FAILED STATES AS A FAILURE OF POLICY: A CASE STUDY OF SOMALIA (2011-2017)

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other University.

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DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to the policy makers and scholars of policy making towards sourcing for a workable solution for the peace and security of people of Somalia and Africa as a whole.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

ABSTRACT

The case of Somalia is typical of a failed state. For close to three decades now, the country has been in an endless civil war. In the absence of a strong government, the Somali nationals languish in abject poverty due to a lack of a proper channel through which resources can reach to common citizens. The anarchy in Somalia has, therefore, precipitated a cascade of insecurity, and gross violation of human rights which thrive on the low-hanging cloud of civil animosity. In answering the fore-highlighted questions and to analyze critically the impact of lack of policy resulting to failure of states. Therefore, the paper sought to meet the following three objectives: to appreciate the role and function of policy in security formulation; to comprehend the challenges and policy gaps in the cultural setting and clannism which led to decades of conflict in Somalia and to recommend a befitting policy formulation for Somalia. In analyzing the failed states phenomenon, this study used the realist theory of international relations. This is traced back to famous theorists such as Machiavelli and Thomas Hobes to recent scholars such as Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz. In addressing the objectives of this study, the research relied on secondary data. This is due to time constraint and the period this study has to be done and finalized, relying on primary data collection was a challenge. However, some information was based on primary data gathered from colleagues who have been to Somalia on duty. The Secondary data this research relied on include: review of published books, journals, periodicals, academic references and online sources. The research design is a case study and therefore the choice of Somalia as a case study of a failed state in examining the impact of poor policy leading to failure of governance. Somalia therefore represented other failed state that has had a direct relation to poor policy. The study concludes that the long-standing civil war in Somalia is the outcome of a social process which the country has been undergoing for decades, shaped by domestic, regional and international specificities. Years of international involvement have failed to deliver any significant results. This failure has highlighted the inadequacy of top-down approaches that neglect Somalia's social and historical uniqueness. The study concludes that Somali political actors, including the legislature, need to prioritize resolution of the broader constitutional question of how the Somali federal system will function, and how rights, responsibilities and powers will be shared between the center and the peripheries. This will provide clarity in the relationship between the FGS and the FMS, and clear the path for a more productive working relationship on all the pressing issues involved in restoring an effective Somali state, including the security sector.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

IDPs   :   Internally Displaced Persons

SNA   :   Somali National Army

AMISOM   :   The African Union Mission in Somalia

OECD   :   Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

NSS or NSP :   National Security Strategy or Policy

TFG   :   Transitional Federal Government

ICU   :   Islamic Courts Union

AIAI   :   Al-Itihaad Al-Islamiya

DDR   :   Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration

NGOs   :   Non-Governmental Organizations

DSC   Defense Staff College

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I.1 Background to the Study

Failed states suggest instability and disorder in a given state, inability to provide basic needs, like food and peaceful environment within a given territory. Other terms which are commonly used in describing this term are instable nations, insecure nations, as they lack security and have terrorism and humanitarian issues.[1] These are all terms used to explain

"Failed states" as such to be seen as a big problem in itself but also as drivers of other causes such as threats in security, instability in the region and conflicts,. Somalia for example is considered among the failed nations because of the long duration it has stayed in insecurity and instability state. The country has being in this state from 1991 from the history of states in the Horn of the continent.

Somalia is among the first country in Africa to have democratic transition from colonial rule to a self-governing state.[2] In fact, Somalia gained her independence much earlier than most of her neighbors like Kenya, Djibouti and Tanzania. However, the gain of independence marked the beginning of greater political tragedies for the country.

Having attained her independence in 1960, the country only had nine years of parliamentary system of democracy, the 1stof its kind in Africa.[3] A bloodless military coup led by Mohamed

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[1] Ahmad Rashid Jamal; Identifying causes of State Failure.(2013). P.45

[2] Dockrill, Saki. "Eisenhower's New-Look National Security Policy, 1953-61." *New York* (2012).

[3] Ibid pgs 100

Siad Barre in 1969 brought an end to the democratic parliamentary government, birthing some of the biggest political tragedies that the country has had to contend with. The military government instituted dictatorial rule which culminated in a violent ouster by a conglomeration of several rebel groups since 1991[4]. Since then Somalia has never had stable governance. It is important to highlight that the massive violation of human rights were perpetuated by the dictatorial military regime which did not cease with the end of the excruciatingly repressive military rule. As a matter of fact, the end of military dictatorship took the country from bad to worse because the leadership void created in the country made room for more violent conflicts and novel challenges for the country, her neighbors, and the international community. [5]

The case of Somalia is a good instance of 'failed nations'. For close to three decades now, the country is in endless violent conflicts. In the absence of a strong government, the Somali nationals languish in abject poverty due to a lack of a proper channel through which resources can reach to common citizens. The anarchy in Somalia has, therefore, precipitated a cascade of insecurity, and gross violation of human rights which thrive on the low-hanging cloud of civil animosity. The failure by rebel leaders and other chiefs of faction to find a plausible and workable formula by which to govern the country has since divided the country into several minute fiefdoms. The resulting civil war which began in 1991 has resulted in thousands individuals dead and over two millions Somalis have found themselves the victims of the ensuing hostility either as refugees in foreign countries or as internally displaced persons.

Several attempts have been made to restore order in Somalia, but all these efforts have proven futile. At least fifteen reconciliation conferences have been convened beyond the borders of the

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[4] Khayre, Ahmed "Somalia: An Overview of the Historical and Current Situation." (2016).
[5] Khalsa, Sundri Kaur. "System and method for providing terrorism intelligence indications and warnings." U.S. Patent 7,644,056, issued January 5, 2010.

country with the aim to end the prevailing anarchy and establish a functioning central government[6]. However, all these have been unsuccessful too. Even multilateral military operations which were directed by U.S. have utterly failed their bid to restore peace and stability in the area. Military intervention has really exacerbated the combustible situation. For example, when Ethiopian troops invaded Somalia in 2006 with the support of the US under the veneer of 'war on terror' the result of that military invasion has been termed the worst humanitarian crisis ever recorded in the continent of Africa. Hence, the sad reality is that whenever there is failure in government policy, disorder comes bringing an unending war.

1.2. Statement of the Research Problem

Advantageously located in the horn of Africa, the country has been in the worldwide spotlight for the past few years. The attention from the world is not because of big achievements but because of its failure to govern itself and failure in the economy. This East African country is facing a lot of trials and troubles. The country is of one ethnic group but colonized by different countries, this led it to divide into two countries, causing an aftermath of trials to reunitingthe bigger Somali country after independence was gained. The re-unification trials have caused further conflict within the region, particularly with Ethiopia.[7]

Though the country is made of one ethnic group and religion, the nation's clans are complex because of the different clans in the area. The dynamics of the clans are the main cause to the situation in the country, the problem arose when the rule of dictator Siad Barre came to an end after 21 years bringing civil conflicts in the country.[11]Since then Somalia has never had stable

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[6] Khayre, Ahmed Ali M. "Somalia: making human rights central to the state rebuilding." (2017).
[7] Falk, Richard. "The post-Westphalia enigma." *Global governance in the 21st century: alternative perspectives on world order* (2012): 147. [11] Ibid

governance. It is important to highlight that the massive violation of human rights were perpetuated by the dictatorial military regime which did not cease with the end of the excruciatingly repressive military rule. As a matter of fact, the end of military dictatorship took the country from bad to worse because the leadership void created in the country made room for more violent conflicts and challenges for the country, her neighbors, and the international community. Somalia's process of self-disintegration and integration is one of the more relevant topics within the contemporary worldwide system. This is mainly because the Horn of Africa is a strategic region in crisis, and, furthermore, because Somalia has directly undermined the credibility of the international community's ability to manage the conflicts. In spite the overall failing of the worldwide societies to manage the Somali crisis, international players continue to propose solutions and paths toward economy growth, because the worldwide commitment to nation-building has become the main issue for worldwide politics.

Most of the findings on previous studies on state failure concepts suffer from diagnostic errors with a lack of common consensus regarding both definition and measurements. This severely limits the ability to respond to the phenomenon. Furthermore, while worldwide actors remain in the middle of conflicts and violence from terrorism, crucial aid is being demolished by powerful terrorist developments. The research seeks to study impacts of lack of policies resulting to failure of countries.

1.3   Research Questions

The purpose of this research paper is to give answers to 3 research questions:

1. How does policy influence the architecture of a country?

2. What could have caused Somalia not to revamp towards conflict resolution to the extent that it is termed a failed state, and could clannism be a factor?

3. Could external interventions, some of which are unnecessary, be the reason behind anarchy in Somalia?

1.4   Objectives of the Research

In answering the fore-highlighted questions and to analyze critically the impact of lack of policy resulting to failure of states, the paper sought to meet the following three objectives:

(1) To establish the role and function of policy in security formulation?

(2) To determine the challenges and policy gaps in the cultural setting and clannism which led to decades of conflict in Somalia?

(3) To recommend a befitting policy formulation for Somalia?

1.5 Hypothesis

(1)   Failure of policy enables the growth and deterioration of states leading to failed states example, Somalia.

(2)   Somali's prolonged instability has directly denied development and maturity of policy to govern the state.

(3)   Lack of law enforcement agencies and government to rule over Somalia, has contributed to slow and near to nil change of status towards development.

1.6   Justification of Research Problem

The main focus of the study is to study the link between the failed countries and failure or lack of

Policy in relation to Somalia. This will bring out strongly the link between lack of policy and the

failed states and the linkages to causes of failure of policies such as big presence of terrorists

groups, which prefer and thrive in such states. The findings of the study will give a basis for

better knowledge about the concept of failed states, contributing factors to states failure and the

contributing factor of failed states to global insecurity. The various ways of indicating a weak,

failed nation shows the depth to the issues of stating a failed nation. All countries aren't the same

in politics or competence. The many nations in the global system shows the differences between

the weak, failed nations and the strong ones. These differences aren't compatible as they indicate

different varieties in the world's politics.

1.7 literature Review

1.7.1 Conceptualizing Failed States

'Failed nation' is a country which can effectively perform the two essential duties of a

independent country in the recent world's system, it can't show authority over its citizens, and it

also can't give necessary protection to its people. The government of these failed nations is

attenuated to the extent that it can't carry out its administration and institutional roles needed so

as to control individuals and the resources hence cannot give the essential services to its citizens.

The people don't believe the legitimacy of the government any more, and the country's government loses its legitimacy internationally.[8]

A failed nation is made up of unorganized institutions. On most cases, the executive doesn't function, and the courts, the parliament and the defense forces lose the ability to operate independently.[9]Failed nations create an environment of high levels of corruption and negativity in the development rates, in these cases activities of improving the economy can't take place. A failed nations suffers from disintegrating infrastructures, faltering services supply systems, education and health care, and deteriorating basic economy growth indicators, such as deaths of infants and illiterate levels.

As of to Bilgin and Morton "The idea of a failed state[10], for example is used in describing the internal functions of a country, while failed countries are called so due to their international policies.[11] Rotberg articulates that weak states are inherently weak because of physical, and essential constraints of the economy which can be fundamentally strong, but circumstantially weak due to local imperfections in management, drought, and attacks by other nations. Rotberg also alludes that failed states are those that are deeply immersed into conflict and characterized by warring factions; failed to provide basic requirements for its people, including political services like security, health facilities, educating the people, improvement in infrastructures, and human rights and freedom like freedom to free speech and association among others. Weak

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[8] Bach, David, and Abraham L. Newman. "The European regulatory state and global public policy: microinstitutions, macro-influence." *Journal of European Public Policy* 14, no. 6 (2017): 827-846.
[9] Ibid pgs 300-301
[10] Bilgin, Pinar, Mortow, Adam David. Historicising Representations of Failed States. Third World Quarterly. 23 2012. (1). Pp 55-80.
[11] Khalsa, Sundri Kaur. "System and method for providing terrorism intelligence indications and warnings." U.S. Patent 7,644,056, issued January 5, 2010.

nations typically have ethnicity, religion, language, or other tensions which haven't , or not seriously became very violent.

In weak nations, the capabilityof providing enough amount of different goods and services is reducing or already reduced. Weak nations on most cases do honor rule of law principles in the breaching. Additionally, most weak nations don't on most cases don't always fail, or are in the category of the 'failed nations'. The ability of nation failing isn't direct to whether it's weak or not.[12]

Collapse State is a state by which the main government arm no longer operates, these countries live just like an expression geographically as they lack a state government which is legit or authoritative. Collapse State is both the cause and the result of internal or local conflicts, as weak and illegal order permits violence and violence consumes law and order. Zartman sees violence in a country as the biggest cause of collapsing nations despite the policy in place, though the policies are the norms etched on the state values, including violence means of solving even the simple conflicts. However, a commonly used matrix for gauging and analyzing states is the Failure nation's index; it provides a yearly ranking of states across the globe based on the 12 indicators of measuring the risk of slipping into conflict. They include; politics and Military that includes the aspects of legitimacy of a state, rule of law and human rights violations among others, while economy alludes to poverty levels and economic performance the social aspect includes the demographic pressure, presence of people displaced locally and refugees etc.[13]Several Scholars such as Klares notes that the capability of a state to defend its citizen from either internal and external threat is one of the most apparent element of a state and has the

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[12] Ibid pp. 3-5.
[13] The Fund for Peace. "Fragile states index 2015" http//www.fundfor peace.org accessed on Feb 16 2019

capacity to protect its territorial integrity from all forms of external interference, influences and threats emerging from either state and no-state actors. The dynamics bringing up and reinstating failure of countries are several and vary, they include civil conflicts, violence of ethnicity difference, dictatorship or predatory government.

1.7.2 Failed State and Policy

In explaining the causes of failure in a state, Klare states that it is because of prolonged interaction between various strong corrosive factors such as clannism, ethnicity, economic stagnation, corruption and decay in the national systems and infrastructure among others. Therefore, he alludes that if a state suffers a number of the above factors, it becomes a fertile ground for rising of paramilitary bands that signify a decline in states authority. For example in

Somalia, the ouster of Said Barre's regime, gave way to sharp political and ethnic divisions along clan-lines, the emergence of militant Islamism and the growth of (UIC) under which AS emerged from its military wing to the terror outfit it has emerged to be. This shows that there was clearly no policy driven towards nabbing the extremists from the infancy stage due to lack of governance that formulates policies. Lack of policy has been exploited by the terror groups as in Afghanistan, Somalia, Iraq and Syria by taking advantage of state failure to fully establish them and use the states as their operational bases. In the mid 1990's, the rise of the Taliban to power after the withdrawal of Soviets, the Talibans were instrumental in providing refuge for Osama Bin Laden and is Al-Qaeda outfit, as it was getting support politically, financially and logistically.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

In analyzing the failed states phenomenon, this study used the realist theory of worldwide relationships. This is traced back to famous theorists such as Machiavelli and Thomas Hobes to recent scholars such as Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz. According to realists, the worldwide system is characterized by anarchy, that is, absence of a centralized government to guarantee order. In an anarchic system, government's authority is an important factor as it is by it that the state can guarantee their own survival. Example is after 9/11 bombing attacks, former president George Bush administration, regarded the acts of terrorism as existential and declared war against terror everywhere in the world. The lack of governance in this case in Somalia, have given the terrorist extremists fertile ground to propagate their ideology and this has led to unrest and failure in governance in Somalia. [14] According to realist, states expresses power through their militaries. The Somali National Army (SNA) working closely with AMISOM troops are yet to be fully self-dependent Army. Hence there is no guarantee of Military protection because the influx of AS is still not diminished enough to pave way for the SNA.

1.9 Methodology

In addressing the objectives of this study, the research relied on secondary data. The Secondary data this research relied on included: review of published books, journals, periodicals, academic references and online sources. The study model is a case research and therefore the choice of Somalia to be the case study of the 'failed nations' in examining the impact of poor policy

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[14] Buros, Randi L.201. Realism vs Liberalism in the development of counter terrorism strategy. Small wars Journal.

leading to failure of governance. Somalia therefore represented other failed state that has had a direct relation to poor policy.

1.10 Scope and Limitation of Research

In conducting this research, some of the possible limitations that might affect include time. This is due to the limited time constricted with the course duration running for a period of one (1) year. The time allocated for conducting and finalizing the study for academic purposes is fixed and with the intent to meet the deadline, the researcher had no flexibility to dedicate enough time and attention in the various research stages and would have been ideal. Another limitation was biasness by the respondent in regard to this study especially on the religious perceptions and clannism culture in choice of leadership in Somalia.

1.11 Chapter Outline

The research was organized into 5 chapters. The first chaet was the proposal. Chapter two entailed literature review with a view of highlighting lack of policy leading to state failure. Chapter three concentrated on the study of Somalia. Chapter four critically analyzed the Effectiveness of the Interventions towards Addressing the Challenges of State Failure in Somalia and chapter five contained a summary of findings and conclusions from the research.

Chapter Two

The Role and Function Of Policy In Security Formulation

2.1 Introduction

A policy according to Sabatier is a planned system of regulations to guide outcomes when in the process of making decisions. A policy is a statement which is intended, and it's implemented through procedures. Policies are on most cases taken by the leaders within an institution, Policies aid in making decisions whether subjective or objective ones.[15] A policy is a course of action which isn't yet determined, it's established in providing a guide towards acceptable countries; plans and strategies. In other meanings, it's a direct link between country's vision and their daily activities. Policies do identify the main activities and show general plans to making decisions on handling issues as they come up. This is accomplished by providing the reader with limits and a choice of alternatives that can be used to guiding their making of decisions process as they attempt to overcome those issues.[16]

Lowi found that public policies are best shown as the big region of laws of government, its regulation, decisions of the judiciary and local decrees. Recently, the governments impact all aspects of its citizen's activities. Each citizen has a part in the policies of public which are set in place by the national, or local governments. This is a good method of making a positive effect but isn't the best way. Parties of politics are temporary. Their issues can change their positions because of different circumstances.[17] They can be taken out of power as easy as they can be voted

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

[15] Sabatier, Paul A. "An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein." *Policy sciences* 21, no. 2-3 (2011): 129-168.
[16] Ahn, Gail-Joon, and Ravi Sandhu. "Role-based authorization constraints specification." *ACM Transactions on Information and System Security (TISSEC)* 3, no. 4 (2010): 207-226.
[17] Ibid pgs 298-310.

into the office. The most effective method to making s long lasting effect on public policies is by changing opinions of the public. Whenever the beliefs of individuals are changed so do the leaders and their parties. Public policies are an objective directed course of action, which is taken by the government, to deal with a specific problem. National governments employ the public policies in solving those social problems such as housing, stopping threats like crimes and selling of illegal drugs and pursuing a plan of generating revenue. Public policies, is choices which are made by the government institution officers and bodies which affect the interest of the public. Law making process involves a series of activities which ultimately lead to making decision and applying the decision. These are the three main types of public policies: regulatory policy, distributive policy, and redistributive policy. Each type has its own special resolution.

2.1.1 Regulatory Public Policy

As noted by Robins, a main objective of these policies is maintaining order and prohibiting behaviors which are dangerous to the society. Government accomplishes this goal by restricting citizens, groups, or corporations from engaging in those actions which have negative impacts to the society and the country's politics. Instances of these include attempting to give voting procedures, providing traffic decrees, and prohibiting individuals from consuming illegal drugs.[18] Another objective of these policies is protecting activities of the economy and the markets of businesses by restricting industries from practicing activities harmful to the free market, such as the creating monopoly. Regulatory policies are also evident in the use of laws designed to protecting the working environment.

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[18] Robins, Philip. *Suits and uniforms: Turkish foreign policy since the Cold War*. London: Hurst, 2013.

The coming up and developing a policy of regulations has been a very important part of the reformation of the public sector especially in the O.E.C.D. nations over the previous two decades. The aim of the regulation policy is to make sure that rules support the growth and sustainability of the economy, achieving bigger objectives in a society like a sustainable environment and the welfare of the people and also to make sure the rule of law is strong. By doing this it also enlightens the permanent issue in ensuring rules and a regulations framework are on the right track that is of the right quality and achieving the objectives of the policy. It also aids the lawmakers to come up with good decisions concerning what they should regulate, how they should do it and to whom it should be done to. It is a very important part of an efficient public governance and it also assists to broaden the relation between the people, the private sector, the government and the countries with each other.[19]

Regulations can be seen interms of their strategy, together with monetary and fiscal interventions, this are among the main three levels available for the government to manage the economy, implement policies and influence behaviors.[20]As of the recent environment of both economy and the politics arenas, which have big problems due to the big expenditures of the government and increased resistance to the big levels of taxes, the regulations policy might get more attention as the governments use the regulations as the main tool of making policies. The regulatory policy is just a beginning discipline. Its emergence started in the mid-1980s and re-emerged in the year 2013, as there was a fast growth in the country and the government started realizing that the more the regulation stock were accumulating the more they were harmful to businesses, entrepreneurship and inventions. With regulations which aimed at raise competition

[19] Ibid pp 553.
[20] Thomas, Norman C. "Presidential advice and information: Policy and program formulation." *Law & Contemp. Probs.* 35 (2013): 540.

in markets and to bring back the frontiers of the nation in the years between 1980 and 1990, the deregulation grew bigger to become a reform in regulations. The reforms in regulations aimed at liberalizing important parts of the economy.

Reforms in regulations gave a way to the ideas of management of regulations, this process acknowledges the sustainable nature of those tasks, and the importance of it being applied in the board, not to only sectors which have being selected. It then become clearer with time that public policies not only the issues which were selected could profit from efficient regulator policies. Using regulatory policy in improving formulation of policies and making of decisions has a number of dimensions. A number of tools can be employed in consistent and mutually if systematic quality of assurance is to be gotten. The method does involve important approaches and using instruments to having impact to the policies made. The main methods are regulatory impact analysis, the consideration of regulatory alternatives, simplification of administration, ensuring transparent regulations, and pre-evaluation. The coming up of regulatory policy has made different pathways across the O.E.C.D., showing the wide range of legal, culture and politics contexts by which nations have established their governments. Maybe the most significant lesson is that the development of an efficient regulatory policy is an evolutionary process which includes a wide range of different matters.

The O.E.C.D. regulations policy model is established on the view of ensuring the level of the rules of the game is more dynamic and stable role of the government. Governments should be more engaged in making sure that regulations the quality of regulations is not is not actively responding to the failures in regulations. In the developed nations this theory is growing to regulatory governance. This means that it is grounded more so to the principles of a government which is democratic and involves a bigger domain of actors such as the parliament, the judiciary,

the executive, and also the private sector activities. Efficient regulatory governance makes sure influence of policies concerning regulations to achieve regulatory which have a constructive effect to the economic activities and the society and also it meets objectives of the public. It requires an integrated approach to deploying the regulations.[21]

A study by Frewer established that regulatory policies have important contribution to the growth of the economy and the society being it the right condition. Growth and the development of an economy have being supported by the contribution of regulatory policies to structural reforms, liberalization of product markets, market openness, and a lesserrestricted business environment. Regulatory policies have also improved the abidance to rules and laws by have initiatives which simplify the laws in the country as well as improving the appealing systems.[22]Progressively, it improves the living standards, social relations and the laws by having more transparency which gets out the views of those who are regulated and reducing use of red tape. A significant part to focus to have being going through the relation between growth of economy and the performance of its regulations. The research showed that it is evident that the quality of regulations is largely linked to the growth and development of an economy.[23]Although one is needed to recognize that it is challenging to show this relation, many researchers have shown a positive relation between the openness of country's system of regulations and the rates of development and growth for several indicators of the economy.

Similarly, the links between regulatory policies and a number of policies have being established; efficient regulatory policies and an open market promote one another in opening paths to

[21] Frewer, Lynn, and Brian Salter. "Public attitudes, scientific advice and the politics of regulatory policy: the case of BSE." *Science and public policy* 29, no. 2 (2012): 137-145.
[22] Ibid pgs 137-145.
[23] Ibid p.17-18

inventions and being more innovative, more customer services and entrepreneurship culture in general. International and local entrepreneurs are motivated an efficient regulated economy.[24]A big link is there in the policy of competition which highlights a positive and near relation between the target of promoting more reforms in regulations and good quality of the regulations. Competition of market can also have a significant part in reducing the number of unemployed citizens, more so because pressure which is competitive remove rents and makes it possible to expanding the output. Regulatory policies were actively used in restructuring infrastructures such as roads, power, telecommunication and provision of water and other necessary services. There is a good evidence that when markets are being contested, reformation of infrastructures by liberalization, making private and introducing regulation in incentives gives positive impacts in terms of reducing prices, having more inventions and increasing the quality of the services to the consumers.[41]

2.1.2 Distributive Public Policy

According to Frewer, distributive policy is providing benefits to individuals, or organizations. Governments also use distributive policies in encouraging various activities such as abetting of tax and subsidies to farm machines so as to promoting development to the economy, writing off of taxes to homeowners so as to improve housing manufacturing are good instances. Distributive policies are evident when the government does promote purchasing of United States saving bonds to its citizens.

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[24] de Figueiredo Jr, Rui JP, and Geoff Edwards. "Does private money buy public policy? Campaign contributions and regulatory outcomes in telecommunications." *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy* 16, no. 3 (2017): 547-576.

Almost everything done by the government has some impact to the distribution of wealth at the several levels of the society. Improving facilities of health care improves the lives of the people who are sick and those who are pregnant. Increasing taxes in drugs such as tobacco and alcohol impacts the poor people while increasing taxes in capital impacts the rich people. Even laws impact a specific group more than the other.

The redistributive significances of the government's budget can be seen in a number of ways; sometimes they are explicit and sometimes they are cited in the debate that follows presenting of the budget. On most cases although, these consequences cannot be seen, aren't intentional and can't be perfectly understood.

These policies enable the government in providing services and goods to the citizens through the national funding. One specific point to remember is that distributive policies don't create competition for the goods and services. In general, citizens do not complain about it, for it is related to equal opportunities. Traditionally, the government owns the property under this policy such as the roads. [25]All classes of citizens are free to use it and Public schools such as children from every class are accepted to public schools.

2.1.3 Redistributive Public Policy

Lavine states the biggest aim of redistributive policies is in promoting equality. The government by this It spreads wealth of the society from one organization to the other. This is when the governing body gives benefits directly to the people through the citizens'agendas, increased taxation, in which rate of taxes increase as your incomes increase being another instance of redistributive policies.

[25] Bailey, Elizabeth E. "Contestability and the design of regulatory and antitrust policy." *The American Economic Review* 71, no. 2 (2013): 178-183. [46] Ibid p.199-200

Redistributive policies are an essential constituent of plans to reducing inequality and promote sustainability in the environment in its different dimensions which are the economy, culture and the environment. They show important policies instruments of raising equality of the outcome by redistributing the income and enhancing opportunities equality by raising distribution of assets which generate income like human capital and investments such as land, industry and capital across people and between the public and private sector although, partly as a result of inefficient redistributive policies, inequality is rising in many republics, the under provisioning and under funding of public services is growing and becoming harmful to worldwide common goals, which are brought up by the unsustainable exploiting of natural assets. Further than their strong ability for reducing inequality, redistributive policies are also key for promotion of values that are consistent with sustainable development and for shaping the economic context and incentives that are conducive to monetary stability and the growth of the economy, inclusion in politics, equality in gender among others.

2.2 National Security Policy

As defined by Gaddis, National security policies also known as national security doctrine is a framework showing how a nation provides security for the state and its people.[26] National security policies are formal descriptions of a nation's understanding of its principles, national values, strategies, targets, risks, dangers and problems in the view of giving protection and improving the country's security.

Usually, national security policies are based on the nation's constitution, documents and the laws of the country. The policies states responsibilities and regulations of nation's institutions in

[26] Gaddis, John Lewis. *Strategies of containment: a critical appraisal of American national security policy during the Cold War.* Oxford University Press, 2015.

providing security and protecting its laws. [27] Nation's security policies does address both efficiency and accountability which are very important for the legitimate of institutions of security and protecting the rights of its people.

The biggest purpose of the security of country policies isn't only in keeping the country from external attacks but also to defend its abidance to the constitution. A N.S.S. or N.S.P. policies are the main framework for a nation to meet the essential wants concerns of security by the citizens, addressing internal and external threats to the nation. In addition to focusing to the effectiveness of the security bodies, many of the today's front looking N.S.S. include several key issues as a method of making legitimate of the public, its relevance and also sustaining their implementation and raising the effectiveness of the security provided. Some of the country's security issues include justice, gender equality, accountability of the national and the states government and coordinating the communications.

Defense policies are a part of the bigger concept of Nation's security policies and Nation's security strategies. The lines that divide all these concepts or phases are often blurred in practice. Generally, defense policy covers everything from ends to methods and practices of achieving national defense goals and is guided by codes and principles which are embedded in Nation's Security Policy. Defense policies encompass defense planning and management, which are consecutive steps towards practical implementing of those policies. [28]

Defense policy is a series of regulations and rules which link National Security Policy to action Defense Planning, Management and its Implementation. Raising measures of integrity and good

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[27] Wolfers, Arnold. "National security as an ambiguous symbol." *Political science quarterly* 67, no. 4 (2010). [51]
Ibid p.209
[28] Almond, Gabriel A. "Public opinion and national security policy." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (2016): 371-378.

governance principles are essential in this phase. Just like an instruction manual, the purpose of defense policies is ensuring that these things are done in a specific way so as to get specific goals while following certain laws.

Defense policies are an important step in the realization of National Security Policy and its objectives. Coming up with defense policies represents the perfect chance to introducing Security Sector Reforms and Building Integrity measures, which is why it is important that appropriate players, resources and efforts are committed in this phase. This means that a functioning and efficient defense sector is vital to national safety and security. Defense is also a major part of overall public spending. National defense is the core element of the national security system Therefore, ensuring budgets are spent in an efficient and responsible manner is essential.[29]

2.3 Government System Policy

Good government needs the process of making decisions to be more transparent and accountable. This includes governance of the economy, political governance with decisions about lawmaking, and administrative governance decisions about implementation of the policies. Those processes are significantly shaped by the quality of leadership and the sustainability of decisions often dependent on regulations.

Almond, says that an efficient leadership plays an essential role in good government on either the vertical and horizontal levels.[30] Elected or appointed leaders drive government's abilities to supporting an enabling environment for community-led, market-driven developments. This has been found that working on both dimensions is most efficient for local ownership and sustainable

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[29] Ibid pgs 90-91
[30] Almond, Gabriel A. "Public opinion and national security policy." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (2016): 371-378.

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goals of the programs. This is sometimes accomplished through one program, but more often by multiple programs in a country portfolio that are designed to work closely together toward complementary objectives. As a complement, leaders from civil society or the private sector have powerful and diverse perspectives that are invaluable to government setting of agendas an making of decisions.[31] This shows how the principle of a proper governance are applicable to provision of security to the citizens. Good governance principles are, being transparent, accountable, following the rule of law, being effective and efficient. According to Crowley, good government system is thus a normative standard for how the nation's safety department must operate in a democratic manner. The division of security involves all institutions, structures and individuals responsible for keeping security, managing and over sighting nation's issues. Good governance system symbolizes that the security sector of the nation provides the country and security of individuals efficiently; this is gotten by a framework of a democratic control by the citizens, following the law and respecting rights of the citizens. Having good governance is the aim of security sector reformation. Security sector reformation is technical and political improvement of states' as individual's security by improving the provision of security, managing and supervise more efficient and answerable, inside an outline of democratic civilian control and respecting human rights. S.S.R. can concentrate on only a portion of the security sector or the way the whole establishment works; in this the aim is to raise both the efficiency and the accountability of the governance.[32]

There are various essentials for a state' security policies

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[31] Ibid p.195
[32] Marsh, David, and Roderick Arthur William Rhodes. *Policy networks in British government.* Clarendon Press, 1992.

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Vision and goals: A understandable and sensible describing the circumstances for nation's security a country wants to get over a specified time in the near future and the goals it intends to achieve in the future.

Values and principles: An account of the standards and principles that can direct in implementing the strategies, this includes worldwide obligations like rights of human and equality of gender.[33]

National interest and strategic environment: A explanation of the country's priorities in matters of security.

International obligation: A state viewpoint on worldwide safety and collaboration, this includes international role and also lawful commitment. It also entails present and prospect intimidation, challenges, risks and opportunities which need a big evaluation of possible interior and exterior factors which might attract harm, damage or may be loss to very important interests, or bar the adoption of the policy.

According to Keating a country's security policies are build on the standards of a well organised governance providing a good basis for the country's and its citizens security. Among the more significant advantages of the country's security policies may be shared as a vision of the security that is generated by drafting those policies. Having the same aim for security gotten in a country's security policy does promote sustainability in making of decisions and assists to improve several goals and interests of a nation.[34]

A study by Reinicke revealed that a state's security policy give service to 5 main causes in the context of good Governance this purposes are mainly;

[33] Ibid p.172-173
[34] Keating, Michael James. *The government of Scotland: Public policy making after devolution.* Edinburgh University Press, 2010.

(1) It shows a bigger vision for national security which is responsive to people's diverse needs.

(2) National security policies require a thorough analysis of all threats to state and human security based on the input of all security-relevant government actors, as well as non-state players such as civil society organizations, and ideally also international actors.[35]

(3) National security policies provide an opportunity to address internal and external security challenges in a single forum; gives guidance for efficiently implementing the policies.

(4) A national security policies which increase the efficiency of the security sector by optimizing contributions from all security actors through a centralized lawmaking process; this is especially significant when threats require responses from a big array of players within and outside the security sector; makes the security sector more efficient and accountable.

(5) National security policies allow policy responses and operational decisions by diverse actors to align to a core vision of both long and short term objectives.

As noted by Levy a states' security policies enable better use of allocation as of shared objectives and goals at the same time avoiding availability of duplications and reducing inconsistences. I requires spending on security to be more sustainable and realistic to the economy and the nation respectively and also balanced to other priorities.[36] A state's security policy also improves accountability by giving a clear benchmark against the performance the performances which can be measured, creating national consensus on the provision of security. A consultative state's

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[35] Reinicke, Wolfgang H., and Daryl Copeland. "Global public policy: governing without government?." *International Journal*53, no. 3 (2009): 597.
[36] Levy, Daniel C. "University and Government in Mexico: Autonomy in an Authoritarian System." (1980).

security process of making policies promotes national dialogue and cooperating across different professions, public, political and subsector organizations, and such discussion can improve agreement on core values of providing security in a country, managing and oversight. Such transparency and participatory methods have the potential of enhancing confidence of the public in security provision of the state and at the end improve cooperation of the states in the world. A intelligible, transparent and publicly shared state's policies on security brings a message to the region's and worldwide partners concerning the intentions in the security and defense of the country, and often brings out specified intentions for the region's and worldwide cooperation in terms of open communication preventing conflicts.

2.4 Terrorism Intelligence

The struggling to get to power among countries, which has brought in fear, tyranny, and the destruction of individual assets and lives, is a consistent fixture of history. As a fact, in the recent days, physical and psychological terrorism both from above and below used by state and non-state players is increasingly becoming a big challenge to countries', region and the world's security concern.[37] More precisely, the modus operandi of totalitarian and radical countries which sponsor terrorism like Iran and Syria, shows the complexity of the challenges and difficulties in combating this form of violence. Many of the terrorist groups were directly supported or indirectly guided and encouraged by these governments, thereby becoming tools of the sponsoring states. Usually, these governments have indoctrinated, funded, trained, armed, and provided intelligence and safe haven to diverse groups of ideological, theological, and national dispositions. Put differently, the terrorist framework consists of individual who are

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[37] Reinicke, Wolfgang H., and Daryl Copeland. "Global public policy: governing without government?." *International Journal*53, no. 3 (2009): 597.

considered mentally deranged, crusaders, or martyrs; single-issue political desperate; ultra "diehard" ethnic, tribal, and religious bodies; uncompromising nationalist and separatist groups; and criminal and political mercenaries. The current historic record indicates that many terrorist movements operate without external national assistance, but those groups that benefit from such support are much more viable and dangerous. Additionally, included in the bigger non-state category of contemporary terrorist perpetrators are big antisocial elements, conspiratorial adventurers, virtual- ideological radicals, political leaders, religious fanatics, and racial bigots, as well as more established opposition movements such as banned political groups and military forces which are bases of resistance movements. However these players are nourished by various political and social roots sustained by wide-ranging ideas and theories, terrorist have nevertheless a common nature. They don't feel bound by any obligations or constraints, except those they have imposed on themselves for the purposes of either revolutions or sub revolutions successes. Also, terrorists glorify their violence for the sake of the cause they seek to advancing, and regarding themselves as beyond the limits of any society and system of government. Specifically, they have disrespect and are hostile towards the moral and legal standardslocal or worldwide systems.[38]

2.4.1 Policymaker's Intelligence System

Khalsa, established that lawmakers should go further to building an improved intelligence system for supporting transformed states' requirements for security.[39] Threats which involve unknown criminals, methods, and targets can't be countered which are designed strategically for use by

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[38] Peterson, Marilyn. *Intelligence-led policing: The new intelligence architecture.* Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2015.
[39] Khalsa, Sundri Kaur. "System and method for providing terrorism intelligence indications and warnings." U.S. Patent 7,644,056, issued January 5, 2010.

national security officers to curb predicted attacks. Recently, country and local law enforcers, public health, and response officers to emergencies are on the forefront in detecting and responding to threats by terrorists, with corporate managers being accountable for securing significant infrastructure like energy supply equipment's, chemical plants, transport and communication facilities as workers and neighborhood residents may hold information that can help prevent attacks. At the borders, customs officers should improve screening of cargo by use of radiation detectors and use of x-ray scanners and immigration authorities should improve checks on foreign visitors using improved systems. Administration and congressional efforts to reorganize security intelligence of a country are mainly focused on reducing barriers to sharing information among federal bodies, improving federal information technology abilities, coordination of analysis of national and local law enforcement and intelligence data, and supporting national and local emergencies.

Even if lawmakers are keen in defining a new method of analyzing, gathering and spreading state's security information. They can't escape hard questions concerning how to raise security while improving openness and protecting privacy of individuals.[40]Nevertheless, missteps are unavoidable. Procedures that provide accountability and oversight can assure that lessons from early experiences strengthen the nation's information strategies to fight terrorism. Dynamic public debates are important when answering these questions. Clear regulation, made in a clear way, can raise the confidence of the public concerning the new policies. IT can give tools and ways of minimizing these violence, improve collaborating and assist in making sure that the right information gets to the right people at the right time.

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[40] Ibid pg 80.

Information security governance is described as a series of doings on how the security of information can be dealt with at the national level. The security of information involves protection of confidentiality, integrity, and availability of national information, helps to reduce the different risks that can be harmful to government by applying appropriate security controls, in order for governments to implementing an efficient tool of controlling and managing security information. There are several methods of controlling and managing security information. These requirements of security come from sources both locally and internationally. It is significant to address both local and international requirements of security so as to avoid possible negative outcomes due to negligence.[41]

These requirements of security have requirements to securing the IT infrastructures, legal, regulations and constitutional requirements, and requirements for confidentiality of information, integrity and availability as documented by the government. These requirements together with the guidance of accepted security standards create the base of an efficient approach to security of the information.[42] As in regard to the external guidelines and regulations, standards for security of information and practices are important as they act in inspiring worldwide security of information standards and assist in developing relations between nations and also make laws so as to encourage and raise corporate information.

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[41] Ibid p.109
[42] Treverton, Gregory F. "Terrorism, intelligence and law enforcement: Learning the right lessons." *Intelligence and National Security* 18, no. 4 (2013): 121-140.

2.5 'Fragile States' and 'Failed Policies'

According to Newman[43]country's fragility with its consequences on country's development and worldwide security, remains one of recent most pressing worldwide public policy challenges, partially because this phenomenon is taken as the cause of the globe's most serious problems. The issue's urgency is reflected in the O.E.C.D. committee on development agendas and also by the world report on development in 2011, and it has being shown by the long worldwide engagements in countries such as Kosovo, Republic of Iran and Republic of Afghanistan. Although international military forces have increasingly vacated those war zones the fragility of those states is certain it's going to stay both in those countries and in the world as large this is due to from the perspective of history the developing world is featured by countries which are forming.[44]A process that is inherently prone to crises, conflict and fragility.[45]Even though fragile nations have a challenge to the worldwide societies, the failing of policies make an important defiance to the involved nation and its population. This isn't because today's approaches to nation development concentrate on the military side but because they also fail to bring the envisioned prosperity of a country and the region.

Intervention in terms of Military in republic of Iraq for instance left the nation with a very big reduction of its GDP per capita, with Afghanistan not being far from reaching the accepted level of security and resilience in spite of the international societies investing more than 2.5 trillion U.S. dollars, the country although still remains with the biggest rate of mortality of infants in the whole world as per WHO records. Similar bleak in the worldwide communities' in building

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[43] Newman, Edward. "Failed states and international order: constructing a post-Westphalian world." *Contemporary security policy* 30, no. 3 (2009): 421-443.
[44] CSRC 2015
[45] Ibid p.189

national records such as in countries like Congo, South Sudan and Somalia, all of this nations don't only remain a cry far from getting to the targeted development objectives but increasingly continue to lie in the top 10 most 'failed nations'.

Although several factors can be cited to account for why the western nation's policies towards improving the 'failed nations' have failed, a central problem exists in the way these policies have being put to work. Having viewed the fragile nations as a pathologic deviation from the recent molding by the Western nations, it has on most cases being liberal countries' interpretation which have led the worldwide community on how to fixing the failed countries. Although the inadequate of neo liberalization have risen widespread questions about this existing worldwide view the main idea beneath the United States consensus are largely intact in the literature of scholars, this is reflected in the emergence of concepts like political different orders, which are praising negative interpretations of non-nations orders as autochthonous methods of building a nation.[46]

Although the concepts lying beneath the proposition that a hybrid of order in the political world is desirable so that the failed states can advance is very problematic mainly due is undermines the central government of a country. In addition, promoting pluralism as having both the ways and ends of building a nation can be sustained through some of the amnesia of history. While those who perpetuate pluralism stay well underneath myth of diversity which in particular the US strongly does embrace concerning its history, Dockrill does remind us that Americanization is a continuous process of coercive conformity and that the United States was characterized by ethnic dominance not its pluralism. In addition, although the western nations preach that nations to

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[46] Ahn, Gail-Joon, and Ravi Sandhu. "Role-based authorization constraints specification." *ACM Transactions on Information and System Security (TISSEC)* 3, no. 4 (2010): 207-226.).

adhere to liberal pluralism, their own states and unities were not founded on either the diversity or tolerance but through conformity and being homogenous.[47]In addition Bach states that the recent approaches to building of nations continue to make mistakes of reducing national endeavors to questioning of the capacity of institutions. Subsequently, the United Nations agenda brings technical issues concerning capacity construction as the main stage. The government is about the relation between the state and its society so the nation is determined by bringing the nation together with the government.

Nations ae not hollow constructs to society, but are dominantly intertwined in the formation of building the country's identity. So the assertion which says the objective of rebuilding communities should shouldn't be in imposing common identities on the widely divided individuals but to organize countries which can administer their borders and allow individuals to live together in spite of the differences they have needs to be ignored, as it wrongly says that to organize states by leaving identities of individuals.[48]

2.6 Failed States, International Security, and Post-Westphalia

As revealed by Newman, policies related to worldwide conflicts and security and the perception of empirical reality are conservatively a reflector of Westphalian system.

As of this building, the component of examination and referent object of security in states, and threats are considered in national centered military positions; worldwide security rights the independence and territorial integrity of legal self-governing and in theory equal countries. Inside this model the worldwide system is organized by cooperating and conflicting among the feasible

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[47] Dockrill, Saki. "Eisenhower's New-Look National Security Policy, 1953-61." *New York* (2012
[48] Hettne, Bjorn. "The fate of citizenship in post-Westphalia." *Cit izenship Studies* 4, no. 1 (2010): 35-46.

and rational nations in aradical environment, this reflects norms in interaction concerning laws, and diplomacy.[49]

A Westphalia orientation is said to lie upon the dominion of political components, territoriality, and non-intervention. Reality doesn't conform to this idea, and several countries in the world have almost never completely reflected the Westphalia system. The historic accuracy of proving this system of worldwide politics as Westphalia have also been challenged. Although the prevailing customs of worldwide laws, policies in worldwide maters, diplomacies and different scholarships have hold the Westphalia model. In spite of interpretation differences for instance liberal visions and realists of world order the way in which security, violence and threats to national security are addressed and solved.

During the 20th century, by contrast, Thomas that, says there's big trust in specific circles which threaten security to be more likely to be from the 'failed nations' or even from the non-nation players.[50]Through this idea many researchers and policy analysts have taken attention to the dangers from in weak or failed nations. The phenomenon of weak nations does refer to a method in which the national government has a weak capacity in controlling public order in its country, being not able to sufficiently control its country, can't reliably maintain viable public institutions or services, and being vulnerable to extra local challenges. Indications of this condition can be found in poor levels of economic performance, human prosperity, distribution of economy, and violence levels.

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[49] .ibid p 78-79
[50] Thomas, Norman C. "Presidential advice and information: Policy and program formulation." *Law & Contemp. Probs.* 35 (2013): 540.

Failing of countries do suggest that the government if by chance it exists isn't able to give public utilities, maintain institutions and authority, and that central control over territory does not exist. Failure of countries implies that national authority and control do not genuine exist. As of this argument, in the conservative Westphalian system of the world threats to worldwide security come primarily from the powerful and very aggressive nations, in this century threats are equally likely to come from failing or failed nations, or even non-state players. Worldwide security therefore doesn't rest exclusively upon a harmonious relationship amongst feasible nations, but also upon issues conventionally seen as local such as economy, culture and politics.

The suggestion from this is that worldwide conflicts and security in this century when I comes to experiential patterns and how these studies are addressed in terms of policies reflect a bigger transformation towards post-Westphalia region. This can be viewed off as a globe philosophies of firm and equal nations sovereignty never actually a reality but often respected as a norm are bringing down; where states are no longer the sole or even the most important actors in many areas of worldwide politics; where nations can't be assumed to be viable or independent agents; where insecurity and conflict is primarily characterized by civil conflicts, insurgency or failure of nations, instead of inter countries wars; where the distinction between local and worldwide politics is irrevocably blurred in terms of causes and effects; where the type of, and responses to, challenges of security holding inferences for norms of state dominion and regional integrity; in this the practices related to rights of human beings and the right type of governance are slowly with time surpassing.[51]

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[51] Ibid p.18

2.7 Failed Policy; Troubled States

According to Almond, nations which are commonly referred to as 'failed nations' are the ones which have deeply being engulfed in upheavals of politics and can't deliver the necessary services such as security which citizens get from a normal country.[52] This is always as a result of policy failure. A state which is successful has an effective operating government system by which the controls are defined by the borders and the population within its borders. It has an independent and competent working judicial system with well managed military and national police. It gives the necessary basic social needs of the country's security, stability in politics, growth in economy which is stable and secure, accessible and sufficient provision of health care services, provision of sufficient education to every individual. Additionally, a successful country controls any social instability in its territory.

Different to this, 'failed nations'(failed policy state) can't deliver the basic social wants to its citizens. Individuals living in these countries live in terrible conditions and lack the necessary requirements including peace. Most of those 'failed nations' are in the Sub-Saharan region, central Asia, South America. These nations are considered to be failed mainly because they can sustain themselves as members to the worldwide organizations. The governing bodies in these nations are very vulnerable and can break easily, this leaves them without the power to control violence in the nation.[53]

Due to these failed policy, violence increase which creates widespread internal anarchy.

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[52] Almond, Gabriel A. "Public opinion and national security policy." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (2016): 371-378.
[53] Frewer, Lynn, and Brian Salter. "Public attitudes, scientific advice and the politics of regulatory policy: the case of BSE." *Science and public policy* 29, no. 2 (2012): 137-145.

Such conditions create an instable government hence rise in insecurity and random conflicts. Insurgencies then rise and challenge the government like for instance the cases experienced in Sudan, Somalia, and Afghanistan in the years between 1980 and 1990.[54]When governments a challenged in a state, civil conflicts start to arise, this endangers the lives of its citizens, the violence then revive clashes which were already forgotten. The violence becomes fiercer when the history and emotions are involved, attributable to gender conflicts, geographical, religious, ethnic and other indifferences. Civil conflicts destroy the general structure of the nation, and the citizens lack necessary services which should be provided by the government.

Conflicts jeopardize supply of food, destroys the distribution channels and the system of healthcare. This condition does bring the nation to its knees as the economic system is destroyed. It then brings about a widespread corruption in the country. Irresponsible individuals replace the responsible public workers and terrorize the whole country as individuals can't depend on the government become self-centered. This brings about lack of unity in the society hence civil war may break among individuals. With civil violence breaking in varied regions of the nation there won't peace in the country is lost.[55]

Civil conflicts also come up as groups supporting by political groups becoming the losing side hence have to fight back concerning this individuals are made the victims of the violence which have arisen, although the same people are the reason for the conflicts. In this condition the worldwide organizations does criticize and categorizes this nation as a failed nation as it sees the inability of the nation to satisfy or its willingness to respond to its citizens' needs. The war then forces the country's citizens to free to other nations.

[54] Ibid pgs 109-110
[55] Wolfers, Arnold. "National security as an ambiguous symbol." *Political science quarterly* 67, no. 4 (2010). [97]
Falk, Richard. "The post-Westphalia enigma." *Global governance in the 21st century: alternative perspectives on world order* (2012): 147.

This condition of instability further threatens the security of the neighboring nations by refugees moving into the country. For instance both in South Sudan and Somalia have brought the suffering and deaths of big numbers of individuals and making other to migrating to different countries as refugees.[56] After 2 decades of conflict in Cambodia the country was left very destroyed, land mines littered indifferent areas, and it still suffered from the Rouge genocide rule. Civil wars in Afghanistan appeared to be stuck in stalemate and the nation may never be in condition to come together again. The situation in Afghanistan made about 3 million citizens in the country to migrate to Pakistan, over a million and half to Iran, and over a million to other parts of the world. Conflicts and violence does create massive abuses of human rights, and failed states have been experiencing serious violations to human rights during the years of conflicts. Furthermore, even the basic right to live isn't a guarantee in this situation[57]

The safety of people is a public right and everyone should be entitled to it in the society, although if the policy fails, the safety of individuals becomes a privilege to those who can protect themselves and their interests. In addition, safety of individuals means the condition to being protected against events which are undesirable, especially those which are psychological, physical such as possessions, social and spiritual.

'Failed nations' always fall short in achieving public safety standards. Individuals do need security so as to enjoy the biggest possibility of freedom and rights. As of report by worldwide human development in 1994, security of people is broadly defined as being safe from different

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[56] Ibid p. 200-201
[57] Wagnsson, Charlotte, and Jan Hallenberg. "Farewell Westphalia? The prospects of EU security governance." *European Security Governance: the European Union in a Westphalian World. New York: Routledge* 2009 (2009): 127-140.

types of threats like infections, drought and hunger as well as being disrupted harmfully in their daily lives patterns.

Insecurity in 'failed nations' is a very big problem. It does affect individual's physical and psychological safety which does include restricting or deprival of them from getting social amenities, their legal rights, and basic human rights. Safety of individuals is a main requirement in sovereign nations, and whether the states survives depends on this. Lack of the same contributes to the failure of the state.

The government to a failed nation can't maintain the safety of its citizens, as they cannot curb emergence of conflicts and collapsing of the state. Thus the insecurity in the country cannot be averted. Security of a state doesn't only imply the ending of a war but it also implies a continuously functioning state in social development and sustainability.[58] In countries where policies have failed, individuals can't go on with their businesses peacefully as conflicts and theft may break any time, individuals cannot secure consistent jobs and their children cannot have efficient education, they also cannot feel safe at any times as their families may be armed. They neither have the guarantee that the work they have done today or investments they have done will not be destroyed in the near future. Those individuals too cannot make concerning their choices as they have limited choices. To emphasize this is that individuals require dignity and safety in their day to day activities, and they cannot get this in the 'failed nations'. [59]

[58] Wagnsson, Charlotte, and Jan Hallenberg. "Farewell Westphalia? The prospects of EU security governance." *European Security Governance: the European Union in a Westphalian World.* New York: Routledge 2009 (2009): 127-140.
[59] Newman, Edward. "Failed states and international order: constructing a post-Westphalian world." *Contemporary security policy* 30, no. 3 (2009): 421-443.

<center>**Chapter Three**</center>

<center>**Challenges And Policy Gaps In The Cultural Setting And Clannism In Somalia**</center>

3.1 Introduction

Before having democracy or economic development, there must be a country. Between the years 1980 and 1990 a neoliberal view was dominance on developing policies discussion, thus, questions of nation-building and nation's capacity weren't included. As a constituent of liberalizing nation's the scope of nations was lowered in developed nations by privatization, subsidies and deregulations among others. Although these programs made by donors were on most cases productive.[60] In a number of African countries for instance, former colonial administrative systems existed alongside neo-patrimonial regimes which competed for resources and often felt threatened by Weberian rational bureaucracy.[61] Supporter conditionality was therefore used as an excuse by regimes to expanding and protecting the scope of the neo-patrimonial nations, while reducing the recent national sectors.

Recently, several nations in the continent are among the weakest in the world; unable to preserve rule of law, assurance territorial integrity and support of development among other essential government functions. In the 1990, the weakness or collapsing of these countries brought humanitarian problems in nations such as Haiti, Cambodia, East Timor and Somalia. Consequently, it has been concluded that development is mostly affected by politics more than economic factors.

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[60] Crowley, James Buckley. *Japan's quest for autonomy: National security and foreign policy, 1930-1938*. Vol. 2249. Princeton University Press, 2015.
[61] Ibig pgs 146- 147.

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The political system in Somalia has experienced several changes. Following military coup led by Mohamed Siad Barre in 1969 brought an end to the democratic parliamentary government, birthing some of the biggest political tragedies that the country has had to contend with. The military government instituted dictatorial rule which culminated in a violent ouster by a conglomeration of several rebel groups since 1991.[62] Since then Somalia has never had stable governance. It is important to highlight that the massive violation of human rights were perpetuated by the dictatorial military regime which did not cease with the end of the excruciatingly repressive military rule. As a matter of fact, the end of military dictatorship took the country from bad to worse because the leadership void created in the country made room for more violent conflicts and novel challenges for the country, her neighbors, and the international community. [63]

In 2011 to 2012, a process of politics provided clear benchmarks leading toward the establishment of permanent democratic bodies was launched. Within this administrative outline, a new Provisional Composition was passed in August 2012, which mapped Somalia as a federation. Aftyer the ending of the interim mandate of TFG the same time, the government became the first centralized ruler in the country after the civil war and begun. Although, as worldwide problems such as terrorism, poverty, trafficking and AIDS are seen as closely related to weak or failed nations, the world once again turned its attention to Somalia during the 21st century as the instable situation in the country affected both regional and international peace and security. The nation has continuously a time of a lot of reconstruction especially in the capital city Mogadishu. A number of internal and international players have failed in reconstructing the

[62] Ibid p.207-208
[63] Klare, Michael T. The deadly connection: Paramilitary Bands: Small Arms Diffusion, and state failure in When States Fail: Causes and Consequences, ed Robert Rotberg. Princeton. Princeton University Press. 2014.

country. Because of these failures, the globe's society in the country reduced only in provision of food.

3.2 Conflict Overview

According to Wolfers, from the year 1991, after the collapsing of the Said Barr rule, the country has being in a long phase of civil conflicts which is between the several clans in the country which have since rose to statehood, warlords and bigger terrorism groups after the coming down of the country, this was after the fall of the country's military and the national police. In spite of the continuous worldwide efforts from different organizations and countries with interests like Kenya and the United States over the past 3 decades to bring peace in the country and to rebuild it on most cases the most efficient players in stabilizing the country has being the religion of Islam and its leaders.[64]

Bach says that the government based in Mogadishu is being run by several and on most cases competing players in the worldwide societies which have on most cases proved to be not stable, prone to follow different political standoffs and have failed in delivering a government accepted to run the country.[65]On the other hand, while the terrorism groups succeed to repeatedly project their power all over the country, their hard rule based on the rules of Sharia, as well as the defiant of the western culture and their region's agendas which are provocative to the neighboring nations, which include both direct and indirect interventions by the militia.[66]

[64] Wolfers, Arnold. "National security as an ambiguous symbol." *Political science quarterly* 67, no. 4 (2010).
[65] Wagnsson, Charlotte, and Jan Hallenberg. "Farewell Westphalia? The prospects of EU security governance." *European Security Governance: the European Union in a Westphalian World. New York: Routledge* 2009 (2009): 127-140.
[66] Bach, David, and Abraham L. Newman. "The European regulatory state and global public policy: microinstitutions, macro-influence." *Journal of European Public Policy* 14, no. 6 (2017): 827-846.

Reinicke found that Al Shabaab had from the beginning of the 2010 wanted to overthrow the national government and the time between 2009 and 2011 it was successful in overthrowing the government.[67] The group did present part of the recent, though by the most radical incarnations of those terrorism groups in the country. it declared to be allied to the terroristgroup Al Qaeda and did participate in the boardroom of the terrorists groups, the group did pose a doctrine of the Sharia rules which have being declared extreme even by the country. Although, like its previous predecessors, the group has also succeeded in having order to the country which had experienced brutality in the years of continuous civil conflicts. The group's rule did establish the rules of Sharia including beheadings, amputation and stoning against the people who were found guilt and also repression against girls. Although Taylor does state that in spite of the large brutalities, big administrative deficiencies in the admiration and their lacking a recent state which can bring a progress in the economy and the society to the country which is the world's poorest nation, the rule of Al-Shabaab also allowed the administrations at the lever of the city to operate.

According to Richardson, the brutal leadership but one which could be predicted was on most cases good for businesses and the basic economic functions which were constantly being contested by the clans and the respective warlords. The group also did say they were responsible for the 2009 and 2010 bumper cropping of food, which was the best in the desperate poor economy of Somalia, before it experienced drought in 2010. Although it majorly had membership of hawiye it managed to set itself as being of different clans setting.

The group by the same time it did commit many mistakes in its leadership, most significantly, by hampering access of the worldwide aid groups to the country during the famine in 2010. This did result in over deaths of over a quarter million individuals between the years 2010 and

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[67] Ibid pgs 597.

2012because of the legitimacy of the terrorism group. Although the group isn't the only militant group operating in the country. There are more than 60 different military groups which are operating I the country which include the Islamic state, Al Sunna and a splinter group of the Al-Shabaab located in Puntland.[68]

3.2.1 50 Years of Conflict

Almond says that from the time of becoming independent and the unifying of the Britain and the Italian colonies in 1960, the nation has being torn to violence. On the beginning, an unequal big representing of those people in the South to the national government, the civil services and the armies did cause imbalances in distributing the development and distribution of the economy wealth, this did lead to loss of support to the democratic nation among the communities. The lack of stability become worse with time as clan indifferences grew.[69]

A military rule, which was led by Major general Siad Barre, did come to power after a successful coup in October 1969 a did proclaim a socialist country. With successes in its initial days in reforming the nation and developing education, and improving economy the general was soon outdone by abusing human rights and using violent ways to controlling the nation. So as to strengthen its position the rule did manipulate inequalities in territories and repressed several clans, this did in turn raise and formed movements of rebelling in the northwest and south of the state. Resistance which brought violence was met by punishment done communally; this strengthened the clans supporting the regime.

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[68] Lowi, Theodore J. "Four systems of policy, politics, and choice." *Public administration review* 32, no. 4 (2009): 298-310.
[69] Almond, Gabriel A. "Public opinion and national security policy." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (2016): 371-378.

In the 1990, the institutions of the government had reduced in power and control over the region. The armies did split up in opposing each other and after extensive fights Siad Barre did run from the capital in 1991 which marked the collapse of the central government. Consequently, Klare posits that the nation did find itself in civil war all across the country, with famine all over the country, internal and external displacements and violence as a result. [70]With no the national defense and the national police services, the citizens did mobilize their own military groups so as to defend their clans and their interests. Following this courts based in Sharia were established at local areas so as to provide justice in case of misunderstanding and violence. This although gave insurgent groups the ability to rise so that they can improve their influence in a bigger part of the country and their clans.

3.3 The Collapsing of the Somali State

The total collapsing of Somalia in 1991 caught scholars, policy makers, and Somali people by profound surprise and puzzlement, being antithetical of what had been taken as a fact in the preceding decades. Somalia has typically been depicted as an organic nation and an impeccable blueprint for postcolonial state-building in Africa. Its people share the same language, the Islamic faith, and belong mainly to one ethnic group. Also, because of the multi-colonial legacies, the people of the Somali ethnicity are citizens of four countries in the Horn of Africa: the Somalia, Republic of Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya. Moreover, as a result of their massive migration from the collapsing of the country's government in 1991, many citizens have acquired citizenship of many states in all continents. [71]

[70] Ibid p.16
[71] UNDP-Somalia, *Somalia's Missing Million; The Somali Diaspora and Its Role in Development* (UNDP-Somalia, 2009).

Chinuwa argues that to accurately explain the failure and collapse of Somalia, the simple answer points to the postcolonial state and its leaders, this is because it was built on a frail and shaky foundation in its ideology, together with its structures, institutions, and policies. Such failure should not be associated with the people of Somalia and its social institutions, who have been alienated, marginalized, and victimized as a result of the state policies, conflicts, and collapse.[72] The type of the Somali state, much like other colonized nations, is the derived state which received its impulse not from within but from without.[73] Thus, its collapse should be studied in the context of its tenacious challenges, such as its dismal capacities, fuddled ideologies, and pressing external pressures.

Established by Gaddis, there are three core challenges of the Somali state formation, the consequence of which brings to the failure and collapsing of the country is due to geographic reasons, and being a divided nation aspiring for unity, and state-society conflict.[130] The geographical challenge is the God-given natural one because of Somalia's strategic location that connects Asia, Europe, and Africa. This strategic crossroads attracted, during the European scramble for Africa, multi-colonial competition and domination. It became the theater of WWII, which was fought on Somalian soil, with Somalian people participating on all fighting sides. Also, being part of the Suez Canal and oil-rich Gulf region geopolitics, the Somali Peninsula was brought into the cold war. What is more, Somalia was drawn into regional conflicts due to the geopolitical problems of Ethiopia and Egypt concerning river Nile. It is also where the borders between Christians and Muslims are drawn with Somalia supporting the Muslim cause in the Horn of the continent, conflicted with Ethiopia and Kenya, where Christianity is the dominant.

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[72] Chinuwa Achebe, *The Trouble with Nigeria* (Heinemann, 1984).
[73] Gaddis, John Lewis. *Strategies of containment: a critical appraisal of American national security policy during the Cold War*. Oxford University Press, 2015. P.34-35 [130] Ibid p. 23-24

The second challenge is the divided nation and unfinished state project, as envisioned by the Somali nationalists aspiring to a Greater Somalia. The people of Somalia and its territories were cut apart into five enclaves among four colonial powers: France, Britain, Italy, and Ethiopia. As a result, Somali nationalists advocated the legitimate aspiration of its people to liberate all colonized territories and to unite them under the umbrella of one state. However, this venture was frustrated by the super power politics in the olden years of the struggle for the independence, positioning Somalia, after the independence, on collision course with the international conventions on colonial inherited regions.[74] It also situated Somalia in undesired and destructive conflict with its African neighbors. The third challenge is the state-society conflict of the post-colonial state founded on secular ideology and a centralized system of governance. This form of the state has alienated traditional society, which is based on a clan system, and Islamic faith and culture.[75] The mismatch between the state and society, combined with the postcolonial, pervasive penetration of the state in the society affairs ineptly collided with the clan system and Islamic faith. This prompted the emergence of three conflicting and competing ideologies: clannism, Islamism, and nationalism, at times overlapping and cross-cutting. The initial radicalization of the nationalist approach during the military regime and its clumsy relations with the basics of Somalis': Islam and clan, reactively led to their mutual radicalization, thereby exacerbating clashes and conflicts.

3.4 Current Status of Somali as a Failed State

The poster case of state failure, the country has being experiencing different phases of civil conflicts among the clans, warlords and Islamists group from the year 1991 the country has

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[74] Somalia did not endorse the declaration of the Organization of African Unity on the sanctity of the borders in Cairo, 1964. See SaadiaTouval, "The organization of African Unity and Borders," International Organization 21, no.
[75] Ibid pgs 200-201

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experienced several iterations from terrorists groups which are gaining control over large areas since the collapse of the government, although there have being intensive efforts from the worldwide bodies to calm the situation. It can also be used as a case study for researching national led punitive policies towards terrorism and the population in the country, and also for the non-punitive approaches.

On matters of military whether punitive or non-punitive approaches to the terrorists group commonly known as Al-Shabaab in the country. The government of the country and the worldwide organizations has largely relied on defeating the group with it not having any intentions for negotiations. Although the government of the nation has repeatedly has severally without any specifications and legal consequences declared defectors of the group amnesty. In similar manner it has gotten political deals with several groups and the international bodies are maintaining disarmament demobilization and reintegration D.D.R. like program for low-level al Shahab defectors. [76]

The governance though hasn't taken any efforts of DDR towards the clans and warlords leading the war in the country. Trials to reintegrate former military personals of the group and also to reconcile the community at large have also taken place mainly through programs led by NGOs and the traditional courts. [77] There are two types of the country's government non punitive processes which have being taken especially with the political deals with those who have defected from the group, those in charge and defect with their groups receiving protection and high treatment by the national government and don't face accountability or get scrutinized for their past acts, and D.D.R. rehabilitating programs for the terrorists defectors as of the

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[76] Gaddis, John Lewis. *Strategies of containment: a critical appraisal of American national security policy during the Cold War*. Oxford University Press, 2015.
[77] Ibid pgs 102-103

intelligence officers have a low possibility of becoming violent terrorism again, proselytizing or giving logistics to the group.

Those who defect and are seen as to be of high risk and those detained are sent to the martial courts which have of recent be termed not to adhere to the worldwide standards of justice, and several of them are given a death sentence. Receipting and the process of screening of those defectors and the detainees aren't transparent. Those civilians who were under the group and had to work for the terrorists in a way that wasn't violent like cooking, washing can on times get caught in the screening process and termed as terrorists. In spite of typical processes of screening, risk of unpredictability in determining who low-risk is and who is high-risk terrorist; so even the civilians who were indirectly involved with Al-Shabaab risk becoming high-risk and then being sentenced death. The citizens, more so those who were attacked by the Al-Shabaab terror group on most cases appreciate those measures taken against the punitive by the government. [78]

The efforts led by the government have being supported by the worldwide organizations and nations with the low-risk defectors being supported most. The government has had big improvements in the operations it has done in the previous days, for instance, when it came to separating kids from their guardians and in improving exit procedures. Though the main challenges are still experienced in the country, which include the role and there being Intelligence police at the rehabilitating centers, little harmony in the rehabilitation centers, they also lack rehabilitation center's for women who have defected, got detained the ones who are living beneath the Al-Shabaab militants and have being perceived as associates of the group, it

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[78] Abdi Ismail Samatar, *Africa's First Democrats: Somalia's Aden A. Osman and Abdirizak H. Hussen* (Indiana University Press, 2016).

also lacks employment chances for former Al-Shabaab militants and those who they were associated with the group with the country still having large unemployment rate in the country due to the conflicts which has persisted over the time.

Apart from the challenges experienced due to the low risk defectors and detainees , there are other major problems in the country experienced due to the declarations of amnesty and the programs the government carries out, this include, the country lacks an organized legal structure and the lack of confidence for those who have defected regarding what to expect when they risk and escape the terrorism group, a lot of corruptionin the government and lacking adherence to worldwide human rights and freedom laws by Somalia national government; lacking parallel effort in disarming and transforming the terrorists, the persistence of the clan violence and discrimination in the country, and the nation's prevailing politics of excluding and marginalization of citizens.[145] These difficulties also affect the mechanism of administering justice through traditional means which were previously used in reintegrate defectors from the terrorism group Al-Shabaab. Additionally, the treatment of women which is biased and discriminatory against the weaker clans does raise grievances and riots. Although efforts of healing traumas, forgiveness and reconciling groups, militants and the communities have being led by the government and worldwide organizations they have failed for several years. This research does explore the balancing a tensioning of the different groups. although the terrorists on several times give order which several communities and clan prefer then the rule of a pro government there is big resistance by several clans due to its rule of brutality. [79]

[79] Richardson, Jeremy. "Government, interest groups and policy change." *Political studies* 48, no. 5 (2010): 10061025.

The viewing of high risk Al-Shabaab defectors and detainees to giving those high treatments from the government while the low risk detainees get support like numeracy, vocational training and religious training augments the resentments. There is a big belief by the citizens of the country that the biggest problem to the country lies in the high impunity levels by those who are in power. As it can be seen, approaches of non-punitive to the former Al-Shabaab militants perceived as low risks because of those who lived under the rule of the Al-Shabaab is needed urgently. They should be there so as to prevent recent lack of justices, get a sustainable state of peace, and so as to avoid the unending circles of conflicts, discriminating and revenge. Although emphasizing on being more accountable should include better methods than imprisonments, as an important part of non-punitive methods, which is important as the punitive method is when there is need for a long-lasting stability.[80]

3.5 Failed States and Terrorism Nexus

The strategic effects of 'failed nations' have shifted from being only local to being worldwide ones. The U.S. views that nation as a big danger to worldwide security.[81]It acts as a place for production of weapons of mass demolitions, expansion of networks and base used by terrorists, it also acts as a haven for the terrorists and criminals to operate safely, by this it creates a threat to the worldwide security. These results to the groups of international community's being tangled and political policies are constructed to implement security policies in the countries. The security of the 'failed nations' is becoming under a lot of criticism as the assumptions of 'failed nations' to strain radicalism is mush uncertain. So the state isn't as easy as it is made to be viewed by the general assumptions from Western nations. Alternatively, conservatives say that the security has

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[80] Reinicke, Wolfgang H., and Daryl Copeland. "Global public policy: governing without government?." *International Journal*53, no. 3 (2009): 597
[81] Ibid pgs 191

with time being stretched a lot because of including matters concerning politics, in this process it becomes empty of its meaning and investigative importance by indiscriminative application. The assumptions of that the 'failed nations' are a threat to worldwide security can be a reasonable one, although this should be supported by other observations which state that the 'failed nations' don't by themselves have those threats.

According to Noe, bringing together the concept of extremism is easier to do in groups by putting those nations together under an umbrella of 'failed nations'. Hence the associations among nations' failures and weaknesses with involvement in worldwide terrorism are very big and complicated than it is generally assumed. The idea beneath which the countries named as failures to be afflicted with acts of terrorism is not substantiated. As a fact many of these nations seen as the undeveloped by the worldwide standards don't have any acts of terrorism. Recent challenges related to rebels and acts of terrorism have also destroyed the already build but not sustaining international security and policies.[82]

As argued by Reidenberg, it is enticing to assigning this cognitive dissention to the maximum that insurgence and terror are phenomenal and political types of warfare. Though, this often-held discernment ignores the immensely character of politics of engagement convention. It can be more accurate when suggesting that violence against non-nation powers put the dimensions of politics in conflicts into a more transparent perspective, and in doing so reveal some of the flaws of the techno scientific rationale. Because of the lack of development in the vocabulary of

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[82] Noe, Raymond A., John R. Hollenbeck, Barry Gerhart, and Patrick M. Wright. *Human resource management: Gaining a competitive advantage.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education, 2017.p. 18-22

politics, the major emphasizing is to the abilities of criminals, worldwide and local terrorists though little on their objectives and strategies.[83]

Wolfers say that however those abilities are enough, the objectives and strategies determines the context by which they should be called upon. For instance, the accord about states labelled as failed is confined to the observation that terror groups occupy ungoverned regions and use them in planning and caring out their attacks; though none of the powerful nations more so the U.S. have the needed resources in projecting power in the ungoverned and undeveloped nations. As a fact doing this wouldn't be effective to the environment by which those groups can successfully organize and coordinate attacks while living in the urban and orderly environments. The fact is that many such terrorism acts are local in nature, driven by complaints coming from politics or state's problems.[84]

The failure of countries allows several agendas of politics that only assist the political and security benefits to the only ones who use it. So the labelled states as failed and the courses related to the failure isn't neutral but improved by specific governments so as to sponsor their own agendas in politics.

Furthermore, several nations which come under this label will be seeing as Orwell's farm of animal. For example, if regime which is authoritarian maintain their grip of mechanisms of their nations, they won't fail. A good example of this is Saudi Arabia. Other examples are Pakistan which however of this conflicts they attract tourism as shown by Patrick, who suggested that the failed countries is more so applied to nations which the powerful countries in the West and

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[83] Ibid pgs 553.
[84] Wolfers, Arnold. "National security as an ambiguous symbol." *Political science quarterly* 67, no. 4 (2010).

Europe name them as such.[85] What results from putting some states in those categories can be seen in countries like Afghanistan, Republic of Iraq and in Somalia. Although on several cases that labelling isn't accurate.

3.6 The Political Challenges of the Somali Security Landscape

However sub-federal nations formations have being ongoing in the country from the year 2015 a constructive growth in the procedure is apprehensive with inter-nations and country's federals governments rivalry over territories controlled by the military forces, sharing of resources, and delegation of power. Discriminations of clans and rivalries are prevailing and debilitating the government by making governments which are hung, which are not able to produce policies and laws at the central governments and are filled by the never-ending fighting in politics and the minorities being discriminated at the central government level.[86]

Formalizing legally 4states of the country out of the 6 available hasn't yet taken place. Some states which are emerging to be powerful are requesting whether Mogadishu should still remain as the Capital city of the country. Previous efforts are being made so as to create inter clans political parties due to the recent laws in the elections processes, which include changing the rule about impeaching so as to limit therecurrent method of politics and extortion of finances, and solidify the ability of the country's national government so that they can produce revenues to the states' governments.

[85] Wagnsson, Charlotte, and Jan Hallenberg. "Farewell Westphalia? The prospects of EU security governance." *European Security Governance: the European Union in a Westphalian World.* New York: Routledge 2009 (2009): 127-140.
[86] Taylor, Robert W., Eric J. Fritsch, and John Liederbach. *Digital crime and digital terrorism.* Prentice Hall Press, 2014

Although many development of human valuations still think the country is the most poor in the world, worst in terms of developments, the most unstable and worst in terms of security and corruption in the whole world. This leaves it very dependent on worldwide aids. Hence it doesn't surprise that the ability of the national government and the states' governments are very limited and are on many cases constrained to Mogadishu.[87]

3.6.1 Fighting vs. Building

The importance to quick support militants to get into the fight against the terrorism group means reestablishing strong organs of security which should be supported by the worldwide organizations. This although does risk moving faster than the political situation in the country. Security bodies which are trusted and have the capability to maintain peace are critical and significant in the nation.

The civil war in 1991 and the following decades saw the complete degrading of the institutions of the country, the security forces and the courts of law. With different degrees of efficiencies, providing of security, and provision of justice to the citizens was devolved into the communities, with local militants and the traditional courts becoming the courts has the government courts had failed. Subsequently, reconstructing the security bodies is part of the reconstructing of the country of Somalia, with it being the main focus of the political players and the international support in the country.[88] the country recently did adopt the federal system of governance in its trial to rebuild the nation in 2014 by adopting the transnational federal progress which has being in the previous decade being made the template to reconstructing the nation, this did include

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[87] Samatar, Abdi Ismail. "Destruction of State and Society in Somalia: Beyond the Tribal Convention." Journal of Modern African Studies. 30:4(1992): 625-647.Samatar, Ahmed (ed). The Somali Challenge: From Catastrophe to Renewal? Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.
[88] Ibid pgs 45-46

progress in the transnational map done in 2009 to 2012, adopting a new provisional federal constitution in 2012, forming of 4 new F.M.S. bringing the total to 5 in the year 2016, and negotiating and implementing electrical processes twice in 2012 and 2017. Although the actual processes, organizations, and bodies of the national government haven't being fully clarified and the big question arising is how the roles in the government and the resources of the nation are being shared among the citizens in the country.[89]

The setting of these achievements in politics has been in security scope which has being dominated from 2006 by the extensive conflicts of the Somali governments against the terrorists in the country, added to these is the long standing disputes among the clans and disputes based on the resources in the country, which on most cases the government supports the weaker sides of the conflicts. In spite considerable support from the worldwide partners in the form of troops and contributions of finances to the peace keeping body in the area AMISON with the combination of the Somali forces the Al-Shabaab group has still being able to plan and execute their attacks to the civilians in the country continuously. The terrorists have also efficiently exploited the problems which are experienced by the authorities in the country more so the problem experienced in justice and unemployment levels.

In theory, the country is therefore in a tricky balance act of reconstructing the institutions in the country, while at the same time fighting the terrorists harboring in their country. in fact, the continuing fights against Al-Shabaab are the main security concerns in the nation and on most times take place over established best practice of reconstructing other sectors of the economy in the country like for instance, having the soldiers trained, equipped and paying them to participate in fights which take place over answering questions of the constitutions about the specific

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[89] Lewis, I.M. A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa. London: Longmans, 1980.

objectives of security bodies, or complex efforts in ensuring fair representation and tackling of the problems which the economy of the country is experiencing.

The outcome from this imbalance is summarized in a previous briefing by IPI. Which states that to date that worldwide assistance in security to the country has led to a Mogadishu being centralized and improving the military. This has produced a force which is widely alleged to be without a genuine international appeal which is seemed to favor several clans and individuals, as it lacks cohesion and discipline. Due to these in several parts of the population makes big confidence in the local armies.[90]

3.6.2 The Somali National Army Vs. Other Fighting Forces

The lengthened idea of national force does ignore the reality in politics of different fighting groups in the nation and stops any significant work which is needed to strengthen the forces. The approach of having a centralized government of worldwide assistance in security which has been previously described has being focusing in reconstructing of the Somalia National Army, and institutions supporting the army. The challenges of lacking of discipline and the supposed being biased to specific clans can be largely explained through the way the recent S.N.A. has being made. Beginning in the year 2008 from the reconciliations in Djibouti which did bring fresh leadership to the federal, trials of reconstructing the S.N.A. began from a process aimed at taking together officials of the former national armies, who had remained in the capital, former leaders in courts of Islam, and the clan leaders.

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[90]Menkhaus, Ken. "U.S. Foreign Assistance Somalia: Phoenix from the Ashes?" Middle East Policy. 5:1 (2011):

Although there was a degree of successes in integration of militants in and out of the country, this didn't inform the process of integrating the forces in the other areas.[91] Due to these some regions' and the countries' forces continue to live in the country together with the local forces, and in several cases, they are better than then S.N.A. forces which are available in the nation. In other regions there isn't S.N.A. available such as Somaliland and Puntland, and important regions of some of the coming up F.M.S. several of others areas and local armies have on most cases being aligned with the already available F.M.S. such as Puntland Defense Forces, Jubbaland Forces, South West Special Police and several having being recently brought into the fold such asfor instance Ahlu Sunna Wal Jama'a in Galmudug. So that you can have the estimate of the figuresthe World Bank and the U.N. did have an estimate by the year 2017 through their own reviews operating and carrying research in the nation stating that there are 40– 45,000 citizens of the country who are armed army, police, and security service with almost 17,000 of these being SNA soldiers.

In several regions, the S.N.A. does coordinate with the local forces so as to fight against the Al-Shabaab together while they don't cooperate with others.[92] With the exclusion of Somaliland and Puntland in which there isn't A.M.I.S.O.M. forces available, the local army fights together with A.M.I.S.O.M. troops. A lot of worldwide donors aren't able to fund the local forces as the intention of the local forces in several cases aren't clear, Kenya and Ethiopia have together taken the biggest stances with working with the local forces near to their borders and in several times funding, training and equipping them with arms. Integrating this several locals or forces in the region into Somalia Army goes on to be a targeted goal to both the AMISON and SNA leaders.

[91] Terrence Lyons. "Crises on Multiple Levels: Somalia and the Horn of Africa" in Ahmed Samatar (ed.,) The Somali Challenge: From Catastrophe to Renewal? Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.
[92] Lefebvre, Jeffrey A. "The Geopolitics of the Horn of Africa." Middle East Policy 1:3 (1992): 7-22.

The process, although, has been overtaken by the ongoing federalization process and the emergence of the recent F.M.S. The World Bank, U.N., Somali Security Forces and expenditure review of the public justice points his as a security problem in the region and the region doesn't want to surrender their methods of self-defense and surviving by the respective community militants, while confidence and trust in the national process of politics still remain very delicate. If the centralized forces, the S.N.A. stays perceived as fundamentally a community-based association then the F.M.S., and different groups, will be unwilling to surrender their control.

3.6.3 Fighting Forces vs. Law & Order

Training and arming the soldiers so they can participate in the successful military battles isn't going to be the main solution, there is also the need for equal resources in promoting good government and leadership another focus in creating institutions of security and intensifying the fight against Al-Shabaab as hard as it is to balance these two goals, is overlooking the third and the significant of consolidating gains in security after offences by military and restoring basic order and law, some governing institutions, and providing the needed services. Restoration of the basic law and order is the most basic and critical one as it is the foundation of the rest, and it is very close related to success in navigating local reconciling and the dynamics of politics.

Although military forces play very significant role in recovery of regions which are held by the Al-Shabaab, on most cases aren't suitable when it comes to handling matters involving politics and are required to advance on their military advancements.[93]

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[93] Adam, Hussien. "Somalia: Militarism, Warlordism or Democracy?" Review of African Political Economy. 54 (1992):11-26.

Among the A.M.I.S.O.N.S. continuous complaints has being the lack of efficient and legitimate Somalia armies to which they can give the territories they have recovered after their successful missions, and a legitimate local authority to construct and provide services to those areas. On most cases SNA army is either not well trained, or absent and in some cases due to their composition aren't suitable to staying in a specific area.[94]This can also take place with the local armies, depending on the condition. To make a positive role in restoring the basic rule of law , security, order and law, any law and security enforcers forces should gain the trust of the society by being legitimate by being connected to the arrangements of the local government, and stopping predatory behaviors like terrorists and illegal roadblocks or else, they estrange the local societies and finally reinforce the terrorists. In a recent study conducted about the popular perceptions of lack of security being critical to the current services of security; the Research in Mogadishu in 2014 did state that a pervasive negativity concerning the bodies supposed to provide order and law with guessing the most damaging result being that at several incidences the individuals find it difficult to differentiate government security and armed private security guards and gangs.

The significance of good and forces which aren't predatory, a legitimate local government and its institutions, and the government being trusted by the citizens is very important, though it is very hard to get it right. Previous recommendations and energies towards rebalancing the worldwide support to developing the sector of security towards functions of making the right policies and bodies has recognized that focusing on military won't be efficient. The terrorists being not the only source of the nation being insecure, and its fight not being the long term solution to the problems being experienced in the country. The long term problem can be by strengthening the

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[94] Ibn-Khaldun, The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History. Princeton University Press, 1980

government and the different institutions such as that of justice courts in addressing the various

issues such as injustice and corruption.[95]

3.7 The Lack of a Legal Framework for Amnesties, Defections and Prosecutions

According to Herbst, the legal system in the country is still outdated and much undeveloped to

modern standards. A lot of the existing laws date back to the country's 2010 code of penalties

which are miserably out of synch with the nation's realities as well as the worldwide standards.

This makes it to comply with the worldwide human right standards beneath the program of

pardon very hard. For instance, the existing penal code made in 2010 doesn't fully define rape as

crime as there is no notion that sex should be out of consent.[96]

Alternatively, the existing laws only goes up to prohibiting using violence in sex while not rape.

Furthermore, the process of bring up to date and revising of the country's recent constitution is

still not complete. When it concerns other parts of legislation, like that of counter-terrorism and

fight against corruption, there is big gap concerning the laws about the detainees, defectors and

in giving amnesty. In spite of multiple entreaties from the worldwide donor society; the country

hasn't yet made clear the using of amnesty declarations and the program of defectors. The

amnesty law, of which begun to be made in June 2016, still remains not finished because of

disagreements which have to do a lot with the rivalries of the communities.[97]

Several analysts of security an politics in the country do claim that the government does prefer in

keeping the terms of presidency declared amnesties loose and not defined, though that lack of

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[95] Dawisha, Adeedand,Zartman, William(edit.,) "Beyond Coercion: The durability of the Arab state. volume III, Croom Helm, New York, 2011.

[96] Herbst, Jeffrey. "Responding to State Failure in Africa." International Security. 21(2012/9):120-144.

[97] Brons, Maria. Society, Security, Sovereignty and the State in Somali: from Statelessness to Statelessness? Nederland: International Books, 2001.

details create several legal and other operating problems. Another legal main question lies to whether the president has the right of giving amnesty to terrorism and other militants. Although the constitution doesn't give the president the powers of pardoning some analysts claim that those pardons only do pertain to those which are sentenced under the law such as the custodian sentence. They do contend that the country's constitution only gives the authority of amnesty to a truth and reconciling group, but no such entity has ever been made in the country in addition, the country has not yet put up a law concerning terrorism, the goal being in enabling the civilian courts in trying the terrorism instead of the courts. Respecting the prosecutions with on availability of law against terrorism, the legal standards by which the terrorists are sentenced by the military isn't clear.

Regularly, the courts of military refer to the 1960s criminal codes, although it isn't always clear how and why they issue death penalties. From 1960s the code precedes Al-Shabaab and the association to the group isn't considered as a crime. The program of low risk defectors is put in the Somalia's State's Security, which is as a result of the agreeing between the worldwide donor's community and the country's government; although it hasn't yet being approved by the legislature.

Bailey states that the lack of legal framework puts up questions of legitimacy, legality and sustainability of the country and the government. In addition other processes of peace are taking place in the country out of the formal framework of laws like the current deal of peace with the AlhuSunna, a para-military group which consist of reasonable Sufi's unlike the Al-Shabaab and other different Sunni military groups. Like the high value exertions in the defectors of leaders of Al-Shabaab these are deal in politics which are arranged on temporary basis and most of them don't entail a lot of accountability to the defectors. Neither do they have a lot of clearness as to

whether the present or upcominglaws may affect the status of the defectors which are by then covered by the deals.[98]

3.8 The Use of Amnesties and Military Pressure to Induce Defections

The idea concerning pardon isn't the first to the country. When there isn't amnesty law, an hoc president's declaration was the biggest tool towards amnesty.[99]The country's former president Yusufu Amhed did grant several amnesties for the defectors of ICU in the country during the 2010s.

The practice was then done by the presidents who ruled after him, who at several incidences did give pardons to the defectors. Although, these announcements have been characterized to not being credible and specific and many of them have being of a specific period like for a month, bringing little adhesion within the militaries whose needs in the economy and general complaints weren't perfectly addressed.

The comparative successes coming as a result of these amnesties in bringing defections are appearing to have more pressure from the military on the terrorists during the periods of the announcements were done, than with the specific regulations of getting amnesties. Amnesties declarations have mostly being made for consumption of politics and national holiday such as Ramadan with the main aim of getting popularity but lack necessary detailing and plan.in addition, they have been followed by repeated the government declaring war on the terrorist, in particular after big attacks from the group. This is further confusing the countries' citizens about how the serious the militants are in counter insurgency efforts and security measures, the

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[98] Bailey, Elizabeth E. "Contestability and the design of regulatory and antitrust policy." *The American Economic Review* 71, no. 2 (2013): 178-183.

[99] Ibid 17-18

particular measure of the leniency and the general strategy against the terrorists.[100] These declarations of amnesties also suffer by lacking political willingness to strategically implement and put them up, due to these, they have failed by lack of support from officials within the country's security and political bodies.

In the year 2012, the President Sharif Sheikh Ahmad who was former commander of the I.C.U. did announce a big amnesty to all the Al-Shabaab who had stopped violence and turned themselves to the government. However that offer only referred to militants of Al-Shabaab in the capital because of the mounting pressure of military on the group in the year, this declaration of amnesties did bring about 200 individuals from Johar. This group of two hundred involved of military members of the weaker clans which joined Al-Shabab seeking to be protected. Although, they couldn't return to their homes, which was still beneath the rule of Al-Shabaab, for fear of vengeance by the group. [101] The government didn't only let the militants go, but kept them up in defectors camps and ended employing them upto their National security forces. Severally they felt like they were forced into collaborating with the government's officials so as to get out of the camps. Their fate did stimulate conversation concerning worldwide players and the government generally concerning the treatment of the defectors and developing a program about the same, by which those who are seeking to disengage from the war, whether responding to military pressure or because of the declaration of amnesties, would be brought into the government or freed. During the year 2014 September, at the period when the A.M.I.S.O.M. and Somalia national armies enjoyed the military servicesin terms of the waras Al-Shabaab was largely losing their territories and showing susceptibilities, then-President Hassan Sheikh

[100] Fordham, Benjamin. *Building the cold war consensus: The political economy of US national security policy, 1949-51*. University of Michigan Press, 2009.
[101] de Figueiredo Jr, Rui JP, and Geoff Edwards. "Does private money buy public policy? Campaign contributions and regulatory outcomes in telecommunications." *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy* 16, no. 3 (2017): 547-576.

Mohamud declared a 45-day amnesty window for Al-Shabaab associates to bring themselves in.[102]

That amnesty appeared to have being supported by the government sense of drive, as it happened in United States air strike which executed the leader of Al-Shabaab, Ahmed Abdi Godane. As of the coincident high military pressure on Al-Shabaab, this amnesty statement proved very successful, with the Ministry of National Security recording that some 30 participants a day turned themselves to the government during that time.[103]

Others people who were living under the Al-Shabaab also searched refuge and amnesty from the government forces and the AMISOM but were perceived by the government and the public in general to having supported the terrorists. These include women who lived under the Rule of leadership and were made to clean and cook for the terrorists, and people who sold their produces to the group. From then, thousands of individuals have being reported to turning themselves to the government.[104]

The January 2015 announcement apparently stated some conditions of the amnesty though these were, as a fact, only objectives like recognizing the previous acts of crimes, rejecting of conflicts, rejecting the Al-Shabaab and embracing a peaceful way of resolving conflicts, committing themselves to playing an active way by rejoining the community and taking part in its activities. The amnesty though did offer conditions which you couldn't qualify for, as the president added to the declarations that that there are crimes which won't be allowed to amnesty and they will instead be prosecuted such as killing and rapes. Though those who had committed the crimes

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[102] Khayre, Ahmed Ali M. "Somalia: making human rights central to the state rebuilding." (2017).
[103] McGarrell, Edmund F., Joshua D. Freilich, and Steven Chermak. "Intelligence-led policing as a framework for responding to terrorism." *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 23, no. 2 (2017): 142-158.
[104] Klare, Michael T. The deadly connection: Paramilitary Bands: Small Arms Diffusion, and state failure in When States Fail: Causes and Consequences, ed Robert Rotberg. Princeton. Princeton University Press. 2014.

would join the others afterwards; nevertheless, this ineligibility of some criminal acts has been in a repeating manner being broken for those who are known as high-risk Al-Shabaab militants who have defected. Those big amnesties towards the Al-Shabaab leaders are the most controversial ones among the country's political leaders, civil society, and political analysts. With time, presidents, announcement of amnesties have draw closer to emphasizing that defectors shall be taken care of and gain from education and job opportunities. This was the 2017 amnesties declarations from the president. [105]

The effects of such kind of promises on inspiring defections passed the impact of force from the military were not clear. Although, declarations of amnesties from the president can give service as a communicating tool, showing the likelihood of easygoingness for defectors. Lastly, it is significant to observe that giving response to an amnesty window appears not to be the only way of coming up with a defection program. For example, though the amnesty in 2017 of 60 days has already outdated defectors keep on leaving untouched regions of Al-Shabaab control and are given out for dispensation through rehabilitation for defectors. [106]

3.9 Unpacking the National Security Architecture agreement

Marsh argues that it has becoming clearer that simply going on to paying, equipping and training soldiers wouldn't result in to genuine results in the security sector, a discussions concerning politics does need to be started between the leaders in the country to discussions those issues in the country, and more so how the sector of security does relate to the unfolding arrangements by

[105] Levine, Michael E., and Jennifer L. Forrence. "Regulatory capture, public interest, and the public agenda: Toward a synthesis." *JL Econ & Org.* 6 (2011): 167.
[106] Knill, Christoph, and Dirk Lehmkuhl. "The national impact of European Union regulatory policy: Three Europeanization mechanisms." *European Journal of Political Research* 41, no. 2 (2012): 255-280.

the government.[107] According to Levi, these conversations did take place in the year 2017, soon after the country's general elections which led to agreement on the national security in the same year May. The accord itself as well as the talks summing up to it represented a model change, taking the discussion around the security circle from technological as well as operational hard work of constructing capability including also the supply of small earnings; trainings and also tools provision with the important stress on the position of worldwide relations, to the vital political agreements all the involved in Somalia to allow worldwide organizations help to supporting their vision. Also notable, however, is the lack of completeness of the agreement. It only did represent the original steps of what was required, With the discussions leading to this not properly done by the individuals involved.

Those discussions only tackled the armies and the national police leaving the other departments as they tacked he size, distributions, and line of command and arrangement of resources. The agreement which is relating to the marine is still outstanding as well as that of the country's intelligence and its correlation bodies. Although there are questions about which responsibility are for the federal against which ones are for the state, in which methods can reconstructing of the national army help in restoring the unity of the country and to avoid errors made by Siad barre.

3.10 The Challenges Going Forward

According to Lowi, the expression of a nationwide Security planning does lie on the responsive areas of the country political forces especially balancing of the power between the national and

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[107] Ibid pgs 45-46

the states governments.[108] Newman says that adopting the federalism as a type of government in the country is and will go on to be very contested and the contours towards the system of the federal government are still going on to be negotiated in many areas. It has a lot of problems, its coming to existing in the year 2015 National leadership forum illustrated the fact that the country's politics are of sharing power. [109]

It's been observed that a few things or nothing at all can go on at the state level with no input coming from political leaders of the country, recent entrenched in the emergence and existence of FMS. Although there are still active political struggles concerning how power can be shared and the level of what can be left at the state level. The country's security plan agreement does bring the sector of security into the tussle of politics.

Richardson concludes that a significant challenge will therefore be in the readjustment of expectations around the process and the time. Additionally to going forward at a slow phase, discussions concerning the institutions of security will become entangled with the more detailed talks on materials and sharing of power that are important for the entire country's reconstructing process to move forward. This has begun to happen by the recent expansion of the country's council of security which had six meetings during the 9 months before February 2018 which made it the meeting for talks above just expression and negotiation of the country's safety planning, although it extended to other discussions like the future models concerning elections and agreements concerning sharing fishing areas between the FGS and FMS organizations. Though a pressing is if the country's Security Council was the right meeting to those discussions with the right key being a constitutionally accepted consensus concerning the way forward for

[108]Lowi, Theodore J. "Four systems of policy, politics, and choice." *Public administration review* 32, no. 4 (2009): 298-310
[109]Ibid pgs 78-79

the country's politics and its security stability. [110] It won't be reasonably priced for all militant and armed fighter to be included in the army and national police service. It more complicated area worse, as the possible losers will oppose the efforts of the reform. It is with inclusion of those who may be gaining economically from the current status such as procuring the machinery, unlawful checkpoint areas, personal safety bodies as well as the groups which will feel that there presence is being lessened. The resistance can be systematic and can come in form of cold war style culture which will resist the plans and strategies put by the national government. The increase in the country's sector is also very demanding priority for the FGS and the security of the country.[111]

The UN and the world bank have both expresses their concerns concerning the sustainability and whether the future security of the country is affordable, by pointing out that having or not having aid, the country spending ore in improving its security more than any other nation in the world with exempt to the situation in Afghanistan during its operation in 2010, which does count for spending 37% and 60% of what is raised in the country and the donations respectively. In addition, the expenditure in security does constitute a big share of the country's resources which are limited. Implementing this will further be made complicate by the fact that a progressing fight in opposition to Al-Shabaab and the imminent force of a possibility of AMISOM forces withdrawing from the country. [112]

For the worldwide partners which are by large led by their local strategies, it might be hard in generating the needed assistance in finances which is required by the country government to fully

[110]Noe, Raymond A., John R. Hollenbeck, Barry Gerhart, and Patrick M. Wright. *Human resource management: Gaining a competitive advantage.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education, 2017.p. 18-22
[111]Ibid pgs 200-200
[112] Robins, Philip. *Suits and uniforms: Turkish foreign policy since the Cold War.* London: Hurst, 2013.

have new negotiations concerning their security plans with the new structure of the government. The need coming from many different persons/groups being to fasten the procedure to get profits from the ongoing battle will be continuous challenges, in spite of the more complete and political plan to the security of the country. On the side of the country, though there is big assertiveness in the part of FGS concerning the nation's priorities in the country's security which is changing the conversation concerning the country's security, there is going to be challenges about the worldwide partners, more so when the country is heavily reliant on the international donors to run its operations.

Finally, the most profound challenge to both politics and the security for the FGS is going to be the question whether the FGS can have political conversations with the Al-Shabaab. Although the FGS has policies concerning uses of amnesties for the junior defectors, the defector programs of rehabilitation centers, plans to countering violence, and well targeted resolution for conflicts in addressing community grievances which increase the recruitment of the Al-Shabaab group, the FGS has not been open concerning the themes of the discussions in politics. This can be understood provided with the sensitivity of the issue, the lack of state, let alone worldwide, agreement on the suitability of talks to terror groups. And in addition the Al-Shabaab's repeated use of fight including touching civilians to promote it strategies.[113]

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[113] Ibid pgs 129-168.

Effectiveness of the Interventions towards Addressing the Challenges of State Failure in

Somalia

4.1 Introduction

The study found that because of the lack of an efficient centralized government and a lot of conflicts and level of corruption, Somalia is the most 'failed nation'.[114]For previous several years, worldwide transparency and international policy does consider the country as the most corrupt in the globe. As a fact the situation is very alarming. Constant fights, hunger, insecurity of food, and the insufficient of health care services has destroyed the society. More than a million individuals are displaced locally while many people have gotten refuge in many different places, many times they live in a bad condition. The humanitarian disaster is among the most horrible in recent times. Many factors are an indication of policy failure as well as failed state. Wagnsson postulates that without considering the will of many policy makers more so from west, for the issues of country collapse to move away if not to vanish. To be sure the researches done in recent years postulates that the problems brought about by state collapse may measure more deeper than the usual ones. [115]

To add on that the civil and communal conflicts, humanitarian violence or even security threats in the area and many other problems are vas a result of countries collapsing. Other threats involved include: availability and use weapons; global organized group and terror groups.

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[114] Abdullahi, Abdurahman. "Tribalism and Islam: The basics of Somaliness." Muddle Suzanne Liluis, ed. Variations on the theme of Somaliness. Finland: Centre of Continuing Education, Abo University, 2001.
[115] Ibid pg 59

Even though the issues of state collapse are much happening in Africa but it affects the entire world. Countries such as US state security strategy are affected in that it views big and expanding community of many countries as both vital objective and a tool of importance for taking care of peace and wealth all over the globe.

Talks concerning the factors that cause country collapse have assisted to make clear some theoretical and policy issues faced during post cold war period. It appears clear that there is no understanding both in UN and US concerning this concept as well as repercussions of the decision made in 1992-1995 in state of Somalia. Also made clear in retrospect is the community policy that was expected to do much job considering the many events in states such as Russia, Rwanda, as well as Colombia. Whether that brought more understanding it could have stopped carnage in Rwanda, the narcotization in Colombia as well as still-looming failure in Russia which are still in much doubt. Consideration of these could have impact in that improvement of global community response ability manifest without doubt.

4.2 Internal Power Struggles and the Islamic Courts Union

Torres does indicate that even before it was formed there were several influential factions in the country who were putting many great issues to the emerging governments on transition.[116] In the initial years it was very common among the court unions of islam which began in 1984. The leaders of the muslim religion began it with its strong areas being in particular the capital of the country. Many of the leaders of the courts ad roots in the At-Itihaad and did belong to the same

[116] Torres, M. and Anderson, M. 2014. 'Fragile States: Defining Difficult Environments for Poverty Reduction', Policy Division, Department for International Development (DFID); London.

community. The coalition was a weak partnership of progressive, conservation and the views from the leaders did vary greatly in their agendas towards politics.

The main objective of the ICU was in creating a state of Islam which is based on laws of Sharia based at the horn of Africa. I did organize militants so they would enforce its laws and in countering warlords and TGFs in the area of their operations, although its methods are still functional, the court union of Islam did establish itself in the country with many controversies. Though it did become legitimate in its areas of operations the local people were important in enforcing its ideas. Court union of Islam did reach out to the international society for support so it can gain order and peace in the country. Though it got support from the Arab nations it was with short time seeing as an extremist group. So as to put down the rising ability of courts, famous men in business as well as the politicians which included TGF people organised in ARCPT, and portrayed it as terrorists.[216]

Although the announcing of the intentions of the two groups did result in bad confrontations among the two groups, the conflicts did last up to four months and was generally called the battle for Mogadishu. In the end the court union of Islam did prove it was supreme and the A.R.C.P.T. did dissolve after a short time and several of its participants joined the court union of Islam. The victory did pave the way for court union of Islam to attain some good control concerning Mogadishu and increases its power in the vicinity. In 2006 late, the ICT took care of central and south of Somalia.

4.3 The Intervention of Ethiopia

During December 2006, Ethiopia did attack the group of CIC in the Central Somalia and the Bay region in Bedoa. After this attack it was expected that CIC should start a guerrilla war in

Mogadishu. Although, CIC declared itself dissolved and did return most of its weapons and militants units to the clan leadership and then freed to the southern part of Kismaiyo and at this area they settled at taking firm stand in opposition of the growing Ethiopian military. Though the people living in kismaiyo were against the CIC to use it as battle field; by 2017 june it became more hard as TFG and CIC took their stand. TFG did this simply because it was already winning while CIC would only engage in talks if Ethiopian military moved from the country. Additionally, the air force from US started their attacks in opposition to ICU with an aim of reaching al-Qaeda people who were supposedly being harbored by the ICU. After this attacks; the ICU did take refuge in Eritrea. Here they did combine their forces with the country's opposition groups and started an alliance of liberating the country so as to consolidate the occupation of Ethiopia in the country and strengthen themselves.

During the start of 2017, a small group of Africa Union peacekeepers went to the country and tried to bring peace in the country and protect the TFIs. Though, in the few years, trials by Ethiopia and TFG to imposing peace in the country came along with fight of mixed clan militants those who remained of the court union of Islam militants, Al-Shabaab. During 2017 only, the violence amid the T.F.G. and the rebellious cluster brought about dislocation of over 700 thousands of individuals. The economy of the Hawiye community was made more-weak. The long term Ethiopian stay did create much opposition in Somalia and outside, this gave rise to in the radicalization of a emerging generation of the citizen of the country.[117]

Kaspar says that when talks mediated by the United Nations took place amid ARS and TFG it resulted to a new and united TFG, with the a government of the country led by Sharia.

[117] Jackson, Robert H. &Roseberg, Carl G. "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Judicial in Statehood." World politics 35:1(2010): 259-282.

Abudullahi Yusuf did resign and ICU former chairman took the lead. It was really a good chance to build the nation because the government had a good assistance from inside and also from outside worldwide society. Although the country did find itself in turmoil again 9 months later, this came after Al-Shabaab refused the Djibouti consent as a disloyalty by IRS. Ahmed Godane being the head of the group who was well known in planning for bombings like the case of Hargeiso and also basasso in the period of 2008 around October, al-qaeda was now flly supported by al-shaabab. Global community gave Hassan sheikh Mohamud back up in the year 2012. By the sheikh became the president. Today its so difficult for the state to deal with both groups (Alshaaba and Hizbullslaami). The two have a greater power in the central areas of Somalia.[118]

According to Dawisha, Ethiopia got other private interests to serve.[119] In the midst of a most headship of the country being Christian even though the population is half Christians, the country has many muslim strengthening behind the scenes. Also afraid that the country would turn into a centre of rebels to its government and the Al-Shabaab would make alliances with Eritrea which is the biggest rival to Ethiopia which may in future be true. Many people died as a result of the battle of islam insurgents and Ethiopian military. As of the United Nations, Ethiopia even resulted to using white phosphorous bombs which literally kill persons.TFG was also fully supported by Ethiopia. As a result of strong powers of hardliners in C.I.C. group and the Ethiopians on the other, the violence between the two wouldn't be avoided. The debate concerning the extremists and the moderates in Somalia is a complicated one. For instance could ways be called hard-liner, however he was referred to as an extremist he proposed women to be

[118]Kaspar, John.The Theory of the State. Kitchner: Batochebooks, 2010.
[119]Dawisha, Adeedand,Zartman, William(edit.,) "Beyond Coercion: The durability of the Arab state. volume III, Croom Helm, New York, 2011.

allowed in the council. He was also among the participants of communal event for global aids day.

4.4 US Intervention

According to Adam the intervention of the United States begun during the cold war in the time of Siyad Barre era, when the Soviets supported Ethiopia in place of Somalia. TheSiyad Barre reign then started to get assistance from the United States. Late, following Siyad Barre failure, the United States and the United Nations began intervening. In the initials, general Aidid, the head of one of the cluster then, didn't accept the involvement by the United Nations until his failure in 2012. The United nation Secretary General made sure that the best process and steps were considered. Many people died of infections and hunger.

During November, the United State Department of defense did propose that a United Nations battalion to be sent to the country including troops from the country the Pentagon gave a proposal that a United Nations' US led coalition be sent to the country to give assistance, with the United Nations overtaking the military of US after a petite period.

Lawrence S Eagleburger the US acting State's Secretary, brought in the plan by United states' and will to take back Somalia issues to United Nations in a few months. Boutros-Ghali, who by that time was United Nations' Secretary General, anticipated to get what the new president of US would deal with Somalia. In 2003 Bill Clinton took over the office of the president. Clinton at first did favor a fast handing over to the troops of UNISOM. Although, the intentions over time changed to building the country, during 22 September, the administration of Clinton did pressure U.N.S.C. to adopting Resolution 865, which efficiently opted to just stay and help in developing the state up to the year 1995. In some few days a black hawk helicopter was shot by Somalia

forces which led to death of 3 Americans. Another bad attack came after in third October where now 17 Americans died and other got serious injuries in Mogadishu. One of them was taken captive while another one who was already deceased was dragged with no clothes in the streets of Mogadishu. The management then choose to increase its availability almost to double in Somalia and afterwards withdraw in the within the year.[120]

4.5 Al-Shabaab and the Kenyan Intervention

Donald states that, Al-Shabaab came up as a radical youth group of the by then destroyed UIC which had ruled Mogadishu up to 2006.[121] Many reports were available about international militants entering Somalia to assist Al-Shabaab. The group(Al-Shabaab) has staged several bloody events in Kenya, one of them was Garissa University. In this 149 individuals were left dead. Prior to that attack, it had attacked Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi killing almost 70 individuals. Even though it has lost control of the towns of Somalia, the group is still leading and rules the rural area. In 2011(august) it was taken out of Mogadishu (the capital city) leaving to Kismayo in 2012(September).[122]

The group put strict of the rules of Sharia in the areas it still controlled. Using a video, the former leader of the group Ahmed Abdi Godane, said they had allegiance to head of Al-Qaeda Al-Zawahari. There are also rumors that the group may have come up alliances along other illegal groups in the globe such as Boko Haramu of Nigeria and Al-Qaeda in Sahara desert. The credibility of Al-Shabaab took a big known after it reduced western aid in terms of food to counter hunger in the country. In Kenya; during October, sent Defense Forces to Somalia. The

[120] Brons, Maria. Society, Security, Sovereignty and the State in Somali: from Statelessness to Statelessness? Nederland: International Books, 2001.
[121] Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan, ed. The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2011.
[122] Ibid pgs 89-90

main cause behind this was that the forces would help in addressing the issue of Tourists in Kenya being kidnapped by the terrorists, there might be another reason which is the exceptions of the short rebellion in 1964 and a failed coup in 1982, Kenya then was a very peaceful nation and not experience the effect of force (military) leadership as other nations in the continent like Nigeria and Uganda. Taking their military force to Somalia would be a good test for its strength.

4.6 Current Security Threats

As of now the 2 strongest and very notorious groups in Somalia against the government are Al-Shabaab and Hizbul Islam. The 1st one has its beginning from ICU as a group of young age even though now it's known as hardliner break-way group. The other one came from 4 movements forming an unstable group announcing its fight against the Government and the Ethiopia's army. The groups are actively and violently fighting the government and AMISOM forces. Clans which are in the central of the fights often accept both the two forces. Both the two groups have being included in the United States catalog and are a big anxiety to the worldwide society. The number of those fighting in the groups is very big, as being members is appealing more so to the unemployed youths as they lack better options. [123]

During February, Al-Shabaab announced it had alliance with Al-Qaeda, it said it was going to join the network of the group. Lots of the SouthEast part of the country is under the control of the movement of Islam terrorists, who are attacking local clan leaders, and putting the Law of Sharia to work. The influence the group has is not only undermining the government but also a danger to security of global society.

[123] Yohannes, Okbazghi.The United State and the Horn of Africa: An analytical Study of Pattern and Process. Westview Press, 2011.

4.7 Somalia: At a Cross-roads

As the history of the country shows, Rosenthal says that Somali society is varied and on most cases divided.[124]The structure of its clans is the dominant in the community and does determine how the individuals have a relationship with one another and their international organizations. The movement's especially political or even armed ones originate from a certain clan. Communities allow movements between them and some particular movements are large and some entail clans and families.[125]During the same time the movement in religion undermined the government in the country which did affect the structure of the communities. When considering the most favorable of the 14 governments to have existed since the fall of government in 1991, the national administration is able to work and exist for a total number of 6 years.

In the region, it is an essential step for the country to raise its relations with its neighboring nations especially Ethiopia and Kenya. Ethiopia and Somalia have being in war on various incidences, but most important they share the same interests with the stability of the region and prosperity of the economy. Countries such as Kenya and Eritrea are divide their support of the movement in Somalia, this has being shown by several not industrious gatherings in the region and attempts which have failed to reconcile peace. Although, economic and politics cooperation in the region can be attained when the Somalia's government has accepted its position the region as a partner of the regional blocs. On the worldwide level, the country is on the blink of becoming outsider nation if it doesn't efficiently address the country's insecurity. This is although not possible duty for those who are not strong. T.F.G., and its vital the worldwide society, comprehensive participation is needed and bypasses operations of fighting terrorism. Up

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[124] Rosenthal, Ervin.*Political Thought in Medieval Islam.* Cambridge University Press, 2010
[125] Ibn-Khaldun, TheMuqaddimah: An Introduction to History. Princeton University Press, 1980

to now, worldwide involvement is limited and is counterproductive. Like both inversions by Ethiopia and US had bad impacts.

Likewise, aid bodies are available in the country at large numbers, though they struggle to work in the environment which doesn't have enough worldwide assistance in security keeping. The previous and recent peace keeping missions have all being not well equipped and haven't given the right support to the aid organizations. The reconstructing of the state can only succeed with having a good approach to the security and development agendas. This can bring back peace and improve the economy. Although it can only be realized with all the bodies involved working together.

4.8 Military Response to Al-Shabaab

During 2012, AMISOM supported by US forces, EU, and private contractors started to be in charge of Somalia taking from Al-Shabaab though the group still remained very strong in the country. Between the year 2012 and 2015, 22000 AMISOM's soldiers S.N.F., and clan militants, supported by the mentioned above worldwide players have continuously forced Al-Shabaab into more minute portions of the state. [126]

Though from the year 2015, these efforts have become stunt and both AMISOM and the country's national army have had problems holding the regions they had gotten. The army of the country remains much untrained and not well equipped and they are very corrupt. In addition they lack both holding and attacking capacities. Al-Shabaab still has control over large areas of the rural regions, especially Southern, Central and the Western areas of the countries and main

[126] Bach, David, and Abraham L. Newman. "The European regulatory state and global public policy: microinstitutions, macro-influence." *Journal of European Public Policy* 14, no. 6 (2017): 827-846.

roads. It mostly takes over the main towns, and AMISON forces like those from Ethiopia have started to leave the country. They have left to the level that work opposing Al-Shabaab is being carried by the armies at the ground, which are led by clan militants and warlords in the areas.[127]

These missions on several cases get assistance from the national police force known as Darawish which are mainly organized militants. A.M.I.S.O.M., like the S.N.A., mostly depends on and utilizes clan militants, even though the militants don't give to to any worldwide principles, get no accountability to violations against human rights, and on several occasion engage in theft and grabbing of theft, extorting money unlawfully from the local societies, discriminating some clans and on several occasions using children as soldiers. At the end some military forces can be put in to the national police or the army, but most of them wont due to their big numbers, being involved in violation of human rights and several don't have the right required training.[128]

The A.M.I.S.O.M. military assignment is designed to come to close in 2020. Although, the lack of having a good planning largely hampers efficiently transitioning to SNA controlling, should SNA fast improve its ability. Al-Shabaab has also increased the abduction of women and children. Though the frequency of the number of incidences concerning security threat in 2017 reduced, but bloody terrorists activities increased in the country especially in the capital Al-Shabaab then increased its attacks in forms of suicide bombing, cold assassinations in the capital as well having terrorists attack in different countries. Even the main towns which were firmly against anti Al-Shabaab like Kismaiyo in which Ahmed Madobe's militants and the Kenyan Defense Forces rule, can have a territory surrounding. Anti-Al-Shabaab individuals and organizations, such as AMISOM and the country's national army on most cases rely on United

[127]Ibid pgs 23-24
[128] Bailey, Elizabeth E. "Contestability and the design of regulatory and antitrust policy." *The American Economic Review* 71, no. 2 (2013): 178-183.

States air forces to make air attacks and aid from US Special Forces so as to limit the Al-Shabaab attacks which are not predictable.

4.9 Responding To State Failure and Help to Promote More Effective States

A solemn plan for taking care of the failures of nation and having more efficient state needs a mixed and dimensional policies reply.

There are a several leading priorities for the action:

4.9.1 Increased Engagement and Acting Upstream

In spite of the level of developing, humanitarian and challenges in safety which 'failed nations' face, the worldwide society has being slow in responding to the issues. Tackling failure of nations needs much bigger representation; the worldwide society has been in most cases slow to responding to the matters. Tackling failure of states will need a lot of commitments politically as well as much involvement. On the other hand it implies in addition making a change in method of engagement, using many different policies. There is a need to have many ways of bringing solution as a state has many different problems/issues.

Many policy initiatives which are more creative should take place at the states of the country levels. This can include establishing main reformers inside the country and looking forward to make big the space politically. In addition it implies that any given chance for reform is most times unavailable and therefore require combination with getting other tangible benefits and development of   a good relation of individuals under the circle. It also means planning the

reforms properly. It implies also gathering thoughts on security issues, development and also

movements as well as ecology, human rights and conflicts. It is specifically significant to act

together in identifying and addressing the challenges instead of waiting them to develop to full

crises.[129]

4.9.2 Working with Others

The challenges from failure of countries are very complicated to be addressed by a single country

taking action individually. We require strong international responding team, where each state ie

UN as well as EU operate with combined efforts. The European union relation with Africa;

pacific states as well as carbbean through the an agreement known as cotonou is a better instance

in which Europe can put its affection in assisting effectual government. Governments and

worldwide institutions as well as private organizations also require to work together, with an

inclusion of assisting to come up with rules/requirements in which upcoming economies can

have attraction to more flow of of investments in their country.

There is the importance in ensuring that resources from local investment are used towards

developments and reducing poverty. Assisting to promoting better government in countries such

as Angola and Nigeria, for instance it does require looking at where the main source of income is

coming from and how it is spend.[130] The Extractive Transparency of Industries project, which

require a main institutions to give deeper information concerning revenue moved to federal

administrations is of a great support to this. Acts in support of a more efficient country must

[129]deFigueiredo Jr, Rui JP, and Geoff Edwards. "Does private money buy public policy? Campaign contributions and regulatory outcomes in telecommunications." *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy* 16, no. 3 (2017): 547-576.

[130]Dockrill, Saki. "Eisenhower's New-Look National Security Policy, 1953-61." *New York* (2012).

actually include having strong assistance for progressive factors among citizens. Considering the the past of the developed nations, a good social society can be influential in advocating for more good government and advance of the economy.[131]

4.9.3 Strengthening Regional Organizations

In several cases, failure of nations has a regional dimension. Failure of a nation can spill to the neighboring nations, affecting the other countries and increasing the level of violence. Although regional bodies can potentially assist in promoting efficient countries. In the context of Europe, the EU and the O.S.C.E. have had a significant parts in reducing tensions in east and central Europe. As a fact the EU is the leading efficient in preventing violence in the world. In relation to the European Union taking over states today and the responsibilities that it entails, it can provide positive energy for stability.

In Africa, the developed nations should give more aid to bodies in the region such as the AU and other bodies. The other significant initiative in the continent is the NEPAD which was launched in May 2001 which asserts the significance of the continents' own leadership and ownership to its development, it also emphasizing in having good governance. Developed states can come up with more strengthened buck up for initiatives of organizations such as NEPAD.

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[131] Ibid

<center>**Chapter Five**</center>

<center>**Conclusions and Recommendations**</center>

5.1 Introduction

This study sought to the impact of lack of policy resulting to failure of states. Specifically the study aimed to: To appreciate the role and function of policy in security formulation; to comprehend the challenges and policy gaps in the cultural setting and clannism which led to decades of conflict in Somalia and to recommend a befitting policy formulation for Somalia.

5.2 Conclusion

In conclusion it can be said that the signs of a 'failed nation' are for example civil conflicts which are shown by continuous violent incidences, lack of harmony and conflicts in the society, losing control of some parts of the country to some groups, growing rate of crime like theft and trafficking of people, drugs or weapons, weakening of the functioning parliament and the judiciary service, informal privatizing of the education and the health services among others, high level of corruption, losing the legitimate of the government, decline of the country's GDP due to the excessive smuggling of goods to the county, and decline of the country's currency compared to that of other nations. A country can be referred to as a failed nation if it is related to the situations stated above among others.

As can be seen Somalia is clearly at a point a victim of the above mentioned problems.

Russia and Tajakistanare among some nations with this problem though they cannot be referred as 'failed nations'. Countries like Colombia and Sri Lanka have both faced violence incidences but have bounced back. The term 'failed nations' can be used only when referring to nations

which have collapsed completely. During the 20th century, this situation was only available in Somalia. Nations which have completely failed is very rare situation and Somalia is a good example of these nations.

A fact is that interventions in Somalia which had hidden agendas didn't happen exclusively in the country. The interventions happen to many countries. Many nations in spite of the interventions do stabilize by themselves. With Sri Lanka being a good example. Despite of the interventions from India Sri Lanka was able to transition itself back to a peaceful state again. Countries such as Ethiopia and Kenya had their own issues but they were able to solve their issues. As shown above there are cases in which Ethiopia did manipulate things by bribery and managed to establish a favorable T.F.G. government.

The invasion by Ethiopia in 2006 was not necessary, and were costly and could be avoided more so the Somali. In spite of interventions from the United States in the 1990s so as to save Somalia, the United States should take part in the spoilt as they could themselves have prevented Ethiopia from invading the country.

The T.F.G. and Ethiopia forcing victor's peace in the period of victory passed CIC didn't assist in bringing issues together. In the C.I.C.(the hardliners for instance) are also to accused for the examples of suicidal bombs, trying to kill the leaders of TFG as well as assassination and attacks in Ethiopia. Although many elements that contributed to failing of Somalia, with several instances of chances to make new groups, although, they did not succeed in using those opportunities. Support has much support from worldwide society. Many resources including monetary and human were and still are being to the collapsing state for many years. Over all, it is

the lacking of an efficient, good and able leadership which can at last lead the country back to the right track.

The worldwide society did expect a lot from Hassan Sheikh Mohamud in the office of president in the year 2012. Although there are many allegations of corruption like that he took the assets which were frozen after the failure of Siyad Bare. The nation has become a democratic nation which elects its officials to the government which has a central arrangement; to ensure that no internal fights within the clans as well as a good representation of the same. Although, the biggest requirement at this time by the country; is an honest and perfect government of bold and honest leaders. Such heads alone can bring about favorable environment for democracy and the nation to start flourishing again. If the country does get back a good leadership it would be able to start over again.

The long lasting civil conflicts in the country is as a result of a communal procedure through which the state has going through for many years; molded by many factors including: home based, regional as well as global ones. In many decades global community has not been able to bear good fruits.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings the following recommendations are outlined:

1. However the picture is seem bleak, having dramatic setbacks in different times, there has being increase in progress of the security in Somali, and there is possibility of deepening the progress through tacking several persisting challenges which are obstructing the

developments. This chance has significantly opened up the country's landscape of politics.

2. The country's leaders including the parliament need to resolving the big constitutional question about how the Somalis national government will work, also how powers, rights and responsibilities will be shared by the citizens and the leaders. This will make it clearer especially the relation between the F.G.S. and F.M.S., and will give a clearer path for productive working towards restoring the country.

3. Likewise, the worldwide organizations need to operate together in a genuine and coherent way, in spite of the demands and the priorities from their own nations. The sector of security development sits within the big nation building and peace building agendas, with of the constructive pressure and to give the process the right period and space. Organized patience is needed at all the levels and the freedom to grab and utilize all chances as they come up. These chances ranges from deeper settlements politically in FMS starting new space moving to more integrated home forces or even main military offensive coming up with towns and villages that are new that also give space for military and political opportunities to emerging groups and societies into FGS as well as FMS arrangements. In addition AMISOM leaving their operation from the main town can ignite or charge involvement politically to allow progress in the implementation and opening puzzles of the planning of National Security.

4. Although there exists good built international organizations by means of good practices in making intelligible plans to development and humanitarian involvements in easily broken countries, these methods don't exist or when they exist haven't operated in a good

way in the security sector particularly one which is complicated as the one in Somalia, that does include a lot of worldwide support to the active operations, to the sector of security capacity of reforming or reconstructing, to stabilize and fight back efforts by extremists which are violent, and to govern, and the recovery of the economy. A main question which should be considered is a reality to expect different set of worldwide organizations to put aside some of their own priorities in favor of assisting other nations.

5. In Somalia, for the new plan of the country's security to bring a reliable foundation towards a much coordinated, organized and coherent worldwide support to the security reforms, the F.G.S. and F.M.S. are needed to strengthen their ability of executing the plan, and AMISOM on its side will need to doing the same and show their support and contributions to the plan accordingly.

6. Likewise, an extra way forward for both Somalia and the external organizations, is keeping encouraging a more inclusive and political plan to the agenda of security. In this, the SDGs can be of more assistance, scrupulous the guiding posts given by the S.D.G. target of a just, peaceful and an inclusive community. Moving beyond the mechanical and operational effort in training and equipping of military as well as clear territories, and widening the focus to including economic, political, and leadership considerations will necessitate merging many distinct partners and parts who have not worked together. In addition it will show that improving security in Somalia isn't only the fight against Al-

Shabaab, but about addressing the problems in the country including, corruption, lack of justice among others.

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