



September 2019

INTEGRATED OFFICE OF THE DSRSG/RC/HC



TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN SOMALIA AND IDP DURABLE SOLUTIONS AT SCALE

DURABLE SOLUTIONS INITIATIVE



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ABSTRACT

This report reviews Somalia's current patterns of urbanization and displacement, and provides tailored recommendations to local, State and Federal State authorities, as well as to UN and stakeholders working in Somalia. Rapid, spontaneous patterns of urbanization in Somalia, driven in part by interests of land-owners and needs of displaced communities, entrenches the dynamics of clan and conflict in the evolving form of cities, with the risk of perpetuating and increasing instability. As Somalia's population is expected to become predominantly urban after 2026, the coming years provide a critical opportunity to set a new course of well-planned and managed urbanization, yielding economic diversification, improved social equality, stabilization and resilience, through national and federal state level policies, implemented in cities by inclusive urban planning processes and inclusive, representational governance. The report, serves to stimulate discussion on urbanization, and while recognizing the need for additional studies to explore viable solutions to enable return to rural areas, provides recommendations to address the pertinent challenge of achieving durable solutions at scale for internally displaced people in cities – particularly those for whom the option of rural return is unlikely in the foreseeable future.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report was requested by the United Nations Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary General, Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator for Somalia, and was supported by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), the office of the United Nations Integrated Office for Somalia, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). While recognizing the urgency of solutions that support return to rural areas, the report aims to better understand the correlation of urbanization and displacement in Somalia as an entry point to achieving durable solutions at scale for displaced populations in cities, particularly those for whom rural return in the near future may not be feasible. Developed in broad consultation with local and national authorities, the local private sector, international NGOs, UN entities, World Bank, development partners and academics, the report serves to progress discussion amongst these stakeholders on how changing the course of urbanization towards a more sustainable trajectory can help drive forward important development agendas, while also addressing urgent challenges, including large scale internal displacement in cities. It provides initial recommendations that can be further developed through local assessments and pilot activities.

The report finds that Somalia is urbanising very rapidly and spontaneously, without adequate planning or urban management, and while doing so, urbanization entrenches the dynamics of clan and conflict in the evolving form of cities, with the risk of perpetuating and increasing instability. However, as Somalia's population is expected to become predominantly urban after 2026, the coming years provide a critical opportunity to set a new course of well-planned and managed urbanization through national and federal state level policies that govern the direction of urbanization towards the achievement of economic diversification, improved social equality, stabilization and resilience, implemented at the city level through inclusive urban planning processes, fit-for-purpose land administration, and inclusive, representational governance.

The report recognizes how significant internal displacement in Somalia, as a consequence of drought and conflict, affects the

rapid, spontaneous growth of major cities. It also takes note that a high proportion of indicators on durable solutions for internally displaced people (IDP) relate to an adequate standard of living - at minimum, access to adequate food, water, housing, healthcare and basic education; access to employment and livelihoods; and secure housing, land and property tenure - and that these are impacted by human settlements. It thus advocates for sustainable urban development approaches at the city level that sets a course for achieving economic and social development gains whilst also serving displaced populations in cities, by leveraging value generated by well-planned investment in urban infrastructure, blended with other forms of finance, towards the provision of housing and human settlement solutions at scale.

The report is structured as follows:

- The first section provides a background on urbanization and displacement in Somalia;
- The second section describes key actions to set a course towards a New Urban Agenda for Somalia, so that the rapid urbanization can be better harnessed towards economic, social and environmental outcomes that support resilience and stabilization;
- The third section recommends a range of foundational, analytical and land value sharing tools and two models to be adapted to local contexts, to support sustainable urbanization and durable solutions for displaced populations at scale;
- The fourth section begins to outline suggested approaches for various pilot cities, which should be studied in further detail, using some of the analytical tools recommended in the previous section;
- The fifth section provides an initial set of recommendations for the federal government, federal state and municipality levels, and for UN and development partners engaging with displacement affected communities (DACs).

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Nairobi, June 2019.

KEY FINDINGS

Somalia is one of the fastest urbanizing countries in the world – **by 2026 Somalia's urban population will overtake its rural population.**

Rapid and **unplanned** urbanization may entrench the dynamics of clan and conflict in the evolving form of cities and **risk perpetuating and increasing instability.**

Internal displacement, driven by drought and conflict **has contributed to the unplanned growth of major cities**; many internally displaced people are living in vulnerable circumstances and require durable solutions to their displacement.

The forthcoming **National Development Plan (2020-2024)** for Somalia is a window of **opportunity to set a positive trajectory for urbanization**, that could enhance economic development, stabilization and resilience. This will require policy frameworks, regional and city level planning and strengthened local governance.

There is an **active land market** and a pipeline of urban infrastructure projects by development banks. **Land value increases** that result from urban infrastructure investment could be **leveraged towards addressing urban challenges**, including durable solutions for internally displaced populations at scale.

A number of **good practices** in land registration, urban planning and municipal revenue **already exist in various parts of Somalia and could be replicated**, further developed and complemented with various land tools to support the achievement of durable solutions at scale and sustainable urbanization.

Joined-up efforts of the UN and development partners are recommended, so that urban infrastructure investments, and various programmes that support local government in land management, planning and financing, together with those that protect and assist internally displaced people in cities, can work together **to support achieving durable solutions at scale.**

METHODOLOGY

This qualitative study was requested by the UN Deputy Special Representative to the UN. Under the overall coordination of the UN Office of the Resident Coordinator, the study involved field visits in February and March 2019 to Mogadishu, Hargeisa, Garowe, Bosasso and Baidoa to meet local and national government officials, UN entities, NGOs, and IDPs, and to visit IDP settlements. The field visits were followed by discussions with the Office of the President, Office of the Prime Minister, key members of the Resilience Pillar Working Group, the NGO Consortium, the Consortium Building Resilient Communities in Somalia (BRCIS), the Somalia Resilience Program (SomRep), the Regional Durable Solutions Secretariat (ReDSS), TANA Copenhagen, the World Bank Group and international partners, including Switzerland, Sweden and the UK. The report benefited from the insight and comments of the National Durable Solutions Secretariat of the Federal Government of Somalia.

The report's scope has an urban focus, therefore does not provide recommendations on rural development and the return of displaced populations to rural areas – this will be commissioned separately by the UN Integrated Office for Somalia. The report also does not intend to provide an exhaustive set of solutions; the selected tools and recommendations take into account the context in Somalia while acknowledging the need for adaptation to local social, political and economic contexts, which vary significantly from one city to the next. It provides an opportunity to open discussion on the potential for the improved planning and management of cities to generate positive impacts, including to the significant number of displaced populations that search for new lives in cities. It is intended that the report will be iteratively developed, particularly as urban studies by the World Bank, UK Aid and others become available, and as the report's recommendations are further developed at city level and piloted, and may be expanded to include other major and intermediary cities.

GLOSSARY OF URBAN PLANNING AND LAND ADMINISTRATION DEFINITIONS

Fit for Purpose Land Administration: The term "Fit-For-Purpose" means applying the spatial, legal, and institutional methodologies that are most fit for the purpose of providing secure tenure for all. This approach will enable the building of national land administration systems within a reasonable time and at affordable costs, through engaging community based and locally managed processes, that provide sufficient data that can be incrementally improved over time.

Continuum of land rights: Continuum of land rights, is an approach to recognizing security of land tenure that is not limited to individually held private property. A wide range of informal, customary and registered rights; individual or group rights, and overlapping rights, are supported in order to promote security of tenure for all. The continuum approach works with what is already in place and incorporates it into a land information management system that caters for the whole spectrum of formal, informal and customary land rights in the country.

Social Tenure Domain Model: There is a gap in conventional land administration systems such that customary and informal tenure cannot be easily handled. There is a need for complementary approaches in land administration. The Social Tenure Domain bridges this gap by providing an ISO standard for representing 'people - land' relationships independent of the level of formality, legality and technical accuracy.

Land registration: Land registration is a system for recording and providing information and evidence concerning ownership, possession or other rights in land and land transactions. The responsibility for this can be provided by a government agency, department, state or local authority.

Land Sharing: Land sharing is a method whereby existing public or private land occupied by squatters is redeveloped in a way that enables the regularization of the existing development through resettlement housing to rehouse squatters. This typically involves a densification of the existing development

by rehousing existing households in denser, vertical housing, thus opening up parts of the land for new development. The land-sharing approach benefits existing occupants who have the right to remain on site and existing landowners who can recover and benefit from part of the land. This approach has frequently been used in Bangkok, Thailand, and is now being increasingly used in some Indian cities¹.

Land Value Sharing/ Capture: The value of land tends to increase with market trends and public infrastructure investments - this creates a windfall, unearned benefit for landowners, which should be shared by society. Land value capture or sharing is a "policy approach that enables communities to recover and reinvest land value increases that result from public investment and other government actions. [...] Also known as "value sharing," it is rooted in the notion that public action should generate public benefit. [...] Common land value capture tools include: transferable development rights, betterment contributions, public land leasing, inclusionary housing and zoning, linkage or impact fees, business improvement districts, and certain applications of the property tax."²

Betterment Levy: Betterment levies are one-time charges for specific infrastructure improvements, based on the impact of the investment on increasing land value, so that both the land owner and the public benefits from the investment.

Developer Exaction: The development of vacant land or the redevelopment of existing urban areas puts a heavier burden on the municipality's physical infrastructure and increases the need for urban services. The cost of meeting the need for improved infrastructure and services falls on the municipal government. A common practice around the world is to require those benefitting most from the development to compensate the city for public costs created by the new development. Such compensation - usually required from developers - is known as "developer exaction."

1 World Bank (2019). Land Sharing. Available at: <https://urban-regeneration.worldbank.org/node/33>

2 Lincoln Institute of Land Policy (2019). Value Capture and the property tax. Available at: <https://www.lincolnst.edu/key-issues/value-capture-property-tax>, last accessed on 5th May 2019.

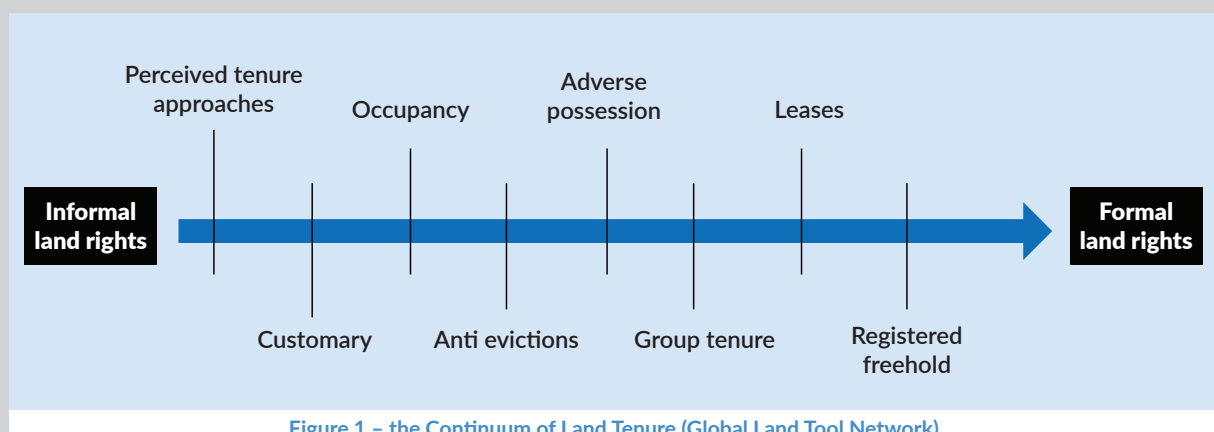


Figure 1 - the Continuum of Land Tenure (Global Land Tool Network)

Land readjustment: Land readjustment is an approach that has been commonly used in Japan, the Republic of Korea and Germany to enable the assembly and planning of privately-owned land at the peri-urban fringe, and the delivery of infrastructure and services on such land. This approach – normally requiring consensus of land-owners and local government – involves the assembly of the various privately-owned land parcels in a given area, the preparation of land-use plans for the overall area, including designating spaces for public infrastructure and services such as roads and open spaces. The plan is then implemented with the provision of the necessary trunk infrastructure. At the end of the process each landowner is returned a land parcel proportional to their original parcel, but of smaller size (for instance, 50–60 percent of the original land parcel)—except that the new land parcel is of a higher value because it is now on serviced urban land. The local government often retains selected strategic land parcels for sale at market rates to cost recover its investment in infrastructure and service delivery.³

Spatial planning: Spatial planning refers to the process used by the public and private sector to influence the distribution of people and activities in spaces of various scales. It tends to be forward looking and articulates development priorities spatially. It provides the opportunity to include all stakeholder groups in a participatory process.

Strategic Urban Planning: Strategic urban planning brings together a broad base of stakeholders, including the private and public sector, and determines the direction of development of a city or urban area, in the context of its current situation, including its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Strategic planning helps the city to respond to and manage change and to improve the quality of life. It helps determine how the economic base can be strengthened, how quality of life can be enhanced and what type of growth is needed where. Strategic urban planning feeds spatial planning and land-use planning processes.

Land-use planning: Governments use land-use planning to manage the development of land within their jurisdictions. A land-use plan provides a vision for the future possibilities of development in neighborhoods, districts, cities, or any defined planning area, and may include stipulations on the supply of affordable housing within mixed developments.

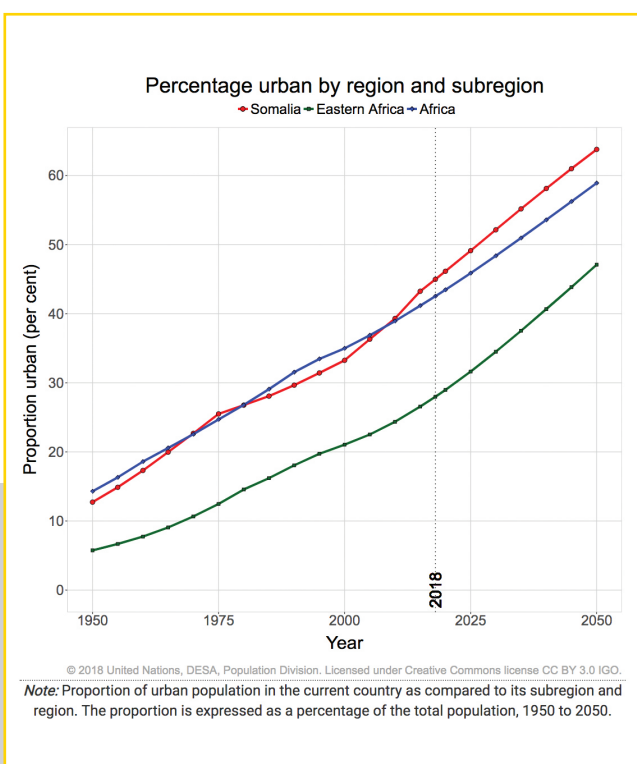
3 <https://urban-regeneration.worldbank.org/node/33>

1. URBANIZATION AND DISPLACEMENT TRENDS AND CHARACTERISTICS

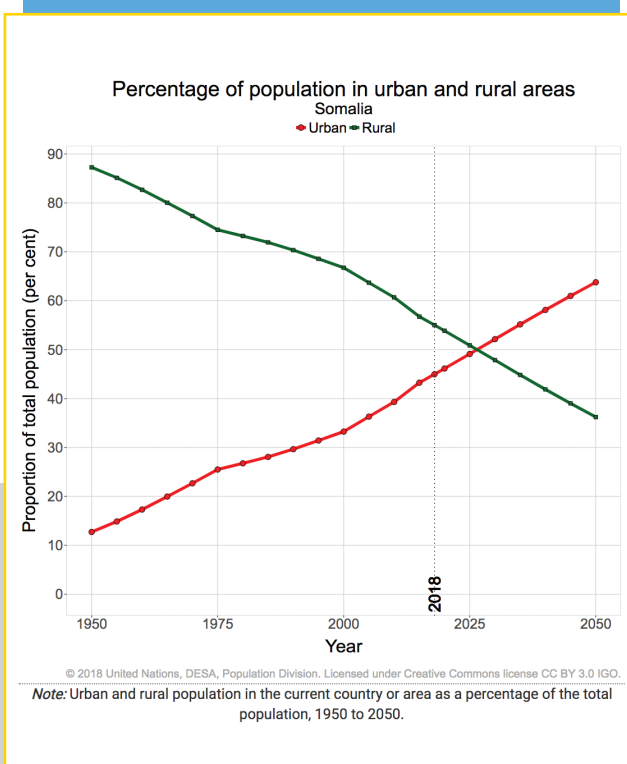
1.1 Demographic trends

Somalia is one of the fastest urbanizing countries in the world⁴ (Graph 1). Somalia's urban population is estimated at around 6.45 million people, making up 45% of the national population and growing at an average rate of around 4.2 percent per annum⁵. The World Bank estimates that if the current trend continues, by 2030, Somalia will add another 4.5 million urban residents to its already constrained urban environment⁶. The UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs projects that by 2026 Somalia will be predominantly urban (Graph 2)⁷. Still, "urban" in Somalia is defined by any human settlement with more than 1,500 inhabitants, which is quite low for international and East African standards⁸.

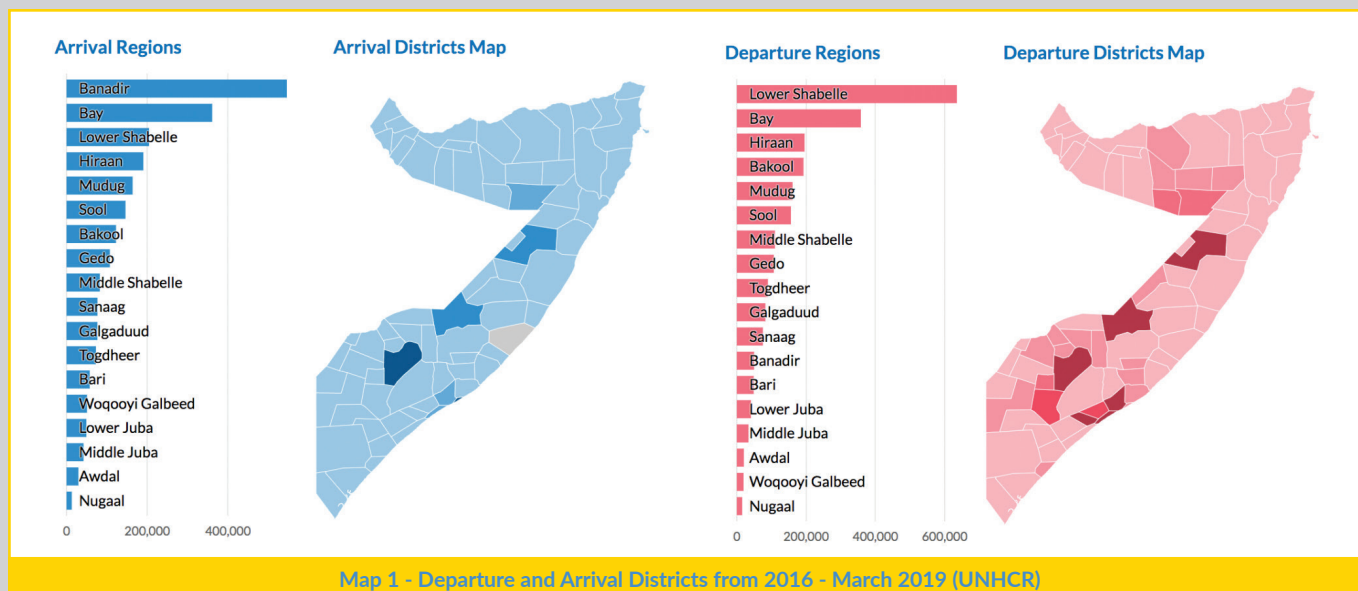
- 4 Discussions at the "Technical Dialogue on Urban Resilience in Somalia" (June 2018) - available at: <https://www.afidep.org/what-challenges-and-concerns-does-urbanization-in-somalia-pose-afidep-and-other-regional-stakeholders-explore-solutions-at-forum/>
- 5 UNDESA (2018). Data from the 2018 triennial review
- 6 World Bank (2018). Somalia Urban Resilience Project
- 7 UNDESA (2018). Data from the 2018 triennial review
- 8 Lloyd-Jones, T. & Papachristodoulou, N. (2019). Urbanization analysis and options for entry points for policy engagement and programmatic investments in Somalia



Graph 1 - Somalia's rate of urbanisation (UNDESA)



Graph 2 - Somalia's proportion of urban population (UNDESA)



Map 1 - Departure and Arrival Districts from 2016 - March 2019 (UNHCR)

Internal displacement caused by drought, armed conflict and insecurity has contributed to Somalia’s rapid urbanization. Amongst the displaced population, estimated as of late 2018 to have reached between 1.8 and 2.1 million people⁹, 80% are living in urban areas¹⁰. Major cities, benefitting from improving security, employment opportunities and the availability of aid have become centres of rapid inward migration – particularly in the southern states. According to UNDP, between November 2016 and September 2017, around 161,000 IDPs moved to the capital Mogadishu, 174,000 to Baidoa and 42,000 to Kismayo¹¹. These new arrivals represent a significant population increase, particularly in Kismayo and Baidoa whose population was less than 300,000 inhabitants before. The phenomenon of rapid urban growth is clear in the aerial images below showing the physical growth of Baidoa between 2004 and 2018. Datasets, such those availed by the Protection and Return Monitoring Network¹² also show an uneven distribution of displaced populations across districts.

The trend of displacement, concentrating growth in larger conurbations, has limited the opportunity of return or seasonal movement between rural and urban areas, that may have been afforded if intermediary towns, closer to locations of displacement, were better able to absorb IDP populations. NGOs interviewed in Hargeisa, Mogadishu, Baidoa, Bossaso and Garowe noted that the intention to return diminishes over time, which is also evident in the internal displacement profiling for Mogadishu and Hargeisa¹³. OCHA’s Joint Multi Cluster Needs Assessment (2018)¹⁴ indicates that 90% of the IDPs engaged in the exercise expressed their preference to stay in the locations where they have moved. Urbanization in Somalia, fuelled by displacement, will not be reversed.

Without adequate urban systems and institutional capacity to cope with ever increasing population demands, the growth

of cities is largely spontaneous and unplanned, entrenched in complex dynamics involving displaced populations, land-owners, gatekeepers and clans, and impacted by the ongoing conflict with Al Shabaab. The dynamics are highly nuanced and vary considerably from place to place, and thus cannot be over-generalized, however, as discussed later in this report, the continuation of this trend risks entrenching dynamics of conflicts in the spatial formation of cities and thus perpetuating conflict. However, if planned and managed well, urbanization could contribute positively to economic growth and diversification, social development, resilience and stability.



Image 1 – Baidoa 2004 – 2008 (Google Earth Images)

9 Government of Somalia (2019) National Development Plan 2020-24 (draft)
 10 OCHA (2019). Humanitarian needs overview
 11 UNDP (2017). Somalia Drought Impact and Need Assessment
 12 UNHCR (2019). Displacements Monitored by UNHCR Protection and Return Monitoring Network (PRMN)
 13 Refugee Studies Centre (2009). Forced Migration Review: protracted displacement. Issue 33
 14 OCHA (2018). Joint Multi Cluster Needs Assessment - Somalia

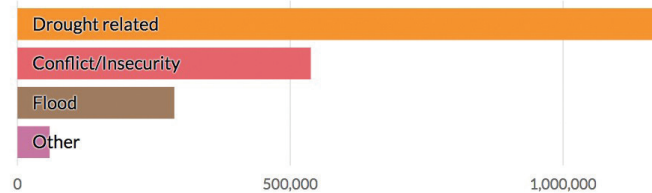
1.2 Why people move?

According to OCHA (2019)¹⁵ the four main reasons for internal displacement in Somalia are conflict or fear of conflict (33%), drought (22%), lack of livelihood opportunities (16%) and evictions (5%). UNHCR portrays the situation differently for the period of 2016 to March 2019, as can be seen at Graph 3, which shows 54.1% of internal displacement caused by drought; 30.8% by conflict/insecurity; 12% by floods and 3.1% by other

reason.¹⁶ OCHA notes that “many displaced households have experienced multiple displacements, resulting in a population comprised of various interwoven strata: (i) those displaced recently or over the course of decades, (ii) those displaced once or multiple times, (iii) those displaced within their original region or to a different area in the country, (iv) those returning after fleeing to neighboring countries, and (v) people who are themselves foreign nationals and have been displaced to Somalia as refugees.”¹⁷

The displacement context is largely protracted with 45% of IDPs reporting to have been displaced for longer than three years. The prevalence of long-term displacement in Somalia indicates the need for durable solutions. Even in cases where violence has ceased or climatic shocks have relented, many IDPs do not wish to return to their areas of origin out of fear of reprisal or because of the limited availability of social services and livelihood opportunities.¹⁸

Reasons for Displacement



Graph 3 - Displacement in Somalia (UNHCR)

1.3 Characteristics of Urban Displacement

The Rift Valley Institute notes that “accelerated urbanization is one of the main long-term effects of armed conflict. Consequently, post-conflict countries in Africa are much more likely to be dealing with heightened urban land pressures.¹⁹ In Somalia interest groups within and outside formal institutions, such as clan-militias and businessmen have taken advantage of governance gaps at local and national level for land-grabbing and unregistered development activities. “If rural conflicts are fought mainly for control of natural resources, urban struggles are most often over real estate.”²⁰ Secure and unrestricted access to land and property has been a major challenge over the past decades in Somalia. Seizure of land for speculative pur-

poses, sometimes by organized groups that identify vacant land and proclaim themselves as landowners is commonplace around urban areas.²¹

Dominant clans in given areas may determine where settlements are located and how they are organized in urban settings: “In the Somali cultural context, land rights discussions are frequently expressed as a debate between three normative claims: rights by blood [or clan affiliation], rights by birth and rights by citizenship.”²² It is commonly understood that people tend to settle in neighborhoods of their clan-affiliation, or in support of clan members aiming to reclaim areas they believe

15 OCHA (2019). Somalia Humanitarian needs overview

16 UNHCR (2019). Somalia Internal Displacement. Available at: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/dataviz/1>

17 OCHA (2019). Somalia Humanitarian needs overview

18 Ibid

19 Rift Valley Institute (2017). Land Matters in Mogadishu. Settlement, ownership and displacement in a contested city.

20 UN-Habitat, UNHCR, NRC (2008). Land, Property, and Housing in Somalia

21 Example in Kismayo, Jubaland (Global Land Tool Network, 2018)

22 Rift Valley Institute (2017). Land Matters in Mogadishu. Settlement, ownership and displacement in a contested city.



Image 2 - Rebuilding after evictions

are historically under their domain - often to reinforce power dynamics. Yet, this understanding should be nuanced in light of the complexity of major urban centers which have become increasingly diverse in recent decades.

Land-owners are often keen to attract displaced populations onto their land as a means to protect and reinforce their claim of ownership.²³ The dense occupation and thus urbanization of land, compounded by foreign aid (including from diaspora and international organizations) and private sector investment in basic infrastructure for IDPs, has the effect of increasing land value, often several times over its value, prior to being occupied. In some instances, as land value has increased, informal landowners have sold the land and evicted populations living there. According to data from the Eviction Tracking Tool (HLP Sub-Cluster), between 2017 and March 2019, 56% of evictions incidents reported were due to “development – landlord”, 99.7% of which concerned IDPs.²⁴ The Somalia NGO Consortium also reported instances such as in December 2017 in the outskirts of Mogadishu, where mass evictions involved militias, bulldozers and large vehicles demolishing all humanitarian infrastructure.²⁵ According to the HLP Sub-Cluster, around 34,734 individuals were forcefully evicted in 2016 from 38 IDP camps in the northern outskirts of Mogadishu.²⁶

Displacement contributes to social and spatial dynamics of urban growth and is impacted by profound systemic challenges, including: historic unequal and complex distribution of land, accompanied with the lack of a clear system to recognize and uphold land ownership and user rights; and a governance system that so far has limited social and political accountability towards displaced communities.

Since the State collapsed in 1991, Somalia experienced a series of informal and often contradictory systems of governance and decision making, and with the support of international efforts towards peace building, began to see the re-establishment of formal institutions. The transition of power to a Federal Parliament, the election of a new President and the formation of a new Cabinet in early 2017 were important milestones towards recovery and governance through more representative and accountable structures, after decades of clan-based conflicts.²⁷ The creation of new Federal Member States in 2015 has contributed to localize state-building, yet the respective roles of the Federal Member States and Federal Government remain to be fully clarified as the constitutional review process continues. Considering these complex processes and

the relative short tenure of the newly formed administrations, local communities continue to rely on their own coping mechanisms by forging various means of formal and informal governance arrangements that provide some degree of law and order, local ownership and in some cases, legitimacy.²⁸ While not always providing social and political accountability, as recognized by the Danish Refugee Council, Somali traditional structures possess aspects of good governance which can also complement the function of modern institutions.²⁹ Urban development decisions and land dispute resolution frequently rely on hybrid governance arrangements of customary, religious and state institutions.

This fluid system has contributed to fuel land tenure insecurity. Cadasters were looted or destroyed; registration systems, where they exist, are not standardized, and informal processes for acquiring land frequently result in competing claims over the same land parcels. This leads to a situation where land rights are difficult to acquire without risk of infringing the rights of others and contributes to an uncertain environment for investment, peace and reconciliation, and development.

The plurality of land tenure systems has also been exploited by claimants able to afford multiple remedial options, to the detriment of poorer and more vulnerable groups or individuals, and has multiplied opportunities for corruption. The land system further raises questions of gender since, in practice, much of it is governed by traditional, Sharia and customary practices that tends to limit the equal rights of women to inherit, access and own property and land.³⁰ Disputes are often addressed through religious and customary leaders, even where the State is of relevance, and play into private household and group-dynamics.³¹ Current land governance arrangements have also thwarted possibility for the economic recovery and human development of IDPs,³² and ultimately leave them - and others that fall outside of family and clan related safety nets - vulnerable and easily exploited.

Gatekeepers, mediate access of IDPs to informal settlements and have emerged to fill governance gaps. In the absence of strong state institutions at the national and local level, individuals, clan militia-groups, and sometimes security forces fill the vacuum, including by the use of force, threats and providing needed services. Their business model tends to involve extracting high rents from IDPs in exchange for basic security, a plot of land, some degree of services such as sanitation, and conflict mediation; and often requires cash and other in-kind

23 Focus Group Discussion with NGOs and civil society, Baidoa, Saturday 23 February 2019.

24 HLP Sub-Cluster, UN-Habitat & NRC (2019). Eviction trends analysis – cumulative.

25 Somalia NGO Consortium (2018). Families face heightened risk after evictions and destruction of IDP settlements in Mogadishu, Somalia - <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/families-face-heightened-risk-after-evictions-and-destruction-idp-settlements>

26 HLP Sub-Cluster (2018). Back to square one. Available at: <https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/reports/somalia/back-to-square-one-28post-eviction-assessment-in-somalia29.pdf>

27 OCHA (2018). Humanitarian needs overview

28 Menkhaus K (2012) After the Kenyan Intervention in Somalia

29 Gundel, Joakim; et al. (2006). The predicament of the ‘Oday’: The role of traditional structures in security, rights, law and development in Somalia

30 NRC (2016). Housing, Land and property rights for Somalia’s urban displaced women

31 NRC (2016). Housing, Land and property rights for Somalia’s urban displaced women

32 World Bank (2014). Analysis of Displacement in Somalia

payments from humanitarian agencies to access settlements.³³ Types of gatekeepers and their practices vary so considerably it is difficult to assess whether and how to engage with them. Organizations such as TANA Copenhagen have encouraged forms of engagement based on a proven track record of accountability of some gatekeepers in certain locations.³⁴ Some have created resilient governance structures with growing legitimacy, that include, for example, community representation and grievance-mechanisms. Pilot-studies by TANA, engaging moderate gatekeepers as a source of governance and service-delivery, found that formalizing their roles brought about a certain amount of accountability. While a number of gatekeepers were willing to “trade power for legitimacy,”³⁵ the possibility to engage with informal power structures varies significantly

with location. Religious influence should also be taken into consideration - pressure on gatekeepers from religious leaders is understood by the Overseas Development Institute as being potentially effective in changing or maintaining behavior.³⁶

Characteristics of displacement thus contributes to the spatial formation and growth of cities, as land-owners seeking to protect and reinforce their claim of ownership are often keen to attract displaced populations onto their land, and also impacts on the governance of urban communities as informal systems are introduced to fill formal governance gaps. Rapid and unplanned growth, fueled by displacement and clan dynamics may risk entrenching conflict into the spatial development of cities, as discussed in the following section.

1.4. The risk of sustaining the current spontaneous pattern of urbanization

“The future of violent conflict is urban - because the future of humanity is urban. If we want to prevent future violent conflict, we must prevent violent urban conflict.”³⁷

The link between urbanization, unrest, violence and conflict is complex. “Violence in urban areas is heterogeneous, not uniformly distributed, and does not correlate in any straightforward manner to population size or urban geography. Urban violence takes many forms, from interpersonal and gender-based violence, to riots, to more structured and well-organized forms of criminal or political violence, including communal contest and terrorism.”³⁸

Conflict in Somalia can be partly explained by the historically constructed unjust distribution of wealth resources in the colonial and post-colonial age, which led to inequalities manifested in both material and imagined differences.³⁹ These included discrimination or unequal access to resources and/or influence across certain groups of people based on their identity eg. ethnicity, tribe/clan, religion, gender etc.⁴⁰ These dynamics are compounded by land issues; the recent study by UN-Habitat

and Global Land Tool Network (GLTN),⁴¹ describes challenges and trends that prevail in varying extents throughout Somalia. Root cause analysis found land related conflict to be impacted by environmental factors of natural resource scarcity and exploitation; by socio economic factors related to population pressure, poverty, criminality, terrorism and exploitative investment; and by weak governance, weak land administration, exclusion and chaotic urbanization.

These causal issues which feed the dynamics of conflict, contribute to dynamics of power and inequality. The most violent urban areas tend to be those that are characterized by the fragmentation of state control and the emergence of extra-legal

33 Tana Copenhagen ApS (2017). Engaging the gatekeepers: using informal governance resources in Mogadishu

34 It must be noted that those IMS referenced in the project were a minority among the totality of the IMSs in Mogadishu

35 Ibid

36 McCullough and Saed, (2017) Gatekeepers, Elders and Accountability in Somalia

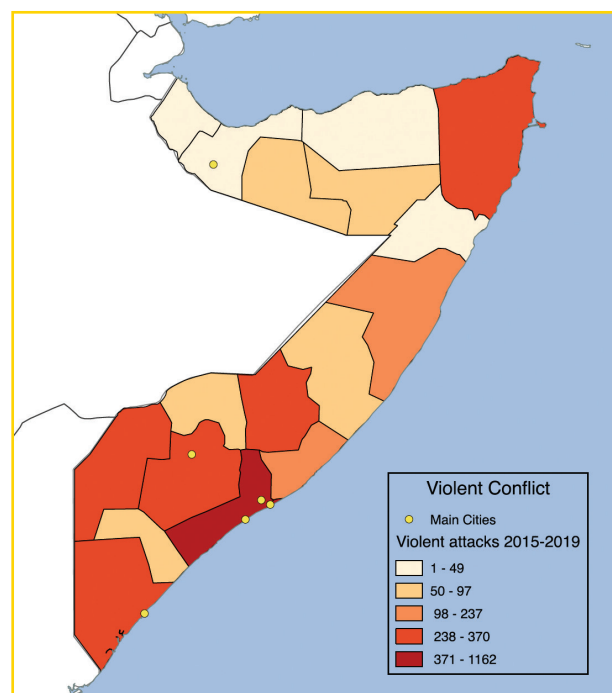
37 Cockayne, James et al. (2017). Preventing Violent Urban Conflict - United Nations University Centre for Policy Research (UNU-CPR)

38 Ibid

39 Webersik, Christian (2004). Differences that matter: the struggle of the marginalized in Somalia - International African Institute

40 Gurr, Ted Robert (1994). People against States - Ethnopolitical conflict and the changing World-System - International Studies Quarterly; CEDERMAN, Lars-Erik (2011). Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A global comparison - American Political Science Review

41 UN-Habitat and Global Land Tool Network - Land and Conflict in Jubaland Root Cause Analysis and Recommendations



Map 2 – Spatial Distribution of Violent Conflict (ACLED)

armed actors and informal configurations of power and coercion. Power dynamics and their possible reconfiguration during and following conflict can also result in inequalities between segregated communities and in exploitative relationships between the emerging elite and those they suppress. In Somalia it has been acknowledged, for example, that socio-cultural inequality between groups, in which minority groups lacked social capital, limited them from accessing international aid.⁴² These dynamics, if reinforced by local and state authorities in the inequitable distribution of public and social infrastructure and services, favoring some communities over others, will lead to spatial inequality.

The correlation of spatial inequality and causes of conflict have been gaining more attention in recent decades. Group dynamics are often “spatially” translated, which in turn can lead to fragmented neighborhoods, the formation of ghettos, marginalized communities and can contribute to violent conflict over services and public spaces.⁴³ UN-Habitat’s city profiles of “Islamic State” besieged cities in Iraq and conflict affected cities in Syria show a clear correlation of the spatial configuration of ethnicity and deprivation with causes of civil conflict. While spatial segregation and inequality can be a cause of urban conflict, it can also be a consequence of conflict, as groups of people move from areas where they feel threatened to areas dominated by their own kind, where they feel protected. This cycle ultimately entrenches the dynamics of conflict in the evolution of the urban form, which risks perpetuating or accelerating instability.

Still, care is needed when making a link between spatial and income inequalities and violence. Even though statistical and geo-referential data within cities can demonstrate correlations between violence and indicators of economic and social deprivation,⁴⁴ there are nuances and widely ranging externalities. Accordingly, income and spatial inequality factors should be considered within a more comprehensive analysis of conflict.

In Somalia some data is however available to support the assumption of a correlation between conflict and unplanned urbanization. Data from Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), shows that from 2015 to April/2019 around 43.5% of all violent attacks occurred in 6 major cities (Mogadishu, Hargeysa, Kismayo, Marka, Baidoa, Afgooye).⁴⁵ These are also some of the fastest growing cities, and as they have grown, they report increased violence. Reported violent attacks in Mogadishu increased by 215% in only three years (from 197 in 2015 to 422 in 2018), and in the first three months of 2019 numbers reached 99. In Baidoa it is possible to see a similar but lighter trend, with reported attacks increasing from 15 in 2016, 34 in 2018, and 10 in the first quarter of 2019.⁴⁶

1.5. Summary of key findings on urbanization and displacement

To summarize this section, cities in Somalia lack planning systems, which, compounded by the absence of stable authorities and urban development regulation, has left the urban environment to be shaped, among others, by the interests of landowners and dynamics of displacement. Dispersed, unplanned, low-density sprawl towards agricultural land, together with poorly developed infrastructure, shapes ineffective patterns of urbanization, which brings challenges of congestion, land consumption, service delivery, public space deficit and environmental degradation as cities grow and densify, and it impacts their functionality and thus economic and social potential. Clan dynamics in the ownership and development of urban land, accelerated by displacement result in communities that are segregated on the basis of clan or sub-clan. Since clan affiliation can affect the extent to which IDPs are included or excluded from development opportunities⁴⁷ and the access of population groups to basic services, a resultant pattern of spatial inequality is emerging in Somalia’s cities which risks entrenching conflict dynamics in the urban form and perpetuating instability. As Somalia continues to rapidly urbanize, these factors contribute to a bleak future. However, while Somalia’s urban population reaches 50% of total population by 2026 and 62% by 2040, a window of opportunity could be afforded in the coming cycle of the National Development Plan and Vision 2040 to put sustainable urbanization on the agenda as a driver of stabilization, resilience and development, as is discussed in the following section.

42 Menkhaus, Ken (2012). No Access: Critical Bottlenecks in the 2011 Somali Famine

43 BÜSCHER, Karen (2018). African cities and violent conflict: the urban dimension of conflict and post conflict dynamics in Central and Eastern Africa - *Journal of Eastern African Studies*

44 Beato, Cláudio (2012). *Crime e Cidades* - UFMG

45 Data from Violence from Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) combined with spatial analysis on a buffer area of the cities.

46 All data from Violence from Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED)

47 World Bank (2014). *Analysis of displacement in Somalia*

2. A NEW URBAN AGENDA FOR SOMALIA

Setting a new course of urbanization for Somalia can yield sustainable economic and social development gains for all. While the above describes some of the risks affecting the spontaneous growth of cities, particularly impacted by social patterns of forced displacement, this section highlights how urbanization could be a window of opportunity for Somalia. Through a deeper and more nuanced understanding of urbanization in Somalia, benefitting from research currently being carried out,⁴⁸ as well as discussion among a broad range of stakeholders at local and national levels, and political determination to implement the New Urban Agenda - a driving force for achieving sustainable development - pathways could be found to harness sustainable urbanization as a force for stabilization, economic growth and resilience.

2.1 The New Urban Agenda

The New Urban Agenda, adopted at the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) by 193 UN member states in 2016, provides a shared vision of cities for all through the equal use and enjoyment of cities and human settlements, promoting inclusivity and ensuring safe, healthy, accessible, affordable, resilient and sustainable cities and human settlements for all inhabitants. As a transformative force, urbanization has changed ways of thinking and acting, ways of governance, ways of using space, lifestyles, social and economic relations, consumption and production patterns. The adoption of both the SDGs with its dedicated urban goal, SDG 11, and the New Urban Agenda reflects the global acknowledgement of the role urbanization can play as a force for sustainable development.

In order to fully harness the potential of sustainable urban development, the New Urban Agenda forged the following transformative commitments:

1. Sustainable urban development for social inclusion and ending poverty

The New Urban Agenda recognizes “that the growing inequality and the persistence of multiple forms and dimensions of poverty, including the rising number of slum and informal settlement dwellers, is affecting both developed and developing countries.” It commits to “people-centered, and age and gender-responsive urban development” that takes account the inclusion

of refugees, displaced populations and migrants, and the needs of disabled people through a range of actions, including facilitating access to “affordable serviced land, housing, energy, safe drinking water and sanitation, waste disposal, sustainable mobility...and information and communication technologies,” and to public spaces for all.

2. Sustainable and inclusive urban prosperity and opportunities for all

Urbanization generates wealth and vibrancy through concentrating people - including their ideas, assets, interests, culture, education and needs - and thus facilitates increased opportunities for transactions. This phenomenon, known as economies of agglomeration, benefits from compact, dense, mixed-use urban environments with good connectivity, effective infrastructure, and financing mechanisms that translate urban economies into revenue, which in turn can be reinvested towards the continual improvement of the public domain. Economies of specialization emerge as areas of the city concentrate similar industries, making efficiency gains by sharing common supply chains and markets; through specializing, cities become more competitive in global markets. The New Urban Agenda, as well as committing to above principles, commits to ensure decent work opportunities, the “empowerment of women and their full and equal participation in the economy,” and to social mobility and opportunities for marginalized groups.”

3. Environmentally sustainable and resilient urban development

The New Urban Agenda recognizes that “cities and human settlements face unprecedented threats from unsustainable consumption and production patterns, loss of biodiversity, pressure on ecosystems, pollution, natural and human-made disasters, and climate change and its related risks.” Compact mixed-use planning with adequate built densities and green public spaces, public and non-motorized transport options and environmentally sustainable building codes are key to reducing energy consumption. The New Urban Agenda thus commits to: “facilitating the sustainable management of natural resources in a manner that (...) reduces greenhouse gas emissions and air pollution” providing “well-connected and well distributed networks of open (...) green and quality public spaces;” promoting compact urban forms and building codes that reduce energy

⁴⁸ including World Bank Urban Review and urban studies being commissioned by UK Aid

consumption and ensure resilience; reducing waste and promote recycling.

The New Urban Agenda recognizes that achieving these transformative commitments through sustainable urban development is a collective undertaking that requires “enhanced international cooperation and partnerships among Governments at all levels, the private sector, civil society, the United Nations system and other actors.” It highlights the following instruments - “drivers of change” as key to realizing these transformative commitments, which are further reinforced in both the UN System-wide Strategy for Sustainable Urban Development and the forthcoming UN-Habitat Strategic Plan (2020-23):

- Developing and implementing urban policies at the appropriate level - this brings together the disjointed energies and potential of urban centres, within national systems of cities, to integrate relevant sectoral policies, to plan spatially, to anchor urbanization as a transformative force and to facilitate integration with national development plans. They guide the allocation of public and private resources in, for example, infrastructure and mobility, and are key to redressing social inequalities and discrimination within and between urban areas, aligning urban and environmental policies, and integrating urban and rural policies.
- Strengthening multi-level urban governance: Good territorial and urban governance can deliver sustainable urban development when it is human-rights based, environmentally-friendly, participatory, accountable, transparent, effective, equitable and inclusive, both in law and in practice. Improving urban governance requires that

the institutional framework be as coherent as possible with sound institutions and mechanisms that empower and include representatives of urban stakeholders and constituencies, as well as appropriate checks and balances, providing predictability and coherence in urban and sectoral plans to enable social inclusion, sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth and environmental protection.

- Reinvigorating long-term and integrated urban and territorial planning and design - as integrative and participatory processes that help reconcile competing interests and maximize synergies between different goals and targets within a specific territory or locality. Well-planned and designed cities and human settlements can optimize economies of agglomeration, increase connectivity and facilitate sustainable mobility, protect the natural and built environment, and encourage social inclusion, gender equality and child-friendly cities.
- Supporting effective, innovative and sustainable financing frameworks and instruments. The ability of national and local governments to mobilize, sequence and make effective use of a wide variety of financial sources and instruments is central for the achievement of the sustainable urban development agenda. More and more countries and cities are aiming to use an increasingly diverse set of instruments, such as blended finance, impact investment, public-private partnerships, climate funds, property taxation, land value capture, borrowing, bond issuances and others. Country/city ownership, multi-stakeholder partnership and higher accountability are critical in the use of these funds.⁴⁹

2.2 The Potential of Better Managed Urbanization for Somalia

Done well, Somalia’s urbanization could be transformative and contribute to stabilization, resilience, economic diversification, sustainable development, and meet durable solutions for IDPs at scale. The implementation of the New Urban Agenda in Somalia can bring new opportunities for cities in the country. Efforts from the Somali Government towards promoting economic and social development for all, such as the Somalia Recovery and Resilience Framework, the Policy Framework on Displacement within Somalia, the Durable Solutions Initiative, and the new Social Protection Policy, developed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs are recognized as foundational achievements. Still, the moment calls for a more central role of urbanization for sustainable development, which can be mainstreamed in the National Development Plan (2020-2024) and the forthcoming Vision 2040. The major components and outcomes of how sustainable urbanization can benefit Somalia are briefly described below.

Economy and Employment: Investment in getting urbanization right is an investment in Somalia’s future economy. Economies of agglomeration, scale and competition can lead to diversification and efficiency, promoting economic and social gains. Graphs 4 and 5 above show the correlation of countries that have urbanized and their respective GDP, as well as the same correlation in Somalia.^{50 51}

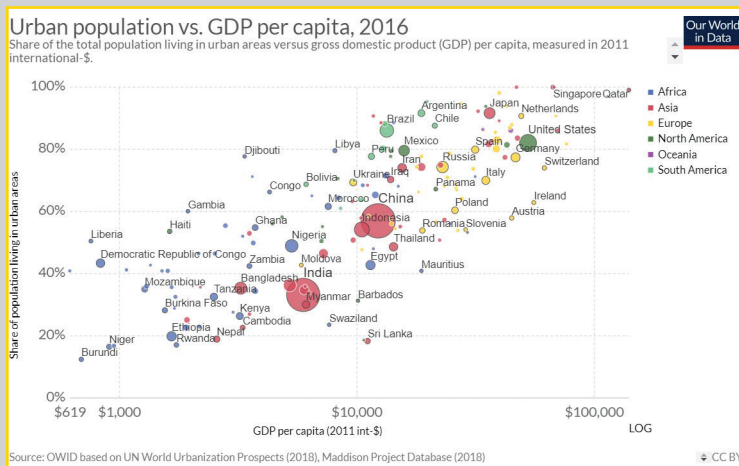
Opportunities for economic growth can be made possible through the expansion of services in cities. According to the Delegation of the European Union in Somalia, “the lifting of state constraints on private enterprise led to improved economic performance and to the provision by the private sector of many services previously provided inefficiently by the public sector (telecommunications, air transport, money transfer and though inadequately so, urban water, electricity and social services).”⁵²

49 UN System-wide Strategy for Sustainable Urban Development

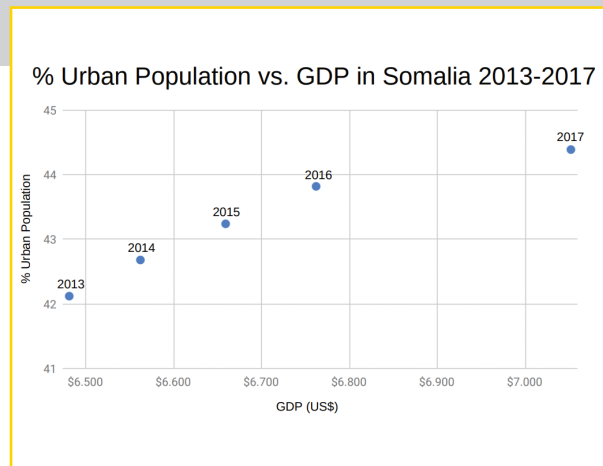
50 Our World in Data. Available at: <https://ourworldindata.org/>

51 World Bank Data for Somalia. Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/country/somalia>

52 EEAS/ SEAE (2018). Working with Somali people to build peace and prosperity – economic growth and job creation



Graph 4 – Urban population and GDP (OWID)



Graph 5 – Urban Population and GDP in Somalia (World Bank)

Tackling unemployment in Somalia is crucial for economic development and political stability, since, for example, around 67% of the young population is unemployed and generally underemployed.⁵³ Associated consequences include being forced to emigrate or, particularly for men, joining militias of various forms. Cultural pressures regarding social status from a salary, having a spouse (a recurrent recruitment promise of al-Shabaab) and others influence these decisions. 2017 unemployment statistics indicate that fewer than 20% of women and around 33% of men are employed.⁵⁴ In a climate of such severe unemployment, the need of direct intervention to support livelihood cannot be underestimated. UN-Habitat and NRC found that by supporting 80 households with rental support over 12 months and in parallel providing business development skills and grants for income generating activities, 89% of households were confident that by the end of the 12 month period, they would be able to continue paying their rents.⁵⁵

Social Equality and Development: Urbanization is seen to be socially inclusive when it enhances gender equality, protects the rights of minority and vulnerable groups, and ensures civic participation; thus, leaving no one and no place behind in the social, political and cultural spheres of the city. Inequality creates urban divides that stigmatize and even remove large groups of the urban population from a socially and economically productive life.⁵⁶ The failure of cities to integrate excluded groups into their decision-making process and to distribute services equitably, creates and reinforces inequality and exclusion.⁵⁷ Concerted effort to strengthen social equality in cities was argued earlier as being essential to ensuring future stability in Somalia.

There are numerous global examples where good urbanization processes have led to social development. In Medellín (Colombia), a comprehensive project that included alternative transportation modalities, public parks, cultural sites (such as libraries), education and inclusive architecture improved well-being and opportunities for people living in comunas (slums); In

South Africa, Durban's investment in inclusive public space led to crime reduction, while eThekweni and Johannesburg introduced new approaches with integrated park redevelopment to create places that were safer and inclusive, particularly towards homeless people. The shift from rural culture to urban culture can also provide opportunities for social change, including strengthening gender equality through inclusive urban policies, local governance and planning processes, that can lead to improved education, economic opportunities and political representation of women.

Environmental Sustainability and Climate Resilience: The sustainable management and use of scarce natural resources is not only necessary, but it also presents an opportunity for innovative approaches which could contribute to social and economic development. Currently Somalia's energy use is largely dependent on diesel generators and charcoal burning typically provided to households through the private sector, however there is enormous scope for renewable, solar and wind energy and investments are being made in this area. Energy needs in cities can also be reduced through more compact planning and effective construction legislation. Solid waste management on the other hand seems to be lacking in most Somali cities. Projects such as the "Cleaning Up Mogadishu" by UNDP and the Banadir Regional Authority (BRA), demonstrate how improving waste management had positive consequences not only in the protection of the environment, but also in terms of employment, public health indicators and social development, with the inclusion of young people and women.

Somalia is vulnerable to impacts of climate change – experiencing regular droughts and changing sea-levels in coastal areas. Not only does it impact on people's livelihoods, but also has a significant economic impact - disrupting agro-pastoralist economies, and leading to significant displacement. Actions to prevent climate-related disasters and to strengthen resilience, both in rural and urban areas, are urgent, and in this regard, strengthened urban-rural linkages can play an important role.

53 IMF (2017) Article IV Consultation and First Review Under the Staff-Monitored Program-Press Release; Staff Report; and Statement by the Executive Director for Somalia

54 Government of Somalia (2017). National development Plan 2017-2019

55 UN-Habitat, NRC (2019) Best Practices : innovative Solutions for Somalia – Innovative rental subsidy in Somalia

56 UN (2016). The New Urban Agenda

57 UN-Habitat (2013). Prosperity in Cities – State of the World's Cities Report 2012-13

Urban-Rural linkages: Despite Somalia's rapid urbanization, its economy has remained largely agro-pastoral, with the agricultural economy contributing to approximately 75% of GDP.⁵⁸ The agro-pastoral economy has experienced vulnerability to climate related events and to environmental degradation, resulting from instability, conflict and stagnation of the sector, which in turn has contributed to poverty. While public investment in agriculture can generate growth and reduce poverty,⁵⁹ it may still result in the outflow of workers to other economic sectors.⁶⁰ There are also opportunities to innovate in the agro-pastoral sector by recognizing its relationship to urban

centers. For example, as acknowledged by the Delegation of the European Union in Somalia, "meat production and hide and skin also have some potential to create jobs along the chain if investments are made for small-medium industries in urban areas with big demand."⁶¹ Strengthening agricultural economies, increasing resilience to effects of climate change and creating opportunities in other economic sectors can be supported through strengthening urban-rural linkages.

Systems of human settlements elevate the role of small and intermediary towns in supporting economic development - evidence shows that balanced patterns of urbanization, where

STATUS QUO: 1A
During drought, rural population displaced to well-served and secure main cities

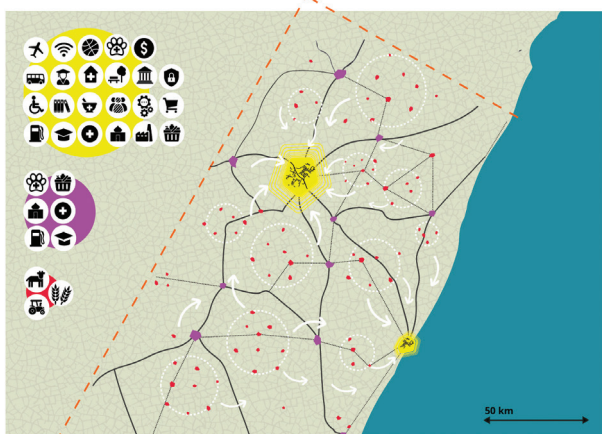


Fig. 2a Status Quo: During drought rural populations are displaced to better serviced, more secure main cities

STATUS QUO: 1B
After drought, main cities expand since IDP's prefer to remain in location of displacement

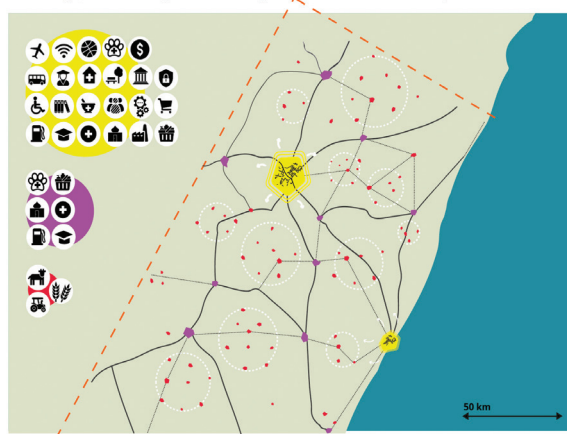


Fig. 2b Status Quo: After drought main cities expand since IDPs prefer to remain in location of displacement

ENHANCED INTERMEDIARY CITIES: 2A
During drought, rural populations are displaced towards well-served secured intermediary cities. Reduced movements to main cities.

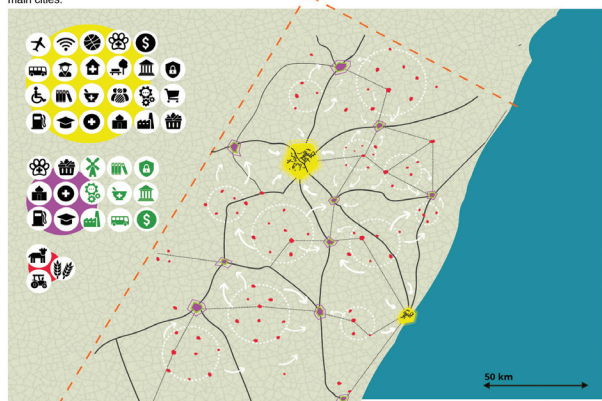


Fig 3a: Enhanced intermediary cities: During drought rural populations are displaced to better serviced, more secure intermediary cities

ENHANCED SECONDARY CITIES: Sustainable growth. 2B
During & after drought, rural populations are better able to move between intermediary cities and villages due to proximity, and eventually return to villages.

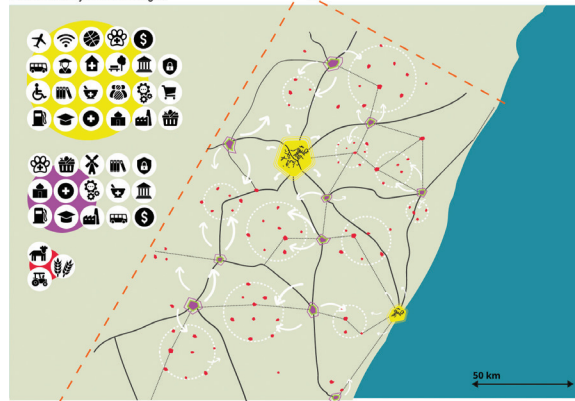


Fig 3b: Enhanced intermediary cities: During and after drought rural populations are better able to move between intermediate cities and villages and eventually return to villages

58 World Bank and FAO (2018). Rebuilding Resilient and Sustainable Agriculture in Somalia
 59 Christiaensen, Luc (2018). Agriculture, structural transformation and poverty reduction: Eight new insights
 60 Adam, Christopher et al. (2016). Rural-Urban Linkages, Public Investment and Transport Costs: The case of Tanzania
 61 EEAS/ SEAE (2018). Working with Somali people to build peace and prosperity - economic growth and job creation

both urban and rural areas benefit, can lead to greater poverty reduction. Key to this is the role of regional planning, involving for example agricultural corridors or economic corridors, that can improve rural economic development.⁶² There is also evidence that regional planning can contribute to building trust between communities, contributing to peace and stabilization, as promoted in Darfur, Sudan.⁶³ Regional planning needs to be supported by regulatory frameworks, financial models, participatory planning and mechanisms of cooperation between all levels of government.⁶⁴

The below diagrams illustrate the following hypothesis: should public investment in infrastructure be made in small and in-

termediary towns as security and access improves enabling them to attract small industries and businesses, and linkages strengthened to form effective networks of villages, towns and cities, rural economies can be strengthened through greater proximity to services and finance offered in nearby towns. Furthermore, during drought, proximity to nearby towns, as a viable alternative to a more distant major cities for refuge, may provide the opportunity for continued connection to pre-drought sources livelihood, and ease return of those wishing to, after drought. It also provides the possibility to have a foot in both camps, with some family members working in rural livelihoods and others in nearby towns, thus diversifying sources of livelihood and resilience of families.

2.3 Towards a New Urban Agenda for Somalia

As Somalia approaches its 9th National Development Plan and charts its Vision 2040, it has an unprecedented opportunity invest concerted efforts to direct urbanization in a way that promotes economic diversification, environmental sustainability, climate resilience, poverty reduction and improvements in social stability. The window is now, before Somalia's population becomes majority urban by 2026, to place sustainable urban development high on the political and development agenda in order to set a new course for urbanization.

Advancing sustainable urban development in the National Development Plan (2020-2024):

The key first step of advancing sustainable urban development in Somalia will involve developing a collective vision and understanding of Somalia's urban future. This process will benefit from urban analytical papers currently being developed by the World Bank and the UK Department for International Development – including the forthcoming Urban Review. It should also engage institutions responsible for urban development at all levels, as well as civil society groups, private sector and representatives of communities, including IDPs, academics and international experts in national and regional urban fora, to debate how urbanization can advance stability, resilience and sustainable development, and so motivate stakeholders to drive forward a new urban agenda for Somalia.

In parallel, since sustainable urban development makes an important contribution to reducing poverty, and since Somalia will need to formulate and implement a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) in order to access debt relief from the

Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC), and will incorporate its PRSP into the National Development Plan (NDP) 2020-2024 and its Vision 2040, actions towards achieving sustainable urban development could be well justified in both documents. This opportunity warrants efforts to initiate a national vision for Somalia's urbanization that will feed the Vision 2040, and to ensure key processes, such as the development of a national urban policy, the strengthening of national, regional and local institutions, and key city level actions outlined below, are initiated within the targets of the NDP 2020-2024.

Cities, while rapidly growing, will urgently need to have in place the basic building blocks of inclusive planning, property registration, inclusive governance, service delivery and revenue collection, and can draw from existing experiences in various parts of the country and global good practices, even while federal level policies and regulations are being developed. Major cities, intermediary cities and market towns could be encouraged to implement these outputs by applying relevant legislation where available and enacting by-laws as needed. Hargeisa and Kismayo already register documentation of land and properties within municipal boundaries, Hargeisa and Garowe have a range of municipal revenue tools and are scaling up their usage; Hargeisa, Garowe, Baidoa, Kismayo and Mogadishu have land dispute committees and mechanisms; Puntland and Somaliland have urban regulatory frameworks, and a number of cities have developed strategic plans. As cities step up their efforts to become sustainable, the international community can optimize its support through joined-up efforts as will be illustrated in the following section.

⁶² Reeg, Caroline (2017). Spatial Development Initiatives – potentials, challenges and policy lessons; or Ross, Doris (Ed.) (2014). Mozambique rising: building a new tomorrow.

⁶³ UN-Habitat: Regional Spatial Planning Strategy in Darfur

⁶⁴ UN-Habitat (2017). Implementing the New Urban Agenda by Strengthening Urban Rural Linkages - Leave No One and No Space Behind

2.4 Theory of change for Somalia's urban future

This section can be summarized by the theory of change:

If: Somalia adopted a positive, inclusive, purposeful and planned approach to urbanization;

and if: its cities had inclusive and equitable governance capacity supported by both Federal and Federal State institutions; were able to fairly register and administer urban land and resolve disputes; planned development and expansion inclusively in a way that optimizes economic, social and environmental potential at city and regional levels; were able to leverage investments in infrastructure in a way that yields shared value to their inhabitants; and were able to incrementally generate revenue as urban economies improve, and thus provide services and infrastructure that meets the needs of the most vulnerable and improves the environment for investment;

then: Somalia will be more resilient to population impacts of future droughts; its economy will be more diversified, and thus more resilient; societies will be more cohesive and stable; and IDP communities will be better integrated within cities, will achieve durable solutions and will contribute more effectively to social and economic development.

Sustainable urbanisation will thus play a key role in achieving all five strategic objectives of the Recovery and Resilience Framework, namely:

- SO1: Strengthen government capacities for inclusive drought recovery;
- SO2: Sustainably revitalize, strengthen and diversify economic sectors, livelihoods, and key infrastructure;
- SO3: Promote durable solutions for displacement affected communities;
- SO4: Enhance sustainable management of environmental services and access to renewable energy, and;
- SO5: Improve basic service delivery in (affected) urban and peri-urban settings.

3. APPROACHES TO ACHIEVE DURABLE SOLUTIONS AT SCALE IN CITIES

3.1 Introduction

Displacement is an issue that traverses all sections above. Durable solutions are achieved when “IDPs no longer have specific assistance and protection needs that are linked to their displacement and such persons can enjoy their human rights without discrimination resulting from their displacement.”⁶⁵ Durable solutions are based on three elements: long-term security; restitution of or compensation for lost property; and, an environment that sustains the life of former displaced persons under normal economic and social conditions.⁶⁶ They are achieved through three approaches – return, local integration and resettlement – which displaced people should have the right to determine for themselves in light of the circumstances of their situation, and to be assisted as needed. Global criteria that determine the extent to which a durable solution has been achieved include: long-term safety, security and freedom of movement; and also include a number of factors influenced by human settlements, including: adequate standard of living – at a minimum access to adequate food, water, housing, healthcare and basic education; access to employment and livelihoods; and, access to effective mechanisms that restore housing, land and property or provide compensation.⁶⁷

These human settlements dimensions of achieving durable solutions at scale rely on the factors described earlier – i.e. inclusive urban planning, land management, inclusive governance and local financing mechanisms. Achieving durable human settlement solutions at scale in urban areas and achieving sustainable urban development are thus intrinsically linked – accordingly IDPs living in urban areas should be considered within broader group of vulnerable people in urban areas. This section explores city level approaches that achieve IDP solutions at scale while advancing sustainable urban development at city level. In the current absence of national frameworks to guide sustainable urban development, a set of principles, tools and mechanisms are suggested that will be tailored to specific city contexts, through further research and dialogue with city leaders and stakeholders.

Box 1: Key Principles to guide the search for Durable Solutions (IASC Framework on Durable Solutions for IDPs, 2010)

- The primary responsibility to provide durable solutions for IDPs and ensure their protection and assistance needs to be assumed by the national authorities.
- National and local authorities should grant international humanitarian and development actors, in the exercise of their respective mandates, rapid and unimpeded access to assist IDPs in finding durable solutions.
- The rights need and legitimate interests of IDPs should be the primary consideration guiding all policies and decisions relating to internal displacement and durable solutions.
- All relevant actors need to respect IDPs’ rights to make an informed and voluntary choice on what durable solution to pursue and to participate in the planning and management of durable solutions.
- A person opting for local integration or settlement elsewhere in the country in the absence of a prospect of return does not lose the right to return once return becomes feasible.
- Under no circumstances should IDPs be encouraged or compelled to return or relocate to areas where their life, safety, liberty or health would be at risk.
- IDPs, who return, integrate locally or settle elsewhere in the country must not be subject to discrimination, in particular for reasons related to their displacement.
- Similarly, populations and communities that (re-)integrate IDPs and whose needs may be comparable, should not be neglected.
- IDPs continue to be protected by national and international human rights and, where applicable, international humanitarian law, even after they have achieved a durable solution.

65 Brookings Institute (2010). IASC Framework on Durable Solutions for IDPs

66 OCHA (2004). Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement: x’

67 Brookings Institute (2010) IASC Framework on Durable Solutions for IDPs

3.2 Core Guiding Principles

Guiding principles for achieving durable solutions for IDPs in urban areas should therefore be drawn from both IASC guiding principles for IDP durable solutions (see Box 1) and principles described for achieving sustainable urban development, namely: inclusive and participatory urban and regional planning; enhanced urban rural linkages; inclusive representational governance; equitable services delivery; and, access to land tenure security for all. They would also draw on additional principles that guide humanitarian action and development, including:

Do-No-Harm: The “Do No Harm” concept aims to identify the ways in which assistance given in conflict settings may be provided, so that rather than exacerbating and/or worsening conflict, it helps local people disengage from conflict and establish alternative systems for dealing with the issues underlying the conflict. It aims to ensure that activities designed to achieve good outcomes do not inadvertently cause harm.

Transparency and inclusiveness: By following transparent and inclusive principles it is hoped to mitigate (potential) tensions between IDP and host communities and contribute to community stabilization.

Community participation: Successful participation can contribute significantly to reaching culturally appropriate and sustain-

able shelter and settlements solutions and cultivating a greater sense of ownership and community cohesion.

Gender sensitivity: Gender sensitivity should be promoted particularly in respect to access to information, choices on durable solutions, issues of housing, basic services and livelihood.

Incremental approach: An incremental approach to construction and upgrading of housing and services allows the target group to reach a minimum acceptable standard of living environment within an acceptable time frame and within an affordable framework.

Leave-No-One-Behind: The concept, recognized by the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, pledges that all segments of society have to be recognized and that inequalities have to be targeted. IDPs, as a vulnerable group, have to be empowered and taken into account when designing policies related to sustainable development.

Access to land tenure security for all: is the certainty that a person’s rights to land will be recognized by others and protected in cases of specific challenges. People with insecure tenure face the risk that their rights to land will be threatened by competing claims, and even lost as a result of eviction.

3.3 Requirements

Achieving durable solutions at scale is ambitious and will necessitate the following:

- The commitment of cities to establish conditions for sustainable urban development through defining municipal boundaries, engaging all communities in participatory strategic planning, and in strengthening inclusive, representational governance;
- The commitment of the UN and other international actors to work together, leveraging the respective inputs – technical assistance, policy development, capacity support and investment on hardware – towards collective outcomes that include supporting pathways towards sustainable urban development and IDP durable solutions at scale.
- Urban contextual understanding of IDPs situation within a complex city through adequate data - the vulnerability of IDPs should not be considered in isolation of the vulnerability of other urban dwellers; and,
- Blended finance arrangements, that can leverage resources for scaled impacts.

Some key risks to take into account will include:

- Unclear identification of IDPs and other vulnerable groups;
- Limitations of rights to access to land, services and civic rights associated with IDP status and related stigma;
- Sensitivities and social cohesion amongst host community and IDPs (e.g. related to clan dynamics);
- The need to balance potentially competing priorities of investor profit and social impact;
- Lack of clarity on institutional mandates, coordination amongst levels of government and capacity;
- Corruption; and,
- Reluctance of stakeholders to adopt new approaches and tools.

3.4 Selected examples of tools

The UN country team in Somalia developed a set of collective outcomes to be achieved by 2022 which included: risk and vulnerability reduced and resilience of IDPs, refugee returnees and host communities strengthened in order to reach durable solutions for 100,000 displaced households.⁶⁸ This in itself could cost over 500 million USD in just housing and infrastructure costs, while land for housing - largely in the hands of private individuals - is limited, despite a number of cities having recently allocated parcels of land for long term use of IDPs. Achieving durable human settlements solutions thus requires tools for land acquisition, valuation, and construction financing - and should take advantage of opportunities to leverage value generated by urban development to finance IDP housing needs at scale. The following section provides examples of such tools, which, while serving in this paper to initiate discussion, would need to be adapted to specific city contexts, merged and complemented with other relevant tools, following deeper knowledge of local specificities and political economy. The section comprises three parts: 1. Foundational elements - elements that should be progressed to a sufficient level to enable land transactions that could support IDP durable solutions; 2. Analytical tools - selected tools to understand local land and housing markets and the political economy; 3. Land Management Tools - selected land tools to achieve sustainable development, which should be further analyzed in light of particular contexts; 4. Models - illustrating how the above tools could combine to realize durable solutions for IDPs at scale.

A) Foundational Tools

I – Land Management

Fit for Purpose Land Administration

Almost all urban land in Somalia has claims related to its ownership, use and control, either by private individuals, companies or institutions. Private land has been availed in many areas for IDPs on a temporary basis, although a number of temporary agreements, for example Garowe and Bossaso, are currently expiring and may lead to evictions by owners.⁶⁹ The provision of more land to be permanently allocated to house IDPs will require local authorities to negotiate with land owners on land sharing arrangements or public acquisition; additionally, investment in infrastructure, leading to increased land value, could lead to both the emergence of claims and to evictions. It is important therefore that all interests on land and property are registered. In Somaliland and Puntland processes are underway to register documentation that can support land rights claims in urban areas. While some experts caution mass titling programmes, the registration of land and property rights, in a way that is inclusive, non-discriminatory, respectful of human rights, large scale and able to incrementally provide tenure, could be further pursued within the paradigm of “fit for purpose” land administration, described below, which also provides for land dispute resolution. Somalia will ultimately require an urban land policy, whether at federal or federal state levels, and some lessons can be learnt from processes and experiences in Somaliland and Puntland which respectively have developed an urban land law⁷⁰ and an options study for urban land policy.⁷¹

Fit for Purpose Principle (FPP) Land Administration is a cost-ef-

68 OCHA (2018). Collective Outcomes: Operationalizing the New Way of Working

69 UN-Habitat meeting with Puntland Ministry of Interior (Feb 2019); meeting with Bosasso IDP leaders (April 2019)

70 President of the Republic of Somaliland (2008) Presidential Decree, No. 363/092008 Effectiveness and Amendment of the Urban Land Management Law

71 Puntland State of Somalia, Ministry of Public Works and Transport (2011): State Land Policy, Draft Issues and Options Paper

Foundational Tools	Analytical Tools	Land Value Sharing Tools		Additional tools to support achieving Sustainable Urban Development
		Fee Tool	Development Tool	
Land Management <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fit-for-Purpose Land Administration • Public land inventory Urban Planning Urban Governance	Conflict sensitive analysis Land and Housing Market assessment Stakeholder's analysis	Betterment levy	Land Sharing Land Readjustment Land Swap	Municipal finance

FFP APPROACH		
Spatial Framework	Legal Framework	Institutional Framework
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visible (physical) boundaries rather than fixed boundaries; • Aerial/satellite imagery rather than field surveys; • Accuracy relates to the purpose rather than technical standards; • Demands for updating and opportunities for upgrading and ongoing improvement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A flexible framework designed along administrative rather than judicial lines; • A continuum of tenure rather than just individual ownership; • Flexible recordation rather than only one register; • Ensuring gender equity for land and property rights. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good land governance rather than bureaucratic barriers; • Integrated institutional framework rather than sectorial silos; • Flexible ICT approach rather than high-end technology solutions; • Transparent land information with easy and affordable access for all. • Involvement and engagement of communities

Table 1: Fit for Purpose Land Administration Approach
(UN-Habitat, Kadaster, GLTN (2017) Fit For Purpose Land Administration, Guide for Country Implementation)

fective, incremental, community-driven approach to recognize land and property rights. It is inclusive, non-discriminatory, respects human rights and incremental (provides initial tenure security, while allowing time for potential conflicting claimants to submit their claims, even if they are abroad). It recognizes broad diversity in the relationship between people and land, including individual and groups rights, “ownership” and use rights, documented and undocumented rights, customary and formal rights, etc., and acknowledges that several rights may coexist over the same land parcel. This notion is defined as continuum of land rights. – i. e. the recognition of a wide range of informal, customary and registered rights; individual or group rights, and overlapping rights, that are supported in order to promote security of tenure for all. The continuum approach works with what is already in place and incorporates it into a land information management system that caters for a spectrum of formal, informal and customary land rights. A set of decisions is needed regarding which types of tenure will be recognized, mapped and documented in the land administration system being put in place. Its deployment could avoid the zero-sum gain and conflict risk concerns of mass titling programmes. Fit-for-purpose land administration relies initially on community consensus on

individual and group rights over parcels of land and on community processes to resolve disputes.

FFP approach includes three fundamental characteristics: 1) minimum viable product to achieve purpose; 2) flexibility; and, 3) incremental process. Within the FFP paradigm, land and property rights may be mapped, for instance, using satellite maps, and verified by community members through a process known as Social Tenure Domain Model (STDM)⁷². It is a concept that brings the social element into land administration by recognizing informal tenure arrangements and unpacking existing social tenures and including them in data collection. It opens options for innovative and incremental approaches to improving tenure security based on the concept of a continuum of land rights.⁷³ Social recognition of individual and group tenure may be followed by a formal process a through a relevant institution, that allows for public validation - including through outreach to diaspora - and the resolution of additional disputes, and ultimately the issuance of tenure documentation that represents the relationship of individuals and groups and their respective land parcels and properties.

Public Land Inventory

A public land inventory is a database of lands held by public authorities and typically identifies location, coordinates, area, characteristics, principle use of each parcel, the purpose, date and cost of the acquisition and the institution responsible. It can also provide links to more detailed information, including legal arrangements relating to the institution’s holding of the land. Public land inventories – or certain attributes of them - are often publicly available

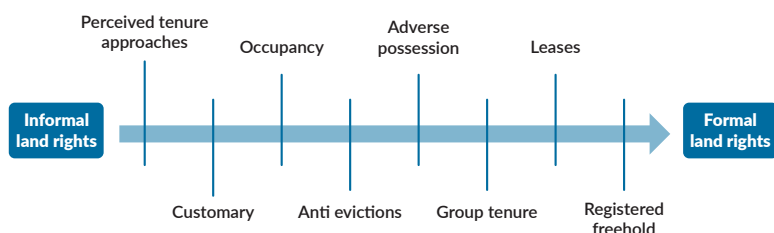


Figure 4: Continuum of Land Rights (UN-Habitat/GLTN, 2012)

72 For more information go to: Social Tenure Domain Model (<https://stdm.glttn.net/>)

73 For more information go to Global Land Tool Network (<https://mirror.glttn.net/index.php/land-tools/glttn-land-tools/continuum-of-land-rights>)

online. Public land inventories can aid decision making on land development, contribute to the transparent land transactions, and by providing transactional history, protects the legitimacy of public authorities' land holdings. Public land inventories have been commenced, such as in Somaliland, where in 2018 the president launched a pilot project to create an inventory of all public properties.

II – Urban Planning

Cities, particularly those facing rapid growth, require long-term planning in order to achieve sustainable development for all. An inclusive and sustainable urban planning process engages all relevant stakeholders, including communities, civil society, interest groups, local authorities etc., and decides on issues of planned density, allocation of public space, connectivity, land uses, income-generation activities, basic services, housing, risks etc.; and an incremental approach towards implementation. In order to link the vision for the city and its spatial structure, key tasks may include: stakeholder identification and engagement; strategic visioning; data gathering including on spatial assets; documentation of preferred strategic vision; agreement on annual strategic goals; developing an urban development framework with financial planning - considering sources of finance including private finance opportunities - and linkage to local and sectoral budgetary processes; allocation of resources; securing stakeholders' commitment; establishing performance indicators and transparent monitoring and reporting system that facilitates community feedback.

An exercise of urban profiling in Baidoa demonstrated three possible scenarios for the city: 1. No intervention – if the current development trends continue it is expected a very disorganized urban sprawl leading to pressures on existing urban services, fostering segregation and conflict; 2. Immediate response to urban crises – if measures taken today focus only on an assistance based approach, trying to contain the ongoing emergency without considerations to long-term development, it may be unsustainable in the long-run; 3. Long-term development approach – an area-based, multi-sector approach can bridge the current emergency needs with long-term considerations towards a more sustainable development; and concluded that “the definition of a strategic framework should lay out diverse actions in a step-by-step approach: aiming to solve most urgent problems, at first, and to start a process of urban development, in the meantime.”⁷⁴

III – Urban Governance

Urban governance is: “the software that enables the urban hardware to function, the enabling environment requiring

adequate legal frameworks, efficient political, managerial and administrative processes, as well as strong and capable local institutions able to respond to the citizen's needs.”⁷⁵

Good urban governance that responds effectively to local issues tends to follow principles of subsidiarity, meaning that political and social issues should be addressed at the most immediate level relevant to their resolution. The gradual transfer of responsibilities to and empowerment of local institutions to solve complex issues is part of a new paradigm of urban governance, which promotes participation, inclusion, transparency and accountability towards spatial and social equality. Good urban governance also ensures capacity at all relevant levels to effectively deliver mandates and address local issues, and systems of accountability to the State and inhabitants of cities.

In Somaliland and Puntland, the Joint Programme on Local Governance and Service Delivery (JPLG) has been a pioneer in enabling a “fundamental change in the legitimacy, functionality, and quality of services provided by these local governments.”⁷⁶ The interventions have tangible achievements in terms of empowering local authorities to deliver services. For instance, Hargeisa had a 42% growth on annual revenue per year from 2008 to 2016; and Bossaso's revenue with property tax grew from \$45,000 in 2014 to more than \$300,000 by the end of 2015. The increased municipal finance capacity of local authorities is a tangible impact of this enabling approach.

Where local needs cannot be met through a long-term capacity building approach – eg in crisis settings, approaches to rapidly strengthen institutional capacity may include seconding well capacitated local professionals to work alongside existing teams. This approach, supported by UN-Habitat in Lebanon, following stresses of the 2006 war and the more recent Syrian refugee crisis, involved establishing Regional Technical Offices (RTO) within unions of municipalities with local experts and technical staff to “strengthen local governance, enhance service delivery and mainstream planned interventions.”⁷⁷ RTOs assisted municipalities in enhancing community participation, prioritizing problems and providing technically-sound and cost-effective solutions, contracting out work, and developing effective partnerships between different levels of government and with service providers. The strong local ownership allowed for spillover effects, including improving local institutional capacity, securing the participation of affected people including refugee and host populations, and building trust.

Since local capacities will be needed for participatory urban planning and fit-for-purpose land administration, institutional capacity assessments may conclude that seconding professional capacities into municipalities for specific functions may be required in the immediate term – particularly in local authorities outside federal state capitals and small and intermediary towns.

74 UN-Habitat (2017). Baidoa Urban Profile

75 Habitat III Issue Papers (2015). Urban Governance.

76 UN-Habitat (2019). UN-Habitat Somalia : Briefing note

77 UN-Habitat (2015). Regional Technical Offices : Improving Municipal Planning & Enhancing Local Governance

B) Analytical Tools

I – Conflict Sensitive Analysis

Somalia has experienced one of the longest running situations of conflict in the continent, with varying intensity and causes between regions and urban versus rural areas. Conflict-oriented approaches that build on efforts towards peacebuilding and mitigate the risk of furthering conflict are essential in development initiatives. According to GLTN conflict-sensitive land tools provide:

- A root-cause analysis of the conflict and how it impacts land, human rights and displacement dynamics;
- Theories of change for land that focus on peacebuilding and community empowerment;
- Sustainable solutions, appropriate entry points and fit-for-purpose land administration approaches, linked to state-building and humanitarian operations, and,
- Broad partnerships⁷⁸.

UNICEF recommends the following issues to be considered in conflict analysis in Somalia: external influence (international actors can both alleviate and trigger tension); autonomous armed groups; state fragility; diaspora (members of diaspora can be key in strengthening institutions but perceived inequalities with the rest of the population is also a source of tension); uneven development across zones, cities and regions; clan identity if it is politicized and manipulated; social violence and crime; rising extremism; and, competition over scarce resources.⁷⁹ An example of a conflict sensitive approach towards land was demonstrated by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) in Baidoa, that facilitated documented leases and land for IDPs to protect them from eviction. The results showed that “IDPs were able to use their land documents to prevent forced evictions and to use different dispute-resolution mechanisms when eviction was threatened, both at the household level (spouse or relative) or settlement level (gatekeepers).”⁸⁰

II – Land and Housing Market Assessment

According to the World Bank, the average Consumer Price Index inflation in Somalia increased from -1.1% (2016) to 3.4%

(2017); 38% of this was attributable to inflation in electricity, water and housing.⁸¹ Urban areas, especially Mogadishu, are experiencing a housing boom, with demand ranging from wealthy returning diaspora to vulnerable IDPs. New real estate investments, backed by national private sector such as Salaam Somali Bank, are shaping the housing market in key cities of Somalia. Land and housing market assessments are necessary preliminary conditions for any type of land management project. They provide information on land prices, the supply of serviced land, housing construction costs trends, housing rental and purchase values, affordability and effective demand for purchase and rental, and current and planned projects. Land and housing market assessments support evidence-based planning and decision making, monitoring and evaluation of policies and actions; guide development decisions including private sector investment; and, inform land-based revenue systems.

III- Stakeholder’s and capacity analysis

Interventions in urban planning and land management can fail without adequate understanding of the interests, influence and capacity of stakeholders, the extent that they will support or oppose an intended action, and areas of common interest. “The traditional approach of providing technical assistance to solve problems has often failed due to inadequate attention to the vested interests and constellations of incentives operating on the ground. Identifying the current winners and losers of the existing system can reveal critical obstacles to address and identify more viable solutions. The key is in finding creative ways to ensure that an intervention is incentive compatible with influential actors.”⁸² The Influence-Interest Matrix (fig 5) helps to position stakeholders according to their preferences in order to understand how to influence respective roles.

Stakeholder analysis goes hand-in-hand with defining roles, rights and duties and clarifying the institutional structure around each. In this sense, engaging, for instance, private actors on the delivery of housing and basic services should be grounded on defined governance frameworks. From a legal perspective, there is

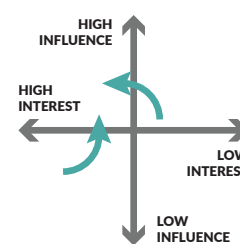


Figure 5 – Stakeholders’ analysis

78 GLTN, UN-Habitat & IIRR (2018). Land and Conflict: lessons from the field on conflict sensitive governance and peacebuilding.

79 UNICEF (2014). Conflict Analysis Summary in Somalia

80 GLTN, UN-Habitat & IIRR (2018). Land and Conflict : lessons from the field on conflict sensitive governance and peacebuilding.

81 World Bank Group (2018). Somalia Economic Update

82 Brett, E. A. & Fox, Sean. (2013). Political Economy Analysis: A guide for UN-Habitat

	Service contract	Management contract	Lease / affermage	Concession	BOT-type	Divestiture
Asset ownership	Public	Public	Public	Public	Private/Public	Private
Capital investment	Public	Public	Public	Private	Private	Private
Commercial risk	Public	Public	Shared	Private	Private	Private
Operations/ maintenance	Private/Public	Private	Private	Private	Private	Private
Contract duration	1-2 years	3-5 years	8-15 years	25-30 years	20-30 years	Indefinite

Table 2 – Public Private Partnerships (adapted)

a wide range of possibilities on how this partnership can take place as shown in the table below, but it is essential that the governance framework ensures all parties are accountable.

C) Land Value Sharing Tools

Land value sharing tools are based on the assumption that urbanization advances public and private investment in urban areas, leading to active urban land markets.⁸³ Examples include urban extensions, urban densification and infrastructure development that lead to increased land value. This presents a unique opportunity for generating local revenue and public assets through instruments that capture or share the land value increment for the public benefit. The acquisition of a share of privately-owned land by municipalities or regional authorities in the case of vacant land within municipal boundaries; or of the value increment generated by public investment could be justified as follows.

- Private land development usually requires public investment in infrastructure – e. g. private housing developments will require investment in schools, health facilities, roads and basic infrastructure; Somali municipalities lack the revenue needed to provide services, which in turn constrains land development. It is therefore in the interest of land owners to support the generation of revenue for the provision of public services.
- Cities struggle to function without adequate allocation of public land for roads, open public space, markets etc. It is in the interest of urban land-owners and inhabitants that the city is availed sufficient public land.

I) Land sharing

Discussions with the Bossaso municipality indicated that land owners may be willing to exchange a proportion of land for infrastructure investment.⁸⁴ A more detailed understanding of the impact of infrastructure investment on land value, and the extent to which land-owners will be willing to give up land in exchange for infrastructure investment, could be obtained through a land market assessment described above. Care is needed in such a process to identify all land users - such as those accessing the land for grazing, collecting firewood, fetching water, crossing etc. - so that they can be compensated fairly. The fit-for-purpose land administration system described above provides for this level of understanding.

Land sharing mechanisms exist within the Somaliland Urban Land Law and the Puntland Options paper. The Somaliland Urban Land Law requires at least 30% of private undeveloped land for residential areas within municipal boundaries to be transferred to the municipality as a contribution towards public utilities.⁸⁵ The Hargeisa municipality indicated that this law could be used to acquire land for IDP durable solutions if resources were availed to provide housing.⁸⁶ Similar legislation could be developed at federal state or city levels, eg when properties are in a position to be formally registered.

However, more typically land sharing relates to situation where public land available for private development is already inhabited, eg by squatters, and investors wishing to develop this land are required to provide housing units at sufficient density to accommodate those already inhabiting the land, while clearing what is left of the site for profitable development (fig 6).

83 Biitir, Samuel (2019). Designing Land Value Capture Tools in the Context of Complex Tenurial and Deficient Land Use Regulatory Regimes in Accra, Ghana.
 84 UN-Habitat (2019) interview with Mayor of Bosaso
 85 Government of Somaliland (2008) Amendment to the Urban Land Law (2001)
 86 UN-Habitat (2019) interview with Deputy Mayor of Hargeisa, Hargeisa, 13 February, 2019.

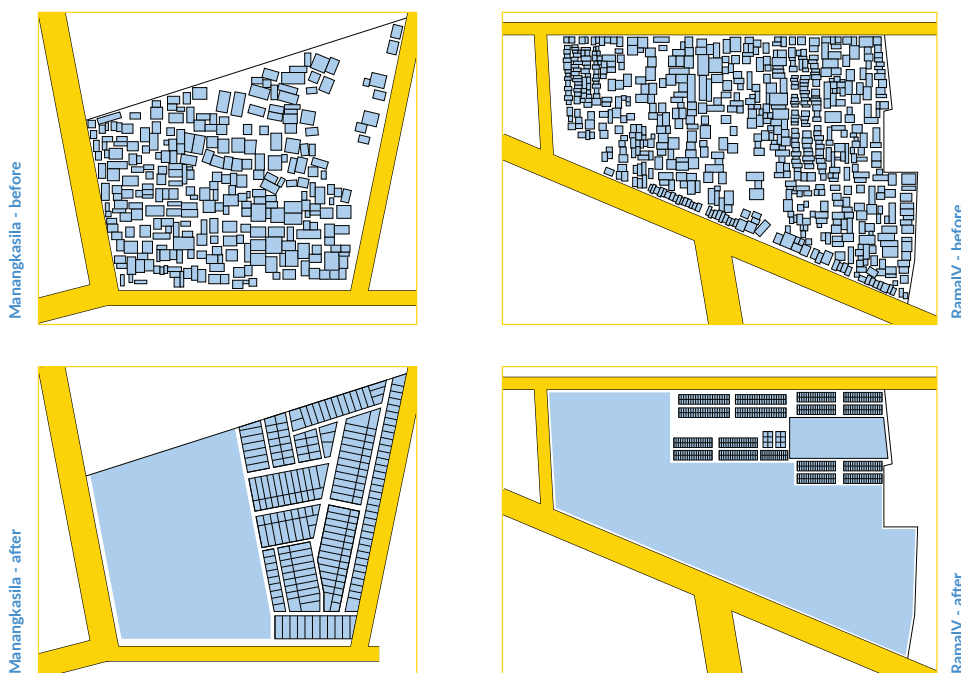


Figure 6: Examples of Land Sharing in Bangkok (Source: Angel B (1988) Land Sharing as an alternative to Eviction: The Bangkok Experience)

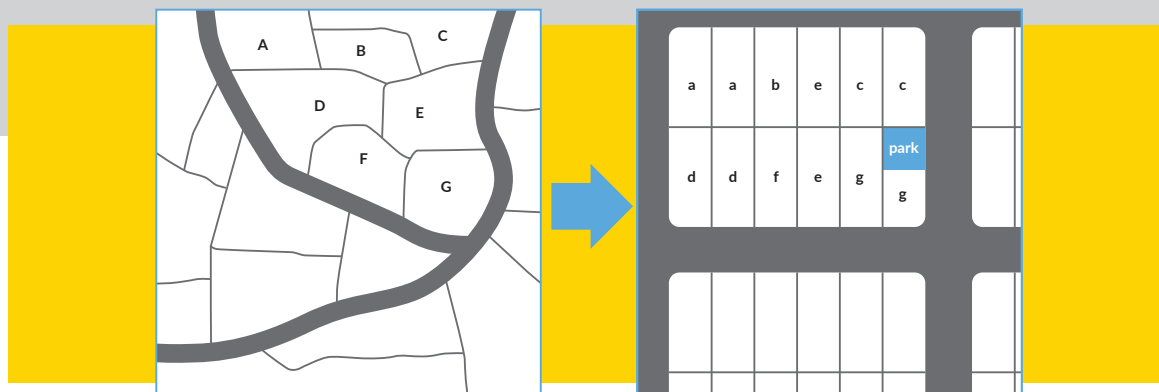


Figure 7: Land Readjustment example – replotting increases the value of plots despite reducing their size. This makes room for public space and utilities. Plots are reallocated based on a pattern agreed to be fair and socially just (Waters, 2016)

II) Land Readjustment

Land readjustment is a process through which landowners collectively cooperate with a municipality or developer to pool their land to accomplish a redevelopment project. Investments in well planned infrastructure and services undertaken on the pooled land are intended to increase the value of the properties in the redeveloped area; afterward, each landowner receives a smaller parcel of land that has greater value due to the improvements made.⁸⁷ This process, which has been key to the development of cities such as Frankfurt and Seoul can enable portions of pooled land to be allocated to municipalities in return for the provision of infrastructure. The investment of the World Bank and international donors in urban infrastructure provides an important opportunity to pursue how such investment in urban expansion areas can yield land for municipalities. Land readjustment can also provide a mechanism to resolve multiple rights over the same area of land. Figure 7 gives an example of land readjustment.⁸⁸

III) Land Swaps

Land swap is a tool through which municipalities can trade specific public plots with private plots. It enables public authorities to develop targeted land and is often used in redevelopment programmes. Should peri-urban land be acquired by the municipality through a land sharing mechanism as described above, the municipality may seek to swap this land parcel for a smaller parcel of equivalent value, closer to the centre of the city, allowing IDP settlements to be built in areas which are closer to sources of income and basic services. In fast growing cities, the proposition could be attractive to land speculators, who find land value inflating more rapidly in peri-urban than more central areas.

Furthermore, land swapping could also be considered as a mechanism to disassociate IDP communities from landowners. The possibility of landowners swapping land occupied by IDPs for undeveloped land of equivalent value, that has the potential to inflate faster than the originally owned land should be explored. The freed-up land and IDPs living on it would then fall under the jurisdiction of the municipality, and the municipality, if it lacks capacity to manage the IDP population and

their needs, could partner with a UN or NGO partner to provide settlement management support. Over time IDPs tenure on this land could be formalized by the municipality, for example through re-planning the site in line with acceptable urban standards, providing group tenure rights and eventually selling individual titles with incremental payments.

IV) Betterment Levies

Betterment levies allow the recovery of costs on infrastructure through taxation on resultant land value increase. In some legal systems betterment levies are applied – this is collected by the state on a land parcel whose value has improved as the result of infrastructure investment – roads, for example, tend to increase the value adjacent and nearby land. In Bogota, Colombia, the mechanism yielded \$1 billion worth of investment in public works and was implemented by 1. Defining of the area of influence; 2. Calculating the benefit through the applying an isocost map based on a sample of properties; 3.; Determining the affordability of the levy; and, 4. Applying the and levy collection period.⁸⁹ Betterment levies of this kind tend to require strong, reliable land valuation systems, which are rarely available in Somalia. However while a certain level of development of land institutions, and in land registration and valuation is warranted before betterment levies can be reliably introduced, simplified mechanisms at the city level, tailored to the local context or even negotiated should be explored.



Figure 8: Diagram to illustrate how a large publicly owned peri-urban land parcel could be swapped with an equal value smaller, privately owned land parcel more centrally located

87 Lincoln Institute Land Policy (2018). Land Value Capture: Tools to Finance our Urban Future

88 Walters, L. (2016). Leveraging Land: Land-Based Finance for Local Governments)

89 For more info go to Lincoln Institute of Land Policy (2011). Betterment Levy in Colombia: Relevance, Procedures, and Social Acceptability

V) Land and Property Valuation

The above tools requires a land valuation system. Such systems in developed countries land valuations systems rely on land and property documentation, data on land and property transactions and market trends. In Somalia, significant challenges are likely to apply, including outdated legislation, volatile land markets and lack of local expertise in valuation and limited data. However STDM can provide a GIS based mapping of land parcels that identifies their size and locations, while continuum of land rights can identify tenures and overlapping rights and claims, and thus provide an understanding of how their valuation fits into the continuum and land value impacts from moving from one tenure type to another. It also helps choose the most appropriate valuation methods. A range of methods is used to value land, including the Direct Comparison Method, the Capitalization of Rental Values tool, the Hypothetical Development Approach, the Summation Method, the Residual Approach, the Depreciated Replacement Cost Approach, and mass valuation – all of which can be applied to unregistered land.⁹⁰ An important technical resource for initiating a land valuation system for Somalia is UN-Habitat, International Federation of Surveyors, GLTN (2018) Valuation of Unregistered Lands – a Policy Guide.

D – Models to apply land value sharing for achieving IDP durable solutions at scale

The following tools illustrate how municipal land improved with infrastructure investment can leverage capital as needed to construct IDP housing at scale.

I) Land title model

The first model (illustrated in figs 9.1-9.6) envisages solutions at scale by allowing IDPs to receive titles and to sell a portion of their land to finance their housing construction. Here, on land owned by the municipality, donor investment is made in social infrastructure and physical infrastructure. Market stalls can also be built and handed over to local government and revenue gained through the rental of market stalls invested over time in site improvement (e.g. road surfacing and drainage). Development of housing solutions of this type could be considered in Garowe and Bossaso where land has been donated to the municipality for IDP usage. In such context the partial sale of the land by the municipality to finance housing may not be acceptable to the original private donor of the land. However, it may be more acceptable for beneficiaries to sell portion of the land they received to finance housing construction.

Given that the sites so far provided tend to be some distance from the centre of the city, land swaps as described above could be explored to enable housing provision for IDPs closer to sources of work. Alternatively, or additionally, since the donor will invest in water supply, in locations where climate

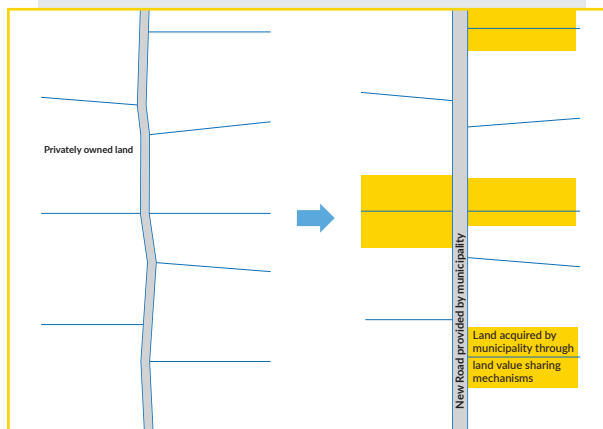


Figure 9.1: Application of a betterment levy system that requires the transfer of a proportion of land as in-kind payment of the levy

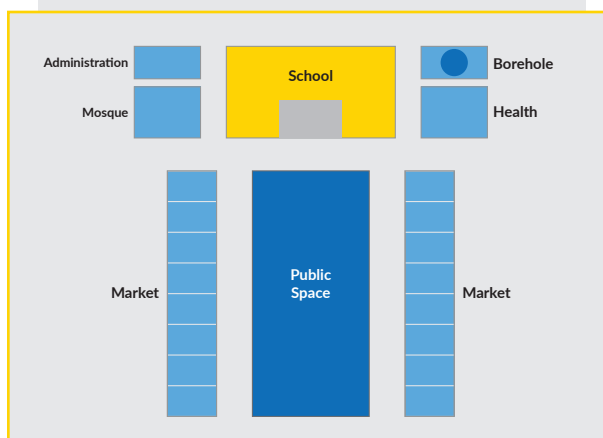


Figure 9.2: Donor/ municipality invests in physical and social infrastructure, including markets. Municipality generates revenue that is reinvested into on-site roads and drainage

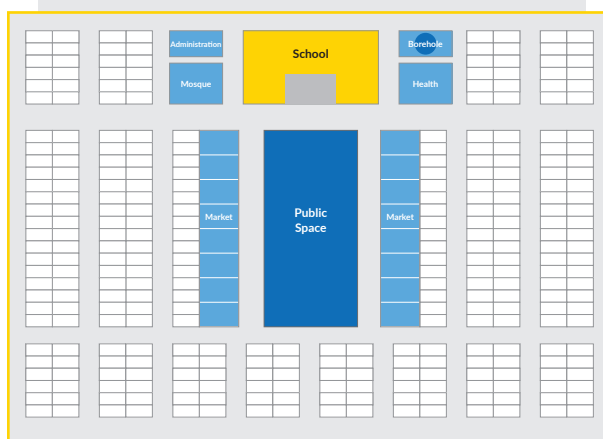


Figure 9.3: Housing plots are demarcated and distributed to IDPs and they gain tenure documents.

90 UN-Habitat, International Federation of Surveyors, GLTN (2018) Valuation of Unregistered Lands – a Policy Guide.

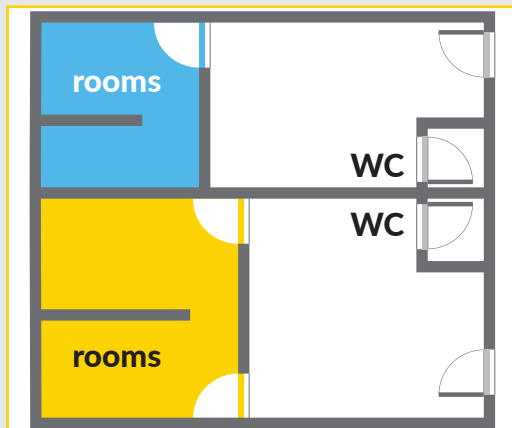


Figure 9.5: Basic housing construction for IDPs

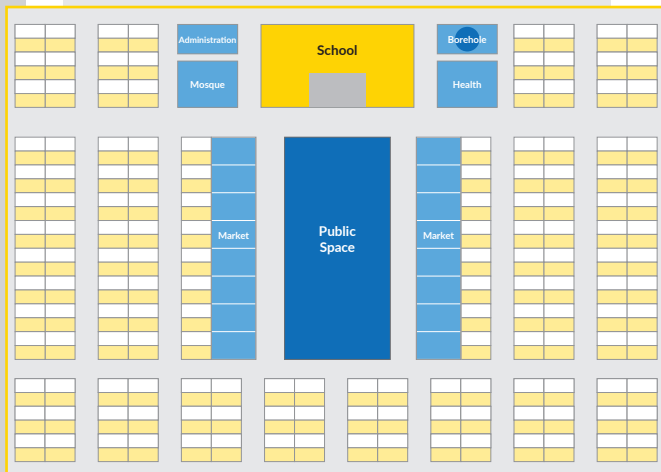


Figure 9.4: IDPs subdivide plots and sell a proportion of the plot which is used to fund their house construction. The sold portion is registered under a new owner.



Figure 9.6: Neighbouring land bought/ rented by private sector for intensive agricultural use benefitting from the community's water supply and providing local jobs

and soil conditions permit, adjacent plots could be rented by the private sector for intensive agricultural use and generate local employment.

The approach will need to consider the demand for housing for purchase – particularly given clan dynamics in some places that may prevent some groups wanting to live amongst IDPs. In Bossaso it was pointed out that there are large numbers of IDPs that have been displaced since 1991 that have jobs but are renting their houses.⁹¹ These may be interested to purchase land on these sites for their own housing. Since this model involves the transfer of title to IDPs and other vulnerable people, significant care will be needed to ensure that the identification of beneficiaries is transparent and fair.

II) Investor/Housing Management Unit partnership

The second model involves developer led construction of houses for IDPs and other vulnerable groups and may be applicable to Baidoa where a large area of land as an extension of the city is available for IDPs, under municipality or state ownership. This land requires an inclusive planning process involving relevant institutions, gender-balanced representatives of host and IDP communities, UN and other organisations involved in IDP and displaced populations, governance, gender equality, urban planning and financing, infrastructure development and housing, land and property rights.

The resulting scheme, illustrated in figs 10.1-10.3, will incorporate modalities to finance durable solutions at scale. This could involve the preparation of a series of development briefs for the planned site, that will define areas required for each land use, and further details, such as area and locations of required public spaces, relationship of public spaces and commercial areas, design directives for core houses for IDPs, road widths and specifications, distance to water points, as well as standards on construction methodology to promote youth livelihood, and community contracts for certain works packages.

The developer will be required to submit design layouts and financial bids for the development of the site. The bid price will offset costs that the developer will need to reserve for the provision of the required core housing units for IDPs, site infrastructure, public space etc., and reflect a reasonable profit margin through sale of private housing plots and commercial /livelihood space in the open market. The land value will thus effectively absorb the cost of providing IDP housing at scale. Donor and development bank provision of trunk and social infrastructure prior to bidding, will increase the land value, maximising the potential of land-based finance for IDP housing. Donor and development bank contributions are thus used not only to provide basic services and amenities but to leverage finance for greater social impact.

An alternative version of this involves selling just the profitable areas of the site to developers and using the proceedings to finance IDP housing, which could be contracted by the municipi-

91 UN-Habitat discussion with Bosaso Chamber of Commerce, Mar 2019.

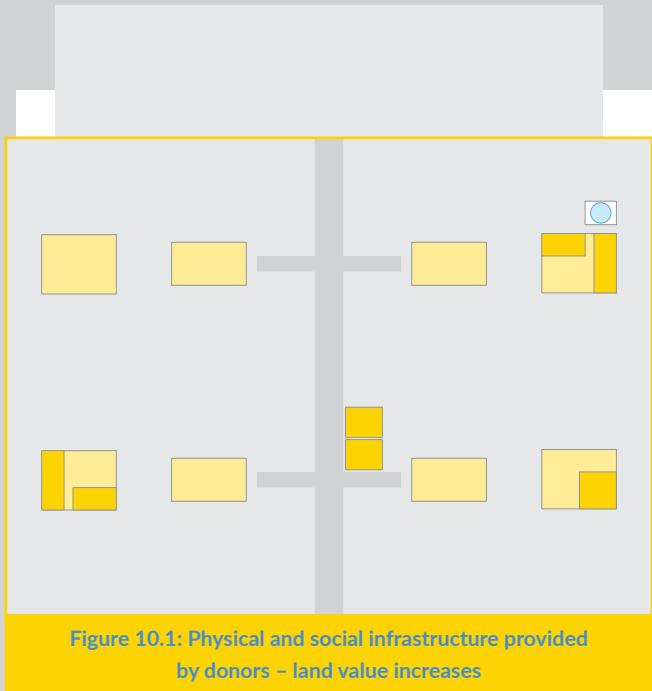


Figure 10.1: Physical and social infrastructure provided by donors – land value increases

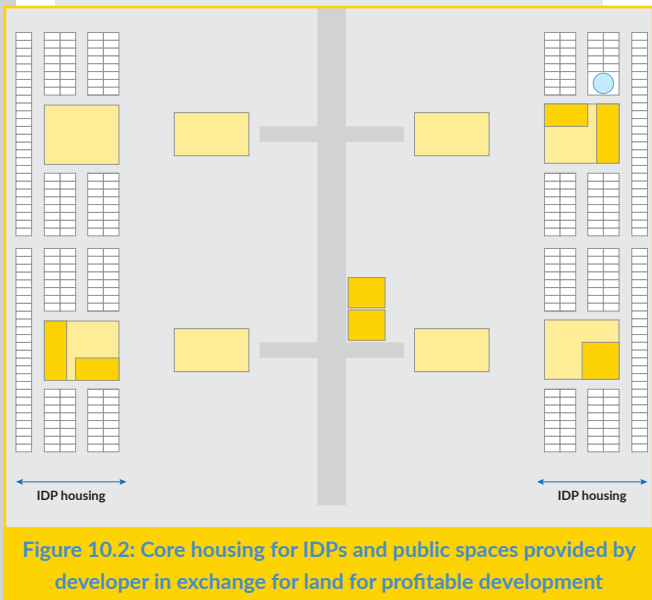


Figure 10.2: Core housing for IDPs and public spaces provided by developer in exchange for land for profitable development

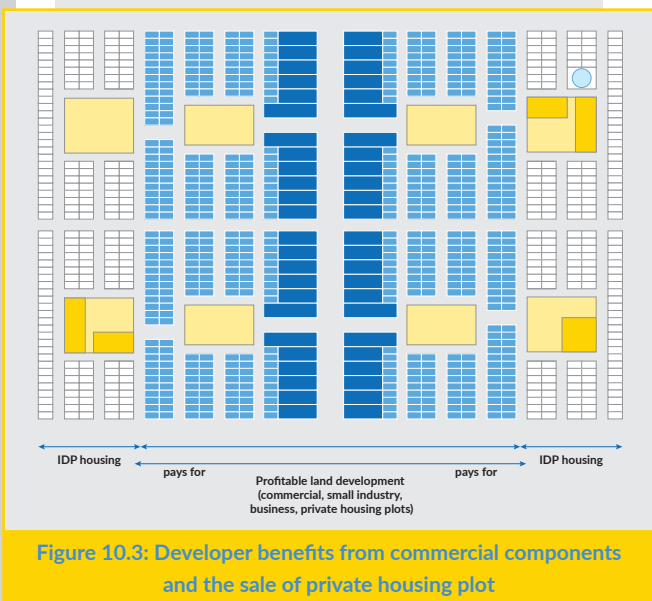


Figure 10.3: Developer benefits from commercial components and the sale of private housing plot

pality to the private sector or through community contracts that provide jobs for IDPs and host populations – particularly youth.

It is proposed that municipalities will develop housing management units that will own the housing units and provide use rights to IDPs. IDPs will therefore achieve tenure security. They will also have the option to buy over time through regular payments. By receiving these payments, the housing management unit will develop a fund that could be used to provide a housing social safety net for other vulnerable people, and thus contribute to the implementation of the recently drafted Social Protection Policy which aims to improve the standard of living of the most vulnerable in line with a minimum social protection floor. Investment in public and social infrastructure thus leverages through this process large scale housing provision for IDPs and a facility to meet the needs of other urban poor.

E - Additional tools key to achieving Sustainable Urban Development

Urban Finance

Urban financing strategies are key to the provision of services and the implementation of urban development plans. If cities are to pay for the type of infrastructure and public services that can unleash economic growth and support quality of life, they need access to adequate funding and the ability to finance capital projects. However, local governments' financing options and revenues are frequently limited due to a lack of capacity, including the ability to collect taxes. As cities improve their financial management practices and gain capacity to utilize appropriate financing mechanisms, the result can be a virtuous cycle of investment and economic growth.

In Somalia, people living in cities tend to receive services by private entities, and often face forms of taxation by clan related and non-state entities. Since cities offer very few services, the idea of enforcing local revenue collection may be opposed. Gaps in service delivery which could be provided by local authorities include solid waste management, roads and drainage.. Should development banks invest in hardware, then, through the fit-for-purpose property registration processes, and digitised records, it should not be too difficult to initiate modest revenue collection, which can initially be invested in recurrent costs of operation and maintenance. This way, with modest taxes, inhabitants of cities will experience change, and local authorities can increase credibility. Other forms of financing, including land-based financing opportunities are discussed earlier in this section, and also illustrate how infrastructure investment can leverage development gains.

4. CITY RECOMMENDATIONS

City strategies that promote durable solutions at scale for IDPs through human settlements action will require a nuanced understanding of local political, economic and social conditions and process of dialogue with city leaders and other urban stakeholders including IDPs. In the absence of national or federal state level urban policies, the principles and tools outlined in Section 3 can provide initial guidance for such discussions, together with other assessments such as the World Bank's Urban Profile, which will include a detailed socio-economic study of six cities. Solutions in one city may differ significantly from another, since they will be tailored to specific contexts, needs and opportunities. The implementation of durable solutions at scale will require combined efforts across the UN System, building on experiences of existing joint programmes. It will require the role of agencies that support the protection of displaced populations to support a smooth transition from informal settlements to formal settlements and to ensure IDPs are supported with livelihood development and access to basic services. It will require the role of entities that support local governance to ensure adequate capacity of local government to engage IDP communities in participatory city planning processes, to un-

dertake the registration of land and property through inclusive processes and to establish a housing management unit and housing fund with public financial management capacity. This as noted, may initially require seconding experts into local government offices to work alongside existing staff to help kick-start these initiatives and build capacity while doing so. It will require collective efforts in urban settlement planning, to ensure best possible development outcomes: making the most of the opportunity provided in the transition from rural to urban lifestyles to foster social development, including the empowerment of women; ensuring protection, and promoting economic development opportunities and social cohesion. It will also require coordination with the Infrastructure Pillar Working Group partners, the World Bank and international donors that are investing in urban infrastructure to maximise the possibility to leverage these investments towards the achievement of durable solutions through land value sharing mechanisms as described. Also, since different sources provide varying information on number of IDPs, households and IDP settlements, data verification exercises will need to be undertaken.

3.1 Hargeisa

Supported by the JPLG project, the municipality of Hargeisa has initiated a city visioning exercise that will lead to a strategic plan for the growth and development of the city. This exercise provides an opportunity to engage IDPs, host community and a broad range of stakeholders in dialogue and to ensure that the interests and concerns of all groups of people are represented in the further development of the city. The municipality has also established a property registry that currently registers property documentation, while Somaliland has established a property disputes committee; these services could be enhanced to support an incremental process of registering property rights as described in Section 3. Somaliland also has an Urban Land Law and according to the Hargeisa municipality is utilising the provision within, that requires a minimum of 30% of undeveloped land plots in residential areas within municipal areas to be transferred to the municipality. This land is potentially available for IDP durable solutions however the city government has not yet been able to develop this land since it lacks resources to build housing and physical and social infrastructure;⁹² the sites were not visited by the authors. The sites should be inspected, and calculations made on the adequacy of the total land area to accommodate the city's IDP populations.



Image 3: IDP housing in Hargeisa

⁹² UN-Habitat (2019) meeting with Hargeisa Deputy Minister

Once the existence of these sites is verified, their proximity to the city and feasibility of livelihood sources should be assessed, while consideration should also be given to clan dynamics of neighbouring settlements that will inform the compatibility of these sites in absorbing IDP communities. If sites are too remote, land swapping should be considered as described in the previous section. Once suitable land is identified, should this, including verified pipelines of land acquisitions be in excess of IDP housing needs, then the models described in section 3.4 could be assessed that leverage land value to finance housing construction costs, particularly if local government, development banks or donors are planning to provide infrastructure investment. If there is no viable market for the purchase of plots, or if the quantity of land is not sufficient to enable this model, it may still be worthwhile to move IDPs onto such plots where they would be given a group tenure right and thus be free of eviction threats. At minimum, basic education and health facilities and livelihood support may need to be provided by organizations based in Hargeisa. Over time, the site and shelters could be incrementally improved, based on an urban planning process that would ensure that new slums are not created.

Alternatively, owners of land currently occupied by IDPs could be encouraged to swap this land for vacant land of equivalent value that has been acquired by the municipality. IDPs would then continue living on the same land – now under municipality ownership - this way, livelihood and social networks of IDPs would not be interrupted. The municipality now owning

the land settled by IDPs could request settlement management assistance from international organizations in Hargeisa, and provide group land tenure for IDPs, that protects them from eviction threats. Should the land currently occupied by IDPs not be too densely developed, and if there is a demand for private housing or other profitable uses on site, land sharing schemes could be envisioned whereby a developer would be required to build adequate dense housing for the IDPs on a smaller area of the land and free up what is remaining for profitable development as illustrated in Fig 6. If this is not feasible due to an already high density of IDP settlement, the site can be planned and incrementally upgraded, through community efforts and as above, IDPs given group tenure rights and eventually provided the right to purchase individual plots through incremental payment schemes.

While the above provides preliminary ideas on the way forward, workable recommendations can only be made once IDP data is verified, sites apparently acquired by the municipality are visited and surveyed, the pipeline of expected acquisitions understood, and a land and housing market assessment, conflict analysis and stakeholder analysis undertaken. These will ascertain market interest for the purchase of commercial, industrial and residential plots through which the construction of housing for IDPs could be financed and will ascertain the level of infrastructure investment needed and interventions required to support livelihood.

3.2 Garowe

Garowe is one of Somalia's fastest growing cities and currently hosts around 38,500 IDPs in approximately 7,000 households⁹³. According to officials of the Puntland Ministry of Interior a number of the IDP informal settlements are under temporary use agreements of 5-10 years, many of which are due to expire and may result in evictions if agreements for extending these agreements cannot be successfully negotiated. Efforts have been made by NGOs to construct permanent housing at a cost of around 4,500 USD per house, although the number of units built is far from meeting the level of demand of the most vulnerable population. A site of roughly two square km has been donated to the municipality for IDP durable solutions. This site is several kilometres from the city centre, but within the planned expansion area of the city, and will over time become increasingly connected to the services and opportunities of the city as the city continues to expand. Garowe has developed a strategic urban plan within which this site is located. Given the distance of this site from the city, the possibility of a land swap for a site closer to the city could be explored, and failing this, efforts will be needed to promote investment in local livelihood opportunities, since this will be key to sustainability. Feasibility studies for livelihood will be re-

quired, including transportation options to the city.

Based on the area of two square km, with 45% allocation of land for public space, including roads, markets, open areas, schools and other facilities, the land could support 3,600 residential plots of 250 sqm (7,200 if further subdivided to 125 sqm plots). The options of the investor-led model versus IDP land titling model to achieve durable solutions at scale by leveraging land value should be tested in collaboration with relevant stakeholders, investors, the original land owner and the mayor. Since the land has been donated by a private land owner, an investor-led approach may not be so welcome - the former owner may perceive that his land is being utilised profitably. A land and housing market analysis will be needed to ascertain the market demand to purchase plots on the basis that schools, social infrastructure, services will be built on site, and adequate road connection to the city already exists. Engagement with the World Bank and international partners involved in infrastructure development with authorities will be needed in order to establish synergies between their investments and the achievement of IDP durable solutions through the development of the donated site, as well as specific donors and inter-

93 CCCC cluster 2019. Available at: https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/cccm_somalia

national organisations that have funding for site development itself, including on site roads, drainage, markets, schools and social amenities. These steps will clarify whether the development in principle is feasible. If so, a process of engagement that sensitises IDPs on the resettlement will be undertaken along with a participatory planning process for the development of the site. The participatory planning process will engage all levels of IDP and host communities and the views of a broad range of stakeholders in the planning process and as well as ensuring a culturally appropriate, socially inclusive, economically productive site layout, the process will ascertain how a shift from rural to urban livelihood can promote social and economic

development, taking into consideration opportunities afforded by the shift from rural to IDP informal settlement to urban lifestyle to foster social and economic development, and the investments needed to support this. The planning process will follow with the construction of social amenities, market spaces, public spaces and basic site infrastructure through donor resources. Actions will follow, based on the model chosen/adapted for housing provision at scale. Efforts will be made to train IDP youth in construction skills, and to engage the IDP population in community contracting, thus maximizing the opportunity to generate income during the construction process.

3.3 Bossaso

Bossaso has approximately 130,000 IDPs⁹⁴. They have arrived Bossaso through waves of displacement since 1991; many that have been in Bossaso for some time have established livelihoods. According to leaders of the IDP community, the majority of the IDP population is from the south of Somalia and feels sufficiently included in the city and wishes to settle. The main problem IDPs claim to encounter is access to secure land tenure; three settlements were reported by IDP leaders to be threatened with eviction.⁹⁵ As with Garowe, a site has been donated to the municipality for the IDP durable solutions. This is roughly one sqkm and is around 5km east of the city. The site could accommodate 1,800 households in 250sqm plots (3,600 if further subdivided to 125 sqm). A similar process as indicated above for Garowe could be undertaken to assess the feasibility of the site development and its livelihood opportunities, blended financing arrangements and priorities for support. Given the distance of the site to the city, the feasibility exercise will need to be sufficiently thorough on the issue of livelihood, and the possibility for land swaps for nearer sites should be explored. Moreover, since the number of IDPs that could be accommo-

dated on this site is much lower than the overall number, care will be needed to ensure that beneficiary selection is undertaken fairly and transparently.

They mayor of Bossaso indicated the interest of a major landowner to transfer a portion of his land to the municipality in exchange for the municipality's investment in roads and basic services on the land that he keeps. Based on this demand, the mayor expressed interest to pilot land value sharing mechanisms through developing bylaws, and to initiate a land and property registration process following the fit-for-purpose land administration approach described earlier, if provided with technical assistance.⁹⁶ Bossaso may therefore be well suited to implement some of the tools mentioned earlier. This would require the international community and UN to work together so that planned infrastructure investments could leverage these initiatives. Should the municipality be able to gain enough land this way, it will be able to provide tenure security, housing and basic services for all IDPs, convert land assets into resources to support social safety nets and infrastructure needs, and through land swaps address the deficit of public space in the city.

3.4 Baidoa

Around 321,000 IDPs (around 50,000 households) are in Baidoa.⁹⁷ Uniquely the municipality has acquired a site of around 15 sqkm to the north of the city on which it plans to accommodate 200,000 IDPs with durable solutions, another site will also be available in the south of the city. The land in the north of the city was formerly military land, according to the authorities. A 15sqkm site could accommodate around 30-60,000 housing plots depending on plot size, thus the development of this site provides a unique opportunity to accommodate IDPs within mixed developments in a city extension. As well as the availability of the site, the World Bank has resources

to invest in urban roads – these may have been earmarked by the municipality for the existing built up area, however if invested into this city extension, would support the integration of city extension with the existing city, strengthen economic prospects of the new development and importantly leverage the possibility for land value capture for the achievement of IDP durable solutions at scale.

The site provides a unique opportunity for a fully inclusive urban planning process involving IDPs, host community members, other city stakeholders including the mayor and federal state ministries, and key experts on protection, urban planning,

94 CCCM cluster 2019. Available at: https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/cccm_somalia

95 UN-Habitat (March 2019) meeting with IDP leaders in Bossaso

96 UN-Habitat (March 2019) meeting with Mayor of Bossaso

97 CCCM Cluster (January 2019). Somalia: Verified IDP sites in Baidoa

housing land and property rights, livelihood, gender, youth, children, security etc. As mentioned earlier, the shift from rural to IDP settlement to urban lifestyles provides opportunities for social development. The planning process should thus consider interventions needed to strengthen the empowerment and mobility of women and youth. As a low-hanging fruit it is suggested that the UN Resident Coordinator's Office arrange with the city authorities an urban planning workshop that brings together these stakeholders and experts as soon as possible. This suggestion has been enthusiastically received by the mayor. This is a unique opportunity to get planning right in order to foster economic growth, job creation, social cohesion and environmental sustainability, and to model good practices of inclusive planning in Somalia, which can be replicated in other cities. The workshop will assess models for IDP settlements at scale through land-value capture mechanism. For a site of this scale, the Investor/ Housing Management Unit partnership model or variations has a significant potential, which will need to be

further elaborated and tailored to context through a feasibility study and discussions with city leaders and stakeholders.

Key to the success of this intervention, is not only bringing together the technical perspectives of UN agencies entities and partners to support an inclusive planning and development approach, but integrating inputs and investments of the broader humanitarian and development community towards the achievement of collective outcomes. Importantly, the success of the development will depend on parallel efforts to build the capacity of the municipality in multi-stakeholder coordination, participatory planning and inclusive governance, land and property registration, public financial management, and to incrementally increase its own source revenue. Large scale urban development opportunities such as this provide an important opportunity to define the role and build the capacity of city governments and showcase good urban development practices.

3.5 Mogadishu

Mogadishu hosts an estimated 550,000 IDPs within 486 IDP settlements located in its 7 districts.⁹⁸ Mogadishu as well as hosting the highest numbers of IDPs, experiences complex dynamics of landowners, gatekeepers and displaced populations. As with most other cities, some IDPs have been in Mogadishu for almost three decades; many are well settled and have been able to access a form of livelihood. There are significant differences from one settlement to the next and varying relationships between IDPs and gatekeepers – from exploitative to constructive, and an increasing interest of Gatekeeper to strengthen their accountability to city authorities. The availability of land is one of the key challenges that constrain the achievement of durable solutions for IDPs.

The BRA Policy for Internally Displaced Persons and Returnees in Mogadishu commits the BRA to having: a complete overview of classification and number of IDPs, location and needs in Mogadishu; respond to IDP land and security needs while ensuring respect for private and public land rights; facilitate a response to IDP basic needs; have plans in place to respond to significant changes in IDP patterns/dynamics; provide oversight and coordination responsibilities; and facilitate the ability of IDPs to access livelihood opportunities.⁹⁹ Within this framework and discussions taking place on the city's growth, including the extension of the city, the possibility of satellite cities may be an important entry point for the achievement of durable solutions at scale. Land sharing, land value sharing/capture and land swapping provide mechanisms through which vacant land in these development areas can be availed to the BRA which may over time form a land bank. As the BRA increases its land assets there will of course be competing priorities for land swapping arrangements, not least for the reclama-

tion of encroached public spaces in the city. However, within these priorities, there may be a possibility for landowners that accommodate IDPs to swap their IDP occupied land for newly availed BRA-owned land, whose value has the potential to increase rapidly with development. There are a number of ways this can be done, including through the direct transfer of land or by allowing existing owners of land settled by IDPs, to give up their land in exchange of being a shareholders in the development of this newly acquired land.

Efforts should be made to explore the possibility – eg through pilot initiatives – for land occupied by IDPs to be transferred from private owners to the BRA through land swaps, and to build BRA's capacity to support the IDP population. Further discussion on the possibility for Gatekeepers to formalise their role in protecting IDP communities is warranted and could be piloted with the support of UN and NGOs. Once sites are managed this way through the ownership of local government, group tenure rights can be provided to all IDPs, settlements re-planned as needed through an inclusive process, new demarcations set, and use rights of newly demarcated plots provided to households. An incremental process of housing and basic services improvement may follow, where through small, regular payments, plots may be individually owned. IDPs will initially live in their existing shelters and may over time replace them with more robust basic housing as their confidence in tenure security increases as a result of these actions. Much further investigation and understanding of planned urban growth and the location of growth points, and dialogue with gatekeepers and landowners will be needed in moving these approaches forward, and 'low hanging fruit' sites identified for piloting.

⁹⁸ The Benadir Regional Administration (2018) Policy for Internally Displaced Persons and Returnees in Mogadishu

⁹⁹ *ibid*

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Through the analysis of linkages of urbanization and displacement, worrying trends of spontaneous urbanization that risks entrenching dynamics of clan and conflict in the urban form, leading to spatial inequality and further instability, have been highlighted. The possibility of changing the course of urbanization, through inclusive national or federal state level policies, and inclusive planning and governance mechanisms at the city level - that engages with all people groups has been discussed, with potential to improve resilience, stability, economic growth and job creation. As Somalia is expected to become majority urban in the next seven years, the time to act to set a new course of urbanization is now. The UN and international partners are therefore encouraged to provide sound guidance and joined-up advocacy towards political commitment and actions to support achieving sustainable urbanization. Time is not on our side as momentum is now building for the preparation of the coming NDP and the Vision 2040, which could provide important entry points.

Action at all levels to achieve a sustainable trajectory of urbanization is recommended. Mistakes have been made in past post-conflict settings where emphasis has been placed on national reform without corresponding action in cities; when national processes have become delayed or undone, cities have continued to develop spontaneously, exacerbating ongoing conditions. By working simultaneously at the level of the city, federal state and federal level, chances of success are increased, and lessons learnt at the city level can influence higher level policy development. In the initial absence of a national urban policy, city level actions can be guided by existing and emerging federal state level policies and legislation in land management and urban development, guiding principles suggested in this paper, relevant, positive experiences within and outside of Somalia and new urban studies.

The achievement of durable solutions for IDPs has a high proportion of indicators that are aligned with the achievement of sustainable human settlements. Both the achievement of durable solutions for IDPs in urban areas and the achievement of sustainable urban development require improved land management, inclusive governance and urban planning. A number of mechanisms exist, particularly through fit-for-purpose land management and land value sharing mechanisms to leverage resources to support delivering IDP durable solutions at scale.

While the importance of the UN and international community to provide common advocacy has been highlighted, at the practical level it will be important for the UN and international community to ensure coherence of programming and investment, so that respective contributions join together in a multiplier effect to support federal and local authorities achieve durable solutions for IDPs at scale.

Recommendations

Federal Government of Somalia

1. Initiate the process of achieving a New Urban Agenda for Somalia so that sustainable urbanization can be harnessed to make a notable contribution to other agendas including resilience, economic growth and stabilization. The New Urban Agenda provides guidance for achieving sustainable urban development. Critical components include a National Urban Policy and enabling legislation; effective multi-level urban governance arrangements; inclusive urban planning and design at national, sub-national, city and community levels; municipal finance mechanisms that leverage a wide range of sources; and, effective local implementation that leverage the roles of a wide range of actors including local authorities, private sector and civil society.
 - The immediate priority is the development of a vision and road-map towards the achievement of sustainable urban development, including clarifying institutional roles, in a way that supports the achievement of the Recovery and Resilience Framework, economic growth, social equality and environmental sustainability, that addresses key urban challenges, such as the impacts of displacement and durable solutions for displaced people, and is conducive to accelerating stabilization. This could be captured in a National Urban Policy.
 - The National Urban Policy can be prepared through a series of multi - stakeholder fora, including National Urban Forum, Mayoral Fora, subnational urban fora, thematic events and studies, and actioned through legislation that guides urban governance, institutional frameworks and responsibilities, planning norms and functions at various levels, urban financing mechanisms, and key indicators of achievement.
2. Incorporate sub-national strategies, experiences and pilot initiatives on fit-for-purpose land administration in the elaboration of a national land policy, which describes land management and land administration mechanisms, including the management of public land, institutional roles and responsibility at all levels, fit for purpose land and property registration, land valuation mechanisms, land and property based financing and revenue mechanisms, etc.. Ensure due consideration of religious and customary land management and administration in the process of developing a national land policy, and ensure national and sub-national institutional capacity to implement the policy.

3. Initiate the development of a public land inventory that provides information on the location, boundaries, attributes and uses of all government-owned land.
4. Initiate the process of developing a national housing policy for Somalia. This will be aligned with the national land policy and urban policy, and will focus on ensuring an effective enabling environment for affordable housing production, such as land supply, housing finance, infrastructure development, affordable materials, technical standards, etc., and respective roles of private sector and public sector, including programmes that target the most vulnerable. As a first step a database of good practices in the delivery of affordable housing in Somalia and relevant international contexts should be prepared.
- 2.3. Implement city-wide land and property registration utilising the fit-for-purpose approach that incorporates a broad range of tenure arrangements. These can initially be piloted through municipal by-laws and feed policy development at the federal state and national levels.
- 2.4. Institute initially through by-laws and eventually federal state legislation, mechanisms to enable land valuation, land sharing and land value sharing.
- 2.5. Negotiate land sharing and land value sharing with land owners during the planning of infrastructure investments provided by the international community, in order to increase the land asset of municipalities.

Recommendations for the Municipal and Federal Member State Authorities

1. Urban and Territorial Planning
 - 1.1. Develop sub-national spatial plans at state or district level that fulfil a logic of a system of human settlements, defining the functions of various levels of human settlement, their complementarity and how they will be physically connected to ensure best possible rural-urban linkages and related supply chains; identifying areas of growth and consolidation;
 - 1.2. Develop through inclusive, participatory processes, urban strategic plans for cities, identifying municipal boundaries, areas of growth and key infrastructure investment priorities;
 - 1.3. Undertake participatory, inclusive planning processes incorporating city extensions and urban densification that include the development of land for IDP durable solutions.
 - 1.4. Undertake land swaps as needed to ensure the availability of suitable land for IDP durable solutions, with access to available public services and employment opportunities.
 - 1.5. Engage the private sector in the investment in and implementation of planned city extensions maximising the potential of land value to support durable solutions for IDPs at scale.
2. Land Management
 - 2.1. Develop urban land management and administration strategies and mechanisms. These should take into consideration customary and religious land management systems, and could be developed incrementally, initially focusing on the adoption of fit-for-purpose approaches to land registration and resolution of disputes. They should be aligned with and contribute to a national land policy development process.
 - 2.2. Establish or strengthen existing institutions within municipal or federal state departments to support communities in land registration and resolution of disputes.
3. Finance mechanisms
 - 3.1. Increase own source revenue through multiple sources so that municipalities can sustain service provision for the local population. This can be achieved through developing relevant legislation, building service delivery and revenue collection capacity, and leveraging capital investment by donors (eg solid waste management facilities, urban roads and drainage, revenue management systems, etc) to keep initial costs to the municipality as low as possible while ensuring sufficient revenue to cover recurrent costs. Maximise the possibility of delivering services through public-private partnerships, building on the current active role of the private sector in service delivery.
4. IDP Durable Solutions
 - 4.1. Local authorities in locations of displacement and locations of origin should wherever possible work together, and with DACs on the development of area-based strategies and plans of action to achieve IDP durable solutions. These should provide for return, local integration and resettlement options in line with IDP intentions, and include financing strategies that leverage inputs of development banks, own revenue, donor contributions, community managed funds etc. towards the achievement of sustainable human settlements, with adequate housing, tenure security, basic services and livelihood opportunities that contribute towards achieving durable solutions.
 - 4.2. Increase the acquisition of municipal land through implementing by-laws on land sharing and related mechanisms;
 - 4.3. Where possible negotiate land swaps with owners of IDP settled land, so that IDP settled land is owned by municipal authorities; where this not possible avail, newly acquired land for IDP usage in locations where livelihood opportunities are accessible;
 - 4.4. Work with DACs in the re-planning of IDP settled land in line with local urban planning norms; undertake enumerations and provide group tenure security for IDPs and others living within site boundaries
 - 4.5. Work with DACs, donors and service providers in the upgrading of IDP sites, utilising wherever pos-

sible community managed funds and related mechanisms to ensure minimum standards of housing and basic infrastructure and that local priorities are met; ensuring that construction related activities maximises local employment for DACs, particularly youth.

- 4.6. Where suitable vacant land is available for development, maximise the opportunity to attract private financing, eg through investor-ready mixed-use development packages whereby the purchase value of land can provide for the costs of housing and basic services for IDPs at scale.
- 4.7. Establish housing management units with accountability systems within the municipality that can manage houses built by NGOs and private sector, which will ensure tenure documentation and mechanisms for beneficiaries to incrementally purchase their houses and allocate funds raised this way towards the further provision of affordable housing for vulnerable people.
- 4.8. Partner with relevant organisation, or build institutional capacity to support livelihoods development of IDPs and other vulnerable communities.

Recommendations for the UN and stakeholders supporting the achievement of sustainable urban development and engaging with displacement affected communities

1. Engaging with the national level
 - 1.1. Develop policy guidance on support of IDP durable solutions in rural areas, with a focus on return
 - 1.2. Provide technical support to the Federal Government of Somalia on the National Urban Policy process, including stakeholder engagement at all levels
 - 1.3. Gather lessons-learned and provide technical support in the development of a National Land Policy.
 - 1.4. Support the preparation of an inventory of public land.
 - 1.5. Support documentation of affordable housing practices relevant to Somalia, and the preparation of an Affordable Housing Policy.
2. Engaging with sub-national and local levels
 - 2.1. Support the preparation of housing and land market studies, and stakeholder analysis.
 - 2.2. Provide technical support to subnational levels in the development and implementation of fit-for purpose land administration, including institutional capacity and legislation as needed for land registration and dispute resolution for municipal-wide action.
- 2.3. Provide technical support in urban planning functions, including in subnational spatial planning, city strategic plans and mixed-use planned city extensions, ensuring inclusive, multi-stakeholder engagement, supporting perspectives of social inclusion, economic development, environmental sustainability, gender equality, resilience and stabilization in planning processes.
- 2.4. Identify a number of cities where durable solutions for IDPs will be piloted – being most likely those that expect to receive urban infrastructure investments by development banks. Support area-based IDP durable solutions strategies and support the strengthening of governance capacity in those cities, including through the secondment of experts in the short-medium term if needed.
- 2.5. Support the preparation of feasibility studies and financing models for implementing areas based human settlements solutions for IDPs, including understanding the land and housing market, engagement of private sector and means through which land value can be leveraged towards the achievement of durable solutions for IDPs at scale.
- 2.6. Support the capacity of local authorities to provide livelihood support, including technical and vocational training, particularly in skills such as construction, that will provide short and medium term employment opportunities as formal settlements and housing are being built.
3. Engaging with donors
 - 3.1. Engage with development banks and other sources of investment in urban infrastructure in planning processes, so that their investment contributes to the achievement of durable solutions, including through increasing and capturing land value.
4. Engaging with IDPs and host communities
 - 4.1. Support the participation of IDPs with local host communities in consultative processes leading to planning city extension areas that provide long-term solutions for IDPs.
 - 4.2. Support IDP communities in the transition from rural to camp to urban settings, and accompanying socio-economic transition, exploring the potential for social development and the empowerment of women.
 - 4.3. Support IDPs in establishing relevant skills for urban employment and livelihood, maximising on the potential for youth employment in infrastructure and housing development.
 - 4.4. Support IDPs in establishing local enterprises.
 - 4.5. Support the establishment of micro-finance facilities that can support business development and incremental housing improvement.



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