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Synopsis for the doctoral (PhD) dissertation

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The relationship between ungoverned spaces and jihadist waves in East Africa

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I. Identification of the research task

The fundamental focus of the dissertation is to analyze the relationship between the two defining components, the theoretical approach and the practical situation. The concept of ungoverned spaces can primarily be interpreted as a theoretical phenomenon, the precise geographical definition of which poses a challenge. In contrast, jihadist organizations are more tangible phenomena. Consequently, one of the main challenges of the research was to determine how theoretical models can be adapted to the empirical realities of the region. The central question is therefore how the theory can be applied to the practical situation. To this end, it is essential to explore the causal relationships between the phenomena under investigation.

II. Reasons for the research

The continent has become the focus of global political and economic attention not only because of its outstanding reserves of rare earth metals and other raw materials, but also because of the challenges posed by instability and armed conflicts in some parts of the continent. Although the security situation in the Sahel region dominates the international press, the eastern region of sub-Saharan Africa cannot be ignored, as the structural causes of instability in the Sahel are also present here. If the international community fails to respond adequately to these phenomena, the problems of African statehood will remain unresolved.

Africa has always played an important role for the European Union for historical and geopolitical reasons. The Russian-Ukrainian conflict has further strengthened this relationship, as the need to diversify fossil fuel sources has led more and more European countries to seek alternative sources of supply in Africa. One example of this is the exploitation of recently discovered natural gas fields in Mozambique, which is intended, among other things, to strengthen the EU's energy security. Africa has also become important for Hungary, as reflected in the expansion of diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations.

The concept of "ungoverned spaces" came to the fore in US academic discourse in the years following the turn of the millennium, particularly in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The concept sought to answer the question of how global jihadist organizations are able to hide and operate in areas where state control is weak. The phenomenon has become relevant again today, especially in the Sahel and East Africa, where jihadist organizations such as al-Shabaab and Islamic State affiliates are gaining ground. These organizations not only affect the security situation in the region, but also have an impact on Europe in the form of direct terrorist threats and factors that generate irregular migration. However, this phenomenon is not limited to Africa or the Middle East.

From a migration perspective, the official position of the European Union is that the problem must be addressed locally, not within the EU's borders. However, the existence of ungoverned spaces is one of the key drivers of migration, as these areas often result in security threats, chaotic conditions, and livelihood insecurity. Understanding and addressing this is essential for effective international action, which requires detailed mapping of the region, examination of historical background, and analysis of the operating mechanisms of jihadist organizations.

III. Research objectives

Due to the complexity of the research, four main research questions have been formulated. These are followed by four hypotheses.

- *First question (Q1):* What factors led to the emergence of ungoverned spaces in East Africa? Jihadist groups typically formed and established bases in border regions on the periphery. The dissertation therefore focuses on the structural and historical factors that contributed to the emergence of regions that are partially or completely free from state control. A systematic

analysis of the historical and geographical dynamics of East African states is essential to answer this question. The colonial era is the starting point for the historical analysis, as the current state borders and political structures are largely a consequence of the colonial legacy. In terms of geographical factors, the territorial extent of the states, the location and size of their capitals, population distribution, and topographical conditions are examined, as these fundamentally influence the possibilities for enforcing state control. The theoretical basis for the research is provided by a wide range of literature on different models of statehood, which examines the degrees of state weakness along a continuum ranging from the ideal state to the failed state. This is followed by historical and state-building studies on the East African region and an analysis of detailed population density and relief maps, which provide the empirical basis for the research.

- *Second question (Q2):* How do jihadist organizations exploit and deepen the instability of ungoverned spaces? To answer this question, it is essential to apply a complex, interdisciplinary analytical framework that includes a detailed examination of ethnic, geographical, economic, and political factors. The aim is to reveal the mechanisms through which these organizations build "state within a state" structures, the results they achieve, and the means they use to stabilize their presence in the regions concerned. By the concept of "state within a state," I mean the establishment of supply, administrative, economic, and communication systems that endow a given jihadist organization with the functions of a de facto state entity within its sphere of influence. According to Stig Jarle Hansen's typology, this can only happen when the organization exercises actual territorial control, which is considered the highest category. It is important to emphasize that we cannot speak of statehood in these cases, either in a legal or practical sense.

- *Third question (Q3):* How do jihadist waves interact with ungoverned spaces? In analyzing this question, we focus on the criteria for ungoverned spaces developed by Angel Rabasa and his co-authors, which highlight the strategic importance and attractiveness of these spaces for jihadist organizations. This analysis highlights the difficulties faced by the government and the extent to which jihadist organizations are able to exploit the opportunities arising from the partial or total absence of central government. The question also includes whether these organizations use these areas as incubators or rear bases. In the former case, they settle in the area, which is under significant combat pressure, in order to develop quickly. In the latter case, the organization is able to exempt itself from direct, prolonged combat, thus providing well-established support for the movement and resistance of jihadists and, where necessary, their offensives. Finally, the question attempts to answer what type of government-free space the region in question fits into.

- *Fourth question (Q4):* What regionalization trends can be observed in jihadist waves, and what are the differences between these waves in terms of territoriality? As mentioned earlier, temporal and spatial differences can be observed between the waves, and therefore their interaction with stateless spaces cannot be the same. This justifies the distinctive nature of this research question. Based on the previous hypothesis, it can be concluded that cross-border expansion requires a stable base area and continuous operational and structural development. To examine this, it is essential to analyze jihadist waves in terms of the extent to which they pose a threat to the internal security of the state in question and their capacity for regional expansion. The research should take into account the operational capabilities and strategic options of jihadist organizations, as well as the ungoverned spaces that could serve as potential target areas for their expansion. In addition, it is necessary to analyze the factors that make certain African states particularly vulnerable to these processes in light of current trends. The aim of the study is to reveal the underlying dynamics of this phenomenon and to outline a regional pattern that can be used to predict the spread of jihadist movements.

- *First hypothesis (H1):* Ungoverned spaces contribute significantly to the emergence and strengthening of jihadist movements. This hypothesis is primarily based on empirical research into the emergence and spread of jihadist waves. The geographical and topographical characteristics of the areas concerned create favorable conditions for asymmetric warfare, as they allow for the establishment of hidden bases and concealment from state security forces. Gaining the support of local communities plays a key role in promoting religious radicalization, which is often achieved by exacerbating ethnic and social divisions and deliberately deepening existing social tensions. It is important to note that these are not essentially barren or uninhabited areas. In addition, civil wars in the region contribute directly or indirectly to the strengthening of jihadist movements.

Second hypothesis (H2): The regional organization of jihadist movements is linked to the significant extent of ungoverned spaces in a given region. This statement helps to further link theoretical knowledge to more tangible phenomena. The analysis uses Stig Jarle Hansen's categories as a starting point, with a particular focus on East Africa. The aim of the research is to determine whether the security situation in the region can be interpreted as a stable state or rather as a dynamically changing process. It is important to note that within these categories, the development cycles of individual jihadist movements can reach peaks that result in a transition to a higher level of intensity, but are often accompanied by setbacks. The phenomenon of regionalization also highlights the problem that areas governed without extensive government provide jihadist organizations with an increasingly large zone of operation and influence, which creates opportunities for them to expand across borders. A stable base is essential for these organizations to operate in the long term. Its operational usability depends on several factors, including the capacity of the security apparatus of the state concerned and the extent to which the ungoverned space can provide the organization with operational, logistical, and recruitment opportunities. All this can be interpreted as a complex, multi-variable process, the structure and analysis of which can be aided by SWOT analysis.

- *Third hypothesis (H3):* Organizations adopt many state theory and public administration principles from modern state functioning, but implement them in a specific, adapted form. This fundamentally gives a new direction to research, since the aforementioned presence of a "state within a state" requires the application of some public administration principles. However, this can also be found in their development curve. To support this, it is necessary to analyze the bureaucratic nature of the modern state, focusing primarily on 20th-century state theory models, the Weberian, new public administration, and neo-Weberian paradigms. Although a direct comparison between state bureaucracy and the administrative systems of jihadist organizations poses significant methodological challenges, a number of structural parallels can be identified. Prominent examples include the establishment of a hierarchical central structure and the partial or complete enforcement of a monopoly on violence in the zone of influence. Another key question of the research is to what extent the ideological cohesion of jihadist organizations can be considered analogous to nationalism, which forms the ideological basis of nation states. To this end, I examine the role and functions of Islamism in these organizations, paying particular attention to how it contributes to the creation and maintenance of the social legitimacy of the group in question.

- *Fourth hypothesis (H4):* There are significant differences in the dynamics and characteristics of jihadist waves, so this process cannot be considered homogeneous or closed. This statement implies that each wave exploits the spaces available to it without government control in different ways. There are clear differences between the waves, which are further nuanced by political, geographical, and social characteristics. There is a clear correlation between the significant influence of ungoverned spaces on the development of jihadist organizations. However, as these spaces have different structural and operational characteristics, their

adaptation and development also vary from region to region. This process is further complicated by a number of factors, including the intensity of the hostile environment, the development opportunities of the organizations, the level of local social support, and the availability and volume of funding sources. The combined effect of these multiple variables explains why the eradication of jihadist organizations is such a significant challenge. There is no single, universal formula for disrupting their operations, as these groups' remarkable ability to adapt further complicates security and military action against them.

IV. Data collection

The following problems and challenges caused difficulties during the research. First and foremost, the limited scope and depth of primary data collection due to financial and time constraints, which meant that only a small number of fieldwork and interviews could be carried out. The reliability of information is essential. Basically, the sphere of influence of jihadist organizations is a conflict zone, where the amount of completely reliable information and data is limited. For this reason, I have tried to refer to authors who are internationally recognized researchers, or whose scientific publications are highly cited, or the journal in which they were published. For online sources, I used websites that provide source references or are referenced by numerous other sites. For figures and indices, I relied on companies and institutions whose data are among the most widely accepted, such as ACLED, The Fund for Peace, and the Institute for Economics & Peace.

Furthermore, East Africa is culturally diverse and has many unique characteristics, including historical experiences and governance structures. These must be taken into account, but only to the extent that they do not distort general statements about the region or hinder understanding. On the other hand, the longitudinal analysis of these jihadist organizations, i.e., their repeated examination over a long period of time, poses a challenge compared to the static unity of spaces governed without a government.

To ensure the topicality of the subject, I also used a number of online sources. The theoretical framework of the research is provided by fundamental works that encompass the oeuvre of individual authors, whether they are studies or monographs by domestic or international authors.

I supplemented my research with five professional interviews conducted online. It should be noted that I informed the subjects in advance about the research topic, the preliminary questions to be asked in the interview, as well as the manner of use and recording of the interviews and the storage of the audio material. Taking these into account, they voluntarily agreed to be interviewed. At the beginning of each recording, I asked whether they would like to appear anonymously or publicly in the dissertation. With one exception, everyone agreed to contribute to the academic work with their name and position. In each case, the interview followed a linear path that I sent to the subjects in advance.

V. Methods used

The methodological basis of the dissertation is the comparative methodology presented in Earl Babbie'*s* book The *Practice* of *Social Research*. Babbie emphasizes that the purpose of comparative research is twofold: to formulate general statements and to gain a deep understanding of specific phenomena. This approach is particularly relevant when comparing the two entities examined in the dissertation, namely ungoverned spaces and jihadist organizations, as they have unique characteristics. The concept of ungoverned spaces can be understood primarily as a theoretical phenomenon, the precise geographical definition of which is challenging. Nevertheless, based on the general characteristics and criteria outlined in the literature, certain regions can be classified into this category. The study of such spaces is

particularly prominent in the American literature, where they are identified as a strategic problem and a potential breeding ground for terrorism.

In contrast, jihadist organizations are practical phenomena that require empirical study. In order to explore the specific characteristics of these organizations, I used various methods, including news analysis, report study, and interviews. In the case of news reports, I focused on those that primarily describe military operations, raids, results, losses, or other events that are relevant to the dissertation. The comparative methodology allowed for an in-depth analysis of the connections and differences between ungoverned spaces and jihadist organizations, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of the topic and revealing new scientific knowledge. To get a clearer picture, it is also necessary to compare jihadist waves with each other, as their relationship with ungoverned spaces differs.

VI. Overview of the dissertation

The dissertation is divided into three main chapters. The first examines the concept of ungoverned spaces. In order to highlight the seriousness of the problem, it is necessary to present the concept of the ideal state, which represents the model of a stable and modern state. To this end, the theories of classical German thinkers and the Montevideo Convention are presented, as the latter is the fundamental document defining the state in international law.

Given that the formation, functioning, and development of the modern state could be the subject of a separate dissertation, it was necessary to narrow the scope of this paper. The focus is on the characteristics of ungoverned spaces, i.e., the problems faced by the state and government that lead to the emergence of this phenomenon. Accordingly, the bureaucratic administrative and political aspects of the modern state will be examined. With regard to ideal bureaucratic administration, Max Weber's rationalist conception of the state, as well as his Weberian bureaucratic management and its criticism and reform, will be highlighted, and one of the hypotheses is based on this. Among the political aspects, nationalism, one of the most influential ideologies of the 19th and 20th centuries, is analyzed, which led to the formation of nations and, consequently, the emergence of nation states. This was one of the most important factors in domestic political unification, but it did not prove to be a workable formula in East African states, and there is currently no viable alternative for achieving unity.

After the ideal state, I take as my basis the concept of state fragility, the interpretation of which has expanded significantly over time, making it necessary to clarify and categorize it. Based on the work of Robert I. Rotberg, state fragility can be classified into three main categories: fragile, failed, and collapsed states. This classification is relevant because, on the one hand, it is one of the best-known classification systems in the field of state fragility and, on the other hand, examples of all three categories can be found in the countries of East Africa, making it possible to illustrate the differences and present the complex problems of statehood in the region.

To define the central concept of the dissertation, ungoverned spaces, I use Robert D. Lamb's definition, which provides one of the most comprehensive interpretations in the international literature. In addition, I describe the characteristics, types, and varieties of these spaces. Although it is not possible to measure these spaces precisely, it is possible to determine whether a given area belongs to this category on the basis of criteria, even if no concrete boundaries can be established. It is important to note that the Hungarian term "kormányzat nélkül kormányzott terek" (ungoverned spaces) is one of the results of the dissertation, as the English term "ungoverned space" is inaccurate and misleading. The steps leading to this conclusion and the reasons for excluding alternatives are explained in detail, supporting the validity of the term.

At the end of the chapter, I present a framework that bridges the theoretical and practical parts. In his 2019 book, Stig Jarle Hansen categorizes African jihadist organizations based on

their size and territorial control, drawing on in-depth empirical research on ten organizations. For the purposes of comparative analysis, these categories need to be interpreted and transformed into a framework, taking into account the significant changes that have taken place since the book was published.

Furthermore, drawing on my previous economic studies, I also incorporate SWOT analysis. This method, which originates from the corporate sphere, is an effective tool for strategy development, weighing four elements: strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats. Although combining methodologies from two different disciplines can be risky, the use of SWOT analysis makes Stig Jarle Hansen's categorization system even more organized and understandable, making it easier to identify similarities and differences. It is important to emphasize that these categories and states are constantly changing throughout the life of an organization, so SWOT analysis helps to identify and monitor these dynamics.

The second main chapter of the dissertation serves as a transition, linking the theoretical framework to practical phenomena, with a particular focus on the specificities of East Africa. The aim of this chapter is to adapt the general theoretical considerations to the specific characteristics of the East African region, taking into account Africa-specific statehood problems and elements. The structural framework is provided by Jeffrey Herbst's *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*, which examines the process of state-building in Africa by historical period: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-independence. In addition, the dissertation is unique in that it examines the post-Cold War period, complementing the previous three periods. In order to maintain the objectivity of the dissertation, the problems are not presented in order of importance, but are discussed in historical order. The historical approach used by Herbst makes it possible to explore the temporal development and interrelationships of statehood problems.

In narrowing down the literature, the focus is on statehood problems that arose during the period in question and are decisive for state fragility in East Africa. Particular attention is paid to internal problems, although external influences were also significant during colonization and independence.

During the Cold War, the fragility of the states examined can be attributed to a number of internal structural factors. These include the vast size of the states, the geographically unfavorable location of their capitals, their multi-ethnic social structure, and the unstable political environment, the persistence of which was partly influenced by external actors, including through the positions taken by the Organization of African Unity. nalysis of these problems is essential, as the structural challenges that emerged during the Cold War and stem from the colonial legacy continue to be decisive factors in the stability of today's political and economic systems.

In the period following the Cold War, the trends observed in the previous phase continued, so there is no need to discuss them separately in this analysis. On the other hand, the literature of the past 20–30 years provides extensive analyses of the challenges facing postcolonial states and the changes in the global political and economic environment. In this study, a thematic filter had to be applied, within the framework of which I present three case studies of civil wars that played a prominent role in the emergence of various waves of conflict. These case studies not only reveal the connections between the second and third chapters, but also provide a comprehensive picture of the structural instability that led to the emergence of jihadist organizations either during civil wars or as a long-term consequence of them.

In the third chapter, we examine the waves of jihadist organizations using a reconverted framework based on the SWOT analysis methodology developed by Stig Jarle Hansen, which was mentioned earlier. The structure of the individual subchapters is not determined by a strictly defined chronology, but by the movement of the organization in question from one category to

another. As a result, the duration of the individual periods varies considerably, ranging from a few years in some cases to more than two decades in others.

For each jihadist organization, the study begins with an introductory section presenting the general social, political, and security context of the organization's region of operation. The aim is to identify why and under what conditions the organization became viable. Each period consists of two sections: the first is a historical descriptive analysis, which discusses the most important events, processes, and dynamics, followed by a SWOT analysis, which assesses the organization's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats for the period in question. The structure of the chapter differs from the traditional linear historical narrative, as direct analysis is already carried out at the subchapter level. This approach is particularly important because it provides a more structured and targeted evaluation framework when drawing conclusions from the research, especially when answering research questions and confirming or rejecting hypotheses.

The temporal extent of each wave varies considerably. The first (al-Qaeda) and third (Islamic State in Somalia) waves cover a relatively short period, as they can be discussed in a single period. In contrast, the interpretation of the second and fourth waves poses significant methodological challenges. The second wave, al-Shabaab, can be divided into three distinct periods. The last period, which continues to the present day, spans just under a decade. Given its extremely complex history and the significant security risks it poses to the African region, it was necessary to narrow the scope of the historical section in order to ensure that the SWOT analysis could be discussed in sufficient depth.

In the case of the fourth wave, the analysis focuses on one province of the Islamic State (ADF and ASWJ), which are in fact two distinct groups operating in the same area. For this reason, the introductory section of the subchapter begins with a presentation of the Islamic State's province system, followed by a geopolitical and social analysis of the eastern part of the KDK, and finally concludes with Mozambique. In this area, jihadist organizations were active in two distinct periods, with the most significant time difference between these two phases.

Two main factors played a role in defining these periods: the application of the category system developed by Stig Jarle Hansen and a detailed analysis of the trends and characteristics of the organizations' operations, which largely complements or clarifies Hansen's definitions. It is important to note that the boundaries between the periods are not always clearly distinguishable. In many cases, the transition from one category to another is gradual, and overlaps can cause significant uncertainty in terms of temporal delimitation. Therefore, in my research, I pay particular attention to examining the dynamic development of organizations and transformation processes within an appropriate methodological framework.

VII. New scientific results presented in the doctoral dissertation

(K1) What factors led to the emergence of ungoverned spaces in East Africa?

The process of Africanization itself contributed to the emergence of stateless, ungoverned spaces. The newly independent African states found themselves in an extremely difficult situation, as their primary goal was complete independence from the colonial powers. To this end, they sought to establish independent state structures, using the European model of state-building as a template. However, historical, economic, and social conditions did not ensure the successful adaptation of this model. Attempts to create an ideal Weberian bureaucracy failed one after another. During Africanization, the new ruling class aimed to fill the administrative structure with local professionals.

During the Cold War, the dominance of authoritarian regimes further exacerbated this situation in East Africa. Communities living on the periphery of the state and dissatisfied with the system were often ignored by the central government, which contributed to the emergence of autonomous social, economic, and political units that were formally part of the state but

effectively isolated from it. In most cases, these peripheral areas remained part of the independent state de jure, but developed autonomous structures de facto.

An examination of East African states shows that in none of these countries is there an area with a population density higher than that of the capital. An examination of their geographical location shows that most of them are located on the coast or along rivers. This is primarily a legacy of the colonial era, when these cities functioned as commercial and administrative centers, a role that was maintained by the newly independent states. Ideally, however, the capital should be located in the geographical center of the country, as this would facilitate a more balanced exercise of state power throughout the country.

(K2) How do jihadist organizations exploit and deepen the instability of ungoverned spaces?

Sudan's geopolitical position and size were an ideal base for al-Qaeda, from where it was able to extend its influence to Islamic communities in the sub-Saharan region. Bin Laden took advantage of this situation to gradually expand the organization's network of contacts, enabling al-Qaeda to evolve from a regional player into a global jihadist network. The Horn of Africa offered strategic opportunities for al-Qaeda to expand, but the organization achieved only limited success in the region, particularly in Somalia. The organization initially viewed the region as a jihadist base similar to Afghanistan, but by the mid-1990s, there was no US presence in Somalia that could serve as a direct target, and its distance from the Middle East also reduced its strategic importance.

Al-Shabaab, which represents the second wave of jihadist movements, did not seek to establish a state structure in its early years, as its primary goal was survival and organizational consolidation in the face of the Ethiopian military presence. To this end, it built on the sentiments of local communities using a strategy of winning hearts and minds, exploiting widespread anti-Ethiopian sentiment, which overrode traditional clan rivalries. Following the Ethiopian withdrawal in 2009, as al-Shabaab expanded its territory, it had to increasingly take into account tensions and conflicts between clans, which inevitably led to its entanglement in clan politics. This process had a significant impact on the organization's administrative structure. Al-Shabaab gradually developed an operating model in which it lives in symbiosis with the clans and manipulates them for its own ends, while ideologically defining itself as an organization that transcends the clans. To justify this, it uses religious radicalism and its affiliation with the al-Qaeda network, positioning itself as a global jihadist movement.

The third wave of jihadist movements is represented by the Islamic State's attempt to expand into East Africa, which reached its peak during the organization's period of global expansion. A local branch of IS emerged in the mountainous region of Puntland in northern Somalia, which is strategically located due to its geographical proximity to the Middle East. Although the region offers favorable conditions for a jihadist organization, particularly due to the presence of ungoverned areas, it was not strong enough and did not have sufficient local support to establish a lasting state structure.

The ADF has a long history, and its development can be traced back to the eastern part of the DRC, particularly along the Ugandan border. The group's move to North Kivu became a key factor in its survival, as the region's dense rainforests and mountainous terrain provided natural protection from the regular army, preventing its effective elimination. One of its successful strategies was the close network of relationships with the local population, which was deliberately built up by part of the organization. It gradually reorganized and became increasingly entrenched in the region.

The ASWJ, which operates in northern Mozambique, is a relatively young and little-known organization, unlike the ADF, but it is able to exploit the social processes taking place in the region more effectively. This region has a significant Muslim population, which provides a more favorable social background for the ASWJ than in North Kivu, where Islam is a minority religion. The majority of active fighters are local, so the organization has enjoyed significant

support through family ties, which has allowed it to gradually integrate into the local informal economy. This embeddedness has provided a strong foundation for the organization's expansion and long-term survival.

(K3) How do the existence of areas governed without a government and the activities of jihadist waves interact with each other?

Since al-Qaeda attempted to gain a foothold in Somalia through a proxy organization, which ultimately failed, we cannot speak of a Somali presence. However, in terms of the incubator versus hinterland question, Sudan clearly represents the latter for the jihadist organization. This is because it provided a massive base from which the organization's structure and global reach could develop. Good relations with the Sudanese leadership ensured a period free of threats for many years until the expulsion in 1996. If we examine the types of ungoverned spaces, Somalia presents an extreme case of incomplete governance, where the central government, if it had existed, would have aimed to control the entire country. In contrast, if we take as a basis the activities of the warlords, who acted as depositaries of central power, a model of abdicated governance emerged, as most of these actors were satisfied with the sphere of influence they had acquired and sought to derive the maximum benefit from the chaotic period. In the case of Sudan, neither of these types can be said to have occurred, as al-Qaeda did not exploit the potential of these areas and did not risk its high-level connections in Khartoum.

Having been present in the region for about two decades, al-Shabaab has been able to establish a sphere of influence that it can use as a hinterland. This means that some of the areas governed without a large rural administration are virtually inaccessible to government forces and their international allies, thus providing stable support for al-Shabaab. This enables it to respond and act effectively to offensives against it, as demonstrated by its increasingly strong response to the Somali offensives of recent years. The hinterland is largely untouchable, or only accessible to the jihadists' enemies on a temporary basis. Finally, the areas governed without the influence of al-Shabaab clearly fall into the category of incomplete governance, as the central government would like to integrate the rural areas but lacks the capacity to do so. The result is that a violent organization, in this case al-Shabaab, fills this vacuum. Major changes are needed to eliminate this, and there are currently no signs that this will happen in the short to medium term.

It is clear that the Islamic State in Somalia is using this mountainous area as an incubator, as it is not strong or extensive enough to defend its bases in a stable manner. Having struggled with inactivity for a long time, its history of development reinforces this character of the area. The upward trend at the time of writing this dissertation, mainly due to foreign fighters, shows that the incubator function of ungoverned spaces is proving effective in this case. The area where the ISS was able to gain a foothold clearly belongs to the category of ungoverned spaces, as there is an intention on the part of the Puntland leadership to integrate the area into the sphere of government. However, due to serious capacity constraints, this process cannot be sustained over a longer period of time, only for a shorter period.

In the case of the ADF, it is difficult to determine whether it uses the region as an incubator or a hinterland. Based on the sources and reports available so far, it has a stable hinterland, as the region is huge and government forces and allies cannot reach everywhere, which is almost physically impossible given their size. Although we are talking about very fluid zones of influence, in the case of the ADF, the region currently serves mainly as a hinterland, and it is still capable of being a decisive actor, but its relationship with local militias and other violent groups is important, as this largely determines the extent of the organization. The region clearly exhibits the characteristics of contested governance, as there is no government in these ungoverned spaces, which are dominated by alternative entities. Society has turned its back on

the central government and lives a separate economic and political life in the eastern half of the KDK.

Finally, it is clear that ASWJ uses parts of Cabo Delgado as an incubator. Because ASWJ is embedded in rural areas, when the organization comes under attack, its members can blend back into the civilian population, where they are very difficult to identify. Cabo Delgado fully embodies the concept of failed governance within a region governed without a government. Although it was one of the most important regions during Mozambique's independence, the area has been deliberately marginalized by the Frelimo party, both politically and economically, since the civil war. This process, which has been going on for about 30 years, has created conditions conducive to the emergence of violent jihadist organizations. Further evidence of a deliberate political decision is the fact that this is not a sparsely populated area; on the contrary, it is rich in natural resources, yet the marginalization of coastal ethnic groups has been a deliberate process for a long time.

(K4) What regionalization trends can be observed in the jihadist waves, and what are the differences between these waves in terms of territoriality?

It can be concluded that all four waves sought or are seeking expansion, but each has a different background and different opportunities. Basically, the first and second waves had a strong base, which provided an ideal foundation for further expansion of the. Looking at the immediate events, al-Qaeda's attempt failed, while the opposite happened with al-Shabaab. At the same time, al-Qaeda also achieved success indirectly, as cell-like structures were established that facilitated the spread of the second wave in the Horn of Africa. In the case of the next two waves, the lack of a stable hinterland and capacity necessary for expansion, which can be attributed to both external and internal factors, limits the possibilities. The internal challenges of the third wave include a lack of manpower and a limited support base, while external factors include the influence of al-Shabaab and the forces in Puntland. The fourth wave is dominated by external forces, including the security forces of the state concerned and foreign missions cooperating with them, as well as other violent groups in the case of the ADF, which do not appear exclusively as rival actors.

(H1) Ungoverned spaces contribute significantly to the emergence and strengthening of jihadist movements.

The results of the dissertation support the initial hypothesis, but at the same time, the specific characteristics of the optimal ungoverned spaces for jihadist organizations are crucial. Ideally, such areas have medium or high population density, a predominantly Muslim population, are geographically distant from the capitals of the state and neighboring countries, and offer economic resources that can serve as a source of income for the organization. In addition, the possibility of external attacks or the threat thereof can provide significant propaganda benefits to jihadist groups.

(H2) The regional organization of jihadist movements is linked to the significant extent of ungoverned areas in the region.

In order to understand the functioning, development, or decline of a jihadist organization, it is useful to compare it to something else. After its formation, a jihadist organization behaves like the human body or muscles. With adequate nutrition and exercise, the human body becomes stronger, more resistant, and able to withstand greater pressure and stress. Although it is ideal for these organizations to operate freely, without pressure, they develop their resilience through constant confrontation and, intentionally or unintentionally, develop the ability to adapt, which is key to their long-term survival. For jihadist organizations, the fuel is effective recruitment and generating income. The latter can be obtained from a number of sources, such as revenues from areas not governed by the government through taxation of locals or active participation in illegal trade. However, foreign donors should not be

forgotten either. Although the extent of their involvement is unknown, it can be concluded that the branches of Islamic State are more dependent on money from the center than al-Shabaab is on al-Qaeda, which, according to the latest reports, has become completely self-sufficient.

(H3) Jihadist organizations adopt many state theory and public administration principles from modern state functioning, but implement them in a unique, contextually adapted form.

The phenomenon of the state within a state has been mentioned several times in this dissertation, and it is worth examining what administrative, state management, or organizational methods these organizations have adopted, either consciously or unintentionally, from the functioning of the modern state, as defined by the theoretical framework presented at the beginning of this dissertation. The emergence of modern nation states and the idea of nationalism provided a unifying force for ethnic communities, enabling them to build their own state structures. In the case of jihadist movements, a similar integrating factor can be observed, namely Islamism, or the use of Islam for political purposes. The radical interpretation of Islam and its power to create political unity are fundamental determinants of the organizational structure, operational structure, and support base of each wave of jihadism. Although ethnic divisions play a significant role in these conflicts, the involvement of foreign fighters shows that, alongside financial factors, Islam as a political motivation is currently one of the most decisive driving forces behind people joining jihadist organizations. This highlights that radical interpretations of Islam function not only as a religious but also as a political and strategic tool for jihadist movements. The bureaucratic and administrative systems of jihadist organizations cannot be classified exclusively as Weberian or new public management (NPM) models, but have adopted certain elements from both. They are only partially comparable to the neo-Weberian model and implement its elements in different ways.

(H4) There are significant differences in the dynamics and characteristics of jihadist waves, so this process cannot be considered homogeneous or complete.

It is clear that the unique nature of stateless spaces is capable of setting these organizations on a specific development path, making it difficult to identify common characteristics or motives for jihadist waves, as they often engage in reactive activities: they must resolve emerging crises and problems as quickly as possible in order to maintain their strategic positions. Nevertheless, the key to success lies in the effective management of regional processes and the influencing of social processes, which can lead to significant achievements. At the same time, this strategy carries the risk that they will not be able to move beyond the micro-regional level and expand into other areas, as their success is primarily based on the results of local strategies in their base areas, and repeating these successes requires a global perspective based on radical Islamic thinking, Although this is often sufficient, it may not be viable in areas with a low Muslim population.

VIII. Publications related to the topic of the dissertation

- A népességeloszlás mint biztonságpolitikai veszélyforrás kelet-afrikai példákon keresztül. NEMZET ÉS BIZTONSÁG: BIZTONSÁGPOLITIKAI SZEMLE 17: 3 pp. 94-117., 24 p. (2024) DOI: 10.32576/nb.2024.3.6
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