Bachelor Thesis

Decentralization in Response to Drought

A Case Study to Somalia”

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Abstract
Decentralization has been one of the most extensively accepted political strategies since the 1980s, especially when it comes to development administration complemented by the expansion of democratization at lower levels of government. It acts as a bottom-top of authority. A proponent of decentralization argues that decentralization strengthens democracy, good governance and accountability. It is more effective and closer to the people because power is delegated to the local authority. Opponents of decentralization beliefs that is difficult to coordinate many local governments and demanding financial and human capital. This paper lies under that debate and presents how decentralization responds to droughts as a case study to Somalia.

Somalia has been exercising a highly centralized administration for a long time but now changed the structure of the government and built up a federal member states where the administration is widely decentralized. To understand the effectiveness of the system to mitigate and prevent droughts, the study will look at two different scenarios of droughts that hit the country. One was the mid-1970s under highly centralized administration while the other drought hit the country 2011-2012 under the decentralized structure of governance. This comparison aims to see the impact and respond that each system showed. The result will help the country to redesign their future prevention strategy and minimize the vulnerability of the droughts. Because of drought is one of the most destructive environmental phenomena, doing enormous damage to humankind and the livelihoods.

Keywords
Decentralization, Centralization, Drought, Climate Change, Good governance, Institutions
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<tr>
<td>SIDA</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Agency</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations International Children’s Fund</td>
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<td>WFP</td>
<td>World Food Program</td>
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<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization</td>
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<td>FSNAU</td>
<td>Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit</td>
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<td>FEWSNET</td>
<td>Famine Early Warning System Network</td>
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<td>TFG</td>
<td>Transitional Federal Government</td>
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<td>IPCC</td>
<td>Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change</td>
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<td>UNFCCC</td>
<td>United Nation’s Framework Convention on Climate Change</td>
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<td>SDGs</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
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<td>RFC</td>
<td>Request for Concern</td>
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<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organization for Migration</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<td>UNOCHA</td>
<td>United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs</td>
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<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internal Displaced People</td>
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<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of Red Cross</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<td>CIDA</td>
<td>Canadian International Development Agency</td>
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<td>CPI</td>
<td>Corruption Perception Index</td>
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<td>SHF</td>
<td>Somalia Humanitarian Fund</td>
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Chapter one: Introduction

1. Introduction and research problem

Drought as a natural disaster considered to be major contributing factor to political, economic, and social losses. And therefore the response under the decentralized system of governance has been major issue due to the complexities confronting several countries affected by drought (Dustin 2018) The losses identified with drought in comparison to other natural disasters are likely to result in migration whereby an estimate of USD 6-8 billion has been recorded on a worldwide basis (Kindra, 2013).

Drought response in different parts of the world has been considered to encounter several challenges that finally results in a food crisis and also a loss of lives (Shaw et al, 2011). This is in line with the study that was derived from the East Africa region on food crisis that greatly affected Somalia, Djibouti, and Kenya affecting the livelihood of 9.5 million individual (SIDA, 2015).

Inadequate response to droughts adversely contributes to starvation and death (Shaw et al, 2011). Even though the decentralization system of governance is keen to facilitate and shorten the decision-making process to prevent and mitigate major causes of natural disasters (Skidmore et al, 2013). A study by (Darcy et al., 2012) found out that 13 million people originating from the horn of Africa were prone to death and starvation risks including the Somalia people and those refugees in the refugee camps in the areas bordering Somalia were mostly affected.

Indeed, the repetitive droughts in Somalia under any system of governance had a significant impact on the country's development trajectory. It is much altered by many factors which tend to have adverse effects on the prevention measures that put in place, Southern Somalia exhibited the same situation in 2011 whereby the drought management techniques were affected by very low levels of rainfall that were experienced in the region for the first time in the history of the country (Maxwell et al, 2012).

The choice of Somalia as the case study was due to the intensity of the negative impacts experienced by the Somalia population during the drought period. Quite much has been written about the effects of droughts and other natural disasters that hit the country. However,
there is not so much research written how the system of the governance contributes to respond and mitigate droughts. In this regard, we know about little why decentralization always fails in Somalia to respond to natural disasters and meet the needs and expectations of the citizens.

To provide a comprehensive study on the response to droughts, this study presents a general overview in Somalia under a decentralized system scenario in line with the review to other similar studies within the same context. The impact of the decentralization system in enhancing drought prevention is also very crucial in this study. The purpose is to provide viable information on the governance structures by which is more efficient when it comes to drought management. And finally, the analysis of the challenges encountered in the process of responding to drought under the decentralized systems emphasizing the availability of viable solutions in solving the problems efficiently with the objective of preventing drought.

1.2 Objective and Research question.

The major objective of this study will focus on identifying the role of decentralization in enhancing appropriate strategies in place to prevent drought in Somalia. The prevention strategies will be discussed concerning all federal member states in Somalia to identify the existing research gaps in the decentralization systems.

This study will look to other developing countries especially to the neighboring countries and their effort of identifying the appropriate strategies to be adopted in mitigating the risks relating to drought under their decentralized systems of governance.

Research questions

i. What is the contribution of the decentralization system on drought prevention in Somalia?

ii. What are the major challenges encountered under decentralization?

1.3 The relevance of the Study

The developing ‘‘countries appear to have suffered in the past from over-centralized development efforts. More recently, many states have attempted to reverse these trends through a policy of decentralization. The aim is to overcome institutional weaknesses, enable development to be administered at the local level, and bring greater popular participation (Grindle, 2007). Democratic structures have been prescribed as a means of ensuring greater involvement in development, particularly for the rural poor.
The governance system of decentralization provides a framework which enhances sustainable development through all regions in Somalia. It will help to create active cooperation between sectors and the central government by which identifies the duties and responsibilities for each part (Desta, 2015). Decentralization aims to contribute to achieving common goals and harmonize the country’s resources to develop one prevention plan (Bulmer 2017).

According to the Collier Paul (2007), Somalia is one of the Bottom Billion countries, and good governance is one of the instruments helping the country to come out of the trap. In this regard, it is highly essential to look at which political system is most likely responding well when it comes to disaster management.

1.4 Methodology.

Qualitative research technique will be employed in this study to identify the response of decentralization on drought prevention in Somalia to find out the appropriate results under this system identified. An abductive approach will be carried out in this study to determine the expected results of drought prevention in Somalia. A case study design will be used as a strategy for deriving information through an in-depth analysis of the key factors involved in the study to give more comprehensive information on the empirical studies derived from the secondary data sources.

1.5 Limitations and Delimitations.

The study will be delimited to the response of drought under the decentralization system in Somalia with a major focus on the federal member states. Since Somaliland lacks international recognition as an independent state and United Nations (U.N) recognizes as a part of Somalia (Ahere 2013). The scope of this study will be delimited to former Italian Somalia and will exclude Somaliland, which proclaimed their independence in May 1991 from the central government of the Republic of Somalia.

The study suffers the following limitations: Focus on Somalia as the case study will significantly affect the findings and the results since most of the information will be majorly derived from the government. The use of secondary data also is another limitation. Somalia is one of the poorest countries in the world and has suffered from prolonged periods of civil war, which brings with it a severe lack of information and documents of all kinds. I know the country well and speak Somali. This is an advantage. I am aware that it also can be a
limitation as I have preconceived ideas about the situation. But I have systematically throughout my work reflected over that to avoid eventual biases.

1.6 Ethical consideration

Since the research is a desk study, it does not merit any ethical attention due to that it does not involve any direct contact. However, to ensure the quality and success in drafting the thesis, ethical considerations relating to academic writing standards and plagiarism will be conduct through the entire process of writing the dissertation.

1.7 Thesis Structure

The organization of the thesis will be presented as follows:

Chapter two will comprise of the theoretical framework; analytical framework and strategies adopted for drought prevention.

The third chapter will present discussions about the research methodology. This chapter explains the relevant and applicable methods for the study

The fourth chapter will give the background of the study

The fifth chapter will present the findings.

The sixth chapter will be analyses and discussions based on the analytical framework.

The seventh chapter presents conclusions and recommendations.
Chapter two: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Emerging the concept of decentralization.

The idea relating to the evolution of decentralization for a period of over the past half-century has assumed an increasing diversity which refers to different meanings, objectives, and forms regarding different periods with varying systems of governance (Rondinelli, 1981).

The process involved in the evolution of decentralization involved different stages which were considered a key in describing the major reforms and events in each step, and this included:

2.1.1 Post –World War II

The decentralization system of governance during this period took place after World War II. During the period between the 1970s and 1980, the system of governance focused on the governance systems that involved complex procedures and hierarchical structures in the government settings which were very key in making the governance decisions (Rondinelli et al, 1983; Cheema et al, 2007).

2.1.2 The second wave of decentralization

The second wave of decentralization began in the mid of 1980s (Cheema et al, 2007), the broader aspect of devolution was introduced to cover various areas which included: political power sharing, democratization, and market liberalization. Early 1980s states and government perceived interchangeably (Grindle 2007; Cheema et al, 2007) whereby a more extensive coverage focused on private sector decision making. This time the debate has started to talk about the government structure, the role of the government, and the effectiveness of central power. Developed and developing countries adopted decentralization system, which contributed to the distribution of power and authority by the governments in the global scenario in all the countries involved in this system of governance (ibid).

There have been several things changed the perception towards government structure and its functions. Cheema (2007) argued that the economic growth, social and political interaction between nations and the technological advancement changed people’s perception towards government system. People became more closely, the improvement made to communication
and transportation facilities participated in spreading knowledge and information among nations, and this affected the way of thinking about government structure. (ibid)

In this period, countries began to redistribute their power and authority in their governance structures to ensure efficiency in service delivery and to empower the local administrative units with more power regarding the responsibilities delegated. Some countries recognized decentralization as an excellent alternative to centralization due to the effect of globalization on economic planning and management which was caused by the challenges of implementing a centralized system of governance (Smith, 2007). According to Elwad (2019) “much of the population in developing countries is both poor and excluded from elite politics, any scheme that appears to offer greater political participation to ordinary citizens seems likely to increase their ‘voice’ and hopefully, the relevance and effectiveness of government”(Ewald el at, 2019:p.15)

Governments introduced three essential types of decentralization, which included: deconcentration, devolution, and delegation (Grindle 2007; Cheema el at, 2007). Grindle noted that deconcentration involved a change of administrative obligations from the center-based ministries and departments to administrative units. This was locally recognized and implemented through the establishment of field offices that collaborated with national departments. Intending to delegate decision making to the regional level authorities, devolution involved strengthening local governments through empowering authority responsibility and resources through the provision of services and infrastructure, protection of health and safety in the public sector and finally formulation and implementation of policies that support local governance. Delegation contributed to national governments transferring the managerial positions of authority to semi-independent or parastatals organizations and state enterprises and development agencies with the public authorities (ibid).

International aid agencies also changed centralization in economic planning to decentralization intending to meet other essential needs, which include basic human needs, equity growth, and development that involved democracy and justice (Grindle 2007). Grindle noted that big institutions like IMF and World Bank describe decentralization as an instrument of structural change, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and other international development organizations sees decentralization as an instrument for structural adjustments needed to restore market efficiency, create or strengthen democracy, and promote good governance(ibid). They promoted decentralization to encourage developments that were
substantially supported by the self-help communities and governments that were locally recognized in different government (Rondinelli et al, 1993)

2.2 The debate of Decentralization

Decentralization has become an increasingly familiar theme in development theory and practices over the past two decades (Smith, 2007; Grindle, 2007; Cheema et al, 2007). Some countries promoted and have been exercising decentralization for more than two decades. Grindle (2007) stated that local governments in Kenya, India, Philippines, South Africa, and others get an opportunity to participate decision-making processes about resource allocation, policy implementation and development projects that would alter the future of their communities. As he mentioned that decentralization revolution got underway in the 1980s. Smith (2007) argued the emerge of decentralization boosted by ‘‘demand for unity’’ after the civil war ‘‘(as in Uganda and Mozambique)’’.

USAID stated that effective decentralization can participate in the process of democratic change at the local level and promotes political democracy as well (USAID, 2000;1). Also, World Bank claims that decentralization increases administrative efficiency ‘‘Successful improves the efficiency and responsiveness of the public sector while accommodating potentially explosive political forces’’ (World Bank, 2000;101), IMF’s Western Hemisphere Department ‘‘decentralizing spending responsibilities can bring substantial welfare gains’’ (Grindle, 2007). The UN considers decentralization as a political system that can respond to the political demand of citizens (UNDP, 1997b). Academics and practitioners alike believed that this revolution and reshaping government structure is more critical to ensure good governance. Economists also argued that decentralization will increase the efficiency of public spending and will priorities the demand of the citizens (Ibid). They have seen as a necessary means to redesign economic growth, which had a low growth rate in decades. Political scientists, political activists, nongovernmental organizations, and human rights group also became advocates for benefits of decentralization (Ibid).

Aid donors acknowledged the benefits of decentralization to local government administration. First, it improves public policies and contributes more responsive to local needs. Secondly, decentralization increases the legitimacy of the government. Because the government comes to power through the will of the citizens, shifting the power from one to another democratically reduces the outbreak of political violence and conflict. Finally, it reduces
poverty in the way of bringing poor people into local politics and being part decision-making process (Smith, 2007).

On the other hand, some researchers like Paul Smoke had argued in favor of centralization as a response to the threat of decentralization. Smoke (2013) pointed out that decentralization reform works reverse in many developing countries. As he also argued decentralization ‘‘is almost invariably complex. Because it has several dimensions, it’s appropriate extent and form vary across countries, and its implementation takes considerable time, decentralization is a difficult phenomenon both to design and to study’’ (Smoke 2003, P.8).

Kjaer (2015) highlighted the growing sense towards more centralized administrations and that people became more familiar with decentralization fatigue. ‘‘If decentralization reforms were poorly designed, poorly enacted or poorly resourced, failure becomes an almost inevitable outcome (Kjaer el at, 2015; 66). The opponents of decentralization built their arguments the facts that only local elites benefit inequitably from decentralization. Interest groups also dominate local elections and become an authoritarian in local government as it also makes local communities more divided social, economic and political (Grindle, 2007). Smith argued the danger of decentralization emerged when the local administration used to mobilize for the interest of national elites as it happens in Zimbabwe when ruling part uses local people for their interests (Smith, 2007). Oppositions of decentralization raised their doubt whether decentralized governments are any more democratic than a centralized one. There have been some countries by which their citizens were not satisfied with the action of their mayors and local governments (Kjaer el at, 2015; Grindle, 2007). Grindle (2004) mentioned as an example of how citizens became fed up with their corrupted local administrations. In “Ilave, Peru angry residents lynched the town’s mayor and threw his body under a bridge”, “citizens of Ayo Ayo in Bolivia set a fire on their mayor” as the “mayor of Blantyre Malawi sentenced to three years in prison for stealing funds meant for road repairs”. The question is, does decentralization promises good governance, democracy, and making officials accountable for their actions? Decentralization brought in some countries acts of civic violence and "conflict charges of corruption, malfeasance, lack of accountability, fraud, and failure to respond to the needs of residents" (Grindle, 2007).

The literature on decentralization has tended to concentrate on case studies on a country basis and theoretical discussions rather than empirical analysis. Countries are not in the same range of implementation and cannot be generalized the result of one country to the others. Citizens
increasingly looked to local governments in their aspirations and have greater expectations of getting better health and education, enhancing employment opportunities. This is the reason why some constraints, and people not satisfied with decentralization?. Because of local governments not carried out their responsibility efficiently and the expectations of the citizens not accomplished yet. According to Ewald (2019), the different views about decentralization is going back to the different arguments of neoliberal and structuralism. The neoliberal saw decentralization reform as dismantling the central state and taking some of the government functions and providing to private and civil society organizations while structuralist argued that it will strengthen accountability at lower levels and provide for more substantive democracy.

2.3 Forms of Decentralization

Decentralization is the general concept of a bottom-up approach and takes different perspectives. These differences across decentralization can be summarized into the following types:

1- Fiscal Decentralization: this form of decentralization involves the act that central government allocates and assigns responsibilities for both expenditures and revenues to the lower levels of government. One important aspect of this form is the extent to which local government is given certain autonomy to determine the allocation of their expenditures as well as their revenue (Nelson, 2013).

2- Federalist System of Government (Federalism): This form of decentralization the power is split between the central government and the federal member states. The constitution of the country describes the roles, responsibilities, and privileges for each level of the government, whether federal or states. This paper will focus on this type of decentralization. The article §1 of the charter says “Somalia is a federal, sovereign, and democratic republic founded on an inclusive representation of the people, a multiparty system and social justice’” (Charter, 2012).

3- Administrative decentralization: This involves transferring of responsibility for planning and financing from central to sub-units. The central government assigns regions and districts to carry certain duties. The administrative of decentralization could be the form of Deconcentration, Delegation, and Devolution.
2.4 Decentralization in East Africa countries

In Africa, the governments implemented decentralization governance system due to the challenges that originated from the issues relating to minority tribes and economic constraints among the ethnic groups (Mawhood, 1993; Cheema el at, 2007). Kenya and Tanzania are noted to adopt this system in their governance structures. In 1972, Tanzania adopted this system and the key operations implemented in this system included: abolishing the traditional system of governance, transfer of local officers into national civil service, the introduction of decentralization at the national ministries, integration of the rural population into ujamaa villages (Villagization) for easy provision of services and facilities (Picard, 1980, p. 443; Ewald el at 2019). Similarly, in Kenya, the decentralization system was adopted whereby development advisory committees were formed with the key objectives of enhancing development at the local level with consideration of both the government officials and elected representatives in the execution of the planning process (Grindle, 2007).

2.5 Decentralization in Somalia

The discussion of federalism started in the early 1990s (Elmi, 2014). As Elmi noted, many scholars pointed out two significant issues encouraged Somalia to seek federalism. First, Somalia had a highly centralized state with power being held in Mogadishu for many years. The public services were available only in the capital of Somalia. For example, higher education likes universities, big hospitals, and Migration placed in Mogadishu. People have been forced to travel from long distances to apply for a passport or to join one of the universities. These services were not available in other cities in the country. For this reason, many people felt marginalized and advocated empowering local governments to meet the need of the citizens. The second reason for welcoming decentralization is the political grievances that people lost trust in each other. The civil war in 1991, established internal divisions and clan identity emerged. This created a clan unity where each clan dominated some regions and created their administration arguing that no longer to be dependent on Mogadishu because they met grievances during the civil war. Thus, semi-autonomous administrations under the new federal government of Somalia established. These states are namely; Puntland state of Somalia, Jubba-land, South West, Galmudug, and Hir-Shabelle. Each state selects its president and members of the parliament (Mosley, 2015). On the other side, some Somali scholars argued that federalism is suitable for multi-ethnic societies like
Ethiopia, but Somalis are a homogenous society with one language and one religion that needs a nation-state instead of federal state (Elmi, 2014).

2.6 The role of institutions

The new thinking on the importance of institutions drew the attention of considering institutions as an important factor for political reform as well as sustainable development (SIDA, 2005). Institutional theories become a powerful tool for providing explanatory power to explain the actions and habits of individuals and collective actors. Institutions could be formal or informal. Formal institutions have written rules and regulations, while informal institutions follow norms and traditions (ibid). New institutionalism has been introduced at the beginning of a revolution. It defines institutions as an important factor in the political arena. Different approaches within institutionalism been discovered. They are Sociological, Historical, and Rational institutionalism. There some differences between approaches but they have a lot in common. Here we are talking about historical institutionalism, which emphasizes more in traditions and norms (Rakner 2011).

In the case of Somalia, informal institutions have strong power over formal institutions and push to fulfill their requirements. Some of the scholars argued that informal institutions are the main challenge to the country’s democratic process. For example, in 2016, the parliament election 30% of the members reserved only for women but this promise not implemented due to the rejection of clan elders who prefers representation of man over women. Clan loyalty and lack of political inclusiveness also become a significant challenge hindered formal institutions to grow and flourish (Elmi, 2010).

2.7 Previous Research.

There are many publications wrote about decentralization and how it is supposed to promote democracy, good governance, and the participation of minorities in decision making. The study will mainly refer to the work of the previous researchers such as Cheema, G. S., and D. A. Rondinelli, Eds. (2007); Hyden, G. (2007); Grindle, M. S. (2007); Smith, B. C. (2007) and Öjendal. Due to the globalization, new technology, and economic growth, many countries made a reform to enlarge their public participation. Indonesia was much identified with embracing the culture of decentralization on its system of governance in the late 1990s, the implementation of this system significantly contributed to the equal and fair distribution of the administrative functions as well as the resources and revenue (Grindle, 2007).
Ethiopia is highly recognized on adopting the decentralization system of administration whereby ethnic federalism was key in ensuring the independent division of the country into different regional states to eliminate discrimination on resource allocation and governance systems (Khan, 2014). The output of implementation of the system contributed to efficiency in service delivery and governance structures in Ethiopia, although some limitations were identified with the systems.

The Philippines was one of the countries that were recognized to be the leading in East Asia in decentralization, and this was effectively implemented due to devolution system that was emerging and the need to solve the crisis on the improvement of governance and ensuring democracy among the citizens (Matsuda, 2011). Therefore, decentralization was key in enhancing reforms in the country and solving the troubles relating to the performance of local governments.

The functions derived from decentralization system of governance have been embraced by more than half of the African countries to manage the risks emerging from the disasters which includes drought, famine and other basic needs with the view of meeting the demands of the local population within a particular segment coupled with implementation of the governance policies (World Bank, 2011; Yilmaz, 2009).

In Somalia, it is difficult to get some publications made about the results and the outcome of decentralization. Most of the papers wrote from Somalia are normative and highlighting the aim and the objective of decentralization. Researchers such as Elmi wrote much about decentralization in Somalia. Elmi pointed out the aim is to offer greater participation, and this will help in the elimination of the disequilibrium maintained or implemented in different federal member states which finally result in protracted conflicts and forced migration of the people from different parts of the country.

The early warning system network helps the government and international partners to asses and mitigates the risk before it occurs. The key responsibility carried out by them involved monitoring and identification of food security threats which are identified through updates that are prepared on a monthly basis, early warnings and alerts to provide relevant information that support advisory services to the governments in Somalia and other international organizations who will identify the potential threats resulting to drought (Samimi el at, 2012).
The early warning strategy was adopted as a result of the long history of drought in Somalia that requires adequate measures to be undertaken to prevent the recurrence cycle of drought in Somalia and other countries affected by drought within the specified period.

2.8 Analytical Framework

This section explores in detail the analytical framework, which will be used as a tool for analyzing the results that are considered key in the study on the response of drought under the decentralization system of governance. Decentralization theory is key in identifying and creating a comprehensive framework. Therefore, we are going to highlight in this section the essential concepts driven from the theory.

Bryman (2012; p.6) highlighted the strong relations between concepts and theories and “the social sciences have a strong tradition of concepts”. He pointed out that concepts are key ingredients of the theories. Bryman made “impossible to imagine a theory without at least one concept”. Decentralization has been defined in different ways. One of the definitions is to transfer authority, responsibility, and resources from central to the local governments (Rondinelli, 1999; Eryılmaz, 2011: 103). According to this definition, there are three ingredients in them, and they are; power, accountability, and Participation. These concepts will be useful later on in analyzing the findings to answer the research question.

Power is a key concept for the theory. Transfer of authority means delegating power to the locals. There are different dimensions of power, but the study will focus the political power. Steven Lukes (2005) introduced aspects of power. According to Lukes (2005), the first-dimensional power is direct power that we are facing in our day to day life. It is the Ability of one person to influences over another person “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do” — Robert Dahl, ‘The Concept of Power’ (Lukes, 2005, p.17). Second-Dimensional power is normative power and more related to norms and behaviors how you express yourself and socialize within your society. This refers to the ability of your society to influence your desire and modify it. (Lukes, 2005:20).

The last type of dimensional power that Lukes introduced is political; control over what can be discourse day to day within the political system within your society. Power is not just about making decisions, but also about setting the agenda that leads to decisions (Lukes, 2005) . ‘Power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social
and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A” (Lukes, 2005:20). The study will focus on this type of power in the discussion chapter.

Accountability in resource sharing; it has been pointed out that the theory strengthens accountability. Researchers have a different perspective on whether decentralization brings responsibility or promotes corruption. Supporters argued that decentralization means move the government closer to the citizens, and this closeness makes it easier for locals to keep the actions and behavior of their leaders closely. This might reduce the probability of corruption in the system as the small size of the communities also helps to protect the system because everything is clear to the locals. Manor (2011: 4) argues, decentralization “tends strongly to enhance transparency since even when elites dominate, information about local council proceedings usually reaches many more people than in the days when decisions were taken at higher levels.” In the other side, opponents of decentralization argued that decentralization enhances corruption and local elites benefit inequitably from decentralization. Grindle (2004) provided a concrete example of how citizens became fed up with their corrupted local administrations in some countries such as Malawi, Peru, and Bolivia. Accountability operates in two ways; vertical accountability and horizontal accountability. Vertical accountability can be downward (people under their administration) and upward accountability (central government). Horizontal accountability means accountability to other local governments. The paper will discuss vertical accountability. (Agrawal and Ribot 1999: 478-479; Wunsch 2014: 10).

Participation is an essential aspect of the theory. Well, designed decentralization allows local communities to participate in decisions that affect them (Blair, 2000). It will enable local communities to prioritize their needs. “Participation improves state capacity by endowing it with credibility when citizens can express opinions and demands by reducing information problems, and by plugging gaps in state provision”. (Smith, 2007, p.149). Participation is essential for local governments. According to Smith (2007) participation ensures long terms sustainability of projects by strengthening ownership and accountability, as it also allows different groups in society to express their thoughts and participate decision-making process especially decisions about resource allocation, planning development projects such as the project of drought prevention.
Chapter three: Methods

3.0 Methodological framework

This chapter introduces the methodological framework used in this thesis. It defines the case study and outlines the operational techniques used during data collection. As it will explain the motive behind the choose of method and the readability of the sources used.

3.1 Qualitative Method and Case study

The study will involve the use of a case study and abductive analyses to collect data using a qualitative method. A qualitative desk study will “rely on text and image data” as it “draws on diverse strategies of inquiry” (Creswell, 2009: 173). The case study will be helpful in providing comprehensive information on the response to drought under the decentralization system of governance. The case study has been defined “as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.” (Yin 1984:23). According to Bryman (2012) case study involves a detailed and exploratory analysis of single case. It helps researchers to study each case within its context as it is one of the methods that often used in sociology.

To understand and answer the research questions, the study closely studying two different scenarios of droughts that hit the country. The first drought was mid-1970s when the country was under highly centralized military administration led by Mohamed Siad Bare while the second drought hit the country between 2011 and 2012, under a decentralized system of governance. The reason behind the selection of these two events is, both droughts were the biggest droughts landed in the country and left behind massive migration and humanitarian crisis along with Somalia territory. Both events are comparable in terms of their scale. To explain the best scenario, that responded effectively, the research will use existing literature, including survey data collected by the Somali Democratic Republic between 1982-87. The survey intended to follow up the efficiency of resettlement programs made to the affected people.

The method selected in this research enables the researcher to analyze the impact identified on the implementation of the decentralization on responding to drought and the strategies
adopted by the international community in responding to drought under the decentralization system of governance in Somalia. The study uses decentralization theory as an analytical framework which will be key in looking whether the selected case study in Somalia is relevant to the theories.

Finally, the study acknowledges the difficulties of available material and data wrote about the topic. A few pieces of research have been made about Somalia decentralization system. Due to the security factor, the study is suitable for desk study and uses secondary sources like books, journals, and searching machines like Google.

3.2 Sources of information.

There is a variety of data collection in qualitative research. One way is to conduct interviews, focus groups, questionnaires, and participant observations to obtain primary raw data about the subject (Bryman 2008). Another way is to use secondary data, which is the existing literature that is already collected organized and presented by someone else (Hox & Boeije, 2005). This research relies on and uses an existing source and materials. Because it is accessible, trustworthy and less time-consuming. Data collected for this case study will be based on the secondary sources which will be include journals, books, empirical studies carried out by other researchers, country reports, and reports from international organizations. Since the research is a desk study research, a secondary source will be suitable for the study due to different information derived from providing an in-depth analysis of the relevant information required to give accurate results and findings of the study. I used academic articles and books written by well-known authors. My criteria for the selection of material were to consider peer-reviewed articles as my first choice.
Chapter Four: Background

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the thesis provides descriptive information about the governance system of the country and how the power decentralization introduced to the country. The section outlines and defines the concept of drought and discusses in detail the causes of dryness. Moreover, the chapter highlights the problem of climate change and its effect. Finally, it gives detailed information about the impacts, and the results of the two worst droughts hit the country through the history.

4.1 Decentralization of Power

Somalia gained its independence from the Italian colony in 1960. Afterward, Somalia enjoyed nine years of parliamentary administration. Samatar (2016) argued during the parliamentary system, Somalia witnessed the first peaceful and democratically power transfer between leaders. A military operation led by Mohamed Siyad Bare ousted the civilian government in 1969. He has been ruling the country for twenty-one years until clan-based rebel groups overthrew Siyad Bare from the power (Elmi, 2010). Since that time the country felt in a civil war and lacks until today a well-functioning government. “remained the only country without a functioning national government for decades” (Samatar el at, 2008, p.2). Dozens of peace conferences have been held in and outside of the country, but most of them ended without producing a strong, peaceful agreement. In 2004, it has been established the transitional federal government in Kenya after two years of peace talks between different political parts. In that conference, parties agreed to take a federalist system. This has been the best government structure that can build trust between Somalis (Bermeo, 2002).

4.2 Drought concept

The concept of drought lacks a specific accepted definition. Yevjevich (1967) argued the lack of specific definition of the term become one of the challenges to the investigation of droughts. There is a general definition of drought that Beran & Rodier (1985) defined it as “The chief characteristic of a drought is a decrease of water availability in a particular period over a particular area.” There are many causes of droughts, but the most important are as follows:
1- Precipitation deficiency: Mechanisms by which precipitation is formed include convective, stratiform, and orographic rainfall. (Anagnostou, 2004; Pearce, 2002). Droughts occur mainly in areas where normal levels of rain are, in themselves, low. If these factors do not support precipitation volumes enough to reach the surface over an adequate time, the result is a drought. A drought of this nature can be triggered by a host of other factors above average level of reflected sunlight, and winds. Once a region happens, feedback mechanisms such as local arid air, hot conditions can worsen the drought conditions (D’Aleo et al, 2002).

2- Dry Season: Within the tropics, distinct, wet, and dry seasons emerge due to the movement of the Intertropical Convergence Zone or Monsoon trough (Wang 2006). The dry season significantly increases drought occurrence and is characterized by its low humidity, with watering holes and rivers drying up (Vijendra et al., 2005).

3- Erosion and human activities: Human-related activities that can directly trigger exacerbating factors that cause droughts include over farming, excessive irrigation, deforestation, practices that affect the natural environment (Smith et al, 2013).

4- Climate change: Activities that result in global climate change tend to trigger droughts throughout the world (Smith et al, 2013) soil erosion, clearing of bushes and forests by fire.

It can be seen from the above list that some of the causes of drought can be controlled easily, while others may be much more difficult or apparently beyond human control. Drought is one of the most significant issues affecting food security and livelihoods, as it also damages the environment. It kills more people, and unlike other natural disasters. A reviewed recorded drought from 1900-2004 showed that half of 22 million deaths associated with natural hazards were due to drought (Masih et al, 2014).

Climate change is a significant threat to reach the agenda of 2030, which is SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals). Therefore, it is necessary for collaboration at the local level, national, and international level to reduce the vulnerability of climate change. “The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has played a significant role in reviewing and synthesizing information about climate change, its impacts, and potential adaptation measures, to inform the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) negotiations. This knowledge needs to be made more accessible to decision-makers, development agencies, and civil society to enable them to use it to inform their work”. (Osman 2010).
People become more vulnerable when the impact of droughts and hazard results in disaster (Smith et al., 2009). And this can be described in two ways: either regarding the likely damages that could be caused by a climate-related event or as a state that occurs within a system before a specific event is encountered. The first definition emphasizes on the biophysical vulnerability of a system such as the likelihood of a particular event occurring and the human exposure to that peril: the second definition, on the other hand, defines vulnerability as a state present in society independent of authentic exposure. Nevertheless, in contemporary descriptions of social vulnerability, exposure is included since it depends on where a population lives and how it hypothesizes its settlements, communities, and livelihoods (Brooks, 2003).

The RFC2 (Request for concern) explains the impact and the risk associated with extreme weather conditions such as droughts, heavy rain, and heat waves. This severe weather has a significant effect on the livelihoods, human health, and ecosystems by reducing the available fresh water on the surface. According to the United Nations, access to clean water is a universal human right (UN 2003). It has been mentioned in the Working Group II Third Assessment Report (TAR: IPCC, 2001) that climate change significantly affected the quantity and quality of fresh water. It also highlighted that global demand for clean water increased due to the increase in the population and economic development.

Freshwater is more critical for the agriculture sector, which enhances our economic growth. Many countries are dependent on their agricultural sector. Thus, the irrigation of agriculture is necessary, and it is demanding more fresh water. We know that resources on the earth and in the atmosphere are limited. When these so-called “planetary boundaries,” which among others are freshwater use, land-system change, and biochemical flows, are destroyed, it entails consequences for the agriculture and ecosystems alike (Sachs, 2015). The extreme weather had an impact on agriculture and how the irrigation is managed today. Since the temperature has increased and droughts have been more prolonged and more intense the agriculture has been dependent on their irrigation schemes and the water supply (Osman 2010).

Somalia experienced several major droughts that affected the entire country from north to south. Often the country has two rainy seasons; the Gu’ rain which always rains from April to June and Deyr rain season from October to December. The crises of drought always occur when the country faces a poor Gu’ season followed by poor rain season of Deyr. This study is going to discuss only two droughts among those affected the country through the history. We
selected these two events because they are unlike other droughts for their scale and damage that profoundly affected the country.


Abnormally reduced levels of rainfall majorly caused by the drought for a duration ranging between 1973 and 1974 and also it was accelerated by drought conditions in the bordering nations which included: low levels of production from the rain-dependent crops and decline in yields from livestock which was vital in generation of revenue which was based on livestock exports. The drought had negative effects on six regions in Somalia with a focus of 15 regions, and this included high death rates experienced on the livestock sector and this in turn results in complexities in managing the lives of the nomads who mainly depended on livestock as their major source of income (USAID, 1975)

The Central government of Somalia decided to carry out a resettlement project by which the government decided to relocate and make resettlement for more than 200,000 nomads of north inhabitant those affected by the drought. They have been evacuated and transferred into six regions in southern Somalia. It was a large project and was not limited only to resettlement but included to create skills through fishing and agricultural resettlement strategies to the internally displaced people those were mainly dependent on livestock. The project aimed to reduce the vulnerability and improve the lives of the civilians who were directly or indirectly affected (Lewis, 1976)

The prolonged period of drought contributed to the formation of political institutions which were useful in protecting its members from drought and other natural disasters that caused adverse effects in their lives (Samatar, 1989: 26). Climate change increases the risk of conflict and insecurity (SIDA, 2017), but the case of Somalia was different. The arrivals of pastoralists group stayed in peace, and this has been explained the ethnic and cultural similarities of the indigenous people (Sanford, 1983).

### 4.4 The drought of 2011-12.

The drought occurred under the decentralized system of governance during the federal governance system in Somalia. During this period the federal government of Somalia pronounced drought as a national disaster due to deficient levels of rainfall caused by inadequate rains for two subsequent seasons which indicated that the forecasted periods indicate the absence of rains (FSNAU 2017). According to the Guardian newspaper (2013),
Nearly 260,000 people died in parts of Somalia between October 2010 and April 2012, including 133,000 children. It highlighted that tragedy is the worst that hit the country for the past 25 years. Reaching humanitarian assistance to the affected regions became more difficult due to the security situation. Terrorist organization Al-Shabab administered most of the Southern part of the country. FAO and FSNAU reported that humanitarian assistance to the country decreased and the late response of donors resulted in a state of emergency and famine.

To sum up, the chapter provided background facts about the two droughts we selected in our study. The study highlighted the rainfall shortage problem and the lack of fresh water in the country as it showed the impact of climate change that the country experienced in the past. The prolonged droughts put the country state of emergency. Many people left their homes and registered in the IDP camps while most of the agricultural areas faced by food insecurity.
Chapter Five: Findings

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the study will present and highlight the major findings that are the impact of the droughts. This includes findings on migration crises, food insecurity, bad weather, and shortage of drinkable water as well as a security threat for providing humanitarian assistance to those affected by droughts. Also, mitigation made during a drought period. This includes resettlements made by the government of Somalia and the humanitarian aid provided by international donors.

5.1 Migrations crises and IDPs

IOM uses the term of migrations crises to describe and refer the large scale and unpredictable of migration flows and their mobility caused by natural disasters. According to the IOM, over one million Somalis has been displaced internationally while 1.1 million displaced internally which made the country to be among the most widespread Diasporas community across the globe (IOM 2014).

Somalia is a country that its people have a shared ethnicity, language, and shares one religion, which is the Islamic religion. In other word, Somali people are homogenous (IOM, 2014). In spite of this, there is a strong clan affiliation that each clan honor clan identity. Modern societies use identification cards to identify themselves but in Somalia to introduce or identify a person you might need to mention his/her clan by which the person belongs to (ibid). Somalia exercises federalism system, and there are five federal member states; - Puntland, Galmudug, Hirshabelle, South-west state, and Juba-land. Each state dominates by one major clan which influences others. The clan-based states forced many people to move from other states in order to join their clan’s state. According to the IOM, this cultural movement after the civil war increased internally displaced people. IOM pointed out the minority groups has been marginalized and might become internally displaced for several times.

Drought and other natural disaster are among factors force people to flee from their original homes and become internally displaced. Sometimes, people cross the border of Kenya and Ethiopia, searching for assistance. Others take very dangerous trips to the Gulf of Yemen seeking a better life and a brighter future. The Dabadheer drought in April 1973 resulted in widespread internal displacement. According to the Government of Somalia, five thousand people have been arriving at the relief camps per day. More than twenty relief camps have
been initiated to welcome displaced people. The report mentioned that more than 20,000 were children and elderly. Furthermore, the government of Somalia relocated more than 100,000 poor nomads and initiated comprehensive resettlement programs which had a long- and short-term plan (Amy el at, 1991)

Similarly, droughts in 2011 affected mostly communities in Southern agricultural areas and the northern pastoral areas. Mainly affected regions in the north were Sool, Sanaag, Mudug, Galgaduud, Nugaal, and Bari (Heritage 2017). According to the UNHCR (2011), more than 40,000 escaping from drought arrived in Mogadishu while 28,000 (IDPs) arrived in Badbado camp. UNOCHA (2014) pointed out ‘’There are an estimated 1.1 million people IDPs and over 12,000 asylum seekers and refugees living in Somalia. Of the people in need, the IDPs are worst off. In addition to the broader lifesaving and livelihood needs, most IDPs do not have proper shelters and basic household items. An estimated 57,800 people were displaced since January 2013, while an additional 21,000 Somalis fled to neighboring countries during the same period. The main reasons for displacement are continued violence, poverty, and recurrent natural disasters. Despite internal displacement and the exodus from the country, over 42,000 IDPs and refugees have spontaneously returned to their areas of origin between January and October 2013. This includes over 27,000 refugees who returned to Somalia mostly from Kenya (Dadaab refugee camp) and Ethiopia. In addition, the humanitarian agencies returned an additional 25,000 people at the end of 2013. Returning refugees and returning IDPs are among the most vulnerable groups and need multi-sectoral humanitarian assistance to be able to reintegrate with host communities.’’

5.2 Resettlement programs

The study found that resettlement programs have been conducted to vulnerable people, especially to those affected by the drought of 1973-75. The Government of Somalia decided to extend their relief to those nomadic pastoralists, which mainly affected by droughts. The plan was to relocate nomads into the agricultural and fishing areas to increase the country’s output and to integrate nomads into this economic sector to reduce the weakness and enhances their standard of living. (Amy el at, 1991).

The resettlement programs relocated internally displaced people (IDPs) to six different settlement sites. Three of them were agricultural sites; the settlement of Dujuma, Sablaale and Kurtunwaray while the other three were fishing settlement sites; Eil settlement, Adale and Brava. The agricultural settlement was larger than fishing settlement and intended to
accommodate over 100,000 while fishing settlement welcomes only 14,000 people. These settlements began as emergency settlement, and the government of Somalia was providing to the settlers a temporary accommodation- makeshift housing- and medical facilities. Subsequently, the government started to build schools, food storage, and administrative centers as it was providing and distributing crops and fishing nets.

In 1982, the government of Somalia carried out refugee resettlement survey. It was a household questionnaire and among the questions was; age, sex, length of settlement residence, education, the language spoken, occupation, and many others. There have been two important results survey has pointed out; the first is 90% of the settlers viewed their stay as permanent and showed they are not willing to return to their original homes. The second point was the increase of children enrolled in the school. Before the drought, they have been herders living far from towns and don’t have an opportunity to join schools (Amy el at, 1991). The government acknowledged the necessity of investing the country’s human capital to participate future economic growth.

5.3 Food insecurity and aid manipulation

Somalia’s major livelihoods are based on pastoralism and agro-pastoralism. Therefore the control measures on drought are a big challenge since several conflicts among the civilians are caused by the struggle for pasture and water sources that are important in ensuring equilibrium is maintained during protracted drought periods to ensure the survival of the people of Somalia with the available water reserves (FAO, 2015). Biasness exhibited on the livelihood systems in Somalia whereby the northern and central parts major in pastoralism and in the southern region pastoralism and agro-pastoralism activities are practiced and therefore leading to food insecurity in the northern region which normally experience insecurity challenges during the drought prevention period hence leading to migration issues in search for water and pasture (FSNAU, 2011).

The funds that are important in supporting the drought conditions prevailing in Somalia subjected to manipulation for political and personal gains (Rahman, 2017). For instance, the United States provided 18% of humanitarian to Somalia for a period between 2003 and 2012 with support of the European Union and the United Kingdom to support the humanitarian conditions on the droughts that occurred during the mentioned period. Although all the funds provided the conditions that prevailed during the droughts were inadequately addressed or failure was identified in the implementation of the right measures.
Accountability on the funds provided by the international organizations and other donors were subject for misuse. The fund intended to supports the humanitarian that deteriorate during the drought period in Somalia become subject to taxation issues, diversion from the intended objectives and also fraud by the organizations and the parties who were responsible for accountability despite the fact that the international representatives were involved during the disbursement of the funds (Donini et al, 2013). This can be identified in south-central Somalia where the foreign aid is leaked by the Al-Shabab to support their operations even though the foreign aid representatives exist in the region hence affecting the budget structured to cover costs relating to drought prevention (Vilkko 2011).

5.4 Weather fluctuation

The international organizations in Somalia predict the changes in the rainfall in contributing to drought through analysis of the behavior observed in decline in the rainfall in the previous three decades for the purpose of sending information on the possibility of drought with consideration given to the temperature rates analyzed by the experts in collaboration with Oxfam (Rowell, 2015). The predictability of rainfall is considered important in creating several reserves which help in mitigating the risks derived from drought, and the reserves include emergency funds and water reserves from different sources available within a particular region.

The fluctuations experienced in relation to the weather patterns on agriculture and strategies on investment on famine prevention and drought are the major causes of the recurrence of droughts in the rural regions in Somalia caused by undefined processes in employing the right measures with consideration to the relevant factors causing the drought in Somalia (Maxwell at el, 2016).

The RFC2 explains the impact and the risk associated with extreme weather condition such as droughts, heavy rain, and heat waves. This severe weather has a significant effect on the livelihoods, human health, and ecosystems by reducing the available fresh water on the surface. According to resolution (UN 2010; 64/292) adopted by the General Assembly on 28 July 2010 declared access to clean water is universal human rights. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change highlighted that the quality and the quantity of fresh affected decreased due to climate change as they pointed out that global demand for clean water increased due to the increase of the population and economic development (IPCC, 2014).
Freshwater is more essential, particularly the agriculture sector, which enhances a country’s economic growth, and many countries, including Somalia, are dependent on their agricultural sector. Thus, the irrigation of agriculture is necessary for productivity, and it is demanding more fresh water. The extreme weather had an impact on agriculture and how the irrigation is managed today. Since the temperature has increased and droughts have been longer and more intense the available water to agriculture becomes less due to droughts (Osman 2010), the climate change and weather fluctuation in the country affected the livelihood. The country’s production comes from agriculture or pastoralist sector and both affected by climate change.

5.5 Emergency water trucking

Water trucking refers to transport water by means of trucks to locations where water shortage more visible. According to ICRC water trucking is the method used areas hit by extremely severe drought. In 2011, ICRC has transport drinking and cooking water to a half-million people in 11 regions in Somalia (ICRC, 2011). Wildman (2013) studied in depth the technical requirements for appropriate water trucking for both human settlements and livestock. He outlined the essential criteria for transport, storage, quantity, and quality, clearly indicating the circumstances under which water trucking may or not be a suitable intervention. In particular, he points out that water trucking is not feasible in sparsely populated areas, thus leading to a tendency towards crowded settlements, and that the affordability of the water also needs to be considered. He discusses alternatives that could be better than water trucking in certain circumstances, namely: repairing of existing water sources, fuel and cash subsidies to boreholes, contingency boreholes, development of groundwater sources and cash for work.

Other important studies that have been carried out on water trucking include COOPI (2011) on water access by voucher guidelines under Somalia WASH Cluster. WHO (2011) emphasized the importance of sanitation and hygiene in delivering safe water by tanker under emergencies, and cleaning and disinfecting water storage tanks.

According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), using modern technology could reduce the vulnerability of climate change. As an adaptation measure to climate change, by using advanced technology devices, we can minimize waste fresh water and create more water catchments. Also, diversification of crops and planting drought-tolerant crops might decrease the volume of water uses in the irrigation scheme (IPCC WGII 2014). This is another solution that the country could reduce the drought risk by investing in modern technology to extract fresh water. In these findings, both events of drought never used some
sort of technology to help vulnerable people, and that is what is missing to address regardless the government structure country has.

5.6 Security issue

The security situation in the country is slowly improving. The north-east region known as “Puntland” is calm and stable while central and south regions are ranging between tense and relatively calm. Nearly 30,000 of African peacekeepers operate in Somalia under a mandate (UN resolution 2182/2014). Their troops support the government of Somalia and “Facilitate, as may be required and within capabilities, humanitarian operations, including the repatriation and reintegration of refugees and the resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).” (ibid). According to SIDA (2016), more than twenty-four UN agencies and over 104 national and international NGOs operates in Somalia. Most of the humanitarian agencies employ Somali nationals due to the security risk which not allowing them to visit fields and deliver assistance’. SIDA pointed out the lack of access to the most affected areas incredibly worsen the humanitarian condition in the country. Al-Shabab is one of the terrorist groups based in Somali. They control parts of south-Somali and carry out frequent ambush to government armies and UN peacekeepers. They “impose a ban on humanitarian assistance in areas they control, forcing hundreds of thousands of people to choose between death from starvation and disease or brutal punishment” (The Guardian, 2017). In some towns, Al-Shabab rejects people to empty the town, and extremist leaders use vulnerable people as a protection against US airstrikes. The journal added the block imposed by Al-Shabab on humanitarian assistance in 2011’s drought increased the death toll (ibid).

The security problem did not exist at the time of central government, and this helped to reach wider areas affected by the drought of 1973. But the late drought of 2011, the security issue was the main challenge under the decentralization system that resulted in the delay of assistant from the areas controlled by Al-Shabab terrorist organization. This was one of the challenges downsized the efforts of the government to reduce risk from droughts.
Chapter Six: Analysis

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the contribution of decentralization to drought prevention in Somalia will be analyzed in relation to the analytical framework explained in chapter two. It will discuss the contribution of decentralization to drought prevention as it will deeply discuss the main challenges reduced the system contribution towards natural disaster. Finally, the chapter will analyze the strategies of the humanitarian assistant organization and the importance of the coordination to avoid an overlap of activities.

6.1 Contribution of decentralization to drought prevention

The decentralization system of governance has been established in 2004 in Mbagathi peace conference in Kenya. Perhaps, it is a political reform that the country decided to redesign the political power and move the government from central to local. Although there are some arguments against this system it has been made quite an improvement for convincing people the only viable government structure for the country’s political reform is to move the power to the local and empower them, then local people will have the opportunity to select their leaders. The federal decentralization of administration considered as the viable channels involved, solving heterogeneous expectations of the citizens, and innovation in political decision making (Baskaran et, al 2014). To reduce risk resulted by droughts, the cooperation between local governments and the central authority is seen as necessary to produce one national plan for drought prevention and mitigation. One example is that Puntland state has its own Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Management Agency (HADMA) that provides state disaster management framework. As a result, the actors involved in the execution process under decentralization system encounter several hurdles, which resulted in inadequate service delivery or failure in service delivery.

Firstly, insecurity is identified as the major factor that hinders the humanitarian organizations and other aid workers from accessing the famine and drought-affected areas where the people suffer from hunger. Insecurity coupled with lack of support from the government of Somalia contributed to the death of some aid workers in Somalia between 2007-2009, leading to change of operations of the location of humanitarian offices to Kenya (Hammond and Vaughan-Lee, 2012). One positive thing that emerged under the drought of 2011-12 was the role of local communities and how Somali people who are culturally extended families help
each other. People are organized into clans and sub-clans and through these divisions. Fundraising has been conducted in the locals to support affected families in their community.

As the study promised in the methodology chapter, the findings of this study showed efforts made for both events of droughts. As a result, the contribution of decentralization was much lower than efforts paid in 1973-75 when the country was under a central authority. The government of Somalia at that time carried out an extensive resettlement program and occupied with them skills as it provided necessary facilities and equipment for their work such as land for agriculture and fishing nets. This project intended to cover more than one hundred thousand people. The government mobilized available resources, including the military jets and vehicles to transport vulnerable people from affected areas that disaster was substantial. It was the second largest project after the mass literacy campaign carried out in the country. These efforts paid by the highly centralized regime not justifying that the central administration has a higher contribution in culminating drought than a decentralized system that made a lower contribution about IDPs resettlement and food insecurity. The study acknowledges the fragility of the country, which has been in conflict and civil war for more than two decades. Also, there are different dimensions need to be considered. These are constitutional power, resource sharing, and political representation. Above factors diminished the achievement and the contribution of the system to respond to natural disasters effectively. Following are the discussions on how these factors had an impact on the decentralization system.

6.2 Challenges of Decentralization.

As we mentioned in the analytical framework in chapter two, there have been many challenges that lowered the effectiveness of decentralization to be more efficient when it comes to drought prevention. Considering the security threat and fragility of the country which has been in conflicts for many years, the study found three major challenges by which if we solve could improve even the security situation of the country because grievances, economic exploitation by elites and marginalization are among elements escalate conflict and violence.

6.2.1 Constitutional power

The country uses a provisional constitution approved in 2012 and not succeeded to ratify the final version. This led to frequent legal disputes between the federal government and federal
member states. According to the General Secretary report (UN, 2017) on Somalia, the federal government noted various member states -without their consultation- signing critical bilateral agreements with foreign countries/companies on critical issues that should be under the privilege of the central government. Furthermore, the different views about the Gulf crisis increased tensions when Puntland, the interim South-West administration, and the Galmudug interim administration publicly announced their political position against neutrality declared by the Federal Government. According to the constitution, the federal government runs; Foreign affairs, national defense, citizenship and immigration, monetary policy.

Moreover, confusion about how power is divided became more prominent when the Puntland State of Somalia made a bilateral agreement with the company named Dubai Port (DP world). The deal gives DP world a full authority to run and operate the port of Bosaso, north-east Somalia known as “Puntland” for thirty years. In return, the DP world will enlarge and invest the port an amount estimated $330 million US dollar. Different views about constitutional power escalated when the central government declared that agreement was not under their knowledge and argued all international agreements must come through the central government. As a result, the parliament of Somalia nullified all agreements made with UAE’s DP World. In the other side, federal member states accused central government downsizing their constitutional power according to article 53 in the constitution (charter 2012) which highlights the importance of the national member states “on negotiations relating to foreign aid, trade, treaties, or other major issues related to international agreements.”.

The battle on constitutional power and unstable political crisis weakened collective efforts against natural disasters as it showed the absence of mutual interests between the center and the local communities. According to Lederach, (1997), “peace building and state building require deeper legitimization and a stronger bottom-up approach”. Adding that evidence showed in post-conflict reconstruction, decentralization allows local authorities to play an important role (ibid). Öjendal and Dellnäs (2013) argued the successful creation of local governments depends strongly on factors such as balanced policies, strong legal frameworks, political will, and available resources.

Indeed, the implications of imbalanced policies and the lack of legal framework had created a debate in society. What are they different from other countries those practice the same government structure? When will citizens see the significant contribution of decentralization to drought prevention and mitigation? Some of the Somali scholars are optimistic about the
system pointing that central and local government is complementary to each other and with good collaboration and regular information sharing between them could reduce vulnerability form disaster (Elmi, 2014:5). “Well designed decentralization reform gives central government more legitimacy, capacity and stability through the strengthening of the local government system” (Crook el at, 2001). The argument is going back to the debate we mentioned in the theoretical framework concerning whether the country needs a nation-state or federal state.

6.2.2 Resource sharing and corruption

As Bulmer (2017) stated, decentralization enables a state to distribute and share public resources through revenue sharing and other fiscal arrangements to all its member states. Elmi (2014) noted that Somalia is a rich country endowed with a lot of untapped resources within its borders. It has the longest coastline in Africa, which is an excellent potential for the marine resource, natural deep-water ports and is along the busiest shipping lanes in the world. Furthermore, the country has a potential for agriculture in the south, having very fertile soil and has a large market for livestock that currently supports over sixty-five percent of its population and is its main export and still growing (Elmi, 2014).

According to Buauer (2016), the reasons why most of resource revenue sharing agreements do not attain their objectives are; Due to poorly designed agreements, lack of clarity or consensus, and lack of transparency and oversight. In Somalia, there is no clear resource sharing model. Some of the states don’t generate more revenue, which they can cover their operational costs. They remain as insolvent and not receive any subsidence from central government. This gives a picture of how likely local governments maintain a strong strategic plan for reducing drought vulnerability without enough resource.

Most of the assistance reaches to the local governments comes from the donors. Aid arrives too late to the beneficiaries after several appeals. The delay caused by the bureaucratic process that Humanitarian agencies follow, starting from the assessment of the tragedy, which is sometimes tricky for security reason in some places until donors approve the proposal and release the fund. The late assistance somehow reduces vulnerability and used to improve the health system, water and sanitation, nutrition and food security, etc. As noted in the 2011’s drought, donor fatigue contributed delayed response to drought in Somalia due to protracted periods of drought along with conflicts, humanitarian crisis every year, which require huge amounts of money. (CIDA, 2013).
According to the findings, projects implemented to reduce drought risk in 1973 not showed corruption involvement. Under the authoritarian regime, any officer who conducts corruption was facing the death penalty. But under decentralized authority, corruption becomes endemic in the country, which is often judged to be the most corrupted country in the world. According to the Transparency International’s Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), seven years in row Somalia has been consistently ranked at the bottom of the most corrupted countries in the world (CPI, 2018). Political corruption is the most widespread in the country (CPI 2018). In 2014 and 2014, 80% of withdrawals made from the state account in the Central Bank were made by individuals and not used to fund government operations or the provision of public services (Bertelsmann, 2016). According to Gettleman (2017), parliament seats cost more than $1 million. This kind of corruption has different layers and not limited to the central government, but it goes down to local authorities whereby local elites use huge money to come on power. Öjendal (2013: p.7) said “local elites saw the moves towards decentralization as a way of establishing and consolidating power”, although the author was talking another context, it is applicable here as well. Corruption and inefficiencies portrayed by the Federal Government significantly affect the drought management strategies and resources to be put in place to manage or mitigate the risks relating to drought and famine (Menkhaus, 2012).

These unethical practices were identified with the leaders in the government authorities who were opportunists on the resources which included the funds from the donors that were unequally distributed to the areas greatly affected by drought in Somalia (Gettleman, 2017). The strategic and political interest by the foreign governments in Somalia also was a great challenge. Aid from donors has certain conditions that the government must accomplish to be eligible. As it happened under drought of 2011 (before the initiating of common humanitarian fund) donors identified specifically what must be used for their fund emphasizing funds could not be used for another purpose.

A multi-donor-based technique has been established in 2010, which was key in ensuring appropriate allocation of funds, distribution of resources, and management of the required projects during drought and other humanitarian emergencies. The strategy provides that the funds obtained through Somalia Humanitarian Fund are well managed and distributed in Somalia through giving the highest consideration to the most approved projects which in line to the donor’s interest areas matched with needs of the people. The Somalia humanitarian fund (SHF) is very important in drought responses which are executed through several
intervention techniques through the support of the local and for the purpose of managing the risks encountered prior and after drought (UNOCHA 2018).

6.2.3 Representation and inclusiveness

Decentralization is a concept that makes the government closer to the people and makes elected local leaders representatives of local needs. The participation and inclusion are the central themes for decentralization (Öjendal et al, 2013) which by its turn, believed to encourage democracy at national and regional levels. It allows various states to be able to elect their local leaders democratically. Elmi (2014) argued Somalia decentralization system offers the people greater participation and representation in decision making. It is unlike the central administration that the country has been using for more than three decades. Everything was remaining at the hands of the central government. Having in mind grievances met from the authoritarian central system, people have a great desire to elect their leaders in the locals democratically, and that is the reason people selected decentralization as a form of governance. People lost trust in each other due to the conflict and wars lasted for decades. Decentralization has been essential in post-conflict reconstruction (Öjendal et al, 2013). And Somali people realized that greater participation by the locals is necessary for the country’s development. According to Elmi (2014), Somalis had a shared desire for more inclusive local participation and representation. Theoretically, decentralization is justified by the claim that it shifts the power to the locals and that will improve the representation of the local needs (Öjendal et al, 2013). Assuming the participation and inclusion of locals deepen democracy. Diamond (1999) argues “decentralized systems are inherently more democratic than centralized one”.

In reality, the country witnessed low political participation. Both central and local officials come to power through indirect elections. Meaning that a clan elder appoints Members of the parliament then MPs select leaders. Since 2009, elections in both central government, as well as local governments, go through this process. There is one famous formula which always used for distribution of parliament seats. It is 4.5 formulas. The number 4 stands for four big clans while 0.5 stands for the minorities (Hashi, 2016). “Many Somalis see the 4.5 power-sharing formulas as crude and simplistic. Marginalized groups and minority clans, in particular, perceive it as having reduced their political representation and access to authority” (Ainte, 2012.P.62).
Finally, clan-based representation absorbed many minority people. Dauda (2006) highlighted limited democratic space marginalize minorities and limit their influence. Even the underrepresentation of women in engaging in local politics is remarkable. Kim and Öjendal (2012) highlighted how democratic decentralization can opens a political space for women. However, the women representation in politics is extremely low. According to the UNDP (2012), the cultural and financial barriers reduced any efforts to achieve greater political empowerment of Somali women. And the Gender Inequality Index of the country is 0.776 out of 1 max (ibid). This showing the status of the country’s gender mainstream and how half of the society marginalized and not taking any role in political spheres.

The results of the study showed that drought adaptation measures and prevention strategy were more effective under the central authority. It showed that droughts of 1973, the government has responded and carried out several projects intended to secure the lives of many people affected by drought. For example, the resettlement program was one successful projects government implemented under the disaster period. The drought of 2011-12 the government of Somalia including federal member states did some contributions like initiating IDP camps in the capital city of Mogadishu. But these efforts were much lower in comparing with previous events. In fact, there have been several political challenges that the study showed their impact to the drought mitigation. The power challenge between central and local affected the relationship and coordination between two sides by which had adverse effect towards culmination natural disaster in 2011. The lack of resource sharing scheme and widespread corruption was also another challenge. Lastly, decentralization supposed to be closer to the locals as the proponents argues but this blocked by the elite domination in the local governments. This domination limited the role of minorities and civil societies to participate in decision making process.
Chapter Seven

Conclusions
The main objective of this study was to explore the contribution of decentralization to drought prevention and identification of the major challenges faced in the process of preventing drought and finally the strategies adopted to ensure success in the prevention of drought. Somalia was considered as the case study due to records of several droughts that exists for several decades subjected to challenges and inappropriate prevention strategies as indicated in the findings.

The outcome of the study indicate that decentralization systems have an effect on the drought prevention. Some of the strengths of the theory are; it is more democratic, close to the people and more effective. However, the system is subjected to constraints which affect the drought prevention process in a negative way and therefore expected contributions/results were much lower than results of 1973-75 when the country was highly centralized. The study pointed out several challenges that diminished the effectiveness of current decentralization system. Besides the fragility that country had for a long period of serious violence and civil war, there has been other factors affected the system. Power sharing, resource sharing and participation are among elements affected the efficiency of the system.

Major constraints encountered in the process of ensuring success in drought prevention under the decentralized system of governance included: inconsistency in weather patterns and investment strategies which tend to be experienced during fluctuations in the weather conditions which occurred in different weather cycles and the strategies where affected during the variations in the political and economic cycle. Manipulation of humanitarian aid by different actors and political leaders was one of the obstacles. Livelihoods and food security issues were a major problem which causes conflicts in the affected regions. Finally, the protracted conflicts causes a threat to the international community in executing the required activities to help in reducing or eliminating the recurring events of droughts.

The study found that the role of civil society including diaspora and religious leaders were much active in the late drought under decentralization. They carried out several fundraising to help vulnerable people. One important strategy is to resettle rural population into villages as adaptation measures for drought resilience and risk reduction. Integrating scattered herders into one place helps the local governments to cope the situation and deliver services in time.
As it happened in 1973 when the government of Somalia initiated resettlement programs and integrated affected people into villages.

And lastly the outcomes of drought management under this study will be useful in future studies under the decentralized system or any other forms of governance systems in Somalia and other conflict affected regions prone to obstacles in the prevention process. The study acknowledged the complexity of the topic and the shortage of available material wrote from the topic. Therefore, this study suggesting and recommending a future field research about the topic that can generate more information which is necessary to analyze the strength and weakness of the system.
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