The Challenges of Human Security in the Horn of Africa: The Case of Somaliland.

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Abstract

Purpose: In the Horn of Africa the main challenges to human security in this region have originated from political and state fragility, resource scarcities, and environmental degradation. Human security is arrayed against escalating communal violence, small arms proliferation, and massive movements of people within and beyond the region. Since 1991 the people of Somaliland have successfully established a peaceful and relatively stable state and community. They have managed a process of reconciliation, demobilized the local militias, restored law and order, and held numerous rounds of peaceful elections. Peace, stability, national and state security were enhanced which allowed normal patterns of trade and other economic activities to resume. Therefore the main objective of this study is to analyze the contemporary situation of human security in Somaliland and to figure out the key challenges of human security that faced Somaliland since post 1991 and its performance in subject matter.

Methodology: The study is exploratory as well as descriptive research designs. Where qualitative data were collected and used. For selection of respondents, non- probabilistic sampling techniques, particularly purposive sampling technique were applied.

Findings: The study found that Somaliland had made relatively advancement for political, economic, health, personal and community securities post 1991. In addition, the study found that the environmental security challenges in Somaliland are many and complex in nature and Somaliland has chronically food insecure since 1991 due to lack of commitment of the government for realizing food security in the country, frequent natural and man-made disasters that erodes the livelihood base of the community. Also the study found that, Lack of international recognition, Terrorism activities in Somalia are major external challenges of human security in Somaliland. While a high unemployment rate, corruption, weak of governmental institutions and recurrent droughts are the dramatic internal challenges of the realization of human security in the country.

Unique Contribution to Theory, Policy and Practice: Moreover, the study recommends that the government of Somaliland is required to engage human security notions by employing effective strategies and policy directions, to realize wellbeing of the Somaliland society which would promote both human security and state security since these two concepts are interrelated. Also the study recommends to Somaliland government should Review, evaluate and develop agricultural policies, health policies, environmental policies, economic policies and the legislative and institutional framework on a regular basis for the purpose of promoting and ensuring human security in the country.

Keywords: *Human Security, Horn of Africa, Challenges, Somaliland.*

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Human Security problems in Africa and its relevance can be understood within the context of the security challenges facing African continent and what it posit for human security and protection. The challenges of human security as an index for development is constrained by wars, communal clashes and mostly by arms sales which makes the prosecution of wars an ultimate in the resolution of crisis among the contending forces in Africa (Adebowale 2014). The political economy of war, food insecurity, extreme poverty, environmental degradation and sales of arms explains the availability of the lethal weapons and the conditions that makes it already available. While noting the importance and relevance of Human security in Africa, the AU forced African elites to accept the Human Security doctrines as a desirable norms and guiding principles in the protection of Africans against of all forms of violence and wars in Africa. The establishment of AU was being partly informed by Human security concerns. Human security elements were highlighted in key AU documents to show and demonstrated the primacy and relevance of Human Security Issues in Africa (Ibid).

Drawing insights from rational institutionalism, the Institute of Security Studies (2011), argues that Africa's security challenges are the unfortunate result of the governance choices some states have adopted. Thus, how African states will individually and collectively respond to future security threats is contingent on domestic governance and democratic institutions or processes, as well as a concerted effort at the regional and continental levels to support and enhance the capacity of these institutions and processes in order to realize, develop and protect the notion of human security in Africa.

In the Horn of Africa the main challenges to human security in this region have originated from political and state fragility, resource scarcities, and environmental degradation. All these factors have contributed to a regional context that is characterized by intrastate conflicts, interstate wars, and political extremism. Raging civil wars and interstate conflicts have, in turn, produced forms of statelessness and marginality that have deepened societal insecurities and strained human livelihoods (IPI 2008). Consequently, in addition to profound political instability and economic destitution, human security is arrayed against escalating communal violence, small arms proliferation, and massive movements of people within and beyond the region.

Regional insecurities have also had wider global resonance, attracting international actors, institutions, and resources. Since the turn of the new century, man-made conflicts and natural disasters, such as droughts and floods, have tasked the energies of the international community.

International engagement will continue because new security threats such as terrorism and piracy have emerged, exploiting extant weaknesses in states and societies of the region (Ibid).

Since 1991 the people of Somaliland have successfully established a peaceful and relatively stable state and community. They have managed a process of reconciliation, demobilized the local militias, restored law and order, and held numerous rounds of peaceful elections. Much of the

urban infrastructure and basic social services destroyed during the war (1988-1991) have been re-established. Peace, stability, national and state security were enhanced which allowed normal patterns of trade and other economic activities to resume, and thousands of refugees came back from neighboring countries.

However Somaliland illustrates the growing importance and influence of trans-national political, economic, advancing state and national security from external challenges and social engagement of non-state actors in peace, national security and state building as well as, the central concern of political thoughts and researchers were emphasized on reconciliation and peace building processes, state and national security of Somaliland with perspectives on traditional school of thought of security since 1991. Therefore this study gave attention and emphasis on the challenges and contemporary situations of human security and it's ascertain in Somaliland post 1991.

1.2 The Problem Statement

An important element defining Somaliland's peace and security is the approaches adopted by Somaliland elites to seek peace and sustain security. The challenge for peace practitioners is to find ways in which communities can resolve their internal differences without physical violence (APD &David, 2008). The goal of peacemakers is to develop more effective ways of resolving disputes without violent conflict, to identify and transform the conditions that cause war to sustain peace and national security of the country.

It deserves to disclose that the experience and culture of the people distinct from one society to another while their approaches in seeking peace and building stability may also be varied from one culture to another (Galtung&Webel, 2007). In essence, Somaliland emerged from the ashes of decades of civil wars, conflicts and crises; and managed to establish sustainable peace and security and enhancing state and national security through traditional conflict resolution mechanisms that deeply rooted in their culture and tradition which remained intact. This approach has not only produced sustainable peace, security and stability, but also generated robust and resilient institutions with viable and flourishing economy as the (Soradi 2013) argued. In addition, the author (Hassan 2010) furthered that this intellectual decision has served as a landmark for Somaliland's long-term security and stability, moving it forward to improve state and national security and adopt multiparty constitutional democracy system, and the joining together of these positive developments and others has enabled Somaliland to maintain its security and contribute the regional stability simultaneously.

However, for peace and security to sustain, the successive governments of Somaliland have allocated around 50 percent of the national budget to security to empower security apparatuses and maintain orderly the rule of law and national security. The republic, which situates one of the most volatile regions in the world, has made a significant progress during the past two decades by establishing the necessary institutions of governance and building its capacity (Kenneth, 2005; Hassan, 2010). This doesn't mean that Somaliland security is not without challenges, Somaliland state security and its institutions face governance and logistical challenges. All above authors and researcher's efforts and their arguments were only given concentration on the state security from

external threats with emphasis on traditional concept of national or state security can sustain peace and security in the country. But they were not given any attention to the human security aspects in the country. Thus, improving security in the country remains an important option for those who want to develop it.

Moreover the researcher (Nasir 2014a) breached from the understanding of traditional concept of national or state security in Somaliland to critical school of security and he noted and concluded his findings that it is understandable which peace, national security and stability, neither exist nor sustain without giving attention to the social justice, such as reducing the level of unemployment, underemployment, support the poor, weak, and deprived Somaliland citizens, reforming the judicial system of the country , politics of inclusion and representation and curb social inequalities which are present in the society at all levels and play a huge role in education, health care, gender, and among others. This could serve as a milestone to strengthen the Somaliland state security at home and its role in maintaining the regional security and stability in the long-term.

However there are no previous studies conducted in the area of Human Security challenges and its prospects in Somaliland. Hence to fill that gap this study will have the important role to find and explore the challenges of human security in Somaliland as well as its performance, balancing the two securities since they depend on each other as well as the two securities feed one another, eg the absence of state security would pose threat to the human security and the vice-versa. So that this research doesn't deny the significance of state security, however, it underlines that the effective state security depends on the realization of human security elements and addressing the needs of the society at different level. This study also wants to start a fresh dialogue and discussion on this element that could be a tinderbox for the future debates that may take place between the experts, academicians and those who run the state to overcome and giving out the human security challenges both from within and outside of the state. Therefore this study will analyze critically the contemporary situation of human security challenges and its realization in Somaliland post 1991.

1.3 Objectives and Methodology of the Study

The main aim this paper is to analyze the challenges of human security in the Horn of Africa: the case of Somaliland post 1991. To achieve this objective the study employed the qualitative approach to perform the study. Due to the nature of the study, this research adopted qualitative methodology. In addition, with qualitative methodology, the Participants have the opportunity to respond more elaborately and in greater detail than is typically the case with quantitative methods. In turn, researchers have the opportunity to respond immediately to what participants say by tailoring subsequent questions to information the participant has provided.

In the data collection techniques, different instruments were used to conduct qualitative data. Using multiple methods of data collection to help the researcher to get valid and reliable data like; focus group discussion and in-depth interview.

This paper will deeply answer these questions, How the contemporary situations of human security in Somaliland look like? What are the key human security challenges in Somaliland?, How the Somaliland practice the realization of human security principles? and What are the windows of opportunities for the best of human security performance in Somaliland for the future?

The result of the study possibly would help the following stake holders in the governmental system of the country. Decisional and policy makers would get some ideas on how to become effective in their education and structural leadership practices and policy setting for an improving, realizing by tackling the challenges of human security in Somaliland, moreover, they could realize the events which influence their institutions strength and weakness; and develop their own policies leadership styles to meet the recurrent and the change which the institution's needs for the realization of human security. Non - government agencies working on enhancing human security in Somaliland as well as in the region and policy makers might have clear insight into the existing practices in policies and influencing factors so that appropriate measures that boost their understanding human security development based on the findings and recommendations of the study.

The study may serve as a stepping stone for future research and contribute additional information to the existing finding by revealing the practical experiences in the world as well as the horn of African region. Besides, it could be used as a reference material for further studies in the subject matter.

2. The Concepts of Security and Human Security
2.1 The Concept of Security

In international relations the concept of security is one that is highly contested by Security Studies scholars (Baldwin, 1997: 10). While the pursuit of security is paramount in every society, contestation on the precise meaning of security is evident among scholars such as Mathur (1996:304) who defines security as the "preservation of liberty, life, property, honor and culture of individuals and an environment of peace and tranquility in the society". To Snyder (2008: 7-8) however, security lies in the balance of instruments of foreign policy and all threats that come from an array of sources such as crime, resource depletion and disease (HIV/AIDS). Alternatively, Hough (2003:8-9) proclaims that the concept of security is interconnected and mutually reinforcing at analytical and operational levels, such as, human (individual) security, communal security, state security, national security, regional security, continental security and global (international) security, and points out that a threat to one level could be a threat to all. What remains clear is that the meaning of security has been widened to accommodate different aspects such as economic, political, environmental, societal and military aspects (Baylis et al., 2011:229).

Additionally, in discussing security Ayoob (1991:261) concedes that traditional security in international relations literature was built on two assumptions.

These assumptions were that: The security of the state was primarily endangered by threats that emanate from outside its borders and; these threats required a military response if the preservation

of security within the state was to be achieved, as the threats were either exclusively or primarily of a military nature.

However, due to the process of decolonization new members were introduced into the system of states, the Third World, creating major conceptual problems around this traditional western concept of security. When applied to Third World contexts, the traditional western concept of security did not neatly fit in.

The degree of governance within a particular state; as mentioned by Buzan (1991:112-116), the security dilemma in the Third World arises from internal dynamics and threats, as state institutions which are internally weak could be a source of insecurity to its own citizens. If the state lacks the institutional capacity to maintain and promote law and order and ultimately peace, then security cannot be achieved.

The security situation resulting from the effects of its interaction with the international system; the Cold War and post-World War II have had an impact on the interaction between the Third World and the International system which plays a considerable role in Third World security as the third world falls victim to global issues that remain unresolved (Job, 1992:12).

The interaction with the regional environment where the state is located; territorial borders and boundaries created by colonial powers have played a significant role in the security dilemma in the Third World. Groups within the state and the region have been left with tensions, conflicts and divisions that have resulted from these arbitrary colonial divisions which becomes problematic as tensions and conflict tend to cross borders (Job, 1992:12).

In accordance with these factors, Acharya (2011:492 – 494) asserts that, new security threats and issues introduced into the state by state institutions that are weak, the interaction and interconnectedness with the international system and the regional environment all have consequences that affect the quality of life of individuals. The concept of national security no longer catered for the challenges and dangers that threatened societies, states and the international community in the post-Cold War era, which led to the broadening of security (Acharya, 2011. 492-494).

With this broadening of the concept of security, Peoples and VaughanWilliams., (2010:17) acknowledge that the concept of security broadened beyond the military as the main source of security, by including a range of issues. These issues could be introduced in the security agendas of states through the process of securitization, which can be defined as "…The positioning through speech acts (usually by a political leader) of a particular issue as a threat to survival, which in turn (with the consent of the relevant constituency) enables emergency measures and the suspension of 'normal politics' in dealing with that issue." (McDonald, 2008:567).

As discussed by Snyder (2008:7-9) the present world faces threats that come from an array of sources such as, natural disasters, forced migrations (refugee flows), resource depletion and environmental degradation. This has made it necessary to extend the agenda and sources of insecurity beyond the state, by including a variety of issues and actors and by making the individual

human being the referent object of security. Therefore, due to the growth of sources of insecurity, actors and issues globally, human security has been viewed as a prospective response to the security dilemma. Military responses that are based on traditional discourses of security have failed to adequately address the threats that face individuals, such as, environmental change, inequality and human rights, which policy makers argue can be potentially prioritized and meaningfully addressed through human security (McDonald, 2002:277-278).

2.2 The Human Security Concepts and Definitions

There is no universal definition of human security but there have been some efforts made in defining human security within different contexts, perspectives and political orientations (Newman, 2001:242-247). This paper therefore aims to explore the different definitions of human security with the intention of providing a working definition that addresses the research problem appropriately

Human security as an idea was promulgated in 1994 by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in the 1994 Human Development Report and was concerned with communities and individuals as the referent object of security moving away from the traditional disposition of security (Kaldor, 2007:182). The Human Development Report described the traditional approach to security as a narrow interpretation that focused primarily on nation states rather than people, which lacked the potential of offering both development and security which human security entails (UNDP, 1994).

According to the UNDP (1994:22-23), Human security has various definitions but there are four basic characteristics that human security should focus on.

These include: Human security is a universal concern; the components of human security are interdependent; Human security is easy to ensure through early prevention; and Human security is people-centered.

At its broadest level human security has been identified as having two major components, freedom from fear and freedom from want. Many governments and proponents of human security have adopted this idea of human security that is defined as a concept that "…Embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment - these are the interrelated building blocks of human - and therefore national – security." (Annan, 2000).

In this context, human security takes on a flexible approach as it takes into consideration the threats different groups of people experience according to their specific contexts, desires and wants. It focuses on the particular threats that are most relevant to the daily lives of individuals with the intention of allowing them the freedom to want what they desire without the fear that they may lack what it is that they want. The key starting point in this context of human security is the

identification of the most important values of a particular group of people that are under threat with the intention of reducing these threats. (Gomez et al., 2013:2). Human security as explored in this manner includes social and economic freedom, which would allow for individuals to be free from fear as they feel secure and to be able to achieve what they want as they are economically and socially equipped to fulfill their desires. (UNDP, 1994:3).

Additionally, human security has also been defined from a quality of life perspective as, "…. Anything which can upgrade the quality of life – economic growth, improved access to resources, social and political empowerment, and so on – is an enhancement of human security" (Thakur, 1997:53-54). In this context a range of social and developmental variables are considered to bear directly on human security. It therefore links development and social variables as factors that could enhance or hinder the quality of life of particular groups and/or an individual, which could trickle down as a threat to international security (Duffield, 2005:1).

Lastly, human security has also been defined as, "… The right to participate fully in the process of governance; the right to equal development as well as the right to have access to resources and the basic necessities to life, the right to protection against poverty; the right to conducive education and health conditions; the right to protect against marginalization on the basis of gender [religion or ethnicity]; protection against natural disasters as well as ecological and environmental degradation" (African Union, 2004:1). As asserted by the Commission on Human Security (2003:2) this definition of human security not only speaks of the enhancement of the quality of human lives but also accommodates the political and social empowerment of individuals, access to resources and the means to act on their own behalf. This definition addresses both the processes of governance, equal development and access to basic necessities, which fit in with the context of the research question. For those reasons it will be used as the working definition of human security in this study.

2.3 African Union for Human Security Agenda

The AU human security agenda in the areas of peace and security is clearly expressed in article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act (CA) of the African Union. Article 4(h), which empowers the Union to intervene in the affairs of a member state in order to 'prevent war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity', was inserted into the CA, as a number of informed writers on the CA have eloquently argued, with a view to protecting ordinary people in Africa from abusive governments (Malan 2002; Cilliers&Sturman 2002; Kioko 2003). To provide an operational arm to this specific human security element, the AU made room for the creation of an African Standby Force (ASF) charged with the task of intervening militarily in states for humanitarian purposes (African Union 2001). The condition laid down for human security intervention under the AU 'goes "beyond" the provision made for intervention in the internal affairs of a country in the UN Charter' (Schoeman 2003). The CA has actually set lower thresholds for intervention than those outlined in any international legal code (Weiss 2004). The specification of war crimes,genocide, and crimes against humanityby the drafters of the CA as grounds for intervention has provided a clearer set of criteria for the Union to intercede in a state to protect human security. The AU, unlike other

international organizations, does not necessarily require the consent of a state to intervene in its internal affairs when populations are at risk. That is, the OAU's system of complete consensus has been abandoned. Under the AU, a decision on the part of a two-thirds majority of the Assembly is required for intervention (Powell &Tieku 2005). The AU used this principle to arrive at the decision to deploy a peacekeeping force to monitor a cease fire in Burundi in April 2003. The assembly also used this principle to decide on the mission to the Darfur region of Sudan in the summer of 2004.

The AU also approaches economic development from a human security perspective. The development agenda in articles 3 and 4 of the CA is intended to create conditions necessary for sustainable development. As part of this agenda, the AU commits its member states to ensuring balanced economic development, to promoting gender equality and good health, and to working towards eradicating preventable diseases (articles 3(j) and (n); 4(l) and (n)).

The AU has adopted an approach to political governance in Africa that is human security-centered in as much as the CA commits member states to promoting 'respect for the sanctity of human life' (article 4(o)). Article 4(i), moreover, makes it clear that African people have a 'right to live in peace'. Article 3(h) therefore commits member states to a path where they will 'promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments'. It is signify cant that 3(g) enjoins member governments to promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance. This provision is important, because it is generally understood in the human security research community that democratic development is a critical aspect of human security (Hammerstad 2005). The decision to exclude from the AU states whose governments came to power through unconstitutional means therefore advances the human security agenda. The strength of the human security ideas embedded in the CA provokes questions on how and why these human security doctrines entered the discourse, agenda, documents and programmes of the AU.

2.4 Contemporary Situations of Human security Challenges in the Horn of Africa

The Greater Horn of Africa is one of the most conflict-affected parts of the world. All countries in the Horn of Africa have been victimized by terrorist acts, whether perpetrated by and against a country's nationals for a domestic cause or focused on extra national or extra regional targets, for example, embassies of Western countries. More than half the countries in the wider geopolitical neighborhood have experienced full-scale civil war within the past 30 years, and those that have not still contend with intermittent episodes of intercommunal and one-sided violence, insurgent groups, and state-perpetrated violence (UNODC, 2016).

Observers in the international community have increasingly raised concerns about the region's vulnerability to terrorism and violent extremism, particularly from al-Shabaab, which has experienced setbacks in Somalia but demonstrated its ability to conduct attacks in neighboring countries. The region's abundance of structural conditions conducive to violence, coupled with the recent global proliferation of violent extremist groups, contributes to concerns about ongoing threats to the stability of the region.

The region encompasses both developing and fragile states, a combination that has been providing fertile ground for criminal networks to exploit the different contexts. These networks engage in trafficking in persons, drugs, firearms, and natural resources, and profit and launder the proceeds of such crimes throughout the region. In addition, the region is home to various terrorism cells and experiences acts of piracy. Furthermore, together with the Southern African region, Eastern Africa is home to half of the world's population infected with and affected by HIV and AIDS, including vulnerable populations such as people who use drugs and those in prison (Ibid).

Renewed hostilities and outbreaks of violence have continued to undermine human security in already fragile contexts. Somalia, as the most fragile state in the region, has become an epicenter for criminal networks and terrorism, and Eastern Africa has continued to be affected by threats from the Somalia based organization Al-Shabaab. Attacks by Al-Shabaab have included international targets, such as the UN compound in Mogadishu (in June 2014). Further, Al- Shabaab has started to export violence from Somalia by assuming a new regional strategy: Kenya, for example, suffered from a series of home-grown attacks, which quickly broadened with help of outside elements. Other countries of the region – mainly troop contributors4 to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) - have also suffered attacks. In addition to attacks by Al-Shabaab, internal conflicts in Somalia over the creation of regional states, competing claims over oil-rich territory, and political infighting have aided further militarization, and have put heavy constraints on human security (IEP, 2015).

Horn of Africa faces additional threats to its peace and security. Transnational organized crime in the region has many faces, and as aforementioned, prevalent criminal activities include trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants (TIP/SOM), wildlife trafficking, piracy and drug trafficking. TIP/SOM along the Eastern Route (from the Horn of Africa to Yemen and the Gulf) and Southern Route (from the Horn of Africa to Southern Africa and onwards) has increased in recent years, with more incidents of abuse, and impunity for perpetrators.6 Furthermore, the Northern Route, into Sudan and Egypt, on to Libya and then to Europe across the Mediterranean, continues to be a major route plied by traffickers and smugglers alike (UNODC, 2016).

2.5 Regional Drivers of Human Insecurity and Instability

Several common themes can be discerned from the exploratory assessment of overarching drivers of human insecurity and instability in the Horn of Africa region. First and foremost is the near-universal experience of marginalization of certain segments of national populations.

Legacies of discrimination in the delivery of public goods, services, and infrastructure investment are a hallmark of marginalization in the region and are often supported and perpetuated by institutionalized systems of resource patronage and nepotism (World Bank 2014).These structural conditions result in unmet expectations and feelings of relative deprivation that contribute to increased friction across communities—those that benefit from or compete for access to power and those that do not—and between communities and their governments. These tensions can be exacerbated when the political and economic climate is sustained by state coercion and violence.

Poverty and violent extremism have no causal link (Krueger and Malečková, 2003), but people living in poor countries are the most affected: only approximately 5 percent of all deaths from terrorism since 2000 have occurred in countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.6 Although the region contains some of the world's fastest growing economies, it continues to struggle with high levels of poverty and chronic underdevelopment.

In fact, many of the focus countries rank in the bottom one-quarter of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index.

Additionally, the region has some of the highest rates of income inequality in the world, with the World Bank Gini Index scores for the focus countries ranging from 33.2 to 48.5, on a scale where zero represents perfect income equality and 100 perfect income inequality (World Bank 2012).

The consolidation of economic gains by political elites and their constituencies and the inherent limitations in economic mobility for those outside the broader patronage network further perpetuate relative deprivation and socioeconomic disenfranchisement. It has also constrained and at times even precluded the development of trust among communities and between communities and the state. This can exacerbate intercommunal tensions, mutual suspicion, and mistrust and could heighten the potential for extremist violence.

The dearth of employment opportunities represents a major challenge to the region. Public sector jobs are perceived as being awarded based on ethnic, clan, and family ties rather than merit, and service sector growth has not kept pace with population growth (averaging among the highest globally at roughly 3 percent) (World bank 2016). Given the educational advancements and the generally rising literacy and secondary school enrollment rates across the region, the inability of the service sector to absorb employment-seeking youth could become a major source of resentment and marginalization as unmet expectations collide with feelings of injustice.

Additionally, failure to gain employment often leaves youth unable to meet cultural markers of adulthood, such as property, family, and children, further fracturing social fabrics already strained by rapid urbanization. This may contribute to feelings of inadequacy among youth, on which violent extremist narratives that offer recruits remuneration, the ability to obtain status, and a sense of belonging can capitalize.

The presence and recent increase of large refugee populations within the region, namely from South Sudan and Yemen, adds another layer of complexity in contemporary human security in the Horn of Africa. The inflows of politically and economically disadvantaged populations are sometimes perceived by local communities as a strain on already limited resources. In some countries, the current threat environment has led governments toward the rapid securitization of certain refugee populations, where these vulnerable populations may be subjected to increased coercion by governmental forces and xenophobic sentiments from host populations. Poor conditions in refugee camps, the inability to successfully integrate with local communities, and the refugees' relative deprivation may contribute to some of them deciding to find alternative sources for security, livelihood, and identity.

The lack of citizens' political voice and representation is often underscored by corruption, nepotism, and resource patronage, further contributing to a sense of injustice. Corruption is pervasive in the region, from exploitations by top-tier officials down to petty bribes encountered by the local populations on a daily basis. No country in the study scored higher than 34 out of 100 on the Transparency International (TI) Corruption Perception Index in 2015, which measures perceptions of the misuse of public power for private benefit, with zero indicating "highly corrupt" and 100 "very clean."(TI 2016).

Lastly human insecurity and political violence in the Horn of Africa, regardless of the identity or label applied to the perpetrators, is symptomatic of deeply complex and long-standing political, economic, and social problems. The drivers and conditions that contribute to extremist violence are not dissimilar to those that fuel violent conflict in general. Legitimate exercises of power and accountable governance; economic, political, and social inclusion; access to justice and effective avenues of redress; and equitable distribution of public goods lie at the heart of achieving sustainable peace and reconciliation and reducing susceptibility to violent extremist ideologies and organizations.

3. Results And Discussions

Contextually, this section dedicated to data analysis and interpretation. The data collected from informants, through in-depth interview, FGDs and document analysis are presented and analyzed pertinent to the objective of this study.

Concerning the content, this section mainly focuses on challenges of human security in the horn of Africa: the case of Somaliland, especially looking how the cotemporary situation of human security in Somaliland and its realization and performance on the issues so far, specially: political, economics, environment, food, community, personal and heath security challenges.

In this regard, this section deals with analysis the key challenges of human security in the country whether they come from external or internal.

Also it's includes the discussion which mainly highlighting what findings revealed and suggesting some compares and contrast related the previous studies that conducted and this study.

Finally, the section presents the findings of the study, particularly focusing on acquiring in-depth answers to the research questions, outlined in the introduction part and ensures that the objectives of this study have been achieved.

3.1 Analyzing the Contemporary Situation of Human Security and its Performance in Somaliland Post 1991

3.1.1 Political Security

Somaliland regained its sovereignty in 1991, after a decade long fierce fighting (1981-1990) by the Somali National Movement (SNM), an armed opposition front which forced the former Somalia government out of the Somaliland territories. However, after two years of administration, the SNM based government transferred power to a new President, who was selected by traditional

elders through the consensus of clan-based electoral colleges in May 1993. This clan-based governance system has been gradually transformed to multi-party democratic governance system.

According to all participants of focus group discussants and in-depth interview emphasized that a great significant progress has been made in here for political security and democracy because, some progresses achieved, that has not been reached before 1991 and currently enforced. The proof is that Somaliland held several consecutive elections such as; Parliamentary, local council and presidential elections. And transfer of power has taken place peacefully in each election. There are free press and media so journalist can talk and write whatever they want and Somalilanders practice freedom of expression and there is a complete free press. When we see political security, every citizen in Somaliland can elect or be elected exercising his/her political rights that allowed by the constitution.

3.1.1.2 *Political Security and Democratization*

In Somaliland, following its separation from the rest of Somalia in 1991, it opted for "*customary democracy"* and established hybrid system that has a root and domino effect in its culture and authorities (Mary 2012). This could be linked to the political and social culture that survived on the ground and made potential to exercise cultural based democratic rights which include but not limited to: freedom of speech, expression, association, demonstration.

However, Somaliland has a track record of holding regular multiparty elections in the past ten years. Six largely peaceful, free and fair elections were held since 2002, which contributed to Somaliland's own model of democracy and nation-building, peace and harmony in its society (Haroon, 2017). Somaliland constitution has categorized the branches of the state included Executive branch, Houses of Parliament as lower House and Upper House and independent Judiciary branch. However, the number of the political parties are limited by the constitution in article (9) sub-clauses, 1, 2, describes. "The political system of the Republic of Somaliland shall be based on peace, co-operation, democracy and plurality of political parties." "The number of political parties in the Republic of Somaliland shall not exceed three (3)".[1] Moreover, Somaliland has adequate experiences over the matters of peaceful power transfer from incumbent president to new president elect and this has occurred during end of the two years interim government headed by transitional national charter in 1993 where President Abidrahman Ahmed Ali (Tuur) from 1991-1993 and when president Abdirhman (Tuur) at the end of his term in 1993 handed over the power to President Mohamed H. Ibrahim Egal. Aftermath, the President Dahir Rayale Kahin as incumbent President from May 2002-July 2010 handed over the power to President elect Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud (Silanyo) who was the opposition leader of Kulmiye party in eight years and in December 2017 Ahmed Siilanyo handed over the power to the newly president elected Muse Beihi Abdi. When Mohamed H. Ibrahim Egal replaced Abdirahman Ahmed Ali (Tuur) as president in a vote held at the transitional Assemblies in Borama peace conference in 1993 (SA.

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[1] Somaliland constitution

Philiphs, 2016, Michael, 2017). Somaliland could witness its first democratic transition of power from one political party to another (IRI, 2010).

With regard of that, Direct of Somaliland Non- State Actors Forum (SONSAF) in in-depth interview explained and argued:

> *"Since Somaliland has maintained its de facto political statehood. There was a popular support and momentum Somaliland to attest its political dedication and efforts to establish strong and credible democratic institutions. Since the end of widespread conflict in 1997, series of popular votes have taken place, starting with the constitutional referendum in 2001, which was widely seen within the country as an endorsement of the restoration of Somaliland sovereignty. Furthermore, Somaliland to attain such credible democratic political system, free press, free market and vibrant civil society organizations were included the push factors and political fashion in Somaliland to be a member of the international community".*

However, Somaliland did not experience post- violence in the presidential election of 2003, 2010 and 2017. In addition, as the FGD discussants argued that, the international election observers' mission is pleased to note many positives around the conduct of the poll, an especially citable achievement given significant past difficulties.

3.2 Economic Security

Somaliland suffered precipitously during its union with Somalia with low levels of investment and nationalization leading a to fall in economic growth. This was followed by a destructive civil war that destroyed most of the country's infrastructure and capital. The lack of investment in Somaliland continued after independence during the union with Somalia.

According to informants of in-depth interview and focus group discussants display that the Barre regime invested little in Somaliland with receiving less than 10% of public investment that Somalia received. The Barre regime pursued economic policies that initially led to economic stagnation and then economic destruction in the civil war. The regime stifled the nascent private sector in Somaliland with most economic sectors being brought under state control and the economy was badly mismanaged.

Similarly MP&ND, (2017, 12) revealed that, the civil war intensified, the Barre regime destroyed almost all of Somaliland's infrastructure and made a concerted effort to damage natural resources that underpinned the pastoral economy. The major cities of Hargeisa and Burco were reduced to rubble, water reservoirs were destroyed and the country was littered with landmines. Exact estimates of Somaliland's capital stock after independence do not exist, but the evidence indicates that it was extremely low after decades of underinvestment and a ruinous civil war.

3.2 Health Security

As the almost in-depth informant's interviewees and FGD discussants illustrated that, Somalia civil war seriously affected the whole country politically, socially and economically. Health care

delivery institutions suffered a lot; hospitals, health posts, MCH Centers and other health institutions were either seriously damaged or completely looted. Trained health personnel in massive number migrated overseas. With all this damage Somaliland succeeded to gain a political shape as ―Somaliland‖ during 1991 with a stable government and considerable level of peace. After that Somaliland started a new national life through rehabilitation of health institutions, calling back migrated trained health personnel and working for other development activities.

3.4 Environmental Security

It has been established that Somaliland's environment is under varying degrees of stress depending on location and degree of exploitation. According to (ME&RD, 2016, 45), some of the key factors affecting the environmental security and its resources include Land degradation desertification, Drought, climate change and water scarcity, Deforestation – charcoal and firewood, Pollution (air and underground water), Overgrazing, Degradation of water resources), Invasive species ,Land resources mismanagement, Energy scarcity ,Improper dry and liquid waste disposal/management and Natural disasters (flooding, wind erosion, water erosion).

Laconically, all in-depth informants and FGD discussants demonstrated that the above conditions for environmental insecurity which ministry of environment stated; caused a number of impacts including among others:

Forests are being depleted as a result of over-exploitation, e.g. acacia trees for medicine, cutting trees for fire wood and shelter, woods and charcoaling.), wildlife resources are disappearing as a result of war, habitat destruction uncontrolled hunting (need for protection) ,marine environment and fisheries resources are under serious threat because of over-exploitation as a result of illegal fishing, pollution, pirates and ocean security, productivity of rangelands reduced because of recurrent drought, soil erosion and floods, cutting of nitrogen fixing trees, biodiversity loss, reduction of ecosystem services and water scarcity, pollution and reduction of wetlands

3.5 Food Security

One of the most basic needs shared by all human beings is the need for enough food. Access to enough nutritionally adequate food was declared a basic human right at the World Food Summit in Rome in 1996, reflecting an evolution in the discourse over a period of several decades and growing international political commitment to end hunger.

According to NADFOR (2016), Somaliland is chronically food insecure due to lack of commitment of the government for realizing food security in the country, frequent natural and man-made disasters that erodes the livelihood base of the community. Unfair terms of trade further reduce family access to food and other commodities. With regard to that, special advisor of Somaliland vice-president emphasized in in-depth interview:

> "*Food security in Somaliland is the worst case and nothing is done by government, after 1991 there were repeatedly droughts, people dying for famine, there are no stored places or reserves allocated for food security in the country, during droughts people have no*

access to get food for themselves and their livestock, this lack of food security is most challenges which barrier to Somaliland development. Many children are dying malnutrition nevertheless, new plans will start, although climate change effected by our environment".

Furthermore, to the above idea in-depth informants and FGD discussants also substantiate that a weak economy and fragile environment do not offer employment opportunities thereby increasing rural-urban migration and slum development. With the persistent increase in global food and fuel prices, vulnerable social groups will be the hardest hit. The Euro-zone and US economic crises and subsequent unemployment has reduced remittance from the Diaspora, hence food insecurity. Lack of access to direct foreign investment, inadequate government revenue and absence of national food security and natural resource management policies pose further challenges to food sufficiency. The majority of the rural population, whose economic mainstay is livestock, remains food insecure and are extremely vulnerable to external shocks.

Somaliland is a drought prone country with variant rainy seasons. Its rainy and dry seasons are extreme; as a result, many Somalis, and especially those from Somaliland, to live nomadic lifestyles where they can travel according to weather patterns. This drastic weather in combination with decreased government stability has produced significant food insecurity throughout the region. Somaliland's increasing stability in government allows for more security, compared to other surrounding nations. (Barrett, 2015).

In Somaliland, the scarce water supply in the urban and peri-urban areas leaves many Somalilanders without access to water. Somaliland former President Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud acknowledged the problem by creating the Ministry of Water Resources (MoWR) from the Ministry of Mining, Energy and Water Resources in June 2013 and ratified the Somaliland National Water Act in March of 2011. UNICEF has also been working to increase security of water with the Millennium Development Goals (Somalilandpress, 2014).

In addition, Somaliland has a semi-arid climate with an average rainfall of about 300mm per year. Water availability is, therefore, limited. Less than half of the population has access to clean water and less than 25 percent is able to access safe drinking water. There are no lakes or permanent rivers and rain water is limited to two brief seasons. In most cases, including pastoralist and agro-pastoralist areas, food security is intimately linked to water availability and access to it.13 Although the government is aware of the need for better water management systems throughout Somaliland, implementing improvements falls far short of this need (Nasir and Jemal, 2017).

With respect of that the chairperson of NADFOR[2] explains:

"Scarcity of water has posed a continued threat to the lives of the rural nomads for the last five years. In the last year alone, thousands of animals were lost and people were on the verge of drought and starvation when the rain arrived. Because of this, the government is

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[2] National Disaster Preparedness and Food Reserve Authority (NADFOR).

now trying to address this issue and promised the construction of over 100 shallow water wells and water reservoirs in the rural areas."

He continues "*The livelihood of rural communities in Somaliland is mainly dependant on livestock rearing and crop production, though the latter is opportunistic as it is rain-fed and usually affected by the erratic pattern of rainfall. Climate change, droughts, deforestation and over-grazing are the main factors contributing to deterioration of livelihood conditions in the country. Moreover, since the past few decades, drought cycles were becoming more frequent and hard-hitting causing human and livestock deaths while at the same time triggering internal displacement and accelerated rural-urban drift*".

3.6 Personal Security

To demonstrate whether Somaliland is on the right path in achieving its National Vision 2030 in general and stability in particular, levels of personal violence should be assessed and reduced. However, homicide as the killing of human being by another human being and the worst ultimate outcome of violence, which can be proved both legally and in the common sense to realize personal security; is a good indicator, i.e. the number of homicides per 100,000 population within 12 months (SDG indicator 16.1.1), for the level of security and stability (MP&ND, 2017).

Homicide can be divided into intentional and unintentional homicide. Inexcusable intentional homicide and unjustifiable unintentional homicide are addressed in this analysis.

According to the Somaliland annual police report, 306 homicides took place in 2016, including 77 murders, 64 skirmish related deaths, and 165 vehicle accident related deaths. Somaliland murder rate has slightly decreased from 1.8 per 100,000 residents in 2012 to 1.6 in 2016; which equivalent to 12.5% decrease (SDG indicator 16.1.1) (police report, 2016). However, the number of murders attempts increased from 38 cases in 2015 to 59 cases in 2016, according to the records of the Ministry of Justice, which equivalent to 55% increase in that year. Conflict related death as the result of the intentional use of power can be measured by the "number of conflict-related deaths per 100,000 populations (SDGs indicator 16.1.2).

According to the 2016 police report of 100 skirmishes occurred in Somaliland in 2016, mostly in the eastern regions, caused 64 deaths and 75 injuries which is equivalent to conflict related death rate of 1.3 per 100,000 residents. The murder and the conflict related deaths can be partly attributed to the unregistered small arms in the public hands (Ibid).

In 2016, traffic violation accidents caused 165 deaths, 2043 injuries, 1,649 vehicles, 180 building structures; and loss of 5,003 heads of livestock. The road accident death rate slightly increased from 3.4 per 100,000 residents in 2012 to 3.5 in 2016. In number, the road accident related deaths increased from 150 victims in 2012 to 165 deaths in 201654 which is equivalent to 10% increase during the last five years. This rate is almost three times higher than the population growth rate. Police reports pointed out that the poor situation of roads, reckless driving, shortage of traffic signs, low level of traffic law abiding, overloaded vehicles, and one to two lane roads for automobiles, animals, pedestrians, etc. are the primary causes of traffic accidents (Ibid).

In the aggregate crime level, Somaliland police reported 18,959 cases which is equivalent to crime rate of 5 cases per 1,000 residents. It is a very low crime level. However, this crime level might be underestimated due to the fact significant percentage of the population prefers traditional adjudication over authorities. In the gender based violence, 16% of the young females (Age 15-30) experience at least one rape violence in their lifetime; as per the Somaliland youth violence baseline (Ibid).

3.7 Community security

Although the Somali people have a shared ethnicity, culture, language, and religion, they are divided by clan affiliations, the single most important component of their identity (Kaplan, 2008, p. 144). However, by identifying and addressing a wide range of possible sources of Somaliland community insecurity either will be one of the following as the most in-depth informants and FGD discussants stated as well as found in the exists literatures:

3.7.1 Land conflicts

As the almost FGD discussants and in-depth interviews argued that, clan-based armed clash usually sparked by land-based and political dispute is one of the factors that cause community insecurity and organized crimes in Somaliland since 1991. For instance, one in 4 of the 1,500 Somaliland settlements experienced at least community-based stability threatening dispute within 12 months**;** and 75% of these disputes are caused by land dispute, which equivalent to one stability threatening dispute per day due to the fact that land is highly commercialized. As supporting evidence, Somaliland police reported 100 armed communities (Clan-based) clashes in 2016, which took the lives of 64 victims. Similarly, the findings of participatory action research conducted by the Academy for Peace and Development in 2013 labelled the land dispute as one of the major peace challenges and community security in Somaliland.

In addition, Land conflicts are a complex social issue, resulting from a combination of different developments at once. Among these are new modes of production (multiplication of water sources, changing movement patterns); environmental problems and dentarization as well as the heritage of war, meaning an influx of refugees. Whereas it is difficult to attribute relative or absolute weight to each of these factors, they have to be considered when land conflicts are to be analyzed successfully (NRC, 2014).

With respect of that the major land conflicts is an urban land conflicts**.** The Somaliland experiences a rapid urbanization process, leading to new social cleavages in the rapidly expanding cities. Thus, new conflicts arise not over land for the grazing of camels, but over access to piped water and access to good roads. In other words urban land conflicts are very sensitive in Somaliland context as the Director of Academic of Peace and Development in in-depth interview argued:

> "*Generally speaking, issues related to urban land conflicts are very sensitive in the Somaliland context. Driven by money from the Diaspora, an increasingly ambitious state and the Somali land business community; land has become a major economic resource in Somaliland and accordingly involves a lot of financial and political*

resources. For key actors, that means that land transactions do not only bear great economic opportunities, but also risks, in case that land is lost. Because of these reasons, research on urban land conflicts proved to be particularly difficult".

Furthermore, as I have explained above in environmental security portion in this chapter, land enclosures have become a big problem for the nomads. If the grazing grounds are restricted, their livestock do not find enough food and / or water. In 2007 however, it was found out that the simple removal of enclosures does not automatically lead to an improved situation. On the contrary, some tensions even increased, after the removal of enclosures (ME&RD, 2008).

3.7.2 Tribalism

Tribalism is the basis for hatred between peoples within a country as well as between countries. There is little evidence; however, that tribal identity is on the wane, even among the most progressive elements within the newly created states. Furthermore, there is a growing body of evidence suggesting that efforts to eliminate tribal identities may have contributed significantly in Somali-land (Yusuf, 2015).

Moreover, almost all FGD discussants and in-depth interviewees have pointed that; the tribalism can contribute to disunity and perpetuate inequality, discrimination and poverty. Tribalism can affect access to national resources and can promote selective distribution of national resources and development. Tribalism create unhealthy political power struggle based on unethical conduct. New tribalism develops nepotistic tendencies, as people belonging to a particular individual pledge their loyalty to that person in order to get favors in securing patronage or jobs in government and private sector.

According to Hassan (2014) revealed that, there is general dissatisfaction among the cadres who are denied access to these privileges as a result creating internal wrangles fueled by interest groups loyal to the individual. Many people though that shifting from tribal society into political parties will minimize the effects tribalism, however it appears, and it takes different course. However, Tribalism is detrimental to the progress of any society and has been identified as the common counterproductive mechanism of attaining selfish motives.

Furthermore, a study by Kablan, (2008) argued that the tribalism is described as violation of basic human rights of expression and free interaction with other people. Tribalism in Somaliland created a society where the existence of opportunities is a thing of the past. In the short and long run, tribalism kills the basic moral components of any society. Tribalism is another form of discrimination and tribalism. Tribalism is the belief that characteristics and abilities can be attributed to people simply on the basis of their race and that some racial groups are superior to others. Racism and discrimination have been used as powerful weapons encouraging fear or hatred of others in times of conflict and war, and even during economic downturns.

In line with this, in-depth interviewees and FGD discussants also further stated the problem of tribalism in somalis.

"Tribalism is the source of the Somali problems in toto; it's an institution where the wordmongers, shameless cultural leaders, corruptive politicians, heartless warlords, jackals and Trojan horse(s) hired by Somali enemies graduates. Bias, nepotism, opportunity-centrism and power concentration to clan affiliations are what drive the whole nation". (Quoted from Focus Group Discussants Narrated in Somali Language but Translated in to English Language by the Researcher, March, 2022).

More importantly, almost all participants of the study illustrated that in Somaliland context tribalism became a mechanism of survival in one hand and one mechanism for source of conflict between clans and sometimes against the government.

"*There are tens of means we can source our survival, but the worst one is when some depends tribalism on his means of survival. Tribalism becomes a social fabric to many of our society. Their most important identity is tribalism. The criticisms quite often we hear for some of our societies both locally and overseas against the government are purely based on tribalism, but not ideology*". (Quoted from Focus Group Discussants Narrated in Somali Language but Translated in to English Language by the Researcher, March, 2022).

3.2 Key Challenges of Human Security in Somaliland Faced Post 1991

3.2.1 External Challenges

3.2.2 International Isolation

Since 1991, and its proclamation of independence following a civil war that resulted a massive destruction and deaths, Somaliland has existed as a de facto independent nation separate from Somalia. As we have mentioned in above, Somaliland has achieved key democratization milestones including the adoption of a new constitution, presidential, parliamentary and municipal elections. So far, it has no diplomatic recognition status by any country or organization and remains without international legal status. According to (World Bank, 2015), Somaliland has largely survived on its Diaspora sending money home – estimated at about $1 billion annually. That helps fuel a proactive private sector, which sells prodigious quantities of livestock to Arab countries and is largely credited with rebuilding the country from scratch after the civil war.

With regard of that, these highlights that Somaliland's efforts to achieve international recognition as an independent state have been largely unsuccessful. This is because such recognition is essentially a political act and not a legal one (Omar, 2011). The advancement of Somaliland's case is dependent upon the will of international community (Ibid).

However, in-depth informants substantiate that, the lack of international recognition meant that Somaliland did not qualify for bilateral aid or support from international financial institutions and received only meager assistance. In other words Somaliland still suffers from international trade due to lack of official recognition. However; it's unquestionable that the lack of recognition has a huge challenges and negative impact on the realization of human security in Somaliland.

Furthermore, according to FGD discussants and in-depth interviewees argument emphasized that Somali landers believe in the long run – international recognition would benefit the country. For instance, it would lead to an increase in foreign investment and would make it easier for the international community to assist Somaliland in times of acute crises, such as droughts and famine and enhancing basic services to assure human security in the country.

"*As Somalilanders we believe that the recognition would bring a raft of benefits. The government, for starters, would finally have legitimacy to borrow international money to enhance basic services such as electricity, gas, water, and rubbish collection, and to fund state schools, universities, and hospitals needed around the country*". (Quoted from Focus Group Discussants Narrated in Somali Language but Translated in to English Language by the Researcher, March, 2022).

However, it seems that the community of Somaliland exhausted a long waiting for international recognition from international community believing an assumption that if they have international recognition as an independent state would bring rapid development and prosperity. As the some participants of the study explained and argued:

"*We are doing all the right things that the West preaches about, but we continue to get nothing for it. This is a resilient country that depends on each other – we're not after a hand-out but a hand up. We can't take loans directly from international institutions to build our economy strongly and ensure human security elements in our country, we have no an access to get foreign investment easily, it is difficult to have agreements with other international communities. About 70 percent of the population are younger than 30, and they have no future without recognition. The world can't close its eyes. It should deal with Somaliland."* ". (Quoted from Focus Group Discussants Narrated in Somali Language but Translated in to English Language by the Researcher, March, 2022).

Despite Somaliland's international isolation, it is very much a part of the Horn of Africa, and of the region's fortunes.

"*To refuse formal recognition to Somaliland amounts to punishing those who have been peaceful: a very bad sign for the stability in the Horn,*" said Robert Wiren, a French journalist who has written about the region for the last 18 years, and in 2014 published 'Somaliland, pays en quarantaine' (Somaliland, a country under quarantine).

Moreover, a study by Nasir (2014) intensified that the failure of Somaliland to attain an international recognition from international community, could lead it to be a conflict-prone territory which may encounter disenchantment from the community at the grassroots level. In essence, the emergence of such situation may precipitate the persuasion of the people, particularly the youth to join the extremist networks, as they remained in a desperate situation over 27 years which would be a dramatic challenge for ensuring human security as well as the national security of the country. As a matter of fact, this could be blamed mainly to the international community who failed to appreciate and support the successful stories of Somaliland, but in return isolated it from the outside world.

3.2.3 Border Disputes

The further east one gets from the centre of power, Hargeisa, the less Somaliland's government is able to exert its authority. In these remote and underdeveloped areas, its presence can be non-existent. This is especially true in areas of Sool and Sanaag provinces and, to a lesser extent, Cayn/Toghdeer, where the Somaliland government's authority is not taken for granted. In these areas, a mixed constituency with divided loyalties answers to various different power centers (Allison, 2015).

Since 1998, when Puntland was formed, there has been a low intensity conflict between the Somaliland government and putland State of Somalia over the disputed areas. These typically take the form of military incursions into disputed territory, with occasional outbreaks of fighting that claim a few lives. In essence the residents in these areas are suffering a lot of challenges of human insecurity, like poverty, health insecurity, lack of clean water, unemployment and recurrent hostilities between clans living there due to dispute between Somaliland government and Puntland state of Somalia administration.

3.2.4 Terrorism

In recent years, terrorism has grown to become a vice of global magnitude. The Greater Horn of Africa has had its own share of terror attacks and terrorism-related activities since the late 1990s. The resilient anarchy in Somalia seems to have worsened the picture. (Nzau, 2010) However, this state of affairs, coupled with similar regional challenges made the Greater Horn an easy target for global crime syndicates- piracy, drugs and light weapons trafficking and most notably, international terrorism. Since late 2006, Somalia seems to be the epicentre of Islamic fundamentalism of the kind witnessed in the Middle-East in recent years. The countries in the region more often than not, are unable to tame the vice as they were plagued by internal challenges active and/or potential conflicts amongst them (Ibid).

In the current state of affairs, many agree that Somaliland is prone to any security lapses and political developments in the southern Somalia, allowing Al-Shabab to launch scores of attacks there. On 29 October 2008, Al-Shabab plotted and carried out suicide bombs, targeted to the Presidential Palace, Ethiopia's Consulate Office, and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Country Office in Hargeisa. The attack has led more than two dozens of people to perish (HRW, 2009). Consequently, while this suicide attack in 2008 was one of the bloodiest attacks ever witnessed by Somaliland; several attacks and assassinations have been attempted or carried out both prior to 2008 and afterwards. This can be averted if and when the public participates in anti-terrorism efforts, including guarding their communities vigilantly. Therefore, it is incumbent on the government to do whatever is in its power to ensure that lapses which cost the people of Somaliland do not occur in Somaliland soil; those at the helm of the security apparatus need to be alert to developments which have security ramifications for Somaliland.

3.3 Internal challenges

3.3.1 Droughts

The impact of drought emerges in Somaliland once again. Hundreds of thousands of Somaliland citizens are facing severe food shortages, water scarcity and malnutrition, which causes diarrhea and other associated diseases (Nasir & kedir 2017). This harsh drought, which has also affected many other parts of the Horn of Africa, is causing the reduction and loss of pasture and water, along with decreases or total losses of livestock herds. This directly affects the livelihoods of the pastoralist and agro-pastoralist societies that depend on livestock and livestock products, which have sustained the basic needs of their households for centuries. Recurrent drought also has broader adverse consequences for the rest of the population, including those who live in urban areas (Ibid).

Recently, the situation changed and the pastoralists now face intractable problems. Due to the human population increase, the seasonal grazing custom of the pastoralists changed, thereby, contributing to the problem of range lands losing the resting periods that were necessary for the grass to grow to maturity. Village settlements were introduced without any plan. The result is that range lands are no longer productive enough to sustain large livestock herds. Similarly, droughts that recur almost every 2 years compounded the problems of the pastoralists. The situation has become so alarming to the point that almost every pastoralist family can now be categorized as very poor. Livestock holding per family is reduced to around 50 sheep/goats and 2-3 camel on the average (Guled, 2017).

According to the affected pastoralists, the drought which faced the country is about 3 years old as the Head of Response, monitoring and Aid Coordination Department for NADFOR emphasized.

> "*Honestly speaking, it is hard to vividly express in writing the magnitude of the drought crisis that hit in country last year. The pastoralists have lost their livestock in great numbers; the remaining livestock continue to die in great numbers. The pastoralists in central and eastern Somaliland seem to have lost hope. Unable to watch the livestock dying in droves in front of their eyes, many of them have decided to move with their livestock in search of water and pasture, leaving behind the very young children and the elderly people. They headed to areas in the Awdal region which is more than 200KMs away. Some pastoralist have moved by using transport trucks; not that they have the means to pay for the transportation, but by hiring trucks owned by friends on credit basis; others have gone on foot*".

Similarly the suffer drought hit the country in 2015 and affected More than 240,000 people in Somaliland are severely food insecure due to a continuing recurrent droughts in the region which an extremely hindered the realization of human security in Somaliland. Somaliland had experienced an acute drought that has affected more than 240,000 people (40,000 Households) due to the shortfall of the Gu (April-June) rains in 2014 and 2015. The most affected regions at that time were

Awdal, Maroodijeeh, and Gebiley, which are traditionally the main food producing regions in somaliland. Other regions affected include Selel and Sahil (Ali, 2015).

3.3.2 Corruption

Generally, corruption is regarded as the major if not the sole challenge for development and a scourge that threatens the hopes of the public. Corruption remains an issue on the fringe of national development as the Government officials avoided to renounce the issue and show respect and transparency to their fellow citizens (Michael, 2005; Raymond & Edward, 2008; Robert, 2009).

However, as the almost FGD discussants and in-depth interviewees displayed and confirmed the zero tolerance policy on corruption and established a Good Governance and Anti-Corruption Commission that currently introduced by the new government of Somaliland is an initiative, which is expected to attract investment, as contribution to the improvement in the macroeconomic stability of the country.

Furthermore, the Somaliland has long suffered the impact of corruption, pervasive at all levels of government and reaching into every aspect of society; hampering economic and democratic reform (GGCC, 2014).

According to focus groups discussants reinforced that, Somaliland lacks the required legislative mandates in dealing with corruption. The overall efforts to combat corruption are scattered and uncoordinated as systemic corruption in the country continues to impede democratic development and broader reform efforts. Corruption is a principal challenge to economic, poverty alleviation, democratic governance, the justice framework and the rule of law which would furthering and fueling human insecurity in Somaliland. It is an obstruction to ensure human security, development and it disfigures economic growth and intimidates democracy and human rights. It is a concern for individuals, societies, the private and the public sector.

According to the Somaliland National Corruption Perception Survey in 2013 conducted by GGCC, the perception of corruption, high number of the respondents 76.6% believed that corruption is common or popular in public institutions. However, the extensive corruption in Somaliland society has been institutionalized, become customary and accepted as an informal part of everyday life.

With this regard one of the participants of the study in FGD explained:

"The corruption is a systemic and endemic while government officials and the general public often do not view corruption as a crime and everyone is engaged in corrupt practices due to a culture of impunity, which is sustained by low pay for the civil service, minimal job training, lack of anti-corruption laws and lack of enforcement mechanisms for punishing corruption perpetrators". ". (Quoted from Focus Group Discussants Narrated in Somali Language but Translated in to English Language by the Researcher, March, 2022).

Another respondent revealed:

"Corruption is rife in every sector and at every level. It's a societal problem. Nothing will get done without paying bribes; whether you want to get a document from the local authority or run for the

highest offices in the country". ". (Quoted from Focus Group Discussants Narrated in Somali Language but Translated in to English Language by the Researcher, March, 2022).

In addition, corruption leads to unwise public spending and waste of public resources. In many cases, corruption is transnational in terms of the offices, the scope, and the location of the transactions. The significance of corruption as a phenomenon is widely recognized.

In most fragile situations if not all, states face an apparent dilemma. In this condition, acting to prevent corruption can strengthen their legitimacy and stability, but allowing practices of corruption often seems to do so as well, at least in the short run. In countries emerging from conflict, for example, governments face a stark choice between increasing legitimacy by bringing those committed crimes against their citizens to justice including corruption on the one hand, and increasing stability by integrating past combatants, including leaders involved in corruption, into the new political order, on the other (Dix et al., 2012).

3.3.3 Massive Youth Unemployment

According to Reuters (2016), generally, Africa is a young continent, with the median age at just 19 years. In essence the protruding youth population could become an important economic boost to the region. Alternatively, it could further increase the risk of instability and violence if young people are deprived of a quality education, stable employment and a political voice. It is also critical to promote an education system "fit for purpose" with a strong focus on entrepreneurship and technology to optimize opportunities and re-frame narratives.

In addition to the above view more or less in-depth informant's interview argued so as to, failing to do so will have wide-ranging consequences. If large populations of youth are sufficiently disillusioned with their prospects that they try to migrate elsewhere in search of economic opportunities, social cohesion could be challenged, within and outside of country. It is critical to harness the potential of the countries youthful population and meet their expectations for education, opportunities and jobs to create long-term human security.

However, the FGD discussants illustrated that the shortage of employment opportunities represents a major challenge to human security in Somaliland. Public sector jobs are perceived as being awarded based on ethnic, clan, and family ties rather than merit, and service sector growth has not kept rapidity with population growth in the country.

Given the educational advancements and the generally rising literacy and secondary school enrollment rates across the country, the inability of the service sector to absorb employment-seeking youth could become a major source of anger and marginalization as unmet expectations bump with feelings of injustice (Muse, 2017).

Additionally, as the almost FGD discussants and in-depth interviewees argued, the failure to gain employment often leaves youth unable to meet cultural markers of adulthood, such as property, family, and children, further fracturing social fabrics already strained by rapid urbanization. This

may contribute to feelings of inadequacy among youth, on which violent extremist narratives that offer recruits remuneration, the ability to obtain status, and a sense of belonging can capitalize.

According to Somaliland's National Development Programme (2011-2017), youth unemployment stands at 75%, much higher than Somalia's national average. Somaliland's relative stability attracts youths from all over Somalia – despite there being few opportunities for formal employment.

3.3.4 Weak Governmental Institutions

According to FGD discussants and in-depth interviewees have pointed that the current state affairs of Somaliland, the challenges to government legislative, policy, and implementation capacity are substantial and greater when set in a context of fragility with political, technical, and financial resource constraints such as those faced by the government of Somaliland which made difficult to realize human security in Somaliland perfectly. Selectivity and sequencing will therefore play a central role if an optimal path of regulatory and promotional capacity development is to be achieved.

However, the small size and relatively low capacity of the present government administration is largely a product of the civil conflict that started in 1991 with the collapse of the Somalia state that had existed under the Siad Barre government. This resulted in a destruction of infrastructure, significant decline business activities and tax revenue and a lack of government authority and effective regulation. In addition, over the past 20 years, the government's regulatory authority has slowly recovered, but its promotional role is, as yet, hardly developed (World Bank, 2016).

With regard of that the advisor of vice president for social affairs in in-depth interview stated:

"The legacy of the civil war, an understanding of the subsequent evolution of the government sector since this time must also take into account ethnic and clan dynamics. The level of clan homogeneity of the government service affects its functional capacity in a number of contradictory ways. For example, homogeneity tends to strengthen coordination and decision making in the administration to put policies towards improving human security in the country such as, Health Policy, Environmental policy fiscal and monetary policies , while diversity may create tension and dysfunction and further weakening the governmental institutions".

Furthermore, in-depth interviewees attested that the, diversity can bring with it a risk of inefficient operation through the excessive proliferation of government ministries and agencies and unclear division of labor. On the other hand, diversity, if it is well managed, may increase the credibility of governmental authority across Somaliland and the respect for central decisions.

The SNDP[3] makes the following statement:

"The limited capacity of public institutions is a major obstacle that stands in the way of implementing the national development plan and the realization of Vision 2030. The national capacity in terms of the effectiveness of institutions, and the quality of human resources available

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[3] Somaliland National Development Plan (2011-2017)

is low and must be addressed strategically. The strategy must aim at building the capacity of central government institutions, local governments, private sector enterprises and community organizations to improve livelihoods and human security of the county. There have been many capacity building projects supported by international organizations over the years. Unfortunately, these have been fragmented, ineffective and often non-aligned with national development priorities due to weak institutional government".

The SNDP reported (2016), serious weaknesses in civil service staffing. Thirteen percent of staff were over retirement age or absent from their posts, and 17 percent of a sample of staff (in the Ministries of Planning, Finance, Justice, Aviation and Labor) failed a test of competency and were put on training programs provided by the Civil Service Institute (CSI). Following these findings, a presidential decree of December 2010 instructed the Civil Service Commission (CSC) and the Civil Service Reform Ministerial Steering Committee (CSR MC) to implement civil service reforms adopted by the Cabinet. Currently, aspects of the reforms are under way.

4. Conclusion & Recommendations

4.1 Conclusion

The study concludes that a great significant progress has been made in here for political security and democracy because, some progresses achieved, that has not been reached before 1991 and currently enforced. The proof is that Somaliland held several consecutive elections such as; Parliamentary, local council and presidential elections. And transfer of power has taken place peacefully in each election. There are free press and media so journalist can talk and write whatever they want and Somalilanders practice freedom of expression and there is a complete free press. When we see political security, every citizen in Somaliland can elect or be elected exercising his/her political rights that allowed by the constitution.However, since Somaliland has maintained its de facto political statehood. There was a popular support and momentum Somaliland to attest its political dedication and efforts to establish strong and credible democratic institutions. Series of popular votes have taken place, starting with the constitutional referendum in 2001, following several local, parliament and presidential elections which ensured that Somaliland people to enjoy relatively political security exercising their political, social, cultural and civic rights.

One critical conclusion, which can be ascertained from this study is that, Somaliland's economy security faces two major long run challenges: the damaging effects of climate change and the low level of human capital in the country**.** Climate change is already having a damaging effect on Somaliland's agricultural production and this may continue to worsen. Poverty and inequality also are the main challenges facing the Somaliland's economy. Provisions of basic services are lagging. Access to education, health, water and sanitation is low and inequitable, making poverty more challenging to end. Rates of access are particularly low in rural areas. Access to services and resource distribution are very inequitable, with significant variations between the poor and non-poor.

As to analysis, a result of prevailing poverty and high illiteracy as determinants of health insecurity in Somaliland, many of the common diseases are those of poverty as well as those associated with post-conflict situations. Poor hygiene, lack of safe water, poor sanitation and disposal systems as well as unsafe housing environment forms the antecedents of common illnesses. Low utilization of health care is another cause of poor health as well as occupation. Access to health care is a major problem for the nomads. Cultural factors also determine the health outcome.

The study also scrutinized that, the environmental security of the country has suffered and became degraded to alarming levels. Due to weak government to effectively establish and maintain control, together with the absence of community awareness, people have turned to all kind of illegal and damaging activities. Also there is no proper planning of land for instance; there is no clear separation of land pasture and cultivation from residential places. Many species and ecosystem has been removed by the human activities, for the last two decades many artificial roads has been created in many rural areas which causes land degradation and soil erosion.

Based on the analysis, food security in Somaliland is the worst case and nothing is done by government, after 1991 there were repeatedly droughts, people dying for famine, there are no stored places or reserves allocated for food security in the country, during droughts people have no access to get food for themselves and their livestock, this lack of food security is most challenges which barrier to Somaliland development and the realization of human security. In addition, a clan-based armed clash and tribalism usually sparked by land-based and political dispute is one of the factors that cause community insecurity and organized crimes in Somaliland since 1991.

Finally the study concluded and argued that the major challenges of Somaliland human security faced post 1991 are: international isolation, terrorism, conflict in Somalia and border disputes, corruption, frequent droughts and weak of governmental institutions.

4.2 Recommendations

Indeed, findings of the study show that, the challenge of Human security in Somaliland is still weighty-problems in the society. Thus, it is widely recognized that tackling the problem of human insecurity elements requires comprehensive, coordinated and integrated action of both the government and people of Somaliland. Therefore, based on the findings the study put some recommendations to mitigate the serious problem which listed below;

❖ In fact, more ambitious priority should be given to develop approaches in good governance building that target at the long-term promotion of human security in Somaliland reinforcing relations between the societies and state institutions, to eradicate all the structural problems such as massive unemployment, poverty , in justice and inequality among the societies in the country that would significantly promote achieving long lasting and sustainable of human security as well as state security.

❖ The government of Somaliland is required to engage human security notions by employing effective strategies and developmental policies enacting, to realize wellbeing of the

Somaliland society which would promote both human security and state security since these two concepts are interrelated.

❖ In order to ensure human security in Somaliland, government should keep stability, democratically elected bodies and the rule of law and effectively controlling the territorial jurisdictions of Somaliland by extending authorities in the whole regions to prevent and minimize terrorism attacks from Terror groups based in Somalia.

❖ Somaliland government is to prioritize the major challenges like diplomatic challenges, food insecurity and environmental insecurity, that obstacle the ensuring of human security elements to eliminate or reduce for the future.

❖ Somaliland government should Review, evaluate and develop agricultural policies, health policies, environmental policies, economic policies and the legislative and institutional framework on a regular basis for the purpose of promoting and ensuring human security in the country.

❖ The government should take appropriate measures for increasing agricultural production based on improving farming system to ensure food security in the country.

❖ The government should introduce policies that can clearly promote and reduce the massive youth unemployment. For instance, carrying capacity of ministry of youth and creating vocational training centers which would facilitates for youth to get different job opportunities.

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