UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

MA RESEARCH PROJECT

THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL INSTABILTY ON ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE AT THE HORN OF AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF SOMALIA

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R52/35955/2019

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A RESEARCH PROPOSAL SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER'S DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT OF THE INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

NOVEMBER 2021

DECLARATION

This research proposal is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a master's degree in this University or any other Institution of higher learning for examination.

Signature : .... Date : 25/11/2021

ANISA HUSSEIN DAHIR

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Declaration by university supervisor

This proposal has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

Signature: .... Date: 25/11/2021

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ABSTRACT

Political instability has far reaching effects on various spectrums of socio-economic issues including economic shrinkage, spread of diseases and illness, malnutrition and general hopelessness. The Horn of Africa is not new to political instabilities. For example, Somalia has been plagued by political instability for the last there decades. Moreover, Somalia has weak government institutions which makes policy making a challenge. Implementing policies by a weak government is even more challenging. Very few research is done on how political instability affects environmental governance. To fill this conceptual and contextual gap, this study will assess the nexus between political instability and environmental governance in the Horn of Africa. Moreover, this study has academic and policy justification. This study is based on three theories; Homer-Dixon environmental security theory, resource curse model and coming anarchy theory. The most appropriate design to use is descriptive research design considering that this study seeks to assess the nexus between political instability in the Somalia on environmental governance. The population will be 120 personnel drawn from NGOs, Civil Societies and government departments all across Somalia. Stratified sampling techniques will be used to select a sample of ninety-two respondents. This study will use primary data that will be sourced in two ways; by use of semi-structured questionnaires and interviewing. In this study, qualitative content analysis will be the main method of analysis of data since the information being sought is not quantifiable. Analysed data will be presented in form frequency distribution tables, pie charts and by use of graphical illustrations.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my family and colleagues who have supported me during this course.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABBREVIATIONS

UN-   United Nations

USD-   United States Dollar

UNEP-   United Nation Environmental Programme

NGO-   Non-Governmental Organisation

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Political instability has far reaching effects on various spectrums of socio-economic issues including economic shrinkage, spread of diseases and illness, malnutrition and general hopelessness. Persistent political instability that is characterised by violence renders people insensitive of the needs of others and the environment. For example, during periods of political instability a country forfeit adherence to international treaties on environmental conservation such as reforms to combat climate change and global warming[1].

Environmental governance is a significant global goal. For instance, the United Nations (UN) has outlined principles and best case models for fostering socio-economic, environmental, cultural conversation among member states[2]. This shows that environmental governance is an urgent matter now than it has ever been. Moreover, environmental degradation has seen productivity reduce due to issues like pollution, overexploitation, and human settlements. As a result, vices like emergence of diseases have become common all over the globe. Globally, political instability orchestrates lots

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[1] Anniek, B., Florian, K., Luc, V. D., Elizabeth, S., & Dan, S. (2020, April 09). A new regional approach to water security and governance in the Horn of Africa. Retrieved from Africa portal website: https://www.africaportal.org/features/new-regional-approach-water-security-and-governance-horn-africa/

[2] Agbiboa, D. (2017). National heroes or coming anarchy? Vigilant youth and the "war on terror" in Nigeria. Critical Studies on Terrorism, 11(2),272-294.

of vices among them loss of biodiversity. In Argentina, for example, political mayhem causes haphazard sales of forest resources, fragmentation and sale of public land[3].

In addition, during war times, protected areas such as wetlands, national parks and reserves are harmed, and habitats destroyed. The environment is protected by stable societal systems that can formulate and implement policies that lead to working and effective environmental governance. According to Knox, for sustainable development socio economic goals should be aligned with environmental governance goals[4]. However, this depends on the good will of political leaders and those charged with governance and responsibility of making such policies. Appropriate policies are made where legitimate governments are in power and that the people accept the policies as made by themselves and for their own behalf. Zeng views that whilst development goals are not intertwined with environmental governance goals, the deterioration in environment is likely not to change any time soon.

Apt policies in environmental governance are likely to exist where there are functioning governments[5]. Political instability leads to poor planning in a wide spectrum of issues relating to socio-economic welfare. Considering that in times of political turmoil, rule of law is seldom observed, over exploitation in resources is rampant. For instance, there is massive deforestation in Somalia due to influx of illicit charcoal burning activities. As a consequence, drying up of streams, droughts and famine have characteristically become common occurrences in Somalia. Moreover, failed states have seen over

[3] Milmanda, B. F., & Garay, C. (2019). Subnational variation in forest protection in the Argentine Chaco. World Development, 118(1),79-90.

[4] Knox. Human rights, environmental protection, and the sustainable. Washington International Law Journal, 24 no.3 (2015): 518-536.
[5] Khan, Arshian, & Kumar. A green ideology in Asian emerging economies: From environmental policy and sustainable development. Sustainable development, 27 no.6(2019):1063-1075.

competition in resources such as forests, water catchment areas, arable lands and minerals since economic activities are not regulated.

In addition, illegal fishing leads to imbalance of marine life which at the overall cause environment degradation. Somalia is an East African country bordering Kenya to the West, Ethiopia to the North, Djibouti to the North East and Indian Ocean to the South and East Side. Since 1991, Somalia has not had stable government[6]. The civil war in Somalia began when the then president Said Barre was ousted leaving a series of political conflicts in the Horn of Africa country. However, there has been intermittent periods of peaceful coexistence among the people of Somalia in spite the lack of a stable government. Furthermore, the existence of terror groups, warlords and critically weak political structure has worsened the situation in Somalia[7].

There are key environmental concerns in Somalia that forms the motivation of this study. To begin with, illicit charcoal burning has occasioned massive deforestation and droughts. Still, there is overgrazing and illegal occupation of formally protected areas leading to general aridity and desertification. Following the sporadic political instabilities, there are not clear guidelines on environmental governance in the country. In addition, the recurrences of these crises have decimated the communities' livelihood undertakings, thus rendering them more dependent on environmental sources for survival. The consequences for political instability therefore cannot be remedied in the short-term perspectives. Given that the rate of recurrence of armed conflicts have

[6] Mohammed & Ahmed, (2019) Relationship between environmental degradation, resource scarcity, and civil conflicts in Somalia. Journal of Environmental Management and Tourism, 10(3),640-650.
[7] Solomon, et al., (2018). Environmental impacts and causes of conflict in the Horn of Africa: A review. Earth-Science Reviews, 177(1),284-290.

eclipsed new ones in war-ridden regions of Africa, the tenets of environmental governance have been severely affected and thus dysfunctional.

Forging a meaningful political discourse to incorporate the indicators of environmental governance into national agenda is therefore a challenging task in such environments. Moreover, incorporating the angles of citizen science in the establishment of environmental governance policies and institutions is demanding given the socio-cultural and political dissonance of communities[8].

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The Horn of Africa has had numerous cases of political instabilities such as crisis in Tigray region in Ethiopia, armed conflict in Darfur region in Sudan, conflict in Northern Uganda just to name but a few. On the flip side, environmental governance is a product of robust state institutions, civil societal organisations, social, political and economic policies. Without collective role of parties, environmental governance becomes a futile goal. Somalia has been plagued by political instability for the last three decades. Moreover, Somalia has weak government institutions which makes policy making a challenge. Implementing policies by a weak government is even more challenging. The repercussion of this instability has been examined in respect to socio economic outcomes but not entirely on effect on environmental protection. In Africa, environmental policies do not receive much attention from governments as it is economic policies. It is for this reason that Africa loses about USD 195 billion annually from unstainable use of natural resources from the environment[9].

[8] Aoki, Paul, Allison Woodruff, Baladitya Yellapragada, and Wesley Willett. "Environmental protection and agency: Motivations, capacity, and goals in participatory sensing." In Proceedings of the 2017 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems. 2017 pp. 3138-3150.
[9] (Mohammed & Ahmed, 2019) Relationship between environmental degradation, resource scarcity, and civil conflicts in Somalia. Journal of Environmental Management and Tourism, 10(3),640-650.

Moreover, pollution in Africa is on the rise following accelerated need to increase production to cater for the rising population and demand for land for human settlement and factories.[10] At the same time, forest, wetlands, game parks and reserves have been affected by human activities and inefficient policies.

As a result, environmental degradation in the Horn of Africa is at alarming levels as evidenced by massive deforestation due to charcoal burning, overgrazing, illegal trading in wildlife, overfishing, illegal mining and illicit logging for timber. However, the case of Somalia has not been adequately investigated. For example, it is of interest to understand whether the political instability has impacted on environmental governance. In as much as it is clear that politics influence wide spectrum of policies in a country, there is a need to examine whether environmental policies, advocacy done by different parties in Somalia influence environmental governance and if so, to what extent is this successful.[11]

Moreover, this study will recommend possible solutions to environmental degradation issue in Somalia. In most cases, policy makers and researches confine themselves to analyzing the effect of political instabilities on safety, economic growth and sustainable human development. Very few research is done on how political instability affects environmental governance at the Horn of Africa, especially in the case of Somalia. To fill this conceptual and contextual gap, this study will assess the nexus between political instability and environmental governance in the Horn of Africa, a case of Somalia.

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[10] Thornton, Philip, and Mario Herrero. "The inter-linkages between rapid growth in livestock production, climate change, and the impacts on water resources, land use, and deforestation." World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 5178 (2010).

[11] O'Gorman, Roderic. "Environmental constitutionalism: a comparative study." Transnational Environmental Law 6, no. 3 (2017): 435-462.

1.3 Research Questions

   i.   How does political instability influence environmental governance at the Horn of Africa?

  ii.   How does political instability affect environmental governance in Somalia?

 iii.   What are the key institutional and policy challenges that hinder environmental governance in Somalia?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study seeks to provide a nexus between political instability and environmental governance in the Horn of Africa, a case study of Somalia.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

   i.   To investigate the influence of political instability on environmental governance in the Horn of Africa.

  ii.   To examine the effect of political instability and environmental governance in Somalia

 iii.   To investigate the key institutional and policy challenges that hinder environmental governance in Somalia

1.5 Literature Review

This section introduces the literature on the main issues that are of focus in this study. This include an overview of political instability, environmental governance and political instability and environment governance.

1.5.1 Political Instability: A Conceptual analysis

Political instability refers to the chance that a government will collapse due to prevailing conflicts, weak institutions and political habits[12]. This definition points that political instability encompasses various spectrums which at the overall indicate the propensity of a government to fail. In addition, political instability refers to absence of harmony and common political goals among diverse political groups. Political instability lead to uncertainty in governance, economic development and safety of the people. This is because, the institutions established to run the country are either rendered incapable of working efficiently and or are captured by insurgents who seek their own interests[13].

In addition, political instability is manifested through various ways such as failed government, impunity, anarchy and abuse of rule of law[14]. Moreover, a politically unstable country has a government that cannot fulfil the expected responsibilities due to lack of legitimacy. A government that is unable to offer public services legitimately is considered a failed government. A long outstanding political instability does not permit sustainable growth and development.

Political instability does not support development of policies to safeguard the sovereignty of a country[15]. The welfare of the people is jeopardized during periods of prolonged political instability. For example, political instability may escalate to armed

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[12] Jacob & Fredriksson. Political instability, corruption and policy formation: The case of environmental policy. *Journal of Public Economics*, 87, no 7 (2003):1383-1405.

[13] Baalen, S., & Mobjork, M. (2016). A coming anarchy? Pathways from climate change to violent conflict in East Africa. *Stockholm Research*, 1-73.

[14] Ogunwusi, Okafor, & Onwualu. Climate change and political instability in Africa. *2nd Africa Regional Conference Technical Proceedings*. Sunyani, Ghana: Organisation for Women in Science for the developing world. 2014,776

[15] Cadoret & Padovano.The political drivers of renewable energies policies. *Energy Economics*, 56 no.1(2016) ,261-269.

conflicts which lead to loss of life and destruction of property and habitats and ecological balance.

1.5.2 Environmental Governance in the Horn of Africa

In a broad spectrum, environmental governance depicts wide range of policy frameworks and policies whose end is to ensure sustainable development[16]. Thus, environmental governance looks into ways through which environmental resources are utilised in most sustainable ways to benefit todays and future generations. In addition, environmental governance takes different perspectives as it entails careful consideration on political, social and economic elements in order to boost environmental protection, at the least. In the wake of climate change, environmental governance plays an important role. This is because robust environmental governance policies will enhance conservation efforts which is already in dire need as evidenced by the rampant increase in floods, droughts and hurricanes around the global.[17]

Environmental governance is embedded in the political and economic policies that are adopted in a given country. This is because environmental governance at the minimum seeks to establish policies that enable sustainable use of public goods. Public goods are resources that are of access to all people as not necessarily through direct exploitation as resources can be mined by the government for the benefit of the citizens. Either ways, good environmental governance must at the end ensure environmental protection. Environmental protection refers to control of various use of the environment in order to ensure that the environment is not destroyed[18]. It also refers to strategies to avoid

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[16] (Nathan & Satterfield, 2018)

[17] Bakker, K., & Ritts, M. (2018). Smart Earth: A meta-review and implications for environmental governance. *Global Environmental Change*, 52(1),201-211.

[18] Burke, et al.. Rethinking environmental protection: Meeting the challenges of a changing world. *Environmental Health Perspectives*, 125 no.3

vices like pollution, overuse and degradation of the environment. Environment protection best exists where they are policies that promote sustainable resource usage. These policies relate with how resources are accessed distributed and harmful activities prevented. The regulations promote sustainable use of earth's natural resources and prevent harmful practices from damaging and contaminating the ecosystem. The World Bank for instance, offers motivation for developing environmental law to promote people-oriented sustainable practices that are sensitive to environmental protection and thus reduce poverty[19].

Environmental policies provide legal basis for monitoring and evaluating government's socio-economic strategies in protection of the environment[20]. As such, they are responsible for ensuring human and industrial activities do not distort the quality of water, air, soils and climate.

Keeping track of related human and government activities on the environment thus ensures that sustainable development goals are achieved. Market-based environmental policies are socio-economic laws and statutes that offer incentives to production firms, customers and suppliers to consider environmentally friendly practices and sustainability in their production and consumption patterns, in terms of sourcing labor, capital and raw materials. Some of the strategies that governments and international institutions have adopted include environmentally related taxes, charges and subsidies, emissions trading and other tradeable permit systems, deposit-refund systems, environmental labeling laws, licenses, and economic property rights.

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[19] Shi-dan, Ren. "Environmental Policies of World Bank and Its Inspiration to the Development of Environmental Law: Linking Environmental Protection with Poverty Alleviation." (2012).
[20] Jacob & Fredriksson. Political instability, corruption and policy formation: The case of environmental policy. *Journal of Public Economics*, 87 no.7 (2003):1383-1405

At the Horn of Africa, environmental governance has not been apt. For example, transboundary water resources have been for a long time caused tensions due to existence of inadequate governance framework. A case in point is the geopolitical conflicts in use of water from River Blue Nile by constructing a dam by Ethiopia which has not gone well with Sudan and Egypt[21]. The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) is a US dollars 5 billion hydro power project that Ethiopia is constructing in order to increase electricity supply. As a result of lack of clear environmental governance on water resources from the Nile, this specific project has caused tensions.

Environmental governance at the Horn of Africa too is characterised by weak state institutions and widespread mistrust among countries with shared resources. For example, Kenya and Uganda have been entangled in conflict over fishing grounds on some islands such as Migingo in Lake Victoria. Where there are constraints in terms of capacity to formulate key environmental policies with mutual understanding for countries, environmental related risks are likely to occur.

In turn, this has significantly led to collective solution seeking among the countries in the Lake basin in governments, civil societies and general public have engaged in participatory environmental governance in order to preserve and conserve the lake[22]. Moreover, poor policies and weak institutions are not able to protect the water resources which for example has led to increase in siltation on lakes in the Horn of Africa. For instance, weak enforcement measures have fueled siltation at Lake Victoria which has seen massive growth of water hyacinth that impair water transport and fishing. In

[21] Getechew, A. (2021, 4 27). *Ethiopia downplays Sudan's threats over Nile dam*. Retrieved from Africa :https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/ethiopia-downplays-sudan-s-threats-over-nile-dam/2222448#
[22] Andreas, G. (2013). Regional environmental governance in the Lake Victoria region: The role of civil society. *African Studies*, 72(1),64-85.

addition, the Nile Juba-Shabelle region has seen geopolitical tensions due to failure of countries using the rivers to adopt a common environmental governance framework that benefits both upstream and downstream countries on the Nile[23].

1.5.3 Political Instability and Environmental Governance Nexus in Somalia

Nations with stable political systems have pledged to measure and improve environmental performance in terms of reducing reliance on fossil fuels, reduce emissions and greenhouse gases, limit fuel consumption, promote sustainable use of water and prevent pollution, consistently. Examples of environmental governance policies include market-based environmental policies, air pollution policy, climate change policy, water pollution policy, hazardous waste and toxic substance policy, solid waste policy, land conservation and management policy and wildlife protection policy[24]. The formulation, adoption and implementation of these policies require a transdisciplinary methodology that can only be guaranteed by a political stable government[25].

Prolonged political instability lead to violence which in turn invariably causes human suffering and occasion environmental degradation. In principle political instability leads to porous institutions which subsequently sequel to conflicts and clashes between different factions. Indeed, escalation of violence in the context of environmental

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[23] Anniek, B., Florian, K., Luc, V. D., Elizabeth, S., & Dan, S. (2020, April 09). *A new regional approach to water security and governance in the Horn of Africa*. Retrieved from Africa portal website: https://www.africaportal.org/features/new-regional-approach-water-security-and-governance-horn-africa/

[24] Portney P. "Public Policies for Environmental Protection Published. Political Science" 2016

[25] Aryal, Kishor, Hari Krishna Laudari, Prem Raj Neupane, and Tek Maraseni. "Who shapes the environmental policy in the global south? Unpacking the reality of Nepal." *Environmental Science & Policy* 121 (2021): 78-88.

degradation, political instability is known to result into environmental dislocations. For example, where politics are unstable, the citizens of the country are left for themselves.

At the same time, civils wars that characterizes such politics leads to overexploitation of resources by organized gangs and militias. Even where violence is not present, corruption is order of the day and this impairs with the effectiveness of policy meant to safeguard the environment[26]. For example, a politically unstable country is likely to experience theft and capture of what would be otherwise protected resources like wetlands, water catchment areas and wildlife.

1.5.4 Knowledge Gaps

Chen sought to assess environmental governance in respect to economc growth, political stabilities, rule of law and policies in Asia.[27] Focusing on armed conflicts as scales of political instabilities,the researchers evaluated relationship between various matters on environmental governance. Results showed that where state insititutions are empowered, political environment is stable and there is general rule of law, environmental governance is fruitful. Inspite of this study being important, it was not done in the Horn of Africa showing that there still exist a contexual gap.

Bakker and Ritts interrogated aspects of environmental governance focusing on what drives its effectiveness[28]. This study was a meta-data review in which results showed that information and strong policies are apt in environmental governance goals.

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[26] Jacob, S., & Fredriksson, P. (2003). Political instability, corruption and policy formation: The case of environmental policy. *Journal of Public Economics*, 87(7):1383-1405.

[27] Chen, M.-J. (2017). Environmental governance: disentangling the relationship between economic growth and rule of law on environmental policy stringency. *Letters in Spatial and Resource Sciences*, 10(1),253-275.

[28] Bakker, K., & Ritts, M. (2018). Smart Earth: A meta-review and implications for environmental governance. *Global Environmental Change*, 52(1),201-211.

However, this was a global case whose results may not applicable in the Horn of Africa and specifically in Somalia.

Focused on political instabilities and conservation of environment in Ethiopia. The study revealed that political instabilities destabilizes all aspects of environment and thus does not enhance environmental governance[29]. For example, protracted conflicts has seen destruction and degradation of Borana rangelands thus impairing sustainable development among the pastoralist communities. This study has significant contribution on matters environmental governance. However, it did not focus on Somalia as the current study seeks to.

1.6 Justification of the study

This study seeks to examine the nexus between political instability and environmental governance in the Horn of Africa, a case of Somalia. The justification of this study is two folds; academic justification and policy justification.

1.6.1 Academic Justification

Whilst literature review has shown that a number of studies have been done on political instability on economic and environment, a conceptual and contextual gap still exist in that few studies have endeavored to establish the effect of political instability on environmental protection. Furthermore, studies done are on a global perspective as they have not focused on Somalia's case. In view of this observation, a study should be done for the case of Somalia. Therefore, this study attempts to investigate on the nexus between political instability and environmental governance in Somalia.

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[29] Fenetahum, Y., Yuan, Y., Xinwen, X., Wang, Y., & Vincent, N. (2021). The impact of political instability on sustainable rangeland management: A study of Borana rangeland, southern Ethiopia. *Agriculture*, 11(1),352.

1.6.2 Policy Justification

Appropriate environmental policies are formulated from empirical evidence and should be based on factual representation of actual happenings. Findings of this study will significantly aid in formulation of environmental policies by the government of Somalia. Such policies will improve environmental protection in Somalia. Moreover, the UNEP can use the findings of this study to make policy recommendations to African countries with regard to environmental protection and conservation.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study is based on three theories; Homer-Dixon environmental security theory, resource curse model and the anarchy theory.

1.7.1 Homer-Dixon Environmental Security Theory

Homer-Dixon environmental security theory is premised on the argument that scarcity of resources has a potential of creating violent conflicts are people struggle to share the resources[30]. The resources by virtue of being scarce lead to competition as people have insatiable needs. Homer-Dixon argues that the environmental stress created on natural resources like minerals, land, fishing grounds contribute to violence and this is more pronounced in poor countries. As a result of this violence, ethnic clashes erupt leading to wars, civil wars which can escalate to genocides and terrorism.

Moreover, this theory idealises that not all violence is caused by environmental stress but is specific to insurgencies and ethnic classes[31]. In a nutshell, environmental scarcity theory links violent conflicts from scarcity of resources. There are several pros that

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[30] Homer-Dixon, T., Deligianis, T., & Schwartz, D. (2001). *The Environment and Violent Conflict.* New York: Routledge.
[31] Salehyan & Hendrix, (2014).Climate shocks and political violence. *Global Environmental Change*, 28(1),239-250

emanate from the tenets postulated in environmental security theory. Foremost, Homer-Dixon notes that environmental stress is a natural occurrence that happens when people are struggling to obtain livelihood from the natural resources. This creates scarcity as population grows and in poor countries there is unfair access to such resources and ecological imbalance leading to rebellions.

Secondly, environmental scarcity theory has practical applications. As an example, the competition and environmental stress in Rwanda due to scarcity of land and skewed access to resources fueled and aggravated the conflicts leading to a genocide[32]. Environmental scarcity is relevant in this study. The theory relates environmental stress as a cause of violent particularly insurgencies and rebellions. In Somalia, skewed access to resources, scarcity of arable land and poor institutional fishing policies occasioned one of Africa's long outstanding conflict. In turn, conflicts create more problems to the environment leading to a vicious cycle. This theory presents an interesting concept; violent conflicts such as ethnic classes arise when environmental stress builds up which at the same time lead to environmental degradation. This current study focuses on providing a nexus between political instability and environmental protection in Somalia.

1.7.2 Resource Curse Theory

Resource curse aspect is pegged on a paradox kind of observation that countries with abundant resources are the same countries are least developed[33]. In this aspect countries with significant natural resources are seen to have the lowest economic growth and economic development. In other words, this theory idealises that resources could be a

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[32] Mohammed and Ahmed (2019). Relationship between environmental degradation, resource scarcity, and civil conflicts in Somalia. *Journal of Environmental Management and Tourism*, 10(3),640-650.
[33] Manzano & Gutierrez, 2019. The subnational resource curse: Theory and evidence. The Extractive Industries and Society, 6(2),261-266.

curse in disguise unless there is a functioning way of utilizing the resources for the common good of all the people.

Most poor countries have vast resources that if utilised in the best ways for the common good could lead to economic empowerment of the people and the nations. Resource curse theory is pegged on argument that resource-rich countries have not benefitted fully from the resources and this is due to their government's failure to attend to the welfare of all by using the resources[34]. It is expected that resource-rich countries to have best infrastructure due to plenty of resources, but the reverse case is true for these countries are the characterised by perennial conflicts. Governments for such countries are authoritarian in nature aiding in conflict build ups since revenues from natural resources are not shared equally among the people[35].

The political class amasses wealth at the expense of the welfare of the people and this is a fertile ground for civil wars. A perfect example is Democratic Republic of Congo has huge mineral deposits but still ranks among the poorest countries in the world.[36] Use of economic curse theory in this study is relevant in two folds. Economic curse theory posits that most resource-rich countries are least developed, and this is the same phenomenon in Somalia. Somalia has excellent fishing grounds, deep harbors, good climate to the south and perfect land for livestock production. However, this has not improved the welfare of the people due to the prolonged conflicts.

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[34] Hussain, M., Ye, Z., Usman, M., Ghulam, M., Ahmad, U., & Rizvi, S. (2020). Re-investigation of the resource curse hypothesis: The role of political institutions and energy prices in BRIC countries. Resources Policy, 69(1),101.

[35] Dawda, A., Kweku, A., Ullah, S., & Ullah, F. (2019). Globalisation, governance, accountability and the natural resource 'curse': Implications for socio-economic growth of oil-rich developing countries. Resources Policy, 61(1),128-140.

[36] McFerson, Hazel M. "Governance and hyper-corruption in resource-rich African countries." Third World Quarterly 30, no. 8 (2009): 1529-1547.

The model also points that existence weak institutional frameworks impairs on resource sharing as most of economic resources are captured by political elite class[37]. In turn, poor and neglected people overt time rebel against the ruling class leading to violent conflicts. This theory provides a good anchor on understanding the political instability in Somalia and further assess its role on environmental protection.

1.7.3 Coming Anarchy Theory

The third theory that provides a good underpinning in this study is the Coming Anarchy theory[38]. Coming Anarchy postulate is pegged on the reason where environmental stress increases over time and due to scarcity, struggles emerge not based on ideological differences but due to distant cultural and historical issues. In this aspect, civil wars are considered to start in response to alienations of factions in a given society.

Moreover, an increase in disorders such as rampant rise in population, pandemics, migrations lead to societal disharmony and this creates a ground for conflicts. Kaplan notes that even when cold war ended, the expected world development was not realized since the world slid into other forms of wars, real or imaginary. For example, tribalism, clannism, civil wars and ethnic conflicts are on the rise in Africa in as much as there are development in other parts of the world[39].

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[37] Naosuke, M. (2020). Colonial origins of the resource curse: endogenous sovereignty and authoritarianism in Brunei. *Democratization*, 27(2),224-242.

[38] Kaplan, R. (2016). Eurasia's Coming Anarchy: The risks of Chinese and Russian weakness. *Foreign Affairs*, 95(2),33-41.

[39] Baalen, S., & Mobjork, M. (2016). A coming anarchy? Pathways from climate change to violent conflict in East Africa. *Stockholm Research*, 1-73.

Coming anarchy is developed under several major constructs; resources scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism and widespread of diseases[40]. Whilst the countries strive for progress, there has emerged an uprising from factions of society in order to access resources. A case in point in the Arab uprising spree that occurred in the last decade. In response to scarcity, the binding fabric that keeps society together is being destroyed and this has negative results. Moreover, in this theory, growth of some forms of violence like terrorism and civil wars are considered inherent and thus inevitable. This is because general prosperity for all people is difficult and impossible to sustain. Infightings in a society or country are caused by new generations seeking newer ways of identifying themselves breeding conflicts and Kaplan argues that this is the module that most nations will follow in future. Additionally, the theory posits that general peace is an elusive aspect as it is impossible to sustain it.

Use of this theory in this study is because it provides an insight on how prolonged conflicts exists. Coming anarchy theory posits that scarcity of resources, environmental degradation, migrations can cause violence. This study investigates the effect of political instability on environmental protection in Somalia. Moreover, in this theory civil wars and terrorism and political strife are seen as inventible conflicts and this perhaps explains the protracted conflict in Somalia. Kaplan specifically views that the conflicts in Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast in West Africa are due to environmental stress[41]. Therefore, understanding the theory and its antecedents is focal in this study.

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[40] Agbiboa, D. (2017). National heroes or coming anarchy? Vigilant youth and the "war on terror" in Nigeria. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(2),272-294.

[41]Ibid. Agbiboa. P 275

1.8 Research Hypotheses

i. The status of political instability has adversely affected environmental governance in the Horn of Africa and particularly in Somalia.

ii. The existing environmental governance frameworks in Somalia are not as effective in protecting and conserving the environment.

1.9 Research Methodology

Research methodology itemizes specific actions that are undertaken in order to gather information that is pertinent and appropriate in providing inferences about the research objectives. Thus, research methodology configures procedures of data sourcing and processing and how the results will be communicated. Research methodology entails identification of research design, study location, population and sampling, data collection and data analysis.

1.9.1 Research Design

A rationale that contains practical aspects of data sourcing and analyzing data is known as research design[42]. Research design entail structuring of a plan that acts as a route map in data gathering and data analysis. Moreover, research design provides the basis of reporting findings in such a way that the results are valid and credible. The best design to use is descriptive research design considering that this study seeks to assess the nexus between political instability in the Somalia on environmental governance. In using descriptive research design, the researcher's main interest is to descriptively explain whether there is a correlation between study variables.

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[42] Agbiboa, D. (2017). National heroes or coming anarchy? Vigilant youth and the "war on terror" in Nigeria. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(2),272-294.

Descriptive research design is undertaken when research is on variables whose observations are collected in the field without experimenting or control[43]. This is a second reason for use of descriptive research design because data on political situation in Somalia will be collected on cross sectional basis and experimenting will be done. Thirdly, in descriptive surveys, the researcher is able to rank variables influence on dependent variable in terms of significance. In this current inquiry, the constructs of political instability with specific reference to the Somalian case will be evaluated and their role on environmental conservation determined.

1.9.2 Study Location

This study will be based on political instability in Somalia. Somalia is an East African country whose governance system has been jeopardized by insurgency after ousting of president Said Barre in 1991.

Since then, chaos and terrorism activities are common in Somalia. Information will be sourced from government departments, NGO and Civil societies in Somalia.

1.9.3 Population

Population in research refers to a distinct and identifiable collection of all units that inferences will be made on[44]. Moreover, Mesa argues that population contains all units that can be easily identified to be unique from other members of different populations[45]. In this case, population will be individuals drawn from several societal entities from which a sample of respondents will be picked. Specifically, the population will be 120

[43] Agbiboa, D. (2017). National heroes or coming anarchy? Vigilant youth and the "war on terror" in Nigeria. Critical Studies on Terrorism, 11(2),272-294.
[44] Krishnaswamy, O. R., & Satyaprasad, B. G. (2010). Business Research Methods. Mumbai, India: Himalaya Publishing House
[45] Mesa, J. M., Duquia, R. P., Bastos, J. L., Bonamigo, R. R., & Chica, D. A. (2016). Sampling: how to select participants in my research study? Anais Brasileiros de Dermatologia, 91(3),326-330

personnel drawn from NGOs, Civil Societies and government departments all across Somalia. This information is illustrated on Table 1.1.

Table 1. 1: Population of the Study

Category of Informants	Frequency	Percentage
Civil societies	50	42
Government	40	33
NGOs staff	30	25
Total	120	100

Source: Author (2021)

1.9.4 Sample and Sampling Procedure

A sample represents the number of units picked from the population from which actual data collection is done on[46]. Sample therefore is a definite number of units of that participate in a study. In this study, the sample size will be determined by use of a formula adopted from [47]

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

The connotation is the formula are explained as follows: n is the number of units which is the sample size, N is the population of units representing all entities that are of

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[46] Hopkins, W. G. (2017). Estimating sample size for magnitude-based inferences. *Sportscience*, 21,63-72.

[47] Agbiboa, D. (2017). National heroes or coming anarchy? Vigilant youth and the "war on terror" in Nigeria. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(2),272-294.

interest, e is sampling error which depends on level of confidence (for this study it level of confidence will be 95 %, hence e is 5%).

On substituting, the answer for unknown n is 92. In this respect, the number of participants in this study will be 92. Sampling procedure refers to strategy of picking the number of respondents from the population. In this study, stratified sampling technique will be used to weight the respondents in the categories of informants. The sample distribution is illustrated on Table 1.2

Table 1.2: Sample Size

Category of Informants	Population	Sample
Civil societies	50	38
Government	40	31
NGOs staff	30	23
Total	**120**	**92**

Source: Author (2021)

1.9.5 Instrumentation and Data Collection Procedure

Instrumentation refers to the tool that is used to collect and record raw data in data collection phase[48]. An instrument of data collection depends on type of data and the area of study. This study will use primary data that will be sourced in two ways; by use of semi-structured questionnaires and interviewing. A questionnaire presents standardized responses which are appropriate where the researcher is in need of

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[48] Sekaran, U., & Bougie, R. (2016). *Research Methods For Business: A Skill Building Approach.* New York: John Wiley & Sons Publishers.

obtaining specific insights. An interview will equally be conducted in order to source more information on influence of political instability in Somalia on environmental conservation.

Sourcing data by questionnaire administration will be done online through Google forms. Online survey is cost efficient, saves on travelling time and is associated with speedy response. The questionnaire link will be emailed to selected participants who will be requested to fill them and in a week's time.

1.9.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a systematic information synthesis procedure that converts raw insights from field into formats that can be used to make inferences specifically on objectives[49]. Data analysis is step by step undertaking that begins with data cleaning exercise. Data cleaning entail evaluation of responses by scheming through to remove the poorly filled questionnaires and incoherent responses from the interview guides. Having cleaned the data, the data is then summarized and coded into forms that are statistically meaningful.

The third step is to process results of data analysis into quantitative or qualitative forms. In this study, qualitative content analysis will be the main method of analysis of data since the information being sought is not quantifiable.

1.9.7 Data Presentation

The results of content qualitative analysis are interpreted in such a way that the research questions are expressly answered. Analysed data will be presented in form frequency distribution tables, pie charts and by use of graphical illustrations.

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[49] Agbiboa, D. (2017). National heroes or coming anarchy? Vigilant youth and the "war on terror" in Nigeria. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(2),272-294.

1.9.8 Ethical Considerations

A number of standard ethical principles will guide undertaking of this study that seeks to relate political instability in Somalia with environmental conversations concerns. To begin with, all respondents will be recruited without any financial benefits being awarded in order to enhance neutrality. The respondents will be free to participate in the study and will be allowed Secondly, utmost confidentiality will be upheld at all times during data collection as well as after data collection has ended and results of the study written.

1.10 Chapter Outline

This study will be structured into five chapters:

Chapter one: Introduction and Background of the Study. This chapter introduces key components in terms of background on political instabilities and environmental governance. Also, the aim of the study is delineated as per the objectives and research questions provided. Moreover, the chapter contains research methods which are actionable points that will be used to achieve its goal.

Chapter two: Analysis of the influence of Political Instability on Environmental governance in the Horn of Africa. In this chapter the aim is to showcase how political instability has affected environmental governance in the Horn of Africa. In this case, instances of political stabilities are presented and how this has impacted on governance explained.

Chapter three: Case study of Political Instability and Environmental governance in Somalia. This section will examine the political instability situation in Somalia. The background of the political conflicts and its effect on socio-economic aspects will be

presented. In additional, effects of environmental governance in Somalia will be discussed.

Chapter four: Findings on effect of Political Instability and Environmental Governance. This section will entail results of data analysis on effect of political instability on environmental governance. Findings will be presented on graphs and in tables.

Chapter five: Summary, conclusions and recommendations. This section will be summarized findings and make conclusions on each objectives of the study. In addition, the section will make policy recommendations on what can be done in order to enhance environmental governance in the Horn of Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

Political instability in the Horn of Africa has taken different dimensions and this has been characterized by political unrest, anti-government protests, tribal wars, conflicts and political animosity among people.[50] Across the entire Horn of Africa region, there is no single country that has not had political instability, at least for some time. For example, Ethiopia has faced conflicts in the Tigray region, Sudan is plagued with protracted civil wars in Darfur region and Uganda faces unrest in the Northern region bordering the Democratic Republic of Congo. All these conflicts have yield political instability in the Horn hampering not only economic development but also posing a threat to environmental governance in the Horn Africa. This chapter looks at the influence of political instability on environmental governance in the Horn of Africa.

2.2 Historical Background of Political Instability in the Horn of Africa

It is true to suffice that over the years since independence, political instability has ravaged most countries in the Horn of Africa than in any other part of the African continent. The myriad of political instabilities in one country has spilled to other countries. Political instability in the Horn of Africa has persisted for long a time that this region has become a perfect case study of conflicts. Without stable governments, governance is futile. For example, weak governments are unable to enforce environmental government measures which can prevent overexploitation of resources,

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[50] Lahra, S., Howard, D., Mark, G., Nili, S., Lara, K., & Susan, F. M. (2021). Local integration and shared resource management in protracted refugee camps: Findings from a study in the Horn of Africa. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 34(1),787-805.

illegal use of resources and pollution which in turn make conflicts and political instabilities vicious.[51]

Since the emergence of modern states, Africa is yet to experience sustained peace with few exceptions since there has been numerous cases of political instability all across the continent. In actual sense, African countries are considered perfect case studies of countries with so much resources yet so little developed. In particular, the Horn of Africa has experienced some of the worst instabilities leading to humanitarian crises.[52] For example, in Darfur, Sudan, there has been a war that is protracted since the early 2000s. This war is armed conflicts in which factions of rebels fight against the government forces leading to thousands of deaths, influx of war related diseases and starvation. Moreover, this conflict led to mass displacements and forced deportation of portions of population. For example, the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea persisted for over 40 years from 1960s to 1990s following annexation of Eritrea.

This conflict has colonial roots as Eritrea was colonized by Italians and thus had different outlook of civilization while mainland Ethiopia was not colonized. Considering this, Eritreans sought independence by engaging in armed conflicts that bore fruits in 1991 where Eritrea become a sovereign country land locking Ethiopia.[53] In as much as this slowed down the conflicts, still, there are periodic tensions in the region.

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[51] Dinbabo, M. (2015). Violent conflict and forced displacement in the Horn of Africa: Government and donor policies and programs in search of durable solutions. *AMHR*, 1(3),273-331.

[52] Kłosowicz, R. (2015). The role of Ethiopia in the regional security complex of the Horn of Africa. *Ethiopian Journal of Social Sciences and Language Studies*, 2(2),85-99

[53] Hennberg, I., & Soren, S. (2020). Cooperation and Conflict at the Horn of Africa: A new regional bloc between Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia and its consequences for Eastern Africa. *Africa Spectrum*, 55(3),339-350

Another major political instability that persisted in the Horn of Africa, is the Ogaden war between Ethiopia and Somalia.[54] In this case, Somalia claimed that the Ogaden area was hers causing a conflict in the region between 1961 all through 1967 with intermittent period of peace. However, the conflict escalated between the Somali-inhabited regions in 1977-78. Following collapse of Somalia's government in 1991, Ethiopian troops succeeded in acquiring the region. The political instability in this region, however, continues to ravage the population.

There is also the Sudan Conflict. This conflict is due to inability of some people to access economic benefits from sale of oil.[55] The South Sudanese conflict existed from 2013 to 2013 and the results of the war were devastating. These results include ethnic cleansing, child soldiers, sexual violence, forceful displacement of populations, formation of rebel outfits and starvation. Moreover, destruction of agricultural land during the conflict occasioned extreme starvation and hunger.

In the current times, South Sudan is still of the poorest and underdeveloped countries that are characteristically confined and defined to have poor governance which benefits the political at the expense of the masses. For example, poor governance and corruption enrich ruling class while most remain in abject and extreme poverty. These political woes lead to intermittent periods of political instability which has impacted socioeconomic status in the country.[56]

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[54] Galgano, F. (2018). Conflict in the Horn of Africa: The Ogaden War of 1977. *The Environment-Conflict Nexus*, 139-154.

[55] Solomon, N., Birhane, E., Gordon, C., Haile, M., Taheri, F., Azadi, H., & Scheffran, J. (2018). Environmental impacts and causes of conflict in the Horn of Africa: A review. *Earth-Science Reviews*, 177(1),284-290.

[56] Knopf, P. (2018). South Sudan's civil war and conflict dynamics in the Red Sea. US Institute of Peace, 1-12.

Kenya too has had political instabilities with the major one being the Shifta wars of 1963-1967. This political instability was occasioned by Kenyan Somalis seeking to join Somalia.[57] Therefore, the political conflicts was a secession and counter-secession as ethnic Somalis wanted to annex to Somalia.[58] This political conflict was fueled and supported by Republic of Somalia while the Kenyan government opposed it. As a result of this armed conflict, there were massacres done by government forces against villagers in the Northern Frontier District. Moreover, counter insurgency forces placed villages in concentration camps. This political instability ended with a ceasefire in which Somali republic and Kenya government agreed to ceasefire in Arusha, Tanzania in 1967.[59]

Ethiopia too has seen political instabilities. For example, there was mass protest, conflicts and violence from 2015 to 2018.[60] In 2018, after three years of political jumbles Prime Minister Desalegn resigned and paved way for Ahmed Abiy to become the prime minister. This somehow calmed the political tensions from populations residing in Oromia region who had been in protests since early 2015 attributing the strife to dissatisfaction as there was political and economic marginalization. After this change in guards, the state of emergency was lifted and those in exile returned to Ethiopia.[61]

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[57] Gunther, S. (2017). The shifta conflict in the Horn of Africa: The Kenya-Somalia border problem 1941–2014. The Journal of African History, 58(2),405-411.

[58] Matheka, R., Wario, H., & Ichani, X. (2019). Debating on success of the Kenya Counter Insurgency on the Shifta War: Between bouble success and little consolation . International Affairs and Global Strategy, 71(1),23-35

[59] Keren, W. (2016). Rethinking the Shifta War Fifty Years after Independence: Myth, memory, and marginalization. Kenya After 50 p

[60] Hennberg, I., & Soren, S. (2020). Cooperation and Conflict at the Horn of Africa: A new regional bloc between Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia and its consequences for Eastern Africa. Africa Spectrum, 55(3),339-350

[61] Fisher, J., & Meressa, T. (2019). Game over'? Abiy Ahmed, the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front and Ethiopia's political crisis. African Affairs, 118(470), 194-206

Most recently, there has been political instability in Ethiopia at Tigray region in which separatists engaged the government forces in armed violence leading to a humanitarian crisis as refugees fled to Sudan and Djibouti. The Tigray political instability is largely attributed to fighting between government forces and forces in the northern border with the latter citing political and economic exclusion and the ultimate effect was a destabilized Horn of Africa. Also, almost a million people have been put in jeopardy in the power struggle conflicts in which both sides have been accused for atrocities and war crimes. The Horn of Africa where Somalia lies is therefore not new to conflicts.[62]

2.3 Link between Political Instability and Environmental Governance in the Horn of Africa

Political instability in the Horn of Africa has occasioned security challenges. This situation makes the Horn prone and vulnerable to risks such as climate change and global warming more than other regions in the world. This is because political constraints, unrests and challenges in the Horn of Africa transcends to environmental governance challenges.[63] To a large extent, the Horn of Africa region has been and still is currently ravaged by conflicts thus leading to political instability. Whilst, the causes of political instability vary from country to country, it is substantially attributable to poor governance structures.

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[62] Solomon, N., Birhane, E., Gordon, C., Haile, M., Taheri, F., Azadi, H., & Scheffran, J. (2018). Environmental impacts and causes of conflict in the Horn of Africa: A review. Earth-Science Reviews, 177(1),284-290

[63] Barnhoorn, A., Smith, E., & Luc, V. (2020). Water security and governance in the Horn of Africa. SIPRI Policy Paper No. 54, 1-39.

Horn of Africa region covers East African part of Africa with seven states namely Uganda, Kenya, Eretria, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia.[64] All these countries have had political instabilities relating to fight for control of resources, fight to gain political and economic participation among other subtle reasons. Moreover, political instabilities render governance difficult and therefore limits well-functioning of governments. Armed conflicts in this region, have disrupted lives of people and environmental conservation.[65]

Political instability in the Horn of Africa is intricate maze as it is not caused by one-way factors but rather by interwoven factors. Political instability at the Horn is a quite complex subject that is considered to originate from colonial times and also due to postcolonial structures that African first governments adopted.[66] This region is the most conflict-prone region in the world. Moreover, at the Horn, governance in respect to economic and political equity and participation by all members of the societies play a major role in political instabilities. This means that socioeconomic dynamics either inherited from colonial masters or acquired postcolonial times are key causes of political instabilities at the region.

At the same time, influence and interference by foreign powers leads to conflicts. In turn, the region has been ravaged by conflicts, poor living standards and alarming state of environmental degradation. On the same note, political instability at the Horn of

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[64] Cardoso, N., & Oliveira, G. (2020). Securitisation in Africa in the 21st century: Analysis of the situations in the Gulf of Guinea and the Horn of Africa. South African Journal of International Affairs, 27(4),533-560

[65] Negasi, S., Emiru, B., Gordon, C., Haile, M., Taheri, F., Azadi, H., & Jurgen, S. (2018). Environmental impacts and causes of conflict in the Horn of Africa: A review. Earth-Science Reviews, 177(1),284-290.

[66] Christopher, 2016 Christopher, C. (2016). Peace in the Horn of Africa. The Palgrave Handbook of Disciplinary and Regional Approaches to Peace, 159-170. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-40761-0_2

Africa has led to high levels of human suffering and oppression.[67] This is because prosperity cannot be achieved in times of political instability.

Essentially, poor governance structures are key underlying causes of political instabilities at the Horn of Africa.[68] Where people are not able to access resources to meet their needs, it is highly likely that they resort to riots and violence to access such basic resources that are necessary to meet the needs. As such, disharmonious land ownership, access to water points, unaccountable leadership, corruption, ethnocratic government styles and dictatorial regimes are key features of political instabilities in the Horn of Africa creating room for local militias.[69] Owing to this, solving and adjudicating political instability in the Horn of Africa has proved to be a complex issue for regional and global peacemakers such as IGAD. Existence of governance structure that does not regard the plight of the people at the lowest social ranks, is therefore a big menace in the Horn of Africa.

2.4 Influence of Political Instability on Environmental Governance in the Horn of Africa

Political instability in the Horn of Africa, has had tremendous influence on the governance of environmental issues in the Horn of Africa and in particular in Somalia. Given that environmental governance is a function of policies, institutions and advocacy, it therefore follows that unstable political climate may impair environmental governance. In addition, conceptualization and creation of environmental policies is

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[67] Reno, W. (2017). The politics of security assistance in the horn of Africa. *Defence Studies*, 18(4),498-513.

[68] Mulugeta, G. B. (2014). A delicate balance: land use, minority rights and social stability in the Horn of Africa. *Insititue of Peace and Security Studies*, 1-334.

[69] Burges, S. (2015). Comparative Challenges in Securing the Horn of Africa and Sahara. *Comparative Strategy* , 34(2),202-217.

mostly borne through political negotiation.[70]   The legislation of environmental governance regulations is shaped by the discursive practices by the larger interest groups including international organizations and CBOs.[71]   Ethiopia for instance adopted an Environmental policy in 1997 in order to promote sustainable socio economic development for all.   However political instability greatly impacts environmental governance in the following manner.

2.4.1 Policy Formulation

Several studies have shown that where political stability directly impacts policy formulation which is vital in strengthening environmental governance. The enactment of related environmental policies such as land use rights, emission laws, and mining rights is a key environmental governance issue. Kenya has National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) that is mandated to ensure sustainable socio-economic development.[72] The ecological concerns that have been debated in the geopolitical arena, are better comprehended in political bionetworks. The environmental governance policies therefore are well exercised where political processes and relations share the associated concerns and struggles that the damage of the environment produces. However, in countries that lack political stability such as Somali lack both environmental and legal framework which anchor and strengthens implementation of environmental governance.

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[70] Loftus, A. (2020). Political ecology II: Whither the state? *Progress in Human Geography* , 44(1),139-149.

[71] Nemutamvuni, K., McKay, T., & Henry, B. (2020). Active citizenry, community-Based organisations and the protection of urban wetlands: The case of colbyn, Tshwane, South Africa. *Global Ecology and Conservation*.

[72] Ojwang, L., Sergio, R., Louis, C., Obura, D., Muiti, A., Kamula, J., & Maina, M. (2017). Assessment of Coastal Governance for Climate Change Adaptation in Kenya. *Assessing Risk Governance Performance in the Face of Global Change*, 5(11),1119-1132

Another aspect upon which environmental policy formulation is influenced by the nature of political stability is the ability to create partnerships and consensus with interested parties to environmental issues. The capacity of the state power to forge a common course with environmental stakeholders is thus the genesis of development of environmental policies. Moreover, the chances of success for environmental activists to inform, monitor and research on environmental issues is dependent upon a friendly political climate.[73] The intricate relationship between states' models of socio-economic development and environmental governance strategies has presented a new face of dilemma for the political establishment.[74]

Developing nations are experiencing rapid socio-economic growth, are likely to make rushed and undependable development decisions since environmental concerns threaten the dynamics of existing economic and political development. Developed nations, without apt environmental policies have the most polluted air in the world and will only take practical steps in the face of a perceived threat of environmental crisis being greater to economic goal. Environmental problems therefore are linked to national policies of economic development, of which are championed by the political class.[75]

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[73] Solomon, N., Birhane, E., Gordon, C., Haile, M., Taheri, F., Azadi, H., & Scheffran, J. (2018). Environmental impacts and causes of conflict in the Horn of Africa: A review. *Earth-Science Reviews*, 177(1),284-290

[74] Yeh , C. (1996). Pudong: remaking Shanghai as a world Transformation and Modernization under China's Open Policy. *Remaking Shanghai as a World City*, 1(3),45-51.

[75] Barnhoorn, A., Smith, E., & Luc, V. (2020). Water security and governance in the Horn of Africa. *SIPRI Policy Paper No. 54*, 1-39.

Environmental policies are important as they enable governments to strike a balance between exploitation of resources while holding environmental governance in high regards.[76] Environmental governance strategies are models that provide an intricate balance that permit sustainable socio-economic development without harming the environment.

Where national strategies are rushed only to focus on economic development, chances of facing environmental degradation are high. For example, due to the need to have land for farming to feed for the increasing population, the Kenyan government has allowed people to farm in forests for a period of time in what is called shamba system. Whilst, this expands land under cultivation it has led to destruction of forests, wetlands, and illegal lumbering and soil erosions to state the least. Ideally, good environmental policies should lead to sustainable socio-economic development.[77]

2.4.2 Underdevelopment and Inadequate Funds

Frequent political instabilities in the Horn of Africa, has no doubt led to massive underdevelopment in the region.[78] Poverty is so pronounced in regions with political instabilities. Moreover, unstable countries can hardly undertake any meaningful environmental governance strategies. This is because, environmental protection requires resources, both financial and human to implement. Consistently, therefore political instabilities do not support undertaking of fundamental innovative strategies for promoting environmental conservation. At the same time, political instabilities do

[76] Cadoret, I., & Padovano, F. (2016). The political drivers of renewable energies policies. *Energy Economics*, 56(1),261-269

[77] Enrique, P., Foucat, A., & Maria, P. (2016). Environmental policies in the peri-urban area of Mexico City: The perceived effects of three environmental programs. *Cities*, 50(1),129-136.

[78] Galgano, F. (2018). Conflict in the Horn of Africa: The Ogaden War of 1977. *The Environment-Conflict Nexus*, 139-154

not leave enough funds for undertaking environmental conservation and protection. This is even worse for countries that have poor economies as it is in Africa.[79]

2.4.3 NGOs in Environmental Advocacy

In addition, environmental governance is undertaken by other institutions other than the government. Environmental institutions such as non-governmental organizations are involved in environmental advocacy. In Kenya, for example, the Green Belt Movement (GBM) has championed for environmental protection. GBM has successfully stopped utilization of public land, forests, wetlands and protected lands for wildlife by ruling elites in Kenya. The Horn of Africa Regional Environment Centre and Network (HoA-REC&N). This initiative seeks to champion safe and healthy use of the environment in the Horn of Africa. However, lack of political goodwill limits actions of institutions that would otherwise improve environment and livelihoods of people as observed in South Sudan.[80]

Non-governmental entities in the Horn of Africa are instrumental as they bridge the gap that exist in circumstances where governments are not able to attend to all environmental matters particularly in underdeveloped nations.[81] For example, Centre for Justice Governance and Environmental Action has provided environmental advocacy in Kenya and Tanzania ensuring that people are protected from hazards from toxic substances by extractives industries along the coastline. It is true to suffice that in situations where governments are weak, NGOs play a significant role in improving

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[79] Krampe, F., Smith, E., & Barhhoorn, L. (2020). Water Security and Governance in the Horn of Africa. *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*, 409-429.

[80] Deng, L. (2010). Livelihood diversification and civil war: The case of Dinka communities in the Sudan's civil wa. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 4(3),381-399.

[81] Tonui, B. (2018). The Role of Non-state Actors in Resolving Environmental Conflicts in the Horn of Africa: a Case Study of Olposmoru Forest in the Mau Complex Kenya. *University of Nairobi Thesis*, 1-75

welfare of the people. However, full benefits of NGOs on environmental governance can only be realized where there is political stability.[82]

Where there is political instability, NGOs are ineffective in fostering environmental advocacy as they are considered as foreign influences by state. This hampers environmental protection and can lead to catastrophic environmental disasters. The Horn of Africa is regarded an environment whose political instability creates new vicious cycles of conflicts and disasters. Political instability in the Horn of Africa renders environmental governance untenable.[83] This is because, human beings are left to decide and make their own choices in regard to environmental protection during times of conflicts. In fact, environmental conservation is not an objective of warrying parties.

2.4.4 Environmental Activism

Political instabilities lead to indiscriminate and excessive exploitation of natural resources thus posing serious ecological threats. During violent instances of political instabilities, there is massive pollution and loss of biodiversity and this creates a delicate environment. For example, in Ethiopia, conflicts with Eritrea, Somali republic and in the Tigray has caused environmental degradation in both areas. It is true to suffice that political instabilities in the Horn of Africa lowers environmental advocacy which is an integral aspect of environmental governance. Environmental advocacy is

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[82] Leeuw, J., Carsan, S., Koech, G., Aissetou, D., & Nyongesa, J. (2017). A review of best practices for selected biodiversity value chains that promote pro-poor conservation in the Horn of Africa. *Biodiversity-Based Value Chains*, 1-134.

[83] Fenetahum, Y., Yuan, Y., Xinwen, X., Wang, Y., & Vincent, N. (2021). The impact of political instability on sustainable rangeland management: A study of Borana rangeland, southern Ethiopia. *Agriculture*, 11(1),352.

defined as the tactical use of forms of activism to promote sustainable environmental initiatives.[84]

Environmental advocacy is concept grounded on enhanced education and awareness on protection and conservation of the environment. Advocacy in a conflict prone country needs a multi-dimensional support and political will. The frameworks of advocacy implant a new course of environmental protection in the masses with the intention of changing behavior towards the environment. Environmental advocates are concerned with transforming unsustainable practices that deplete and degrade the environment to more progressive and sustainable practices.

Environmental advocacy can only influence outcomes of environmental outcomes depending on the vulnerability of state to external pressure and ability of local citizens to participate in the activism.[85] Strong advocacy is akin to forceful pleas for a position and thus the components of citizen participation and state reaction to eternal pressure are other determinants for its success. Environmental advocates focus on building ecological mandate in the communities as well as petitioning elected leaders to enact policies that are sensitive to the environment. Advocates also run for or support political offices that support their course.

In addition, environmental advocacy activism in disseminating information through rallies, street marches, strikes and sit-ins, with the aim of forcing an action over a policy and behavioral change and thus improve public opinion over a pertinent issue that can

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[84] Wallack, L. (1994). Media advocacy: a strategy for empowering people and communities. *Journal of Public Health Policy*, 15(4), 420-43
[85] Pacheco-Vega, R., & Amanda , M. (2020). When do environmental NGOs work? A test of the conditional effectiveness of environmental advocacy. *Environmental Politics*, 1(1)1-22.

drive change.[86] State and non-state actors view advocacy as an emerging effective strategy that would advance new social tenets and courses that challenge the conventional social norms in a conservative environment.[87]

The advocacy that is rooted in mass media medium can shift the wavering attention from the personal level to the community and therefore can be used as a powerful tool for changing viewpoints or beliefs and behaviors of people[88]. Media advocacy empowers the public to act and persuade policy maker into having a conversation about the perceived environmental abuses such as charcoal burning and subsequently fill the regulatory gap. The success of a policy change or formulation however cannot be entirely related to the preceding advocacy campaigns.

Some scholars opine that while political scientists and communications scholars have long studied agenda setting dynamics by exploring patterns of attention, there has been a clear lack of connections between media studies and public policy process studies.[89] Proponents of an environmental protection often use the mass media for advocacy hoping they attract massive publicity though engagements and feedbacks and be able convince or force the policy makers into action towards their course.

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[86] Zeng, F., Dai, J., & Javed, J. (2019). Frame alignment and environmental advocacy: the influence of NGO strategies on policy outcomes in China. *Environmental Politics*, 28(4),747-770.
[87] Wolfe, M., Bryan , D., & Frank, R. (2013). A failure to communicate: Agenda setting in media and policy studies. *Political Communication*, 30(2), 175-192.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Wolfe, M., Bryan , D., & Frank, R. (2013). A failure to communicate: Agenda setting in media and policy studies. *Political Communication*, 30(2), 175-192.

2.5 Conclusion

Political instability in the Horn of Africa has far reaching influence on environmental governance. It has emerged that political instability has direct and indirect impact on the environment. Use of explosives and bombs in armed conflicts directly destroys the environment in which human life and wildlife is negatively affected. Political instability reduces the ability of a nation to formulate legislation on environmental governance and therefore limiting control of air, water and soil pollutants emissions into the environment.

Moreover, during periods of political instability there is over exploitation of natural resources such as on land due to illegal lumbering and clearing of forest covers to pave way for farming and grazing of livestock. In addition, political instability may lead to wars in which funds that should have been used to protect the environment are diverted to other use such as provision of arms and weapons which is construed as a more imminent need by countries in conflicts.

CHAPTER THREE

EFFECTS OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY ON ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE IN SOMALIA

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three focuses on exploring on political instability and its effect on environmental governance in Somalia.

3.2 History of Somalia's Political Instability

Somalia's political instability can be traced back to the fall of Said Barre regime in 1991 after which the country was plunged into high scale and widespread anarchy. Said Barre was a Somalia leader from 1969 and had gotten power in coup where the then president Abdirashid Ali Shermake was assassinated until his outset in 1991[90] At the beginning of his reign, Barre was noted to be transformative leader who promulgated changes in Somalia. Moreover, in his first years, anti-tribalism measures, nationalization of entities and nationalism were fostered.

Somalia's peace did not stay for long. During the early 1980s, opposition grew, and this was manifested by increase in political animosity among various people. Armed rebels sought to overran government. At the same time, in order to cling to power, Said Barre ruled with an iron fist as his dictatorial tendencies became more pronounced.[91] Cases of police brutality, tribal politics, hatred and state sponsored massacres occasioned mass violence across the country.

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[90] Pabro, A. O. (2018). From Irrendentism to state disintegration; Greater Somalia during Said Barre regime. Revista Universitară de Sociologie, 15(10,94-105.

[91] Mohammed, H. I. (2016). How Somalia works: Mimicry and the making of Mohamed Siad Barre's regime in Mogadishu. African Today, 63(1),57-83.

In addition, poor economic performance increased suffering and this ultimately led to collapse of Said Barre's government. Following fall of government, most parts of Somalia fell under harsh rule of armed rebels in which religious and customary rules were used to govern[92]. Even after arrival of United Nations Mission in Somalia troops, fighting continued which culminated to Somalia being declared a failed state in 1995 especially after UN withdrew its forces. Since then Somalia has had no peaceful eras as the civil is still ongoing. Armed rebel groups are still in fighting with Somalia federal transition government. Also, Somalia has been considered a safe haven for terrorist outfits with the most common one being Al Shabaab that has over time become a crisis in the entire Horn of Africa region. In as much as there is a transition government, it is difficult to instill order and peace in Somalia.[93]

Several intermittent periods of irregular peaceful moments have been realized in Somalia. For example, in 2000, the Transnational National Government was formed in which cease fire was observed. This government was replaced by transnational federal government in 2004. However, the crisis was far from end. In 2006 Ethiopia attacked Somalia's south from hostage of Islamic Courts Union (ICU). After this, ICU disintegrated to more lethal factions such as Al Shabaab that staged attacks in parts of East Africa and undertook piracy along the shores of Indian Ocean on the Somalia's coastline. Due to these rampant cases, African Union formed AMISOM to deal with Somalia rising instability that affected stability of the entire Horn of Africa.[94]

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[92] Hennberg, I., & Soren, S. (2020). Cooperation and Conflict at the Horn of Africa: A new regional bloc between Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia and its consequences for Eastern Africa. Africa Spectrum, 55(3),339-350

[93] Ingiriis, M. (2018). State and clan violence in Somalia. African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review, 8(1),73-96

[94]Pabro, A. O. (2018). From Irrendentism to state disintegration; Greater Somalia during Said Barre regime. Revista Universitară de Sociologie, 15(10,94-105

Around 2011, Kenya launched a military offensive operation on Al Shabaab in order to protect its maritime territories and terrorists from the Al Shabaab. In 2014, the Federal Government of Somalia was formed in what has been considered as the first central governance since the fall of Said Barre. Nevertheless, the political stability is still fragile and there is widespread anarchy. From time to time, issues of terrorist attacks are reported. There is intensified proliferation of weapons including guns and bombs. In spite of the federal government gaining power and steering the country forward towards stability, the state of political soundness is still in a dire situation.[95]

3.3 Causes of Political Instability in Somalia

Various root causes can be linked to political instability in Somalia. These causes can be traced to pre-colonial times, colonialism and even after colonial times.

3.3.1 Colonialism

Whilst shall divisions existed pre-colonial times, the divisions were expanded by the European powers who invaded the Horn of Africa as it was for another Sub Saharan Africa. During partition of Africa, the British, French and Italians occupied most parts of the Horn of Africa leading to formation of groups that picked new identities. Communities that had same origin were divided into different countries and this led to a break in kinship ties[96]. Moreover, the form of government practiced by the European powers was imperialistic in which some communities and or individuals who collaborated with the colonial masters were put in powerful political positions.

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[95] Muse, H. (2017). The political crisis in Somalia and the clan system: A sociological review of news media analyses. Minnesota, 1(1),20-23.

[96] Nkaissery, J. (2021, July 12). The Ogaden war: An analysis of its causes and its impact on regional peace on the Horn of Africa.Retrieved from Apps website: https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA326941.pdf

As a result, kinship ties broke and essentially this contributed to destruction of formerly united people into individualistic and capitalistic people. Effectively, this did has escalated into political rivalry in which the ruling elite exclude other communities other than their own people from economic participation. Ultimately, these feelings of neglect escalate leading to political instability. In particular, Somalia was colonized by two masters, Italians and British in which divisions were established as some sections of the populations were amplified. Even after independence, parts that were under British rule remained neglected and this caused aggression from populations living in those regions. At the same time, the amplification of some clans against others was sustained. As a result, armed rebel flourished leading to civil wars.

3.3.2 Dictatorship

The Horn of Africa has faced the menace caused by authoritarian rulers who have fueled political uncertainties as people struggle for political inclusions[97]. Dictators amass wealth for their own selfish interest at the expense of the masses and this builds structural conflicts. It is imperative to note that dictators seek to exclude people from accessing economic resources as they desire to fulfil their basic human needs. In essence, this economic exclusion builds tensions and in turn causing violence which can escalate to civil wars and genocide. In Somalia, Said Barre ruled with an iron fist following increase in opposition in late 1980s. This dictatorial trend did more harm than good for the country. When Barre took power by the gun in 1969, what began as

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[97] Cardoso & Oliveira, (2020); Securitisation in Africa in the 21st century: Analysis of the situations in the Gulf of Guinea and the Horn of Africa. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 27(4),533-560.

positive transformation was to later turn into abuse of office and impunity. In the end, it led to one of the worlds' longest civil war in recorded history[98].

3.3.3 Inequality in Resource Allocation

In the event that people are not able to access resources in equal opportunities, the inequality creates tensions which can ultimate violence. This is a significant contributor to violence at the Horn of Africa because in most wars and conflicts, the root cause is often linked to alienation from access to economic resources[99]. Moreover, it most failed states, access to basic commodities such as foods and medical care is a reserved for the rich and political class. The vulnerable class of people are left with no means to fend for themselves and this creates frictions between the haves and the have-nots. This friction can escalate to full blown wars such as armed conflicts. Resource allocation is a function of political systems since the national cake is divided to different projects by the government. Therefore, where inequality is not visible and felt by the vulnerable in the state, instances of structural conflicts are likely to occur[100].

Another manifestation of political instability and weak environmental governance is resource scarcity. The rapid increase in the global population and the acceleration of global economic activity have increased the demand for both renewable and finite natural resource use has serious consequences for the environment, which in turn has implications for human development outcomes for health, hunger, and education.

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[98]Hennberg, I., & Soren, S. (2020). Cooperation and Conflict at the Horn of Africa: A new regional bloc between Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia and its consequences for Eastern Africa. Africa Spectrum, 55(3),339-350.

[99] Mulugeta (2014); A Delicate balance: land use, minority rights and social stability in the Horn of Africa. Insitiue of Peace and Security Studies, 1-334

[100] Dawda, Kweku, Ullah, & Ullah (2019) Dawda, A., Kweku, A., Ullah, S., & Ullah, F. (2019). Globalisation, governance, accountability and the natural resource 'curse': Implications for socio-economic growth of oil-rich developing countries. Resources Policy, 61(1),128-140.

Indeed, more than 85 percent of major global diseases are partly caused by exposure to environmental risk factors such as poor sanitation, air pollution, and a lack of access to clean water. Adding further stress, environmental challenges such as climate change exacerbate some forms of resource scarcity, such as water scarcity.

In Somalia, as it is the case for most countries at the Horn of Africa, feelings of marginalization are imminent, and this causes political instabilities. For example, it is for this reason that general elections are hotly contested in the region since those in power are more privileged to access resources than those who are not holding political positions. Primarily, the inequality creates a system that has oppressed and oppressors considering that resources are key towards meeting human needs. Resource based conflicts in most parts of Africa are most significant. However, the resource-based conflicts in Africa not only emerge due to fewness of resources but also due to abundance of economic resources as premised in resource curse theory.

3.4 Effect of Political Instability and Environmental Governance

3.4.1 Inability to Make Environmental Policies

Even when conflicts are not characterized by armed wars, a weak government is technically unable to make policies that improve environmental protection. This is because, resource exploitation if not controlled through effective legislation hampers the natural environment[101]. This is manifested by overexploitation and scramble for resources. Additionally, political instability affects forest covers due to illegal clearing of forests to provide land for farming and livestock grazing during periods of political turmoil. For example, political instability in Nicaragua has led to reduction of forest covers in the Atlantic shores. Similar results have been observed in Vietnam where

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[101] (Solomon, et al., 2018. Environmental impacts and causes of conflict in the Horn of Africa: A review. *Earth-Science Reviews*, 177(1),284-290.

massive destruction of mangrove forests and other vegetation were destroyed by explosive during the US-Vietnam war in the 1970s[102]. Conflicts therefore promote ecological imbalances as wildlife migrate to demilitarized zones causing overpopulation is small habitats.

3.4.2 Diversion of Environmental Funds

It is impractical to conserve the environment during periods of political instability given that the resources necessary are channeled to other activities like funding wars. Muguleta argues that political instability causes imbalance in environmental stabilities. For example, the Gulf War in the Middle East region has occasioned rampant oil spillage which has led to environmental degradation especially marine life. In this respect, environmental deterioration is seen as a cost of war given that warring entities do not take into consideration the effect of conflicts on the natural environment. Waterways are destroyed by warring factions as it was the case in Rwandan genocide where it is estimated that more than 800, 000 people were annihilated, and this led to pollution of water bodies as it was not possible to dispose the bodies as recommended[103].

3.4.3 Inadequate Environmental Advocacy

Environmental advocacy requires a stable political system. This is because, environmental conservation requires information dissemination to be done by the government and other entities such as NGOs in order to improve public awareness on the need to protect the environment. This means that environmental advocacy is a multidisciplinary and multi-sectoral approach that works best if there is political will.

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[102] (Westings, 2013) The second Indochrina war of 1961-1975; Its environment impact. *Springer Pioneer in Science and Practice*, 1(1).1.

[103] Ibid. Solomon, et al., (2018)

Considering that political good will is a facet of political stability then, lack of it will lead to poor environmental policies and planning[104]. Environmental protection at the Horn of Africa is not all rosy affair in as much as countries subscribe to international treaties on advocacy on protection of environment. The interaction between political instability and environmental protection is broad.

In fact, the Horn of Africa stands out as major conflict zone across the entire world in which prolonged wars have led to far reaching effects on socioeconomic statuses and to the environment too. In a simplistic approach, political instability makes governments unable to come up with policies that can be implemented to ensure that environment is protected from degradation.

3.4.4 Increased Insecurity and Internal Conflicts

Armed conflicts occasion environmental degradation. The intermittent periods of instability and occasional armed conflicts does not boost sustainable resource utilization. This points that a reduction in conflicts favor environmental protection and conservation. For instance, the conflicts in Sudan and Ethiopia and ongoing conflicts in Somalia has made environmental protection difficult[105]. Use of weapons renders the natural environment in despair in which large chunks of forests and grasslands are put in fire, water bodies are polluted, and overgrazing is a common phenomenon at conflict-slanted regions at the Horn of Africa.

The effects of violence instigated by prolonged political instability leads to loss of biodiversity in which pollution is manifested in conflict slanted regions. For example,

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[104] Pacheco-Vega & Amanda (2020) When do environmental NGOs work? A test of the conditional effectiveness of environmental advocacy. *Environmental Politics*, 1(1)1-22.

[105] Mulugeta (2014). A delicate balance: land use, minority rights and social stability in the Horn of Africa. *Insititue of Peace and Security Studies*, 1-334.

soil, air and water pollutants are emitted to the environment leading to environmental susceptibility. It therefore means that instability that escalates to wars has direct impact on environmental protection.

3.4.5 Increased Deforestation and Desertification

Lack of effective environmental governance due to political instability has had adverse effects on forest cover and fueled desertification.[106] Forested areas in Somalia are already under pressure from overgrazing and subsistence agriculture. Deforestation has contributed to desertification, which is always a threat in arid to semi-arid Somalia. In some places, old-growth acacia forests have been cut down for charcoal and replaced by thorn bushes, which make land unusable for grazing.

High demand for forest products, from wood, to rubber, to palm oil, is also driving forest depletion. High energy prices have increased the demand for wood fuel in many developing areas. In Asia and the Pacific, almost three-quarters of the wood produced in the region is used for fuel. Demand for other wood products has also risen due to the rapid growth of emerging economies such as India and China, which have greatly increased their imports of industrial Round-wood in recent years. Somalia like many African countries has exploited its forests and in a 2000 United Nations report indicated that it produced 112,000 metric tons of charcoal per year. A large percentage (80%) was exported directly to Dubai, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.[107] This has been attributed by the high demand of charcoal from Middle East. This has translated to a (4%) deforestation rate annually, which is deemed to be very high. If environmental

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[106] D'Odorico, Paolo, Abinash Bhattachan, Kyle F. Davis, Sujith Ravi, and Christiane W. Runyan. "Global desertification: drivers and feedbacks." Advances in water resources 51 (2013): 326-344.
[107] Grosse-Kettler, Sabrina. "External actors in stateless Somalia." Bonn (Germany): Bonn International Center for Conversion (2004).

governance is not enhanced by the government Somali might lose the remaining forest cover in five to ten years.

3.4.6 Resource Scarcity

Another manifestation of political instability and weak environmental governance is resource scarcity. The rapid increase in the global population and the acceleration of global economic activity have increased the demand for both renewable and finite natural resources. Unsustainable resource use has serious consequences for the environment, which in turn has implications for human development outcomes for health, hunger, and education. Indeed, more than 85 percent of major global diseases are partly caused by exposure to environmental risk factors such as poor sanitation, air pollution, and a lack of access to clean water. Adding further stress, environmental challenges such as climate change exacerbate some forms of resource scarcity, such as water scarcity.[108]

Competition for scarce resources will likely increase due to a rise in drought, desertification, and changes in rainfall patterns. These effects will be especially acute in already arid regions and in areas of extreme poverty, where much of the population relies directly on agriculture. In the dryland areas of sub-Saharan Africa, disruptions in agriculture caused by climatic changes could have profound economic repercussions, with a revenue loss of 26 percent by 2060.[109]

Disruptions in access to water and food will not only have economic effects but also profound consequences for human health. The damage to crops from rising

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[108] Cashman, Adrian, and Richard Ashley. "Costing the long-term demand for water sector infrastructure." foresight (2008).

[109] Nkomo, Joshua C., A. O. Nyong, and K. Kulindwa. "The impacts of climate change in Africa." Final draft submitted to the Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change 51 (2006).

temperatures could cause food shortages among 50 percent of the world's population by the end of the century. Higher temperatures will cause more heat waves, as well as an increase in the transmission of infectious vector-borne diseases, both of which will raise mortality levels in developing countries. Malaria, in particular, will become much more widespread, as a result of mosquitoes moving to higher latitudes as temperatures become warmer.

3.5 Conclusion

Political instability in Somalia can be traced from pre-colonial times, the divisions were expanded by the European powers who invaded the Horn of Africa as it was for other Sub Saharan Africa. As a result, kinship ties broke and essentially this contributed to destruction of and escalated into political rivalry in which the ruling elite exclude other communities other than their own people from economic participation. Another contributor to political instability is caused by authoritarian rulers who have fueled political uncertainties as people struggle for political inclusions[110]. Another catalyst to political instability is the inequality in resource allocation in Somalia.

Political instability has had great influence on environmental governance and has manifested its effects in; inability to formulate policies, inability to allocate resources, diversion of funds meant for environmental governance, increased desertification and deforestation, inadequate environmental advocacy, and hindrance to a working environment for non-governmental organization in conservation and protection of the environment.

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[110] Cardoso & Oliveira, (2020); Securitisation in Africa in the 21st century: Analysis of the situations in the Gulf of Guinea and the Horn of Africa. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 27(4),533-560.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the findings on the study topic influence of political instability on environmental governance at the horn of Africa: a case study of Somalia. The data analyzed is in line with the objectives of the study; to investigate the influence of political instability on environmental governance in the Horn of Africa hg; to examine the effect of political instability and environmental governance in Somalia, and to investigate the key institutional and policy challenges that hinder environmental governance in Somalia. An investigation was done through descriptive content analysis and data presented through charts and tables.

The influence of political instability on environmental governance at the horn of Africa: a case study of Somalia

4.1 Response Rate

A cumulative of 92 questionnaires were administered, and out of this, 92 of the questionnaires were responsibly filled and given back; hence, the response rate was notably 100%. Hence the minimum threshold of 50% of the responses was attained, making it adequately sufficient for a descriptive study.

4.2 Demography

Demographic characteristics of the respondents.

4.2.1 Age

The respondents who undertook this study were people of varied ages. This can be outlined as; 19-34 years (31%), 35-50 years (52%), 51 and above (17%).

Figure 4.1: Age Brackets of the Study Sample
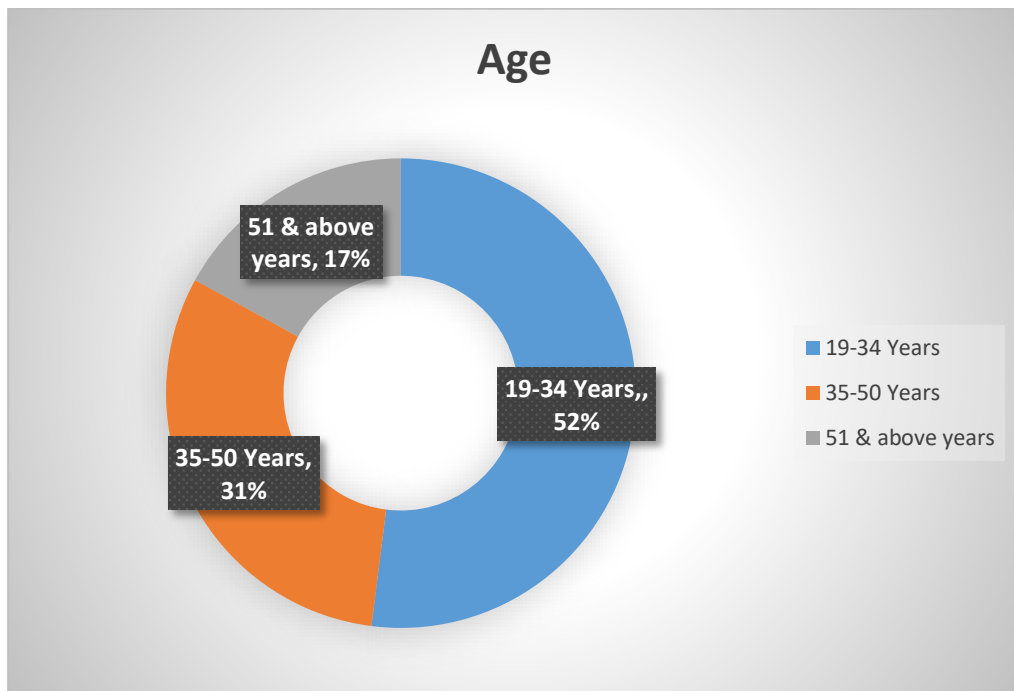
A majority of the respondents were between the age of 19 and 34 years. This is attributed to the fact that they possessed credible and informative information regarding this research.

4.2.2 Gender

Apart from age, gender was also another point of consideration as far as the demography of the respondents was concerned was gender.

a)   Male (50%)

b)   Female (50%).

Figure 4. 2: Gender of the Sample Study
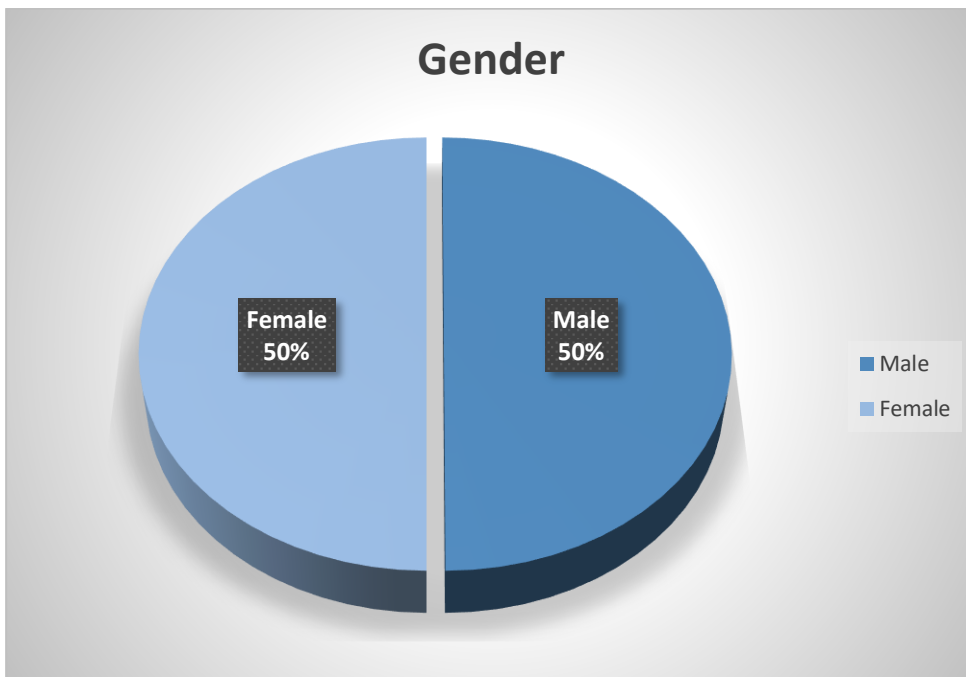
Source: Field Data, 2021

The gender aspect was considered important for this study since the dialogue aspect under investigation affects different gender groups differently. It was, therefore, important to get the perception and views of different groups. There was a selection of an equal number of males and females to avoid bias.

4.2.3 Level of Education

The level of education was considered important for this study since the dialogue aspect under investigation is perceived to be undertaken by people with a given level of academic qualification in the process, thus the different level of education groups. It was, therefore, important to get the perception and views of different groups. This study comprised people who hold various awards such as Ph.D. (25%), Masters (40%), Bachelor's Degree (20%), and Diploma (15%).

Figure 4.3: Levels of Education of Sample Study
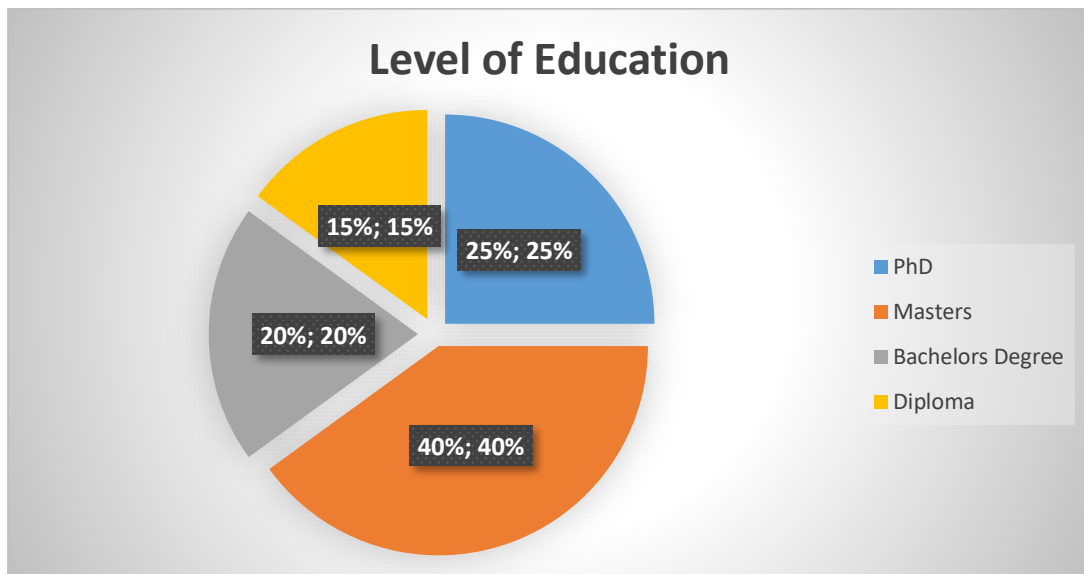
Source: Field Data, 2020

The majority of the respondents (40%) had a master's degree. The rationale for this choice was that such respondents possessed sufficient knowledge about our topic under research and because they were easily accessible.

4.2.4 Years of Experience

The years of experience aspect was considered important for this study since the dialogue aspect under investigation as it was perceived to experience in conflict management, or any given profession affects the quality of the process differently. It was, therefore, important to get the perception and views of different groups with different years of experience. Finally, the year of experience was put into consideration in this study as outlined.

a)   Category 1: 1-3 (35%)

b)   Category 2: 4-6 (15%)

c)   Category 3: 7-10 (50%)

Figure 4. 4: Years of Experience of Sample Study
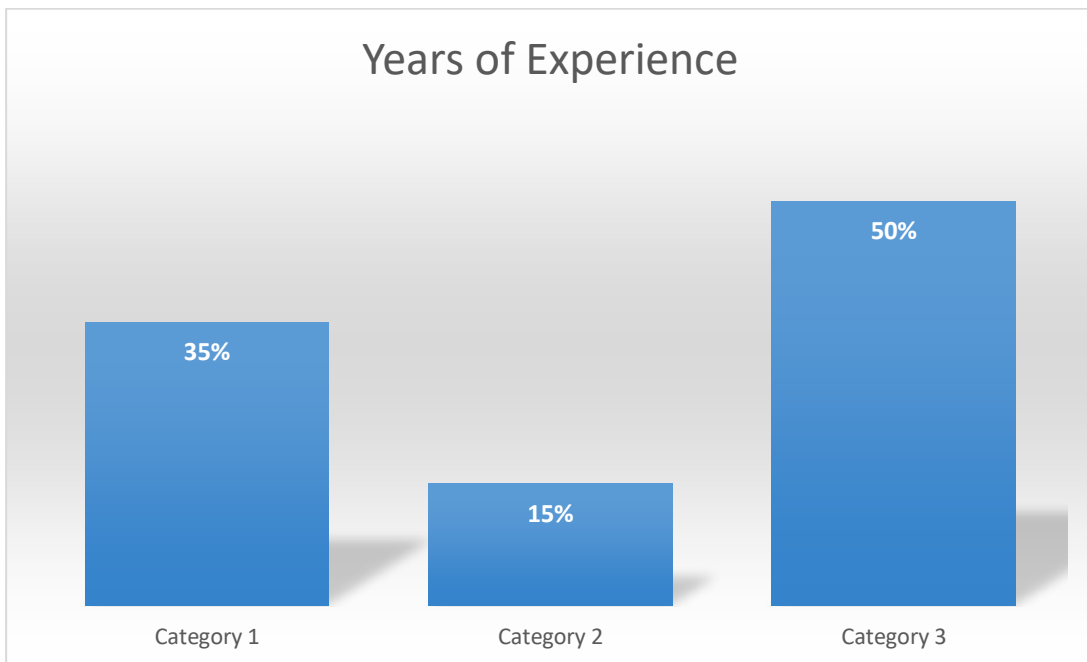
Source: Field Data, 2020

The majority of the respondents to this study had between 7 to 10 years of experience, majorly drawn from the (32-45) and (46-60) age groups. The reason for narrowing down to this was to come up with more objective findings to the study.

Figure 4.5: Careers of the Respondent
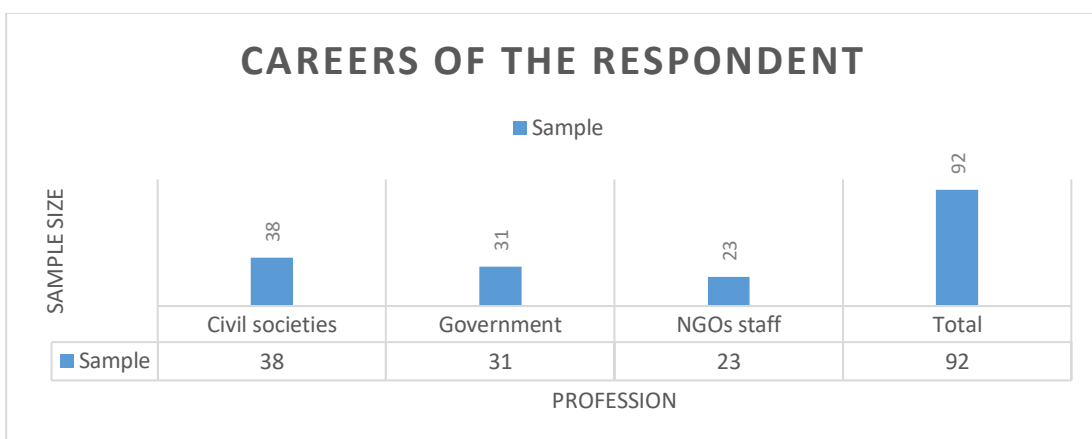
Source: Field Data, 2020

The profession of the respondent aspect was considered important for this study since the topical issue of analyzing the impact of political instability on environmental governance under investigation involved a multifaceted approach of professions to address the various challenges and solutions in their different areas of expertise. It was, therefore, important to get the perception and views of different groups. Most of the respondents to this study were drawn from civil societies, government officials, and environmental-related NGOs staff. The reason for narrowing down to this was to come up with more objective findings to the study.

4.3 The Influence of Political Instability on Environmental Governance in the Horn of Africa

Table 4.1: Nature of Governance

Leadership and Governance	Percentage
Political stable	20%
Politically unstable	80%
Total	100%

Source: Field Data, 2020

Figure 4.6: Political Stability
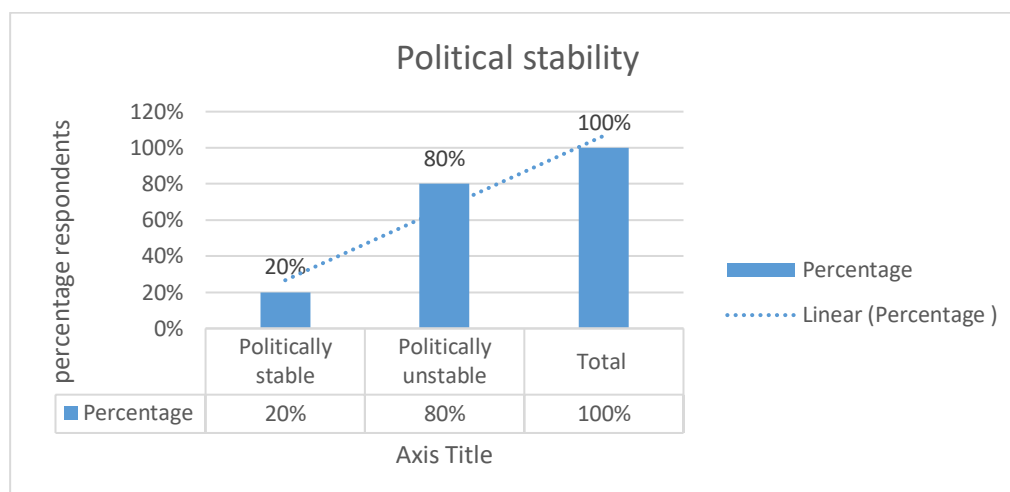
Based on the study findings, 80% of the respondents indicated that Somalia faces political instability. Somalia is still weak despite the country adopting several measures that promote human rights and institutional frameworks; democratic governance is still not enhanced per the rule of law. This has led to numerous disputes amongst the people in Somalia.

The findings pointed out that political instability in Somalia is manifested through various ways such as failed government, impunity, anarchy, and abuse of the rule of law[111]. Moreover, a politically unstable country has a government that cannot fulfill the expected responsibilities due to a lack of legitimacy. A government that is unable to offer public services legitimately is considered a failed government. A long outstanding political instability does not permit sustainable growth and development. This is in line with Lahra et al.'s findings that political instability in the Horn of Africa has taken different dimensions. This has been characterized by political unrest, anti-government

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[111] Ogunwusi, Okafor, & Onwualu. Climate change and political instability in Africa. *2nd Africa Regional Conference Technical Proceedings*. Sunyani, Ghana: Organisation for Women in Science for the developing world. 2014,776

protests, tribal wars, conflicts, and political hatred.[112]   However, a minority (20%) believe that Somalia is politically stable as it has a working government headed by the president.

4.4 Influence of Political Instability on Environmental Governance in the Horn of Africa

Political instability in the Horn of Africa has had a tremendous influence on the governance of environmental issues in Africa and, in particular, in Somalia. Given that environmental governance is a function of policies, institutions, and advocacy, it, therefore, follows that an unstable political climate may impair environmental governance. In addition, conceptualization and creation of environmental policies are mostly borne through political negotiation.[113]   The legislation of environmental governance regulations is shaped by the discursive practices of the larger interest groups, including international organizations and CBOs.[114]   Ethiopia, for instance, adopted an Environmental policy in 1997 to promote sustainable socio-economic development for all.   However, political instability greatly impacts environmental governance in the following manner.

[112] Lahra, S., Howard, D., Mark, G., Nili, S., Lara, K., & Susan, F. M. (2021). Local integration and shared resource management in protracted refugee camps: Findings from a study in the Horn of Africa. Journal of Refugee Studies, 34(1),787-805

[113] Loftus, A. (2020). Political ecology II: Whither the state? *Progress in Human Geography*, 44(1),139-149.

[114] Nemutamvuni, K., McKay, T., & Henry, B. (2020). The active citizenry, community-Based organizations and the protection of urban wetlands: The case of Corbyn, Tshwane, South Africa. *Global Ecology and Conservation*.

4.4.1 Policy Formulation

A majority, 75%, of the respondents indicated that policy formulation, which is key in enhancing environmental governance, was greatly affected by political instability in Somalia; on the other hand, 17% of the respondents held a contrary opinion to the statement. In comparison, 8% of the respondent held a neutral position to the statement.

Several studies have shown that where political stability directly impacts policy formulation, which is vital in strengthening environmental governance, such as a study by Ojwang et al., they found the enactment of related environmental policies such as land use rights, emission laws, and mining rights is a key environmental governance issue. Kenya has a National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) that is mandated to ensure sustainable socio-economic development. Therefore, the environmental governance policies are well-exercised where political processes and relations share the associated concerns and struggle that the damage of the environment produces. However, countries that lack political stability, such as Somalia, lack environmental and legal frameworks that anchor and strengthen environmental governance implementation.

4.4.2 Underdevelopment and Inadequate Funds

A majority, 84%, agreed with the statement that the state of underdevelopment and lack of adequate funds negatively affects environmental governance in Somalia. In comparison, 12% were of a contrary opinion, and in addition, 2% had a neutral stand on the matter at hand. These findings are in line with Galgano, F. (2018). Conflict in the Horn of Africa, where he found out that frequent political instabilities in the Horn of Africa, has undoubtedly led to massive underdevelopment in the region; in addition, poverty is so pronounced in regions with political instabilities. Moreover, unstable

countries can hardly undertake any meaningful environmental governance strategies. This is because environmental protection requires resources, both financial and human, to implement. Another study that conquers with findings is by Krampe et al. they held that political instabilities do not support the undertaking of fundamental innovative strategies for promoting environmental conservation. At the same time, political instabilities do not leave enough funds for undertaking environmental conservation and protection.[115]

4.4.3 Hinders NGOs in Environmental Advocacy

A majority, 68% of the respondents, believed that political instability hindered non-governmental organizations in environmental advocacy. In comparison, 20% disagreed with the statement, and a minority, 12%, held a neutral opinion. Environmental institutions such as non-governmental organizations are involved in environmental advocacy—NGOs dealing with environmental conservation efforts. For example, the Green Belt Movement has championed environmental protection in Kenya, championing for eradication of utilization of public land, forests, wetlands, and protected lands for wildlife by ruling elites in Kenya.

These findings are in line with a study by Deng on the limitation of the Horn of Africa Regional Environment Centre and Network, which is an initiative that seeks to champion safe and healthy use of the environment in the Horn of Africa. However, lack of political goodwill limits the actions of institutions that would otherwise improve the environment and livelihoods of people, as observed in South Sudan.[116]

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[115] Krampe, F., Smith, E., & Barhhoorn, L. (2020). Water Security and Governance in the Horn of Africa. *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*, 409-429.

[116] Deng, L. (2010). Livelihood diversification and civil war: The case of Dinka communities in Sudan's civil wa. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 4(3),381-399.

Non-governmental entities in the Horn of Africa are instrumental as they bridge the gap that exists in circumstances where governments cannot attend to all environmental matters, particularly in underdeveloped nations.[117] For example, the Centre for Justice Governance and Environmental Action has provided environmental advocacy in Kenya and Tanzania, ensuring that people are protected from toxic substances by extractive industries along the coastline. It is true to suffice that in situations where governments are weak, NGOs play a significant role in improving the welfare of the people. However, the full benefits of NGOs on environmental governance can only be realized where there is political stability.[118]

Another study by Fenetahum et al. found out that where there is political instability, NGOs are ineffective in fostering environmental advocacy as they are considered foreign influences by the state. In addition, they found out that the Horn of Africa is regarded as an environment whose political instability creates new vicious cycles of conflicts and disasters. And that it renders environmental governance untenable.[119]

4.4.4 Hinders Environmental Activism

65% of the respondents were in agreement that political instability in Somalia had hindered environmental activism, which is a vital tool in enhancing checks and balances in environmental governance, while 27% of the respondents were in total disagreement with the statement with 8% of the respondents held a neutral stand. Environmental

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[117] Tonui, B. (2018). The Role of Non-state Actors in Resolving Environmental Conflicts in the Horn of Africa: a Case Study of Olposmoru Forest in the Mau Complex Kenya. *The University of Nairobi Thesis*, 1-75

[118] Leeuw, J., Carsan, S., Koech, G., Aissetou, D., & Nyongesa, J. (2017). A review of best practices for selected biodiversity value chains that promote pro-poor conservation in the Horn of Africa. *Biodiversity-Based Value Chains*, 1-134.

[119] Fenetahum, Y., Yuan, Y., Xinwen, X., Wang, Y., & Vincent, N. (2021). The impact of political instability on sustainable rangeland management: A study of Borana rangeland, southern Ethiopia. *Agriculture*, 11(1),352.

advocacy is defined as the tactical use of forms of activism to promote sustainable environmental initiatives.[120] Environmental advocacy is a concept grounded on enhanced education and awareness on protecting and conserving the environment. Environmental advocates are concerned with transforming unsustainable practices that deplete and degrade the environment to more progressive and sustainable practices.

These findings align with a study by Enhance and Arun, who opine that political instabilities lead to indiscriminate and excessive exploitation of natural resources, thus posing serious ecological threats. In addition, they point out that during violent instances of political instabilities, there is massive pollution and loss of biodiversity, which creates a peaceful environment. For example, in Ethiopia, conflicts with Eritrea, the Somali Republic, and in the Tigray have caused environmental degradation in both areas. They concluded by affirming that political instabilities in the Horn of Africa lower environmental advocacy, an integral aspect of environmental governance.[121]

4.5 Challenges of Political Instability on Environmental Governance Instability

4.5.1 Inability to make Environmental Policies

A majority of the respondents, 74%, agreed that one major effect of political instability was the inability to make environmental governance policies; 20% disagreed with this statement, while 6% were undecided. According to Solomon et al., a weak government can technically make policies that improve environmental protection. This is because resource exploitation, if not controlled through effective legislation it directly hampers the natural environment.[122]. In addition, this is manifested by overexploitation and

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[120] Wallack, L. (1994). Media advocacy: a strategy for empowering people and communities. *Journal of Public Health Policy*, 15(4), 420-43

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scrambling for resources. Additionally, political instability affects forest covers due to the illegal clearing of forests to provide land for farming and livestock grazing during political turmoil. For example, political instability in Nicaragua has led to reducing forest covers on the Atlantic shores. Similar results have been observed in Vietnam, where explosives destroyed massive destruction of mangrove forests and other vegetation during the US-Vietnam war in the 1970s[123]. Conflicts, therefore, promote ecological imbalances as wildlife migrate to demilitarized zones causing overpopulation in small habitats.

4.5.2 Diversion of Environmental Funds

Another effect of political instability on environmental governance identified by 68% of the respondents was the diversion of environmental funds to other priority activities; 24% of the respondents held a contrary opinion, while a minority of 8% had a neutral opinion on the statement.

Muguleta argues that political instability causes an imbalance in environmental stability. For example, the Gulf War in the Middle East region has occasioned rampant oil spillage, which has led to environmental degradation, especially marine life. In this respect, environmental deterioration is seen as a cost of war, given that warring entities do not consider the effect of conflicts on the natural environment. Solomon et al. observed that waterways were prone to destruction by warring factions as it was in the case of the Rwandan genocide where it is estimated that more than 800 000 people were

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[123] (Westings, 2013) The second Indochina war of 1961-1975; Its environmental impact. *Springer Pioneer in Science and Practice*, 1(1).1.

annihilated, and this led to pollution of water bodies as it was not possible to dispose of the bodies as recommended.[124].

4.5.3 Increased Insecurity and Internal Conflicts

An increase in the level of Insecurity and internal or local conflicts within Somalia negatively impacted environmental governance, as was reported by a majority 84% of the respondents. In comparison, 12% disagreed with this statement, and in addition, 2% remained neutral on this statement.

According to Mulugeta, he believes that intermittent periods of instability and occasional armed conflicts did not boost sustainable resource utilization. This points that a reduction in conflicts favors environmental protection and conservation. For instance, the conflicts in Sudan and Ethiopia and ongoing conflicts in Somalia have made environmental protection difficult.[125]. According to Meier et al. use of weapons renders the natural environment in despair. Large chunks of forests and grasslands are put in the fire, water bodies are polluted, and overgrazing is common in conflict-slanted regions in the Horn of Africa.[126]

The effects of violence instigated by prolonged political instability lead to loss of biodiversity in which pollution is manifested in conflict-slanted regions. For example, soil, air, and water pollutants are emitted, leading to environmental susceptibility. It, therefore, means that instability that escalates to wars has a direct impact on environmental protection.

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[124] Ibid. Solomon et al. (2018)
[125] Mulugeta (2014). A delicate balance: land use, minority rights and social stability in the Horn of Africa. *Institute of Peace and Security Studies*, 1-334.
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4.5.4 Increased Deforestation and Desertification

76% of the respondents viewed the lack of effective environmental governance due to political instability as having adverse effects on forest cover and fueled desertification; 20% disagreed with the statement, while 4% held a neutral position.

According to Darkoh, forested areas in Somalia are already under pressure from overgrazing and subsistence agriculture. Deforestation has contributed to desertification, which is always a threat in arid to semi-arid Somalia. In some places, old-growth acacia forests have been cut down for charcoal and replaced by thorn bushes, making the land unusable for grazing.[127]

According to Grosse-Kettler, Somalia, like many African countries, has exploited its forests, and a 2000 United Nations report indicated that it produced 112,000 metric tons of charcoal per year. A large percentage (80%) was exported directly to Dubai, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates.[128] This has been attributed to the high demand for charcoal from the Middle East. This has translated to a (4%) deforestation rate annually, which is deemed to be very high. If the government does not enhance environmental governance, Somalia might lose the remaining forest cover in five to ten years.

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[127] Darkoh, Michael Bernard Kwesi. "Regional perspectives on agriculture and biodiversity in the drylands of Africa." Journal of Arid Environments 54, no. 2 (2003): 261-279.
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CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0. Introduction

This study sought to explore the influence of political instability on environmental governance in the Horn of Africa, with a specific focus being a case study of Somalia. Three objectives guided the study; to investigate the influence of political instability on environmental governance in the Horn of Africa; to examine the effect of political instability and environmental governance in Somalia; and investigate the key institutional and policy challenges that hinder environmental governance in Somalia.

Moreover, two hypotheses also guided the study, and these were H1: The status of political instability has adversely affected environmental governance in the Horn of Africa and particularly in Somalia. H0: The existing environmental governance frameworks in Somalia are ineffective in protecting and conserving the environment.

5.1 Summary

Political instability has a significant impact on environmental governance in nations in Africa, more specifically in Somalia. This summary will be analyzing objective by objective that guided this study.

The first objective was to investigate the influence of political instability on environmental governance in the Horn of Africa; Political instability in Horn Africa has a far-reaching influence on environmental governance. It has emerged that political instability has a direct and indirect impact on the environment. The use of explosives and bombs in armed conflicts directly destroys the environment negatively affecting human life and wildlife. Political instability reduces the ability of a nation to formulate

legislation on environmental governance and therefore limits control of air, water, and soil pollutants emissions into the environment.

Moreover, during periods of political instability, there is overexploitation of natural resources such as on land due to illegal lumbering and clearing of forest covers to pave the way for farming and grazing livestock. In addition, political instability may lead to wars in which funds that should have been used to protect the environment are diverted to other users, such as the provision of arms and weapons, which is construed as a more imminent need by countries in conflicts.

The second objective of this study was to analyze the effect of political instability and environmental governance in Somalia; Political instability in Somalia can be traced from pre-colonial times, the divisions were expanded by the European powers who invaded the Horn of Africa as it was for other Sub Saharan Africa. As a result, kinship ties broke, and essentially, this contributed to the destruction of and escalated into political rivalry in which the ruling elite excluded other communities other than their people from economic participation. Another contributor to political instability is caused by authoritarian rulers who have fueled political uncertainties as people struggle for political inclusions. Another catalyst to political instability is the inequality in resource allocation in Somalia.

The third objective was to investigate the key institutional and policy challenges that hinder environmental governance in Somalia. Political instability has had a great influence on environmental institutions and policy formulation. Resulting to challenges of environmental governance. As characterized by the inability to formulate policies, inability to enforce existing policies due to weak institution, inability to allocate resources or funds to enhance environmental governance, diversion of funds meant for

environmental governance, inadequate environmental advocacy, and hindrance to a working environment for a non-governmental organization in conservation and protection of the environment.

5.2 Conclusion

Political instability in the Horn of Africa has a far-reaching influence on environmental governance. It has emerged that political instability has a direct and indirect impact on the environment. The use of explosives and bombs in armed conflicts directly destroys the environment negatively affecting human life and wildlife. Political instability reduces the ability of a nation to formulate legislation on environmental governance and therefore limits control of air, water, and soil pollutants emissions into the environment.

Political instability in the Horn of Africa has a far-reaching influence on environmental governance. Political instability reduces the ability of a nation to formulate legislation on environmental governance and therefore limits control of air, water, and soil pollutants emissions into the environment. In addition, political instability may lead to wars in which funds that should have been used to protect the environment are diverted to other users, such as the provision of arms and weapons, which is construed as a more imminent need by countries in conflicts. Another catalyst to political instability is the inequality in resource allocation in Somalia. Hence there is a need to enhance political stability and, in turn, strengthen institutions placed with the responsibility of formulating environmental policies to enhance environmental governance in Somalia.

5.3 Recommendations

Somalia should strengthen its environmental institution to enhance its effectiveness both in law and in its implementation and enforcement. The political class should formulate policies that will strengthen the pre-existing framework to ensure there are checks and balances in the operationalization of environmental governance.

The ruling class should offer political will in finding sustainable peace and strengthening political stability by ensuring institutions are working, and there is general cohesion amongst its citizenry. Political goodwill is essential to win over the minds and hearts of the citizen in taking part in environmental conservation and protection. A stable political environment is crucial for any successful formulation, implementation, and enforcement of any form of governance.

The Somali government should allocate more funds to environmental institutions, organizations, and programs in Somalia to counter the negative impacts of environmental degradation and combat the negative effects of climate change. More resources both human resource and capital resource is key in strengthening environmental governance.

Government should seek and embrace joint partnership from local private institutions, local and international organizations such as UNEP in enshrining good governance and building capacity for environmental initiatives within the country. Joint partnerships are essential as they offer an array of skills, expertise, funds, and best practices in environmental governance.

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Appendix 1 : Questionnaire

PART A : Demographic characteristics

Tick as appropriate

1. **Age**

   (i) {18-31}   [ ]

   (ii) {32-45}   [ ]

   (iii) (46-60}   [ ]

2. **Gender**

   (i) Male   [ ]

   (ii) Female

3. **Level of Education**

   (i) PhD   [ ]

   (ii) Master   [ ]

   (iii) Bachelor's Degree   [ ]

   (iv) Diploma   [ ]

4. **Years of Experience**

   (i) 1-3   [ ]

   (ii) 4-6   [ ]

   (iii)7-10   [ ]

5. **Career**

   …………………..……..………………………………………………….

PART B: Influence of political instability on environmental governance in the Horn of Africa.

6) What are the major causes of conflict in Somalia?

    …………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………

7) What are the major drivers of political instability in Somalia?

    …………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………

8) Are you familiar with any environmental policies?

    Yes   [ ]

    No   [ ]

    If yes give three examples of environmental policies in Somalia

    a) ………………………………………………………………………

    b) ………………………………………………………………………

    c) ……………………………………………………………………….

9) Does Somalia political class (legislature) include all actors in its environmental endeavors in Somalia? (How much does Somalia follow and implement the principle of inclusivity

    ………………………………………………………………………

10) How do you assess the formulation of environmental policies capacity of Somalia? ....

PART C: effects of political instability and environmental governance in Somalia

11) How effective is the use of the existing local traditional conflict

resolutionmechanism in enhancing environmental governance?

…………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………

12) Are there any environmental local or external non-governmental organization

in Somalia?

Yes   [ ]

No   [ ]

If yes name at least two

a) ………………………………………………………..……………

b) ………………………………………………………..………

13) What is the role of environmental activism in enhancing environmental

governance in Somalia?

…………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………

14) Does political Instability affect environmental activism in Somalia?

Yes   [ ]

No   [ ]

15) Does Somali have the institutional, financial and political capacity to

address environmental governance?

……………………………………………………………………

16) Does Somalia have a comprehensive regional peace and security framework that addresses the fundamental roots of political Instability?

....

PART D: key institutional and policy challenges that hinder environmental governance in Somalia

17) Are you aware of any environmental institution in Somalia?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

If yes list at least two environmental institutions in Somalia

a) ……………………………………………………………………

b) ……………………………………………………………………

18) What are the major challenge hindering environmental institution in Somalia?

a) …………………………………………………………..

b) …………………………………………………………..

c) …………………………………………………………..

19) How effective are the environmental institution in implementing and enforcing environmental related policies?

Adequate [ ]

Not sure [ ]

Inadequate [ ]

20) What are the recommendation measures to enhance environmental governance through institutional and environmental policies?

……………………………………………………………………………

21) What should be done to strengthen the Peace and political stability in Somalia

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

Thank You

Appendix II: Interview Schedule

1.   What are the causes of political instability in Somalia? Explain

2.   Who are the main actors in enhancing political stability and environmental institutions? What role do they play in environmental governance?

3.   Do conflict hotspots areas exist? If yes, why and name them.

4.   Which methods are used mostly to solve political instability?

5.   What are the challenges encountered or experienced by environmental institutions?

6.   What are the short- and long-term impacts of political instability on environmental governance?

7.   What are the policy recommendation measures required to enhance environmental governance in Somalia?

Appendix III: Turnitin Report

Research Project

ORIGINALITY REPORT

13%	12%	3%	6%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	erepository.uonbi.ac.ke:8080 Internet Source	4%
2	www.ipinst.org Internet Source	3%
3	news.mongabay.com Internet Source	1%
4	erepository.uonbi.ac.ke Internet Source	<1%
5	Submitted to Mount Kenya University Student Paper	<1%
6	Submitted to Kenyatta University Student Paper	<1%
7	Erepository.uonbi.ac.ke Internet Source	<1%
8	Submitted to University of Ulster Student Paper	<1%
9	researchspace.ukzn.ac.za Internet Source	<1%