquestionably timely, given the global push for political and economic liberalization and It's worth noting that no country has ever developed meaningfully socially, politically, or economically without the help of good leadership([9]; [20]). In her essential work, *Bad Leadership*, Barbara Kellerman makes a compelling case for depicting and analyzing all sides of the leadership issue. Bad leadership, according to Kellerman, can be separated into two types: ineffective and unethical leadership. She also presented seven types of bad leadership: Incompetent Leadership, Rigid Leadership, Intemperate Leadership, Callous Leadership, Corrupt Leadership, Insular Leadership, and Evil Leadership [2]. According to Gallagher, the traditional emphasis on effective leadership, strong leadership, good leadership, visionary, and inspirational leadership" raises the philosophical dilemma of what constitutes ineffective leadership, weak leadership, bad leadership, non-inspiring, and non-situational leadership [21]. "If we want to evaluate effective leadership attributes, we can't just look at exceptional leaders," says Denrell. [22].

Leaders who were not promoted, demoted, or fired must also be considered. In a similar spirit, Kellerman believes that seeking to understand leadership by focusing just on effective leadership is akin to a medical expert studying health and failing to comprehend the essence of the disease [2]. Only in a country where the public fails to do their roles can bad leadership be enthroned and thrive. A country will experience significant development if good and trustworthy people are chosen to positions of power without regard for tribes, religion, party allegiance, or money politics [23]. Ineffective leadership can be distinguished from "bad" leadership. It's vital to remember that ineffective leadership might be well-intentioned. By design, bad leaders are purposeful and predatory [17]. Though negative leadership research has been increasingly prominent in recent years, given the frequency with which negative leadership occurs and the severity of its repercussions, this proliferation is unsurprising. Despite this, research on leadership has largely focused on successful conduct or positive leadership and the study of bad leadership is still in its early stages ([3], [24], [16]).

In Africa, the failure of political leadership is the issue that most concerns the continent and, bad governance and corruption are symptomatic of African countries' leadership and institutional failure as many African leaders' overarching aim became the struggle for political leadership and the desire to keep power indefinitely. As a result, poor leadership and governance have an immediate and profound impact on the following three areas: people's livelihoods are jeopardized due to resource mismanagement, the order of the day due to flaws in the judicial system and lack of people's consciousness and right thinking as a result of a lack of educational and intellectual production. [9], [25].

According to recent research, Nigeria's progress has been impeded by a combination of bad leadership and insecurity since the country's restoration to democracy in 1999 [23]; while others revealed that a large majority of Somali leaders lacked conscientiousness as a necessary leadership attribute [11].

Political Disintegration

The results of a recent study [11] demonstrated that prior Somali leadership personalities were highly problematic due to colonial legacy and clannism influence. Furthermore, the fear of losing and holding power at any cost led to the establishment of clannism as a strategy of gaining and maintaining political power, putting unity and social integration at risk. Thus, if societal integration in Somalia is to be achieved successfully, a study of the underlying elements that led to the country's disintegration is required. The phenomenon of societal disintegration was particularly visible in President Barre's leadership style, which severely harmed Somali society's cohesion. The above study concluded that previous leadership personalities are to blame for Somali social disintegration, which has manifested as issues of political marginalization, economic inequality, corruption, electoral fraud, unemployment, social injustice, alienation, and poverty. In Somalia, the complete disintegration of state institutions fostered conditions that encouraged mismanagement of collective resources and the abuse of social authority. This resulted in the nation-political state's fragmentation, posing great hazards to hundreds of thousands of individuals who found themselves in the "wrong" territory [26]. Long before the ruler was deposed, state disintegration began. Since 1987, there has only been a semblance of a state: no single public service was functioning properly, and the administration was paralyzed by a factional war at the top for the long-awaited succession, as well as insurgency on the outskirts. From the summer of 1988 onwards, predatory units and individuals of the old "national" armed forces—already in disintegration—used their power to rape, kill, and loot shamelessly [12].

Factors that Cause Public Bad Leadership in Somalia Federal Government

Some researchers believe that the increasing number of Diaspora occupying the highest political seats of Somalia is one of the main factors encouraging bad leadership. Based on the idea that the Somali diaspora is increasingly dominating the country's political leadership, the diaspora, for example, makes up less than 10% of the Somali population yet controls half of the executive branches of state institutions. Returnees from the diaspora aspire to the highest levels of government. For example, the diaspora's share of heads of state in the five-state institutions studied was 8 out of 14, which is higher than the share of cabinet members, while their share of the cabinet is significantly higher than the diaspora's share of parliaments, which is less than 20%. Nine of the TNG/ TFG's prime ministers were from the diaspora [27].

Another main factor of bad leadership is deemed to be the selection criteria of leaders. Research that looks at the leadership selection process in Africa finds that it follows an imposition pattern and that African leaders commonly arrive in their positions with little experience [9]. Even when bad leadership makes the news, it's rare to hear of a study that looks into the causes and proposes solutions [28]. Studies show that corruption and poverty are the root causes of Somali leadership problems; corruption aided by the international system, and poverty supported by that corruption. It's partly attributable to the public's loss of faith in leaders and the lack of acceptable national civic movements. "For the past half-century, Somalia has served as a test bed for all of the world's political theories: colonialism, European-style statehood, Soviet and, later, American cold war doctrines, socialism, despotism, extremism, sectarianism, and genderism. Some people try to explain the political problem of Somalia as a phenomenon of clannism, but it is not a fundamental issue; it is a result of bad leadership, poverty, corruption, and the resulting attitudes and aberration [29].

Behavior and Actions of Public Leadership in Somalia Federal Government

Leadership behavior has a significant impact on follower job satisfaction, work drive, and performance [30]. The development of most organizations is accelerated by good leadership behavior and it is critical for firms to utilize leadership behavior that allows them to thrive in a changing environment [31]. Effective leader behavior makes it easier for followers to achieve their goals, which leads to improved performance [32], [31]. According to numerous studies on bad leadership, corruption thrives under bad leadership, funds pour out of poorly run governments into hidden bank accounts, prejudice against minorities (and, on rare occasions, majorities) becomes common, and civil wars erupt [33], [34]. However, an increasing number of studies on the 'dark side' of leadership have included in the behaviors of bad leadership topics including abusive supervision, bossing, destructive, poisonous, and/or negative leadership, among others [4]. As a result of bad leadership, a significant quantity of precious resources is currently being squandered in most African educational institutions of higher learning, owing mostly to human and systemic issues [35]. In the end, bad leadership, from the military perspective leads to a less effective fighting force and those who lead through fear and intimidation may gain short-term compliance, but they are less likely to inspire long-term commitment [24].

Bad leadership has been blamed for a slew of problems plaguing African countries, including ethnic and communal disputes, rising crime, drug trafficking, advanced fee fraud, and so on. The preceding statement demonstrates that Africa's leadership and their associates have simply privatized the state for their own gain. Primordial parochial, individualized, and selfish impulses, political brigandage, ethnic competition and cleavages, clientelism, and privatized state apparatuses characterize African leadership. As most of them lost or lacked control of effective leadership, the character of political leadership became a concern. As a result, state resources were scrambled and partitioned to meet their needs [9]. Therefore, knowing the personalities and practices that led to Somalia's disintegration and destruction might help current and future Somali leaders avoid making the same mistakes, which aids the country's ongoing post-conflict rehabilitation process [11].

Role of Public Leadership in the Political Disintegration of Somalia Federal Government

The strengths and disadvantages of federal solutions as a means of resolving political problems have received renewed attention as a result of political developments in many areas of the world during the last decade. This has resulted in substantial scholarly literature aiming to examine the nature of federalism and to comprehend themes such as federalism's theory and practice, the design and functioning of multiple federal systems, and political integration and disintegration processes. As a number of scholars have pointed out, a fundamental element in the increase of interest in federalism is that the world is paradoxically demonstrating increasing forces for both integration and disintegration. The fact that federalism combines a shared government (for specified common purposes) with autonomous action by constituent units

of government that maintain their identity and distinctiveness, a growing number of people see it as the closest institutional approximation to the multinational reality of today's world [36]. In a nutshell, federalism may be an effective technique of achieving political stability and order in a multi-national and multi-cultural country. However, when the idea is applied incorrectly in a given environment, such as that of an authoritarian and undemocratic administration, it can have the exact opposite effect, contributing to ethnic disputes and conflicts, as well as the disintegration of national unity [37]. Excessive focus on self-rule, along with a lack of proper representation and influence in federal institutions for particular ethnic communities, has been found to contribute to disintegration [36].

In Nigeria for example, although the 1967 state-creation exercise that divided minorities was motivated by the practical imperative of resisting Biafran independence and preventing political disintegration, it was also motivated by long-standing autonomy aspirations. The 1967 exercise would not have happened if the long-standing minorities' aspiration for autonomy had not existed [38]. However, Nigerian federal system is believed to be a reasonably realistic and effective tool for resolving inter-group conflict and preventing ethno political disintegration [39]. The inability to accommodate ethnic differences has resulted in Rwanda's horrible genocide, Somalia's disintegration, Liberia's implosion, and Sudan's still-raging civil war, which has already taken thousands of lives and uprooted significant swaths of the population [40]. An armed political power struggle among the elite erupted in Somalia, ending in the breakdown of the state and the country's disintegration in 1991 [41]. Somaliland arose as a result of state fragmentation and collapse [42].

Ethiopia is in a scenario where democracy and the concept of inclusive and overall citizenship, which are two of the most important preconditions for resolving ethnic disputes in federal states, are plainly undermining. According to federal theory, this condition is likely to intensify ethnic tensions and, in the worst-case scenario, lead to the federation's disintegration. Another argument in federal theory is that without the concept of common citizenship, ethnic self-determination will inevitably transform into secessionist demands, resulting in the collapse of federal states. To avoid ethnic self-rule from devolving into parochialism and fragmentation, space must be made available for the creation of a broader identity in addition to the ethnic one [43]. As a result, in Ethiopia, some people are concerned that the possibility of political fragmentation and bloodshed is too high. They believed that acknowledging and nurturing the ethnic diversity that is a fundamental component of their society by the political leaders would lead to polarization, instability, and disintegration [44]. A federal agreement that formally recognizes ethnolinguistic variety to aid in the management of divides could potentially lead to eventual dissolution [45]. Self-rule, according to Ghai, is a conflict-resolution strategy because it promotes integration rather than disintegration; it creates a foundation for mutually agreeable interaction between the region and the center [46].

Somali society is not divided by ethnicity, but it is riven by patrimonialism and corruption, which serve as vehicles for disintegration [47]. In Somalia, the toppling of the Siad Barre administration in 1991 was followed by the disintegration of key administrative institutions and demographic [48]. Although some who observed the state's disintegration refer to it as "burbur" ('catastrophe,) the impact of the conflict on the Horn of Africa country during the past three decades is reflected in the Failed State Index (Foreign Policy 2008-2011), where Somalia was ranked first [49], [50], [51]. However, the fall of Siad Barre in 1991 and the disintegration of Somalia's state eliminated pansomalist ideals in one fell swoop. The withdrawal of Western funding was a major factor in the country's disintegration. Without western assistance, Siad Barre lost control of territories, which was split into a patchwork of petty fiefdoms. The overthrow of Siad Barre in 1991, and the subsequent disintegration of Somalia, signaled the end of the central administration. Somalia had to deal with the irreversible fragmentation of the country into small areas ruled by clan leaders, guerrilla groups, and warlords [52]. As a result of historical and political grievances in Somalia, disintegration has become a nationwide phenomenon, with clans or tribes pursuing internal divisions, and retaliation appears to be inevitable. Indeed, one can justify the need for such an advanced style of statehood like federal government in Somalia since the earlier Transitional Federal Governments of Somalia, but it is widely questioned how this can be viable or sustainable in the context of political disintegration on a large scale, in the context of state integrity in Somalia being highly threatened and jeopardized by external or clan competition. Because of widespread political disintegration, which is fueling forces of archaism, statelessness, tribal competition, and the current escalation of communal conflict in Somalia, the concept of "same clan- ethnic society, religion, language, and traits" has been weakened [53].

Barre was likewise a failure, leading the country to political and social disintegration as well as economic devastation. In the process, the clan conflict resulted in the Somali state's collapse, as well as greater societal disintegration, endless wars,

and economic ruin. This disintegration is likely to continue in the foreseeable future, and any Somali unity government that comes together will be unstable and have a weak central authority. Somali nationalism has been supplanted by clan fighting and national fragmentation, while the goal of economic prosperity has remained elusive. Unfortunately, rather than integration, the current trend indicates further societal and political disintegration, with more clan fiefdoms claiming independence and statehood [54]. As a result, the state, which was supposed to unite the Somali people, became the instrument for their disintegration. The state had already effectively dissolved when the disintegration following Siyad Barre's flight from Mogadishu in January 1991 revealed the situation [55]. As Somalia enters post-conflict reconstruction, it's important to look into how earlier mistakes in leadership characteristics contributed to the Somali society's societal disintegration. President Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke is widely regarded as the first politician in Somalia to bribe MPs to gain their votes in the 1960s election, according to numerous historians. As a result, their personality and policies have contributed to the disintegration of society and the destruction of the country in the past. The phenomenon of social disintegration was particularly visible in President Barre's leadership style, which severely harmed Somali society's cohesion. Furthermore, prior Somali leaders were clearly impacted by the threat of losing power, which drove them to exploit factional rivalries within clans by keeping them in competition in order to enact individualized policies. Such policies, on the other hand, caused disintegration among the public and, as a result, society's collapse [11].

The disintegration of Said Barre's rule in 1991 resulted in the total annihilation of Somalia's governing institutions [56]; and this disintegration resulted in horrific human losses, infrastructure devastation, the collapse of health and educational systems, and the death and displacement of millions of Somalis [57]. The flaws of disintegration on the other hand, led to state collapse and fragmentation in a violent civil war that has claimed more than 300,000 lives and displaced nearly half of the country's population. Depending on the quality of its leaders, one country can swiftly launch on a dynamic track of development, while another slowly sinks into an abyss of instability and disintegration, never mind achieving a minimal rate of economic and social improvement. Somalia's government has failed to establish the country on a path of national unity, stability, and growth [58].

III. METHODOLOGY

This study used qualitative research methodology to explore bad leadership and its influence on political disintegration of the federal government of Somalia. The technique of data collection was interviews for which notes were taken and recorded based on the responses of the interviewees. This approach was chosen because it strengthens the understanding and interpretation of the meaning and intentions underlying human interaction [59]. Therefore, the study utilized face-to-face interviews to ensure that questions in the interview guides are meaningful and easily understood by the interviewees. The respondents in the study comprised of public figures, intellectuals, political and leadership analysts, politicians, traditional elders, youth and women. For the purpose of this study, twenty one (21) respondents were interviewed to explore the information needed in order to achieve the research objective. Interview settings were convenient to members participating and a high sense of confidentiality was observed. The interviews were guided by semi-structured questions to find the needed responses. The methods of analysis for the data generated by this study involved thematic analysis because thematic analysis offers an avenue for both interpretation and involvement of the researcher in the analysis. The focus was on identification of codes and themes [60], [61], [62].

Table 1: Demographic and characteristics of the informants

| Informant | Data | Coding |
|-----------------------------|---|--------|
| Senior Political Analyst | Male, 67 Years, PhD & Public Figure | R1 |
| Senior Researcher | Male, 54 Years, PhD, Advisor & Public figure | R2 |
| Minister | Male, 35 Years, Master & Politician | R3 |
| Humanitarian Officer | Male, 48 Years, Master & Civil Society | R4 |
| University Rector | Male, 47 Years, Master, Academic & Public figure | R5 |
| Youth Club Leader | Male, 36 Years, Master & Public figure | R6 |
| Religious Scholar | Male, 65 Years, PhD & Religious affairs expert | R7 |
| Women Association Leader | Female, 55 Years, Master & Civil society | R8 |
| Humanitarian Expert | Female, 47 Years, PhD & Public figure | R9 |
| CEO of Business Corporation | Male, 59 Years, PhD candidate & Political Commentator | R10 |
| Youth Association Leader | Female, 43 Years, Master & Public Servant | R11 |
| Ministry Director | Female, 36 Years, Master & Public Servant | R12 |

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|-----|
| Member Of Parliament | Female, 63 Years, Master & Politician | R13 |
| Hotel Manager | Female, 46 Years, Master & Political commentator | R14 |
| Political & Peace-building Expert | Male, 52 Years, PhD candidate & Political Writer & commentator | R15 |
| Clan Chief | Male, 67 Years, Bachelor & Clan Chief | R16 |
| Clan Chief | Male, 72 Years, Informal Education, Clan Chief | R17 |
| Political Analyst | Male, 55 Years, PhD & Public Figure | R18 |
| Policy Researcher | Male, 52 Years, PhD & Public figure | R19 |
| Minister | Female, 41 Years, Master & Politician | R20 |
| Humanitarian Officer | Female, 48 Years, Master & Civil Society | R21 |

IV. DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Factors that Cause Public Bad Leadership in Somalia Federal Government

Respondents characterized bad leadership as those who do not operate the governance system as the community requires, diverge from the appropriate leadership path and what is good for the community, lack a clear purpose, lack motivation, and put their personal interests ahead of the public interest. They also dictate what they want, have no prior experience in politics or federalism, lack vision, sign every deal without verification, deviate from the nation's good direction, and finally lack intellectual aptitude and expertise. Though respondents had a variety of ideas about the causes of bad leadership in Somalia's federal government, they all agreed that the way Somali families raise their children, such as silencing children who want to make suggestions, our education system, which does not prepare leaders, a lack of knowledge about the country's system of federalism, the authorities who select the leadership, Diaspora disagreements over their work abroad and their role in the country, wasting most of his time returning to the position but not to the leadership of the country, recurrent federal and state conflict, lack of prior experience for governance, personal interest; the collapse of the Somalia government resulted in a gap to practice modern governance principles, a lack of opportunity for good leaders as powerful clans are armed and determine who holds higher positions, a lack of free elections, a lack of application of Islamic leadership principles. A lack of an Islamic-based constitution since independence, an exported system of government has existed, with coups and dictatorships, no succession planning, corruption, tribalism, and a lack of governance knowledge. Emotional unity without clear rules, like a tank sewn on the bottom, there is no bottom-up system, and Islamic scholars are silenced. There is a lack of direction and transparency.

However, respondents were divided on the role of the Diaspora in the country's leadership system. Most respondents, such as R 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, and 15, believed that most Diaspora do not care about the country because their children are abroad and invest overseas. They contended that local people have no idea about the Diaspora's history because some of them were drivers abroad and hold highest positions in the country, they don't know the country well because they have been absent for the last 30 years, they don't understand the needs of the community, and they have westernized culture and education that oppose the local culture. Much of the country's problem affects the locals but not the Diaspora. They concluded that the greatest problem of Somalia leadership today is Diaspora because they seek jobs rather than leadership due to a conflict of interest with their second country, and some of them may also have foreign-based interests that they are assigned to perform. This finding is in line with the previous result of [27]. who believed that the increasing number of Diaspora occupying the highest political seats of Somalia is one of the main factors encouraging bad leadership.

However, R 1, 3, 6, and 10 all stressed that, while the Diaspora has made many mistakes in the country's leadership, they have also played a positive role in the country's reconstruction, as they have witnessed functioning governance systems and peaceful institutions from which the country can benefit, and there are many of them who are well educated and loyal to the country.

Despite the fact that there is yet to be a free and fair election, respondents 1, 5, 7, 9, 13, and 17 believe that the criteria used to select the leadership have a lot to do with bad leadership. Selection is based on clan, and everyone returns to his or her clan, which has now degenerated further since the regional president, rather than the clan, selects members of the federal government parliament. The chosen member then considers the clan or regional president's interests, rather than the national interest. More than that, political seats are sold by clansmen as well as regional states. This finding supports the previous outcome of Issa & David who found that the main factor of bad leadership is deemed to be the selection criteria of leaders, as the selection process in Africa follows an imposition pattern and that African leaders commonly arrive in their positions with little experience [9].

Behavior and Actions of Public Leadership in Somalia Federal Government

Favoritism, clan-based recruiting for government institutions, dictatorship, rapid property creation, short-sightedness, lack of vision, and corruption were identified as the key behaviors and activities of bad leadership in Somalia by respondents. This result is in line with previous findings of Rotberg and Eniayejuni & Evcan who found that corruption thrives under bad leadership, funds pour out of poorly run governments into hidden bank accounts, prejudice against minorities (and, on rare occasions, majorities) becomes common, and civil wars erupt [33], [34].

Participants of this study went on to say that there is a lack of promise fulfillment, nepotism, a lack of nationalism, operating on foreign-led interests, misconceptions among them, a lack of loyalty to building the nation, the destruction of society's value, creating clan rivalries, vulnerability to foreign orders, and that they were aggressive and passive. Furthermore, bad leaders are not well-trained, do not provide service but rather represent clan or sub-clan, and ultimately, encourage incompetent people, according to respondents. R 5, 7, 12, 20, and 21 were among the respondents who argued that when incompetent leaders are in charge, progress is stifled and no new developments occur. What was set aside for the public good is utilized for personal gain. The country does not keep up with global economic trends, and it remains impoverished. They are unconcerned with economic power, and they are unaccountable. This finding supports a previous conclusion by Issa & David who stressed that bad leadership has been blamed for a slew of problems plaguing African countries, including ethnic and communal disputes, rising crime, drug trafficking, advanced fee fraud, and so on [9].

Role of Public Leadership in the Political Disintegration of Somalia Federal Government

Respondents agreed that poor leadership is a major factor in Somalia's political disintegration. According to them, bad leadership is the root of the recurring confrontations between the federal government and regional states, because most, if not all, leaders are narrow-minded and prioritize clan over everything else. This finding is in line with Hassan et.al finding that argued that the personality and policies of bad leadership have contributed to the disintegration of society and the destruction of the country. Current political and social disputes in Gedo, Bosaso, Beledweyn, Benadir, Baidoa, and Dhusamareeb are good examples of bad leadership, as respondents concluded. Leaders at both the federal and regional levels do not think critically about the best structure for the country, preferring instead to acquire and use excessive authority, which is a sign of bad leadership. The respondents claim that this is due to the lack of a constitutional and national high court that might mediate disputes [11].

Participants also claimed that the federal design is part of the problem, because leaders are accepting a federalism system that they are unfamiliar with. All of the leaders share the same title—president—which further complicates the situation. The finding contradicts previous finding by Ghai who argued that self-rule is a conflict-resolution strategy as it promotes integration rather than disintegration; it creates a foundation for mutually agreeable interaction between the region and the center. It's like being on a boat with a lot of captains [46]. New conflicts always occur as a result of bad leadership, according to respondents, such as education management disputes between states and the federal government, donor projects that are contested, resource sharing conflicts, and excessive greed that leads to everything being disputed. The federal government's policy of regime change has also exacerbated the problem, and now everyone claims what they don't have a right to. This is in line with Luling conclusion that stated that the state, which was supposed to unite the Somali people, became the instrument for their disintegration [55].

Respondents also agreed that the country is disintegrating today as a result of incompetent leadership, and Somaliland has already declared independence. Current leaders have no shared meaning of what federalism really means, and it implies different things to different people. Instead, they see federalism as a group of clan cantons sharing authority. Respondents used Galka'yo, a city in central Somalia, as an example, where citizens were divided into clans and the city now has two mayors and is administered by two states. Finally, respondents stated that clan diversity has been nurtured rather than accommodated owing to poor leadership. Clan disagreements used to be mostly about grazing and water, but corrupt leadership politicized them and applied them to every aspect of life, such as offering scholarships and job opportunities, and staffing in ministries. One respondent described the level of disintegration this way: "There was a friend of mine who passed an exam for UN staff recruitment, and when he was accepted as a UN staff member and sent to one of the regional states to work, the state leaders rejected the Somalia guy and ordered UN to recruit from the region, and UN refused to obey the order, and the job was cancelled." This supports Mohamoud result that argued that due to historical and political grievances in Somalia, disintegration has become a nationwide phenomenon, with clans or tribes pursuing internal divisions, and retaliation appeared to be inevitable [53].

Accepting 4.5 as the primary identity of government institutions simply fosters clannism, leading the community to prioritize the number of clansmen in the system for their clan over the services provided to citizens. It's like taking the same medicine you took yesterday to get better tonight. Or to continue on the same path you lost yesterday. Or, as the Prophet Muhammad remarked, "a real believer is not bitten twice in the same hole," as one respondent claimed. The finding is in line with Marijan findings that found that a federal agreement that formally recognizes ethno linguistic variety to aid in the management of divides could potentially lead to eventual dissolution [45].

Measures to be taken by Somalia to End Bad Leadership

The respondents in this study proposed that the federal government reforms the electoral system to make it more participatory and transparent in order to elect good members of parliament. Second, finalize the temporary constitution, promote civic education among the people, and thoroughly investigate the candidates' backgrounds. Third, a critical analysis of the division of powers between states and the federal government should be applied, rather than just on paper, as the provisional constitution does. Fourth, starting with the highest leaders, the federal government should establish as soon as possible fair constitutional and high courts, develop criteria for checks and balances, and prioritize public interest over personal interests. Fifth, develop inspection mechanisms and put every corrupted leader on trial, assign important positions to responsible and competent people, reform the current federal design, change leadership selection criteria, empower locally supported leadership, and bring the South and North together in critical negotiations to discuss the best system for the country.

Respondents proposed that regional states initially refrain from establishing international relationships with other governments as they already practiced, thereby leaving international relations to the federal government. Second, rather than aggravating the problem and causing new conflicts, be a part of the solution to existing grievances. Third, though states are local and close to communities, they should facilitate effective clan reconciliation within each state, resulting in national reconciliation. Fourth, cease interfering with the election process and leave it to the constituents. Finally, they must avoid comparing themselves with the federal government and stop grabbing excessive power from the center, which has compromised the nation's sovereignty.

Participants suggested that civil society should raise awareness of federal and regional states, feel social responsibility, stay out of the dispute between the two parties, perfectly represent civil society, advocate for those who are unable to speak for themselves, be well organized and civilized with a thorough education, and finally, not represent NGOs or foreign agencies but be independent.

Individual citizens, according to respondents, should have a caring attitude for their country, starting at home and with their children, and should not raise their children with detrimental clannism beliefs, but rather with nationalism and a sense of ownership. Ascertain that they are the rightful owners of this country, and finally abandon the idea of emigrating overseas.

Respondents agreed that international community is a sword with two wings. Despite the fact that they represent several governments and interests, they should have a unified strategy on Somalia's reconstruction, utilize Somali specialists to audit projects, avoid interfering in Somalis' local issues, and cooperate directly with the federal government.

V. DISCUSSION

The study investigated what lies behind public bad leadership in Somalia's political disintegration: the case of Somalia's federal government. The study first looked at how the Somali community perceives bad leadership and discovered that for Somalis, those who operate the federal system contrary to the needs of society, lack a clear vision and purpose, put their personal interests ahead of the public interest, dictate what they want to the community, have no prior experience in politics and federalism, and sign unverified deals with foreigners are characterized as bad leaders. According to the causes of bad leadership, the study discovered that the main causes of bad leadership begin with how families raise their children, such as silencing them when they have an idea to share, which is the beginning of dictatorship, the education system, which does not prepare leaders, poor knowledge of the country's system of federalism, the selection or election authorities, the majority number of Diaspora involved in political positions, and governing bodies wasting most of their time returning to their seats rather than leading the country properly. The study supports previous researches by Issa & David who emphasized that the leadership selection process and Diaspora are the main causes of bad leadership in Africa [9].

Likewise, recurring federal and state conflict, the collapse of the Somalia government which resulted in a gap to practice modern governance principles, a lack of opportunity for good leaders as powerful clans are armed and determine who holds higher positions, a lack of application of Islamic leadership principles, the absence of an Islamic-based constitution, an exported system of government that has existed since independence, no safe succession planning, corruption, tribalism, the emotional unity of South and North without clear rules, no bottom-up system, and silencing Islamic scholars, were identified as the causes of bad leadership in Somalia federal government. The study indicated that society's perceptions about the Diaspora's influence in politics are conflicting. While the majority of the community believes that Diaspora members are unconcerned about what is going on in the country because their families and properties are abroad, and that due to their long absence from the country, they are unaware of the needs and local culture of the society, and that there may be a conflict of interest with their second country because some of them may have hidden agendas, others acknowledged the positive role some Diaspora members play in the community. This is in line with Ismail's study who questioned the role of the Diaspora in Somalia politics [27]. However, according to the findings of the study, though Diaspora have witnessed functioning and peaceful institutions from which the nation can benefit, and some of them are well educated and loyal to the country, not all of them can be accused of poor leadership. Furthermore, the study discovered that, despite the lack of a free and fair election, the criteria used to select the leadership have a lot to do with bad leadership. Election is based on clan, and everyone returns to his or her clan, which has now devolved further since members of the federal government parliament are decided by the regional president rather than the clan. The selected member then prioritizes the interests of the clan or regional president over the national interest.

As long as behaviors and actions of bad leadership are concerned, favoritism, clan-based recruiting for government institutions, dictatorship, rapid property creation, short-sightedness, lack of vision, and corruption were identified as key behaviors and activities of bad leadership in Somalia, according to the study. Furthermore, there is a lack of promise fulfillment, nepotism, a lack of nationalism, operating on foreign-led interests, misconceptions among federal and regional states, a lack of loyalty to building the nation, and a lack of accountability have widely spread in the system. This finding supports a previous conclusion by Issa & David who stressed that bad leadership has been blamed for a slew of problems plaguing African countries, including ethnic and communal disputes, rising crime, drug trafficking, advanced fee fraud, and so on [9].

The devaluation of society, the development of clan rivalries, vulnerability to foreign orders, as well as aggressiveness and passivity, a lack of adequate training, poor service delivery, clan and sub-clan representation, and, finally, supporting unqualified people are found to be the main behaviors and actions of bad leadership. When incompetent leaders are in power, the study revealed, progress is hindered, and resources set aside for the common good are diverted for personal benefit, resulting in the country's prolonged impoverishment. The study is in line with previous conclusions that found similar results [33], [34].

According to the study on bad leadership and political disintegration, bad leadership is a major factor in Somalia's political disintegration. The study is in line with a study by Ruigrok, who argued that African continent has been plagued by terrible governance and bad leadership, weak institutions, state disintegration, genocide, and seemingly unsolvable conflicts over the years [8]. The recurring social and political clashes between the federal government and regional states are the result of poor leadership; conflicts in Gedo, Bosaso, Beledweyn, Benadir, Baidoa, and Dhusamareeb are examples of poor leadership. Excessive authority is preferred by leaders at both the federal and regional levels, which is an indication of poor leadership. The study also revealed that this is due to the lack of a constitutional and national high court to mediate disputes, and that the federal design is part of the problem, because current leaders are accepting a federalism system with which they are unfamiliar. On the other hand, all leaders have the same title—president—which complicates matters even more. According to the study, bad leadership inevitably created new conflicts, such as education management disputes between states and the federal government, contested donor projects, resource sharing conflicts, and excessive greed that causes everything to be disputed. The finding contradicts previous finding by Ghai who argued that self-rule is a conflict-resolution strategy as it promotes integration rather than disintegration; it creates a foundation for mutually agreeable interaction between the region and the center [46].

The federal government's regime-change agenda has also exacerbated the problem, and now everyone is claiming more than his right. This is in line with Luling conclusion that argued that the state, which was supposed to unite the Somali people, became the instrument for their disintegration [55]. As a result of poor leadership, the country is disintegrating

now, and Somaliland has already proclaimed independence. Current leaders have no inclusive definition of federalism, and it means different things to different people. They regard federalism as a collection of clan cantons sharing power. Galka'yo, a city in central Somalia, is an example of residents being separated into clans, with the city currently having two mayors and being ruled by two different states (Galmudug and Puntland).

Finally, due to lack of proper leadership, the study discovered that clan differences have been nurtured rather than accommodated. The study supports previous studies that concluded that previous leadership personalities are to blame for Somali societal disintegration, which has manifested as political marginalization, economic disparity, corruption, election fraud, unemployment, social injustice, alienation, and poverty [10], [11]. Clan feuds used to be mostly about grazing and water, but incompetent leadership politicized them and applied them to every sphere of society's life, including scholarship and job opportunities in government institutions. Accepting 4.5 as the major identity of government institutions simply reinforces clannism, causing the society to place a greater emphasis on the number of clansmen in the system for their clan than on the services delivered to citizens.

As far as measures to be taken are concerned, the study found that there are numerous steps that can be undertaken to overcome the issue of bad leadership. For the federal government, reforming the election system, finalizing the provisional constitution, encouraging civic education, and properly investigating individuals' backgrounds before becoming a candidate were all deemed important to implement. Additionally, it is necessary for the federal government to establish a clear separation of powers between states and the federal government, rather than only on paper, as the provisional constitution does; fair constitutional and high courts must be established, and the public interest must take precedence over personal interests. Corrupted leaders should be put on trial, important positions should be assigned to responsible and competent people, the current federal design should be reformed, leadership selection criteria should be adjusted, locally supported leadership should be empowered, and deep and critical negotiations should be held between the South and the North to discuss the best system for the country.

The study recommends that regional states refrain from establishing foreign relations with other governments, as they previously did, leaving foreign relations to the federal government; instead of aggravating the problem and causing new conflicts, be a part of the solution to existing grievances; and, since states are local and close to communities, they should facilitate effective clan reconciliation within each state, resulting in national recognition. The study also recommends that civil society raise awareness of federal and regional states, feel social responsibility, stay out of the two-party dispute, perfectly represent civil society, advocate for those who are unable to speak for themselves, be well organized and civilized with a thorough education, and finally, not represent NGOs or foreign agencies but be independent. Individual citizens, according to the study, should have a caring attitude, nationalism, and a sense of ownership for their country, ascertain that they are the true owners of their country, and finally renounce their plans to emigrate abroad. According to research, the international community is a sword with two wings so, they should have a coherent strategy on Somalia's reconstruction, avoid intervening in Somalia's local affairs, and work directly with the federal government, despite the fact that they represent multiple governments and interests.

VI. CONCLUSION

The literature revealed a number of important and often disregarded characteristics and ideas about bad leadership. The few existing literature on bad leadership is nurtured and revived in this study with focus on political disintegration under Somalia's federal system. The study investigated what lies behind public bad leadership in Somalia's political disintegration: the case of Somalia's federal government. The study first looked at how Somalis view bad leadership, finding that those who operate the federal system against society's needs, lack a clear vision and purpose, put their personal interests ahead of the public interest, dictate what they want to the community, have no prior experience in politics or federalism, and sign unverified deals with foreigners are viewed as bad leaders. According to the study, favoritism, clan-based recruitment for government institutions, dictatorship, rapid property creation, short-sightedness, lack of vision, and corruption are important behaviors and activities of bad leadership in Somalia. Bad leadership, according to the study, is a fundamental contributor in Somalia's political collapse. According to the study, there are a number of activities that may be implemented to address the problem of bad leadership. Reforming the election system, finalizing the provisional constitution, boosting civic education, and thoroughly examining individuals' biographies before running for office were all deemed important to implement by the federal government.

There are certain limitations to the research study that must be acknowledged. First, a qualitative data collection method was used to gather information from 21 key informants in Somalia. As a result, the study should be repeated in different contexts and using a quantitative approach. Second, while just one leadership style of bad leadership was explored in this study, additional leadership styles such as authentic leadership, smart leadership, and charismatic leadership should be tested in future studies. Finally, religious and private leadership should be considered in future studies of bad leadership.

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