

SOMALIA:

Massive new displacements as power struggle in Mogadishu flares up again

A profile of the internal displacement situation

24 April, 2007

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OVERVIEW

Somalia: Massive new displacements as power struggle in Mogadishu flares up again

Since the rout of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) by Somalia's transitional government and its Ethiopian allies during the last days of 2006, southern Somalia and the capital Mogadishu have slipped gradually back towards the violence and anarchy of recent years. Over 320,000 people have fled Mogadishu between 1 February and 20 April, and at the time of writing, there were no signs of the violence abating. Many of the displaced live in extremely difficult conditions, lacking shelter, food and water. The official number of internally displaced people (IDPs) in the country remains at 400,000. But as there is no safe way for aid organisations to gain access to large areas of the country, no proper count has been made in years. Numbers must now be adjusted to over half a million. A recent UN report speaks of almost one million displaced people in Somalia, following 16 years of chaos and violence.

Occasional cease-fire agreements, bringing respite – and allowing the warring parties to regroup and rearm – remained short-lived, and the fighting continued in Mogadishu. Ethiopian and Transitional Federal Government (TFG) forces are pitted against returning ICU fighters, other Islamist insurgent groups and clan warlords. International diplomatic efforts towards inclusive talks between the antagonists have been unsuccessful so far and the TFG's plans for reconciliation appear fatally flawed, as they do not currently include the Islamist groups. The international aid community's room for action is extremely limited, and while access is being continuously negotiated at the highest levels, it is highly insufficient given the enormous immediate needs of the conflict-affected displaced.

The conflict has resurged in an extremely precarious environment, with hundreds of thousands still directly affected by the consequences of floods, which swept over the riverine areas of south Somalia in November and December 2006 following months of drought. Humanitarian access had already been extremely difficult then, in an atmosphere of mounting tensions. An estimated one million people, almost half of them IDPs, are currently in need of humanitarian assistance, most of them in south and central Somalia. The self-declared Republic of Somaliland has so far remained stable. However, tensions between Somaliland and Puntland regarding the control over parts of Sanaag region have flared up again.

Background and political developments

The roots of Somalia's political troubles lie in the implosion of General Mohamed Siad Barre's 21-year dictatorship in 1991, which resulted in the collapse of virtually all state structures. An ill-judged UN peacekeeping mission from 1993 to 1995 (UNOSOM II) ended in fiasco, contributing to the segmentation of the Somali population and lasting discrediting of the UN system. From June 2006 the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) militia brought some stability to parts of south and central Somalia under its control, including the capital Mogadishu. But six months later, the ICU was defeated by Ethiopian-backed transitional government forces. Shortly after that change in power, checkpoints, banditry and growing insecurity have reappeared. Government and Ethiopian troops felt the public resentment at their presence and suffered increasingly from targeted attacks, before stepping up their military attacks on insurgents. The violence peaked in the second half of March and in April, with a number of ceasefire agreements between the warring parties collapsing only days after their conclusion. US air raids on an alleged Islamist and al-Qaeda stronghold in the south in January had contributed to raising tensions (BBC, 9 January 2007).

As the Ethiopian troops started to withdraw, and with African Union peacekeepers (AMISOM) not fully installed yet, nor willing to engage in battle, warlords have re-emerged, and clan fighting has intensified in Mogadishu and in Gedo and Bakool regions (UNSC, 28 February 2007, p.3). Factions of the ICU have returned to the capital and are fighting Transitional Government, Ethiopian and AU (Ugandan) troops. The Transitional Government has so far not been able to fully re-install itself in Mogadishu and was under attack for the better part of the first quarter of 2007 (ISN, 29 March 2007).

The heavy fighting has led, according to Hawiye clan leaders and media reports, to over 1,000 casualties, with more than 4,000 wounded and well over 320,000 displaced, while access has been extremely limited (BBC, 22 April 2007; Somalia Situation Report, 20 April 2007; Mail and Guardian, 10 April 2007). After allegations of war crimes against civilians, the European Union began to distance itself from supporting Ethiopia and called for investigations into the way the troops have led their warfare in Mogadishu (Hiiiran Online, 11 April 2007). Eritrea, Ethiopia's regional rival, has now admitted support for the ICU, which it had so far denied (BBC, 10 April 2007).

High-level international diplomacy to achieve inclusive political dialogue between the TFG and ICU has been intense during the past six months (UNSC, 28 February 2007, p.5ff). The international community is now calling on the TFG to hold talks with opposition groups, so as to move ahead towards national reconciliation (ICG, 27 January 2007, p.2). Several attempts have been made to that effect, including a re-shuffling on 7 February 2007 of the TFG cabinet to include members of all five major clans (UNSC, 28 February 2007, p.4). Security Council Resolution 1744, passed on 20 February 2007, stresses the Security Council's support for creating all-inclusive institutions. It reiterates the need of AMISOM troops deployment, in support of the Transitional Federal Institutions and their reconciliation efforts. The document partially replaces resolution 1725 (UNSC, 21 February 2007).

The TFG itself has called for a national reconciliation conference in mid-April 2007, which has been postponed to at least May. However, some opposition groups question the sincerity of the TFG's call for reconciliation. There are indications that the reconciliation conference may not include even moderate ICU members (FAST Update, April 2007, p.2). The impeachment of Parliamentary Speaker Sharif Hassan Sheikh Aden, who was consulting with the ICU in late 2006, is another sign of the TFG's limited willingness to be inclusive of Islamic movements. In the eyes of the Hawiye, these developments, together with the sacking on 17 April of 31 parliamentarians, also changes the clan constellation of the Transitional Federal Institutions, making them less legitimate (Hassan and Barnes, 27 March 2007, p.3, Shabelle News, 17 April 2007). Therefore, the long-term effect of any reconciliation efforts remains to be seen (UNSC, 28 February 2007; Security Council Report, 28 March, p.15ff). The upsurge in fighting at the end of March, with continuous international involvement, adds another question mark as to whether the conference is likely to succeed in integrating all relevant political forces (ISN, 29 March 2007).

The 2007 Minority Right Report cited Somalia as the world's most dangerous place for minority communities, arguing that there is a real threat of armed clan conflict between the Hawiye (southern clan from which the ICU mostly emerged) and the Darood (President Yusuf's clan, based in Puntland). The report emphasises the danger of renewed atrocities against civilians in both Somalia and Ethiopia (MRGI, March 2007, p.12).

In April 2007, armed clashes between Somaliland and Puntland were reported to have erupted over the control of the Dahar settlement in the Sanaag region. Both the north-western self-declared Republic of Somaliland and Puntland, the self-declared autonomous region to its east, appeared to be collecting weapons for a future armed encounter (Shabelle News, 9 April 2007)

New displacement in 2007

The UN estimated that a total of over 321,000 people fled Mogadishu between 1 February and 20 April (Somalia Situation Report, 20 April 2007). Most of the recently displaced settled down the coast in Lower Shabelle, in the hope of returning soon. Others moved inland to Baidoa or Bardera, or to Merka on the coast, or undertook the perilous trip north to Galkayo. Many are being harassed for imposing additional strain on already food-insecure communities (IRIN, 29 March 2007).

According to a local civil society task force, tens of thousands of people who have fled outside the city limits live without food, water and shelter and need immediate assistance (IRIN, 28 March 2007). Reasons for flight were generalised violence against civilians and fear of attacks. Those who cannot afford to leave stay behind, moving within the city in search of relative security, while humanitarian access to Mogadishu remains extremely restricted. Mogadishu residents also need to grapple with rising food prices, as insecurity prevents ships from reaching the port (IRIN, 29 March 2007).

In the second half of 2006, refugee movements into camps in Kenya's Dadaab region took on dimensions unseen over the past 10 years (Reuters, 29 September 2006). In 2007, that trend might have continued, had not the Kenyan government closed the border in early January. As a result, almost 5,000 Somali IDPs got stranded along the border. After they had to survive without humanitarian aid for weeks, humanitarian relief was eventually distributed to some of them through a local NGO, and the Kenyan government opened the border for humanitarian convoys on 7 February. The difficulty with providing aid is that the IDPs have by now spread along the entire border between the frontier town of Doble and the sea some 250 km away (OCHA monthly analysis Dec/Jan, January 2007; OCHA, 19 January 2007). At the beginning of April, up to 4,000 people had joined those who had already camped at the border since December 2006 (IRIN, 3 April 2007). The Kenyan government came under increasing pressure for allegedly having detained and forcibly returned Somalis across the border without UNHCR having had the chance of determining whether they qualified for refugee status (Human Rights Watch, 30 March 2007).

New arrivals had been noted in Somaliland throughout 2006, and about 1,000 people in need of assistance arrived in Hargeisa between December 2006 and January 2007 (UNICEF Monthly Review for February 2007, p.2). An unspecified number of IDPs have made their way to Bossaso (Puntland). Somaliland already hosted an estimated 40,000 IDPs and Puntland up to 70,000, with over 28,000 in Bossaso, and important numbers in Garowe and Galkayo (OCHA, 23 August and 28 August 2006). In late 2006, the Puntland authorities started stemming the high number of people arriving on its territory. In March, some 300 people from south and central Somalia were taken into custody for "security reasons". Not all have been released since, and UN agencies are consulting with local authorities to assure access to the detained and to guarantee their legal rights (OCHA, March Humanitarian Monthly Update, April 2007, p.4). Puntland authorities also attempt to crack down on human smuggling to Yemen (IRIN, 13 September 2006; Shabelle News, 26 September 2006). Nevertheless, human smuggling continues unabated, as illustrated by the recent violent death of dozens of migrants at the hand of smugglers (UNHCR, 26 March 2007).

Serious flooding hit southern Somalia in the last two months of 2006, uprooting another estimated 454,000 people in the riverine areas, with the Shabelle and Juba rivers having risen so high that their floods merged in the downstream areas. In a context of already heightened political and military tensions, relief delivery was extremely difficult and in vast areas inadequate. The flooding devastated a large part of the livelihood that had survived the previous drought, although it has also allowed for some off-season crop cultivation where the floods had receded. Combined with favourable weather in the first few months of 2007, this resulted in relative food stability in many parts of Somalia, though not including the immediate riverine areas (OCHA, 30 November 2006;

UNSC, 28 February 2007, p.7; FSAU, 16 March 2007). If the long rainy season, starting in April, causes flooding again, tens of thousands of recently displaced, who now live along the lower reaches of the Shabelle river, may be endangered (OCHA, March Humanitarian Monthly Update, April 2007, p.5).

Within the capital, evictions from public buildings have occurred, as the TFG claimed them back. IDPs were also threatened with forced eviction in other Somali cities, notably the southern port of Kismayo, where the district commissioner announced that all IDPs were required to leave government buildings within 30 days from 18 March, or “face consequences before the law” (Somalia Situation Report, 13 April, p.3).

The total number of displaced persons in need of assistance continues to be estimated at 400,000, due to lack of more accurate figures. The most recent displacement needs to be added to this figure. The most recent report of the UN Secretary-General to the UN Security Council speaks of almost one million IDPs, which includes the flood-displaced (UNSC, 28 February 2007). A current IDP profiling project, carried out by UN and NGO partners in Bossaso, Galkayo, Burao and Mogadishu, should shed more light on actual numbers and on IDPs’ protection needs. The profiling results are expected in May or June 2007.

Protection issues

Upon taking over Mogadishu and south and central Somalia, the Ethiopian and TFG troops spread fear among the population, harassing alleged sympathisers of the ICU, minority groups and Ethiopian Oromo refugees. There were indications that most of the people displaced at the very outset of the recent fighting were seen as supporters of the ICU and have been seriously threatened by Ethiopian and TFG troops. They are the ones being stranded at the Somali-Kenyan border near the town of Doble. The humanitarian situation of these IDPs is extremely bad, with diseases spreading (IRIN, 3 April 2007).

The most recent displacement from Mogadishu occurred in a climate of indiscriminate violence against civilians. Many of them have to endure extortion and harassment, especially when they cannot enjoy clan-based protection (OCHA March Humanitarian Update, April 2007). Towards the end of April, UNHCR was able to resume the delivery of some limited humanitarian aid to the recently displaced, partially through local NGOs (UNHCR, 20 April 2007).

Generally, with very limited humanitarian access, most IDPs have largely been left to their own devices, and information on living conditions and protection issues remains scarce. Real improvement has not happened, due to growing numbers of IDPs in settlements, persisting insecurity, an insufficient international presence and chronic under-funding of humanitarian and long-term recovery and reconstruction programmes.

IDP protection continues to be a major gap in the operational response, despite well-functioning inter-agency protection coordination mechanisms at Nairobi level. Problems of implementation are mostly due to the enormous needs of basic services, the extremely difficult operating environment and the continuing lack of experienced professionals on the ground (IDD, 16 June 2006).

In the absence of a functioning national judicial system, human rights abuses, in particular against displaced members of minority clans like the Bantu, as well as women and children, are rampant and often not accounted for. Traditional justice systems (*xeer*) and sharia law are recognised as legitimate and as mostly well-functioning. But while they may work well in the traditional context of a clan society, there is a risk that they become flawed where people cannot

count on the traditional justice of their own clans or where minority clans are too weak to provide protection to their clan members (DRC, 21 August 2004).

A recent IDP profiling exercise in Galkayo, carried out by local NGOs in collaboration with UNHCR and the Danish Refugee Council, exemplifies this protection problem: IDPs of a Galkayo majority clan experience much less protection-related problems than IDPs of minority clans or without clan protection. Main protection concerns are related to safety and security (in particular to gender-based violence against women) and to extortion by land owners. When asked how the international community could help them, the IDPs said they needed security, education and jobs. Direct aid distribution was not mentioned as an immediate concern (OCHA, March Monthly Humanitarian Update, April 2007, p.4). An inter-agency IDP profiling carried out in both north and south Galkayo in February 2007 found that both "old" IDPs and new arrivals are in great need of basic services such as water, food, health, sanitation and education. Furthermore, minority clans are particularly vulnerable to physical violence and abuses. Fire hazards in the overcrowded settlements add to the daily insecurity (IASC Somalia, March 2007).

Humanitarian access

Due to widespread insecurity, the international presence in south and central Somalia remains weak and inconsistent, and highly insufficient considering the enormous needs of the population, especially in and around Mogadishu and other southern towns. Access to the displaced populations and to relief stocks in Mogadishu is extremely limited due to the recent outbreak of fighting. Other towns and regions in south and central Somalia are accessible to various degrees. Especially renewed UN engagement in Galkayo is promising, according to UN sources (OCHA, March Monthly Humanitarian Update, April 2007, p.3). Generally, in the absence of a functioning government, the UN and national and international NGOs are often the only service providers and interact directly with clan leaders and local authorities. Especially in the south, in a context of ever-changing local power structures and clan affiliations, negotiating access is difficult. Another obstacle to a more concerted humanitarian response is general donor reluctance to engage in Somalia, mostly related to previous failure to achieve tangible improvement.

Nevertheless, international humanitarian activities in south and central Somalia have somewhat increased during the first half of 2006, due to the urgent need to bring assistance to the drought-affected populations, and efforts were made to convince local leaders to allow humanitarian access (UNSC, 20 June 2006, p.7). Later in the year, the UN and a number of international NGOs started negotiating humanitarian access to Mogadishu with the ICU, to provide aid in Mogadishu and in the by then heavily flood-affected areas along the Shabelle and Juba rivers. After fighting broke out on 24 December 2006, all ground-based relief efforts to the flood-affected populations had to be stopped. Air operations were suspended as well, after Somalia announced the closure of its borders and Kenya followed suit for security reasons, until the partial re-opening for humanitarian goods on 7 February 2007.

In early 2007, the UN Humanitarian Coordinator (HC) called on the international aid community to re-engage in Mogadishu, taking advantage of the fact that the TFG was moving back to the capital, and to meet the high expectations of the population for reconciliation, security and resumption of basic services such as health care and education. The UN was also to engage in police training, demobilisation and reintegration of militias, trying to avoid a power vacuum. Re-engagement was to be carried out along the lines of a jointly spelled-out Code of Conduct for agencies and NGOs. This call for immediate re-engagement was met with scepticism by some humanitarian actors. In an open letter to the HC, Action Contre la Faim pointed out that impartial and independent humanitarian aid is extremely difficult to provide in the current politicised environment (ACF, 21 January 2007). At the end of March 2007, the security situation in Mogadishu had degenerated so far as to make humanitarian access virtually impossible, even for local NGOs.

Access to IDP populations in Somaliland and Puntland is relatively safe. Despite a long-standing international presence, however, the humanitarian situation of IDPs in cities like Bossaso has hardly progressed over the past 16 years. The disputed areas of Sool and Sanaag regions constitute an exception to safe access, in that both parties insist on being the sole access point to those areas; operational delays and increased expenses have occurred in the past (UNSC, 20 June 2006, p.6). At the time of writing, it was unclear how the recent outbreak of armed violence would affect access to the two regions and to Puntland and Somaliland.

For 2007, UN agencies and INGOs intend to develop a joint response to IDP needs in Galkayo (OCHA, January 2007). The town is host to some 5,000 IDP families from southern Somalia and the Somali-Ethiopian border, who have been left without assistance for many years. Galkayo has been inaccessible to the international community for most of 2006, a hospital run by Médecins Sans Frontières being one of the very few regular aid activities. Relief items have been distributed to several thousand IDP families (UNICEF, February 2007).

Nutrition, health and shelter

The massive displacement from Mogadishu in 2007 has left tens of thousands of people in very precarious situations, lacking water and shelter, food and health care. By April, local civil society groups, including the business community, have started to organise water distribution to the displaced in and around the capital. Eyewitnesses say the living conditions of the displaced continued to deteriorate daily. They fear that the approaching rainy season will further deteriorate the situation (IRIN, 5 April 2007).

The 2006 drought has left large parts of Somalia in an extremely precarious humanitarian situation. The ensuing devastating floods further depleted food reserves and livelihoods but also allowed for some post-flood planting. It is now estimated that the number of people in need of assistance and protection during the first half of 2007 (which includes the 400,000 IDPs) is now 1 million, as compared to 1.8 million identified in August 2006. The situation has improved in all regions except the riverine areas, which remain in a state of humanitarian emergency. Agro-pastoral and pastoral areas of Hiran, Bay, Bakool and the north of Somalia are no longer in a state of acute food and livelihood crisis (FSAU, 14 February 2007). However, Somalia remains chronically food-insecure and malnutrition remains a serious problem, particularly in Gedo, Middle and Lower Juba, and parts of Bay, Bakool and Hiran regions. The riverine areas continue to be extremely food-insecure due to the aftermath of the floods and insecurity. IDPs are generally particularly vulnerable to malnutrition, as they have fewer possibilities to support themselves (OCHA, monthly analysis Dec/Jan, January 2007).

Most IDPs face extremely poor and crowded living conditions in slum settlements, often paying rent or occupying public buildings, facing the threat of eviction. Humanitarian help in those settlements remains, at best, rudimentary, and many slum dwellers rely exclusively on their own survival skills. Fires regularly leave thousands of IDPs homeless (OCHA, March Humanitarian Monthly Update, April 2007, p.3; IRIN, 10 May 2006).

Morbidity, mainly from diarrhoeal diseases (due to consumption of unsafe water) and malaria, increased in many places in south and central Somalia, and particularly in Bay region. A marked increase in Acute Watery Diarrhoea (AWD) and cholera has been reported, mostly linked to post-flood conditions, and to lack of safe drinking water and sanitation among the newly displaced (IRIN, 15 March 2007, UNICEF Monthly February 2007). The areas with the highest AWD prevalence (Mogadishu and surrounding areas) are also the areas most difficult to access for treatment (OCHA, March Humanitarian Monthly Update, April 2007, p.5). IDP camps in Bossaso were also afflicted by AWD (UNICEF Monthly review, February 2007, p.2). Cases of measles

were identified in several sites. The large majority of IDPs in Somalia do not have access to safe water and sanitation (OCHA, August 2006).

Since land tends to belong to specific clans, it is almost impossible for displaced people – especially those without clan backing – to own land. This puts great restrictions on their possibility of creating a livelihood. Renting a plot is expensive and insecure. IDPs, at the whim of landowners or “gatekeepers”, often face eviction from rented plots or from public (and increasingly private) buildings, especially in southern Somalia. Many IDPs moving to urban centres tend to spend years or decades in displacement and returns are very rare because of the continuing difficult humanitarian and security situation in their places of origin. For those long-term IDPs, the issue of land tenure is largely related to urban planning and local integration.

National and international response

Since 1991, there has been no national entity responsible for IDP response. The gradual attempt of the TFG to re-install itself in Mogadishu has unleashed considerable effort on several sides to take ownership of the IDP issue. Currently, the newly-established National Refugee Commission has declared that IDPs fall under its mandate (Internal UN Report, 26 February 2007). The longevity of this entity remained questionable at the time of writing, as the TFG itself had not regained control of Mogadishu, let alone the whole of Somalia. Therefore, the duty to provide protection and assistance to the Somali population remains with the international community and Somali NGOs, often supported financially by local businessmen.

International engagement in Somalia has been difficult. Since the withdrawal of UNOSOM in 1995, the international aid community responsible for Somalia has been based in Nairobi. The UN's operational presence has been fairly consistent in Somaliland and Puntland, but has remained sparse in south and central Somalia, ensured largely through Somali national staff. ICRC has maintained access to most of the southern regions, through continued negotiations with local leaders (ICRC, 12 July 2006). Other NGOs operational in south and central Somalia include Action Contre la Faim, Concern Worldwide, which has its headquarters in Mogadishu, CARE International, the Danish Refugee Council, Médecins sans Frontières, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and Save the Children.

Somalia is one of the four countries where the new cluster approach – a key element of the UN's humanitarian reform process – is formally being rolled out. The Nairobi-based Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) comprises seven UN agencies and seven NGOs and focuses on humanitarian aid. A parallel coordination structure exists within the Somalia Agencies Coordination Body (SACB), focusing on development aid. The streamlining of the two coordination bodies is ongoing.

Seven IASC clusters have been established – Protection, Health and Nutrition, Water and Sanitation, Agriculture and Livelihood, Food, Education, and Shelter. As stated in the October 2006 self-assessment, the cluster approach has helped agencies recognise response gaps but has not consistently led to filling them successfully (IASC, November 2006, annex 4). Collaboration between UN agencies and NGOs, both local and international, is not fully in place yet, which also impacts on funding patterns: these often keep following bilateral patterns instead of being channelled through clusters. The humanitarian response could profit from better collaboration with local actors, who often work in areas considered inaccessible by the international community.

An operational gap between Nairobi and the field level remains. But it is positive that protection is now visible on the agenda. Projects of the Protection cluster include a population movement tracking system, coordinated by UNHCR and engaging some 35 local NGOs. It continuously monitors natural disaster- and conflict-related movements, producing monthly updates, which

now also include findings of the Protection Monitoring Network. NRC, in cooperation with UNHCR, is providing protection training to local NGOs. IDP profiling was carried out successfully in Bossaso at the end of 2006, and in Burao, Galkayo and Mogadishu in February and March 2007. IDP Working Groups exist in Nairobi, Puntland (Bossaso and Garowe) and Somaliland (Hargeisa), but not yet in south and central Somalia. As lead agency for the protection cluster, UNHCR has taken on a coordination and gaps analysis role with regard to the response to the internal displacement situation. Its operational presence in Somalia is limited.

The 2007 Coordinated Humanitarian Appeal (CAP) identifies one million people in need of assistance, which includes 400,000 IDPs (OCHA, December 2006). In April 2007, the CAP was covered for 33 per cent, with most funds going to the food sector. Less than 10 per cent of the health, protection, shelter and agriculture sectors were covered, while education and recovery programmes have received no funding at all (OCHA, March Monthly Humanitarian Update, April 2007, p.8). Along with the extremely complex political context, chronic under-funding of the CAP is a serious obstacle to a successful reconciliation and reconstruction process in Somalia (JNA, June 2006, p.27). The two problems clearly go hand in hand, as donors' confidence in the country's potential for recovery is consistently being punctured by continued instability and violence. For the international aid community, this creates a delicate operational environment. A telling example, mentioned above, was the Humanitarian Coordinator's recent call for re-engagement in Mogadishu and the criticism it provoked among parts of the humanitarian community.

While political diplomacy is working towards national reconciliation, recent UN advocacy for Somalia called on donors to consider long-term funding, which would demonstrate real international commitment to the many aspects of Somalia's recovery, particularly in relatively stable Puntland and Somaliland. If provided in full awareness of the negative past and potential future impact on Somalia, and mindful of the Somali culture's specificities, international assistance can help the country emerge from its current state of instability and violence, and assist the Somali population in rebuilding their lives.

CAUSES AND BACKGROUND

Overview

Background and political developments (Special report, 2006)

The collapse of the Somali state has its roots in a military coup in 1969, led by General Mohamed Siad Barre. He installed a dictatorial regime, whose divide-and-rule policy succeeded in polarising grievances into clan-based wars and eventually splintered its own support-base. In 1991, the state collapsed and Barre was overthrown. The loose anti-government coalition quickly fell apart and proved incapable of changing pre-established war patterns. Thereafter, the country descended into a full-fledged civil war and has remained without an effective central government for 14 years. Various warlords fought over the control of key resources, embedded in the capital Mogadishu, port-towns, and the fertile lands between the Juba and Shabelle rivers. In 1992, a ceasefire between the main warring parties was agreed. As fighting continued into 1993, the UN deployed its largest ever peacekeeping operation (UNOSOM II). It operated without the consent of the parties within the country (ODI, October 2005) and ended in fiasco; the UN's serious misjudgment culminated in the killing of hundreds of Somali civilians and dozens of foreign peacekeepers in Mogadishu. The UN eventually pulled out in 1995.

In 2000, a Transitional National Government (TNG) was created at peace talks in the Djibouti town of Arta. The TNG never gained broad-based recognition and faced continued opposition from all sides. It was unable to assert control over Mogadishu and attempts to impose its authority outside the capital were unsuccessful. Between 2001 and 2004, clans and factions grouped under the umbrella of the Somalia Restoration and Reconciliation Council and Mogadishu-based warlords fought against TNG forces and its allied militias, resulting in heightened armed conflict in southern and central Somalia.

In late 2002, after more than a dozen failed peace initiatives, a National Reconciliation Conference was launched under the mediation of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and a temporary ceasefire was agreed. After two years of negotiations in Mbagathi, Kenya, the conference agreed on the composition of a new parliament (Transitional Federal Assembly, TFA), which in October 2004 elected Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, the former leader of the self-declared autonomous region of Puntland, as Transitional Federal President of Somalia for a period of five years. In December 2004, the TFA approved Ali Mohamed Gedi as Prime Minister of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG). An equal share of parliamentary seats was allocated to the main clans of southern/central Somalia (Darood, Hawiye, Digil-Mirifle and Dir) and the 31 remaining seats to minorities. Somaliland was not represented. The planned 12 per cent ratio for women was not met.

In June 2005, the new government and parliament moved to Somalia. While President Yusuf, Prime Minister Gedi and a number of cabinet members relocated to Jowhar, some 90 km to the north of Mogadishu, the rest of the government, along with the Transitional Federal Parliament (TFP) moved to the capital itself. Tensions between Yusuf and his main rival, the TFP speaker Sharif Hassan Sheikh Aden, led to some build-up of military power, particularly the gathering of troops loyal to the president in Jowhar during September 2005 (ODI, October 2005, p.23). Nevertheless, the TFG has taken positive steps towards accepting its responsibility and accountability towards the Somali population. Talks between the Jowhar and Mogadishu factions, initiated in June 2005, were beginning to show encouraging results in early 2006.

The TFG faces enormous tasks. It will have to sustain reconciliation and reconstruction throughout the country, consolidate the ceasefire, demobilise and reintegrate about 55,000 militiamen, re-build a functioning judicial system, control weapons, form a police and military force and establish mechanisms to share internal revenues, among others (IRIN, 26 October 2004; IRIN, 8 September 2004).

The transitional government is increasingly involved in local reconciliation processes, which are hoped to eventually contribute to enhancing the humanitarian community's access to needy populations. The international community acknowledges that it needs to be more proactive in providing assistance to existing pockets of security, and to supporting efforts of Somali civil society, including elders and businessmen interested in establishing a more peaceful and secure environment (OCHA, 30 November 2005).

Puntland

Puntland, in the north-east of Somalia, declared itself an autonomous region in 1998, under the leadership of Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, the current president of Somalia. Puntland experienced a political crisis in 2001 when Yusuf refused to hand over power to his successor. The ensuing armed conflict was settled in May 2003 by a power-sharing agreement through which cabinet posts were assigned to the opposition and rival militias were integrated into the army. Yusuf, who seemed to derive most of his power from military strength, appeared to have devoted most of his energies to his presidential ambitions. Therefore, and for reasons of limited resources and capacity, the Puntland administration has never been really functional (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003). After Yusuf's election as president of Somalia, General Mohamud Muse Hersi "Adde" was elected president of Puntland in January 2005 (ODI, October 2005).

While Puntland is considered more secure than south and central Somalia, the current political and security situation remains tense in many parts of the region. There is fear of a military build-up and recruitment of troops to Jowhar, which would put an end to negotiations between the two government factions. In addition to potential political instability, Puntland is constantly faced with natural disasters like droughts, cold rains and floods. The urban migration of impoverished pastoralists, the arrival of many IDPs from south and central Somalia, and the recent trend of Ethiopian migrants arriving in Bossaso have stretched the coping mechanisms of Puntland's towns to the limits (OCHA, July 2005).

Somaliland

The self-declared, internationally unrecognised Republic of Somaliland in the north-west has been the most successful in establishing peace and moving towards reconstruction. Somaliland proclaimed its independence from Somalia in 1991, following a brutal campaign of repression of the region's rebel movement by the Barre regime, during which up to 1.5 million people were displaced and hundred of thousands fled abroad (USCR, 2001). The regime's counter-insurgency operation had plunged the region into a civil war in 1988, and the systematic targeting of the region's Isaaq clan members, seen as supporters of the insurgency, led to charges of genocide (IGAD/UNHCR/UNDP, December 2000, p.7). Fighting within Somaliland, between forces of President Mohammed Ibrahim Egal and rebel militias continued until 1995. In 1997, a new constitution was adopted and Egal confirmed as president. In 2001, the Somalilanders reaffirmed their vote for independence by referendum and held peaceful presidential elections in 2003, laying the basis for a multi-party system. Somaliland had refused to take part in the Mbagathi negotiations, reiterating its claim to independence.

Since 1991, Somaliland has re-built cities and established a government with hardly any external support (UN, 18 November 2004, p.7). Peaceful and largely fair parliamentary election in September 2005 bolstered the entity's claim to international recognition of its independence,

which the world community has so far refused to grant, partly because it fears creating a precedent.

Over the past 15 years, Somaliland has reintegrated over 800,000 returning refugees. As in Puntland, these high numbers of returns strain the absorption capacity of towns like Hargeisa and Burao. The majority of the returnees live alongside IDPs in over-crowded settlements.

The two regions bordering Somaliland and Puntland, Sool and Sanaag, belong officially to Somaliland but are claimed by Puntland, on the basis of clan affiliation. The inhabitants of the two regions are sharply divided in their loyalties. During September and October 2004, an unconfirmed number of people died in clashes between Puntland and Somaliland over the contested status of two border regions (IRIN, 1 November 2004). During 2005, political tensions persisted, which is why the Somaliland authorities decided against the participation of the most volatile areas of Sool and Sanaag in the September 2005 parliamentary elections. The release of the remaining detainees from the Sool and Sanaag conflict in late 2005 is a positive sign indicating that both the Somaliland and Puntland authorities appear to be committed to creating stability in the region (OCHA, 6 December 2005).

Regional and international context

Somalia's neighbours have played ambivalent roles, at times mediating peace negotiations and at times involved in virtual proxy wars in Somalia (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.15). The UN Security Council has repeatedly condemned the continued flows of weapons to Somali factions from all neighbouring countries, which violate the 1992 arms embargo, fuel conflict and risk jeopardising lengthy negotiation efforts. Nevertheless, in November 2005, IGAD called for the lifting of a 2002 UN arms embargo, arguing that as a sovereign state, Somalia had the right to recruit, train and equip law enforcement agents (IRIN, 30 November 2005).

Over the past few years, the international community has started to show renewed interest in reconstructing Somalia. Contributing factors are a large Somali diaspora in Western countries, a desire to return refugees and rejected asylum-seekers, and fears that the lawless environment in Somalia could be a breeding-ground for terrorists. The current state building process is therefore much in the interest of the international community. At the same time, the financial means made available for the process are a far cry from the actual sums needed to recreate a Somali state.

In order to function properly, the transitional government needs assistance in terms of capacity building and training. There is an almost tangible sense of disappointment among members of the TFG with regard to the reluctance of international donors to support its activities. International organisations and donors cite security issues as the main reason for their limited engagement. In their view, the TFG will have to demonstrate its good intentions and show progress in broadening its legitimacy, which will in turn enable organisations to substantiate their pledges for financial support to the reconstruction. However, without bold international support at this crucial stage, the TFG may not be able to consolidate its authority and build up functioning state structures and the country may well plunge back into anarchy (Interviews with agencies in Nairobi and Jowhar, October 2005; telephone interview with UNICEF representative, December 2005).

Background

Siad Barre's dictatorship and root causes of state collapse: 1969-1991 (2003)

- Siad Barre military dictatorship installed in 1969 used clan divide and rule tactics in order to hold on to power

- The central state under Barre was notoriously corrupt, authoritarian and patronage-based
- In the 1980s 50% of GNP was foreign aid which allowed Barre to establish a bloated and rent-seeking civil service sector and strong military
- The political class view positions in the state as having a share of the cake not as a responsibility towards citizens
- Barre's regime poor human rights record and genocidal response to an uprising in the north led to a freezing of foreign aid by 1989 which precipitated state collapse
- By 1992 half a million people were killed and an estimated 1.5 million people had fled the country

Freedom House, 1999:

"Siad Barre seized power in 1969 and increasingly employed divisive clan politics to maintain power. Civil war, starvation, banditry, and brutality have wracked Somalia since the struggle to topple Barre began in the late 1980s. When Barre was deposed in January 1991, power was claimed and contested by heavily armed guerrilla movements and militias based on traditional ethnic and clan loyalties. Savage struggles for economic assets by the various factions led to anarchy and famine."

Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p. 2,3:

"Under Barre, the central state in Somalia was notoriously corrupt, authoritarian, and patronage-based. It was also well-funded, thanks to the country's strategic significance in the Cold War, enabling Somalia to attract one of the world's highest levels of foreign aid per capita. By the 1980s over 50 per cent of the national GNP was foreign assistance, allowing the Barre regime to build up a bloated civil service and military.[...] Political energies were almost entirely devoted to securing one's "piece of the national cake" within the government. Moreover, external military support from the East Bloc (1970-1978) and then the West (1980-1989) enabled a coalition of clans in power to engage in highly authoritarian practices. For Somalis, the only central state they knew was an instrument of repression, expropriation and ethnic hegemony. Anger at the state fuelled the popular uprisings which brought down the Barre regime. It has also left a legacy of fear and distrust towards efforts to revive a central government. The history of the state as cash cow has contributed to a tendency on the part of the Somali political class to view positions in the state as a prize to be won, not as an administrative responsibility to be assumed."

End of the Cold War. The end of the Cold War dramatically reduced Somalia's strategic importance and made it possible for Western donors to place political conditions on foreign aid. The Barre regime's very poor human rights record, including its genocidal response to an uprising in the northwest of the country in 1988-1990, led to a freezing of almost all foreign aid by 1989. Without that aid, the Somali state was a castle built on sand, and within a year the government lost control of most of the countryside, before collapsing entirely in January 1991. The sudden loss of external support is probably the single most important precipitating cause of the collapse of the Somali state, and serves as a cautionary note for current efforts to revive a sustainable central government. Somalia's tax base can only support a minimalist state structure, and external sources of funding for a revived state will remain modest. To the extent that this reduces the ability of leaders to use state resources to seal alliances via time-honoured patronage politics, this increases the difficulty of re-establishing a government."

Ibrahim F. 15 August 2002, p.1:

"In 1991 the Somali State collapsed as the civil war engulfed the capital Mogadishu and the military regime of Mohamed Said Barre was forced from power."

In their 1992 report, Amnesty International described Somalia as a "human rights disaster", at the end of 1992 it was estimated that more than 500,000 people had died in the war and famine in

Somalia, this included 300,000 children were children. Subsequently, some 1.5 million Somalis had fled the country, and more have since died.

No single factor can explain the causes of the war. The legacy of colonialism, contradictions between the centralized state and pastoral culture, unequal human development, lack of power and clan sharing, oppression, corruption were among the contributed factors to the armed conflict that has now divided Somalia.”

Siad Barre’s war against the Isaaq-dominated northwestern Somalia in the 1980s (2003)

- In 1981 a group of Isaaq exiles formed the Somali National Movement (SNM) an armed movement with the aim to overthrow the Barre regime
- In 1988 the SNM attacked major towns of Hargeysa and Burco, triggering a full scale civil war in the northwest
- Government response to the northern insurgency was fierce: after years of summary executions, rape, confiscation of property and disappearances, aircraft bombings in 1988 forced half a million people to flee to Ethiopia
- Siad Barre was charged of genocide against the Isaaq clan in the northwestern Somalia in an attempt to control the livestock trade
- Violent struggles have ensued ever since a loose opposition coalition overthrew the dictatorial Barre regime in 1991

Freedom House 1999:

"Siad Barre seized power in 1969 and increasingly employed divisive clan politics to maintain power. Civil war, starvation, banditry, and brutality have wracked Somalia since the struggle to topple Barre began in the late 1980s. When Barre was deposed in January 1991, power was claimed and contested by heavily armed guerrilla movements and militias based on traditional ethnic and clan loyalties. Savage struggles for economic assets by the various factions led to anarchy and famine."

IGAD/UNHCR/UNDP, December 2000, p.7

"In the aftermath of the Ogaden War, approximately a quarter of a million refugees had been settled in the northwest by the Somali government, with the assistance of UNHCR. [...] Most were ethnic Somalis from the Ogaden branch of the Darod clan, although some were members of the Oromo and other Ethiopian ethnic groups. For several years, traditional competition between the Isaaq and the Ogaden for pasture and water in the southern Haud had been aggravated by the Somali government’s provision of arms, ammunition and training to the Ogaden fighters of the Western Somali Liberation Front. Although intended for use against the Ethiopian government, this military assistance was often directed instead against Isaaq civilians in the Haud. [...] Government favouritism towards the Ogaden refugees, who enjoyed preferential access to social services (provided by UNHCR and its Somali government counterpart, the National Refugee Commission), business licenses and government posts, further fuelled Isaaq grievances.

In 1981, a group of mainly Isaaq exiles meeting in London declared the formation of the Somali National Movement (SNM), an armed movement dedicated to the overthrow of the Barre regime. The SNM initially tried to cast itself as an alliance of opposition figures from different clans, but its core membership and constituency was principally Isaaq. The SNM established its first bases in Ethiopia in 1982, and by 1983 it had established itself as an effective guerrilla force in the northwest. In response, government pressure on the Isaaq population, whom it deemed sympathetic to the SNM, took the form of "extreme and systematic repression". [...] Summary

arrests, extrajudicial executions, rape, confiscation of private property and 'disappearances' all became commonplace as the government sought to deprive the SNM of the support of the Isaaq public. The government also enlisted the support of the non-Isaaq clans of the northwest, attempting – with only partial success – to exploit traditional kinship affiliations.

In 1988, following a meeting in Djibouti between Siyaad Barre and his Ethiopian counterpart, Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, the Ethiopian government instructed the SNM to cease operations in Somalia and withdraw its forces from the border areas. The SNM, fearing the collapse of its long insurgency, instead attacked the major northern towns of Hargeysa and Burco, triggering the onset of full-scale civil war in the northwest. The government response was fierce: artillery and aircraft bombed the major towns into rubble and forced the displacement of roughly half a million refugees across the border into Ethiopia. Isaaq dwellings were systematically destroyed, while their settlements and water points were extensively mined.

ICG, 28 July 2003, pp.5,6

"The formation in 1989 (with SNM support) of the southern Somali factions, the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) and the United Somali Congress (USC), provided the SNM with allies and helped to relieve some of the pressure on its fighters. In January 1991, as USC advances in and around Mogadishu forced Barre to abandon the capital, the SNM staged its final offensive in the northwest. The remaining government forces disintegrated and fled, and the vestiges of civil administration collapsed."

Ibrahim F. 15 August 2002,p.1

"By 1988 full scale civil war broke out in Northwest, where Siyad Barre's force attacked the city of Hargeysa in a brutal campaign against the Isaaq clan that led to charges of genocide".

May 27,1988 Civil war erupted when the SNM attacked Burao, one of the main towns in the north. On May 31, they attacked Hargeisa the provincial capital of the region and the second city in the country. Devastating the northern region, causing people to flee their homes and possessions into the neighboring countries such as Ethiopia, Djibouti and Kenya.

In 1991 the Somali State collapsed as the civil war engulfed the capital Mogadishu and the military regime of Mohamed Said Barre was forced from power.

In their 1992 report, Amnesty International described Somalia as a "human rights disaster", at the end of 1992 it was estimated that more than 500,000 people had died in the war and famine in Somalia, this included 300,000 children were children. Subsequently, some 1.5 million Somalis had fled the country, and more have since died.

No single factor can explain the causes of the war. The legacy of colonialism, contradictions between the centralized state and pastoral culture, unequal human development, lack of power and clan sharing, oppression, corruption were among the contributed factors to the armed conflict that has now divided Somalia."

The fall of Barre regime in 1991 was followed by all out inter-clan war (2003)

- No other country in the world has been in such a prolonged situation of state collapse
- The Regime's genocidal campaign in the north and freezing of foreign aid led t the rise of clan-base liberation fronts among which the United Somali Congress (USC) which ousted Barre in 1991
- Uncontrolled gunmen and residents looted the capital as well as the agricultural communities in Bay, Lower Shabelle and Juba valley areas

- Inter-clan violence between 1991-1992 notably between factions of the Darood and Hawiye clans led to massacres, ethnic cleansing, mass exodus and killed about 240,000 people
- Humanitarian aid became part of the economy of plunder whereby warlords fought to control key ports and charged taxes to “guard” food aid while diverting some
- Absence of central government authority has left vacuum where violence and lawlessness prevailed and customary and Islamic laws became irrelevant
- Militias uncontrolled by commanders and teen-age gunmen uncontrolled by elders all fought to loot
- Armed conflicts today are mainly sub-clan affairs often a response to criminality

Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.1,3,4,7

“Twelve years after the fall of the government of Siyad Barre in January 1991, Somalia remains without a functioning, recognized central government. No other country in the contemporary era has endured such a prolonged period of complete state collapse. The crisis of the state in Somalia has been accompanied by warfare and armed criminality, which in turn have spawned multiple, chronic humanitarian emergencies. The country consistently ranks among the poorest in the world on key indicators of human development such as life expectancy, per capita income, malnutrition, and infant mortality, making much of the population highly vulnerable. [...] Somalia today has earned a dubious place alongside states such as Congo and Liberia as one of the most intractable “complex political emergencies” in the post-Cold War era.

[...]

The beginning of Somalia’s collapse can be traced to an offensive launched by the Somali National Movement (SNM) in the northwest of the country in May 1988. The regime’s brutal response against the Isaaq clan in the northwest – a genocidal campaign which drove a half million refugees into Ethiopia – led both to the freezing of aid by western donors and to the rise of numerous other clan-based liberation fronts. When one of those movements, the United Somali Congress (USC), pushed the regime out of Mogadishu in January 1991, the legacy of deep clan divisions and myopic political leadership among the country’s multiple armed factions stymied efforts to create a government of national unity. Instead, the country fell into heavily-armed chaos. Swarms of uncontrolled gunmen and residents looted everything of value in government buildings and in Mogadishu’s residential neighbourhoods. Inter-clan violence led to massacres, ethnic cleansing, and a massive exodus of displaced persons in all directions. Hundreds of thousands of Somali refugees crossed the Kenyan and Ethiopian borders. In the south, armed battles pitting factions of the Darood and Hawiye clan-families swept across the countryside. In the midst of the fighting, agricultural communities in Bay region, the Lower Shabelle, and the Jubba valley areas were repeatedly looted and attacked by all sides. The area between Mogadishu and the Kenyan border became a “shatter zone” within which residents were exposed to repeated rounds of looting until they began to starve. Mogadishu itself became the epicentre of very destructive shelling and warfare between the rival USC militias of General Mohamed Farah Aideed and Ali Madhi, reducing much of the city centre to rubble. The massive famine which occurred from late 1991 through 1992, and which ultimately claimed an estimated 240,000 Somali lives, was thus almost entirely due to armed conflict and wartime plundering. [...] Tragically, the populations which suffered the brunt of the famine bore the least responsibility for the crisis which provoked it.

One of the hallmark features of the crisis of 1991-1992 was the rise of an economy of plunder, in which a wide range of social groups – from illiterate gunmen who fought to loot, to merchants of war who made millions of dollars exporting scrap metal from dismantled factories – came to have a vested economic interest in continued lawlessness and armed conflict. International relief supplies became part of this economy, as warlords fought to control key ports of entry and transit of the valuable food shipments brought into the country. Militias charged exorbitant fees to “guard” the food aid, and were complicit in diversion of relief supplies. By 1992, the food aid had

become the principal commodity over which warlords fought. Emergency relief became part of the problem rather than part of the solution. [...]

Another important aspect of the civil war of 1991-1992 was the almost complete breakdown of authority at all levels. Militias were under only the loosest control of militia commanders, and fought mainly in order to loot. Clan elders lost control of young teen-age gunmen. Both clan customary law (*xeer*) and Islamic law were rendered largely irrelevant as constraints on lawless behaviour. The result was an epidemic of massacres, rape, and other previously taboo brutalities. [...]

Because armed conflicts are now mainly sub-clan affairs, clan members are much less willing to support the clashes, and clan elders are often in a better position to intervene to contain the fighting. These intra-clan conflicts are often a reprisal for a criminal act, making it increasingly difficult to differentiate outbreaks of armed hostilities from responses to criminality."

UN, November 1999, p.6:

"Virtually all the infrastructure of government - from buildings and communications facilities to furniture and office equipment - has been looted. All government archives and records, libraries, files and museums have been totally destroyed. In most of the country, there are no police, judiciary or civil service. Communications, apart from private satellite and cellular telephones and radio links, are non-existent. Electricity is not available on a public basis, but only to those who can afford generators. There is no postal service.

[...]

As a country without a national government, Somalia remains unique. The functions that states perform, such as the provision of social services, including health and education, the regulation, for example, of the movement of goods and persons, control of the environment, airspace and coasts, and so on, as well as the representation of the Somali people in intergovernmental and international fora, are absent, notwithstanding the fact that administrations in some parts of the country, notably in north-western Somalia ('Somaliland') and north-east Somalia ('Puntland'), have begun to provide some basic services to their people. "

Somaliland declares its independence in 1991; in 2006 still no international recognition (May 2006)

- Somaliland dissolved its 1960 union with the rest of Somalia and seceded in May 1991 along the former colonial border of British Somaliland
- In 1993 Mohammed Ibrahim Egal becomes president of Somaliland
- In May 2001 97% of Somaliland voters approved a new constitution, voting for independence and laying the basis for a multiparty system
- While the south and centre of Somalia has been plunged in civil war and lawlessness Somaliland has reintegrated refugees, rebuilt cities and established a national government
- Apart from two serious conflicts in 1994 and 1996 Somaliland has enjoyed peace and stability
- After President Egal passed away in May 2002, Dahir Riyale Kahin his deputy assumed the presidency peacefully
- Somaliland is suffering economic losses due to livestock ban since 2000 and suffers serious underfunding
- Minister of interior of Somaliland expressed concern that the non-recognition of the independence of Somaliland negatively affected respect for human rights and limited assistance flows
- The insistence of the African Union and the Arab League for the territorial integrity of Somalia could lead to conflict according to ICG (2003)

- In December 2005, Somaliland applies for AU membership - its relationship with Somalia must be considered more seriously, says ICG, if future conflict is to be avoided

"In 1991, when the central Government of Somalia collapsed, 'Somaliland' declared itself independent and sought separation from Somalia, citing the massive discrimination its people had suffered during the regime of Siad Barre. Although, the international community and the United Nations, which upholds the territorial integrity of Somalia, have not recognized the separate status of 'Somaliland', the international community has acknowledged with deep appreciation the good level of security and stability that 'Somaliland' has achieved over the years." (CHR 26 January 2000, p. 22)

"In the northwest, Somaliland dissolved its 1960 union with the rest of Somalia and seceded in May 1991, and then set about the task of reintegrating refugees, rebuilding damaged cities, and establishing a national government. [...] Though it suffered two brief but serious episodes of armed conflict in 1994 and 1996, Somaliland was far more peaceful and respectful of the rule of law than the south, and its economy far more prosperous, thanks to booming trade through the all-weather seaport of Berbera.

[...]

Somaliland is currently the only zone of Somalia where a formal administration actually exercises a modicum of authority. To be sure, the Somaliland government is badly underfunded (it operates on a US\$20 million budget, of which 70 per cent is estimated to go toward salaries to militia) and possesses only limited capacity. [...] Its civil servants are paid only token salaries and hence only work part-time. Many of the ministries are hollow, with no staff beneath top officials to implement policies. But the government does maintain functional control over the national army; the police force and courts maintain public order; customs officials collect taxes at the port; the two houses of the legislature convene and debate bills; and at least some of the ministries are making serious attempts to play a constructive role in their assigned sector. Those ministries tend jealously to guard their prerogatives, placing them in competition and conflict with international aid agencies (which often resist working through the ministries, preferring to operate directly through local NGOs) and with local municipalities. Most of the municipalities have been poorly run, but some of the most effective and capable administrative units in Somaliland have been at the municipal level, where a handful of committed mayors have overseen major public works – housing, water systems, road repair, and other services. Rapid turnover and reassignment of top personnel at both the ministerial and municipal level has eroded efforts to institutionalize good governance. Where effective governance occurs, it is typically personality driven and hence short-lived. The Somaliland government has gradually extended its physical presence into eastern areas, and now is on the ground in about 80 per cent of the country. [...]

Somaliland's political system invests considerable power in the presidency, and the President from 1993 until his death in May 2002, Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, wielded most of the political authority in the country. Upon his death, Vice-President Dahir Rayale Kahin assumed the presidency. That peaceful, constitutional succession was a major political success for the fledgling state, especially because Rayale is a member of the small Gadabursi clan. Acceptance of a non-Isaaq president by the dominant Isaaq clan was a sign of political maturity which earned the administration considerable goodwill abroad. Rayale prevailed as the candidate of the incumbent Ururka Dimuqraadiga Ummadda Bahawday (UDUB – Democratic United Peoples' Movement) in presidential elections in spring 2003. [...]

UDUB. When Somaliland adopted a multi-party system as part of a constitutional referendum in May 2001, President Egal formed UDUB, which became the party of the government in power. As is typical of incumbent parties, UDUB enjoyed unfair advantages in the presidential election,

including liberal use of government funds to promote the party. Its very narrow victory in 2003 (in which it won by only 80 votes) served notice that the party is not as strong as many believed. But by virtue of remaining the incumbent party, UDUB is guaranteed to remain a major political force. It does not have a well-defined platform; its campaign focused mainly on its experience in government, and its support base is mainly a combination of patronage and core support from the Haber Awal sub-clan of the Isaaq.

[...]

Clans. Somaliland politics is very much dominated by competing clan interests. The numerically and politically dominant clan is the Isaaq, which is divided into rival sub-clans. The two major armed clashes in Somaliland in 1994 and 1996 were both intra-Isaaq affairs, pitting the Habar Awal (the clan of President Egal) against a rival Isaaq sub-clan, the Habar Garhajis, which populate Togdheere region and the important trading town of Burao, as well as the eastern portion of Hargeisa. In addition to enjoying political primacy in Somaliland, the Isaaq also monopolize the top positions in commerce, dominating the lucrative import-export trade out of Berbera. In order to maintain the legitimacy of Somaliland as a state and not merely a clan enclave, the Isaaq have had to ensure the participation of non-Isaaq clans. This has worked to the advantage of the Gadabursi clan, which populates Awdal region in western Somaliland; the Gadabursi were allocated the position of vice-president, which gave them the presidency upon Egal's death. To the east, the Dolbahante and Warsengeli clans in Sool and Sanaag are by all accounts greater in number than the Gadabursi and resent having been relegated to third tier status in Somaliland politics. As noted earlier, the Warsengeli and Dolbahante are badly divided internally over allegiance to Somaliland, Puntland, or to the TNG in Mogadishu, and will likely remain divided over political affiliation for some time to come. Finally, the Issa clan inhabits the coastal portion of Awdal region. The Issa have historically been stakeholders mainly in Djibouti politics, which they dominate, but also seek representation and rights in Somaliland. There are members of other Somali clans who reside in Somaliland – spouses, migrant labourers, and others – but Somaliland considers only the Isaaq, Gadabursi, Issa, Warsengeli, and Dolbahante to be “indigenous” clans. All others are considered foreign guests, with citizenship in Somalia, even if some have lived their entire lives in Somaliland.

[...]

Somaliland's prospects for recognition are inversely related to the fortunes of the rest of Somalia; the longer the political impasse continues in Mogadishu, the more attractive the idea of rewarding Somaliland for its political achievements becomes.

Completion of Legislative Elections/Status of Opposition. Somaliland faces a significant political challenge in the aftermath of the controversial April 2003 elections, which left the country divided and disillusioned. One key issue which will dominate Somaliland affairs is the holding of parliamentary elections. At present, the elections have yet to be called, and the sitting parliament has granted itself a lengthy extension – two years for the lower house, three years for the upper house. But the current parliament is unelected and predominantly pro-UDUB. In the absence of a parliamentary election which will allow opposition parties to take at least a portion – and perhaps even a majority – of legislative seats, the opposition parties have no post-election political platform, which temporarily turns Somaliland into something akin to a one-party state. [...] In order for parliamentary elections to be held, however, a series of laws and electoral procedures must be passed, including an accord on the number of parliamentarians elected per region; demarcation of district and regional boundaries must be finalized; and electoral procedures need to be improved, including, some contend, voter registration.” (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.4, 25-29)

"Held on 31 May 2001, the Somaliland referendum was characterised by poor preparation, intimidating diaspora propaganda, and an admirable openness at the polling booths. The vote for independence was combined with the vote for a new constitution which brought in sweeping political changes by Somaliland President Muhammad Ibrahim Egal. The first article of the new constitution asserted the independent status of Somaliland, and Article Nine removes the present

clan-based system by laying the basis for a new multiparty system." (IRIN-CEA 10 July 2001, Part 1)

"In May 2001, a resounding 97 percent of Somaliland voters approved a new constitution, affirming the self-declared nation's ten-year-old independence from Somalia." (USCR, December 2001, p.5)

"The expert had a meeting with the Minister of the Interior, who expressed the opinion that the non-recognition of the independence of "Somaliland" was having a negative effect on the observance of human rights, as it limited the assistance they received." (UNCHR, 30 November 2003, paras.10, 46)

"Recognition of Somaliland, although under consideration by a growing number of African and Western governments, is still vigorously resisted by many members of both the African Union (AU) and the Arab League on the grounds that the unity and territorial integrity of member states is sacrosanct. Furthermore, the creation of a new Somali government emerging from the IGAD process that claims jurisdiction over Somaliland threatens to open a new phase in the Somali conflict.

[...]

Granting Somaliland some kind of increased international profile but without formal recognition – for example, observer status at the UN, the African Union and IGAD – could help to prepare the ground for eventual negotiations between two equals, Somaliland and Somalia.

[...]

Recognition [of Somaliland as an independent state] would establish Somaliland as one of the few genuinely democratic states in the region. And, as David Shinn, former U.S. ambassador to Ethiopia has pointed out, Somaliland's recognition might in fact improve the prospects for a more equitable, durable Somali union at some point in the future, since "it does not rule out the possibility that an independent Somaliland accepted by the African Union could propose unification at a later date with a Somalia that finally achieves its own peace and unity". (ICG, 28 July 2003, pp.i,35)

"As the least conflict-prone, this zone receives most returning refugees from Ethiopia and Djibouti, many of whom face difficulties re-establishing sustainable livelihoods. Cooperative local authorities, and a recent smooth transition of political power, have allowed for significant humanitarian and development initiatives. However, 'Somaliland' continues to suffer economic losses as a result of the ongoing livestock ban. The Sool and Sanag regions are suffering from food insecurity and require assistance leading up to the next *Deyr* rainy season. Additionally, 'ownership' of these regions is a source of dispute between 'Somaliland' and 'Puntland'. (UN, November 2002, p.18)

Implications of Somaliland's application for AU membership in December 2005:

ICG, 23 May 2006, summary:

In December 2005 President Dahir Rayale Kahin submitted Somaliland's application for membership in the AU. The claim to statehood hinges on the territory's separate status during the colonial era from the rest of what became Somalia and its existence as a sovereign state for a brief period following independence from Great Britain in June 1960.

Peacemakers have so far opted to tackle the issues sequentially: first trying to establish a government for Somalia and only then addressing the Somaliland question. European diplomats warn Crisis Group that even raising the Somaliland issue at this time could destabilise the peace process in the South. This approach risks both sides becoming more entrenched and the dispute over Somali unity more intractable. If the TFG's authority expands, the dispute over Somaliland's status is likely to become an ever-increasing source of friction, involving serious danger of violent

conflict. Somaliland has reacted angrily to the TFG's calls for the UN arms embargo on Somalia to be lifted so it could arm itself and has threatened to increase its own military strength if this happens. The prospect of a return to the major violence of the late 1980s is neither imminent nor inevitable but it is genuine enough to merit urgent AU attention.

For both sides, the issue of recognition is not merely political or legal – it is existential. Most southern Somalis are viscerally attached to the notion of a united Somali Republic, while many Somalilanders – scarred by the experience of civil war, flight and exile – refer to unity only in the past tense. For a generation of Somaliland's youth, which has no memories of the united Somalia to which young Southerners attach such importance, Somaliland's sovereignty is a matter of identity.

Resolving Somaliland's status is by no means a straightforward proposition. A vocal minority of Somalilanders, including some communities along the troubled border with neighbouring Puntland (North East Somalia) and a violent network of jihadi Islamists favour unity. Some observers fear that, in the absence of a negotiated separation, the relationship between the two neighbours could potentially become as ill-defined and volatile as that which prevailed between Ethiopia and Eritrea prior to their 1998-2000 border war.

There are four central and practical questions:

- § should Somaliland be rewarded for creating stability and democratic governance out of a part of the chaos that is the failed state of Somalia?;
- § would rewarding Somaliland with either independence or significant autonomy adversely impact the prospects for peace in Somalia or lead to territorial clashes?;
- § what are the prospects for peaceful preservation of a unified Somali Republic?; and
- § what would be the implications of recognition of Somaliland for separatist conflicts elsewhere on the continent?

These questions need to be addressed through firm leadership, open debate and dispassionate analysis of the issues and options – not ignored, ostrich-like, in the hope that they will disappear. “The AU cannot pretend that there is not such an issue”, a diplomat from the region told Crisis Group. “The issue cannot be allowed to drag on indefinitely. It must be addressed”. Somaliland's application to the AU offers an entry point for preventive diplomacy. The AU should respond to Somaliland's request for recognition by seizing the opportunity to engage as a neutral third party, without prejudice to the final determination of Somaliland's sovereign status.

Puntland: Regional administration established in 1998 (2004)

- Puntland is a non-secessionist, trans-regional state established in 1998 comprising Bari, Garowe, north Muduq, Sool and Sanaag
- Fierce internal power struggle exploded when former President Abdullahi Yusuf refused to step down and rejected the election of his successor Mr. Jama Ali Jama in late 2001
- Armed clashes between militias of Abdullahi Yusuf and his rival Ali Jama ended with a peace deal in May 2003 by which the opposition was assigned cabinet posts and militias were integrated in the army
- Puntland administration is not functional with the President devoting most of his time to his national presidential ambitions

- On the status of Sool and Sanaag, Yusuf calls the international community to recognize them as Puntland on the base of ethnicity rather than colonial demarcation
- Yusuf's reliance on military strength has been resented by his own clan's businessmen, elders and Puntland's intellectuals
- Puntland has an active business sector, an export-orientated economy has developed in Bosaso port and housing construction is booming thanks to relative peace in the region
- The largely nomadic population of Puntland has greatly increased since the early 1990s due to people from the south fleeing the war northwards
-
- Relations with Somaliland are strained over determining border areas notably Sool and Sanag regions
- On the contested status of Sool and Sanag, the Minister of Puntland argued the regions should belong to them according to ethnic composition rather than colonial demarcation
- Disagreements between President Abdullahi Yusuf and his deputy, Mohamed Abdihashi are ripe, the latter nominated new ministers and reshuffled others however all the appointments were rescinded by the President in August 2004

"Puntland, a non-secessionist, trans-regional state comprising the Harti-inhabited territory in the northeastern corner of Somalia, was the only region of Somalia which managed to remain almost entirely free of armed conflict in the aftermath of the collapse of the state. For most of the 1990s, the region kept the peace via the mediation of clan elders. In 1998, a formal Puntland administration was declared, one which included Bari, Garowe, north Muduq, Sool, and Sanaag. The latter two regions are claimed by Somaliland and have remained a source of tension between Puntland and Somaliland. The long period of peace in Puntland ended in late 2001, following a constitutional crisis when President Abdullahi Yusuf failed to call elections and sought an extension to his rule, which was rejected by clan elders and a high court judge. An alternative interim government was declared, leading to tensions and armed clashes between the militia of Abdullahi Yusuf and rival Jama Ali Jama. Throughout all of 2002, Puntland was divided and beset by periodic armed clashes. Abdullahi Yusuf's forces eventually prevailed, thanks in part to Ethiopian patronage, and despite TNG support for Jama Ali Jama. In May 2003, a military successor to Jama, General Ade Muse, came to understand that he lacked the capacity to defeat Abdullahi Yusuf, and instead sued for peace, calculating correctly that Yusuf would welcome the chance to end the conflict and present himself at the Kenyan peace talks as President of a unified Puntland. As part of the agreement, opposition militia have been integrated into the Puntland army and some cabinet posts have been allocated to the opposition. Puntland's new peace is somewhat fragile, but the state appears to have ended the unfortunate period of fighting which plagued it in 2001-2002.

[...]

Puntland Administration. The Puntland government was never very functional even before the constitutional crisis and armed clashes of 2001-2002. Most top positions were accorded to ex-military officers and other supporters of Abdullah Yusuf. A few departments worked reasonably well, but most were either dormant or devoted their energies towards controlling funds and activities of international aid agencies. The principal activity of the administration has been the collection of customs taxes at the Bosaso seaport and control of the militia. In the summer of 2003, both the militia and civil servants in the administration were unhappy over lack of salary payments. The integration of opposition militia and leaders into the Puntland administration is a source of tensions which requires careful monitoring.

Opposition Groups. A diverse array of groups have stood in opposition to Abdullahi Yusuf, and despite the recent accord will be at best uneasy partners in a unity government. The coastal, commercially-oriented Mijerteen sub-clan of the Osman Mahmud has historically resented the

military dominance of Yusuf and his Omar Mahmed sub-clan. Many clan elders, including those of Yusuf's own sub-clan, have resented his treatment of them, particularly during the constitutional crisis. Puntland's intellectuals (the educated professionals) resent Yusuf's hijacking of the process by which the Puntland state was created and his preference for military cronies in the administration. Finally, Puntland's Islamists have long opposed Yusuf and his close association with Ethiopia. These opposition groups are far from cohesive, however." (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.20,21)

"The majority of the largely nomadic population depends on the livestock trade and to a much lesser extent on fishing and dealing in frankincense. Relative peace and security have allowed an export-oriented economy to develop and the north-east is increasingly developing as a region of transition and recovery." (UN December 1998, p. 26)

"Formed in 1998, Puntland's administrative structures are still embryonic. Lacking the infrastructure and potential revenue sources of Somaliland the administration's impact on public services and the economy has been more limited. However, Puntland can boast active business and NGO sectors. The population of the region has increased greatly since the war as people originally from there fled the south. This has led to high levels of investment by Somalis in housing and businesses and reflects the public's confidence in the political and security situation." (UNDP Somalia 2001, p.51)

"Talks were held in "Puntland" in early May to end the conflict which began in June 2001 when Abdullahi Yusuf, whose presidential term then ended, claimed that the region's parliament had extended his mandate. In July 2001, clan elders rejected his claim and on 14 November they elected Jama Ali Jama president for a three-year term. Abdullahi Yusuf captured Bosaso from Jama Ali Jama in May 2002.[...] A peace agreement was signed on 17 May 2003, to which all parties have thus far reportedly adhered.
[...]

On the question of the contested areas of Sool and Sanaag, the Minister [of Puntland] insisted that the international community must recognize the areas as belonging to "Puntland" based on ethnicity, and not on colonial demarcation." (UNCHR, 30 November 2003, paras.11, 68)

"The Puntland Parliament has settled on an extension of six months instead of the two years that had been voted for unanimously last month. The announcement was well received by residents in Puntland. There were differences between the executive and the legislative branch over the renewal of the authority's term but the current endorsement made by the parliament has been seen as a possible resolution to some of the political tension that was brewing in the region.
[...]

The reshuffle resulted in the merging of the Ministry of Planning and Statistics (MOPAS) with the International Relations ministry. [...] Other changes included appointment of new governors for Bossaso, Nugal and Galkayo. Both the Police commander and the commander of the 'Darwiishta - the army' were replaced. The changes took place peacefully." (OCHA, 31 July 2004)

"President Abdulahi Yusuf and his deputy, Mohamed Abdihashi, continues to brew. The Vice President has in the last two weeks defied the President and nominated some new ministers and reshuffled others. However, all his appointments were rescinded by the President who is attending the Somalia Peace Conference in Nairobi. This is unlikely to degenerate to a full fledged conflict." (OCHA, 5 August 2004)

Sool and Sanaag regions contested by Puntland and Somaliland (1998-2004)

- Despite having signed both the 1991 declaration of independence of Somaliland and its reaffirmation in 1993, the Harti leadership of Sool and Sanaag are ambivalent about Somaliland's cessation claims
- The fact that the Harti elite is split between Somaliland, Puntland and Mogadishu, creates disunity in their political aspirations
- The regions of Sool and Sanaag geographically fall within the borders of pre-independence British Somaliland but most of the areas' inhabitants, the Warsangeli, Dhulbahante and Majerteen subclans are associated with residents of Puntland
- When Abdullahi Yusuf proposed that the Harti-inhabited Sool and Sanaag regions be included in the state of Puntland it was in order to gain additional allies to outmaneuver rivals within his own Majerteen clan
- Tensions in Sool and Sanaag simmering since Puntland troops ceased Las Anod (Somaliland) in December 2003, led to armed clashes in September 2004
- 100 dead caused by clashes which are expected to rise since former Puntland leader has been elected President of Somalia, with views of re-uniting with cessionist Somaliland

"The two regions of Sanaag and Sool are, in the words of a recent report, "one of the deepest faultlines in Somali politics". [...] When Abdullahi Yusuf proposed that the Harti-inhabited areas of Sool and eastern Sanaag regions – which Somaliland claims as part of its territory – be included in the newly created state of Puntland in 1998, he did so for tactical reasons. Inclusion of the Dolbahante and Warsengeli clans gave him additional allies with which to outmanoeuvre rivals within his own Mijerteen clan. But the move has since been a very costly one for Puntland, as it places the state in direct and seemingly irrevocable conflict with its larger and more powerful neighbour, Somaliland. [...] The regions will continue to pose a nettlesome political problem for Puntland, which cannot give up its claim to the area without losing face, but which lacks the capacity to impose a functional administrative presence there. The Harti residents of Sool and eastern Sanaag are themselves badly divided in their loyalties, with some embracing Somaliland, others Puntland, and still others a Mogadishu-based government. At present, the contested areas of Sool and Sanaag feature "governors" and other officials from both Somaliland and Puntland, living in close proximity to one another. Were Abdullahi Yusuf to assume the position of president of a transitional government of Somalia, the two regions would take on even greater symbolic value and could become a flashpoint for conflict. Ethiopia has a strong interest in preventing Puntland and Somaliland from coming to blows over the two regions, but may not be in a position to prevent trouble there." (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.23)

"Somaliland's eastern border regions, inhabited mainly by the Harti clans (Dhulbahante and Warsengeli), have long been problematic. Despite having signed both the 1991 declaration of independence and its reaffirmation at the 1993 Boorama conference, the Harti leadership remains ambivalent about Somaliland's claim to separate statehood. Like the Gadabursi, key members of the Harti clans were identified with the leadership of the Siyaad Barre regime during the civil war (although a handful chose to align themselves instead with the SNM). Unlike the Gadabursi, however, the Dhulbahante and Warsengeli negotiated separate ceasefires with the SNM without the latter's forces having to enter their areas.

[...]

At present, Harti loyalties are split at least three ways, with members of the clan's political and traditional elite scattered between Somaliland, Puntland and Mogadishu. Some have sampled all three. "The people are divided," an intellectual in Laas Caanood explained to ICG." (ICG, 28 July 2003, pp.28,29)

"Elders from clans living in the contested Sool and Sanaag areas are involved in negotiations with Somaliland and Puntland authorities in a bid to avoid armed conflict over the contested Sool region. Despite the heavy presence of armed personnel in and around Las Anod, the Sool

regional capital, the situation remains calm with no reported cases of conflict. Reports indicate that the resident population is not in support of conflict between Somaliland and Puntland, and this has generally had a calming effect.” (OCHA, 29 February 2004)

“Troops from the self-declared republic of Somaliland and those of the self-declared autonomous region of Puntland clashed on Wednesday in the disputed region of Sool, to which both sides have laid claim, a local source said.

[...]

The regions of Sool and Sanag, in northern Somalia, geographically fall within the borders of pre-independence British Somaliland, but most of the area's inhabitants, the Warsangeli, Dhulbahante and Majerteen communities, who are members of the larger Darod clan, are associated with residents of Puntland.

[...]

Tension between the two sides had been simmering since Puntland troops took total control of Las Anod, in December 2003. Before then, both sides had official representation in the town.” (IRIN, 23 September 2004)

“About 100 people were reported killed on Saturday in fighting between Puntland and the rival Somali territory of Somaliland, which accused Puntland's leader, now Somalia's new president, of waging war on it.

Abdullahi Yusuf, elected president on Oct. 10, has pledged to work peacefully with breakaway Somaliland as he tries to restore order to Somalia,

[...]

But his election alarmed Somaliland, hostile to a man long seen as its arch foe in the neighbouring autonomous territory of Puntland. It warned Yusuf on Oct. 12 against any attempted aggression and said it was on alert against any move to reunite Somaliland with the rest of Somalia.

[...]

A spokesman for Somaliland's Office of Defence said the death toll from the fighting, which erupted on Friday at the village of Adi-Addeye, about 30 km (20 miles) north of Las Anod, had risen to 109.

It was not immediately clear whether that figure referred to combat casualties or civilians or both.

[...]

But the cause of the fresh bout of fighting was not clear, with both sides accusing each other of starting it.

Matt Bryden, a senior analyst with the think-tank International Crisis Group (ICG), said Yusuf's elevation to the presidency had escalated tensions between the two territories.” (Reuters, 30 October 2004)

Somalia: TNG fails to develop authority, is opposed by businessmen and warlords coalitions (2000-2004)

- Led by President Abdiqassim Salad Hassan, the TNG was created at the Arte peace talks in Djibouti in August 2000 and was dismissed by many Somalis as ‘illegal’ and ‘unrepresentative’
- The TNG was never capable to control the country and only administers a quarter of the capital Mogadishu
- TNG faces opposition by the coalition Somali Restoration and Reconciliation Council (SRRC), Somaliland, Puntland, the Rahanweyn Resistance Army, powerful warlords including businessmen who supported it initially

- Mogadishu is divided by four main warlords and the areas they control are out of reach of the TNG
- The TNG has no resources is unable to raise taxes, including from Mogadishu's main port which stay closed
- The TNG is divided internally and criticised for being dominated by the Haber Gedir Ayr subclan of the Hawiye clan
- When the mandate of the President of the TNG expired on 13 August 2003, he announced that it would stay in power until elections were held
- TNG president won only 15 votes out of 275 parliamentarians at the October 2004 presidential election
- Opposed to the TNG the SRRC is a loose coalition established in 2001 with Ethiopia's patronage, including clan-based factions and regional administrations
- Abdullahi Yusuf, leader of Puntland is the strong man of the SRRC and has been contender to the presidential position
- Most of the warlords of the SRRC are embroiled in sub-clan conflicts either internally or with rivals, they all could be charged with war crimes and their agendas are disparate
- Although the SRRC is not strong inside Somalia, it controls a portion of the 24 seats at the Mbagathi talks thus has considerable influence on the outcome of the peace negotiations
- The G-8 is a group of political/militias mainly from the Hawiye clan and based in Mogadishu who are not clients of Ethiopia but who oppose the TNG
- Some of the most violent fighting oppose leaders grouped under the G-8. they control the largest militias in Mogadishu and southern Somalia and are the major spoilers of peace
- Members of the G-8 have disparate interests but all veto any new government in which they have no major position and want a Mogadishu-centred government thus oppose decentralization

“ Led by President Abdiqassim Salad Hassan, the TNG was created at the Arte peace talks in Djibouti in August 2000. It was intended to serve as a three-year interim national authority, after which a permanent government would be selected on the basis of national elections. The TNG was initially greeted with high expectations, and enjoyed the support of the powerful Mogadishu business community. [...] But it quickly ran into a number of serious problems. It failed to attract the level of foreign assistance needed to become operational; what foreign aid it did receive (mainly from Gulf Arab states) was diverted into private pockets; it never established a capacity to control and administer more than a portion of the capital city; its relations with neighbouring Ethiopia quickly soured, leading Ethiopia to support some anti-TNG Somali groups; and it failed to bring important Somali regional and factional authorities into the administration. Puntland, Somaliland, the Rahanweyn Resistance Army, and a number of powerful militia figures in the Mogadishu area (Musa Sude, Qanyare Afrah, and Mohamed Dhere, among others) either rejected the TNG outright or left it shortly after its inception. Even some of the businessmen who had given the TNG token support may have only wanted to use it as bait for foreign aid, while quietly working to ensure that did not become operational and threaten some of their private interests. [...] By 2002, the TNG was moribund; it had almost no resources or operational capacity, was badly divided internally, and was increasingly perceived as a narrow coalition dominated by one Hawiye sub-clan, the Haber Gedir/Ayr.
[...]

The Abdiqassim wing of the TNG has consistently stood to lose the most from the Mbagathi talks, and has been the most reticent about them. Ironically, Abdiqassim sent Hassan Abshir to attend the Mbagathi peace talks at a time when they seemed destined to collapse, as part of an attempt to marginalize him. Instead, the Mbagathi process now appears to have marginalized Abdiqassim.

The fate of the TNG is now uncertain, but it seems likely that whether the Mbagathi talks succeed or fail, Abdiqassim will seek to maintain the TNG as sole repository of Somali sovereignty. On 11 August 2003, he announced that the TNG would continue to operate as the national government until free and fair elections are held, a move which came only two days before the TNG's three-year mandate was set to expire. This extension of the TNG and his presidency has the potential to create two rival national governments in Somalia, one derived from the Mbagathi talks and the other from the Arte talks. In either event, the TNG will be weak and divided but still a political unit of some consequence in Mogadishu." (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.10-11)

"A year after the arrival in Mogadishu of Abdulkassim Salat Hassan as head of Somalia's newly-established interim government, the Horn of Africa nation remains as anarchic as ever.

[...]Salat's Transitional National Government (TNG) was set up with the approval of the international community following talks hosted by Djibouti last year.

[...]

Warlords, who for a decade failed to agree on anything and whose warfare destroyed the country, have now ganged up, united in opposition to the TNG.

They met in Addis Ababa in March and launched a common front, the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC), bent on TNG's destruction by setting up what they term a more 'representative' government." (AFP 31 August 2001)

"Since its establishment in Mogadishu seven months ago, the new Transitional National Government (TNG) has struggled to assert control over the Somali capital, demobilise thousands of armed militia, and deal with rampant inflation. Initially received with great optimism in Mogadishu, the TNG has faced continued opposition from Mogadishu-based faction leaders; the newly formed southern-based Somali Restoration and Reconciliation Committee (SRRC); the self-declared independent state of Somaliland, northwestern Somalia; and the self-declared autonomous region of Puntland, northeastern Somalia. Opposition leaders have rejected the Djibouti-hosted Somali peace talks in Arta, which led to the election of the TNG in August 2000, and have dismissed the new government as 'illegal' and 'unrepresentative' – despite the fact the it has received international recognition." (IRIN-CEA 14 May 2001)

"The first quarter of 2001 has been characterised by the TNG's continued attempts of the TNG to establish its credibility in Mogadishu. It has met with very limited success. Attempts to impose its authority outside the capital have been unsuccessful. [...] A number of police stations were reopened in Mogadishu, together with the central prison, while security personnel were put through training courses. But the city remained divided with four well armed factions controlling significant areas. " (IFRC 8 May 2001)

"However, the hope of attracting substantial foreign aid has not materialized as most Western donors have adopted a 'wait and see' approach and made aid conditional on signs of 'effective government'. With Mogadishu port closed, lacking revenue from livestock exports, and unable to raise taxes, the TNG has had to depend on some friendly states and members of the Mogadishu business community to finance the police force, judiciary, demobilisation and rehabilitation." (UNDP Somalia 2001, p.54)

"The general security situation in Mogadishu was tense and unstable. The main seaport and airport facilities remain closed. The Somalia Transitional National Government (TNG) started collecting taxes in Mogadishu. Banditry and acts of violence were reported." (UNICEF 7 September 2001)

"The security situation in Mogadishu deteriorated with an increase in kidnappings, and an upsurge in armed conflict between the Somalia Transitional National Government (TNG) and opposition groups.

Militia loyal to Mohamed Dhere attacked the residence of TNG Interior Minister, Mr. Dahir Dayah. The attack caused significant casualties including death, injuries and destruction of property. Fighting broke out between TNG forces and opposition militias in North Mogadishu resulting in over 30 deaths and 60 injuries." (UNICEF, 12 June 2002)

« Mogadishu is characterised by inter-factional conflicts and shifting political alliances. The TNG controls less than a quarter of Mogadishu." (UN, November 2002, pp.18-20)

Main opponents to the TNG: The SRRC and the G-8

Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.11, 12:

"The Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC). This extremely loose coalition of Somali political groups and leaders, established in 2001, is held together only by the common thread of Ethiopian patronage. It is comprised of a number of mainly clan-based factions and regional administrations, including the Puntland administration, led by Abdullahi Yusuf [...]; the portion of the now-split Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) led by Hassan Mohamed Nur "Shatigaduud"; Hussein Aideed (son of the deceased General Mohamed Farah Aideed) and his Haber Gedir/Sa'ad militia; General Mohamed Sayid Hersi "Morgan", who controls no territory but who commands a Mijerteen militia currently based in Bakool region; the self-declared Governor of Middle Shabelle, Mohamed Dhere, and his Abgal/Warsengeli clan militia; and the Biimaal clan, based in the Merka area and in Lower Jubba. Abdullahi Yusuf is by far the most influential figure in the SRRC, and is poised to claim the position of President of the "Transitional Federal Republic of Somalia" should the Mbagathi talks produce a power-sharing agreement. Few of the other SRRC members enjoy much power. Mohamed Dhere has emerged as a strongman in the greater Mogadishu area, but is locked in a dangerous battle with rival Abgal sub-clans for control of Middle Shabelle and North Mogadishu. Shatigaduud now commands only his own sub-clan within the Rahanweyn, and the RRA in general has been badly weakened by internal armed conflicts. General Morgan is a political pariah, likely to be the first Somali leader charged with war crimes at some point in the future. And Hussein Aideed has only a very small following inside Somalia. The political agendas of these different militia leaders and clans are quite disparate, making it unlikely that the SRRC will act as a coherent political unit if and when a transitional government is brokered at Mbagathi.

Though Ethiopian clients, members of the SRRC are not Ethiopian puppets, and on occasion pursue policies which are at odds with Ethiopia. Thanks to Ethiopian influence in the Mbagathi mediation, the SRRC's interests have been advanced by the talks. In particular, they have a controlling portion of the 24 seats in the Leader's Committee, giving them – and Ethiopia – the ability to determine the outcome of the talks. Though the SRRC is not all that strong inside Somalia, it has emerged for the moment as the big winner in the Mbagathi peace talks, thanks mainly to Ethiopia's leverage.

The Group of Eight (G-8). The G-8 is a set of political/militia leaders in southern Somalia (mainly based in Mogadishu, and mainly from the Hawiye clan-family) who are not clients of Ethiopia but who either are openly opposed to the TNG or choose to remain outside the TNG. They are grouped together not because they act as a single political coalition – on the contrary, some of the fiercest fighting in Mogadishu occurs between the militias of some of these figures – but rather because they collectively constitute a powerful set of potential spoilers controlling some of the larger militias in Mogadishu and southern Somalia. Among the most powerful figures in this group are Mohamed Qanyare Afrah (Hawiye/Murasade), whose business activities in Mogadishu (he operates the Dayinle airport) give him an independent source of revenue; Musa Sude (Hawiye/Abgal), who is engaged in some of the heaviest fighting in Mogadishu, against the militias of both Mohamed Dhere and Omar Finnish; Omar Finnish (Hawiye/Abgal), a former deputy to Musa Sude but now his fiercest rival; and Osman Atto (Hawiye/Haber Gedir), once the

financier for General Aideed but now a relatively weak local player in south Mogadishu. The interests of individual members of the G-8 vary, but all seek to veto any new government in which they do not have a major position. The Hawiye figures in the G-8 share a common preference for a more Mogadishu-centred government in Somalia, and are as a result unenthusiastic about proposals for political decentralization and deeply opposed to proposals to establish a provisional capital outside of Mogadishu. Those two issues, among others, are responsible for the growing level of G-8 dissatisfaction with direction of the Mbagathi talks.”

For detailed information on the political situation in the country, refer to the November 2000 paper of Ken Menkhaus [\[External link\]](#).

Somalia: New president of Somalia elected 11 October 2004 after 13 years of statelessness (2004)

- Abdullahi Yusuf former leader of Puntland administration was elected president of Somalia for a five years transitional term
- He now will appoint a prime minister to form a government
- Detained by Barre in 1969 for refusing to support his military coup, he failed to oust him in 1978 by a coup
- Yusuf is a lawyer and military officer who formed the Somali Salvation Democratic Front, the first armed group to challenge the dictatorship
- During his Puntland presidency, Yusuf devoted most of his energies to the Mbagathi process as he aspired to be elected president of Somalia
- He refused to hand-over power to his successor in 2002, defeated and absorbed the armed opposition and wielded support from his clan Majerteen and military strength
- Many Somalis who remember UN intervention in Somalia are uneasy about peacekeeping force and militias and gunmen see it as a threat to their job
- The President requested the AU 20,000 peacekeeping troops and said he needed to demobilize about 55,000 militias

Xinhua, 10 October 2004

“Somali lawmakers on Sunday picked Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed as president, who will in turn appoint a prime minister to form a government, mandated to lead Somalia through a five-year transitional period.

[...]

Yusuf established the regional administration of Puntland in 1998 with a presidency and a single-chamber quasi legislature known as the Council of Elders. Political parties are banned.”

IRIN, 11 October 2004

“Barre detained him for several years when he refused to support his seizure of power in Mogadishu in 1969. Yusuf, a member of the Darod clan, was one of a group of people who in 1978 tried to oust Barre in a failed coup. Most of the coup plotters were executed, but Abdullahi Yusuf managed to flee the country. Later that year, he formed the Somali Salvation Democratic Front, one of the first armed groups to wage a military campaign against Barre's regime.

IRIN, 8 September 2004

“According to Bryden, the new authority will have an enormous task to consolidate and monitor a comprehensive ceasefire, control heavy weapons, demobilise militia groups and form a new police and military force. It also needs to sort out the sharing of internal revenues, among other

issues. [...] Asha [a women rights activist] however expressed disappointment that some clans did not name their quota of women representatives, who, according to the interim charter, should be 12 percent of the total number of MPs.

Each of Somalia's four major clans has been allocated 61 seats in the proposed parliament, while an alliance of minority clans was awarded 31. [...] But analysts repeat the challenges ahead are great. "The real challenge for Somalia's interim leaders will be to persuade, not the international community, but their own people, of their determination to complete the transitional period and hand over power to a duly elected, representative and legitimate Somali government," Bryden said."

IRIN, 26 October 2004

"Somalia's newly elected president said on Monday his administration would not remain in exile, but would return to the war-ravaged country before security was completely restored. President Abdullahi Yusuf said once his cabinet was selected they would return - although they would initially establish themselves outside the capital, Mogadishu. He rejected calls for the new government to return only when security is restored. "The first thing this new government should tackle is security," he told journalists at a joint press conference with Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi. "Somalia has been destroyed."

Yusuf has asked the African Union (AU) for between 15 and 20,000 peacekeepers to help restore order in Somalia, which has been devastated by 14 years of civil war. [...] He also pledged to begin as soon as possible the difficult task of disarming the 55,000 militias in Somalia."

Menkhaus, UNHCR; August 2003, p.20,21:

Abdullahi Yusuf was president of the Puntland administration

"The dominant political figure in Puntland is unquestionably Abdullahi Yusuf. Having managed to survive the constitutional crisis he precipitated and defeat and absorb the armed opposition, he now presides over a unified Puntland and stands poised to be named president of the Transitional Federal Republic of Somalia. Yusuf has always sought to use the position of Puntland president as a launch-pad for national ambitions, and as a result never devoted much energy to building a functional Puntland administration. As long as the Mbagathi talks continue, he will devote nearly all of his energies to that national process. If the talks fail, he will fall back on the Puntland presidency and seek to persuade external actors to recognize Puntland as the temporary repository of Somali sovereignty. Yusuf derives core support in Puntland from his sub-clan, the Mijerteen/Omar Mahmud, which is based in Mudug. He has mainly relied on military strength as opposed to financial patronage."

AFP, 3 September 2004

Peacekeeping

"Accepting the new government is conditional," said Hassan Ibrahim, a gunman who protects aid workers in Somalia.

"If the coming government will not import troops (peacekeepers) to take over our jobs, we may welcome it," Ibrahim told AFP.

[...] "Since there is no warlord capable of over-running his rivals since 1991, negotiation is the only solution for peace without involving foreign troops, who could complicate the matter," Hassan added."

Southern regional authorities: the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) (2004)

- The RRA sets up an autonomous administration over Bay and Bakool regions of south and central Somalia since 1999

- A faction of the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA), Mr. Hasan Muhammad Nur Shatigadud was proclaimed president of the 'State of Southwestern Somalia' with Baidoa as capital in March 2003
- This move makes the RRA an established opposition party and might prove deleterious for the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC)
- Power clashes between senior ranks of the RRA over control of Bay and Bakool displaced thousands in 2002-2003
- Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) militias reconcile and unify bringing calm in Bay and Bakool regions (2004)
- Al-Ittihad al-Islamiyya (AIAI) is the most prominent radical Wahabist group, ousted of Luuq in 1996 by Ethiopian forces following a AIAI terrorist attacks against Ethiopian government targets
- AIAI favours a strong central Islamic government, supports the TNG however is greatly divided internally among its top figures

"Since 1999, the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) has begun to establish an administration in the two southern regions of Bay and Bakool that have been chronically insecure for most of the past decade." (UNDP Somalia, 2001, p.34)

Better security since then has improved the food security situation and access for international aid agencies. Although the RRA participated in the Arta peace conference, some of the leaders withdrew their support soon after it was concluded. Since then the RRA has sought to consolidate its own regional administration. While certain civil structures have been established, the RRA has yet to transform itself into an effective civilian administration." (UNDP Somalia 2001, p.53)

" This is the third regional administration to be set up in Somalia, following the establishment of Somaliland (northwestern Somalia) and Puntland (in the northeast).

The decision was reached at a meeting of the RRA central committee and over 70 elders from the Digil and Mirifle clans. The meeting, which had been in session in Baidoa, the capital of Bay Region, 240 km southwest of Mogadishu, since 22 March, elected Colonel Hasan Muhammad Nur Shatigadud, the chairman of the RRA, as president on Sunday. "He was inaugurated in Baidoa today, and will serve an initial four year term," Qalinle told IRIN on Monday. Baidoa will be the capital of the new state.

Shatigadud was a colonel in the notorious secret police, the National Security Service (NSS) of the former dictator Muhammad Siyad Barre,
[...]

The move to establish the autonomous region now is seen by Somali observers as a way for the RRA "to come to the talks as an established administration as opposed to a faction". It may also sound the death knell of the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) said one observer. The SRRC is grouping of southern factions opposed to the Transitional National Government." (IRIN, 1 April 2002)

"As a result, the second quarter of the year [2002] was marked by considerable internal and cross border displacement. In February, for example, fighting broke out in Bardera between the Juba Valley Alliance (JVA) and the SRRC. Then further north in Gedo, inter-clan fighting in May, which included the laying of landmines, hampered access to seriously drought-stricken pockets of the region. Finally, in Baidoa, a formerly stable humanitarian base, internal division within the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) erupted into heavy fighting in late July and early August. International staff have yet to return to the area." (UN, November 2002, p.3)

“Tension had been rising in the town as a result of a deepening split within the senior ranks of the RRA, which controls much of the Bay and Bakool regions of southwestern Somalia. The split originated from a power struggle between the RRA chairman, Hasan Muhammad Nur Shatigadud, and his two deputies, Shaykh Adan Madobe and Muhammad Ibrahim Habsade. Baidoa, which changed hands at least three times between July and December, is now in the hands of Shatigadud's rivals. Hundreds were killed and thousands displaced by the fighting.” (IRIN, 17 January 2003)

“Meanwhile, the RRA militia groups in Baidoa have unified. The unification took place when all key RRA leaders were away in Nairobi attending the Somali Peace conference. The leaders are yet to reveal their plans for the region. Traditional elders who participated in a peace process, supported by UNOCHA and other agencies, largely drove the unification. Insecurity and lack of administration has affected the security conditions of the different sub-clans in Bay region, as well as limiting humanitarian aid agencies access to vulnerable populations such as the IDPs. Peace in Baidoa is hoped to result in improved security in other parts of the Bay and Bakool region. Reports from Baidoa suggest that the Dabarre and Lu'way conflict in Dinsoor has been resolved.” (OCHA, 22 July 2004)

“However, the attainment of peace in Baidoa is likely to have a positive impact on the neighbouring areas. The unification of RRA militias has resulted in a reduction of roadblocks and food prices

[...]

Further peace talks have been reported going on in Baidoa and Nairobi between political and militia leaders from the two RRA factions. Though the talks mainly revolve around security issues in Bay and Bakool, it is believed that formation of a unified RRA administration, and the issue of leadership are also under discussion.” (OCHA, 31 July 2004)

Islamist Groups

“Islamist groups have been the subject of intense scrutiny in Somalia since the 11 September 2001 attacks. The most overtly political, and radical, Islamist group is Al-Ittihad al-Islamiyya (AIAI), which embraces a strict Wahabist interpretation of Islam. AIAI is dedicated to the establishment of an Islamic government in Somalia and in Somali-inhabited portions of Ethiopia, and has been implicated in terrorist attacks against Ethiopian government targets. From 1991 to 1996 AIAI controlled the southern city of Luuq, but was subsequently driven out of the town by Ethiopian forces. Since then, AIAI has opted to integrate into local communities and establish itself in key sectors – business, local courts, schools – rather than attempt to assume direct political control. It is decentralized and not able to overcome clan divisions, and some of its top figures, such as Hassan Turki and Mohamed Aweiss, are fierce rivals. No hard evidence has emerged of intimate AIAI links to Al Qaeda, but that possibility remains an enduring concern. AIAI members supported the establishment of the TNG and sought to gain positions of influence within it, leading Ethiopia unfairly to accuse the TNG of being a front for AIAI. The general consensus today is that AIAI is weak and fragmented, but its capacity to draw on external sources of funding makes it a potentially important actor.” (Menkhaus, UNHCR; August 2003, p.13)

Southern regional authorities: Juba Valley Authority (JVA) (2004)

- Regional authorities use their control over territory as leverage in national power-sharing agreements
- The Juba Valley Authority is a loose alliance of militias and businessmen from the Haber Gedir/Ayr and Marehan clans who control Kismayo port city since 2001

- The Juba Valley Alliance were ousted by Marehan militias after the former rescinded an agreement to collect taxes on goods passing through the port in support of newly established sharia courts (2004)
- General Mohammed Hersi "Morgan's" militias briefly attacked the JVA-controlled Kismayo city port in September 2004 before returning at the negotiation table under threats of sanctions
- Kismayo is the main trading center for Southern Somalia marketing the food produced in the nearby fertile Juba Valley an important tax-base for irregular forces
- Mohamed Said Hersi "Morgan" was expelled from Kismayo in 1999 and tried to regain the town unsuccessfully in 2001

"In several locations of southern Somalia, regional authorities hold some degree of power. Those authorities are primarily interested in using their control over territory as leverage in national power-sharing arrangements, and in some cases to exploit resources in the areas they control. The most significant of these in mid-2003 is the Jubba Valley Authority (JVA), a loose alliance of militia and businessmen from the Haber Gedir/Ayr and Marehan clans who have controlled the strategic port city of Kismayo since 2001. The JVA's principal interest is in the trade through the all-weather seaport, where Ayr and Marehan businessmen are making handsome profits exporting charcoal and importing a range of goods, including sugar and weaponry, destined either for Kenya or Mogadishu. The JVA is essentially an outside occupying force. Because it is composed of two different clans, it does not possess a consistent policy in national affairs – though close to the TNG in the past, it maintains a separate political identity, and in more recent times has been identified with the G-8.

[...]

In Kismayo, the JVA administration has temporarily established a modicum of order in that chronically unstable city, but the JVA is in essence an external occupation, so that the peace in Kismayo is unstable and likely to degenerate at some point." (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.12,13,17)

"Kismayo seaport is tense following the ousting of the Juba Valley Alliance (JVA) administration by some Marehan militias. The group was upset when JVA rescinded an agreement to collect taxes on goods passing through the port and hand it over to support the newly established sharia courts. Traders are apprehensive that the dispute could result in armed confrontation. Although peace talks are in progress, there has been a build up of technicals in Kismayo this week signalling their readiness to engage in armed conflict. The vehicles and armed militias are said to come from Mogadishu. Recent fighting in Mogadishu and temporary closure of the Kismayo port caused food shortages in most of south and central Somalia because they rely on the two ports for food and other commodities imports." (OCHA, 18 June 2004)

"In the South-Central Zone, reports of a possible impending attack on the Juba Valley Alliance (JVA)-controlled Kismayo seaport by General Morgan [Muhammad Sa'id Hirsi] has raised anxiety among Juba Valley and neighbouring Gedo residents." (OCHA, 31 August 2004)

"Fighting broke out last week in the southern Somali port city of Kismayo between two rival armed factions in the surrounding areas. An estimated 500 people crossed the border into Kenya, mostly from Dhobley, not far from the border." (IRIN, 23 September 2004)

"Kismayo, 500 km (300 miles) south of the capital Mogadishu, is the main trading centre for southern Somalia, staging a market for food grown in the nearby fertile Juba Valley. The port also provides lucrative income for irregular forces who protect importers and exporters in the surrounding Lower Juba region.

Morgan captured Kismayo for a few days in 2001 but was swiftly ejected by the Juba Valley Alliance, a militia coalition which also expelled him from the town in 1999, ending a six year period in which he controlled the town.

[...]

Conference mediators drawn from Somalia's neighbouring countries have warned Morgan to halt his advance on Kismayo, saying if he persists they will prepare sanctions against him." (Reuters, 6 September 2004)

"Somali warlord General Mohammed Hersi "Morgan" has fled fighting in southern Somalia and returned to Kenya where he is willing to resume talks aimed at ending anarchy in the chaotic African country." (AFP, 26 September 2004)

Regional actors vested interests and violations of arms embargoes (2004)

- Egypt and Gulf states have used foreign assistance to promote Arab and Islamic identity and a strong central Somali state to counterbalance Ethiopia
- Egypt and Gulf states have consistently rejected Somaliland's bid for independence, have supported the TNG and imposed an extended ban on Somali livestock devastating for the Somaliland export sector
- Rivalries between Egypt and Arab states on the one hand and Ethiopia on the other have degenerated in virtual proxy wars in Somalia and divergent regional interests have been a major obstacle to reconciliation
- Following September 11 Somalia has been viewed by the US as a safe heaven for international and Somali terrorist activity
- The AU has considered sending peacekeeping forces in Somalia as part of a successful peace accord
- Flagrant violations of arms embargo continue as IGAD mediators to the peace talks and Somali factions all participate at the peace negotiations
- Panel of Experts on Somalia reported to the Security Council that Ethiopia, Eritrea, Yemen, Djibouti and Egypt were involved in arms trade to Somali factions
- In 1996 a Somali Islamic militant group al-Ittihad al-Islamic led a terrorist attack against Ethiopia, who responded by military means and attacked Somalia
- The UN SC accuse Ethiopia of using the threat of the al-Ittihad group as an excuse to intervene in Somalia rather than for legitimate national security concerns
- Ethiopian troops invaded Gedo and Bakool in 2002 providing troops and ammunitions to the Rahanwyn Resistance Army (RRA) opposed to the TNG
- Eritrea, Yemen and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) provided arms and troops to the Somali National Alliance (SNA) militias of Hussein Aideed in 2000
- Security Council extended mandate of Group monitoring violations of the arms embargo until March 2005

"Contemporary Somali politics cannot be understood in isolation from the regional politics which shapes political outcomes inside the country. Of special importance is the regional rivalry – one which can at times degenerate into a virtual proxy war inside Somalia – between Ethiopia on the one hand and Egypt and the Arab states on the other. The Arab states seek a strong central government in Somalia, one which can serve as a counterbalance to Ethiopia in the region. They have consistently rejected Somaliland's bid for independence and have given financial support to President Abdiqassim and the TNG, which itself has embraced a vision of a centralized state and which calls for close ties with the Arab and Islamic world. For its part, Ethiopia fears the return of a strong central state which could again take up Somali irredentist claims on the Ogaden region

of Ethiopia, or which could become an Arab/Islamic beachhead outflanking Ethiopia. It is a matter of debate and speculation whether Ethiopia seeks a decentralized, federal Somalia or whether it is simply unwilling to risk the revival of any central government in Somalia. If the latter, it is a powerful spoiler in the Somali peace process. But what is undeniable is that Ethiopia has vital security interests in Somalia and is willing to do whatever it takes – including periodically injecting its troops into Somalia and supporting a network of Somali client groups – to protect those interests. Other external actors are of consequence as well. The African Union (AU) has recently become a more robust actor in Somali affairs, by exploring the possibility of introducing AU peacekeeping forces into Somalia as part of a successful peace accord. The European Union (EU) remains the major western donor, and plays a diplomatic as well as humanitarian role inside Somalia. And since the events of September 2001, American counter-terrorism policy has the potential to have significant impact inside Somalia.

[...]

Ethiopia has been a quiet partner to Somaliland, channeling some of its imports through Berbera and cooperating informally with the administration on shared security and other matters. Djibouti views Somaliland as a potential rival – an alternative seaport for the Ethiopians – and at times relations between Somaliland and Djibouti have been poor, especially when Djibouti supported the TNG. The Saudis have proved to be Somaliland's least helpful neighbours; they have imposed an extended ban on Somali livestock, devastating the Somaliland livestock and export sectors, and along with Egypt are adamant supporters of the territorial integrity and unity of Somalia." (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.15,28)

"In addition, since the terrorist attacks in the United States on 11 September 2001, Somalia has attracted renewed interest from the US and its allies as a possible safe haven for both foreign and Somali terrorists linked to Al Qaeda. Though this has not led to any direct military action to date, Somalia's ongoing crisis of state collapse is now viewed as a matter of global security rather than simply a local problem, earning the country somewhat more attention from external states than before." (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.7)

Violations of arms embargoes

"The Panel of Experts has found a clear pattern of violation of the arms embargo on Somalia. Weapons, equipment, training of militia and financial support to Somali factions have been given regularly by neighbouring States and others since the Security Council adopted resolution 733 (1992) on 23 January 1992. Weapons have also been purchased by Somali factions on the international arms market. These flagrant violations of the embargo continue today even as the Somali factions and their neighbours are participating in the Somalia National Reconciliation Conference, sponsored by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). They have signed the Declaration on Cessation of Hostilities and the Structures and Principles of the Somalia National Reconciliation Process (Eldoret Declaration), in which they agreed to implement fully the arms embargo and facilitate international monitoring.

[...]

Ethiopia has played an overt military role in Somalia. Not only has Ethiopia been a major source of weapons for a number of Somali groups, Ethiopia has also invaded and occupied parts of Somalia. Ostensibly, and perhaps justifiably, the first direct military involvement of Ethiopia in Somalia, in 1996 and 1997, was in response to the activities of the Somali Islamic militant group al-Ittihad al-Islami, including terrorist attacks in Ethiopia. Since then the threat of al-Ittihad and its tenuous links to al-Qa'idah have been used as an excuse for Ethiopian involvement in Somali internal affairs rather than for legitimate national security concerns.

After the establishment of the Transitional National Government, Ethiopia helped to establish the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council, which is made up of factions hostile to the Transitional National Government and its allies. The Ethiopian military has provided training and limited amounts of arms, ammunition and other supplies to all members of the Council.

Eritrea has also been a major supplier of arms and ammunition to Somali groups. As the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea descended into a protracted and bloody stalemate, Somalia became a secondary battleground between the belligerents. Unfortunately, the hostility engendered by the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia continues, and apparently continues to motivate Eritrean support for factions hostile to Ethiopia.

Yemen provided a small amount of military assistance to the Transitional National Government, soon after it was established at the Arta Conference in Djibouti.

[...]

Djibouti, according to reliable local and international sources, is also a significant trans-shipment point for weapons to Somalia, principally the Transitional National Government.

[...]

Egypt has acknowledged providing training and uniforms to the Transitional National Government police." (UNSC, 25 March 2003)

"In accordance with the Council's request, I have established a Monitoring Group composed of four experts, for a period of six months, to be based in Nairobi. The Monitoring Group is mandated, inter alia, to investigate violations of the arms embargo covering access to Somalia by land, air and sea and to provide a draft list of those who continue to violate the arms embargo inside and outside Somalia, and their active supporters, for possible future measures by the Council." (UN SC, 12 February 2004)

"In a bid to continue identifying violators of the 1992 weapons embargo against Somalia and find ways to strengthen compliance, United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan has reappointed the members of an expert panel tracking the ban.

[...]

Mr. Annan's action came in response to a recent Security Council [resolution](#) which called on the experts to "continue refining and updating information on the draft list of those who continue to violate the arms embargo inside and outside Somalia, and their active supporters, for possible future measures." (UN News, 26 August 2004)

" Briefing correspondents on the latest developments in Somalia, he said that in the last few weeks Ethiopian troops had continued to invade two major regions in south-western Somalia: Gedo and Bakool, capturing the capital of the Gedo region, Garbahaarrey, and a vibrant commercial centre near the Kenyan border -- Bulla Hawa. [...]Mr. Hashi responded that since 1996 Ethiopia had been repeatedly crossing the border, and its aggression had become a pattern.." (UNDIP, 17 May 2002)

"Eritrea and Ethiopia were directly involved in the inter-factional fighting, with Ethiopia supplying troops, hardware and humanitarian support to the Raheenweyn Resistance Army (RRA) in Bay and Bakol. The RRA used its increased military power to contain the advances of Hussein Aideed's forces. Ethiopia also reportedly supported the Somali Salvation Democratic Front which had formed a government in the self-proclaimed Puntland State, and a faction of the United Somali Congress–Peace Movement. Eritrea and Yemen provided arms to the Somali National Alliance (SNA) militias of Hussein Aideed. Around 200 fighters from the Ethiopian armed opposition group the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), supported by Eritrea, were also involved in the Somali conflict on the side of the SNA." (AI 2000, "Background")

"Mogadiscio est toujours divisée entre différentes factions, avec d'un côté une alliance de circonstance entre Aideed et Mahdi, visant à mettre en place une administration centrale dans la région, et de l'autre une opposition puissante. Les deux alliances sont soutenues respectivement par l'Erythrée et l'Éthiopie, et donc indirectement parties prenantes du conflit." (ACF 2000, "Contexte")

For more details on the supply of ammunitions delivered by Ethiopia to factions opposed to the TNG see UN Security Council document (22 May 2002) [[External link](#)]

UNOSOM intervention embroiled the UN into the conflict (1992-1995)

- In 1992 UNITAF United Nations Task Force on Somalia, deployed about 30,000 peace keeping troops to protect the delivery of emergency food
- In 1993 UNOSOM United Nations Operation in Somalia, UN-led peacekeeping mission was mandated by the Security Council to promote reconciliation and state-building
- UN efforts to build locally-selected district councils represented a direct threat to warlords who controlled the territory at gunpoint rather than by referendum
- Tensions culminated with Aideed's militias entering in direct fight with UN peacekeepers
- US Special Forces then led a UN armed response aimed at capturing and defeating Aideed and his militias, thus drawing the UN into conflict with the Haber Gedir sub-clan
- After the killing of UN peacekeepers and US Army Rangers, the US and the UN pulled out in 1995
- Besides empowering warlords UNOSOM also helped develop civil society and local administrations
- Businessmen in Mogadishu (mostly from Hawiye clan) were empowered through procurements and aid-contracting

“In December 1992, a US-led, UN-sanctioned peacekeeping force intervened to halt the fighting and provide security for emergency relief to famine victims in southern Somalia. The surprise decision to intervene in Somalia was proposed by the Bush administration, and appears to have been driven by a desire on the part of that administration to build up the UN's capacity to manage the growing number of complex emergencies in the aftermath of the Cold War. [...] The initial UNITAF (United Nations Task Force on Somalia) intervention, composed of nearly 30,000 peacekeeping troops, succeeded in quickly bringing an end to the famine. That mission was followed in May 1993 by UNOSOM (United Nations Operation in Somalia), a UN-led peacekeeping mission which was given a much broader and more difficult Security Council mandate to promote reconciliation and the rebuilding of a central government – with a much weaker contingent of peacekeeping forces. [...]

UNOSOM's nation-building mandate quickly put it at odds with several of the country's warlords, who controlled territory by force of arms, not by popular referendum. They viewed UN efforts to build locally-selected district councils as a direct threat to their power. General Aideed was especially distrustful of the UN and the intervention. On 5 June 1993, rising tensions and a UN misjudgment culminated in an ambush by Aideed's militia on UN peacekeepers in Mogadishu, an incident which left 24 Pakistani soldiers dead and over 60 injured. Thereafter, the UN was at war with General Aideed and his militia; most of the UN armed response aimed either at capturing Aideed or destroying his militia was conducted by US Special Forces. Those efforts failed to capture or kill Aideed, and instead drew the UN into an unwanted conflict with Aideed's entire sub-clan, the Haber Gedir, which controlled most of the area surrounding the UN compound. On 3 October 1993, the conflict reached a tragic end, when 17 US Army Rangers and hundreds of Somalis were killed in intense street fighting following a failed raid on a meeting of Aideed's top officers. The “Black Hawk Down” incident led to a dramatic reversal of policy. The US halted operations to apprehend Aideed, and began a phased withdrawal from Somalia. Though the UN remained in Somalia until March 1995, it quickly lost control of the streets. It departed from Somalia having failed to promote national reconciliation and revive a central government.

[...]

While it temporarily empowered and legitimized warlords (who became the centrepiece of a flurry of failed peace conferences), UNOSOM also helped to cultivate the rise of civil society groups and local administrations which would later play a more robust role in Somalia. The failed mission deepened both external fatigue with Somalia and Somali scepticism regarding the motives and capacity of external actors. Perhaps the most important and unintended impact of the intervention was its effect on the Somali economy. By pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into the economy (mainly in Mogadishu), and by generating lucrative opportunities for local businessmen in procurement, money changing, property rental, and other contracting, UNOSOM helped to create and empower a new class of Mogadishu businessmen. Thanks to UNOSOM, many of the figures who initially profited from the war economy shifted into more "legitimate" forms of business, a transformation which made the business class as a whole less interested in warfare and more interested in predictable, safe commercial environments. [...] Because most of these Mogadishu businessmen were from the Hawiye clan (especially the Haber Gedir/Ayr sub-clan), UNOSOM also inadvertently helped that clan to establish itself as a hegemonic economic group in southern Somalia." (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.5,6)

IRIN-CEA chronology of the conflict in Somalia (1960-2000)

"NAIROBI, 1 September (IRIN) - The following is a chronology of recent events in Somalia leading up to the establishment of a new interim administration which will govern the country for three years, pending elections:

26 June 1960: The former British Somaliland Protectorate gains independence

1 July 1960: The former Italian colony becomes independent. The former British (northwest) and Italian (south) colonies unite

15 October 1969: Democratically elected President Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke is assassinated by one of his police bodyguards

21 October 1969: The army under Major-General Muhammad Siyad Barreh overthrows the civilian government, after parliament hits deadlock trying to select a new president. The army suspends the constitution, bans all 86 political parties, and promises to end corruption. Siyad Barreh heads the 25-member Supreme Revolutionary Council, consisting of army and police officers

21 October 1970: The army junta declares Somalia a socialist country and adopts "Scientific Socialism". This signals a shift towards Soviet backing, and security organs and intelligence networks are given greater powers

21 October 1972: A written script for the Somali language is established. A modified Roman alphabet is adopted as the official orthography for the Somali language

1974: Somalia becomes a member of the Arab League

July 1977: A low-level war of attrition between Somali-backed insurgents and the Ethiopian army becomes an all-out battle between Somalia and Ethiopia, when Somalia declares war on Ethiopia. The war goes down in history as the fiercest Cold War battle on the continent, played out in the Ethiopian Ogaden region

13 November 1977: Somalia expels about 6,000 of Russian, Cuban and other Soviet allies, after the Soviet Union switched sides and allied itself with the Ethiopia

March 1978: The Somali Government announces the withdrawal of its forces from the Ogaden

8 April 1978: After the defeat of the Somali army, a group of army officers try to topple the Siyad Barre regime. The attempted coup is crushed and Siyad Barre tightens his grip further. He begins a process of putting power into the hands of his relatives, and sub-clan, the Darod Marehan. He also empowers the related Dulbahante and Ogadeni sub-clans

May 1988: The Somali National Movement (SNM) mounts an offensive in the north of the country, as a result of the regime's brutal post-Ethiopian war policies. Siyad Barre responds by bombing the area. Hundreds of thousands of civilians are displaced, and many killed. It is the first real challenge to Siyad Barre's rule, and the beginning of the proliferation of armed opposition to the regime

May 1990: A manifesto is published in Mogadishu calling for an all inclusive national reconciliation convention to avert protracted civil war. It is signed by 144 people, including politicians, religious leaders, professionals and business people, representing all Somali clans

December 1990: Armed uprising erupts in Mogadishu.

27 January 1991: Siyad Barre flees Mogadishu. Forces loyal to the Hawiye-based United Somali Congress (USC) capture the city

28 January 1991: The Manifesto Group of USC appoints an hotelier, Ali Mahdi Muhammad, as president. The military wing of USC, led by General Muhammad Farah Aydid, rejects the appointment

17 November 1991: Full-scale fighting starts between the two factions of the USC

3 March 1991: A ceasefire comes into effect between the warring factions in Mogadishu

1991: Fighting erupts in the northeast region between the Al-Ittihad Islamic fundamentalists and militia loyal to the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), led by Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmad

18 May 1991: The former British Protectorate of Somaliland declares independence from the rest of Somalia, in the town of Burao

July 1991: A conference was held in Djibouti, in which Ali Mahdi in which was chosen as interim president

April 1992: The United Nations Operation in Somalia, UNOSOM I, begins work in Somalia

December 1992: UNITAF forces under American leadership land in Mogadishu

February 1993: A three month conference in Borama seeks a new leader for the self-declared state of Somaliland. Muhammad Haji Ibrahim Egal, a former prime minister, is elected in May

March 1993: The next serious attempt at peace talks. An Ethiopian initiative evolves into a joint UN-Ethiopian sponsored reconciliation conference held in Addis Ababa

4 May 1993: UNITAF hands over to UNOSOM II

5 June 1993: 23 Pakistani peacekeepers are killed by Aydid loyalists

12 July 1993: American helicopter gunships kill over 50 unarmed Somalis holding a meeting in a private house in Mogadishu, increasing local hostility to the international intervention forces

3 October 1993: American-led forces looking for Aydid's senior aides are involved in a shoot-out, which leaves 18 Americans and hundreds of Somalis dead. The body of a dead American is dragged through the Mogadishu streets, and, caught on camera, sparks an international outcry

August 1996: Aydid dies of gunshot wounds sustained in operations against his former lieutenant, Osman Ali Atto. His son, a former American marine, Husayn Muhammad Aydid, is chosen by the clan to replace his father

November 1996: Ethiopian government-sponsored reconciliation conference brings most of the factions together. But it is boycotted by Aydid's son

November 1997: All faction leaders met in Cairo, with limited success, leaving Somalia without a national leader and Mogadishu still divided and insecure

2 May, 2000: On the initiative of the Djibouti government, the Somali National Peace Conference brings together more than 2,000 participants in Arta, Djibouti. It is the first conference where the warlords do not have control of the conference agenda

26 August, 2000: A 245-strong Transitional National Assembly, based on clan representation, elects Abdiqasim Salad Hasan as the new president of Somalia

27 August, 2000: President Abdiqasim Salad Hassan is sworn in an inauguration ceremony attended by the heads of governments of Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, Yemen, and the host country Djibouti, along with representatives from the UN, EU, Arab league, OAU, France, Italy, Kuwait, and Libya." (IRIN-CEA 1 September 2000, as found in UN Consolidated Appeal March 2001, Annex III, p. 128)

Minorities in Somalia: a history of segregation and land expropriation (2002)

- Although minorities represent one third of Somalia's 7 million people their existence has been downplayed
- Bantu, Bravenese, Rerhamar, Bajuni, Eyle, Galgala, Tumul, Yibir and Gaboye minorities have faced prior and after the war discrimination and exclusion
- Minorities like the Bantu have had their lands confiscated
- Minorities like the Galgala, Gaboye and Yibir have been manipulated and armed against Barre's enemy clans as a result suffered retaliations when the regime fell
- Bantu people who live on fertile lands had two of their villages burned down in 2001 and fled to Hiran region
- Previous rival Habargedir and Maerhan clans have allied to control Kismayo
- Conflict between these two allied clans and General Morgan's forces in the Bay region continue
- In Jowhar security improved since 2000 when Mohamed Dheere from Wersengeli clan took control
- In Beletweyne since General Aideed's forces were ousted in 1996 security improved

UNCU/OCHA, 1 August 2002:

“Until recently, many people perceived Somalia as a country with a population of 7,000,000 people who share one culture, one language and one religion. This was the impression given during previous regimes in order to sustain the illusion of homogeneity. One of the things that were deliberately downplayed was the existence of minority groups. Although the population of minority groups living in Somalia has not as yet been established, estimates indicate that they constitute one third of the total Somalia population; approximately 2,000,000 people. The minority groups include **Bantu, Bravenese, Rerhamar, Bajuni, Eyle, Galgala, Tumul, Yibir and Gaboye**. These groups continue to live in conditions of great poverty and suffer numerous forms of discrimination and exclusion.

The Socio economic problems faced by minority groups in Somalia existed prior to the armed conflict that continues in parts of Somalia following the overthrow of the dictator Siyad Barre in 1991, and the subsequent collapse of a Somalia national government. These problems have arisen as a result of cultural values that segregate and exclude the minority groups from dominant clan societies. These minority groups are considered inferior, without full rights, hence their low social, economic and political status. As a result of social segregation, economic deprivation and political manipulation minority groups were systematically excluded from mainstream government positions and the few minorities who held positions had no power to speak on behalf of their communities. Furthermore, as a result of their distinct ethnic identity, some minorities, particular the Bantu and Bajuni have suffered systematic confiscation of their lands and properties. In other cases, minority groups have been politically manipulated to oppose certain dominant clans. This resulted in animosity between some minority groups and dominant clans. When the Somalia state collapsed, the minority clans suffered brutal reprisals.

Unlike other clans from dominant groups, minorities lack international support in the form of regular remittances. Recurrent insecurity caused by conflict creates an environment where minority groups are vulnerable and abnormally displaced from their homes. Notably, some minority groups who were abnormally displaced lost their lands, which were reallocated. Insecurity further affects the delivery of services to minority groups post-displacement in areas such as Kismayo, Jilib and Luuq. However, in areas like Hargeisa, Beletweyne, Jowhar and Ballad where security is not a big problem, minority groups \ receive very little assistance from aid agencies. Estimates indicate that about seventy per cent of the minorities who live in IDP camps or returnee settlements have difficulties in accessing adequate food, proper shelter and education.

In a country where there is no national Government that would be responsible for safeguarding and upholding the rights of minority groups, Somalia minorities are truly in a vulnerable position. Careful and thorough attention needs to be focused on the issues faced by vulnerable populations in order to develop concrete assistance strategies that will have a positive impact on the security and livelihoods of minority groups.

[...]

In 1975, large sections of Bantu agricultural lands in Jilib and Jamame were systematically appropriated by the Siyad Barre regime under the pretext of development projects through the Resources Sharing Policy of *Hawl iyo Hantiwadaag*. This is a Leninist and Marxist ideology that the regime adopted.

[...] Other Bantu lands in the same area were distributed as political rewards to Siyad Barre's supporters from the Marehan and Dhulbahante clans. All these violations resulted in the suffering of Bantu families in the Lower and Middle Juba riverine areas.

[...]

The situation of minority groups deteriorated when the armed conflict broke out in both Somaliland and south Somalia. Some minorities such as the Galgala, Gaboye and Yibir were

perceived as enemies because of their working relationship with the Siyad Barre regime. They therefore suffered grievous human rights violations, which included extra judicial killings, appropriation of lands and properties, and forced displacement from their lands to IDP or refugee camps situated along the Somalia Ethiopia border.

The Galgala people in Mogadishu and Gedihir in Jowhar suffered brutal reprisals from the Abgal clan with whom they lived. These reprisals took place at the beginning of the 1991 war. During the last days of his rule, Siyad Barre misused the Galgala community by arming them against the Abgal. Following his defeat, the Abgal killed many Galgala and forced many others to abandon their houses. There are now nearly 5,000 Galgala IDPs in Kismayo and elsewhere. Important to note, as already mentioned, since the Galgala identify themselves with the Majerten sub clan, they have received minimal clan support from the Darod clan in Kismayo.

The Bantu did not participate in clan-based conflicts. Notwithstanding, they still suffered attacks and violations of their rights. In January 2001, heavily armed militia from the Wersengeli (Abgal clan) carried out a well organised attack on the Bantu (Shidle) farmers in Bananey and Barey villages in Jowhar, following a dispute over grazing land for cattle. According to unconfirmed reports from the Bantu farmers, ten Bantus were killed, all houses in the two villages were burnt down and farming equipment including two generators and three water pumps were looted. To date, no compensation has been given to the Bantu by the Abgal [...]. The Bantu (Makane) in Beletweyne suffered mistreatment and violation from the Hawadle, Galjele, Badi Adde and Jijele clans. Most of them were displaced from Beletweyne town to rural areas in Hiran region.

The Bajuni from Kismayo and Bajuni Islands were attacked by militiamen from Habargedir (Eir) and others during the initial periods of armed conflict. They suffered violations including confiscation of their lands and rape of the women. Most of them abandoned their homes and sought refuge in Kenya camps.

The Gaboye, Tumul and Yibir in Hargeisa and elsewhere in Somaliland suffered both during and after the armed conflict between Siyad Barre's army and the Somali National Movement of the Isak clan. These groups have similar physical characteristics as the Isak and it was difficult for Siyad Barre's army to differentiate between the Isak and other clans. When Siyad Barre was defeated, the Isak meted harsh punishments on the Gaboye, Tumul and Yibir because they were perceived to be Siyad Barre supporters."

Some clan alliances have improved security for some minorities:

"The current condition of minority groups has changed as a result of changing social, economic and political environments in the various regions of Somalia. In Kismayo, for instance, previous rivals (Habargedir and Marehan) have now become allies and are now in control of Kismayo's social and political affairs. There is less insecurity between these clan groups, positively affecting the minorities. However, conflicts between these allies and General Morgan's forces that are currently in Bay region are expected. In general, security conditions have improved. Nevertheless, there are unconfirmed reports of rape of Bantu and Galgala women in IDP camps.

In Jowhar, security conditions have improved since 2000 when Mohamed Dheere from the Wersengeli clan took control of Jowhar and other parts of Middle Shabelle region. Nevertheless, the Bantu and other vulnerable groups in the area complain about taxes taken each month from every household. They report that most of the Bantu families are economically vulnerable and therefore unable to pay taxes. Each household is required to pay 15,000 Somali Shillings every month. Failure to remit the taxes on time results in arrest until the right amount is paid.

In Beletweyne, there appears to be power equilibrium between the Hawadle, Galjeel and Jilele. The town is divided into east and west sections. The eastern section is controlled by the Hawadle and the west by Galjeel. There has been no major fighting between the clans since

1996 when General Aideed's force was ousted jointly by the Hawadle, Galjeel and Jilele communities in Beletweyne. In spite of the seemingly placid environment, the Bantu (Makane) are still vulnerable.

In Somaliland, the security conditions are better than those of any other place in the south. There is a functioning administration, which has not received international recognition. Properties confiscated from minority groups during armed conflicts were returned. However, the minority groups report that they suffer discrimination because they do not benefit from social services and activities and remain unemployed."

Causes of displacement

Mass displacement began with outbreak of civil war in 1988

- Hundreds of thousands displaced in northern Somalia after outbreak of civil war in 1988
- War moved into the streets of Mogadishu by late December 1990
- Some 400,000 persons said to be internally displaced by end of 1990
- By 1992 half a million people were killed and an estimated 1.5 people were displaced inside northern Somalia

"The outbreak of civil war in northern Somalia in mid-1988, and the Somali government's brutal retaliation against civilians in northern Somalia . . . led more than 400,000 Somalis to flee to Ethiopia and Djibouti and displaced hundreds of thousands of other Somalis within northern Somalia. Renewed fighting in northern Somalia led another 31,000 Somalis to flee to Djibouti. Other armed insurgent groups joined the battle against the government of President Siad Barre during 1990. Two of these groups, the United Somali Congress (USC) and the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) scored major successes against the government, bringing the war into the streets of Mogadishu, the Somali capital, by late December [1990]. At year's end, chaos prevailed in Mogadishu. Foreigners were evacuated, tens of thousands of the city's residents had fled, there was fighting in the streets between government and rebel forces, indiscriminate shooting, raping, and pillaging by armed persons, and the bodies of the dead littered the capital. USCR estimate[d] that by late 1990 there were a minimum of 400,000 internally displaced Somalis." (USCR 1991, p. 53)

"Siad Barre's sustained military offensive crippled agricultural production, destroyed nearly all of the region's livestock, decimated northwest Somalia's businesses, places of worship, and water infrastructure, and uprooted almost the entire population of approximately 2.5 million people.

Fleeing war, mass executions, and torture, approximately 400,000 residents of northwest Somalia sought refuge in other countries.[...] An estimated 1.5 million additional people were displaced within northwest Somalia." (USCR, December 2001, p.15)

For a detailed survey evaluating the reasons why Somali families were forced to flee in the early phases of the conflict, see Robert Gersony's "Why Somalis Flee: Synthesis of Accounts of Conflict Experience in Northern Somalia by Somali Refugees, Displaced Persons and Others" produced for the US State Department in 1989 [\[External link\]](#).

Thousands forced to flee human rights abuses in Aideed-controlled areas during late 1990s

- Aideed's militia allegedly committed serious human rights abuses against people of Baidoa
- Individuals of Rahanwein minority were particularly at risk
- Due to abuses, Baidoa was called "city of death"

The Special Rapporteur of the U.N. Secretary-General reported the following after her visit to the region in late 1999:

"The independent expert visited Baidoa [Banadir region] on 17 and 18 November 1999. Aideed's militia had held this town, which was dubbed, during the peak of the Somali famine, 'the city of death', for the previous four years. During this period, the people of Baidoa and its surroundings left. Allegedly, individuals were massacred, women were raped, wells were destroyed, and villages were looted and burnt. Persons were allegedly detained without charge or trial, sometimes in containers. Their families were forced to pay to secure their release. As a result, the town, mainly inhabited by Rahanweins, was largely deserted. The Rahanwein are a minority group in Somalia, who have been widely discriminated against.

[...]

During the time Aideed's troops controlled the area, the village (Doynounay) [near Baidoa] was allegedly looted and burnt. The only building spared was said to have been the mosque.

[...]

Many serious violations allegedly took place in Doynounay. [T]he independent expert met a man who had allegedly survived a massacre. He told her that about 60 men from the village were rounded up and taken to Baidoa, where they were shot...During that time, women were allegedly raped, wells were destroyed and the village itself was burnt." (CHR 26 January 2000, pp. 20- 21)

Clan-based competition over resources is the main cause of displacement (2004)

- Displacements particularly in the southern fertile areas between Juba and Shabelle Rivers aimed at grabbing fertile lands from other clans
- Competition for political power went hand in hand with grab of resources therefore minorities on fertile lands disproportionately suffered killings, destruction, land alienation, obstruction of humanitarian relief, and forced displacement
- Galgale IDPs were displaced from Mogadishu and Middle Shabelle by the Abgal clan in 1991
- A hundred people died in May 2004 due to clashes between Abgal clan militias loyal to two business people in Mogadishu
- Militias fought over the fertile lands of the Juba region and the port of Kismayo which represent rich agricultural and commercial resources, leading to multiple displacements in the area
- Bantu minorities were displaced from the Gosha area and nearly exterminated by Majerteen and Habargedir militias between 1991 and 1993 to appropriate their lands
- June 1999 Kismayo the JVA (Marehan and Habargeder) evicted General Said Hersi's troops (Majerteen) and led to Majerteen and Harti clans being displaced
- About 2,500 families were displaced in Bulo Hawa (Gedo) and 60 people killed due to clashes over watering points between rival Marehan sub clans in June-August 2004
- In Bay and Bakool clashes between leaders of the Rahanweyn Resistance Army degenerated in raping, killing and looting civilians leading to displacements in 2003

- People fled clashes over land and political power in Dinsoor (Bay region), pitting subclans of the Digil-Mirifle group in August 2004
- Sub-clan clashes in Belet Weyne in Hiran caused reprisal killings and population displacements while June 2004
- Revenge killings between Marehan and Dir clans degenerated into fight over control for grazing lands in Galgadud October 2003

“Throughout the civil war, these three regions have seen some of the heaviest conflict in southern Somalia. Conflict relates to three central issues: control of the strategic and lucrative port town of Kismayo, control of valuable land well suited for agricultural development and pastoralism alike, and debates over which clan grouping has legitimate historical claims to these different territories. [...]

However, the complex dynamic between drought and environmental degradation of other regions has constituted trend of population movement toward scarce river-fed areas, the increasing encroachment and competition between pastoral and agro-pastoral communities over resources which has lead to violence. There is also a clear imbalance between those clan and sub-clan groups which have the socio-political access to economic resources, including international aid, and those which are marginalised and excluded.” (UNCU/OCHA, 30 July 2002, p.24-5) **Mogadishu**

“Causes of displacement from places of origin vary within the different **IDP** communities in Kismayo. The Galgala **IDPs** for example were displaced from their houses in Mogadishu and Gedi-Hir in Middle Shabelle region in early 1991 by the Abgal clan with whom they share a territory. Said Barre regime armed the Galgala against the Abgal. When the regime collapsed, the Galgala faced brutal Abgal reprisal that led to displacement of thousands of Galgala from their lands.” (UNCU 30 July 2002, pp. 25;30; 33-4)

“One of the most dangerous conflict areas is north Mogadishu/Middle Shabelle, where rival Abgal militias have repeatedly clashed in sometimes heavy fighting. These clashes are driven mainly by leadership disputes, but another underlying cause of conflict in that region is Mohamed Dhere’s attempts to provide security for the El-Ma’an port traffic into Mogadishu, which runs through the territory of rival sub-clans. Most observers expect renewed intra-Abgal fighting both in north Mogadishu and in the Abgal neighbourhood of Medina. Recent deterioration in public order in Mogadishu, including a disturbing rise in unchecked banditry and violent crime, is raising tensions and can easily trigger broader armed clashes.” (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.17)

“In May, 100 people died in clashes between two rival groups in Mogadishu. Hundreds were wounded and thousands displaced from their homes.

The fighting was triggered off by a row between militias belonging to the Abgal clan, but loyal to two business people. It involved forces guarding a hotel in the northern Mogadishu district of Behani, and those allied to a local businessman from the Warsangeli subclan. The latter group attacked the hotel, which is owned by a businesswoman from the Wabudan subclan.” (IRIN, 17 August 2004)

Juba region

The change of control in Kismayo in June 1999, considerably altered the regional strategic map. The evication of militia commanded by General Said Hersi ‘Morgan’ by the Juba Valley Alliance (JVA) has led to displacement of Majerteen and Harti communities and re-ignited claims over the rightful ownership of ‘occupied territories’. [...]

The Juba Valley regions are endowed with a wealth of natural resources. The region benefits from one of the highest rates of rainfall in Somalia (approximately 500mm to 700mm per annum). The rains, river and rich soil support a wide range of agricultural productivity. Wide-ranging pasture has led to the regions’ high concentrations of livestock. The Kismayo seaport and the

proximity of the Kenyan border provide market access. Further, both ocean and river fishing provide subsistence bounties and trade possibilities for a variety of groups.” (UNCU/OCHA, 30 July 2002, p.24-5)

“In fact communities have suffered multiple displacement especially in the south where population fleeing conflict and later moving northward for their economic livelihoods. Moreover, land appropriation takes place along the banks of the Juba and Shabelle Rivers where the dispossessed lost their farming land.

[...]

As a consequence of the armed conflict that began in 1991 when the revolt against the oppressive Siad Barre regime has turned into a competition between the dominant groups including politicians for power and economic resources including fertile land which was owned by minority groups. Therefore, they were seen as targets “enemies”, and suffered more than the general population. As a result, the minorities have disproportionately suffered wanton killings, destruction of their culture and identity, torture, ethnic and gender based discrimination, alienation from their lands, obstruction of humanitarian relief, and subsequently displaced from their lands to IDPs and refugees camps.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, pp.2;6)

“The Bantu were forcibly displaced from their lands, in the Gosha area, by Majerten and Habargedir militias who fought over the control of resources and territories between 1991 and 1993. It has been reported by the displaced that Majerten and Habargedir militias ensured extermination of the Bantu, appropriation of the best of the lands, and obstruction of relief food to force the Bantu farmers to abandon their lands. As last resort many Bantu sought protection in Kismayo and other neighbouring villages, while others migrated to Mogadishu and other areas in Puntland and Somaliland.

The Werdai were displaced from their lands in Bu’ale and Afmadow area following attacks by the Ogaden while the Tuni were forcefully displaced from their lands in Sablale area by Habargedir militia who occupied their land during the armed conflict in 1992.

The Ormala and Ajuran were displaced from Bardera, Sakaw and Bu’ale area mainly by droughts. They sought humanitarian assistance in Kismayo and elsewhere after losing all their livestock.

Recent conflicts in 2000 between the Juba Valley Alliances (comprising mainly of Marehan and Habargedir- Eyr) supported by the TNG and Majerten led by General Morgan in Lower and Middle Juba regions have led to displacement of dozens of families from their houses to Merka and Mogadishu. The majority of those who fled are families who had some resources to undertake their migration.

[...]

In December 2000, 11 villages including Barakamajindo, Adomow, Bandar, Moblen, Harawe, Qalaliyow, Libanga, Dambaley, Haji Tumul, Tanzani and Manane all in Jilib in district were burnt, crops and other properties were destroyed during this conflict. The conflict is believed to have been jointly fuelled by the Habargedir and Biyamal whose intention was to cause displacements of Bantu, and then appropriate their best agricultural lands. Though the Bantu (Jarar Weyne) community in the region armed themselves during the last three years in order to resist further occupation of their lands by other clans.

Almost all IDPs in Jilib have little prospects of returning to their lands soon until the situation back home improves. According to a Werdai elder, the Werdai IDPs can not return until their hostility with the Ogaden is addressed and solved.

[...]

About 2700 IDPs are estimated to be presently living in Qoryoley and its surrounding areas. Most of them are Garre, Tuni, Bantu, Biyamal, Rahaweyn and Galgale. The Garre and Jido IDPs were displaced from Alanfuto, Damanley, Jerow, and Abdi Ali villages in Kurtunwarey and Qoryoley

districts by conflicts between Garre and Jido militias who fought over the control of these villages between 1998 and 2000. The Bantu and Biyamal were displaced mainly from Jilib and Jamame area in the Lower and Middle Jubba regions by conflicts between United Somali Congress (USC) led by General Aided and a coalition of Majerten, Marehan, Dhulbahante and Ogaden forces led by General Morgan. They fought over the control of territories and resources. Though the Bantu and Biyamal have not participated in the hostilities, because of their vulnerability, and most importantly for their resources, they became prime targets for attacks by the fighting clan militia. In Somalia, ethnicity and economic pursuit form the major components of the armed conflict, with agriculture and livestock being the major targets.” (UNCU 30 July 2002, pp. 25;30; 33-4)

Gedo region

“Gedo remains tense. On 29th July, the Hawrarsame militia clashed with Elidere men watering their animals at the Irrida wells some 20 kms from Belet Xaawo. Four Elidere men were wounded of which two are in a critical condition. Such an incident could easily spark off retaliatory killings. Insecurity and high cost of fuel in Gedo continues to affect transport and subsequently commodity prices.

All the locally organised peace initiatives in Gedo region collapsed save for one that brings together all the four Marehan sub-clans. The committee known Degaanka is the only one still negotiating.

The group hopes to come up with a peace deal that can hold. The other initiatives were scuttled by lack of commitment, mistrust and opportunists who wanted to continue gaining from the conflict.” (OCHA, 5 August 2004)

“In June, nearly 60 people were killed in clashes between rival clans in the southwestern town of Bulo Hawa. About 2,500 families were displaced in and around the town while another 2,000 people fled to Mandera in neighbouring Kenya.

[...]

The fighting pitted an alliance of the Marehan subclans of Hawarsame Rer Hasan and Habar Ya'qub, which dominate Gedo, against the Ali Dheere and Rer Ahmad subclans.” (IRIN, 17 August 2004)

Lower Shabelle

“The Lower Shabelle/Merka area has long been tense due in part to friction between Haber Gedir militia and local clans (especially the Biimaal of Merka) who view the Haber Gedir as occupiers. Any open conflict between the SRRC and the TNG is likely to spill over into this important agricultural region.” (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.17)

Bay and Bakool regions

“The Habargedir militias who were controlling Bay and Bakool regions from 1995-99 displaced the Rahaweyn mainly from Burhakaba and Baidoa. They were subjected to severe human rights violations that forced them to abandon their lands.” (UNCU 30 July 2002, pp. 25;30; 33-4)

“A second flashpoint is the Rahanweyn inhabited areas of Bay and Bakool regions, where the violence between the rival sub-clan militias of Shatigaduud, Mohamed Ibrahim Habsade, and Sheik Adan Madobe has worsened in recent months and now includes the targeting of civilians for rape and killing, an epidemic of free-lance banditry, and renewed use of landmines.” (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.17)

“More than 20 people have died in two days of heavy factional fighting in the Bay region of south-central Somalia,

[...]

The fighting broke out on Friday between the Dabare and Luway subclans of the larger Digil-Mirifle group. The clashes were concentrated in and around the town of Dinsoor, 90 km west of Baidoa, and in the surrounding villages, according to one source.

The violence was triggered off by a land dispute and "differences over who should be represented in the Dinsoor district council,"

[...]

The fighting reportedly displaced many families, leaving them with no access to wells and other water points. The source stressed that water points had been targeted during the fighting "so people avoid them". (IRIN, 17 August 2004)

Hiran region

"Hiran region remains chronically unstable in part due to a high level of banditry, in part due to unresolved differences between the east bank Hawadle clan and west-bank clans such as the Gaaljaal, and in part because of intra-Hawadle political struggles pitting local elders and businessmen supporting a *sharia* court militia against the sub-clan militia of the "Governor" of Hiran and other free-lance militia." (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.17)

"Three parallel administrations have taken charge of Hiran. Two are self-declared presidents while the third was the existing authority led by a governor." (OCHA, 31 July 2004)

"The security situation in Belet Weyne continued to deteriorate with more people killed in reprisal killings. [...]The two Galjel sub clans; Afi and Abtisame, have been fighting since the beginning of this year." (OCHA, 5 August 2004)

Galguduud

"There has been sporadic inter-clan fighting between Murusade and Duduble in El-Bur district of Galguduud and between members of the Dir and the Marehan in the Heraale area of the Mudug region. On 27 October, a man from the Dir clan reportedly killed a Marehan clan member in revenge for the killing of his father in 1992. This murder degenerated into inter-clan fighting in Heraale village, in Abudwaaq district. The clashes have continued intermittently and have transformed the dispute into a fight for the control of grazing lands and water in Heraale." (UN SC, 12 February 2004, p.5)

Mudug

"Finally, a serious rash of armed clashes in south Mudug region has pitted Haber Gedir pastoralists against Dir communities over rangeland and wells, producing dozens of casualties in recent months [as of August 2003]. Should relations between Puntland and the TNG deteriorate badly in the aftermath of the Mbagathi accord, the divided town of Galkayo could also be the site of heightened tensions." (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.17)

Cruel combination of conflict and climatic extremes cause repeated displacements in Somalia (2004)

- Clan conflict persisted in the face of a complete collapse of government structures
- Bay and Bakool have been the two worst hit regions by the combined effect of conflict and drought
- Rival militias in Bay and Bakool carried a scorched-earth policy deliberately destroying all infrastructure, looting crops and wanton killing
- Major flooding killed 2000 and displaced 230,000 people in 1997
- Violence forced 50,000 persons to flee their homes in first half of 1999
- People too exhausted to seek humanitarian assistance in towns were eating dead animals to survive drought in 1999
- 6,000 persons displaced by flooding of Shabelle River in 2000

- Fourth year of consecutive drought in the northern Sool and Sanaag regions devastates pastoral livelihoods who have lost 80% of their livestock in 2004
- Pastoralists who have lost everything move to towns ending up in slums alongside IDPs
- Being destitute and facing rising prices of water and food many resorted to cutting trees to sell as charcoal further deepening environmental damage

"All of the regional economies in Somalia are very vulnerable to both internal and external shocks – closure of remittance companies, hyperinflation, closure of borders, political crises – which could prompt population movements. The economy of pastoral households, which suffers a persistent decline in terms of trade of livestock to dry rations, is leading more nomadic families to drift to urban areas, and renders remaining pastoralists more vulnerable to the effects of drought and livestock epidemics. Likewise, the reduced carrying capacity of rangeland, resulting from overgrazing and charcoal production, places pastoral households at greater risk of displacement when rains fail. Finally, the complete lack of basic services in many rural regions constitutes an additional impetus for households seeking access to education and health care." (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.49)

"As political confrontation and civil war degenerated into clan conflict, the remnants of government structures collapsed. What remained of Somalia's physical, economic and social infrastructure was largely destroyed. In 1991-92, the heavily populated inter-riverine areas (between the Juba and Shabelle river valleys) were very vulnerable. With crop failures and the escalation of the conflict combined with drought and flood, thousands of people became destitute. Famine resulted in mass population displacement, and widespread loss of life." (UN December 1998, p. 4)

"Bay and Bakool regions lie between the two main rivers of southern Somalia, the Juba to the west and the Shabelle to the south and east. Each consists of five districts; Bay: Baidoa, Bardale, Burhakaba, Dinsor, Qansahdeere, and Bakool: Al Barde, Hudur, Rabdhure, Tieglo and Wajid.

These two regions have been the worst hit during a decade of armed conflict. During this time, rival militia carried out a 'scorched earth' policy with deliberate destruction of infrastructure, theft of crops and livestock, underground grain pits and seed stocks, killing and destruction of towns and villages as well as laying of mines. Baidoa, known as the "city of death", was at the epicenter of the famine in 1992, during which thousands of person died. From 1991 hundreds of people were affected by armed conflicts of the civil war, lawlessness and subsequent displacement from many towns and villages of southern Somalia arrived in Baidoa to seek protection and assistance. However, most of them fled Baidoa due to a combination of insecurity and droughts resulted from the occupation of Bay region by various clans or power groups where the last one being the forces led by General Mohamed Farah 'Aideed' in 1995. During these times of occupation, its alleged that women were raped, water points destroyed and villages burnt to the ground." (UNCU/OCHA, 30 July 2002, p.27)

Major flooding in 1997-1998 was particularly devastating to Somali populations:

"[F]loods inundated much of southern Somalia's fertile land in late 1997, killing approximately 2,000 people. The floods destroyed food stocks, decimated 60,000 hectares of planted crop land, displaced 230,000 people, and left a total of one million affected." (USAID 1998 Annual Summary, para. 2)

"Heavy flooding during late 1997 and early 1998 affected an estimated 600,000 people and exacerbated harsh humanitarian conditions in southern areas of Somalia. More than 2,000 people died and up to 200,000 became temporarily homeless because of the floods. The floods destroyed crops – the harvest was one-third smaller than the previous year – and ruined about 40 tons of grain in storage.

The floods particularly harmed populations already displaced by the country's warfare. Heavy rains washed away makeshift huts housing displaced families in Mogadishu. Other displaced families in the capital continued to live in abandoned government buildings, schools, factories, and houses left empty by the country's decade of instability." (USCR 1999, p.88)

In the year 1999:

"A deadly combination of warfare, drought, and food shortages pushed tens of thousands of people from their homes during the year [1999], joining hundreds of thousands of Somalis uprooted in previous years.

[...]

Violence in southwestern Somalia forced at least 50,000 persons to flee their homes in the first half of 1999, including about 20,000 who fled to Kenya and 10,000 who reportedly crossed into Ethiopia. Thousands of other families reportedly fled to Mogadishu from war-racked and drought-ridden southern regions during the year, while thousands of Mogadishu-area residents temporarily fled their homes when heavy fighting erupted in Mogadishu." (USCR 2000, pp. 115-116)

"It is likely that the stress in the rural areas is extensive. Many poor rural people are said to be too weak to come to the urban centres in search of food. The UN-EUE field officer was told that in some cases people migrating to town had died along the way, and he observed first-hand people eating the meat from animals that had died from weakness or disease." (UNDP-EUE 14 December 1999, pp.1,4)

In the year 2000:

"Some 900 families or about 6,000 people have been displaced by flooding in central Somalia after the Shabelle River burst its banks, a local official said Monday [in May 2000]." (AFP 22 May 2000)

"The impact of this drought is having major effects on up to 1,200,000 people, including 300,000 children under 5 years, in the districts of Bay, Bakool, Gedo, Hiran and Middle Shabelle in Southern and Central Somalia, and the area will remain at risk up to the next harvest following the next Dyer season (January 2001). Women, children and other vulnerable people in Bakool are now starting to move in search of water, food, and basic health services." (UNICEF 20 June 2000, para. 2)

In 2004 fourth year of consecutive drought in the North:

"Four years of consecutive drought in northern Somalia in late 2003 and in 2004 led to massive livestock deaths – in some areas up to 80% of the herds – further impoverishing about 200,000 pastoralist families almost entirely dependent on the sale of animals and their milk for income. At the same time, food and water prices increased to such an extent that most households could not afford to purchase even the most basic necessities for survival. As a result, many began cutting trees to sell as charcoal, causing environmental damage and reducing fodder for camels. Large amounts of money were also borrowed from traders to purchase food and water, stretching the local economy to the breaking point.

[...]

Those rains started, albeit sporadically in April 2004, allowing the better off pastoralists to move their livestock to rain-fed areas. While more evenly distributed rains recently fell, this rainfall has still not been sufficient to reverse the prolonged effects of the drought, in particular in the lower Nugaal and eastern Sanaag and Sool regions. These areas continue to require emergency water trucking. Many destitute pastoralists, whose livestock have largely died, remain in a state of humanitarian emergency. Many have moved to towns, where they are placing their already poor relatives under further stress. Others still remain congregated in camps in villages, along roads

and at permanent water points in the Sool, eastern Sanaag and Nugaal regions.” (UN, 15 June 2004, p.2)

Peace efforts

The Somali National Reconciliation Conference under the auspices of IGAD (2002-2004)

- The IGAD peace process initiated in Eldoret on 15 October 2002 gathered 24 key faction leaders, the TNG and representatives of civil society
- The first phase was the Declaration on cessation of Hostilities and ceasefire between faction leaders and the TNG: in October 2002 although conflict has continued ever-since
- The second phase of the talks was completed with the six technical committees addressing federalism, disarmament, conflict resolution, economic reconstruction and property issues
- The third stage will focus on power sharing and should plan for the formation of an interim government and decide on mode of election of parliamentarians
- Declaration of Agreement (5 July 2003) agreed to a transitional parliament comprising 351 members apportioned by clan along the 4.5 formula
- Members of parliament will then select a transitional president, who will govern for 5 years
- TNG President Abdiqassim rejected the agreement, left the talks, and insisted the TNG Prime Minister Hassan Abshir Farah had no right to represent the TNG in 2003
- The Hawiye clan criticised the process as dominated by Ethiopia and as favouring the Darood clan, unwelcoming a transitional government will especially if Abdullahi Yusuf, a Darood/Mijerteen is named president
- Principles of federalism and decentralization enshrined in the charter of the Declaration of Agreement of July 2003 is a source of ongoing disagreement A AU-led peacekeeping force in Mogadishu is likely to meet armed resistance without broad approval of the Hawiye militias for the newly elected transitional president
- The independent expert on Somalia of the OHCHR recommends ‘smart sanctions’ for Somali warlords who prove to be blocking peace efforts
- The Somali National Reconciliation Conference was hindered by disputes over clan representation and number of delegates, and periodic absence of the President of the TNG as well as three key faction leaders
- Somali religious leaders complained of being sidelined in the peace talks
- Nearly all members of the Transitional Federal Parliament of the Somali Republic have been sworn-in by 22nd August among which only 16 women
- Transition National Government (TNG) President Abdikassim Salad Hassan refused to hand over power to his successor leader of the Transition National Assembly (TNA) Mr. Abdinor Darmanin
- Businessman Shariff Hassan Sheikh Adan was elected Speaker of the assembly, he will preside over the election of the president due in October 2004

“The 14th peace conference since 1991 opened in Eldoret, Kenya, in October under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), a regional state grouping. AI called for human rights to be at the forefront of the talks and opposed a general amnesty for faction leaders and others who had committed war crimes or crimes against humanity under the previous Said Barre government or in the succeeding civil wars. The conference was supported by the

European Union, the UN, the USA and the Arab League. Although boycotted by Somaliland, it brought together all faction leaders and numerous civil society groups. Faction leaders and the TNG signed a cease-fire on 27 October and a further truce in December, although outbreaks of fighting continued in Somalia. They concluded an agreement to form a 450-member federal parliament in 2003 on the basis of quotas of the four main clans with seats reserved also for minorities. Six committees were formed to make recommendations on a unified constitutional framework, disarmament and demobilization, land and property rights, economic reconstruction, regional and international relations, and conflict resolution and reconciliation, including human rights.” (AI, January 2003)

“The current peace talks in Kenya have produced a Declaration of Agreement (5 July 2003) in which leaders agreed to a transitional parliament comprising 351 members apportioned by clan along the 4.5 formula, with members of parliament to be selected by political leaders in consultation with clan elders. Once appointed, the members of parliament will then select a transitional president, who will govern for four years. The transitional government will be federal in nature, with the details of decentralization to be worked out by a special commission. The charter which was approved in the Declaration of Agreement must still be ratified in a plenary session, and has meanwhile been criticized as ambiguous, flawed, and likely to produce new disagreements. [...] If and when the Charter is approved, political energies will turn to negotiating selection of MPs and power-sharing within the executive branch.

It is unclear at this time if the power-sharing phase of the Mbagathi talks will yield a working accord and a transitional government. The process faces daunting challenges and growing crises. TNG President Abdiqassim has rejected the agreement, has left the talks, and insists the TNG Prime Minister Hassan Abshir Farah has no right to represent the TNG. Many of the pivotal G-8 leaders have balked at aspects of the accord, and some, like Musa Sude, have rejected Mbagathi altogether. The Hawiye clan-family in general and some specific Hawiye sub-clans in particular view the process as dominated by Ethiopia and as favouring the Darood clan, making it unlikely that a transitional government will be welcome in Mogadishu (this is especially true if Abdullahi Yusuf, a Darood/Mijerteen, is named president). The principle of federalism and decentralization enshrined in the charter is a source of ongoing disagreement within Somalia, as is the proposal to relocate the capital provisionally outside of Mogadishu. And the allocation of specific positions in the government will almost certainly leave some political figures and their clans dissatisfied, producing more rejectionists and potential spoilers.

[...]

The prospects for a successful accord – one which yields a transitional government which is widely accepted in Somalia and which, with support from a proposed African Union peacekeeping force, is able to establish itself in Mogadishu – are not promising at this time. Were the African Union to inject peacekeeping forces in Mogadishu without the broad agreement of the Hawiye militias which dominate the city, they would almost certainly be met with armed resistance.” (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.15-16)

“The conference brought together 24 faction leaders, TNG and representatives of civil society organizations. [...] The conference was divided into three phases with the first devoted to agenda-setting and the signing of a declaration on the cessation of hostilities during the talks, the second to committee work on key issues (federalism, demobilization, land and property disputes, economic planning, conflict resolution and international relations) and the third to the formation of an interim government. At the time of the writing of this report, all factions had signed a truce declaration and the conference was in its second phase, which was scheduled to last for a period of four to six weeks.

[...]

The independent expert notes with particular interest the EU Council of Ministers’ decision during its 2447th meeting on 22 July 2002, in which it, inter alia, called for the imposition of “smart sanctions” on faction leaders who prove to be actively blocking peace efforts in Somalia. He calls

upon the Commission on Human Rights to recommend to the Secretary-General and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) the undertaking of a study on the applicability to Somali warlords of sanctions, such as the freezing of their foreign assets, the imposition of travel bans, stripping them of their foreign passports, the imposition of business boycotts and the establishment of a monitoring mechanism to enforce the Security Council mandated arms embargo on Somalia.” (UNCHR, 31 December 2002, p.3,7)

“In the absence of other major initiatives, external support for peace has focused on the efforts of the IGAD, which aims to create a broad-based, all-inclusive government while maintaining the sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Somalia.

However, as the preparations for the IGAD reconciliation conference got underway, tension and conflict increased considerably in some areas.” (UN, November 2002, p.14)

“There have, however, been continued violations of the Declaration [on cessation of Hostilities] since its signing, leading to the establishment of an international committee - made up of the United States, the European Union, the African Union, the League of Arab States and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) - to monitor the ceasefire.

The conference has also been beset by a number of difficulties, including disputes over the number of participants and the allocation of seats by clan, as well as the fact that “Somaliland” has consistently refused to attend the conference based on the assertion that it is a state that is independent from Somalia. The proceedings have also been affected on several occasions by the periodic absence of Abdiqassim Salad Hassan, President of the Transitional National Government (TNG) and three other key faction leaders - Muse Sudi Yalahow, Osman Hassan Ali Ato and Bare Hiirale. The Government of Djibouti, a member of the IGAD Technical Committee, also in late September removed itself from the talks, reportedly claiming a lack of neutrality with respect to the events.

At the time of writing, the conference had completed the second phase of discussions within six technical committees addressing core issues of the Somali conflict: federalism, disarmament, conflict resolution, economic reconstruction, land rights and international relations. On 15 September, the conference adopted a Transitional Federal Charter emanating from these committees. The Charter has been criticized by civil society groups for inadequately incorporating human rights and rule of law principles. The third phase of the conference will focus on devising power-sharing arrangements.” (UNCHR, 30 November 2003, paras. 6-8)

“On the other hand, the Transitional National Government and National Salvation Council groups wanted a larger representation of leaders and the exclusion of the former Prime Minister of the Transitional National Government and the Speaker of Transitional National Assembly [...]

On 29 January, the Somali leaders signed a document entitled “Declaration on the Harmonization of Various Issues Proposed by the Somali Delegates at the Somali Consultative Meetings from 9 to 29 January 2004”. The document consisted of proposed amendments to the transitional federal charter adopted at the plenary meeting of the Conference on 15 September 2003. The leaders decided that the name of the charter would be transitional federal charter of the Somali republic; the name of the government would be transitional federal government; its term would last five years; and that the transitional federal parliament would consist of 275 members, 12 per cent of whom would be women. In addition, the document called for a national census to be undertaken while a new constitution was being drafted, as well as for its approval by an internationally supervised national referendum. A controversy subsequently arose, however, over the method of selection of the members of parliament, and efforts are being made to overcome the problem.” (UN SC, 12 February 2004, paras, 3,7,13)

“Some of the delegates wanted the MPs to be selected by the 24 leaders who signed the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement of October 2002, plus the president of the Transitional National Government (TNG), which is represented at the talks.

But the IGAD mediators insisted that MPs be selected "at the subclan levels by recognised political leaders comprising the TNG, the National Salvation Council, regional administrations, the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council, the G8 and civil society organisations, and be endorsed by genuine traditional leaders". (IRIN, 4 June 2004)

“As the Somalia Peace and Reconciliation Conference end draws near, a new challenge is emerging from unlikely quarters. The religious leaders are complaining of being sidelined. [...]

The conference was boosted by the visit of the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, at the talk's venue in the first week of July.

[...]

The visit was followed by a UN Security Council session on July 14 on the situation in Somalia. The council condemned those groups who were obstructing the country's peace process and warned that those who persisted on the path of confrontation and conflict would be held accountable.

The Council also welcomed steps by the African Union (AU) to prepare for the deployment of military monitors to Somalia, and called upon the Somali leaders to cooperate with that initiative. The anticipated deployment of military monitors is reported to be resulting in the movement of ammunition and troops from the major towns to obscure parts of Central Somalia. It appears that the current warlords may want to preserve their troops and artillery just in case the peace talks outcomes do not favour them.” (OCHA, 31 July 2004)

“Almost all members of the Transitional Federal Parliament of the Somali Republic have been sworn-in in Nairobi on 22nd August as part of initial steps towards formation of a government. The selection of MPs was slowed down by clan and intra-clan failure to agree on their representation in terms of allocated slots as well as representatives.

[...]

Only 16 women were sworn in on 22nd August.

[...]

Elsewhere, the Transition National Government (TNG) President Abdikassim Salad Hassan scoffed at attempts by the Transition National Assembly (TNA) to remove him from power. The President said the TNA did not have quorum because most of the MPs were in Nairobi or a mandate to remove him from power. The TNA nominated Mr Abdinor Darman in his place.” (OCHA, 31 August 2004)

“Members of Somalia's newly formed transitional federal parliament have elected businessman Shariff Hassan Sheikh Adan as the assembly's speaker.

[...]

Both Adan and Madoobe are members of the Digil-Mirifle clan. Under an agreement between the various clans during the marathon peace talks, the posts of president and prime minister are expected to go to members of the country's other main clans, the Darod, Hawiye and the Dir.

[...]

The Somali National Charter, adopted by delegates at a reconciliation conference in September 2003, mandates the speaker to preside over the election of the president, who in turn will appoint a prime minister, who will then form a government.” (IRIN, 16 September 2004)

“In another development, the newly formed Somali parliament has postponed the election of the country's president, which had been scheduled for 22 September, to 10 October, saying the candidates needed more time to prepare for the elections.” (IRIN, 20 September 2004)

On Somalia's conflict background, its peace processes and the role of IGAD see Institute for Security Studies, 26 Apr 2004) Somalia: Fourteenth time lucky?[External Link]

To have an in-depth analysis of the Somali peace negotiations see 'Negotiating a blueprint for peace in Somalia' (ICG, 6 March 2003): [External Link]

Also see 'Salvaging Somalia's chance for peace' (ICG, 9 December 2002): [External Link]

For the 'Declaration on Cessation of Hostilities and the Structures and Principles of the Somalia National Reconciliation Process' (UNSC, 13 December 2002), click here [External Link]

Arta Djibouti peace process resulted in creation of the Transitional National Government (TNG) (August 2000)

- Transitional National Assembly elects Abd-al Qasim Salad Hasan as interim president at peace talks in Djibouti 2000
- The new president raised high hopes for peace and effective governance in Somalia
- The EU promised to support national reconstruction once the interim president would have established its authority

"After 10 years of civil war, Somali parliamentarians of the Transitional National Assembly at the Djibouti Peace talks held in the town of Arta elected Dr Abd-al Qasim Salad Hasan as President on the morning of 26 August 2000." (UNICEF 7 September 2000, para. 1)

"In contrast to the anarchy and civil war that had prevailed in Somalia for the past 10 years, the recent creation of the National Assembly ushered in a new era for peace and stability and constituted the first step of restoring order and central authority in the country, the President of Somalia told the fifty-fifth regular session of the General Assembly this morning, as it continued its general debate.

The spontaneous reaction of hundreds of thousands of Somalis, he said, demonstrated vividly that they wanted to leave years of civil war behind and open a new era of peace, tranquility, good governance, restoration of the rule of law and national unity. He called upon the warlords to review their positions, hear the voice of reason and respect the legitimate aspirations of the Somali people to achieve national unity, social and economic development, and durable peace." (UNGA 15 September 2000, paras. 2 and 3)

International community support:

"The European Union is willing to enter into dialogue with the new Somali authorities and, once they have established their authority, to support their efforts to rebuild the country, while continuing to give its backing to recovery measures in all areas of Somalia where stable conditions exist.

The European Union calls on the authorities of Somaliland and Puntland to establish constructive relations with the institutions which have emerged from the Arta process. It also urges the future transitional government to establish a constructive dialogue as soon as possible with the aforementioned authorities for the purpose of re-establishing national unity in peace and with respect for the elements of stability achieved." (EU 8 September 2000, paras. 1-3)

For a detailed analysis of the Arta peace process, see November 2000 report by Ken Menkhaus [External link].

Over ten years of peace efforts in Somalia achieved little success (2003)

- Mediators' 'quick fix' approach to peace in Somalia has led to consecutive failures

"Most previous Somali peace initiatives have been touted by their authors (and many participants) as successes, even when evidence of failure had become inescapable – much like the old medical saw that "the operation succeeded but the patient died". In 1991, the announcement of a new government at the "Djibouti II" conference triggered the most vicious fighting Mogadishu has ever seen. The UN and the U.S. trumpeted the 1993 Addis Ababa accords as the first step in a bold international experiment in "nation building", only to find themselves at war with the late General Aydiid. UN Special Envoy Lansana Kouyate's breezy assertion after the May 1994 Nairobi talks that "the warlords are now peacelords" was followed by new fighting in the Jubba Valley, Merka, Mogadishu, and Beled Weyne. The Arta Conference continues to be heralded as successful peacebuilding despite the collapse of two regional administrations and eruption of some of the worst violence in years.

Many positive words have been spoken about the current process, but there is a real risk that it will go down the same road. Already jostling for position between factions before and during the conference has involved serious fighting in Mogadishu, Baydhowa, Puntland, Gedo, and the Juba Valley. February's clashes in Mogadishu are in part due to the rearrangement of factional coalitions during the conference, and more serious fighting could yet follow. The reality – that poor peace agreements actually make the situation worse – is one that all parties to the talks, Somali and foreign alike, should bear in mind as they consider their next moves." (ICG, 6 March 2003)

Approaches to political consolidation in a collapsed state (2003)

- In Somalia, political representation is enshrined by the clan system, or the "4.5 formula" whereby the four major clans (Dir, Darood, Hawiye and Digil-Rahanweyn) are represented in equal numbers, while minority groups hold half as many seats
- This formula guarantees clan elders, militia leaders or businessmen most pose as a representative of his clan to have a role in political negotiations however the real battles are within these clans
- Political maneuvering at the Mbagathi talks aims at co-opting disgruntled members of other clans into one's coalition rather than forming a government of national unity
- Some clans are opposed to federalism such as the Hawiye who want to have a strong centralized Mogadishu-based government
- Others understand federalism as small clan-enclaves rather than a collection of multi-clan administrations which risks to lead to ethnic cleansing
- Since the mid-1990s the business community has emerged as one of the strongest power brokers in Somalia with divided and complex interests
- In 1999, businessmen frustrated of paying taxes to their clan warlords in exchange of hardly any services and security, refused to pay and started subcontracting control of the militias to a sharia court system
- 'Building-block' approach encourages formation of regional political structures towards a re-unification of Somalia
- 'Building-block' approach criticized for encouraging clanism and secessionism
- Second approach seeks to install a Somali central state entity within a federalized system

“Clan has been enshrined as the operative principle of representation in Somalia ever since the Arte talks agreed on the “4.5 formula” in which the four major clan-families (Dir, Darood, Hawiye, Digil-Rahanweyn) are represented in equal numbers, while minority groups hold half as many seats. The current Mbagathi talks are built around this formula as well. This guarantees that clan elders will have a role in political negotiations, and that any aspiring leader, whether a militia figure or a professional, must pose as a representative of his or her clan in order to win a position in a new government. The fact that all the current coalitions (TNG, SRRC, G-8) are multi-clan can easily confuse observers into presuming that any government established along these proportional clan lines is representative. Yet the real political battles are within, not between, these clans. What will emerge from political manoeuvring and talks in the Mbagathi process is not an attempt to create a government of national unity, but rather an effort to poach and co-opt disgruntled members of other clans into one’s coalition at the expense of one’s rivals. This is an old game at which Somali political figures are very adept. Clan is, from this perspective, as much a tool to be used by political elites as it is an autonomous political force.

[...]

Whether the Mbagathi peace process succeeds or fails, the question of political decentralization it has advanced will remain a contentious issue in the near to mid-term in Somalia. Few political actors in Somalia reject the idea of a future federal state outright, but there is no consensus as to what federalism will entail in practice. [...] Some clans have a strong interest in a more centralized, Mogadishu-based government. The Hawiye clan-family, which now dominates Mogadishu and the surrounding area, is one example. For political figures from that clan, a highly decentralized federal system devolves power away from them and reduces the value of controlling the capital city. By contrast, some other clans are adamantly committed to federalism. The Digil-Rahanweyn, for example, face the dilemma of inhabiting some of the most valuable agricultural land in the country while lacking the militia capacity to protect it from stronger surrounding clans. For them, federalism is the political equivalent of a fence, designed principally to keep others out of their territory. There is, in fact, a tendency to understand federalism as the creation of mini-ethnic (clan) enclaves, not as a collection of multi-clan administrations. If efforts to elaborate upon federalism degenerate into the building of “clanustans,” it will trigger armed conflicts and ethnic cleansing in the many areas of south-central Somalia where clans are thoroughly mixed.” (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.15, 17)

“Since the mid-1990s, the top businessmen in Mogadishu and Hargeisa have emerged as real power brokers in Somalia. The business elite in Hargeisa was instrumental in backing President Mohamed Egal, providing loans in exchange for special tax considerations in their import-export transactions. In Mogadishu, wartime entrepreneurs began investing in quasi-legitimate forms of business – money exchange, telecommunications, remittance companies, banana plantations, hotels, transport, and other sectors – starting in the UNOSOM period. Throughout most of the 1990s, these business elites were not independent of the militia leaders of their clans, paying “taxes” to the warlords. But the businessmen grew frustrated with the lack of basic services in return for the taxes – especially the lack of security. They also had reached a point of affluence and power in their communities where they could directly challenge the warlords of their own sub-clans. In 1999, the south Mogadishu businessmen refused to pay taxes to militia leaders, and instead bought the militia out from beneath the warlords, subcontracting out control of the militia to a *sharia* court system. That was the moment which defined the top Mogadishu businessmen as perhaps the most powerful actors in the country. In 2000, these same figures threw their financial support behind the TNG. The interests of the business community are complex and by no means unified. Some are genuine supporters of a revived central government, but others have lucrative interests in private seaports and other enterprises which may be threatened by a return of a central state.” (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.14)

"External encouragement to political consolidation since 1998, however, has taken two somewhat incompatible forms. One, the so-called 'building-block' approach, has sought to encourage the emergence of regional or trans-regional political authorities, as a first step towards a re-unified

Somali state with a loose federal or confederal form of government. After UNOSOM's failure at state building, this approach was initially embraced by neighboring countries, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the executive committee of the Somalia Aid Coordination Body (SCAB) in the late 1990s [...]. Its advocates consider it the path that can provide a more legitimate grass-roots and participatory form of governance to facilitate the task of rebuilding a war-torn society. Its critics contend that it has limited applicability in the south and that it encourages secessionism and clanism and is designed to meet foreign interests that want to keep Somalia weak and divided.

The second approach, which has regained the support of regional and international bodies, is based on reviving the Somali state through a process of national reconciliation and the formation of a national government, albeit within a federalized system." (UNDP Somalia 2001, pp.51)

Political developments since the creation of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG)

Return of the TFG to Somalia has not brought stability to south Somalia (June 2006)

- In June 2005, the Transitional Federal Government returned to Somalia
- While president Yusuf and Prime Minister Gedi, along with a number of members of parliament established themselves in Jowhar, the Parliament Speaker and other MPs chose Mogadishu
- Tensions between the two groups have been on the rise since June 2005, with military buildup on both sides
- While the UN Security Council warned Somalia and other states not to violate the arms embargo, the Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) encouraged the armament of the Somali government
- Mogadishu warlords agreed mid-November 2005 to meet with President Yusuf, which is an encouraging attempt to bridge the gap between the two government factions
- After a meeting in Aden (Yemen) on 5 January 2006, the Transitional Federal Institutions (TFI) chose Baidoa as common interim seat in April 2006
- The TFI hope that a draft National Security and stabilisation plan (23 May 2006) will pave the way for IGAD/AU peace support mission

Home Office, October 2005, p.23, 24, citing the Economist Intelligence Unit

"The establishment of Somalia's interim government, under the auspices of the interim president, Abdullahi Yussuf Ahmed, and his prime minister, Ali Mohamed Ghedi, at Jowhar in June [2005] marks a significant step for the new administration. The move to Somalia from the Kenyan capital, Nairobi, which came after several false starts, has sparked a fresh confrontation between Mr Yusuf and the speaker of Somalia's new Federal Transitional Parliament (FTP), Sharif Hassan Sheikh Aden, who has emerged at the head of a cabinet faction keen on Mogadishu as the seat of government and as a serious rival to Mr Yusuf. Mr Ghedi and Mr Yusuf have said that the base in Jowhar is temporary, and that there is no intention of changing the country's capital – the interim constitution stipulates that it must be Mogadishu – and have established a liaison office in Mogadishu. However, when Mr Ghedi visited Mogadishu in early May [2005] the speech he was due to deliver was interrupted by an explosion that killed 15 people. It may or may not have been an assassination attempt, but he has not been back since. Mr Yusuf's arrival in Jowhar from Bossasso in July [2005] – collecting militiamen on his way – is viewed ominously by many in

Somalia as an indication that armed confrontation with his rivals in Mogadishu may ensue, from which a return to all-out civil war could result.

[...]

"Allegations of Ethiopian incursions into central regions has further undermined the fragile trust between Mr Yusuf, who is seen as an ally of Ethiopia, and his rivals. The possibility of Ethiopian involvement in an international peace-keeping force under the auspices of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) has been averted, at least temporarily, but the decision by the UN Security Council to uphold its arms embargo in Somalia means that peacekeepers are unlikely to arrive in the country before 2006. Meanwhile, IGAD will have to look for other ways to help ensure the safety of Mr Ghedi's interim administration in Jowhar."

"Members of Somalia's new Federal Transitional Parliament (FTP) approved the interim government's relocation plan during a meeting in the Kenyan capital, Nairobi, on May 11th [2005]. Of 152 MPs present, 141 voted in favour of the proposal to first relocate to Baidoa and Jowhar, before eventually moving to Mogadishu, when the security situation there has improved – violence in Baidoa has left Jowhar as the only viable option. About 50 members of the 275-seat FTP were in Mogadishu during the vote. In an attempt to restore security to the city, an operation to remove some of the capital's numerous roadblocks manned by armed militia began in early June [2005] following an agreement between several Mogadishu-based faction leaders who are also members of Mr Ghedi's cabinet. The deal was brokered by the speaker of the FTP, Sharif Hassan Sheikh Aden, who is widely seen as a rival to the interim president, Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed. A number of roadblocks were dismantled on June 7th [2005] but most of them were re-erected within days. The violence that has long characterised Mogadishu has continued sporadically in recent months. A Mogadishu-based radio journalist was shot dead on June 5th [2005] while investigating a story about a roadblock on the strategic road linking Mogadishu and Afgoye, 30 km west of the capital. A prominent local peace activist was killed by unknown gunmen at his Mogadishu home on July 10th [2005] [N.B. Reuters AlertNet report this as occurring on the Monday i.e. 11 July 2005], and a few hours later an Islamic militia leader, Hersi Abdi Cilmi, was also murdered, although no connection between the two killings was immediately apparent. These incidents followed an explosion that killed 15 people and injured many more during a visit by Mr Ghedi in early May [2005]. The blast occurred in a football stadium as Mr Ghedi began to make a speech."

AFP, 29 November 2005:

"Lawless Somalia's nascent and largely powerless transitional government has the right to recruit and equip its own security forces despite a 13-year-old UN arms embargo, senior east African officials said late Tuesday. Amid deep concerns about the anarchic nation's possible descent into further chaos and calls for the embargo to be tightened, they said the leaders of the deeply divided government should be allowed to arm an army and police force. Ministers and senior officials from the seven-nation Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) meeting here said there was no reason the embattled Somali government should be prevented from asserting the country's legitimate right to self-defense.

[...]

The administration of transitional president Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed and prime minister Ali Mohammed Gedi -- the latest effort in more than a dozen attempts to restore stability to the war-ravaged nation since it was plunged into chaos 14 years ago -- has been paralyzed by and internal dispute over the seat of the government.

After leaving its home in June from exile in Kenya where it was created last year, the government has been split between Mogadishu and Jowhar, some 90 kilometers (55 miles) north, with each camp becoming increasingly belligerent over the divide. Yusuf and Gedi have set up shop in Jowhar, claiming the capital is too unsafe while their foes, including cabinet ministers, lawmakers and warlords insist that Mogadishu must be the home of any Somali government.

Tuesday's IGAD meeting in Jowhar was intended to show support for Yusuf and Gedi whose legitimacy the Mogadishu-based warlords now disavow amid worsening threats on both sides. IGAD's support for the transitional government buying weapons, came after the UN Security Council this month condemned violations of the arms embargo and warned the rival factions that any use of force to resolve their differences was "unacceptable."

In October [2005], the Security Council called for the embargo to be tightened after an independent panel reported that weapons shipments to both sides were increasing as the dispute worsened.

At the time, the 15-member council slammed "the significant increase in the flow of weapons and ammunition supplies to and through Somalia, which constitutes a violation of the arms embargo and a serious threat to the Somali peace process."

The IGAD ministers, however, suggested that arms shipments in violation of the embargo were justified, lamenting that a regional peacekeeping force, endorsed by the African Union in May, had yet to be deployed in support of the transitional government. Until that operation takes off, they said IGAD should deploy a military observer mission in Somalia to assess the situation on the ground."

OCHA, November 2005:

"Activities by extremist groups in Somalia are becoming a growing concern and could well become an increasing challenge in terms of UN operations and presence throughout the country. In Mogadishu, reports suggest that the Sharia Court militia continue to expand their areas of influence in the city. UN activities continue despite on-going individually targeted assassinations and increasing criminal acts.

The security situation in central and southern areas remained tense and volatile, starting with the brutal assassination of the UNDSS national security officer on 3 October in Kismayo, which brought an abrupt end to the just prior resumption of UN presence in the area. The Juba Valley Alliance (JVA) was quick to join the international community in condemning the murder and established a committee to investigate the matter. All UN staff was immediately relocated and Kismayo is presently a no-go location until further notice. This incident marks a real set-back, not only in the tragedy of the loss of a life, but also in terms of opportunities for re-engagement in an area considered in a critical humanitarian emergency. In view of this emerging security challenge, UN agencies are looking into ways of minimizing the risk to staff and operations while at the same time continuing to meet the needs of affected populations.

In Jowhar, the presence of a large number of militia who had arrived from Puntland via Ethiopia in September continues to create added tension. The threat by several of the TFG ministers currently based in Mogadishu to attack Jowhar has not disappeared. Still, subsequent to the temporary relocation of international staff from Jowhar in September, reduced numbers of UN staff members returned to their duty station in early October.

Baidoa, on the other hand, remains closed to UN international staff, as the long-expected peace talks between Muhammad Ibrahim "Habsade" and Hassan Muhammad Nur "Shatigaduud" have yet to commence."

IRIN, 30 November 2005:

"The subregional body that brokered Somalia's reconciliation process has called for the lifting of a UN arms embargo on that country to enable its transitional federal government (TFG) to establish security institutions. The council of ministers of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), which met in the Somalia town of Jowhar, the temporary seat of the TFG on Tuesday, said Somalia had a legitimate government which should be allowed the create law enforcement agencies."

AFP, 16 November 2005:

"Warlords controlling Somalia's capital Wednesday agreed to hold talks with President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed in a bid to plug the gaps that have scuppered efforts to restore a functional government in the war-torn African nation. Led by influential parliament speaker Sharif Hassan Sheikh Aden, the warlords and nearly 100 MPs said they are ready to explore a lasting solution in a country that has lacked an effective government since dictator Mohamed Siad Barre was toppled in 1991.

"We agreed to engage in a direct negotiations process with our counterparts in Jowhar," the Mogadishu faction said in a statement released here Wednesday.

[...]

The warlords, who are also ministers in the splintered government, said they agreed to negotiations after a recent meeting in Mogadishu that discussed ways of ending division in Somalia. The date and venue are yet to be fixed but the warlords said the talks will take place at a mutually agreed venue -- either in Somalia or abroad, while their foes in Jowhar insist the parley will take place at home.

"We urge our neighbour countries to play a positive and neutral role in bringing together the Transitional Federal institutions (TFIs) to restore the Somali State," the warlord's statement added. They were apparently referring to Ethiopia which has backed Yusuf's faction.

In addition, they called on the international community, which has shown fatigue over Somali affairs, to continue supporting efforts to restore normalcy in the shattered nation, home of nearly 10 million people."

UNSC, 20 June 2006, p.1, 2:

2. The Aden Declaration of 5 January 2006 (S/2006/14; see S/2006/122, paras. 6-10) and the convening of the first extraordinary session of the Transitional Federal Parliament in Baidoa on 26 February 2006, allowed the transitional federal institutions to begin to address some of the key differences that had divided the leadership and paralysed the political process for most of 2005. These included the interim location of the transitional federal institutions pending the restoration of security in Mogadishu and the deployment of an Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)/African Union (AU) peace support mission in Somalia.

3. Differences over the interim location of the transitional federal institutions were resolved on 22 April 2006, when the Transitional Federal Parliament endorsed Baidoa as the interim seat of the Transitional Federal Government and Parliament. The Parliament has established 14 parliamentary committees and is in the process of setting up a national constitutional commission. These developments should allow the Government to proceed with the fulfilment of its obligations under the Transitional Federal Charter. 4. At a meeting on 21 May 2006, held in Baidoa, the Council of Ministers adopted the draft national security and stabilization plan and on 23 May 2006 it submitted the plan to Parliament for consideration. The plan provides for the deployment of an IGAD/AU peace support mission, the details of which are to be prepared in consultation with IGAD and AU (see para. 25 below).

Puntland and Somaliland are looking for stability regarding disputed border areas (June 2006)

- The exchange of the last detainees captured in 2004 is a sign of Somaliland and Puntland willingness to create regional stability

UNSC, 20 June 2006, p. 5:

31. The dispute between "Somaliland" and the neighbouring "Puntland" over the Sool and Sanaag areas has continued. Although both sides have reduced their forces in recent months, tensions persist in the absence of a political solution. United Nations access to the disputed areas is sometimes difficult because both administrations insist that access to their respective regions cannot come from the other side. This has resulted, at times, in the harassment and intimidation of humanitarian workers, causing operational delays and increased expenses. There have also been clashes in Majehan, on the "Puntland"-controlled side of Sanaag, between its security forces and local militias. The fighting reportedly concerns a dispute over exploration rights in an area considered to have mineral deposits.

32. The "presidents" of "Somaliland" and "Puntland" were in Addis Ababa between 15 and 17 May 2006. While there was an expectation that Ethiopia might use the presence of the two leaders to broker some form of reconciliation, there was no confirmation that such mediation took place.

OCHA, 6 December 2005:

"The last remaining detainees captured during the fighting between the Puntland State of Somalia and the self-declared Republic of Somaliland in late 2004 were exchanged Monday 5 December, in a momentous step of reconciliation between the communities.

The Minister of Planning and International Cooperation in Puntland, Mr Abdirahman Farole, stated that this was a significant step towards promoting peace and building trust between the communities. According to the Minister, the exchange was negotiated between the highest levels of both administrations and signifies a strong commitment by the authorities towards creating stability in the area."

Islamic Courts Union wins control over large part of Somalia (September 2006)

IRIN, 25 September 2006:

At least one person was killed on Monday as forces belonging to the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) fired shots to disperse rowdy anti-Islamist demonstrators in Kismayo, 500 km south of the Somali capital of Mogadishu, hours after the UIC took control of the key port city.

The demonstration was organised by 'khat' traders after the UIC announced a ban on flights carrying the popular leafy narcotic at Kismayo airport. "They [the traders] were angry that the courts have banned a business they were making a living out of," an eyewitness in the city said. The UIC said the ban on the narcotic would be in effect over the month of Ramadan.

Earlier, thousands of Kismayo residents had poured on to the streets to welcome the UIC takeover of the city, which is located in the agriculturally rich and economically important region of Lower Juba. The move completes the UIC's control of all ports in southern and central Somalia and extends the group's control of south-central Somalia.

The leader of a local militia that controlled the city left a day earlier. The UIC forces "entered Kismayo at around 6:00 am local time this morning [Monday] without any resistance", Yusuf Mire Serar, the vice-chairman of the Juba Valley Alliance (JVA), which had been in control of the city, said.

Col. Barre Hiraale, the JVA chairman and defence minister in the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), left Kismayo with some of his supporters and technicals (battlewagons) after disagreements within the JVA on how to deal with the UIC.

"We have been in discussion with the UIC for the last week or so and some of us have come to the conclusion that there should be no fighting in Kismayo," Serar said from Kismayo. "There was a majority that did not want bloodshed in Kismayo and that is why we agreed to the Courts' peaceful takeover. Barre unfortunately disagreed and left yesterday [Sunday] evening and is on his way to Gedo [southwestern region]."

He said the UIC had earlier agreed to give Hiraale and his forces "safe passage to Gedo".

The UIC said it went to Kismayo at the invitation of the locals. "We did not use force. We went there at the invitation of the local people who requested reinforcement, to guard against the entry into the country of foreign forces," said Ibrahim Hassan Adow, the UIC's Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

The UIC forces have set up checkpoints in "all the main arteries of the city", Ali Abdulkadir, a resident, said. "Everybody is going about their business as if nothing has happened," he added. "Most people have welcomed the arrival of the Courts."

Ali said many JVA commanders had defected to the UIC and were now cooperating with them. "Barre left with about 26 technicals and his closest supporters and relatives," he said.

So far, the TFG has not commented on the Kismayo takeover but has previously said any UIC advance would violate a recent ceasefire agreement signed between them in Khartoum, the Sudanese capital.



BBC, on Garowe Online, 9 July 2006:

Much recent analysis about the Islamic courts in Mogadishu has focused on the political and military strength of the courts. The Union of Islamic Courts is often portrayed as a monolithic juggernaut about to crush all opposition and rivals especially the weak transitional government based in Baidoa. Some analysts even predict the courts may soon overthrow the interim government and take over power.

Ideological fault lines

What is missing from much of the discussion on the courts is the ideological divisions within the Islamist movement in Somalia, which have the potential to sap their current strength and worse, provoke another round of bloodletting - only this time between the adherents of the various ideological strands of modern political Islam.

An ideological battle is being fought far from the public eye and the stage is now set for a clash between two contending visions of Islam.

Recent developments in Mogadishu indicate the new calm in Mogadishu could, indeed, be the calm before the storm.

The ideological divisions within the Islamist groups, were masked by the fact they had a common enemy - the warlords. Now that the warlords have been ousted, and the clans have switched their allegiance to the Islamists, these divisions are becoming noticeable.

The swift installation of Shaykh Dahir Aweys as the de facto head of the Islamic courts and the apparent sidelining of Shaykh Sharif Shaykh Ahmad, the soft-spoken moderate cleric, is the clearest sign of a power struggle and tension between the Salafist and the Qutubist tendencies within the Islamist movement in Somalia.

Aweys and Sharif

Dahir Aweys, an ex-army colonel and a veteran of 1977 Ogaden War, is widely believed to be the genius behind the brilliant military campaign by the Islamic courts militia against the warlords in Mogadishu. While Aweys was plotting and conducting the military campaign in secret, Shaykh Sharif Shaykh Ahmad, a Sudanese-trained secondary school teacher and cleric, was slowly carving a niche for himself in the international media as the acceptable face of political Islam in Somalia. What, however, is only mentioned in whispers, is the ideological rift between the two men and their supporters.

Aweys has no formal training as an Islamic cleric. His conversion to radical political Islam occurred sometime in the early 90's when he and like-minded former officers in the Somali National Army and intellectuals joined the Al-Ittihad al-Islami (the Islamic Union). Al-Ittihad's ideology and membership was heterogeneous. It brought together all the various strains of modern political Islam, just like the Islamic courts in Mogadishu in their early formative years.

Salafism

Since the defeat of the Al-Ittihad by Ethiopian forces and militiamen loyal to the Puntland leader Abdullahi Yusuf in mid-90's, Aweys retreated to his home region of central Somalia and later Mogadishu and embarked on a period of self-education and spiritual reflection, which, many say, eventually led him to the puritanical Salafi ideology.

This ideology, which is an off-shoot of the Wahhabi school, seeks to promote a "stripped-down" version of the Islamic faith that emphasizes ritual purity and frowns upon all forms of bid'a (modern innovations). [...]

Many of the over-zealous Islamist gunmen who have in recent days been terrorizing and killing innocent civilians watching the World Cup in various cinema halls in Mogadishu and in central Somalia, are influenced by the Salafi ideology.

It is interesting that the Aweys faction of the Islamic courts has not yet come out categorically to condemn these acts. The line by Aweys is that these are unpremeditated acts or "accidents". He has not yet made any formal public statement to denounce the violence and say people can watch the World Cup on TV.

Speaking to HornAfrik on 5 July after Islamic courts militia gunned down two people in the central region of Dhuusa Marreeb, Aweys failed to clearly condemn the action by the militia. He merely stated that the killing was an "accident" and the perpetrators would face the shari'ah laws.

This apparent ambivalence is bound to further increase suspicions he may be the mastermind of what looks increasingly like a violent campaign to rapidly "Islamize" the country.

Those with an intimate understanding of the Salafi creed say the stance by Aweys on this bewildering opposition to sports and TV is consistent with its teachings, namely, the notion that any pastime is a distraction from worship.

Qutubism

The other main counter-current to Salafism in Somalia is Qutubism. As the name suggests, this ideology owes its birth to the Egyptian Islamist thinker Sayyid Qutub, executed in 1966. The

principle text of Qutubism is the political commentary of the Holy Koran which Sayyid Qutub wrote in prison called "Fi Zilal al-Quran" (In the Shade of the Koran). This commentary and other writings by Qutub form the theoretical basis for the ideology which seeks to reconcile Islam and modernity. Qutub's vision is less atavistic than the Salafist vision and his critique of modern Western civilization is, in the main, not too extreme.

His followers have since refined the ideology, drawing on the works of many Sunni Islamist thinkers like Abul Ala Maududi of Pakistani. Islamist groups that embrace moderate versions of Qutubism, like the Islamic Brotherhood of Egypt, favour engagement, compromise and moderation to achieve their goals.

In the last few years, Shaykh Sharif Shaykh Ahmad, an Abgal cleric, has emerged as the principle proponent of Qutubism in Somalia. He has spoken in favour of engagement with the West and with the transitional government based in Baidoa. He has stated he is opposed to the creation of a Taleban-style government. In many of the interviews, Sharif has made it clear he favours a gradual approach in consolidating the power of the Islamic courts rather than the Islamization blitzkrieg favoured by Aweys.

In an interview with the pro-Islamist Somali website Goobjoog on 20 May, Sharif was clear he favoured dialogue with the interim government and a democratic settlement to the crisis in Somalia.

He is widely respected in the country for his keen intellect and piety, but in a militaristic society where power still flows from the barrel of the gun, it is difficult to see how he can become a powerful player in the new dispensation. Although regarded as the spokesman of the Islamic courts, everyone knows that the real power lies with Hasan Dahir Aweys.

Ethiopia

Aweys appears determined to sideline Shaykh Sharif and stamp his own Salafi vision on the Union of Islamic Courts. He is also determined to spread the influence of the courts across Somalia and establish an Islamic state.

Aweys remembers the bloody military campaigns in Puntland and southwestern Somalia in the 90's in which Al-Ittihad was routed by the Ethiopians and the man who now heads the transitional federal government of Somalia - Abdullahi Yusuf. The animus between the two men runs deep because of this history and Aweys may capitalize on his new-found power to make things very difficult for Abdullahi Yusuf.

In a recent BBC Somali Service interview, Aweys declined to clearly state whether he recognized the interim government based in Baidoa despite being pressed to do so by the interviewer. In the same interview, Aweys also voiced his support for the idea of Greater Somalia, by claiming Ethiopia-occupied Somali territory.

This bellicose rhetoric by Aweys has already heightened tension with Ethiopia. Somali media have in recent days been awash with reports of Ethiopian military incursions and although Addis Ababa has refused to admit this, many analysts believe Ethiopia has significantly stepped up its military presence in Somalia.

Tension

This troubling picture in Mogadishu is further complicated by inter-clan rivalries, mainly between the Ayr, the Mudulod and the Abgal clans, as well as the apparent resurgence of the traditional mainstream Sunni sects that are jostling for influence and creating their own Islamic courts in a bid to counter the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC).

A report published in the Shabeelle Media Network on 5 July suggests tension is rising in Mogadishu again, especially in Bermuda, and violent clashes may break out between the rival Islamic groups competing with one another in setting up Islamic courts.

Backlash

At the moment, Aweys needs Sharif to mollify and soften the critics of the courts at home and abroad, but a major falling out is inevitable at some stage in the near future. Indeed, Shaykh Sharif recently hinted at resigning in an interview with the London-based Al-Sharq al-Awsat on 7 June, something which surprised many.

The Islamists are fast squandering the public goodwill they earned since they ousted the hated warlords. The honeymoon is now over for the courts. The simmering ideological rift threatens to turn nasty and the violent campaign against so-called anti-Islamic behaviours is quickly alienating the public. In Somalia's chaotic and fluid political landscape, a major backlash against the courts cannot be ruled out.

UNSC, 20 June 2006, p.2, 3, 4:

5. While there has been progress in the political process, the security situation, especially in Mogadishu, remains a matter of serious concern. During the reporting period, the capital saw some of the worst fighting for nearly a decade. The conflict pitted militias loyal to the leaders of the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT) against those belonging to some of the Shariah Courts and their associates. Both sides belong to the Hawiye, the dominant clan in the Mogadishu area.

6. ARPCT was formed officially on 18 February 2006. It comprises Government ministers and powerful businessmen and faction leaders. The stated aim of ARPCT is to uproot terrorist elements reportedly linked to, or protected by, some of the Shariah Courts operating in Mogadishu. At least seven Shariah Courts have been established in the city in the past few years. In the absence of a functioning central or city government, they provide basic security and social services in sections of Mogadishu. While not all of the Shariah Courts have extremist leanings, some have been accused of being responsible for assassinations and terrorist attacks in Mogadishu. They have also been accused of harbouring foreign individuals suspected of terrorist activities.

7. The leaders of the Transitional Federal Government have stated repeatedly that ARPCT has not been acting in Mogadishu on their behalf. President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed and Prime Minister Ali Mohamed Gedi have maintained that if the leaders of ARPCT, particularly the ministers, were serious about fighting terrorism, they would have to come to Baidoa and work with the Government on that issue.

The Government insists that terrorism in Somalia can be addressed effectively only under its umbrella. However, some of the ministers in ARPCT and some of their adversaries in the Shariah Courts do not recognize the authority of the Transitional Federal Government.

8. Fighting erupted in Mogadishu on 22 March 2006 when militia loyal to Abukar Umar Adani attacked militia loyal to Bashir Raghe Shirar in the Galgalato area of north Mogadishu. Adani is believed to be the main financier of the Shariah Courts, while Shirar is a prominent businessman and ARPCT member. The

confrontation was seen to be a continuation of the clashes in January 2006 between the same militias for the control of access to the port of El-Ma'an. The fighting began as a commercial dispute within the Abgal sub-clan, to which Adani and Raghe belong, but soon escalated to involve other militias from ARPCT and the Shariah Courts. The fighting lasted for four days, resulting in the death of at least 60 people, most of them civilians. Some Shariah Court leaders

disassociated themselves from this fighting, declaring it to be a commercial dispute between Adani and Raghe. Although some of the fighting was for control of areas within the city, much of the conflict took place around airfields and ports, especially the ports through which humanitarian assistance is transported.

9. A second, intermittent, round of clashes between the same two groups continued throughout April 2006, with each side struggling for strategic advantage and neither side achieving substantial success. Meanwhile, in anticipation of further fighting, fearful civilians began to flee the city. It is estimated that up to 2,000 residents of Mogadishu sought safety across the border in Kenya.

10. A third round of fighting began on 6 May 2006 in north Mogadishu between militia loyal to the Chairman of the Union of Islamic Courts, Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed, and others loyal to Nur Hassan Ali "Nur Diqle", a member of ARPCT. Both leaders belong to the Abgal sub-clan of the Hawiye. The clashes soon spread to other parts of the city and brought in additional militia from both sides. The fighting was the heaviest Mogadishu had seen in years. Both sides used heavy weapons indiscriminately, causing the deaths of at least 160 people and the wounding of 250 others. Most of the casualties were civilians. Hundreds of families fled Mogadishu for neighbouring regions.

[...]

14. On 18 May 2006, Prime Minister Gedi, at the request of the Transitional Federal Parliament, wrote a letter to five ministers who are also members of ARPCT asking them to come to Baidoa within seven days to resume their ministerial functions. [...]The letter was written with the approval of President Yusuf. While three of the five ministers were reported to have responded positively and to have indicated their intention to come to Baidoa, Mohamed Qanyare Afrah and Muse Sudi Yallahow did not respond to the Prime Minister's request. The Prime Minister subsequently extended the deadline by another seven days.

15. On 24 May 2006, fighting resumed in the central districts of Mogadishu, causing a large number of casualties and severe dislocation and anguish for residents caught in the crossfire. The fighting subsided on 27 May with the Shariah Courts making significant territorial gains, especially in central Mogadishu. At least 60 people were reported killed and some 100 were injured. Many of the casualties, as in earlier rounds of fighting, were civilians. The fighting ended on 2 June with the militias of the Shariah Courts making significant gains. Some ARPCT leaders fled to Jowhar, whereas others were reported to be regrouping in north Mogadishu. On 4 June 2006, the militias of the Shariah Courts were reported to have taken control of Balad, a town on the road to Jowhar.

For more background information see in list of sources: 'Somalia's Islamists', ICG, 12 December 2005

Violations of UN arms embargo continue unabated (May 2006)

- Arms embargo violations continue, providing important amounts of arms to the three main antagonists (TFG, Islamic Courts Union and opposition warlords) and various smaller groups

UNSC, 4 May 2006, p. 6, 7:

"Arms embargo violations and the militarization of central and southern Somalia continue. Violations comprise a number of different types and forms, including arms and ammunition, military advice and training, military materiel and equipment, and financial support. Those

involved in arms embargo violations consist of the three principal antagonists — the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), Mogadishu-based opposition groups and the militant Islamic fundamentalists — and other important actors, including the business elite, pirate groups and clans involved in feuds over natural resources and other issues.

The Monitoring Group considers the militant fundamentalists to be those Islamic fundamentalists who are contending for national political power in Somalia and who have demonstrated their willingness to do so through violent means. In Somalia, these militant fundamentalists have been generally referred to as Al Itihad

Al Islaami or Al Itisaam. They, like TFG and the opposition groups in Mogadishu, have been obtaining, receiving and otherwise buying arms and other forms of military-related support in violation of the arms embargo on a sustained basis. It is significant to note that since the end of the last mandate, the militant

Islamic fundamentalists have conspicuously and loudly moved out from underneath the protective umbrella of the main opposition groups headquartered in Mogadishu. In doing so, they have actively and aggressively asserted their independence as the third force among the major antagonists. After effectively declaring their independence from the main opposition alliance, the militants, through the sharia

courts, have engaged the militias of the key opposition leaders in a number of bloody military-style engagements in and around Mogadishu. The militants, like the other principal antagonists, are well armed, trained and provisioned. They have significantly added to the geographic areas in central and southern Somalia under their influence and control.

The three antagonists and the other important actors referred to above have obtained their arms and other forms and types of military support from three basic sources: a widening circle of States that clandestinely provide support to the antagonist of their choice; the arms supermarket in Mogadishu, the Bakaraaha Arms

Market; and individuals and businesses. While States tend to be the main suppliers of the full range of military support, including finances, there are powerful individuals and businesses that also channel arms, military equipment and financial support to the antagonist of their choice.

The arms and other military support referred to above have sometimes been provided to an intended recipient as a contribution to be used to foster the interests of both the giver and the user; at other times, however, arms and military support items must be purchased.

The Monitoring Group, since its advent in 2004, has diligently conducted investigations with a view to exposing the financial networks and sources that permit the seemingly unending purchases of arms and other forms and types of military support in violation of the arms embargo. During its activities leading up to its

previous report, published in October 2005 (see S/2005/625), the Monitoring Group uncovered the various revenue sources of local warlords in their independently administered local administrations: airport and seaport fees, international commercial charcoal sales, permits for foreign fishing operations, ransom from acts of piracy, road checkpoints and others. Revenues generated from these sources help to explain the capability of warlords to maintain their militias and continuously purchase arms.

In its ongoing pursuit to determine the financial sources behind the purchases of arms and other military support, the Monitoring Group has, during the current mandate, uncovered the existence of a number of large business cartels and associated businesses, headquartered in Mogadishu, with complex and sprawling

business empires inside and outside of Somalia. Their business operations generate millions of dollars each year. They spend a portion of these dollars to maintain wellarmed and well-equipped militias, including the buying of arms and other military support items. They also provide support

to warlords and have direct relationships and connections with the militant fundamentalists; in some cases, they are themselves militants.

The business cartels, associated businesses and local administrations have created a very powerful cross-clan web of economic vested interests. Their combined economic, military and political strength is powerful enough to bring the process of establishing a new government in Somalia to a standstill, in an effort to maintain a status quo that ensures the preservation of those highly lucrative interests.

Certain members of the business elite, the opposition-based alliance, including dissident ministers of TFG and warlords of local administrations, and militant fundamentalists are regular, long-time members of a select group of arms embargo violators who have previously been identified by the Monitoring Group and the Panel of Experts before it (see S/2003/223, S/2003/1035, S/2004/604, S/2005/153 and S/2005/625). Some of these same individuals and parties are again identified in the present report."

Police officers graduate in Somalia (April 2006)

UNDP, 21 April 2006

"The first police officers from northeast and south Somalia to be trained in decades graduate from the recently established Armo Police Academy in Puntland today.

The 154 cadets, of whom 19 are female, joined the Academy on 1 December 2005 and came from different regions of Puntland and the Centre/South. The police officers will be deployed to serve in Baidoa, where the Extraordinary Session of the Somali Transitional Federal Parliament is currently taking place, as well as newly constructed police stations for the protection of internally displaced persons in Garowe and Bossaso.

"The significance of this day cannot be overemphasized," Prime Minister Ali Mohamed Gedi said. "These 154 police officers of the Somali Republic are the foundation of the return of rule of law to our country and the respect of human rights of every child, woman and man. This is a day that we are proud to witness."

To ensure quality and uniformity across the police force, the challenging training course has been a continuation of the one developed by the Rule of Law and Security Programme at the Mandera Police Academy in Somaliland covering law enforcement, international standards of human rights, community policing, basic police training, investigations, non-violent disarmament, physical fitness, self-defense and discipline. Computer lessons were also provided for female cadets."

Inter-governmental Somalia Contact Group created by the US (July 2006)

- The US established a high level Somalia Contact Group, monitoring the developments in Somalia
- The EU joined the Contact Group in June, hosting the second meeting of the group in Brussels
- The Contact Group urged the Security Council to consider modifying the arms embargo

Norway, 17 July 2006:

The International Somalia Contact Group was briefed on the African Union/IGAD and partner's assessment and reconnaissance mission and supports AU/IGAD initiatives to contribute to peace and stability in Somalia. In this regard, the contact group takes note of the endorsement of the National Security and Stabilisation Plan (NSSP) by the Transitional Federal Parliament. It looks forward to the submission of the detailed mission plan of the proposed IGAD/AU Peace Support Operation (PSO) in accordance with the UNSC Presidential Statement of 13 July 2006. The International Somalia Contact Group urges the UN Security Council to consider with a sense of urgency modifying the arms embargo to allow for training, capacity building, and development of a broad based, representative security sector building on successful dialogue between Somali parties. At the same time, the International Somalia Contact Group emphasizes the continued need for all to comply with the arms embargo.

EU, 13 June 2006:

"The European Union has joined the Somalia Contact Group, a US initiative to support the lawless east African nation that holds its first meeting Thursday in New York, the US State Department said Tuesday.

The United Nations and African Union will attend the gathering as observers, said State Department spokesman Sean McCormack. In addition to the United States and EU, the meeting will be attended by representatives of Britain, Norway, Sweden, Italy and Tanzania, said McCormack.

The meeting, whose location has yet to be disclosed, will be chaired by US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Jendayi Frazer. No Somali official was invited to the first meeting of the group, which Washington proposed Friday to "promote concerted action and coordination to support the Somalia transitional federal institutions."

"Given the fluid situation in Somalia, that would be problematic at this point," a senior US official who requested anonymity said Tuesday. The official refused to say if the United States had stopped financial backing of a Somali warlord alliance that was routed by Islamic militia in Mogadishu. "We continue to have an interest in fighting terrorism in Somalia," the senior official said.

Washington's concerns over extremism in Somalia manifested themselves in February when it helped the creation of the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism (ARPCT), giving the alliance cash and intelligence support to hunt down extremists allegedly hiding in Somalia."

Ethiopian involvement may destabilise the entire region (July 2006)

- Ethiopian troops buildup has been long denied by the Ethiopian government, but has become apparent in September
- Ethiopia intends to defend the TFG against the advance of the Islamic Courts Union

Mail and Guardian, 25 September 2006:

Hundreds of Ethiopian soldiers moved into the temporary seat of Somalia's weak government on Monday to protect the administration from feared attacks by powerful Islamists, witnesses said.

Between 300 and 400 uniformed Ethiopian soldiers in heavy trucks rolled into Baidoa after Islamist forces seized a key southern port overnight, further threatening the transitional government's limited authority, they said.

"We saw the trucks and the number of the forces could be 300 to 400," said Baidoa resident Mohamed Hassan, one of several witnesses to the deployment who spoke to Agence France-Presse. "The Ethiopians have arrived, they were in dozens of trucks," said another.

In Mogadishu, the defence chief of the Supreme Islamic Council of Somalia (SICS) told reporters that at least 300 Ethiopian soldiers had arrived on Monday in Baidoa. "We have solid reports about the Ethiopian troops in Baidoa from our intelligence department," said Yusuf Mohamed Siad. "They are accompanied by heavy war machinery. This an act of aggression." he added.

Both Ethiopia and the Somali government have in the past denied numerous eyewitness accounts of Ethiopian troops on Somali soil. But Addis Ababa has pledged to defend the government from any threat by the Islamists who took control of Mogadishu in June after months of fighting and have rapidly expanded their territory to include much of southern Somalia.

Despite an interim peace accord, tensions between the government and the Islamists are high and the two sides are at fierce odds of the proposed deployment of foreign peacekeepers to support the administration.

Reuters, 22 July 2006:

"The incursion of Ethiopian troops into Somalia to deter further advances by Islamist militia and protect the interim government is just the latest flare-up in a long history of tension between the Horn of Africa neighbours.

Here are key facts about their relations:

Ethiopia and Somalia have been rivals throughout history, and memories of the 1977-78 Ogaden war between the two are still fresh. Fought against a backdrop of shifting Cold War alliances, Ethiopia's army crushed Somali troops who tried to lay claim to the Ogaden region with the vision of recapturing ethnically Somali territories outside of Somalia. Ethiopia had seized the Ogaden in the early 1900s in what Somalis viewed as a colonialist expansion by a Christian empire.

The desolate Somali regions on both sides of the border have long been a hotbed of insurgent movements against both countries. Security experts say many nations in the region are happy to fight their conflicts there by proxy. A report to the United Nations on arms embargo violations says Eritrea has given weapons to the Islamists in the past year to frustrate Somalia's Ethiopian-backed government. Eritrea denies the charge.

Ethiopia has not hesitated to send troops into Somalia to attack radical Somali Islamic movements, wary they could stir up trouble in the ethnically Somali regions on its side of the border.

Several times from 1992 through to 1998, Ethiopian soldiers attacked members of al-Itihaad al-Islaami, a militant Somali group the United States has on a list of organisations linked to terrorism. The current Islamist leader in Somalia, hardliner Sheikh Hassan Dahir Aweys, was head of its military wing during that time.

Security experts and diplomats say roughly 5,000 Ethiopian troops crossed the border into Somalia earlier this month and another 20,000 have massed along the frontier so they can move in swiftly. Ethiopia and the Somali government deny any troops have entered Somalia, but Addis Ababa has said it will attack the Islamists if they advance on the government seat in Baidoa.

POPULATION FIGURES AND PROFILE

Overview

Numbers and recent displacements (Special report, 2006)

At the end of 2005, the UN estimated internal displacement at 370,000 to 400,000, out of a population of 6.8 million (OCHA, 30 November 2005). Tracking displaced populations in Somalia is particularly difficult as virtually all Somalis have been displaced by violence at least once in their life. In addition, many IDPs are dispersed, or living in unplanned settlements alongside destitute rural and urban populations rather than in camps. The displacement occurs in a society, in which two thirds of the population led a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence, traditionally moving with their herds to and from grazing and agricultural lands, water sources and trading centres. Wars and natural disasters have complicated and hampered these seasonal migrations.

An estimated 40,000 IDPs live in Somaliland, most of them in Hargeisa and Burao (OCHA, 22 November 2005). Puntland hosts an estimated 60,000 IDPs (OCHA, Puntland, 22 November 2005). The large majority of them live in urban agglomerations: over 21,000 IDPs live in Bossaso, some 12,600 in Garowe and around 10,000 in Galkayo. The rest live in smaller towns or in spontaneous settlements along major roads.

Mogadishu has attracted the largest population of displaced people, despite the volatile security situation and extremely poor living conditions in the city. Two recent surveys estimate the IDP population at 233,000 and 300,000 respectively (FUPAG, 30 May 2005; UNICEF, October 2005), while another estimate puts the number of IDPs in Mogadishu at 250,000 (OCHA, South/Central, 22 November 2005). The displaced live in some 200 settlements of varying sizes. Access to basic infrastructure or income-generating opportunities is minimal. Some 90,000 IDPs are reported to live along the Shabelle river, Gedo and Lower Juba, 15,000 of them in Kismayo (OCHA, South/Central, 22 November 2005). There are strong indications that the recent drought has increased the number of IDPs in Kismayo, but there is no international presence in Kismayo to confirm this trend.

For 2006, UN OCHA plans a countrywide assessment of the IDP population in Somalia. In doing so, the UN coordination body hopes to be in a position to subsequently identify the needs of the most vulnerable and to target humanitarian assistance, particularly in areas of south and central Somalia where humanitarian access continues to be very limited.

New displacement in 2005

Since 1995, there have been few large-scale displacements in Somalia. However, tens of thousands of people are temporarily displaced by localised conflicts every year. According to ICRC, some 40,000 families were newly displaced between January and August 2005 alone, most of them due to conflict situations. The majority of the displaced remained in their home region and were able to return after a few weeks or months (Interview with ICRC representative, Nairobi, October 2005, and email, November 2005). Despite the peace process launched in 2002, intermittent conflicts have made the ceasefire meaningless, preventing people from cultivating their lands and forcing thousands of Somalis to flee again, mostly in the regions of Mogadishu, Gedo, Juba, Shabelle and Galgaduud.

In El Wak (Gedo), continued violence between the Marehan and Gare clans increased the number of displaced from 10,000 in 2004 to 15,000 at the end of 2005, while many fled across the border into Kenya. After a ceasefire agreement in 2005, an unconfirmed number of IDPs have returned (OCHA, August 2005). Gedo bordering Kenya and Ethiopia is affected by regional political instability hampering the delivery of assistance and food, and little improvement is expected for the first half of 2006. Increased tensions between Ethiopia and Eritrea may have negative repercussions for the Somali border region (OCHA regional support office, November 2005). Clan fighting in Idale, Baidoa district, caused the displacement of around 1220 households in August 2005 (OCHA, August 2005).

While the situation in Mogadishu seems to have stabilised somewhat, violent inter- and intra-clan conflicts involving, among others, the Abgaal and Hawiye clans, continue to displace substantial numbers of people who often return later, resettle elsewhere in Mogadishu, or move to safer areas in the north. (AFP, 9 July 2005; OCHA, 31 May 2004; 9 July 2004).

The Indian Ocean tsunami struck the Somali coast on 26 December 2004 and caused the displacement of some 44,000 people. Among those affected were IDPs and seasonal migrants in search of work in the fishing industry. In towns like Bossaso and Garowe an increase in new arrivals was registered following the tsunami. As a result, donor interest has increased and a number of NGO have stepped up their activities since the tsunami, making attempts to also include vulnerable non-tsunami affected populations in their operations (IDD, May 2005).

Global figures

New displacement in 2006, with overall IDP figure still estimated at around 400,000 (September 2006)

- Tens of thousands newly arrived refugees in Kenya and Ethiopia give indication of impact of insecurity and drought in Somalia
- 17,000 people displaced by Mogadishu fighting in first half of 2006
- Over 300,000 people moved due to drought, many returned after rains set in

IRIN, 19 September 2006:

At least 22,000 Somali refugees have arrived in Kenya since the beginning of this year to join 130,000 others who have lived in refugee camps in the remote, arid Dadaab area in the country's Northeastern Province since 1991. Although most of the new arrivals early this year fled because of food shortages after the drought, people also sought to escape the warfare that engulfed Mogadishu from February to June as the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) fought and eventually dislodged an alliance of warlords from the city.

Mogadishu has been calm since early June but the flow of people from Somalia, many from Mogadishu, the volatile coastal town of Kismayo, and Baidoa, seat of the country's transitional government, has continued, according to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

"The rise in the number of Somalis escaping to Kenya, up from about 100 a day a month ago, has us worried that an outbreak of violence in Kismayo could trigger even more outflows," Ron Redmond, UNHCR's spokesman, said in Geneva.

Some 360 Somali refugees crossed the border into Kenya on Friday alone. About 300 people arrived daily during the previous 72 hours, according to the agency.

The head of UNHCR's sub-office in Dadaab, Nemia Temporal, said the latest flight of people from Somalia, amid fears that another round of factional bloodletting was imminent, was making refugees who have lived in the camps for 15 years lose hope of ever returning home.

UNHCR, 28 July 2006: *Refugees arriving in neighbouring countries are indication of displacement in Somalia.*

UNHCR is leading a joint inter-agency assessment mission to remote areas of eastern Ethiopia after recent reports that Somalis fleeing the country following the Islamic Courts taking control of the capital Mogadishu, have crossed the border. No figures are available as reports have been sketchy, but the mission is tasked with determining how many people have crossed, over their immediate needs as well planning for adequate reception arrangements for any future new arrivals. We are concerned that any fighting in Somalia could provoke new influxes.

UNSC, 20 June 2006, p.9, 10:

49. Seventeen thousand people have been displaced as a result of the recent fighting in Mogadishu. Initially, most of these movements were within the city. As the fighting intensified, however, people started to leave Mogadishu for other locations, including Afgoye, Balad, Elasha, Bulu Hawa, Jowar and Merka. Even before the fighting started, an estimated 250,000 internally displaced persons resided in Mogadishu. Between 10,000 to 20,000 internally displaced persons have left the capital. Most of the displaced are children, women, the elderly and the disabled. They are expected to return when the fighting ends. If the fighting persists, it could have serious consequences for the humanitarian situation in southern Somalia, including the main humanitarian supply pipeline from the port of El Ma'an.
[...]

52. UNHCR and local and international partners have initiated a project to track population movement, which provides data needed to develop contingency plans and strengthen prevention

against further population displacement. The population movement information database in the Nairobi office of UNHCR continues to analyse cross-border movements induced by drought. 53. Drought in February and March 2006 increased population movement, as pastoralists and their livestock moved towards riverine areas and urban centres in search of water, pasture and humanitarian assistance. Competition for water and green pasture caused an increase in resource-based conflicts. During March 2006, the United Nations tracked the movement of some 300,000 people from areas affected by drought. With the onset of the Gu rains, many have started to return to their areas of origin in the traditional pastoral hinterlands. Protection needs are greatest among communities of internally displaced persons that have been burdened by multiple displacements.

New displacements during 2005

OCHA, 30 November 2005, p.6

"Despite reconciliation attempts by elders and clan members, the fighting between the Gare and Marehan in El Wak, Gedo continued intermittently during 2005 and an estimated 15,000 people have been displaced in El Wak district. Attempts by the humanitarian community to negotiate access with the two clans have been on-going but continued tensions on the ground have impeded the resumption of essential services. The use of landmines that was reported in August could further negatively impact access and security for both civilians and aid personnel. In October, renewed talks brought out the possibility of future peace in the area although this had not been finalised at the time this document went to press (October 2005)."

OCHA regional office, November 2005

"Little improvement is expected for the humanitarian situation in El Wak and indeed a further decline is predicted. Needs are expected to span all sectors affecting displaced populations and the communities that host them".

ICRC, email, November 2005

Severe flooding along the Juba and Shabelle rivers in south Somalia displaced around 11,000 households between January and August 2005, according to the ICRC. The ICRC attempts to target new displacements in order to facilitate returns where possible and to prevent displacement situations becoming protracted. (Interview, Nairobi, October 2005)

Many displacements occur locally and tend to be temporary. ICRC reports some 33,000 families displaced by localised conflicts between January and August 2005. The organisation presumes that most of those newly displaced returned home a few weeks or months later.

AFP, 9 July 2005

"At least five people were killed and dozens injured after militia from rival Somali sub-clans fought over access to water in the capital Mogadishu, witnesses said on Saturday. The clashes, which were sparked by a disagreement over a water well on Friday, pitted the Waesle and Daudi sub-clans of the larger Hawiye clan in villages in south-western Mogadishu, they said. The wounded were taken to Mogadishu's Medina hospital, according to witnesses who requested anonymity. Fighting had subsided on Saturday as elders shuttled between both sides to broker a truce, but hundreds of dwellers were fleeing to safe districts amid fears of fresh fighting, they said. Most Somali pastoralist clans have been at loggerheads over land and water rights since the whole of the Horn of Africa nation plunged into anarchy after the 1991 violent ouster of dictator Mohammed Siad Barre."

Geographical distribution

Recurrent displacements in southern and central Somalia due to intermittent inter-factional conflicts (2004)

- An estimated 86,000 people were displaced in southern and central Somalia excluding Mogadishu
- There are about 15,000 IDPs in Kismayo among whom 8,000 from Bantu and 5,000 from Galgala origins (2002)
- Displacements caused by conflicts in Kismayo and Lower and Middle Juba regions in 2004
- Conflict between rebel forces and pro-government troops over the main port of Kismayo displaced hundreds of thousands of people in 2001
- Violent inter-clan conflict in Gedo in May and June 2004 forced 10,000 people to flee to Beletamin camp already hosting 4000 IDPs
- Violent conflict between the SRRC and the Juba Valley Alliance (JVA) have displaced 6000 people from Bulo Hawa in Gedo in 2002
- Conflict between the RRA over the establishment of the self-declared autonomous region of the South West State of Somalia which displaced about 5250 people in Baidoa Bay region subsided in 2004
- 240 families were displaced by clan fighting along the east and west bank of the Shabelle in Hiraan in February 2004
- In Galgaduud between 2000-9000 families were displaced by conflict in November 2003

“IDP caseload in southern and central Somalia, excluding Mogadishu, is approximately 86,000 persons (UNCU study 2002).” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.1)

Middle and Lower Juba, capital: Kismayo

“Low-level conflict also continued in the far south, in Kismayo and the Lower and Middle Juba regions. While reports indicate that large-scale displacement resulting from clan warfare have taken place in each of the Bu’aale and Jilib districts of the Middle Juba region, insecurity has so far prevented a full assessment of these situations.” (UN, 15 June 2004, p.2,3)

“These, together with 15,000 [...] IDPs in Kismayo, are the most acutely vulnerable in southern and central Somalia, suffering from food insecurity and health threats.” (UN, 18 November 2003, p.11,13)

“About 60,000 of the estimated Kismayo District population of 88,000 (WHO NIDs figures, Oct 2002) live in Kismayo town. Among the residents are many internally displaced persons (IDPs) who have settled in over twenty camps [...] within Kismayo town since 1992/93. These IDPs fled some high potential areas of Mareley, Sanguni, Mugambo, Jowhar, Mahaday, Brava and Bay Region due to insecurity.” FSAU Nutrition Update, 31 December 2002)

“The portal town of Kismayo, which is the largest town in the Juba valley region, accommodates the largest **IDP** population in the region. Approximatey 15,000 **IDPs** the majority of whom are Bantu (8,000 persons), Galgala (5,000 persons), Tuni, Werdai, Ajuran and Ormala ethnic minority groups. The majority of IDPs are women and children.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.25)

"The JVA and Morgan have clashed in the nearby Lower Juba since July 27, leaving some 200 people dead and displaced hundreds of families, militia and medical sources said.

'Already dozens of families left and more others who can afford to get food during the voyage would go to Mogadishu and the port town of Merka,' said another Jilib resident, Asha Ibrahim." (AFP 3 September 2001)

"The forces that captured Kismayo are made up of Morgan's Somali Patriotic Movement, drawn from the Darod clan, the Rahanwein Resistance Army, and the South Somali National Movement." (AFP 6 August 2001)

Gedo:

"A violent inter-clan conflict that broke out in Somalia's region of Bula Hawa in May, has caused an extensive internal displacement. ACT member on the ground has reported that 10 people were killed, hundreds injured, hundreds of households looted, and over 5,000 people displaced in Mandera, Kenya and Dolo in Ethiopia. The consequences of another wave of violence which followed in the beginning of June were even more catastrophic with 58 more people killed, 200 injured and 10,000 people internally and externally displaced. Trade within the town has been disrupted hindering alternative source of livelihood. The displaced population remains in poorly maintained collective camps and is lacking basics such clean drinking water and food. These already precarious conditions have been further exacerbated by this year's drought.

[...]

A population of 4,000 was displaced in Mandera and Dolo and a further 10,000 people have gone to Beletamin displacement camp which already hosts 4000 people. Other people are displaced in Siftu (Ethiopia) shirko and Malarey 15 Kms away from Bula Hawa and Mandera in Kenya." (ACT, 17 September 2004)

"In April 2002, situation in Gedo drastically deteriorated due to intra-Marehan clan conflict, which flared up and caused the displacement of around 15,000 persons either across the Kenya border or throughout the region away from armed conflict area." (UNCU/OCHA 30 July 2002,p25)

"The most significant conflict during this reporting period took place in Gedo region in April, involving pro Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC) and pro Juba Valley Alliance (JVA) militia. These clashes have resulted in the death of innocent civilians and have left many injured. Approximately 6,000 people from Bulo Hawa have been displaced as a direct result of the conflict." (UN, May 2002, p.2)

"Heavy fighting in Bulo Hawo in April claimed the lives of over eighty militia and an unconfirmed number of civilian casualties. Up to 10,000 persons fled across the border to Mandera, Kenya. Although IDPs are now slowly returning to Bulo Hawo, the area remains tense and prolonged displacement may have an impact on food security." (UNICEF 12 July 2001, sect. 1)

Bay region:

"Meanwhile, reconciliation efforts among the Rahanweyn have triggered the return of large numbers of IDPs to the villages surrounding Baydhaba in Bay region, more than 2,500 of who fled fighting amongst the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) in 2003. An estimated 1,200 remain in Waajid but these too are expected to return home. While the talks have yet to conclude, the area has been peaceful since they began in January 2004, and access has improved considerably." (UN, 15 June 2004, p.3)

"Civil insecurity in October [2003], close to Baidoa, led to an assessment by WFP, UNICEF, World Vision and ACF during November which found that up to 6,000 persons are estimated to have been displaced from civil insecurity in the area." (FSAU, 10 December 2003)

"The humanitarian situation in Bay and Bakool is dominated by the conflict and displacement of mainly women and children. As well as older men indicating the nature and severity of the conflict. Since June 2002, fighting in and around Baidoa between the combined militias of Muhammad Ibrahim Habsade (RRA Deputy Chairman) and Shaykh Adan Madobe (RRA Deputy Chairman), and the militia of Hasan Muhammad Nur Shatigadud (RRA Chairman) has led to population displacement on a large scale. This fighting, predominantly between the clans of the Leysan and Harin, has led to some of the worst killings in the region since 1991. Although reliable information remains poor, fighting and the targeting of unarmed civilians, including women and children, the burning of huts and the looting of grain stores has been reported in a wide northern arc from Daynoney to the east (between Baidoa and Buurhakaba) to Awdiinley in the west. [...] This has led to waves of displacement of people from Harin villages in Baidoa district to other Harin villages in Bay and Bakool regions, Buurhakaba, and Mogadishu." (OCHA, 28 November 2003)

"Tension had been rising in Baidoa, the headquarters of the RRA, due to a deepening split between Shatigadud and his deputies over the establishment of the self-declared autonomous region of the South West State of Somalia (SWS). Shatigadud was declared SWS president in late March [2002]." (IRIN, 4 July 2002)

Bakool:

"The fighting that broke out in July 2002 escalated late last year leading to the displacement of an estimated 3,000 women and children who are now crowded into four camps in Waajid district, Bakool region." (WV, 29 January 2004)

Hiraan:

"Clan fighting in February 2004 displaced about 240 families from the west to the east bank of the Shabelle river in Belet Weyne, Hiraan region, as well as the more secure areas of the west bank. These families have for the most part been absorbed by relatives and are expected to return once the conflict subsides." (UN, 15 June 2004, p.2,3)

Galgaduud:

"Most notably, clan conflicts that started in April 2003 and continued intermittently into 2004, have displaced approximately 5,250 Somalis, primarily women, children and old men, in the Abudwaq district of Galagduud region. A prolonged dry season and the resultant scarcity of water has compounded their hardship and also stressed host communities' ability to cope with the influx. As a result, the displaced persons have begun cutting trees to sell for charcoal and firewood, causing further damage to land. Water, shelter, food and health needs are significant and some assistance has been provided. But the fragile security situation continues to hamper a more comprehensive response. Efforts by religious leaders to reconcile the parties to the conflict have not yet taken root." (UN, 15 June 2004, p.2)

"Intense inter-clan fighting in the central region of Galgaduud, in Abudwaaq and Murusade districts (see para. 26), forced some 9,000 people to flee to surrounding towns whose inhabitants are themselves suffering from food insecurity because of drought conditions." (UN SC, 12 February 2004)

The great majority of IDPs, an estimated 250,000, live in Mogadishu (2004)

- Mogadishu hosts the largest IDP population in the whole of Somalia and Somaliland varying between 150,000 and 280,000 people
- Estimates of IDP camps, open settlements and public buildings where IDPs live in Mogadishu vary between 138 and 200

- Up to 7,500 households were displaced in Mogadishu as a result of fighting in May 2004
- Mogadishu is divided by a “green line” in north and south, controlled by various warlords and militias fighting over control of the capital its port and airport which remained closed as of 2004
- Internally displaced reportedly make up 20 to 25% of Mogadishu population
- Hundreds of people continue to die in Mogadishu from violent armed confrontations between TNG forces, their allied militias and opposition forces

"These findings do not include the needs of the estimated 370,000-400,000 internally displaced people (IDPs) scattered in 34 urban settlements throughout Somalia (of whom 250,000 are in Mogadishu alone)" (UN, 18 November 2004)

Mogadishu is one of the most dangerous places in Somalia. Agencies have no permanent presence in the capital. Expatriate staff only visit Mogadishu on very short ad-hoc basis to deliver aid and supplies. Some few Somalis working for international agencies in Mogadishu have a permanent presence in town but their freedom of movement is very restricted. Many agencies resort to armed escorts to move around town in a very unpredictable and volatile security environment, where they pass through mobile and anarchical check points and tax-collection points.

Ironically, Mogadishu is the biggest magnet for people fleeing other war-torn areas and looking for alternative work opportunities. Population movements in and out of town are very fluid, influenced by intermittent conflicts in South and Central Somalia as well as climatic and seasonal factors.

Under these circumstances, needs assessments, surveys and registration of IDPs have not been possible to conduct, nor population movements to and out of Mogadishu have been possible to monitor. As a result the number of IDPs present in town and estimated number of camps or settlements where they live are based on assumptions.

"previous estimates of 150,000 IDPs have been updated to approximately 250,000." (OCHA, 23 April 2004)

"Heavy fighting among rival militias broke out in northern parts of Mogadishu on May 9 and continued for a few days. The scale and intensity of fighting was the highest in the last two years. At least 60 people are reported to have been killed, over half of them civilians. Some 200 persons were injured, a majority of them civilians as well.

Furthermore, the lives of many people, who lived in a degree of normalcy in the last two years, have been disrupted. The fighting resulted in primary and secondary displacement of between 5,000 and 7,500 households. It was difficult to establish an accurate figure of the displaced due to prevailing insecurity and lack of access." (OCHA, 31 May 2004)

"About 150,000 displaced persons continued to live in some 200 Mogadishu-area camps and squatter settlements at year's end." (USCR, 31 December 2003)

"The highest concentration of IDPs of 150,000 [...] can be found in Mogadishu." (UN, 18 November 2003, p.11,13)

"UN Humanitarian Coordinator Maxwell Gaylard, on a visit to Mogadishu in April, lamented the conditions of *circa* 280,000 IDPs resident in the capital." (OCHA, 31 October 2003, p.7)

"Several thousand people fled into Mogadishu, further crowding the city with displaced families. About 230,000 displaced persons lived in some 200 Mogadishu-area camps and squatter settlements as the year ended [2000]." (USCR 2001, p. 105)

"More than 350,000 people are internally displaced and tend to live off subsistence wages for unskilled day labour, including over 100,000 in Mogadishu." (UN March 2001, p. 114)

"Estimates on the number of camps in and around Mogadishu vary: according to the Somali Refugee Agency SORA, there are 138 camps in Mogadishu, north and south, in which 30 per cent of the population are refugees, while the non-governmental organization Action Contre la Faim estimates that 234,000 displaced Somalis live in 201 camps in Mogadishu (IRIN-CEA 27 April 1999), whereas another source indicates the number of IDPs in Mogadishu is almost 250,000 in about 150 camps in open areas, comprising approximately 20 to 25 per cent of the population of Mogadishu. (FEWS Network 26 February 1999)

IDPs in Somaliland (June 2006)

- Gashan, a Hargeisa NGO working for Southern IDPs, identified the main clan origins of the IDPs
- There are about 40,000 people in Somaliland displaced by the war in southern and central Somalia (OCHA, November 2005)
- Hargeisa hosted about 4,200 IDPs, Burca 360, Berbera 360 and Yirowe 900 as of April 2004, according to OCHA
- The Northwest hosts about 11,000 IDPs, mainly in urban centers notably Hargeisa has four IDP camps: Mohamed Moge, Sheik Nor, Dami and the State House in 2002
- Over 38,000 IDPs lived in and around major towns in northwestern and northeastern Somalia in 2002
- An estimated 15,000 IDPs lived around Hargeisa and Burao (2002)
- Up to 1.5 million people were displaced due to Siad Barre's counter-insurgency war

Gashan, Press release, 15 June 2006

"Gashan Women Development Organization is humanitarian non-profit seeking organization working with the southern Somali IDPs, whom fled from south and central Somali, especially the adjacent of the two rivers, Shabelle and Juba.

They had displaced because the 15years long running civil war in south Somalia. The origin of these people are from clans of DIGIYO MIRIFLE, JAREER and other minor Somali Clans, whom had no much of political and economical access and were

very vulnerable at the time of the regime of siyad barre and after its collapse. They had fled to Somaliland to where they thought, as there was a peace, law and order and suitable life.

As long as they had put their foots on here. Gashan had sent alarms to UN agencies and international NGOs and also Somaliland Government to deal with the vast need of the upcoming IDPs. Fortunately UNDP and WFP had humanly answered the call of humanity."

OCHA, October 2005:

Below are the population figures of the eight most important IDP and returnee settlements in Hargeisa:

Settlement	HH in 2002	HH in 2005
Sheik Nur	2,600	??
Mohd. Mogeh	1,000	??
Stadium	750	??
Aw'adan	500	??
Daami	1,700	1,250
State House	750	3,300
Ayaha A	500	500
Ayaha B	0	500

Sources: a) Returnee Assessment June 2002, b) NRC State House Survey Feb. 2005 & c) UNICEF PRA Survey May2005.

"The table above estimates the number of households residing in the various settlements within and around Hargeisa. The majority of the residents of Mohamed Mogeh, Sheikh Nur, Aw'aden & Stadium are returnees, with displaced ranging from 10% to 15%."

OCHA, 22 November 2005:

"The number of IDPs in Somaliland is currently estimated at approximately 40,000. IDPs and returnees are living in very poor conditions – often in urban areas with inadequate water and sanitation and lacking income opportunities and access to basic social services. Many also lack protection (usually provided by their clan) while there remains no policy on the internally displaced. The resources for IDP programmes continue to be limited and affect a comprehensive response. Minimal reliable protection data exists on IDPs. While the authorities continue to make progress towards respecting human rights, violations still occur and need to be addressed, particularly with regard to IDPs but also minorities – and in terms of poor prison conditions, arbitrary detentions and inadequate judicial processes.

The establishment of relative stability in Somaliland has facilitated access by the humanitarian community to the most vulnerable populations in most parts of the region except for the contested areas of Eastern Sanaag and Sool. The last round of fighting broke out around Las Anood in October 2004. According to the Somaliland authorities the fighting displaced a total of 1,500 households."

UN, 15 June 2004:

"Included in the classification of "illegal foreigners" are some 40,000 IDPs, mainly from southern Somalia."

"The estimated number of IDPs varied from 30.000 to 70.000 throughout Somaliland, with the main concentration in and/or around major towns. The latter figure included Ethiopian refugees in Somaliland. However, the IDPs do not have a special status that differentiates them from others. It was perceived that the majority of the IDPs are women and children, while some talked about entire families." (OCHA, 22 June 2004)

"The current IDP population in Somaliland is estimated to be over 30,000 people who have mostly settled in major towns, out of which half are thought to live in Hargeisa town. The IDP settlements are scattered in and around Hargeisa. The main locations are: 1. State House, 2. Independence

Garden, 3. New Hargeisa, 4. Sheikh Nur, 5. Sheikh Mubarik, 6. Aw Aden, 7. Mohamed Mooge, and 8. Stadium." (Gashan, 15 August 2004)

Gashan estimates that about 3800 displaced families, or about 22,040 IDPs (5.8 average household size according to UNDP 2002), who fled the war in the south currently live in Hargeisa. These IDPs lost their property, they fled because their lives were threatened, they faced man-made famines, banditry, rape and the region continues to be thorned by hostilities. Out of these 3800 families only about 485 or about 2813 people are estimated to receive assistance from UNDP according to Gashan.

There is a second category of IDPs living in Hargeisa. IDPs from Somaliland who were displaced during the civil unrests in 1994 and 1997 as well as prolonged drought and famine, which caused the loss of their properties, livestock and agricultural lands. These IDPs are believed to be about 3400 families, or 19,720 people.

"In addition, it is estimated that over 38,000 IDPs live in and around major towns in northwestern and northeastern regions" (UN, November 2002, p.96)

"[T]here are approximately 15,000 IDPs in the north-western towns of Hargeisa and Burao." (UN, November 2002, p.37)

"IDP caseload in northwest Somalia (Somaliland) is approximately 40,500 persons (UNCU study 2000)." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.1)

"Within Somalia there is also a significant population of IDPs whose situation needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency. There are an estimated 11,000 IDPs living in Northwest Somalia, [...] primarily in Hargeysa and other urban centres." (IGAD/UNDP/UNHCR, June 2002, p.4)

"By 1988 full scale civil war broke out in Northwest, where Siyad Barre's force attacked the city of Hargeysa in a brutal campaign against the Isaaq clan that led to charges of genocide" (IGAD/UNHCR/UNDP, December 2000, p.7)

"Siad Barre's sustained military offensive crippled agricultural production, destroyed nearly all of the region's livestock, decimated northwest Somalia's businesses, places of worship, and water infrastructure, and uprooted almost the entire population of approximately 2.5 million people.

[...] An estimated 1.5 million additional people were displaced within northwest Somalia." (USCR, December 2001, p.15)

Hargeysa District:

"In and around Hargeisa, there are now four IDP camps: Mohamed Morge, Sheick Nor, Darmi and the State house area." (Lindgaard 23 March 2001)

"Hargeysa town is the biggest agglomeration in the Northwest and concentrates public administration, private sector and international community interventions. Urban growth started before the war with the migration of the rural population. Since the end of the hostilities Hargeysa has undertaken significant reconstruction and rehabilitation activities and is the destination for a large number of refugees and IDPs.

Hargeysa town hosts about 60% of the returnee population, most of whom are spontaneous returnees of 1991-1997. In addition, a considerable number of refugees remaining in the Ethiopian camps (Camaboker, Rabasso, Daror) are choosing Hargeysa as their zone of repatriation." (IGAD/UNDP/UNHCR, June 2002, pp.22-23)

Burao District:

"Burao town is an important livestock trade centre, with a considerable concentration of urban population. There are also a significant number of rural populations in the district. Strongly affected by the past conflict, both urban and rural zones have to cope with the presence of a very large number of IDPs (several camps of IDP are located in the district). It also has received many spontaneous returnees during the past years.

Burao district will be a significant destination of the repatriation movement as a large number of refugees remaining in the Daror camp in Ethiopia have selected this district." (IGAD/UNDP/UNHCR, June 2002, p 23)

Ssee OCHA's complete table of IDP Estimates for Somalia by district or town, as of April 2004 in the bibliography below.

IDPs in Puntland state of Somalia (March 2006)

- Puntland hosts some 60-70,000 IDPs, among which 25-28,000 in Bossaso
- Some 12,600 vulnerable people live in Garowe, most of them IDPs from the south
- Most of Bossaso's IDPs live in about 10 camps grouped according to clan affiliation
- About 2,400 IDPs lived in Baadweyn as of April 2004
- The Northeast has no infrastructure to absorb an indeterminable numbers of IDPs from southern Somalia as well as influx of returnees

OCHA, 21 March 2006:

"In the last three years and attracted by Puntland's relative stability, the number of people spontaneously moving into the region has risen - fleeing the south for security and economic reasons. IDPs and returnees occupy the major towns particularly Bossaso, Galkayo, Garowe and Gardho. However, reports suggest this has detrimentally impacted on the standard of living of the host population who are obliged to assist (with whatever support they can) through the extensive Somali family network and putting great additional strain on the area's limited resources.

[...]

It is estimated that up to 60,000 IDPs are languishing in IDP settlements in the major towns of Puntland with contaminated water and no sanitation facilities, lack of access to basic social services, rampant disease and regular outbreaks of fire/arson. However, there is a very active inter-agency IDP working group consisting of UN agencies, INGOs and local partners who are providing assistance to the Puntland authorities on the provision of humanitarian assistance to IDPs in Bosasso and Garowe, as well as looking at the implementation of longer term responses which focus on IDP reintegration.

[...]

There is an urgent need to build roads and communication facilities so rural areas do not remain cut off from the rest of Somalia and the outside world. The remote north eastern coastal areas of the region had never received any form of humanitarian assistance before the tsunami struck in late 2004.

Puntland is facing rapid urbanization, which is creating another vulnerable group – the urban poor. This group includes destitute pastoralists, economic migrants and people who are unable to make ends meet through lack of livelihood opportunities. Private sector business remains relatively limited so there are few employment opportunities."

UNDP, May 2005, p.4:

"The estimated number of households for the vulnerable population was 1,500 or 12,605 people, thus Garowe has the third highest number of vulnerable populations in Puntland following Bossaso, and Galkayo.

- Most of these people arrived from the south/ central parts of Somalia, within Puntland, Somaliland and others from Ethiopia in search of economic opportunities, peace and stability.
- Households average 6 members
- Darood, Rahanweyn and Jareer clans dominate the IDPs, returnees and the urban poor in Garowe.
- There are more females (54,2%) than males (45,8%) in the town.
- 53,8% of the population is below 17 years of age while 44,3% is between 18 and 65 years.
- 82,0% have attended Madrassa, despite that, they can neither read nor write.
- 46,6% of the household members survive on casual labour, women are mostly engaged as housemaids, selling wares, clothes, tea, hired to sale mirror, garbage collection and washing clothes. Men are involved in digging toilets, water reservoirs, wells, assisting in the construction industry, loading vehicles, slaughtering of animals and working in small farms around Garowe.
- Common skills include masonry, carpentry, driving and mechanics that they acquired whilst they were in the south.

Water and sanitation

- All the communities have access to water, however the main concern is poor quality of the water that is contaminated, and the main sources are shallow dug wells.
- Above 52,0% of the households use more than 40litres of water per day and children are also involved in water collection.
- 75,0% of the households have no access to sanitation"

UN, 15 June 2004, p.3:

"Puntland already hosts some 70,000 IDPs – the largest concentration of about 25,000 is based in Bossaso – and the government's capacity to provide for them is limited.

[...]

But, the protective environment for "foreigners" in general, and IDPs from southern Somalia in particular, has continued to deteriorate. Harassment, exploitation and extortion of these groups are not uncommon. These conditions have forced many to flee southwards and into Puntland where they are living in squalid conditions."

UN, 18 November 2003, p. 153:

"The port city of Bossaso in northeastern Somalia has a total estimated population of 120,000 people. In addition, an estimated 22,000 IDPs live in various camps around the city in a very precarious situation. The IDPs are mostly from the regions of southern Somalia where they fled sporadic fighting and clan skirmishes. Some of the camp dwellers are internal migrants from the nomadic inland areas, attracted to the town by trading needs or by the possibility of jobs in the transport industries. [...] The IDPs are grouped according to clan affiliations in some ten major camps around the city. These camps are places of extreme deprivation. Overcrowding and lack of services have turned them into hotbeds of infectious diseases. "

IGAD/UNDP/UNHCR, June 2002, p.3, 4:

"Due to its relatively unscathed status the Northeast has been the destination for many of Somalia's IDPs, particularly from the war-ravaged south. It is impossible to quantify the precise numbers of IDPs who have moved to this region since many of them have integrated into communities where they have family ties. However, it is clear that there has been a considerable influx of population into the region, which does not have the infrastructure to cope with such a population increase.

In addition to this, an estimated 33,000 IDPs are living in camps on the outskirts of Bossaso and Gal kayo [...] in Northeast Somalia, with minimal infrastructure and economic livelihood opportunities.

[...]

The total population of Bossaso District is estimated at 250,000 persons. Bossaso town suffered a moderate level of physical destruction and has to cope with poverty and environmental problems. Strongly affected by a large influx of IDPs (including an estimated 28,000 in settlements around the town [...]) the district has a limited absorption capacity because of its weak urban services. After the war Bossaso became the most important port of the Northeast, which is a unique employment source."

UNHCR/UNDP, December 2000, p.34:

"Bossaso town suffered a moderate level of physical destruction and has to cope with poverty and environmental problems. Strongly affected by influx of IDP estimated at 165,000 and returnees (close to 8,000), the district has a limited absorption capacity because of its weak urban services. After the war Bossaso became the most important port of the Northeast, which is a unique employment source."

USCR 2000, pp. 115-116:

"Tens of thousands of people remained internally displaced in relatively calm Somaliland and Puntland, according to aid agencies. Thousands of residents from southern Somalia fled to northern areas, particularly to Puntland, hoping to escape Somalia by boat to Yemen. Hundreds drowned in overcrowded boats en route to Yemen. Another 7,000 reached Yemen during the year."

See OCHA's complete table of IDP Estimates for Somalia by district or town, as of April 2004 in the bibliography below.

Disaggregated data

Categories of IDPs and their specific vulnerabilities (2005)

Somaliland

1) Those displaced by conflict from South/Central Somalia into Somaliland or Puntland They find themselves away from their clan base; (the majority belonging to clans originating from riverine areas, i.e. Digil, Mirifle, Bantu and others). A decree issued by the Somaliland authorities in 2003 calling for deportation of "foreigners", although never formally enforced, actually resulted in a number of these IDPs moving to Puntland. Nevertheless, many still remain in Somaliland. They are easily identifiable by their physical appearance and dialect, which mark them as prey to harassment, exploitation and discrimination. Mostly from an agricultural (farming) background, they are unable to find steady jobs in the urban areas where they are located, therefore they resort to casual labor and begging. The majority are women and children with a large number of households headed by females, adding to their overall vulnerability. Due to their extreme poverty, they live in appalling conditions and lack access to protection and basic services.

2) Nomads mostly from Sanag/Sool regions who were affected by the drought in the 1970s and resettled in central and south Somalia to work as fishermen. A significant number of this group fled the unrest and returned to urban areas in Somaliland, where they also have difficulties finding jobs. In addition, further displacement has been created with the "border" conflict currently ongoing between Somaliland and Puntland.

3) Those displaced by natural disasters, such as drought and floods, and forced to flee to areas within Somaliland; some of these IDPs were living in south/central Somalia but had their clan base in Somaliland and decided to move there during the conflict. Mostly nomads who were displaced by the severe droughts that have affected the region, they have no skills other than those associated with livestock raising but have lost their pastoral livelihoods. They are often hosted by their tribesmen in urban areas who provide sustenance and protection for them. In cases where their clansmen are unable to assist them, they resort to casual labor and begging. They maintain the hope that circumstances will allow them to return to their previous pastoral lifestyles. However, even though restoration of their livestock is a possibility, unless the massive degradation of traditional grazing pastures is remedied, this option would be unsustainable and is therefore unadvisable, according to both international and Somali specialists.

4) Returnees, while at one point almost all Somalilanders were refugees, some particularly vulnerable returnees have indeed found that even years after their return, reintegration is still a difficult challenge. So they find themselves in vulnerable settlement areas and, while not strictly IDPs, do need to be considered at risk and do need to be targeted for assistance at the same time as their IDP neighbors.

Puntland

1) Those who have their clan-base in Puntland but who have lived for 2 or 3 generations in South and Central Somalia where they own property and businesses. They fled to Puntland to escape the unrest in Somalia.

2) IDPs from South and Central Somalia who were displaced by conflict, the majority of whom live in Bosasso. Since they are not ethnic Puntlanders, they face discrimination in access to protection and basic services. It is unlikely that they will be able to integrate.

3) Conflict related IDPs “expelled” from Somaliland who originally fled South/Central Somalia to go to Somaliland but later decided to move towards Puntland under the threat of being expelled by the Somaliland authorities.

4) Nomads who have been displaced by the drought and flood and lost their pastoral livelihoods. They have no skills other than those associated with animal husbandry. They are often hosted by tribesmen in urban areas who provide sustenance and protection for them. In cases where their clansmen are unable to assist them, they resort to casual labor and begging.

5) Tsunami affected IDPs also constitute a vulnerable group. A considerable number are IDPs, since they have moved from their homes which were destroyed. Others, who have not moved, are destitute and desperately in need of assistance to rebuild their homes, communities and livelihoods. According to the Tsunami Assessment Report, the areas most affected by the Tsunami are Hafun, Bender Beyla, Dharin Raqas and Kulub, where substantial damage was caused to housing and infrastructure and where roughly 20% of the population is facing a humanitarian emergency. A further 40% of the affected population is facing an “income crisis”. Approximately 16,000 people will require sustained food assistance and/or cash.

6) Returnees As noted that there are more than a significant number of returnees in the urban settlements inhabited by IDPs, there must also be interventions under the broader returnee reintegration programmes that address the needs of the vulnerable populations living in the settlements. The observable fact of urbanization can be mitigated through many of the recommended interventions highlighted below—specifically focused on the development of rural and coastal areas and the use of Local Economic Development methodologies.

South/Center and Mogadishu

Conflict related IDPs from rural areas moving to urban centers where there is sense of security

1) IDPs in areas where there is certain stability (Adale in middle Shabelle) have been there for 15 years, absolute poverty but want to remain there.

2) IDPs in Mogadishu, from rural areas, scattered over 175 settlements, many of them public/government buildings (69%). Close to 30,000 families (times 8 members per family) equals approximately 240,000 IDPs, which accounts for around 25% of the total population of the city. According to the most recent studies (BY WHOM), 80% want to stay in Mogadishu.

These differentiating factors govern access not only to physical protection and support, but also access to basic services, income generation and other opportunities and resources that may be available.

[...]

Conclusions of various assessments carried out by UNHCR and UNDP:

In the so-called IDP settlements, a mixed population comprising of IDPs, returnees, poor local people, and in some cases even refugees and other foreigners are found.

All share same dire living conditions and immediate needs.

Thus, the categorization of IDPs as a distinct group becomes a thorny issue.

Targeting IDPs only would, in addition to be quite difficult, create major problems for them as the other groups would “resent” being left out of any assistance program.

Conditions in the settlements vary depending on whether they are “permanent” or “official” (land which has been allocated by the authorities) or “temporary” or “unofficial” (private land where IDPs rent a plot, occupation of public buildings/lands, etc.).

In the “permanent settlements” some basic infrastructure related to water, sanitation, schools, police stations and the like has been constructed with the support of UN agencies and some INGOs, providing some minimum conditions for living.

In the “temporary” settlements, on the contrary, little has been made available in terms of basic services and infrastructures, and the living conditions are thus much harsher.

The lack of this basic infrastructure is linked to the perception of the authorities and the land-owners that any “investment” in these settlements will make them “permanent”, and they want to leave open the possibility to have them vacated at any particular time.

Any intervention must take account of these realities.

On how the IDPs and returnees in the settlements view their own future, the vast majority of them replied that they would opt for “local integration” in terms of a “durable solution” to their plight, rather than return to their places of origin. This in spite of the terrible living conditions they face both in the “temporary” and the “permanent” settlements.

PATTERNS OF DISPLACEMENT

Overview

Causes and patterns of displacement (Special report, 2006)

Since the 1970s, Somalia has drifted from one emergency to another: civil and inter-state wars, fragmentation, repression and famine. The conflict, which has claimed up to half a million lives since 1991, has centred on control over power and resources, notably land, water, the livestock trade and aid. Warlords have deliberately displaced people, looted and destroyed food stocks, mined watering places, grazing lands and major trading roads, and destroyed medical and administrative infrastructures, in order to prevent people from other clans from sustaining a livelihood. At the height of fighting in 1992, up to two million people were internally displaced and another million had fled to neighbouring countries (UNICEF, 10 December 2003).

The most ravaged regions are the southern and central areas and the main ports of Mogadishu and Kismayo. Armed factions have fought to gain control over their supposed “native territories”, often forcing local minority groups and clans – many of them farmers – to either become subservient, or to leave. The farming minorities traditionally inhabiting the fertile riverine lands in the south have been worst affected by these practices. While they constitute only about one fifth of the Somali population, they account today for most of the displaced (UN, 18 November 2004, p.9).

Since the 1990s people have increasingly moved to the main towns such as Mogadishu, Kismayo, Bossaso or Hargeisa, in search of work, food, water and medical assistance. Today, urban migration is seen as an inextricable consequence of the conflict, and its consequences become apparent in the form of a dramatic rise in property prices, increased conflict over scarce resources like water, and high unemployment. Focused aid to pastoralist communities and the creation of livelihoods in areas of origin are intended to curb that trend and to create incentives for rural migration. At the same time, resettlement projects in Somaliland and Puntland have been designed to provide IDPs in urban areas with more permanent living conditions (OCHA, July 2005). Transparency in resolving property issues will be a central precondition to facilitating returns to all areas of origin, both urban and rural (IRIN, 2 August 2005; Interviews with UN representatives, Hargeisa, October 2005).

People tend to flee within their region of origin and seek protection where their clan is dominant. However, the protracted nature of conflict which has changed the ethnic map of certain areas, has forced many people to flee far away from their kin. Many reached the relatively secure areas of Somaliland and Puntland in northern Somalia, where they mingled with other indigent groups and waves of returning refugees. Occasional settlement surveys indicate much fluctuation among the population (OCHA, 20 June 2005). The vast majority of IDPs in Mogadishu fled drought and inter-clan fighting in rural areas of Lower and Middle Juba, Bay, Bakool and Lower Shabelle, Hiran and Middle Shabelle (UNICEF, October 2005).

General

Southern IDPs often flee to Somaliland and Puntland (March 2006)

- Puntland's relative safety attracts many IDPs from the southern parts of Somalia

UNHCR, 1 March 2006

Bossaso is an unlikely El Dorado. It's a dusty town without a single paved street, not one neon sign, and scarcely a building over one storey. But it's largely peaceful and relatively secure, and that counts for a lot in Somalia. (Puntland has its own government and has proclaimed its autonomy to distinguish itself from lawless south and central Somalia, but it has not declared independence.)

So people are pouring into Bossaso – former refugees who have returned to their own country but not their own villages, Somalis who have given up on their homes in the south of the country, migrants from southern Somalia and Ethiopia passing through to catch smugglers' boats for Yemen and the Gulf States, and some Ethiopians who say they are fleeing persecution and need asylum.

"I would rather stay in Bossaso," says Raho Rasoni, a Somali woman who's been displaced from her home village for more than half her life. Two years ago she fled the country's violent capital with her husband and 10 children, afraid that it was inevitable one of them would die in the senseless gunfire on Mogadishu's lawless streets.

"One hundred percent, this is much better than Mogadishu," says Raho, welcoming visitors to the three shacks made of sticks lined with empty cement bags, which she shares with her family in Shabelle shanty settlement on the outskirts of Bossaso. "I pray God will not take me back to Mogadishu."

UN, May 2002, p.2

"At the same time, this reporting period has seen modest improvements in the security situation in some regions including "Somaliland", Bay, Bakool and Middle Shabelle. Cooperation of local authorities in these regions towards maintaining peace and stability has resulted in the increased ability of humanitarian agencies to expand programmes. The Northwest/"Somaliland" hosts the highest number of IDPs who tend to flee northwards to escape drought, poverty and conflict. It also hosts the largest number of refugee returnees. It is imperative that humanitarian and development work continue as "peace dividends" in these more peaceful parts of Somalia."

UNDP Somalia, 2001, p.58

"For a time during the war this process was reverse as people fled the main towns and moved to areas that their clans came from. Consequently, the populations of previously small regional towns such as Beletweyne, Galkaiyo, Qardo or Baidoa, and rural villages such as Jeriban, rose dramatically. The population of Bosasso is estimated to have increased from 10,000 to 60,000 since 1991, as people fled fighting in Mogadishu, the Lower Juba and the interriverine areas. [...]Smaller towns are experiencing similar trends, which present a challenge for urban planning. The concentration of aid agencies in urban centers such as Hargeisa, and a lack of clear policies by the administrations on investment in rural areas, exacerbate this trend."

Most displacement remains local or regional, with tendency to flee to main towns (2005)

- Since 1995 displacements have occurred on a smaller scale and at the local or regional level mostly in Mogadishu, Gedo, Juba regions and Shabelle regions

- The most significant large-scale displacements caused by violent conflicts were in 1999 in Bay region clashes between the Habr Gedir militia of Hussein Aideed and the RRA
- In 2002-2003 intra-Rahanweyn conflicts caused major population displacements
- Since 1999 intra-Marehan clashes in Gedo region have produced population flows
- In 2003 fighting in Buaale, Middle Jubba led to significant internal displacement
- Many IDPs fled to Kismaayo due to conflicts in the early 90s, 2002 and 2003
- Many IDPs displaced multiple times flee to Mogadishu despite fierce fighting there, they expect to find opportunities as it is a traditional destination for migrant workers

Each year, tens of thousands of families flee local conflict, remaining in the region of origin. Most of them will return home in the weeks or months following displacement, particularly if immediately assisted with the most essential material and food (email, ICRC, November 2005).

"In general, population displacement has occurred on a smaller scale and at the local or regional level since 1995. In a few cases, this was due to an outbreak of serious armed conflict. In Bay region in 1999, for instance, clashes between the Habr Gedir militia of Hussein Aideed and the RRA produced widespread displacement, as did intra-Rahanweyn conflicts in the same area in 2002-2003.

[...]

Population displacement and refugee flows in Somalia are affected by more positive factors as well. This is most dramatically in evidence in the high rates of displacement/migration of southern Somalis relocating to northern urban areas where economic prospects are good and security is better than in the south. Mogadishu also attracts a flow of migrants from the countryside despite its insecurity, as quality schools and other services are concentrated there. In a number of cases, heads of households are relocating their families to Mogadishu so children have access to schools, while they remain with their businesses in outlying regions." (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.38,49)

"Many families in the camps have been repeatedly displaced, and for some, it is their second or third time in the capital. Some arrive seeking relatives, but others come because it remains a traditional migration route – even with Mogadishu's precipitous decline, the displaced still expect the capital to provide opportunities. The majority [of IDPs] said they survived by begging, by receiving food scraps, and by earning a little cash by providing 'carrying services' to people in the market – earning about 2,000-3,000 Somali shillings a day." (IRIN-CEA 27 April 1999)

"At the height of the conflict in the early 1990s, over one million Somalis are estimated to have fled to neighbouring countries in the region and outside of Africa.²⁸ People continued to leave southern Somalia in large numbers until 1995. Others chose to move to safer areas within Somalia inhabited by their kin and extended families. Waves of More recently, there have been distinct waves of migration to Kismaayo (and to the camps), a consequence of conflict in the early 1990s, the El Niño floods in 1997, and conflict again in 2002 and 2003. The main areas of origin have been the Juba Valley and Gedo region to the north, Mogadishu and, further afield, Galgaduud region to the west, and Bay region to the north-east. The 'pull' of potential aid resources, social connections, economic opportunities and the 'West Bank' effect (the legitimisation of occupation), all have drawn migrants to the town. There is also continuous movement between Kismaayo and the Juba Valley to market farm produce, seasonal migration for land preparation, and the familial migration of resource sharing." (ODI, 31 December 2003, p.11)

"Since 1991, Rahaweyn communities in Bay and Bakool experienced different periods of conflict displacement. The first took place in 1991, when Ogaden militia led by Colonel Omar Jess

captured Baidoa. A second wave of displacement took place in 1992, when General Siad Barre's Marehan militia occupied Baidoa. The largest displacements took place between 1996 and 1999 during the occupation of the two regions by General Aideed's SNA/USC forces. Most of the displaced people during these periods fled to Mogadishu, Puntland, Somaliland, Luuq, Mandhera, and Kismaayo.

More recently, between July 2002 and August 2003, fighting in and around Baidoa, between the combined militia of Mohamed Ibrahim Habsade (Deputy RRA chairman) and Sheikh Adan Madobe (Deputy RRA chairman) and the militia of Hassan Mohamed (Nur Shatigadud), has led to population displacement on a large scale. The fighting, which occurred in the northern arc from Daynoney to the east (between Baidoa and Burhakaba) and to Awdinle in the west, has led to waves of displacement from Harin villages to other Harin villages in Bay and Bakool. [...] (OCHA, 14 December 2003)

"The regions [Juba Valley] contain a patchwork of different clans, sub-clans and minority groups. Population figures of the regions are difficult to estimate. A pre-war census established 500,000 inhabitants as the baseline. However, the area's history of large-scale displaced movement and seasonal migration patterns and recent urbanization, have rendered that figure uncertain at best. [...]

However, the civil war prompted the latest and probably the largest migration in Juba Valley area's history. Hundreds of thousands of Darods fled clan violence in Mogadishu by moving south. The IDPs primarily fled into Kismayo, but also into other areas of the west bank of the river and settled in the urban centers. Most of these urban Darods had never lived anywhere but Mogadishu, but the historic concentrations of Darod clans in the areas was seen as providing a safe haven." (UNCU/OCHA, 30 July 2002, p.25)

"Since 1999 no major population movements have taken place in Somalia, that said, small and temporary incidents of displacement have occurred due to intermittent insecurity in Mogadishu, Gedo, Lower and Middle Juba, Lower and Middle Shabelle regions. Due to the effect of the armed conflict coupled with lack of systematic monitoring procedures of population movements, it has become difficult to distinguish normal from abnormal movements and to identify IDPs. This is attributed to the fact there is no agency with wide field coverage mandated to identify IDPs and assess their status." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.1)

Normal (seasonal) and abnormal (conflict-induced) movements (2003)

- Somali men traditionally migrate to urban centers in search of economic opportunities after harvesting their crops
- The loss of cattle through war and drought has reduced the number of transhumance pastoralists to 60% and rural-urban migrations have become more permanent
- Pastoralists move around main resources such as grazing and cultivating lands, trading centers and water points
- When rain fail, pastoral families moved their animals in search of better grazing areas earlier than the usual seasonal migration time

"The history of migration and conquest in Somalia influences everything, from dialects and language to the nature of ethnic or clan identity, land tenure and ownership rights, and the fluidity of political and clan alliances. Population movement is a common and often 'normal' feature of Somali society, notably among pastoral and agro-pastoral economies, where population displacements are by no means random or limitless. In its grazing, permanent cultivating and trading centres, and above all in its wells and water points, every clan and group possesses a

series of points between which movement rotates. Migration and household splitting do not necessarily reflect an exception to the normal patterns of society. In agricultural and agro-pastoral populations, household members do not even necessarily live together continuously year-round: the numbers present at any given time depend largely upon the season, the nature of the productive assets available to the household, economic and employment opportunities elsewhere (most likely to be found in urban centres), kinship ties and the strength of social networks, and the nature of the shock or stress experienced." (ODI, 31 December 2003, p.11)

"About 60% of Somali population live in nomadic lifestyle. Movements of people in search of food, water and pasture in times of stress as part of the normal livelihood and living conditions of nomadic population. Furthermore, considerable movement from the rural areas into the urban centers took place since mid 1980s. In this normal movement, the majority of the populations are young moving to urban centers in search of economic opportunities and assistance. They normally return to their areas for cultivation or when the situation in their areas improves. Also in Bay and Bakool regions seasonal movement is the major pattern of livelihood where most of the male rural farmers leave their areas after the harvest to the urban centers searching for labour opportunities and other sources of income. However, the trend of population movement has changed from normal/voluntary movement to abnormal since the collapse of the central government in 1991 and the spread of violent conflicts across the country." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.1)

"Another key factor is the declining numbers of transhumant pastoralists who form the majority – 60 per cent – of the Somalia population. This percentage was estimated higher in pre-civil war Somalia even in the wake of the numbers of people who moved from rural to urban areas. This movement is part of the global phenomenon, "*urban drift*" or "*urbanization*", which illustrates *pastoral dropout* as the movement of young people search of economic opportunities and improved living conditions." (UNCU/OCHA, 30 July 2002, p V)

"Quantifying displacement is extremely difficult in Somalia given the prevalence of nomadic and semi-nomadic social structures. Even prior to the collapse of the central state, populations travelled great distances in search of food, pasture and water during times of stress. The protracted nature of displacement offers its own analytical challenges, particularly given the recurrence of multiple 'waves' and directions of displacement.

Displacement trends are also changing. With the decreasing volume and regularity of food relief distributions, 'food camps' no longer exist. Households now move from drought- and conflict-stricken areas toward riverine and urban areas, returning when situations improve. Populations communicate over long distances to ascertain better knowledge of localised conditions before deciding on their direction of movement. Many long-term IDPs have dispersed in large towns. They are destitute populations living in shanty camps and abandoned buildings in peripheral urban areas." (UN March 2001, p. I14)

"An inter-agency co-ordination meeting in Baidoa discussed the drought situation in the zone resulting from poor Gu rains and its effect on vulnerable communities in Bay and Bakool regions. Reports from partners in these areas indicate estimates of 50-90 per cent population migration from villages seriously affected by the drought into larger towns within the district in search of water and food. Farming communities are worst affected because of successive crop failure." (UNICEF 7 September 2001)

"The dry weather has also seriously affected the grazing and fodder conditions for livestock. Many families have already begun to take their animals elsewhere in search of better grazing while others have left the area seeking alternative means of survival. Migration is normal in this region, but this year it has started far too early." (WFP 22 August 2001)

"There are also some indications of the beginnings of population movement...That is a standard coping mechanism. When people see the rains have failed and they are not going to have much of a harvest, and they have livestock to feed, they try to move to areas where they can graze their animals or get employment. And they move considerable distances. Water is another trigger, and the water supplies throughout the south are very low indeed." (IRIN-CEA 9 July 2001)

PHYSICAL SECURITY & FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Overview

Protection needs (Special report, 2006)

South and central Somalia

The internally displaced are among the most vulnerable people in Somalia. Many were deliberately displaced by warlords and militias aiming at gaining or maintaining control over resources and power and unwilling to recognise any rule of law. International protection standards as set forth in the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement have proven difficult to implement during the years of state collapse. IDPs are not protected by local or de facto authorities, nor do they have access to due process of law in the absence of a properly functioning legal system (UNCHR, 30 November 2003).

Now that a Transitional Federal Government is in place, it is expected to take on responsibility for the Somali population and the protection of displaced citizens. This will be a long process, but at the time of writing, many observers and UN staff expressed cautious optimism as the TFG seemed committed to moving the state building process forward and to engaging in negotiations with local authorities where the situation permitted such contacts (OCHA, July 2005, IDP strategy; phone interview, Nairobi, December 2005).

Puntland

Surveys among IDPs in Bossaso and Garowe indicate that IDPs from south and central Somalia generally face no targeted discrimination from the authorities and often manage to integrate with the local population. They do, however, live in extremely poor conditions and have less access to facilities and economic opportunities than the local population, which in itself creates situations of vulnerability. This holds especially true in settlements removed from the towns. Resettlement programmes are intended to regularise the IDPs' situation and improve access to basic facilities (UNDP, May 2005; UNDP, June 2005; DRC, October 2005).

Somaliland

In line with their self-declared sovereignty, the Somaliland authorities had issued in 2003 a decree by which it would deport all "illegal immigrants" not of Somaliland origin (UNSC, 12 February 2004, para.35). People displaced from south and central Somalia are considered foreigners by the Somaliland authorities. Many of them preferred to leave Somaliland for Puntland in 2003 and 2004 (OCHA, 23 April 2004). While the Somaliland authorities never actually implemented the decree, they also never revoked it. Many IDPs continue living in fear of deportation and exposed to stigmatisation because they are often associated with the crimes of the Barre dictatorship (Interviews with NRC representative, Hargeisa, October 2005; Ibrahim, 15 August 2002, p.5).

In 2005, UN agencies started to engage in discussions with the Somaliland and Puntland authorities on creating situations of good practice which could then be integrated into legislation. In Somaliland, the main issues discussed include land allocation for returnees and the revocation of the 2003 deportation decree.

Impact of clan structures

Clan structures in south and central Somalia are generally more complex and diverse than in the north. A degree of stability exists where majority clans or coalitions of clans rule over a certain area. This has been the case in Kismayo, where the Mareexaan and Habr Gedir clans have formed a duopoly of power within the Juba Valley Alliance.

Most IDPs in Somalia belong to ethnic minorities such as the Bantu, Bajuni and Galgala communities or minor clans with a low social status. As protection is granted through clan affiliation, displaced people from minority groups, not belonging to the clan system or seeking refuge far away from their clan-home area, are particularly exposed to serious human rights abuses including physical violence, rape, forced labour, evictions, land dispossession and theft.

Mogadishu, home to most of Somalia's IDPs, is divided by a "green line" separating the north and the south of the city, dominated by the Abgal and Habr Gedir clans respectively, with each part being fragmented into smaller fiefdoms controlled by seven to ten rivaling warlords fighting each other. As a result, IDPs and local residents are often caught in the cross-fire of violent conflicts and are forced to flee again, putting their lives at risk when trying to cross from one part of town to another. Galkayo in Puntland is also divided by a "green line" with IDPs living in that insecure dividing zone (Interview with MSF representative, Nairobi, October 2005)

IDP settlements in Mogadishu and other southern towns are often controlled by "black cats" or "gatekeepers", who sometimes offer some degree of security to settlement residents but in exchange extort money and food aid rations from IDPs. Some reportedly extorted as much as 75 per cent of aid destined for IDPs (ODI, 31 December 2003, p.13-4). If the inhabitants cannot pay, they are forced to work for the gatekeepers for free. Rape and forced labour at gunpoint are common occurrences in these IDP settlements (OCHA IDP Unit, 16 April 2004). There is cautious optimism that neighbourhood security guards and Islamic courts which take on the armed gangs in Mogadishu, in combination with the establishment of the Transitional Federal Government, will be able to somewhat reduce the high degree of instability (UNICEF, October 2005).

Displaced people from south and central Somalia in Hargeisa (Somaliland) were discriminated against by returnees originating from Somaliland who sometimes restricted their access to resources and services as they did not consider these "outsiders" as being entitled to assistance, according to observers (Interviews, Hargeisa, August 2004).

Women and children

Women and children constitute three quarters of the displaced population in Somalia and are particularly vulnerable (UNCU, 30 July 2002). Rape has been used frequently as a weapon of war by militias in retaliation or to humiliate a subjugated ethnic group (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003; UNCU/OCHA, 1 August 2002).

A 2003 UNICEF study concludes that IDP women and girls are not adequately protected (UNICEF, 10 December 2003, p.29). They are at particular risk of rape when they walk long distances away from the settlements in search of water or firewood. At night, the lack of latrines forces them to walk to the margins of the settlements where they are at risk of attack. As a result of war, many households are headed by women.

Their small huts made of cloths with often no proper door offer no protection against assaults by men stealing belongings and raping women at gunpoint with impunity (Interviews, Bossaso, August 2004). Displaced women from minority groups or outside their clan home area pose no threat of retaliation let alone punishment. Women have often little recourse to systems of justice – whether through clan customary law (xeer) or Islamic law (sharia). They are also afraid to report sexual abuses because they are often not welcome in the areas where they have taken refuge and because of the social stigma associated with rape. Often, the matter is settled the traditional way through the intervention of an elder and subsequent compensation payment to the woman's

family. Where a perpetrator is actually arrested, he is generally released later without charges. Therefore, violence against IDP women, while a regular occurrence, produces little concrete evidence and mostly goes unrecognised (UNIFEM, 22 November 2005). Local authorities in Hargeisa have repeatedly denied the existence of structural protection problems for IDPs and particularly IDP women, suggesting in one conversation that women may report having been raped to attract attention (Interview with local authorities, Hargeisa, October 2005).

Poor living conditions increase vulnerability

IDPs tend to have less access to employment, education and other facilities, and most of them are constrained to living in great poverty. Improving IDP protection also means addressing the clan-based discrimination in terms of living conditions and livelihoods.

Fires in IDP settlements are a recurrent reminder of the suffering and vulnerability of the displaced throughout Somalia. Every year, thousands of IDPs lose all their meagre belongings when fires break out in the overcrowded settlements, often in connection to women building cooking fires in close proximity or inside the huts made of cardboard, rags and sticks. Many cannot afford to rebuild their huts. As IDP settlements tend to become more crowded over the years, the risk of fires intensifies (Interviews, Hargeisa and Bossaso, October 2005; OCHA, 30 November 2005). The displaced continue to build their huts with cheap and highly inflammable materials. Fear of eviction, hopes of being resettled and the wish to return to their home areas once the security situation allows, have deterred many of them from investing in their housing (Interviews, Hargeisa and Bossaso, August 2004; Clark, June 2002, p.28).

Physical security

Survey addresses protection issues of Bossaso and Garowe IDPs (June 2005)

A survey carried out among IDP populations in Bossaso in early 2005 identified IDPs and returnees as the most vulnerable group of the town's population because they have very limited access to basic services and facilities, particularly those residing in some distance from the centre. However, in terms of security, the survey suggest that IDPs receive the same degree of protection as the local population and share equal rights. There were no indications that their freedom of movement was restricted. (UNDP, May 2005, p.22)

A similar survey was carried out in Garowe.

Internally displaced women and girls lack protection (November 2005)

- Gender based violence is said to be rampant in IDP camps, but virtually no cases actually come to the forth, as rape is often dealt with in traditional ways
- Local officials often deny the problem of gender based violence
- Rape continues to be used as a weapon against the enemy, targeting in particular women from weak clans posing no threat of retaliation
- Women displaced have to walk ten kilometers to fetch water in the Bula Hawa region and are exposed to rape by militias therefore they survive on less than 10 liters daily
- One third of IDP children residing in camps reported rape as a problem within their family, according to a UNICEF report

- In 2002, militias raped women and girls particularly from displaced and minority groups like the Bantu, Midgan, Tumul, Yibir, Bravanese and Benadiri
- Women suffer sexual abuses, beatings, thefts and non-payment of wages both in the workplace and in camps
- Displaced women head of households are often subject to sexual violence, abduction forced marriage and discrimination upon access to humanitarian assistance
- Women and girls are often raped and abducted while collecting firewood
- Rape of IDP women within their community is often triggered by the lack of income men have to pay for dowry
- Women raped often suffer from social exclusion in addition to psychological traumas

"Further probing on our part about the cooperation of the police revealed that, although they were generally quite responsive to reports of violence, even from IDPs who are generally looked down on by town-dwellers, the number of convictions actually made were next to nil. The process by which GBV issues are traditionally resolved through the cultural systems practiced in Somalia offer some clues as to why. Typically, when a woman is raped, the "problem" is settled by a meeting between traditional leaders, the woman's husband or family, and the perpetrator's family. They proceed to negotiate the monetary value of the "damage" done to the victim's husband/family's honour, whereupon compensation is paid accordingly. If the victim is married, the rapist can sometimes be jailed if her husband refuses to accept compensation. In cases where the victim is unmarried, marriage of the victim by her rapist is the accepted solution. At no time is the victim consulted or even present at these meetings.

Denial when it comes to violence against women is rife in Somali society. It is a reaction to the deep stigma attached to sexual violence because of the dishonour it is supposed to bring on the victim's family. It is also a reaction to the lack of an effective justice system in the country and poor law enforcement structures that allow impunity to persist unchecked. According to the chief elder, who curtly corrected Safiya's recounting of her story, "All the men who do GBV are not from inside the camps, they are from outside," he said, while other men around him nodded. "The problem only affects women, and we have a limited role - all we can do is tell the police. According to Somali tradition, men cannot go to see a woman who has been raped, so we need to have women visit her and then provide us with the information," he added.

We had doubts about the perpetrators only coming from outside the camp, and about the true number of cases of violence being reported. It is a well-known fact that gender-based violence is rampant in IDP camps, and yet we were only hearing about two cases of rape in the last two months. After pressing the point a little, another male elder told the story of his neighbour, whose elderly mother had been forced out of the house at gunpoint and raped. The man had taken his whole family and fled the very next day. This was the last "case story" we were told on GBV." (UNIFEM, 22 November 2005)

"Gender discrimination is deeply rooted in Somali society, where the rights of women in both the private and public spheres are seriously undermined. Rape, which was uncommon in Somalia before the war, has become a weapon of war for the militia and bandits, as well as in camps for displaced persons and returnees. Women belonging to minority groups, such as the Bantus and the Rahanweyn, are particularly subject to these crimes." (CHR 18 February 1999, para. 74)

"Though not as endemic as in the period 1991-1992, rape continues to be used as a weapon against enemy clans or sub-clans during armed clashes. In June 2003, for instance, clashes between the militia of rival RRA leaders Shatigaduud and Habsade degenerated into a series of reprisals involving abduction and rape of young girls.

[...]

In addition to the use of rape as a weapon in wartime, criminal gangs and roaming militias are committing this crime with near impunity. They target women in socially weak and vulnerable groups, which pose little to no threat of retaliation. This has been a particular human rights crisis for female IDPs in Mogadishu, Kismayo, and Bosaso” (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.32-33)

“The water resources are scarce. Women fetching water from river Dua have to walk for 10 kms and they are exposed to rape by renegade militias, hence most families have to survive on less than 10 liters of water per day.” (ACT, 17 September 2004)

“A 2003 report by UNICEF Somalia, *From Perception to Reality: A Study On Child Protection in Somalia*, indicates that gender-based violence is a problem of concern in Somalia, despite a widespread culture of denial. The study’s Household Survey shows that 75 per cent of the population believes that sexual assault does not exist at all - yet 12 per cent of the adult population and 8 per cent of children attest to personally knowing of a rape victim. Females in displaced persons camps are especially vulnerable - the study notes that “nearly a third of all displaced children (31 per cent) reported rape as a problem within their family, compared to 17 per cent of children in the general population”” (UNCHR, 30 November 2003, para.24)

“Faction militias and other gunmen raped women and girls of opposing clans and other vulnerable groups, particularly internally displaced people and the severely underprivileged Somali minorities such as the Bantu (also known as Jarir), Midgan, Tumul, Yibir, Bravanese and also the wealthier Benadir community.” (AI, January 2003)

“There are numerous accounts of gender-based violence: of sexual abuse in IDP camps and in the workplace. General abuse takes the form of theft, beatings, the non-payment of wages and the constant reinforcement of socio-ethnic status (through the use of terms such as adoon or slave). When human rights violations take place, in the absence of any properly functioning mechanisms for the rule of law, individuals from ‘minority’ or weak clans in Kismaayo often have little recourse to systems of justice – whether through customary law (xeer) or religious law (sharia). The subtleties of political, economic and social discrimination remain largely hidden to outsiders.” (ODI, 31 December 2003, p.13)

“Moreover, they lack full protection and can be subjected to an array of human rights violations, particularly in Mogadishu where IDPs, predominantly women and children, are robbed of any commercial assets, including aid; forced into prostitution; trafficked as brides; and forcibly recruited by militia leaders. The prevalence of the sexual abuse of women and children, if not addressed, will remain a major area of concern.” (UN, November 2002, p.17)

«Rape is a security threat to every woman in the district. IDPs women are the most vulnerable off all. Reports indicated that those who venture out of the villages to collect firewood are at high risk. In May 2001, two IDPs girls were reported to had been gang raped in the bush while they collect firewood for their survival. Apart from physical injuries and personal trauma, rape victims suffer social stigma within their communities. Rape in the Somali tradition is considered as shame. Any girl who is raped is considered as unclean, and suffers abuses and social exclusion from their own communities.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.34)

“Cases of women raped by men from their own Rahaweyn community have been reported. This has been attributed to the social and economic problems facing the IDPs. IDP men have no resources and good income to pay dowry as a fee for marriage. This was not a problem in Somalia before the civil war. The extended family or relatives were supporting young men in raising the dowry. However, now in a situation of displacement, it is difficult for an IDP man to do so. As a result, rape, elopement and the abduction became the alternative solution for young IDP men. Another type of gender violence that comes from the community is forced marriage. Women

with no husband are usually vulnerable to discrimination and humiliation by men. To protect them, families force their girls to marry one from their relatives. This has also created other serious problems such as continues domestic violence.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.55)

“Rape against women and teenage girls are common and widespread in the IDP camps. It is used as a military strategy to terrorize and demoralize the enemy. The Galgala IDPs reported that gunmen raped most of their women and girls. One of the Galgala elders in Nuh Mohamud camp in Kismayo reported that gunmen raped about 20 Galgala women within two months in the year 2000. The elders also reported that an 18 years old girl was abducted while she was in the bush to collect firewood. The girl was later freed after she was used as a sexual slave for three months.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.26)

"Gender discrimination is deeply rooted in the traditional socio-cultural structures of Somali society and remains a formidable barrier to women's participation in decision-making and access to resources. Violence against women and girls, resulting either from tradition or the civil war, includes the almost universal practice of female genital mutilation and sexual violence against the displaced, particularly against members of rival clans and minority groups." (UNICEF 2000, paras. 7 and 8)

Fires in IDP settlements are a recurring disturbing phenomenon in all of Somalia (June 2006)

- The international community acknowledges the problem of fires in IDP settlements, reacting to the most recent in a long row of incidents
- Efforts are undertaken to improve living conditions in IDP settlements, particularly in Hargeisa, Bossaso and Garowe, while the living conditions in south Somalia are not adequately addressed
- Fire in an IDP camp east of Bosaso, killed five displaced people, destroyed a thousand homes and left 1,200 homeless in July 2003
- IDPs who lived from begging had dispersed and were without assistance with sick children, lack of access to food, water and education
- The Acting Governor of Bosasso, reported that in the view of the civil society, IDPs in camps were considered as economic migrants who brought bad habits such as drug abuse
- It was decided to relocate the camps hosting about 2,800 families and provide the IDPs with land, electricity and water

IRIN, 10 May 2006

More than 5,000 internally displaced persons and returnees were left homeless when a fire gutted their camp in Somalia's northeastern port town of Bossaso late on Tuesday.

Witnesses said the fire broke out at around 7.30 p.m. at the Boqolka Buush camp and spread quickly because of strong winds.

"There were more than 5,300 people living in the camp, and virtually all the huts were destroyed by the fire. Firefighters, the security forces and residents were still trying to put out the fire three hours after its started," said Muuse Gelle, the governor of Bari region. He said at least 10 people were taken to hospital and treated for superficial burns. Dozens of people, mostly children, were missing.

"All camp residents scamped for safety when the fire started. They left their belongings and food rations behind, all of which were destroyed. Only a few have been accommodated by locals, but many others had no place to sleep," said local journalist Mohammed Deq.

No deaths have been reported as a result of the inferno. Bossaso district leaders and representatives from aid agencies including the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP), the UN refugee agency (UNHCR) and the UN Children's Fund (Unicef) were meeting in a bid to help those displaced by the blaze, said Moulid Haji Abdi of the Somali Broadcasting Corporation.

Boqolka Buush is the largest camp for internally displaced persons in Puntland, a self-declared autonomous region in northeastern Somalia. It was home to thousands of people who fled their homes during the civil strife that engulfed Somalia following the overthrow in 1991 of dictator Muhammad Siyad Barre. Former refugees who had returned to Somalia from neighbouring countries also lived at the camp.

A similar fire in June 2005 destroyed Buulo Eelaay camp in Bossaso, leaving more than 2,000 people homeless. In November 2005, at least three children were burnt to death when fire swept through another camp for the displaced on the outskirts of the Somali capital, Mogadishu.

UNSC, 20 June 2006, p.9:

50. More than 2,500 internally displaced persons and returnees were left homeless at Boqolka Buush settlement on 9 May 2006 when a fire gutted their settlement in Bossaso. Boqolka Buush is the largest settlement for internally displaced persons in "Puntland". Virtually all the huts were destroyed by the fire. This was just one of several fires in settlements for internally displaced persons in recent months.

International Community acknowledges the problem of fires in IDP settlements

"The outbreak of fire that swept through a settlement for internally displaced people (IDPs) in Mogadishu on 21 November continues to highlight the immense suffering and vulnerability of this group of the population in the war ravaged country.

'As unfortunate as it is, the fires signify and are a consequence of a deep rooted problem' said the Acting UN Humanitarian Coordinator for Somalia, Mr Elballa Hagona. 'The real issue is overcrowding on marginal land, the lack of economic opportunity and continuing human rights abuses. They (the internally displaced people) are often seen as outsiders - and are often not given the protection of host clans.'

Most IDPs pay rent for a small piece of land barely large enough to build their rudimentary shelters made of scavenged materials such as plastic sheets, metal scrap, plastic cartons and branches. Latrines are virtually non-existent (as most landlords do not allow them) and access to clean water remains a major challenge.

As a result of overcrowding and the flimsy nature of shelter, the risk of fires has intensified in IDP settlements over the years. Earlier this year 2,000 people were left homeless when fire gutted the Buul Eelaay camp close to Bossaso in the Puntland region of Somalia.

Being a resilient society, 'Somalis are now taking strides in trying to redress this situation' said Mr Elballa Hagona. 'We are witnessing enhanced partnership with the international community in addressing both the immediate and underlying issues of IDP vulnerability including improved service delivery and planning for longer term resettlement and reintegration. Concrete actions in Hargeisa and Bossaso demonstrate that a lot can be done to give hope to these people who are after all, Somalis themselves.'

In the course of 2005, UN agencies, Non Government Organisations and Community Based Organizations have strengthened partnerships with Somali authorities in Hargeisa and Garowe, and are collaborating to implement a strategy for improved services and resettlement options for displaced persons. Much less has been undertaken in southern Somalia, largely due to the

continuing constraints of insecurity and limited access. However, there is increased optimism that the presence of the Transitional Federal Government will make it possible for humanitarian agencies to deliver services to displaced people, and for IDPs to resettle in decent homes in communities with proper services."

Fire in Mogadishu

"At least three children were burnt to death when flames swept through an internally displaced persons (IDP) camp on the outskirts of the Somali capital, Mogadishu, early this week. [...] The fire flattened more than 100 huts belonging to the IDPs and destroyed virtually all their belongings, including bedding, utensils and clothes. Some of the IDPs spent Monday night in the open and it was raining," a local witness said. Residents also lost their stocks of food.

[...]

The camp is home to between 500 and 600 people, according to Dainille district head Bashe Mohammed, who said neighbours were responding to his appeal for humanitarian assistance for those affected by the fire. 'People have responded well to our appeal. Since Monday night we have received both food and nonfood items, including cooked food, jerricans, bedding, mats and even cash from residents. The store in the mosque is almost full," observed Hashi Aralle, an imam at a mosque close to the camp.

[...]

On 26 June this year, at least 2,000 people were left homeless when fire gutted the Buul Eelaay camp for IDPs and returnees in the self-declared autonomous region of Puntland in northwestern Somalia." (IRIN, 23 November 2005)

Earlier fires throughout Somalia

"It is reported that on 9 July the Buulo Elay IDP camp east of Bosasso caught fire, causing the deaths of five persons and making 1,200 homeless. At the end of July, a second fire was also reported in the same camp. UNICEF and WFP had responded with assistance.

[...]

The expert visited the IDP camp called "New Hargeisa", which housed an estimated 300 families. Part of the camp had recently burnt, causing the death of one old woman and two children. The expert was told that most inhabitants earned a living through begging. At the time of the visit, women and children were visibly in the majority, and there was no apparent security.

[...]

The expert met with the Minister of Commerce, then serving as the "Acting Governor" of Bosasso. [...] He said that he had consulted with sheikhs, women's groups and others in the community on the problems posed by IDP camps, whose inhabitants were largely viewed as economic migrants who had brought with them bad habits such as drug abuse. It was decided to relocate the camps, estimated to house 2,800 families, and to provide land, electricity and water.

[...]

The expert visited the Buulo Elay IDP camp where a fire in July had destroyed many of the dwellings. It was reported that the former inhabitants had dispersed and were now without assistance. One of the IDPs stated that many of the children were sick, there was inadequate food and water, and that the only school was without teachers." (UNCHR, 30 November 2003, paras.50, 59, 66, 69)

"Five people were killed when a fire broke out in the Buulo Elay IDP camp in Bosaso, Puntland in early July. An estimated one thousand dwellings were destroyed as well as the personal belongings of 1,200 families living in the camp. One half of the camp was destroyed by the fire and 600 families left homeless. The camp is home to *circa* 28,000 IDPs. Many of the IDPs in the camp are displaced from southern Somalia because of the insecurity. In 2002, The United Nations-appointed independent expert on Human Rights for Somalia condemned conditions in the camp as 'sub-human' and among the worst he had ever seen." (OCHA, 31 October 2003, p.7)

IDPs who belong to minorities from south and central Somalia are discriminated in Somaliland (June 2006)

- IDPs from Digil, Mirigle, Bantu and minorities suffer social discrimination in Somaliland negatively affecting their standards of living and access to services
- Minority groups: Bantu, Bravenese, Rerhamar, Bajuni, Eyle, Galgala, Tumul, Yibir, Ogadenis, Rahanweyn and Gaboye), represent one third of the Somali population and have been forcibly displaced from valuable agricultural lands
- Most of the IDPs who fled to the north come from minority groups such as Rahaywen sub clan, Bantu, Ajuuran, Jarso, Madhiban and Ashraf
- Southern IDPs in the north are considered as 'criminals'
- IDPs from minority groups lack political representation, and are denied basic rights including access to humanitarian assistance
- Minorities are subject to human rights abuses, attacks, discrimination, exploitation, displacement and land dispossession by militias and bandits
- Some minorities like the Galgala have traditionally been prevented from buying animals and houses

Gashan, 15 June 2006:

Gashan Women Development Organization is humanitarian non-profit seeking organization working with the southern Somali IDPs, whom fled from south and central Somali, especially the adjacent of the two rivers, Shabelle and Juba.

They had displaced because the 15years long running civil war in south Somalia. The origin of these people are from clans of DIGIYO MIRIFLE, JAREER and other minor Somali Clans, whom had no much of political and economical access and were very vulnerable at the time of the regime of siyad barre and after its collapse. They had fled to Somaliland to where they thought, as there was a peace, law and order and suitable life. As long as they had put their foots on here. Gashan had sent alarms to UN agencies and international NGOs and also Somaliland Government to deal with the vast need of the upcoming IDPs.

To gain better life and future for themselves and their uprising children was the prime objectives on which the IDPs had come and stayed in here. But the situation turned into different, all basic facilities of human life wasn't set into complete. They had no camps to protect them selves away from outside attacks, schools, health facilities, they are subjected multiple human right violation, children have an access for neither formal nor informal education which resulted the children to become drug edicts and beg from the streets of the cities. Child labor become common in the areas of the IDPs because the low income of the IDPs parent to cope with the daily need of the family, (majority of female headed families), since per capita is not enough it forced the parents to sent the children as shoe shiners, water fetchers and also begging to contribute the per capita of the family. Malnutrition of children and pregnant mother is also common at the life of the southern Somali IDPs. The issue of shelter is another important factor which deserve to be publicly addressed, the IDPs had no enough and/or appropriate shelter to keep them selves away from sun, wind and rain, especially the children are more vulnerable to the affect environmental factors.

UN, 18 November 2004,p.9

"Minority clans make up approximately 20% of the population, living primarily in the southern riverine areas and towns, and fare poorly in terms of protection from human rights abuses and access to basic services including shelter, water, sanitation, health and education. The displaced population's lack of integration into local communities and continued discrimination have kept

them in a cycle of poverty and repression, even though some may have been displaced for more than 10 years.”

OCHA, 22 June 2004

“The IDPs can be divided into three different groups; (1) The IDPs from the drought affected parts of Somaliland, (2) The major clans (Dir, Hawiye, Darood) from the South, and (3) Digil, Mirifle, Bantu, and other groups considered minorities.

The workshop members were of the opinion that the IDPs had equal rights as any Somalilander, such as right to education, employment, freedom of movement, etc. However, following further discussions it was acknowledged that there is a social discrimination against certain groups, many of them being IDPs of the third group. This discrimination affects the standard of living as it determines the degree of integration into Somaliland society. Their lack of economic access in turn affects their access to other rights, such as right to education, health, etc. The majority clans from the South are more integrated and hence are in a more favourable situation with greater access to basic needs.”

UN, 18 November 2003, p. 14

“But historically, minority groups in Somalia have suffered from greater levels of discrimination and exclusion, and thus are generally among the poorest of the poor. Cultural values that label them as inferior and not deserving of equal rights contribute to their low social, economic and political status. Insecurity, and sometimes forced displacement from valuable agricultural lands, has further impoverished this group. Comprised of an estimated two million people, or about one third of the Somali population, these groups include the Bantu, Bravenese, Rerhamar, Bajuni, Eyle, Galgala, Tumul, Yibir and Gaboye.”

UNCHR, 31 December 2002,p.15;19:

“Links were also made to the minority status of many IDPs, who were reported to be driven from their lands and disproportionately victimized by dominant groups following the outbreak of civil war in 1991. It is further noted that refugees benefit from significantly more protection than IDPs insofar as refugees fall under the authority of UNHCR, and some authorities, such as in “Somaliland”, recognize the rights of returnees. Other international instruments of protection are rendered ineffective, given the predominance of faction leaders and weak administrations.

[...]

It was especially noted that IDPs were viewed as criminals and a burden to society, which created tensions in the community and significant discrimination against them.”

“The security of each Somali individual or clan is mainly influenced by the position of the individual person or clan in the Somali’s social structure. Those who have no clan lineage and particularly the minority groups are the most vulnerable ones. Because of their position as minorities, the IDPs from the Bantu and Galgala suffer a wide range of human rights violations which include discrimination and economic exploitation by the Habrgedir and Marehan Militia who are now in control of the city. On the ground that they are affiliated with the Majerten, the Galgala suffered more than even the Bantu IDPs because they are considered as part of the enemy. As a consequence many Galagala were summarily executed during the conflicts between the Majerten and Habargedir, and between Majerten and Marehan in Kismayo. Because of fear of persecution, many Galagala IDPs fled Kismayo to Kenya, while others remained as IDPs.

[...]

The Bantu IDP, being ethnically different from the rest, suffer discrimination and exclusion from all social and economic activities in the city. Some Bantu elders in the camps claimed that they were denied even access to relief food. They claim that during General Morgan’s period, before aid agencies ceased their humanitarian operation in Kismayo, relief food intended for them was diverted to other communities in Kismayo or elsewhere or to the markets for sale. They also claim that they are denied access to profitable work such carpentry, driving etc.

Since they are also less dominant in Kismaio town, the Ajuran, Ormala, Tuni and Werdai are also treated as the Bantu and Galgale IDPs. They are discriminated, marginalized and persecuted. In April 2001, a young Werdai IDP boy selling second hand cloths was stabbed to death by a Marehan man in a robber attack at the market. No any form of legal action against this has been taken by either the Marehan elders or local authorities.

[...]

Over 99% of the Bantu live in absolute poverty and have no access to their basic needs. Periodic attacks and robbery of food has further deteriorated the situation of Bantu and their IDPs.

[...]

The Galgala IDPs complain that their traditional symbol on their animals for identification was erased by the Abgal, with an intention to appropriate the Galgala livestock. The Galgala IDPs also suffer discrimination. They allegedly claim that some members of the IDP community were denied to buy animals and houses in Adale. They were also denied integration into the main population.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, pp.25-6;39; 47)

IDPs in Somalia are deliberate targets of gross violations of human rights and humanitarian law (March 2006)

- Over 500 houses including the market place have been burnt in Bula Hawa as a result of inter-clan conflict
- Somalis are deliberately displaced by warlords and militias aiming at gaining or maintaining control over resources
- Lack of competent central authority hampers implementation of international protection standards as set forth by the Guiding Principles on Internal displacement
- Yearly, about 1,000 IDPs try to leave Puntland to Yemen or Saudi Arabia on overcrowded boats which often capsize and this caused the death of 950 people in 2002
- Civilians continue to be deliberate targets of attacks as militias do not recognize any rule of law international or customary
- In the absence of a functioning state, murder, looting and destruction of property, child soldiering, kidnapping, discrimination against minorities, torture, arbitrary arrests without trial are recurrent and remain unchecked

UN OCHA, 21 March 2006:

Often IDPs remain displaced long even after the violence that caused their original displacement has abated. This can be due to deadlocks in peace talks or difficulties in repossessing properties or land. While remaining in situations of protracted displacement, many IDPs and other vulnerable populations face discrimination, restrictions on their freedom of movement and political rights, difficulties accessing basic social services as well as limited income earning opportunities. Unresolved displacement crises remain festering sources of instability.

ACT, 17 September 2004:

“Over 500 houses have been burnt, including the biggest market in Bula Hawa town. Household goods worth thousands of shillings have been burnt and far more looted.”

“Throughout the country, human rights violations remained endemic. These include murder, looting and destruction of property, child soldiering, kidnapping, discrimination against minorities, torture, unlawful arrest and detention, and denial of due process by local authorities.

[...]

In both the CAP Workshop for 2003 (August 2002) and 2004 (August 2003), as well as in numerous other reports [...], aid actors in Somalia have re-affirmed the three most vulnerable groups in Somalia to be IDPs, returnees and minorities. While many other categories of vulnerability have been identified, [...] these groups, which include women and children, qualify as the “most vulnerable of the vulnerable,” primarily due to having suffered from: 1) the loss of assets through exposure to a major shock, whether it be economic, climatic or conflict-related; 2) having little to no access to protection from clan affiliations, and 3) being exposed to multiple vulnerabilities or risks..” (UN, 18 November 2003, p.11,13, 14)

“For the protection of IDPs, there are international instruments and particularly the UN Guiding Principles, which specifically and comprehensively address the rights of IDPs. However, in Somalia, a collapsed state, with no competent central government, the key problem is implementation and enforcement of the international instruments and principles. The country is divided into armed fiefdoms ruled by clan militia that do not respect or adhere to the rule of law.

UN agencies and NGOs representing the main humanitarian actors, they have limited influence on clan militia and their leaders to respect the protection instruments. However, it yet appears that constructive engagement in collaboration with the civil society in the form of non-governmental organizations, as they can contribute invaluable experiences, local knowledge and insights, is only way forward to propomting local protection mechansims.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, pp1;6)

“Because of lack of basic services/status IDPs continue to leave Puntland (Bossaso) by risky boats to Yemen (about 1,000 per month currently) – trafficking and loss of life involved. Authorities very concerned to prevent these movements.” (McNamara, 10 February 2004)

“Although there are international instruments and UN guidelines for the protection of IDPs and civilians in conflict, in most parts of Somalia the implementation and enforcement of international laws and principles is weak as the conditions of a collapsed state prevail. These conditions also mean that IDPs are often not afforded protection by authorities in the absence of a functioning legal system in many areas. Thus, IDPs in Somalia are especially vulnerable as a result of their ambiguous status with the various *de facto* authorities across most of the country.” (UNCU/OCHA, 30 July 2002, p3)

“Though the IDPs are not combatants, they are treated as enemies during conflicts. In Somalia clan militia do not fight decent wars. Because reasons for fighting as understood by many may not be only political, but span a broad spectrum from competition for economic and natural resources to attempted genocide or even unrestrained lawlessness. The warring militia are not prepared to acknowledge any existing rule be a traditional or an international one. For example article 3 of the 1948 Geneva Convention; article 38 of the CRC, and the Birimageydo customary law all protect non-combatants. However, they are less applicable in today’s conflicts in Somalia. To the clan militia, it is not relevant, whether the people they harm are IDPs or not. Since they belong to the same groups as the enemy, they are seen to have no rights to exist.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.36-7)

Traditional justice: protection of IDPs in Somalia depends on location: living in clan "home areas" (2004)

- Traditional (xeer) law is clan-based and does not necessarily apply the same justice to people of other clans/foreigners/minorities
- In order to guarantee protection against human rights abuses, IDPs need to live in an area where their clan is dominant

- De facto authorities who are responsible for the protection of civilians living in areas over which they claim control are sometimes unaware of or choose to ignore international conventions
- IDPs are often viewed as ‘undesirable guests’ by local communities
- IDPs are often beaten, robbed and harassed when they compete with local workers and when they beg on the streets
- Displaced and politically less organised groups such as the Bantu and Bajuni are least able to secure protection from extortion, rape and other abuses

DRC, 21 August 2004:

A very interesting series of meetings with clan elders, organised in Somaliland in 2004 by DRC, revealed specific protection gaps that can occur when applying traditional (xeer) law. Those gaps concern in particular women, children, blood revenge, and foreigners/minorities.

Menkhaus, UNHCR, August, 2003, p.30-31

“Efforts to protect and promote human rights are pursued in an unusual context in Somalia. First, the prolonged absence of a functional, recognized central government creates a unique challenge, in that the standard responsible political authority for upholding human rights law is absent from the scene. Ironically, the state in Somalia up to 1991 had been the principal source of violation of human rights. [...] In the absence of a national government, de facto local authorities are held accountable for protection of human rights in areas they control. As the UN independent expert on the situation of human rights in Somalia has consistently argued, this responsibility is invested in local authorities and all parties to the conflict by way of international humanitarian law, as defined in the 1949 Geneva conventions. [...] It is not clear, however, that all local authorities and parties to armed conflicts are aware of these international conventions or are convinced that they bear such responsibility. Whether local authorities possess the capacity to enforce justice when human rights have been violated by militia or other citizens is also a matter of debate, and tends to vary from case to case.”

UN, 18 November 2003, pp. 11-14

“For many, income received from irregular, cheap casual labour barely covers their food needs and, isolated from their own relatives, they often face difficulties accessing clan support systems and receiving remittances. Moreover, they lack full protection and, often viewed as undesirables or “guests” by the local community, can be subjected to an array of human rights violations, including beatings, robberies and other forms of harassment, especially if they compete with local labour or beg in the streets. Most live in sprawling shanty towns on the outskirts of urban areas.

[...]

The chronic and widespread level of underdevelopment in Somalia makes a large portion of the population vulnerable not only to humanitarian crisis, but also to violations of their human rights. Somalis with no clan affiliation, and thus protection, are the most vulnerable to such violations, including predatory acts by criminal and militias, as well economic, political, cultural and social discrimination. The lack of clan affiliation can depend on location, i.e. a member of major clan living in an area where his clan is not dominant is more vulnerable to human rights violations than when he is among his own relatives. Socio-economic standing and sex are also factors in determining one’s level of risk.”

“These IDPs [in Bakool region 2003] are mainly women and children from the Harin subclan of the Rahaweyn who have moved into Bakaar Yar and Bakaar Weyn in search of clan protection and international assistance. [...] Children include some who witnessed the killing of their mothers during the attack. Most of the IDPs arrived two months ago.

[...]

The IDPs fled the conflict and their homes in search of clan protection and international assistance. However, social network assistance in the area is very limited, and has had little impact on the situation of the IDPs. In fact, the agropastoral host population in the village of Bakaar Yar, have suffered from recurrent crop failure and are unable to provide much support. Though some IDPs have benefited from relief aid distributions to the camps in Walaq and Biilala (in early December), this is not sufficient and is unsustainable. Coping mechanisms include begging and looking for casual jobs in Wajid town." (OCHA, 14 December 2003)

Clan-based customary law (xeer) and sharia courts

"Second, local customary law (*xeer*) – which is the principal source of conflict management, conflict prevention, and justice in Somalia – occasionally conflicts with universal human rights conventions. Physical protection from assault, rape, or murder, for instance, is afforded to those who enjoy membership in a sufficiently powerful clan, not to the population at large via an impartial judicial system. Women's rights in customary law and Islamic jurisprudence are also not upheld to a level consistent with international human rights standards. Crimes which violate human rights are addressed not as a matter of individual culpability, but rather as a matter of collective responsibility, with blood payments from the accused's *diya* or blood compensation group negotiated with the family of the victim. Where blood compensation negotiations break down, the traditional response is a revenge attack, an act which can precipitate a cycle of violence and which targets innocent victims. In addition, increased reliance on *sharia* courts as a complement to traditional customs has introduced processes and punishments which violate international human rights norms and standards. The tension between universal human rights codes and some Somali customary practices is an insufficiently appreciated problem." (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August, 2003, p.30-31)

Public order, rule of law, and personal security throughout the country continue to be based on a combination of traditional mechanisms: kinship protection, or mutual obligations within blood-payment groups (*diya*); clan-based customary law (*xeer*) and mediation structures provided by elders or respected sheikhs; and protection of weaker social groups via the practice of *shedad*, or adoption into a stronger clan.

[...]

In practice, rule of law, guarantees of personal security, and protection of human rights in Somalia vary from location to location and according to the social standing of the individual. Most Somalis ensure their personal security by residing in the 'home areas' of their clan, where they are assured full status and protection by their kin group. Ironically, for many Somali urbanites, this arrangement can lead to a situation in which they are simultaneously 'at home' in their clan's territory, but 'internally displaced', in that they are forced to live in areas far from their actual homes in the capital city. Somalis are increasingly able to both visit and live in cities outside their clan's traditional domain, but typically as a guest of more dominant clans, an arrangement which requires time and sometimes protection money to ensure. Politically weak social groups, such as the Bantu and Bajuni, are least able to secure protection from extortion, rape, and other abuses by criminal elements of more powerful clans; they remain somewhat vulnerable no matter where they reside." (Menkhaus November 2000, p. 9)

Protection situation of IDPs in Mogadishu and other southern towns (2004)

- Mogadishu is the most dangerous place in Somalia, divided by the "green line" between 7 and 10 main warlords control various zones
- Mogadishu hosts the largest number of displaced, who are often victims of cross-fire and have to flee violent conflicts within the town
- Rape and forced labour at gunpoint are common occurrences in IDP settlements

- IDPs are forced to give 50% of their earnings or food aid to gatekeepers, and when they cannot find work to get cash, they are forced to work for the gatekeepers for free
- Some gatekeepers reportedly extorted as much as 75% of aid delivered to IDP camps
- Gatekeepers sometimes offer some degree of protection to camp residents particularly those from minority groups
- Gatekeepers sometimes rent shacks in IDP camps to economic migrants, who pay with the aid allocated to the displaced

Mogadishu has an estimated population of 1 million, including about 150,000-200,000 IDPs of whom about 50% are Bantu and 50% are Rahanweyn. However, high insecurity has prevented monitoring of the situation and nobody really knows how many IDPs are there.

Mogadishu is divided between the north and the south by the “green line”. Between 7 to 10 warlords (among the most powerful) divide the city into smaller no-go zones. The north is controlled by the Abgal clan (originating from Mogadishu) where there is intense intra-sub-clan conflicts. IDPs live in different zones controlled by different warlords and tend to settle with their kin, ethnically or along sub-clan lines. When fighting intensifies in the north, IDPs flee to the south leading to overcrowding in the camps there. IDPs are often victims of crossfire. The TNG once evicted all IDPs from an abandoned public building where they commonly settle.

Rape and forced labour at gunpoint are common occurrences in Mogadishu.

According to many analysts, forced recruitment of IDPs is not so widespread because it does not ensure clan loyalty and someone recruited outside the clan risks to run away with the gun to sell it. On the other hand there are plenty of free-lance militia and gunmen to contract, who no longer respond to clan elder’s authority and would kill their own kinsmen for little money. In a urban setting like Mogadishu elders’mediation mechanisms do not work anymore and de facto authorities do not care about IHL.

Camp-managers also called “black cats” or “gatekeepers” are often militia men who collect taxes from IDPs against “protection”. The payment often comes as a 50% share of the food aid destined to IDPs, or half of their daily earnings. When IDPs do not find work for 2-3 days they are forced to work for the gatekeeper for free or have to borrow money to pay him. Gatekeepers also control the movement of IDPs in and out of the camps.

To deliver humanitarian assistance in Mogadishu, agencies use Somali armed guards and sometimes deliver aid in the middle of the night when it is less prone to be diverted. This leaves the IDPs some time to sell the food against cash or to hide it in safer places. In normal circumstances, vehicles pass many check points where militias collect taxes. (Interviews, Nairobi, August 2004)

“Aid gatekeepers are an important element of the protection environment. These were seen as a potential obstacle in the research process. In terms of aid, they are generally considered a negative influence, positioning themselves prior to the delivery of assistance to the camps to take advantage of potentially valuable resources. One interviewee suggested that the gatekeepers took as much as 75% of the aid delivered to the camps. At the same time, however, gatekeepers offer some degree of protection to camp residents, especially those from weak or minority clans. A Somali proverb describes this situation well: *Ama buur ahaw ama mid ku-tiirsanaw* (‘Either be a mountain or lean on one’). In other words, members of weak clans seek protection from a strong one, in terms of sheegata (adoption and client status) or, more immediately, the protection of a gatekeeper. Even though living conditions are extremely poor, many of the displaced feel safer as part of a group in a camp, receiving ‘protection’ from a Marexaan gatekeeper. Moreover, economic migrants might consider living in a camp as lowcost housing: rents for an arish (a

wooden shack) are in the region of SShs40–60,000 per month, whereas a room in a stone house would cost SShs100,000 a month.³⁰ In return for this 'protection', and in lieu of 'rent', the gatekeeper will receive a portion of the assistance packages allocated to the displaced." (ODI, 31 December 2003, p.13-4)

"Comprised predominantly women and children from weak, minority agricultural groups, they have little clan protection and are often at the mercy of "camp managers" who restrict their movements and who divert aid intended for IDPs. They are also vulnerable to prostitution, human trafficking and forcible recruitment by militia leaders." (UN, 18 November 2003, p.11,13, 14)

Somaliland: Southern IDPs at risk of discrimination (March 2006)

- While there is some progress made in IDP protection, the Somaliland authorities still don't ensure their equal treatment before the law
- Somaliland still has no IDP policy
- The protection of IDPs was at risk following Somaliland presidential Decree of 23 October 2003 stating that all "illegal foreigners" would be expelled within 45 days
- In 2005, Somaliland authorities still have not revoked the decree, nor declared its irrelevance
- Although the dead line was extended and the decree not officially implemented some IDPs sought safety in Puntland
- IDPs in Somaliland live in fear of 'deportation' by the authorities
- IDPs have been victims of human rights violations in Somaliland since a long time and the edict further eroded their right to justice as they now fear to report violations to authorities because they are considered "illegal foreigners"

OCHA, 21 March 2006:

IDPs and returnees are living in very poor conditions - often in urban areas with inadequate water and sanitation and lacking income opportunities and access to basic social services. Many also lack protection (usually provided by their clan) while there remains no policy on the internally displaced. The resources for IDP programmes continue to be limited and affect a comprehensive response. While the authorities continue to make progress towards respecting human rights, violations still occur and need to be addressed, particularly with regard to IDPs but also minorities - and in terms of poor prison conditions, arbitrary detentions and inadequate judicial processes.

UNHCR, 1 June 2004:

"Significant protection concerns arose following the 'Somaliland' Presidential Decree of 23 October 2003 which stated that all "illegal foreigners" would be expelled within 45 days. The issuance of this decree caused the protection environment to deteriorate for foreigners and IDPs, many of whom were compelled to seek safety and security in 'Puntland'. The deadline was eventually extended to 14 January 2004." ***(This issues was no longer of imminent concern in 2006, while IDPs are still often regarded as 'illegal immigrants')***.

"In March 2004, Somaliland authorities reiterated their intent, first announced in September 2003, to deport "illegal immigrants" in areas under their control. However, the deadline for their expulsion has been extended several times, and so far no action has yet been taken to physically remove them. Included in the classification of "illegal foreigners" are some 40,000 IDPs, mainly from southern Somalia. The UN continues to work with the Somaliland authorities to define the categories of foreigners entitled to special protection under international refugee law, as well as international human rights and humanitarian standards. Of critical concern are those who may face political persecution, or an unsafe security environment, were they to return to their areas of

origin. At the same time, Somaliland is seeking assistance to enable them to live up to their intention of affording protection to these groups.

But, the protective environment for “foreigners” in general, and IDPs from southern Somalia in particular, has continued to deteriorate. Harassment, exploitation and extortion of these groups are not uncommon. These conditions have forced many to flee southwards and into Puntland where they are living in squalid conditions. The UN in Ethiopia has also reported the presence of “deportees” from Somaliland in the Somali region, Zone V, of Ethiopia, where they are placing an additional burden on limited resources. The UN is currently undertaking a review of new arrivals to Puntland to ascertain the scope of the influx, and design an appropriate response. Puntland already hosts some 70,000 IDPs – the largest concentration of about 25,000 is based in Bossaso – and the government’s capacity to provide for them is limited.” (UN, 15 June 2004, p.3)

UNICEF survey on IDP’s perceptions about their own protection situation (Dec 2003)

- IDPs considered themselves as the most disadvantaged groups for being displaced rather than because they were from minority groups
- The general population considered most disadvantaged were first minorities, second unarmed clans and third IDPs
- IDPs reported that they were still displaced due to insecurity in their areas of origin
- 37% IDPs chose to stay in camps due to security
- IDPs suffered significantly from the loss of home and property, fear and murder compared to the general population
- 31% of the children reported rape as a problem in their family, significantly higher than among the general population (17%)
- Commonly, when a woman or girl from a minority group was victim of rape, nothing was done to stop the crime
- 42% of the children in IDP camps reported contributing to household earnings through work

“The study interviewed and analysed the lives of children and adults living in IDP ‘camps’ in all three of Somalia’s zones.

[...]

A quarter of the general population reported that segregated or outcast groups were the most disadvantaged, another quarter said unarmed clans, while the third group on the list were internally displaced people (IDPs).

People Living in Displacement Camps

Although the child sample from the displacement ‘camps’ agreed that segregated/outcast clans were the most disadvantaged group, the adult sample ranked IDPs as the most disadvantaged. A further 9% of adults in the camps ranked returnees as the most disadvantaged, while 12% ranked refugees from other countries. In contrast to the general population, it was clear that the people interviewed in the camps were often referring directly to themselves.

[...]

Both populations reported that they continued to be displaced due to insecurity, while significantly more people in the ‘camps’ also attributed their continued displacement to poverty.

[...]

When the respondents were asked for the most important reason why they chose to stay where they were, 37% of the adults cited the security provided by the ‘camps’.

[...]

A few problems affected them significantly more than the general population:

- The displaced adults reported the loss of home/property, fear, displacement and murder significantly more than the general adult population;
- The displaced children reported the loss of home/property, assault, murder and rape significantly more than the general population of children.

[...]

The study found that 29% of the adults in the 'camps' reported problems with rape affecting their families. Due to the small sample size, this was not significantly different from the level of 21% reported by adults in the general population.

However, 31% of displaced children reported rape as a problem in their family, which was significantly higher than the 17% of children in the general population.

[...]

This was a significant finding. The fact that nearly a third of the children living in 'camps' claimed that their families have been affected by rape has major implications about the levels of safety and protection available to children in these camps. This finding confirms a UNCUUN-OCHA 2002 study, which states that gender based discrimination and violence — particularly the rape of girls and young women — is “widespread” among 14 minority groups in Somalia. However, while the study makes reference to a series of stories of reported rape, it does not offer any clear statistical evidence to back up this claim.

One CPS enumerator reported hearing numerous stories of rape from women members of minority groups in one of the displacement 'camps' visited. It was reported that these rapes had been committed by an armed man from a powerful clan whose identity was known. However, nothing had been done to stop the assaults. Advisory groups reported that it was common that nothing would be done to stop a perpetrator from a powerful clan if the victim was from a minority group.

[...]

Groups identified as the most disadvantaged in Somalia include segregated or outcast clans, unarmed clans and internally displaced people. The displacement 'camp' sample considered themselves significantly more disadvantaged than the general sample. Despite the fact that the majority of displaced people are also members of segregated, outcast or unarmed clans, they believe their disadvantage stems more from being internally displaced and refugees.

[...]

While 13% of adults and 20% of children in the general population report their families being fully or partly dependent upon a child's earnings, these figures rise to 30% of adults and 42% of children in the displacement camps. The displaced populations also reported:

- Lack of employment, poverty, lack of education and healthcare as significantly more common than among the general population;
- More serious economic and social consequences due to the hostilities;
- Significantly more problems with violence, immorality and disputes within families;
- Significantly more loss of property, fear, displacement and murder reported by adults;
- Significantly more loss of property, assault, murder and rape reported by children;
- Reports of rape in the family reported by 31% of the displaced children, as compared to 17% of children in the general population.” (UNICEF, 10 December 2003, Chapter 8, pp.15,23,24,29,30,33,34)

Displaced children lack protection (2004)

- 5% of children reported they and/or their siblings had either carried a gun or been involved in other militia activities

- Displaced children of single-headed families often contribute to household survival therefore miss school
- Child soldiers in Galgadud were growing in numbers, forced to stay in areas of conflict to fight (2003-4)
- Displaced children often from southern minority groups are forced to seek 'protection' by joining urban gangs
- Displaced children are often exploited and have jobs dangerous to their health
- Children displaced from minority groups suffer from deprivation and abuse
- Displaced children are sexually abused
- Displaced children in single-headed families often end up on the streets and are often drawn into drug-dependency
- 3,000 orphan children were thrown on the streets after the orphanage hosting them had to close because shut down because the Saudi aid agency funding it was banned by the US on alleged terrorist links

"In the Household Survey, 5% of the children reported that they and/or their siblings had either carried a gun or been involved in other militia activities at some time in their lives. The number reporting that they or a sibling carried a gun was greater than the number admitting involvement in other militia activities." (UNICEF, 10 December 2003, Chapter 4)

"The long duration of the Somalia conflict has increased the vulnerability of internally displaced and abandoned children, minorities and women. The latter have been particularly affected by gender-based violence and the fact that many women are often heads of households or otherwise find themselves as the main breadwinner of the family. As a result, children have to take on household chores and other support functions, which contributes to low school enrolment rates for girls and denies them the enjoyment of crucial child rights. Food insecurity has also increased their workload and early marriages abound as well. Weak political and economic infrastructures have limited their access to power and resources, while limited respect for good governance and the rule of law – especially in the southern and central regions of Somalia -- have created a culture of impunity in which human rights violations go unpunished. In the absence of functioning judicial systems, victims are unable to hold governing authorities accountable." (UN, November 2002, p.16)

"Child soldier exists and growing in number according to interviewed people [in Galgadud]. Some five children under the age of eighteen wounded in the recent clashes at Herale were admitted to Dhusamareb hospital. Also some previous discharges were reported. Meanwhile most young groups were compelled to stay at Herale to defend the territory from external aggression." (OCHA, 6 April 2004, p.6)

"The involvement of children in the hostilities was also not significantly different from the general population, with 5% of children reporting that either they or their siblings had carried a gun or assisted the militias at some time in their lives." (UNICEF, 10 December 2003, p.30)

"These children are very vulnerable and support themselves by begging on the streets, in which case they are always involved in car accidents; they are run-over and mostly die from their injuries. As one child explained **"we are unable to complain or report accidents because we fear retaliation"**. Another child explained, **"The only way we can survive is by joining gangs for protection"**. Gang rivalry is another problem, which is challenging the survival of the Bantu children. Fights are very dangerous and sometimes lead to the death of the youngest and weakest child." (Ibrahim F. 15 August 2002, p.5)

"To supplement household income, parents allow their children to be part of the household income, and work from an early age of 13 or less. Indeed, the parents do not consider their children's involvement in the household income as a threat to their children's social and physical well being, but they consider it as a task, which has an economic importance for the household. Most of the IDPs children workers have already lost their community network, and suffer dramatic effect on their health and future. Children undertake marginal jobs such as carrying goods, delivering water, and farming in return of marginal wages or some food. It appears that the IDPs children will continue to suffer from economic exploitation and from work that is hazardous to their health, and to their future, until solution is found for the Somali crises." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.38)

"All children in Somalia can be considered as being in 'especially difficult circumstances' but, there are subgroups who have special social problems and needs – and have a right to – special care, protection and, in some cases, social reintegration over and above the basic survival and development needs of children in general.

There are tens of thousands of displaced children, youth and women living in camp conditions in extreme poverty; many thousands of children living on the streets; hundreds of children live in orphanages; large numbers of physically and mentally disabled and handicapped children; and, unknown numbers of children attached to militia groups.

While many benefit from some forms of support from the traditional clan assistance mechanisms, some, mostly minority groups such as Bantus and Ogadenis, who are generally marginalised by the Somali society, are particularly vulnerable, and often suffer from deprivation and abuse." (UN March 2001, p. 76)

"Human rights defenders reported to the independent expert that there are many cases of sexual abuse of women and children, particularly among the internally displaced population. The situation with regard to internal displacement is making the number of street children rise. Although most of these children are 'Somalilanders', there are also other groups, including Ethiopians. An increase in the use of alcohol and hashish among children has also been cited." (CHR 26 January 2000, p. 26)

Freedom of movement

IDPs freedom of movement hampered by militia roadblocks and extortion (2004)

- The June conflict in Mogadishu displaced over 2000 heavily armed people who now control the road between Bula Hawa and Mogadishu imposing roadblocks and levying taxes at gunpoint
- In southern Somalia, IDPs and local residents are charged fees to pass militia roadblocks
- Roadblocks particularly threaten IDP's safety as their status of deprivation makes them less able to pay taxes unlawfully levied
- IDPs are also charged at water points to collect water from the river

"In June, inter clan conflict in Mogadishu left over 60 people dead and more than 2000 displaced. Some of those displaced were armed and have since then rendered the road between Bula Hawa and Mogadishu impassible. Roadblocks have been erected on the way, where militias easily kill, demanding revenue from commuters and business people." (ACT, 17 September 2004)

« Des violences inter-claniques mettant la population en situation de précarité nutritionnelle et sanitaire...

Des années de guerre civile en Somalie ont abouti à la division du pays en zones claniques, contrôlées par des chefs de guerre, d'où un climat d'insécurité permanent et une forte criminalité. Les populations subissent cet état de fait au quotidien et ne peuvent s'aventurer hors de leur zone sans risques.

Cette situation ne fait qu'accroître leur précarité nutritionnelle et sanitaire. En effet, sans liberté de mouvement, il devient impossible pour elles de mener à bien des activités professionnelles, agropastorales principalement, ou d'accéder aux soins et à l'eau potable, déjà rares en Somalie.
» (ACF, 5 February 2003)

“The personal security of IDPs in Qoryoley is at stake and it is affected by the security condition of the district, which the UN and other aid agencies have described as poor. The IDPs found themselves in situations where violence against the civilian population by armed men is pervasive and rampant. According to the IDPs, killings, rape, and extortion are some of the major security threats in the district and they are rampant in the villages of Gayawarow, Ayarto, Abdi Ali, and Afgoye Yare. The Habargedir militia set up roadblocks in these villages to charge local residents and also IDPs Sh.sh 500 every time they pass through the roadblocks. Similarly at water points, So.sh 500 are charged every body who wants to draw water from the River. Farmers are charged between So.sh 100,000- 500,000 for cultivating and irrigating their farms. The IDPs are the most vulnerable of all. Because they are poor, they can not afford to pay for extortion. As a consequence sometimes they are denied access to water or pass through the roadblocks. This affects not only their economic livelihoods, but also their freedom of movements and their rights to survive.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.34)

SUBSISTENCE NEEDS

Overview

Humanitarian situation (Special report, 2006)

IDPs' access to the most basic services is close to non-existent in most parts of Somalia, one of the world's poorest countries. Intermittent fighting and drought mean that conditions in IDP settlements are more crowded than ever, with associated high levels of disease. Dehydration from diarrhoea is one of the main causes of death, reflecting the fact that close to 80 per cent of the Somali population have no access to safe water and nearly half have no access to sanitation (UN, 18 November 2004, p.22). Moreover, IDPs often have to pay to use latrines in addition to paying rent, in the insalubrious settlements where they live. As a result most settlements are littered with garbage and faeces, increasing the incidence of disease.

Health services and infrastructures have been ravaged by war and only a small minority of the Somali population have access to health care. Most hospitals lack equipment and drugs and there is a great lack of qualified doctors (MSF, 9 December 2002). Nearly a quarter of Somali children die before they reach the age of five and mortality rates among displaced children are up to 60 per cent higher than among the local population (UNICEF, 10 December 2003). The maternal mortality rate is one of the highest in the world due to the fact that most deliveries take place at home and the widespread practice of female genital mutilation increases health risks during birth. The health status of IDPs is considered to be even worse as most of them lack access or cannot pay for medical care. For example, in 2003, Bossaso only had one mother and child health centre for a population of over 120,000 people including about 28,000 IDPs (UN, 18 November 2003, p.153).

Given its scarcity, water is an extremely coveted resource. Many wells have been destroyed or polluted during the conflict in order to deprive the enemy from access to water. For example, out of 175 wells in Bay and Bakool, over 100 were damaged beyond repair (UNICEF, 6 September 2000). When available, water is often sold at prices unaffordable to IDPs, who have no choice but to drink from contaminated streams. The unavailability of close-by water sources, combined with situations of insecurity impact on the nutritional and health status of displaced populations. For example, in Belet Hawo, Gedo, families lived on less than 10 litres per person per day, about half of the recommended minimum requirement set by WHO, because of the risks faced by women and girls to be raped by militias (ACT, 17 September 2004).

Due to the lack of safe drinking water and sanitation in IDP settlements, there are endemic outbreaks of cholera every dry season in the main towns like Mogadishu. In addition to cholera, outbreaks of polio and measles have also been registered in south and central Somalia during 2005, and vaccination campaigns for all three diseases have been carried out (OCHA, November 2005). In the rainy season, floods are common in Mogadishu and the riverine valleys, displacing tens of thousands of people each year, many of them permanently.

South Somalia drought could lead to major humanitarian emergency

While by the end of 2005 sufficient rains for two consecutive seasons have somewhat stabilised the water and food situation in the north, enabling those pastoralists who had not yet moved to urban centres to begin re-stocking their herds and re-engaging in livestock trade, the south is considered at high risk of experiencing serious food shortages due to years of below-normal

rainfall and intermittent fighting. In addition to significant crop losses, the number of livestock has decreased significantly (FSAU, November 2005). Some drought-related displacement towards urban centres was already reported at the end of 2005.

The nutritional status of internally displaced is of particular concern in the south, but also in Bossaso and Burao. IDP malnutrition rates at about 20 per cent in 2005 far exceeded the emergency threshold, particularly affecting Bossaso, the Juba riverine areas and Galgadud (FSAU, October 2005).

Malnutrition among displaced children in Mogadishu, where high insecurity impedes the conducting of regular assessments, peaked at 39 per cent in 2002, falling to 15 per cent in 2004 (FSAU, 31 May 2004; 31 August 2002). The southern riverine areas, once Somalia's breadbasket, are the most affected by conflict-induced food insecurity, with Gedo registering the worst malnutrition rates at 34 per cent in 2004 mainly due to insecurity (ACT, 17 September 2004). Nutritional surveys conducted in Gedo in October 2005 revealed consistently high levels of malnutrition, while humanitarian access remained poor (FSAU, 29 November 2005).

Puntland

High malnutrition rates among IDPs not only reflect low purchasing power but also the poor quality of the intake of nutrients and early weaning practices. In Bossaso and Somaliland for example, two-thirds of displaced children were weaned before the age of six months, resulting in high incidence of diseases. This was often due to the fact that poor women, often the main breadwinners, engage in petty trade and casual work, at the expense of child care practices (FSAU, 31 May 2004).

Somaliland

Nutrition surveys carried out in Hargeisa in September 2005 showed a significant improvement of the nutritional status among IDPs in comparison to 2003, with the Global Acute Malnutrition Rate having dropped from 15.3 per cent to 7.6 per cent; 75 per cent of IDPs and returnees now have access to water and sanitation, compared to 45 per cent in 2003. This improvement is attributed to political stability, improved access to the vulnerable populations and a certain degree of income opportunity for IDPs and returnees (FSAU, October 2005; OCHA, October, 2005; OCHA Hargeisa IDP Working Group meeting, October 2005).

At the same time, malnutrition rates remained high Burao which in contrast to Hargeisa offers fewer economic opportunities to IDPs, and the social and clan ties, where they exist, seemed extremely strained (OCHA, November 2005).

Improved nutrition rates in Hargeisa do not necessarily go in parallel with better health status. During a visit to Daami settlement, it was suggested that while children generally receive enough food, mothers often do not, as they give preference to feeding their children (Visit to Daami settlement, October 2005).

General

Relative security but also increased humanitarian needs among Mogadishu's IDPs (June 2006)

- IDP situation has gotten worse since the outbreak of fighting in Mogadishu increased the number of displaced

- Security situation has improved since the takeover of the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC)
- Malnutrition is said to have gotten worse since the fighting, and IDP needs must be met quickly
- UNICEF was able to immunise 99% of Mogadishu's children against polio
- The UN is planning an assessment mission to Mogadishu, profiting from the relative security

IRIN, 28 June 2006

"The guns have mostly fallen silent in the Somali capital of Mogadishu, but for Shamsu Abdi Ali, a mother living with her five children in Qoryooley camp for internally displaced persons (IDPs), the hard times are not over. "I still have no shelter or food," she said. "Most of us [the displaced] still live in horrible conditions, doing housework for other people but earning less money or sometimes nothing."

Shamsu's family is one of 181 whose shelters were destroyed during fighting that started on 18 February between the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) and the anti-terrorism coalition of faction leaders. More than 320 people, most of them civilians, died in the clashes and thousands were injured.

Other IDPs are however happy, saying they feel much safer since the UIC took control of Mogadishu and later Jowhar town in the Middle Shabelle region, 90 km from Mogadishu.

Sangabo Mohammed, a mother of six living in Cocala IDP camp, [former premises of the Coca Cola company] said the security situation has improved dramatically. "Before the Islamic courts, there were cases of robbery and rape in our camp by armed thugs," Sangabo said. "Now it is much better."

Day-to-day survival is tough, particularly for the majority of IDPs who lack skills. The men push wheelbarrows to earn their daily bread while children collect the 'khat' leftovers to sell them to people who like chewing the narcotic but cannot afford to buy it fresh.

On the streets of Mogadishu, women IDPs can be seen carrying baggage on their backs to earn money to feed the children they left in the camps. The labourers include heavily pregnant women who are at times seen in Bakarra, the largest market in the city, carrying heavy loads on their back.

Barakow Ibrahim, a 90-year-old IDP living in Lazareti hospital camp, said many of his fellow displaced people eat just once a day. The only assistance they receive is from a handful of NGOs.

Moalim Jabril Mohammad, a 20-year-old teacher said the stray mortar shells that landed in Qoryooley camp burnt many shelters down, including his, and now he has no shelter. An older woman died and three people were injured.

Haji Hassan Gelle, chairman of the Bosnia IDP camp said since the outbreak of recent clashes in Mogadishu, hunger and malnutrition have increased. "The fighting between Islamists and the defeated faction leaders affected the living standards in this camp," said Hussein, pointing to a mother and her four children whom he said lost her husband and now survives by begging.

UIC now in charge

When the UIC took control of the city on 4 June, sending faction leaders fleeing, some of the IDPs fled their shelters out of fear. However, the calm that has been restored in the city has prompted them to return to their homes.

Unsure of what to expect from the new rulers in Mogadishu, and still affected by drought, some of the IDPs have fled the city. The United Nations refugee agency, UNHCR, said on 21 June that some 1,300 Somalis had sought refuge in Kenya - where another 100,000 already live in camps.

In Mogadishu, many of the IDPs are resettling into former government buildings and army barracks. More than 300 displaced people, for example, have sought refuge in Damanyo army barracks. Before the current influx, Damanyo had received an additional group fleeing drought and food shortages in Bay and Bakool regions of southern Somalia.

Shaykh Sharif Shaykh Ahmed, chairman of Somalia's UIC told IRIN that the takeover of the city by the Islamists was "an opportunity" that should be grasped by the residents of the city. "There is huge change in Somalia and a new day is dawning in answer to our problems," he added. "We all must work towards finding answers. We all need to contribute, whether it is material, ideas or advice, on how to resolve our problems. We should try not to waste this opportunity."

The city's displaced come from all over, but most were originally from the southern regions of Qoryooley, Burhakaba, Mareerey, and Minas on the edge of Baidoa where the Somali transitional government is based.

Assistance needed

Civil-society leaders say the IDPs need urgent assistance. Abdullahi Shirwa, head of an NGO coalition called Civil Society in Action, said the recent fighting swelled the numbers of the displaced. Shaykh Abdulkadir Ali, vice-chairman of the UIC in Mogadishu, concurred, saying the needs of the population had increased.

Mahamud Hassan Ali "Ade", mayor of Mogadishu and governor of Benadir Region [where Mogadishu is located], said: "People were already living in difficult circumstances, but now many whose homes were destroyed in the fighting are living in makeshift shelters or in the open."

The UN is upbeat that the end of the recent fighting between the Islamic courts and the faction leaders offers an opportunity to help some 250,000 IDPs who live in the city and an additional 17,000 people displaced by recent clashes.

For example, the UN Children's Fund (Unicef) said on 2 June that the recent calm had allowed the humanitarian community to carry out a polio immunisation programme on 99 percent of Mogadishu's children aged under five. Unicef Somalia representative, Christian Balslev-Olesen, said 286,000 children were immunised between 11 and 13 June 2006.

Four additional national immunisation days are planned for July, September, October and December with each round aiming to reach an estimated 1.4 million under-fives.

According to Eric Laroche, UN humanitarian coordinator for Somalia, the UN is planning to send a humanitarian assessment mission to Mogadishu. "We will focus on scaling up existing activities, tapping on local resources and further building on positive coping mechanisms developed at the community level," he said.

Nutrition and health indicators among the worst in the world (November 2005)

- IDPs in Somaliland and Puntland were 'very impoverished and lacking most basic services', and that the situation in the south was even worse, according to UNHCR's Inspector General
- Somalia is the fifth poorest country in the world with 43% of Somalis living in extreme poverty
- Yearly 225 children under five die out of 1000 infants born
- 80% of the Somali population have no access to safe water and nearly half have no access to sanitation
- Only 19% of the adult population can read or write
- Only 14% children attend primary school

"Health indicators in Somalia continue to be some of the worst in Africa and the world. The infant mortality rate is currently 132/1,000 live births; the maternal mortality rate is 1600/100,000 live births and immunisation coverage for measles and Diphtheria/pertussis/tetanus vaccine (DPT3) is 28% and 27% respectively. Access to basic services is very poor and cumulative indicators reveal the same alarming picture: only 30% of the population have access to safe drinking water, only 45% have access to local health care and only 50% have access to adequate excreta disposal facilities. As a result, the majority of the disease burden derives from infectious and communicable diseases. Confirmed cases of Polio in Mogadishu and Cholera in Jowhar in September 2005 underscore the gravity of the situation.

For IDPs and returnees, indicators for access to basic services are lower than for the average Somali population. IDPs are in an even worse situation than returnees, as they often do not receive support from family/clan members, on which many returnees depend, and their access to services is also impeded by discrimination. Of particular concern is the situation of the estimated one million vulnerable people" (OCHA, 30 November 2005)

"Mission visited IDP groups in Somaliland (Hargeisa) and Puntland (Bossaso and Garowe) – unable to visit Mogadishu and Kismayo for security reasons.

[...]

Overall situation of IDPs seen by the mission was very impoverished and lacking most basic services, including shelter, access to water, health and education. IDPs in the south not visited but according to UNHCR staff even worse off than those we saw.

[Note: Majority of local population also deprived in these areas, but IDPs more vulnerable]" (McNamara, 10 February 2004)

"Even before the war, Somalia was one of the poorest countries in the world; its Gross National Product per capita was calculated at only US\$ 170, the fifth lowest on earth. [...] Today, nearly three million Somalis, or 43.2%, live in *extreme* poverty on less than US\$ 1 a day, mainly in rural areas. Those living in *general* poverty, on US\$ 2 per day, comprise 73.4% of the population. Only 19% of the adults (aged 15 and above) can read and write. Only 16.4% of the primary school aged children are enrolled. [...] It is estimated that nearly half the population live without access to sanitation and nearly 80% without access to safe water. [...] Out of every 1,000 infants born, 225 die before they reach the age of five." (UN, 18 November 2003, p.12)

"As a result, localised armed conflict and insecurity caused by inter- and intra-factional clan and political conflicts continue to be the main impediments to peace, reconciliation and sustainable recovery in Somalia, which after more than ten years of disorder, is characterised by some of the lowest human development indicators in the world. The country is ranked among the five least developed countries on earth by UNDP's *2001 Human Development Report for Somalia*. In 1990, it was estimated that 60% of the population were living below the poverty line. With the deterioration of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), it is most likely that the proportion of the

population living in poverty remains at least as high as twelve years ago, if not higher.” (UN, November 2002, p.14)

Food

Food emergency in the south is not over, compounded by conflict (July 2006)

- While there is no more threat of famine, a widespread humanitarian crisis keeps affecting Somalia, in particular the south
- Renewed fighting could jeopardise the already meagre harvest in southern Somalia
- Somali leaders urge the international community to provide emergency food aid in the south
- Southern Somalia's nutrition situation gives rise to great concern for 2006, due to poor rains and related conflict which caused internal displacement
- Displaced persons in Burao and Bossaso remain highly food-insecure
- Piracy of food deliveries worsen the situation in the south
- During 2005, key achievements in terms of food aid concerned mainly tsunami-struck regions, pastoralists in Sool and Sanag, and riverine communities in Juba Valley

FSAU, 21 September 2006:

"The threat of famine in southern Somalia has subsided, but a widespread humanitarian crisis continues to affect the country. While the number of people requiring urgent humanitarian assistance has decreased from 2.1 million during the first half of 2006, to 1.8 million, the geographic area now facing severe food and livelihood insecurity is wider, after the failure of the main or Gu season rains in parts of Bakool, Hiran and central regions.

The south remains the epicenter of the current crisis. Eighty percent of the people in need of urgent humanitarian assistance and livelihood support are found in this area. The Gu season 2006 cereal production is about 113,000 MT which is about 73 percent of the post war average (1995 to 2005). The production this Gu season is the third consecutive below normal harvest in southern Somalia. Though rangeland conditions (water and pasture) have improved in many drought affected areas, livestock productivity and value have not yet improved. Cereal stocks are extremely low and in short supply, thus prices are higher than normal, especially in regions with crop failure, such as Juba Valley (150 percent of normal), Hiran (200 percent of normal) and parts of lower Shabelle regions (125 percent of normal). Global acute malnutrition rates also remain high at over 20 percent (WHZ<-2 or oedema) and have continued to deteriorate since January 2006. Indications of further deterioration are noted in the increased levels of malnutrition in clinics and Therapeutic Feeding Programs (FSAU Nutrition update, August, 2006). Even under the best of conditions, recovery from this and previous crises in the pastoral and agro-pastoral communities in Gedo, Juba Valley and Bakool will take several more seasons.

In key pastoral areas of Hiran and Central regions poor water and pasture conditions have led to extremely poor livestock body conditions and thus poor animal productivity. Low livestock market prices have also affected terms of trade for herders. Recurrent clan conflicts coupled with several seasons of below normal rains have increased the food insecurity of pastoral communities in these regions. The limited presence of the aid agencies in this region makes responding to this situation more difficult.

In the northeast and northwest, the livestock dependent economy recorded substantial improvement due to several seasons of normal rainfall, improved rangeland conditions, a thriving export market and improved terms of trade between livestock and imported cereals. Sustained

humanitarian and livelihood support by the aid agencies since 2004 aided the recovery process and helped increase the herd sizes for most of the households.

Given the fact that the dry season (Hagai - a lean period for pastoralists) is in progress and food security conditions have not improved in many areas, the negative impact of 2005/06 crisis on productive assets will continue to prevail. Though the secondary rainy season or Deyr (October-December) are expected to be near to below normal, global climate forecasts indicate a weak ElNi-Nio that could result in devastating floods in Juba Valley which is part of the epicenter of the drought. Any additional shock would quickly push the region into a more crises.

The 2007 Consolidated Appeal for Somalia aims to assist the most seriously affected vulnerable groups. To date, only half of the \$326 million dollar appeal is funded, despite increased contributions from donors. Agriculture, health and education sectors are particularly under funded. Given the severity of the humanitarian conditions in Somalia at this time, it is imperative that the remaining CAP is covered."

IRIN, 31 July 2006:

"Last week, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) said 2.1 million people in Somalia were still experiencing food shortages because of the severe drought in the Horn of Africa earlier this year. The food crisis in Somalia was expected to continue, the FAO warned, saying that this year's main cereal harvest was expected to be poor because most of the drought-hit areas had received insufficient rainfall.

Expressing concern over the recent escalation of factional conflict in Mogadishu and the reported military build-up around the south-central town of Baidoa, the seat of Somalia's transitional government, the FAO noted: "As the bulk of food crops are cultivated in southern Somalia, any disruption of harvest activities would worsen the ongoing humanitarian crisis."

IRIN, 7 Dec 2005:

"Leaders in Somalia have urged the international community to help feed inhabitants of the southern region, where rain failure has led to the lowest cereal production in a decade and cattle dying for lack of water and pasture. "I wish to appeal for emergency food aid. Any food that is sent to the Somali people reaches them," Hassan Muhammed Nur, popularly known as "Shatigudud", the minister for agriculture in Somalia's Transitional Federal Government (TFG), told IRIN on Friday. According to FSAU, the livestock situation was also rapidly deteriorating in southern Somalia, especially in the agro-pastoral and pastoral areas of Gedo and Juba.

'Already cattle deaths are reported in the hinterland of Gedo and Juba regions - due to lack of pasture and water," FSAU said in its November report. "Pasture and water sources were depleted early in the traditional grazing areas due to the below normal gu 2005 rains, which prompted early (May/June) movement of people and livestock towards the Juba riverine and coastal areas of Kismayo," the agency said.' "

FEWS, 5 December 2005:

"The food security situation is rapidly deteriorating in many parts of southern Somalia. Over half million people in the south will require humanitarian assistance until August 2006, when the harvest following the next rainy season (Gu) is expected.

The performance of the secondary rainy season or Deyr (October-December) has been weak, and harvest prospects are very poor. Due to lack of water and pasture, unusual migrations of people and livestock are occurring in the direction of permanent water sources. Gedo and the Juba Valley (Lower and Middle Juba regions) are the regions worst affected by the dryness. Most of the natural water catchments in the grazing areas are dry, and most of the boreholes are not functioning. Drought has affected livestock productivity (milk, ghee and meat) and value,

particularly for cattle, the main species of livestock in southern Somalia. The Food Security Analysis Unit (FAO/FSAU) has warned that that the population in Gedo and Juba Valley is facing a high risk of acute food and livelihood crises in the next month."

**OCHA, November 2005:
Gedo and Juba Valley**

"According to a recent assessment by FAO's Food Security Analysis Unit (FSAU), agro-pastoralists and pastoralists in Gedo and the Jubas are at high risk of an Acute Food and Livelihood Crisis within the coming months if the Deyr rains are below normal or fail. Pasture and water is now severely depleted, livestock conditions are weak (with some reported deaths) and cattle prices have significantly reduced. Since the low performance of the Gu rains, pastoralists and their livestock – a significant portion of which field reports say are from Kenya - have been converging on riverine areas in search of better conditions. Normally, livestock should have moved away from riverine areas at this time of year, yet the poor rain is making them stay which adds another layer of stress on the riverine communities (in turn still recovering from the Gu flooding) and their resources."

**FSAU, October 2005:
Bakool**

"Bakool Region has experienced periods of food insecurity and civil insecurity that have affected the populations' livelihoods significantly. Based on the Gu 2005 seasonal analysis, about 12,000 people in Rabdure and parts of Elberde Districts were facing acute livelihood crisis."

FSAU, November 2005:

"During the last two months, localized insecurity and tensions intensified in a number of areas in Southern Somalia. In Bay and Bakool regions, especially in Qansadheere, Dinsoor and Baidoa districts, localized conflict increased as a result of growing political tensions, as well as increased resource based conflicts over access to water and land. If unresolved, increased civil insecurity and tensions could disrupt Deyr '05 agricultural activities prior to and during October and November. A poor Deyr'05 crop production will only further threaten food security in the Sorghum Belt, given the almost complete failure of the Gu '05 crops (31% PWA in Bay and 36% of PWA in Bakool).

[...]

DISPLACED POPULATIONS IN BAY AND BAKOOL

The influx of displaced populations in Qansahdere and Dinsor districts following continuing and increased water and land based conflicts in surrounding Habibayall, Radhole, Misra (Dinsor District) and Oflow and Idale (Qansahdere) is of increasing concern. FSAU field reports though unconfirmed, indicate that possibly one third of the IDPs have begun to return to their farms to participate in farming activities in anticipation of the approaching Deyr rains, while another two thirds are unable to return. Cereals are available in the market (especially sorghum) and prices have declined since August (Figure 2). However, displaced populations have limited purchasing power due to the scarcity of income earning opportunities. The food security situation in Wajid is also of concern due to increased influx of population from surrounding areas due to civil insecurity. FSAU currently is mobilizing a rapid assessment team to assess the evolving situation in these areas."

[...]

Juba Valley

The Juba Valley and the riverine population in particular have been of heightened concern following records of high malnutrition and the limitation in humanitarian access."

OCHA, November 2005:

"Given reports of localized incidences of flooding in Lower Juba in early October, the inter-agency Flood Working Group met to discuss preparedness measures. Discussions focused mainly on the Juba and partners decided that the aid community should organise itself along the lines of the

Jowhar Floods Technical Committee, formed during the 2005 Gu season. During the last Gu season, a major reason for the difference in response times between the Shabelle and the Juba was the superior quality of information produced and disseminated by the Jowhar Floods Technical Committee. Partners thus agreed to strengthen the coordination network along the Juba by establishing sentinel sites wherever aid agencies are present to increase monitoring, information flow and coordination with local authorities. OCHA will act as information focal point, while FAO/SWALIM will act as the focal point for all physical measurements relating to river stage and rainfall. In this regard, SWALIM is seeking new partners to extend its hydrometric networks on both the Shabelle and Juba and is ready to assist partners in establishing rain gauge sites and river stage measuring sites with hardware, installation and training. SWALIM will also continue releasing weekly Flood Bulletins during the flood season."

FSAU, November 2005:

Lower Shabelle

"Between 14th and 16th November 2005 UNICEF, WHO and COSV carried out a rapid assessment in floods affected area (Mustaqbal village) which hosts about 3500 people. At the time of assessment about 50% of the houses were still flooded with majority of the population having moved to Kurtunwarey town, Bulohaji and Aqabtallal villages. Further findings indicate there was significant crop destruction, increase in prices of food stuffs (maize, sugar, pasta, rice), roads destruction, some families consumed partly damaged maize or unsafe water (from the floods) while sanitation was poor. Following the floods ICRC, Concern Worldwide and the local authorities provided empty sacks for river embankment repair. COSV, WHO and UNICEF continue to support health services in the region."

IRIN, 5 December 2005:

"Hundreds of thousands of people in southern Somalia face the prospect of worsening food shortages, as poor seasonal rains coincide with severe difficulties in transporting food aid to the country. "This is the worst cereal production in the south in the past 10 years," said El-Rashid Hammad, Programme Co-ordinator for the United Nations' World Food Programme's (WFP) Somalia office. At the same time, the World Food Programme says it cannot move food aid to Somalia the easiest way, by sea, because of piracy along the country's Indian Ocean coast. It has had to resort to sending food the hard way, by road from Kenya, instead."

FSAU, November 2005:

Somaliland

Togdheer

The nutrition situation in Burao returnee/IDP settlements has been of concern since 2003 when a nutrition survey recorded critical malnutrition rates³. As a follow up of the situation, a rapid assessment was conducted between 24th and 25th October 2005 by FSAU in collaboration with the Ministry of Health and Labour (MOHL), Somali Red Crescent Society (SRCS), Save the Children (SC, UK), and Candlelight to review the nutrition situation and associated factors in the same areas among children aged between 6 - 59 months or 65 - 110 cm tall using weight for height index. A population assessment using anthropometry, structured questionnaires, focus group discussions and observations was conducted in the three main returnee/IDP settlements namely:- Koosar, Aden Suleiman and Ali Hussein. A total of 186 children aged 6-59 months from 115 households were assessed. A total acute malnutrition rate (WHZ<-2 and/or oedema) of 15.1% and severe acute malnutrition rate (W/H<-3 z score and/or oedema) of 3.2% were recorded (Table 1). There were 2 cases of bilateral oedema. These rates indicate that the situation is similar to that recorded two years ago.

[...]

On the Burao nutritional assessment also see 'Burao returnee/IDP rapid nutrition assessment report, FSAU, October 2005

Puntland

Bossaso

Nutritional surveys conducted by UNICEF in collaboration with FSAU and other partners among Bossasso IDPs indicate persistent high malnutrition rates (see the chart). This has been partly attributed to inadequate dietary intake and the presence of disease which are linked to low access to income, food and health services; poor feeding practices, overcrowding and unhygienic environment. From January 2005, in response to these findings, UNICEF/WFP in partnership with MOH began to support 'Aid', a local agency to:

- Identify and distribute a targeted food ration to households with vulnerable IDPs. The criteria for selection includes: under fives with weight for height less than 80% of the median; pregnant women with negligible monthly weight gain or those who are anaemic; lactating women from impoverished households, with body weight less than 55 kg. The eligible beneficiary is entitled to a monthly supplementary food ration of 12.5 kg of blended foods (BP5 or super mix) and a family ration of 63.6 kg (50 kg of maize, 10 kg of pulses and 3.6 kg of vegetable oil). The distribution is conducted at Bossasso MCH centre.
- Create awareness and mobilize the IDPs on personal and environmental sanitation: 'Aid' conducts education sessions on appropriate health and nutrition practices, including personal and environmental sanitation – in the IDP camps; 'Aid' in partnership with a local company collects garbage from the IDP camps routinely.
- Increase access to health services & safer water: 'Aid' and Bossasso MCH staffs conduct joint immunization campaigns in the IDP camps (located 3-5 km from the MCH) and at Bossasso MCH centre; Chlorination of water sources for the IDPs, mainly berkads, to minimize contamination and risk of cholera/diarrhoeal outbreak. WHO/MOH, in collaboration with UNICEF and WFP continue to manage a surveillance system on cholera in Bossasso town and the IDP camps since February 2004. Representatives from 16 selected sites in the IDP camps submit daily reports to MOH, on the number of cases with watery diarrhoea and causes of deaths in the camps. A weekly taskforce meeting of the stakeholders reviews findings. The participating IDP representatives receive food from WFP as an incentive to work. In October 2005, 'Aid' constructed four health posts in the IDP camps (Shabeele, Boqolka-buush, Bulo-elay, Tuur-jaale) aimed at improving IDP access to health services. These health posts provide routine activities that include antenatal and postnatal care, growth monitoring, health and nutrition educations, and provision of supplementary food (BP5 for severely malnourished children, <70%), ORT and EPI. The staff also collaborates with elders/committees in the regular IDP environmental clean-up.

The on-going humanitarian interventions in Bossasso IDP camps may have had some impact on malnutrition and mortality rates with screening results showing a decrease in levels of malnutrition since January 2005. Findings from routine nutritional screening of over 900 children (see the chart) however, indicates persistent serious situation. A study on how the underlying causes of malnutrition can be addressed, amidst an urban environment may be undertaken in the coming months."

OCHA, CAP 2006, November 2005:

"Key achievements in the food security and livelihood sector involved the support given to tsunami affected communities, including assistance in rebuilding the fisheries sector, and to drought stricken pastoralist communities in the Sool and Sanag plateau; as well as support to riverine communities affected by floods in Juba Valley. These initiatives have helped to prevent further displacement and supported livelihood asset protection. While a Consolidated Flash Appeal was launched to assist those affected by the tsunami, the Humanitarian Response Fund (HRF) gave access to immediate funds to pastoralists in severe distress (as a result of drought) in the north of the country. In terms of food aid, agencies have an agreement where they "split the country up" to ensure effective food aid delivery. Nearly 1.2 million people benefited from food aid distributions in 2005 that targeted schools attended by children from returnee, IDP and other vulnerable communities, allowing 9,050 underprivileged children to go to school."

Some improvements in Hargeisa (Somaliland) and among pastoralists in the north (October 2005)

- The nutritional situation of Hargeisa's returnees and IDPs seems to have substantially improved
- Good rains for the last two years allowed pastoralists in Sool Plateau, the Hawd and Nugal Valley to increase their livestock
- Meanwhile, urban migration of destitute pastoralists continues, and this population remains vulnerable

"Hargeisa 'Returnees and IDPs' nutrition survey in September 2005 indicated a substantial improvement in the nutrition situation. Global acute malnutrition (weight for height <-2 Z scores or oedema) was 7.6% (CI: 6% – 9.5%) which is below the previous levels seen in similar populations.

Implications for Response: The results demonstrate that given a secure environment, a thriving economy, assistance in access to social services and better housing, human wellbeing will benefit and rapid recovery can occur.

Recent in-depth fieldwork by FSAU (Sept./Oct. '05) in the Hawd, Sool Plateau, and Nugal Valley further confirms that pastoral recovery is underway in these regions following two consecutive above normal rainy seasons (Deyr '04/'05 and Gu '05). Pastoral livelihoods are beginning to recover due to increasing herd sizes and improved livestock body conditions, (especially shoats) following a year of adequate access and availability to water and pasture. It is anticipated that camel calving will dramatically increase in the next two months, as most of them conceived just after the last Deyr season. Currently pasture is widely available and abnormal herd migration or 'distress' coping was not reported or observed in the areas covered by fieldwork.

Poorer households are benefiting from livestock restocking through kinship support mechanisms, such as receiving loans of 'milking' animals from their relatives or better-off households. Transportation of water for the poor households who lost their pack camels continues to be a major problem; however, there is evidence of pack camel/donkey 'water transport' shared with better-off households.

Debt levels remain high among all wealth groups, but interviews indicate that the middle and better off have begun to repay these debts. Many households expect to repay their debts over the next year if the coming Deyr and the next Gu seasons are good. Charcoal production is continuing and increasing in many areas, despite ongoing pastoral recovery. Field studies indicate that pastoralists are not the prime charcoal producers.

Pastoralists are not directly involved or benefiting, and in most cases opposed to such activities. Some pastoralist communities have been effective in halting charcoal production in their areas through vigilance and force, e.g. Sool of Bari, while others remain ineffective due to the strength of the protected interests.

Charcoal production and trade is a lucrative commercial enterprise linked to urban and export market demand.

A year on from the peak of the Humanitarian Emergency (Gu '04), many 'destitute' households have either dropped out of 'pastoralism' altogether and moved into larger urban areas or have been reintegrated into pastoral communities. This population remains vulnerable, but are difficult to identify or target as a group. However, they will benefit from a response focused on general livelihood support to the region. Due to recent field information FSAU is changing the phase classification of this population from Humanitarian Emergency to Food and Livelihood Crisis (See Map 1).

Implications for Response: The immediate response implications of the observed pastoral recovery is to shift from a humanitarian response focused on immediate food needs, to a response focused on supporting the continued recovery of livelihoods in the form of debt relief, restocking, especially pack camels, creation of alternative livelihoods for charcoal burners, and a general focus on basic development needs that address the high levels of overall poverty in the region, i.e. absence of schools and health facilities, poor communication and infrastructure." (FSAU, October 2005)

In north pockets of high food insecurity

Somaliland

Togdheer

The nutrition situation in Burao returnee/IDP settlements has been of concern since 2003 when a nutrition survey recorded critical malnutrition rates³. As a follow up of the situation, a rapid assessment was conducted between 24th and 25th October 2005 by FSAU in collaboration with the Ministry of Health and Labour (MOHL), Somali Red Crescent Society (SRCS), Save the Children (SC, UK), and Candlelight to review the nutrition situation and associated factors in the same areas among children aged between 6 - 59 months or 65 - 110 cm tall using weight for height index. A population assessment using anthropometry, structured questionnaires, focus group discussions and observations was conducted in the three main returnee/IDP settlements namely:- Koosar, Aden Suleiman and Ali Hussein. A total of 186 children aged 6-59 months from 115 households were assessed. A total acute malnutrition rate (WHZ<-2 and/or oedema) of 15.1% and severe acute malnutrition rate (WHZ<-3 z score and/or oedema) of 3.2% were recorded (Table 1). There were 2 cases of bilateral oedema. These rates indicate that the situation is similar to that recorded two years ago.

[...]

On the Burao nutritional assessment also see 'Burao returnee/IDP rapid nutrition assessment report, FSAU, October 2005

Puntland

Bossaso

Nutritional surveys conducted by UNICEF in collaboration with FSAU and other partners among Bossaso IDPs indicate persistent high malnutrition rates (see the chart). This has been partly attributed to inadequate dietary intake and the presence of disease which are linked to low access to income, food and health services; poor feeding practices, overcrowding and unhygienic environment. From January 2005, in response to these findings, UNICEF/WFP in partnership with MOH began to support 'Aid', a local agency to:

- Identify and distribute a targeted food ration to households with vulnerable IDPs. The criteria for selection includes: under fives with weight for height less than 80% of the median; pregnant

women with negligible monthly weight gain or those who are anaemic; lactating women from impoverished households, with body weight less than 55 kg. The eligible beneficiary is entitled to a monthly supplementary food ration of 12.5 kg of blended foods (BP5 or super mix) and a family ration of 63.6 kg (50 kg of maize, 10 kg of pulses and 3.6 kg of vegetable oil). The distribution is conducted at Bossasso MCH centre.

- Create awareness and mobilize the IDPs on personal and environmental sanitation: 'Aid' conducts education sessions on appropriate health and nutrition practices, including personal and environmental sanitation – in the IDP camps; 'Aid' in partnership with a local company collects garbage from the IDP camps routinely.

- Increase access to health services & safer water: 'Aid' and Bossasso MCH staffs conduct joint immunization campaigns in the IDP camps (located 3-5 km from the MCH) and at Bossasso MCH centre; Chlorination of water sources for the IDPs, mainly berkads, to minimize contamination and risk of cholera/diarrhoeal outbreak. WHO/MOH, in collaboration with UNICEF and WFP continue to manage a surveillance system on cholera in Bossasso town and the IDP camps since February 2004. Representatives from 16 selected sites in the IDP camps submit daily reports to MOH, on the number of cases with watery diarrhoea and causes of deaths in the camps. A weekly taskforce meeting of the stakeholders reviews findings. The participating IDP representatives receive food from WFP as an incentive to work. In October 2005, 'Aid' constructed four health posts in the IDP camps (Shabeele, Boqolka-buush, Bulo-elay, Tuur-jaale) aimed at improving IDP access to health services. These health posts provide routine activities that include antenatal and postnatal care, growth monitoring, health and nutrition educations, and provision of supplementary food (BP5 for severely malnourished children, <70%), ORT and EPI. The staff also collaborates with elders/committees in the regular IDP environmental clean-up.

The on-going humanitarian interventions in Bossasso IDP camps may have had some impact on malnutrition and mortality rates with screening results showing a decrease in levels of malnutrition since January 2005. Findings from routine nutritional screening of over 900 children (see the chart) however, indicates persistent serious situation. A study on how the underlying causes of malnutrition can be addressed, amidst an urban environment may be undertaken in the coming months." (FSAU, November 2005)

Nutritional status of IDPs by region (2004)

- About 10,000 newly displaced in Bula Hawa have no access to food, as they are cut off from pastoralists providing them with milk and meat and malnutrition rates are at 34% (2004)
- Price of food has sky-rocketed due to poor yield and insecurity, a bag of rice costing one goat now costs three to four goats
- Under-five mortality rate at 3/10,000 per day indicated an alert situation among IDPs in Baidoa (2004)
- Lack of cooking utensils among IDPs limited meal preparation to once a day in Bakool
- 39% of displaced children were malnourished and 7,1% severely malnourished in Mogadishu in August 2002, and 15% in 2004 due to lack of income to buy food
- Malnutrition rates of 21% in IDP camps in Kismayo (2003)
- Malnutrition rates among Bossasso IDPs are persistently high at 18,7% in 2002, 16,2% in 2003 and 20,3% in 2004
- 99% of the IDPs relied on purchased food and 94% reported borrowing as the main coping strategy leading to high food insecurity in Bosaso
- Global acute malnutrition at 15,3% among IDPs in Hargeisa and Burao (Somaliland)
- High malnutrition rates among IDP children in Bosaso and Somaliland due to early weaning practices affecting two-third of babies between 6 -24 months

- IDPs commonly have minimal quality and quantity of food: Burao IDP ate mostly cereals leading to vitamin and protein deficiencies and 35% of the children ate only once or twice daily

Gedo

“A population of 4,000 was displaced in Mandera and Dolo and a further 10,000 people have gone to Beletamin displacement camp which already hosts 4000 people.

[...]

No food has been yet offered to this deeply affected community. Most of them live on scavenging and little donations from their relatives. Some families have come down to two meals per day depending on availability and affordability. The IDP's are cut off from Rer Baadiya community that traditionally supplies them with milk and meat. The malnutrition rates have reached an alarming level of 34%. Some 20% of population appears to have oedema (According to a rapid nutrition assessment conducted by GHC to a random selection of 300 children under 5 years). 5 deaths have been reported.

[...]

Dyer rains have failed for the fourth consecutive season. The rains started late April and dried out at crop germination stage resulting in scarcity of cereals, grazing pastures and water. Market prices for cereal crops have sky-rocketed due to poor yield and unavailability. In the previous years, a 50-kilogram bag of rice would cost one goat, now the same costs three to four goats. With this season's failed Gu season and current sub - clan rivalry, most households will resort to all possible unsustainable coping strategies, such as selling household items, migration, intensifying bush product collection and charcoal burning, which will eventually cause environmental degradation.” (ACT, 17 September 2004)

Mogadishu:

“Mogadishu IDPs - Preliminary survey results (based on WFH Z scores) indicate Global Acute Malnutrition of 15.8% and Severe Acute Malnutrition (SAM) of 3.2%in children aged 6-59 months.” (FSAU, 13 October 2004)

“Recent fighting in Mogadishu and temporary closure of the Kismayo port caused food shortages in most of south and central Somalia because they rely on the two ports for food and other commodities imports.” (OCHA, 18 June 2004)

“To assess the current nutrition situation of Mogadishu IDPs, FSAU conducted a rapid nutrition assessment using measurement of Mid Upper Arm Circumference (MUAC) among young children in six IDP camps between 19th and 21st April 2004. [...]

As detailed on the table, assessment results showed that **15%** of the children were malnourished (MUAC <12.5cm) and 1.4% were severely malnourished. The result showed an improvement in nutritional status compared to the last assessment in 2002 which was undertaken following the closure of Barakat money exchange agency and burning of Mogadishu main Bakara market.

Imported and locally produced foods are available in the market but vulnerable population like the IDPs can not readily access the foods due to low incomes and limited income opportunities.

IDPs reside in shanties and abandoned buildings that are crowded and unsanitary, childcare practices are suboptimal within the camps, most of the health facilities in the area have been reporting high cases of watery diarrhoea, measles and TB while insecurity continues to have a direct negative effect on the income available to any households in the IDPs camps.” (FSAU, 31 May 2004)

"In the insecure region of Benadir, (districts around Mogadishu) malnutrition is particularly evident among displaced persons and the poor. In one month, 30% of children attending health facilities in the area were identified as malnourished." (FSAU, 14 January 2004)

"Mogadishu hosts an estimated 230,000 Internally Displaced Persons and since the collapse of the Somalia Government in 1990 and the resultant conflicts, has remained one of the most insecure areas in Somalia. Consequently, access for delivery of humanitarian aid to Mogadishu has been a major challenge both to the local and international community. In general, it has been difficult to collect any qualitative information.

[...]

Between 26th and 29th June 2002, FSAU conducted a rapid assessment using MUAC among all under five children present at the time of survey in five IDP camps in Mogadishu. Out of the 487 children screened, 39% were malnourished (MUAC measurement <12.5cm or oedema) while 7.1% were severely malnourished (a MUAC <11.0cm or oedema). A further 21% were at risk of malnutrition (MUAC 12.5 cm-13.4cm)." (FSAU Nutrition Update, 31 August 2002)

Bakool

"The IDPs are reported to have returned to Baidoa after improvement of the security situation there and the fact that the land preparation period (Gu planting season in March/April) was approaching." (FSAU, 25 March 2004, p.3)

"On January 20/21 2004, the FSAU, UNICEF, WFP, ACF and World Vision conducted a joint multi-sectoral assessment in the three IDP camps of Bakaar Yar, Bakaar Weyn and Dhurrey in Wajid District, (Bakool Region) to review the food security situation and identify ways to address the current crisis. The IDP's were displaced from villages in Baidoa District in October 2003 following inter-clan fighting. They fled their homes without food, seeds or farm tools.

The findings revealed critical global and severe acute malnutrition rates (WFH z scores) of 17.2% and 3.1% respectively and a high mortality rate of 3/10,000/day. (during the 30 days preceding the assessment date)." (FSAU, 11 February 2004)

"The food security situation was poor in terms of availability, access and coping strategies. Additionally, IDPs lacked cooking utensils and coped by sharing the few available ones, a practice that limited the frequency of meal preparation and consumption to once a day. IDPs were hopeful that the Peace and Reconciliation talks among warring clans in Baidoa would enable them to return to their villages.

[...]

About 24% of under five deaths were attributed by caregivers to watery and bloody diarrhoea, 22% to ARI, 20% to fever, 12% to measles and 22% to other diseases." (FSAU, 20 February 2004)

Juba

"In March 2003, FSAU conducted a rapid mid upper arm circumference assessment of the under fives in the IDP camps and found malnutrition rates (MUAC below 12.5 cm) to be 21%.

[...]

The prevalence of global acute malnutrition was found to be 12.3% (95% CI 9.6% - 15.6%) and severe acute malnutrition, 1.9 % (95% CI 1.1% - 3.0%). This prevalence depicts a serious nutrition situation

[...]

Over 80% of households reported purchase as their main sources of food. Casual work and petty trade provided 74% of the cash income which ranged from Ssh. 4000 – 10,000 per day.

[...]

Subsequently, 43% of the surveyed households indicated that they adopt borrowing of income and/or food from the better-off in order to cope, indicating limited access to food by a significant

number of households. This coping strategy further explains why mothers are engaged in petty trade and casual work to support livelihood activities, at the expense of child care practices such as exclusive and/or persistence in breastfeeding.” (FSAU, 31 May 2004)

Galgadud

“Both the displacement and the effects of the harsh dry season have significant repercussions on the communities affected by the repeated violence and conflicts. Their needs are apparent and great. Resources of the better off groups are at threatening point as they shared the little they had with displaced relatives and drought affected families. Much of the region is experiencing acute water shortages and deteriorated pasture conditions impacting livestock conditions and reproduction capacities.” (OCHA/UNICEF, 6 April 2004)

Bossaso

“Bossaso IDPs - Preliminary survey results show a very poor nutritional status among Bossaso IDPs (GAM 20.3% and SAM of 4.3% in children ages 6-59 months). Analysis is ongoing.” (FSAU, 13 October 2004)

“A nutrition survey undertaken in June 2002 indicated a global acute malnutrition rate (GAM) (W/H<-2 z score or oedema) of 18.7% and a severe acute malnutrition rate (SAM) (W/H<-3 z score or oedema) of 7.5%. Equally high malnutrition rates were recorded in a repeat nutrition survey conducted in July 2003. The GAM rate (W/H<-2 z score or oedema) was 16.2% and a SAM rate (W/H<-3 z score or oedema) was 3.2%. The Ministry of Health in collaboration with UNICEF and other partners and other government ministries have been supporting the delivery of humanitarian interventions to the IDPs.

[...]

Retrospective mortality rate for the under five is 2.32/10,000/day and crude mortality rate is 1.75/10,000/day.

[...]

The levels of retrospective mortality for under fives and the general population indicate an alert situation.” (FSAU, 30 September 2004)

“Children aged 6 – 23 months were more likely to be malnourished than their older counterparts. Child care practices in the IDP camps is wanting. Majority (71%) of the children were weaned before the age of six months. Breastfeeding practices are poor too with half of the children having stopped breastfeeding before one year of age. While about half of the children were fed more than four times in a day, the quality and quantity of food given especially among the poor IDPs is limiting.” (FSAU, 31 May 2004)

Hargeisa:

“Preliminary results of the nutrition survey undertaken in early February in *Hargeisa* indicate a disappointing lack of improvement in malnutrition rates among children under 5 years in the returnee/resettlement/IDP areas in *Hargeisa* since the previous survey in June 2001. Global acute malnutrition rates now reach 15.3% (Weight for Height <2 Z-scores or oedema) including 3.8% severe malnutrition (W/H <3 Z-scores or oedema).” (FSAU, 10 April 2003,p1)

Toghdeer:

“The preliminary survey results indicate a poor nutrition status with global/total acute malnutrition rate of 15.3 % while the severe acute malnutrition rate was 1.9 %.

[...]

The main source of income was casual work (61%) while small businesses accounted for about 20%. Purchasing was the main source of food for 85% of the population, followed by own crop production in small plots within town (3.9%) and various other means including hunting (4.5%).

[...]

An interesting observation is that in 41% of the households surveyed, females were the primary bread-winners. Casual employment for women appears to be more easily sources in households and restaurants whereas casual manual labour and portering for men is more scarce. This was observed to be having particularly negative effects on the time available for women to look after children, particularly in an environment of reduced social support.

[...]

All these activities are not sustainable and pay a relatively low wage rate. Considering that purchases are the main food source, the limited and unsustainable income available to these populations places them in a vulnerable food security situation. Additionally, borrowing (60%) and begging (9.4%) were the main coping strategies while remittances were reported by only 7.5%." (FSAU, 31 May 2004)

"Burao town in Burao District, Togdheer Region hosts four main settlement camps namely Kosaar, Siibakhti, 15 May and Ali Hussein. The majority of the population of over two thousand are returnees and displaced people from South Somalia and Ethiopia and although some have been in the area for around ten years, new arrivals from Ethiopia continue to take up residence within the informal settlements.

[...]

Data analysis showed that diarrhoea had a significant association with children's nutritional status in the settlements reflecting the earlier observations on poor sanitation and sub-standard environment. At the time of the survey, only about a third of the children aged between 6 - 24 months were breastfeeding. Of those below 2 years that had stopped breastfeeding, more than half (56%) had stopped breastfeeding below the age of one year. The feeding frequency for a good proportion of the children is inadequate with 35% being fed twice or once in a day. Qualitative data further indicates that children are mainly fed on Anjera (Somali pancake made from wheat flour and water with some vegetable oil added after cooking) and plain rice which are lacking in essential nutrients like proteins and vitamins." (FSAU, 19 November 2003)

IDPs are three times more at risk of malnutrition than resident populations (2004)

- Central and southern regions, once Somalia's breadbaskets, are the most affected by conflict-induced food insecurity with the highest malnutrition rates in Gedo in 2004
- Worst drought since 1974 in the North with livestock deaths rates of 90% many forced to drop out of the pastoral sector indefinitely
- South and central Somalia districts suffered from crop losses of between 60-80% in 2004
- 20% malnutrition rates in Juba Valley, Bosaso and Galgaduud (2004)
- Global acute malnutrition rates among IDPs stayed above 15% and severe acute malnutrition at about 2% due to droughts and conflicts
- Income availability is the key determinant of food security in Somalia as between 85 and 99% of IDPs rely on purchased food on the market
- Nutrition status are low due to limited food accessibility in quantity, quality and variety, due to income deficits, poor child care/feeding practices, inadequate sanitary facilities and morbidity
- Malnutrition among IDPs in Hargeisa, Bossaso, and Burao ranged between 15.3%-18.7%, due to poor shelter, sanitation and lack of income (2001-2003)
- Malnutrition rates amongst IDPs in rural areas as high as 40% (2000)

"Four areas are currently experiencing extremely high malnutrition rates which are significantly greater than the usual rates observed and far exceeding international thresholds for acceptable malnutrition: Lower and Middle Juba Riverine communities, IDPs in Bossaso, and Dhusamareeb and Adaado districts in Central all record GAM of roughly 20%" (FSAU, 13 October 2004)

“Cereal prices have increased by 150% since the beginning of the harvest period and remain the highest on record for the last 15 years.” (UN, 18 November 2004, p.7)

“At least 1,300,000 people currently require emergency food assistance in southern, central and northern Somalia until early next year. Of this total, about 700,000 are struggling to recover from years of successive drought, combined with the devastating effects of ongoing conflict; and 500,000 are internally displaced (IDPs) and/or destitute urban dwellers.

[...]

In the North, over three years of severe drought have resulted in massive environmental degradation; livestock losses of up to 90% have led to a widespread collapse of the pastoral livelihood system. Consequently about 313,200 people need urgent humanitarian assistance.

[...]

In the South, the country's breadbasket, households have been struggling with several seasons of below normal cereal production and civil insecurity. In the Juba Valley Regions (Middle and Lower Juba), most of the districts suffered crop losses of between 60-80 percent this year. These localized crop losses were compounded by the low supply of cereals from Shabelle Valley, where production was also poor. As a result, increased staple food prices and shrinking income options are squeezing poor households' access to food and cash income.” (FEWS, 27 September 2004)

“nutrition surveys carried out on displaced populations in Somalia indicate a persistently poor nutritional status. The global acute malnutrition rates have remained above 15% and the severe acute malnutrition about 2%. Repeat nutrition surveys among IDPs in Hargeisa and Bossasso show no significant improvement in the nutritional status of children despite the efforts of a number of humanitarian interventions.

[...]

With purchases being the main source of food among all the IDPs surveyed (ranging between 85% and 99%), income availability is crucial in defining the food security status of these populations.

Among the factors found to be influencing the nutritional status of these population are limited **food accessibility** – both in quantity, quality and variety due to income deficits, poor child care/feeding practices, inadequate sanitary facilities and morbidity (mainly diarrhoea and ARI). An urban household economy assessment in Hargeisa undertaken by FEWSNET in February 2003 showed that expenditure on meat, milk and vegetables was minimal among poor households. As in other studies, it was clear that lower level of income was associated with a higher proportion of the diet consisting of cereals. The **variety of foods** in the diet (the essential diversity) increased as income increased.” (FSAU, 31 May 2004)

“The HC also called on agencies to initiate programmes that will assist communities to rebuild their lives, given that many families will be unable to return to the pastoral livelihood due to extreme rates of livestock loss.

[...]

The FSAU report says the Northeast region is experiencing a profound environmental crisis that is having dramatic effects on livelihoods due to degraded rangelands and massive livestock deaths (cumulative death rates are roughly 60% for shoats and 80% for camels). Many pastoralists have already dropped out of their livelihood and have become destitute. A four years drought that has not been experienced since 1974 has precipitated the environmental crisis, which is the culmination of a number of factors.

[...]

The Central regions are experiencing yet another year of below normal rainfall, which, in combination with ongoing civil insecurity, has lead to severe food insecurity.

Agricultural areas in the South are experiencing one of the three worst cereal production years since 1995, with total cereal production of 75% of the post war average. Chronically food insecure

areas of Gedo and Juba Valley are facing severe conditions this year, with malnutrition rates in Juba Valley 19.5%, Bakool region is experiencing an acute crisis this year.” (OCHA, 31 August 2004)

“Preliminary findings from the FAO-managed FSAU and FEWS NET show that the cyclical drought affecting the northern regions of Sool and Sanaag over the past four years is spreading to include the central regions of Mudug and Galgaduud. Additionally, strategic crop growing areas of Middle and Lower Shabelle, Bakool, Gedo and Middle and Lower Juba regions have also been devastated by low and erratic rainfall. FSAU estimates that the resultant poor harvests will lead to a cereal deficit of at least 70,000 MT after accounting for anticipated commercial imports and existing food aid pipelines.

[...]

Across Somalia's borders, in Region V of Ethiopia and in North-eastern Kenya, the reported food security crises will greatly inhibit natural migration patterns used by Somali pastoralists to cope with drought.” (OCHA, 31 July 2004)

“There is increasing evidence that such high levels of malnutrition are associated with high mortality rates in Somalia. For instance, in February 2004, an alarming number of deaths due to malnutrition were reported in the Juba Valley, where communities suffer from chronic seasonal food insecurity caused by poor harvests and limited employment opportunities. [...] Also of critical concern are the communities in northern Gedo region. There, malnutrition persists in particular in the districts of Luuq, Dolow, Ceel Waaq and Belet Xaawo. The latter exhibits the highest incidents of severe malnutrition, caused largely by insecurity, which prevents farmers from harvesting their crops. Only limited activities continue in this region, as more comprehensive responses are hampered by persistent insecurity, including attacks on aid workers. IDPs in Kismaayo and Mogadishu also continue to suffer from chronic malnutrition. Shortages in safe water, limited access to health services in certain areas have increased the risk of communicable diseases. In Mogadishu this year a higher number of cholera cases have been recorded during the month of April.” (UN, 15 June 2004, p.3,8)

“Recent nutrition surveys in IDP (Internally Displaced People) settings indicate a poor nutrition situation. Nutrition surveys amongst IDP'S conducted in Hargeisa, Bossaso and Burao between June 2001 and Oct. 2003 found global acute malnutrition rates ranging between 15.3% and 18.7%.” (FSAU, 14 January 2004)

“Among IDP populations malnutrition rates as high as 25% have been recorded in the last two years, compared to a global malnutrition rate for Somalia of 17%, and 10% among more established populations.” (UNICEF, 30 October 2003)

“This has left the country particularly vulnerable to “soft” humanitarian crises, characterised by chronic food shortages, high levels of malnutrition (71% of the population is undernourished [...]) and low access to health services, sanitation facilities and safe drinking water.

[...]

The combined effects of food insecurity and poor health has meant that Somalia continues to suffer from sustained high malnutrition rates that would trigger an international response in other countries, but have become accepted as the norm in Somalia. The global malnutrition rate for children under five over the last 18 months is 17%. [...] Malnutrition in areas surveyed to reach this average has varied from 8.3% in Galcayo in the Mudug region [...] to 21.5% in Belet Hawa district in the Gedo region.” (UN, 18 November 2003, p.2,10,25).

“MSF's findings in 1991 and 1992 of consistently high global malnutrition rates among the war-displaced in Kismayo, Mogadishu, Kansardere and Baidoa - rates reaching highs of 75.6% - supports the thesis that conflict fuels hunger.” (MSF, 9 December 2002)

"The Sahil nutritional survey (see above) confirms the high vulnerability of IDPs/returnees. They are three times more at risk of malnutrition than the resident population." (ACC/SCN 39, 31 October 2002, p.16)

"Except some few IDPs who have got access to clan assistance or profitable jobs are able to eat two meals a day. The rest eat only one meal in twenty-four hours. Under these conditions, children are the most vulnerable of all. Some children in the camps suffer from mild to chronic malnutrition, an effect that can leave serious implication on their health and social performance." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.27)

"Nutritionists also stress that the cumulative damage to personal health caused by a decade of war and malnutrition cannot be healed by a single year of improved food security." (UNDP Somalia 2001, p.73)

"UNICEF has conducted nutrition surveys in southern and central Somalia finding an average global malnutrition rate of 23%, (average severe malnutrition rates of 5%). Rates vary across regions and among different population groups and can be as high as 40% in areas with high concentrations of displaced families." (UN November 2000, Strategy Paper, p.9)

For regular, detailed information on the situation of nutrition and food security in Somalia, please refer to the UN Somalia webpage at <http://www.unsomalia.org>

Health

Fighting malnutrition is challenging due to poor access to large part of population (April 2006)

- Fighting malnutrition includes information campaigns on the importance of micronutrients
- UNICEF trains local NGOs to improve nutrition information in areas difficult to access

UNICEF, 7 July 2006, p.3:

"A one week public awareness campaign was conducted in Hargeisa focusing on control of micronutrient deficiencies including Iron Deficiency Anaemia and Vitamin A Deficiency. In Central/Southern Somalia, 8,200

pregnant women attending ante-natal care at maternal and child health centres were provided with iron-cumfolic acid supplementation. About 6,200 children benefited from supplementary feeding in Central/Southern Somalia. About 1,500 severely malnourished children were admitted for rehabilitation

at therapeutic feeding centres. Currently UNICEF is airlifting emergency nutrition supplies from Nairobi to the Wajjid and other accessible location in the South as a measure of improved emergency

supplies provision. Capacity building for national NGOs has also been embarked as a strategy to providing nutrition rehabilitation to the inaccessible regions Southern Somalia.

[...]

Training: Somali Red Crescent Society trained 200 people from flood-affected communities in Middle Shabelle region in sanitation and hygiene. A five-day training course in hygiene and sanitation was carried out for teachers in Puntland."

WFP, 30 April 2006, p.13

"4.3 High levels of malnutrition, particularly in drought stricken districts, demands supplementary feeding centres. Several centres are currently operating under UNICEF supervision. Malnourished children receive fortified foods from the centres and their families are supplied with general food aid from WFP. This ensures supplementary foods are administered to the needy children instead of being consumed by their poor and often desperate families. This arrangement practiced in SouthCentral should be implemented in the North. Children with severe malnutrition are admitted to Therapeutic centres where lifesaving nutrients are administered. With such a high prevalence of malnutrition, both Supplementary and Therapeutic feeding centres must be established in each district with malnutrition rates above 10%. Currently there are 14 supplementary and 11 therapeutic feeding centres in SouthCentral (UNICEF). Regular monitoring would allow

estimates of expansion. The overall objective should be to provide supplementary feeding and therapeutic feeding to mitigate and eliminate suffering from malnutrition.

Micronutrient Deficiency

4.4 In middle and lower Shabelle riverine areas agriculture produces more food than in food insecure areas such as Guldood region. Yet anaemia incidence is higher due to malaria and hookworm infestations (UNICEF Jowhar). Somalis are fond drinkers of tea, which being an iron inhibitor, contributes to ferro-ferric deficiency. Iodised salt is nonexistent in diets. Most salts used are either locally harvested or imported from Ethiopia. This leads to iodine deficiency. Incredibly neither WFP nor UNICEF foods include

iodine. The National Immunization Days (twice a year) are used to administer micronutrient deficiencies and these programs must be continued. Each livelihood group interviewed, complained of micronutrient deficiency disorders. Most empirical data, gathered from MCH centres, is not representative of the general population."

Vast majority of IDPs have no access to health facilities and have alarming health status (June 2006)

- Mortality rates among displaced children up to 60% higher than other conflict-affected populations
- Diarrhea-related diseases, respiratory infections and malaria account for more than half of all child deaths (2002)
- Somalia has among the highest incidence of TB in the world
- MSF estimates there are 15 qualified doctors per 1million people in Somalia (2002)
- Under five mortality rates of 210 per 1000 and maternal mortality rates at 1,600 per 100,000, amongst the highest in the world
- Lack of safe water and sanitation leads to cholera outbreaks every dry season
- Somalis totally dependent on the international community for delivery of health care as no medical staff have been trained since 1991
- Most IDPs cannot afford to pay for health care and drugs

Somalia JNA, June 2006, p. 34:

"Health care concerns include poor quality and limited coverage, inadequate and old assets, and a shortage of technical and management skills. Health care costs are higher in *South-Central* regions, as well as provision being more uneven and unstable.

Lack of access to health facilities, safe drinking water and adequate sanitation facilities for a large segment of the population contributes to the high morbidity and mortality rates, and to low life expectancy World Bank, *Socio-Economic Survey*, 2002.. Although private health care is

available in urban areas, IDPs and returnees are typically unable to pay for medical consultation and drugs, and resort to alternative methods. A recent survey in Bosaso, *Puntland*, reports that 88% of IDP/returnee households seek help from traditional healers and/or traditional birth attendants. Draft assessment of Internally Displaced Persons/Returnees in Bossasso, Puntland, May 2005.. Even where suitable facilities are offered freely, lack of attendance is attributed to chronic insecurity and population movement. "

UNDP, June 2005, p.13

"The study [on vulnerable groups in Garowe] noted that most of the communities have strong traditional beliefs which they resort to when a family member is sick. In addition, the study concluded that due to economic hardships, vulnerable populations rely on cheap and traditional methods of treatment. There is an urgent need to improve on incomes of the communities complimented with the provision of better medical facilities. The study recommends the provision of a fully functional MCH for these communities, within their locality. An important observation from the study is the distance by which the communities travel to access a health facility. As reflected in Table 10, majority (87,0%) of the households travel for more than 2 kilometers to reach a health source."

UNDP, May 2005, p.15:

"The study [on IDPs and returnees in Bossaso] recommends the need to intensify accessibility to provision of public health and education. In addition, the table above reflects that IDPs and returnees do not have access to better services. Group discussions revealed that majority of the population travel between 1-2 kilometres while the rest travel for less than 1 kilometre to reach a health facility. Because of the poor sanitation, personal hygiene and weak accessibility to health services and education, IDPs and returnees are at high risk of diseases thus immediate attention is required from both the government and the international community to provide adequate health facilities. A proportion of 9,0% of the households indicated that they have household members with learning disabilities. They usually rely on traditional healers to solve the problems. In addition, 7,0% of the households indicated that there are household members with physical disabilities"

General health indicators:

"Mortality rates for internally displaced children can be as much as 60% higher than the others in the same conflict-affected areas." (UNICEF, 10 December 2003, Introduction)

"Diarrhoea-related diseases, respiratory infections and malaria continued to account for more than half of all child deaths in the country, while neonatal tetanus and other birth-related problems also contributed significantly to infant mortality. Although measles immunisation levels reached 40% in 2001, a record high for Somalia, outbreaks continued to cause many deaths in 2002. Polio also remained a continuing threat to children. Somalia remains amongst the countries with the highest incidence of tuberculosis in the world and meningitis and cholera are endemic in most areas." (UN, November 2002, p.4)

WHO, 23 April 2002:

"As of 22 April, WHO has received reports of 1 191 cases and 63 deaths (CFR, 5.3 %) in the country since the outbreak began on the 12 March 2002. Five out of 18 regions are affected: Banadir (Mogadishu), Lower Shabelle (Merka), Middle Shabelle (Jilib and Haranka), Hiraa (Belet Weyne) and Bari (Bossasso) regions."

MSF, 9 December 2002:

Health care system:

"Lack of adequate health care is one of the biggest problems facing Somalis today. A staggering 78% of the population has no access to health services. MSF has estimated that the country has less than 15 qualified doctors per million people. Trained healthcare professionals fled the

country to safety during the 1990s. The only nurse training facilities are in Bosasso and Hargeisa - and the few health workers that remain tend to be based in the more secure urban centres. The whole of eastern Sanag, for instance, had only one doctor in 2001.

[...]

MSF's OPD/MCH in North Mogadishu is in the Yaqshid area, near the Green Line. Many of the patients here are Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from elsewhere in the country. It sees an astonishing 250-300 consultations per day, around 95,000 consultations per year - a reflection of the absence of other, affordable health services in the area. Immunisation of under-fives, pregnant women and women of child-bearing age (16-45), plus monitoring the nutritional status of under-5s, are automatically part of any treatment given to women and infants."

IGAD/UNDP/UNHCR, June 2002, p. 19:

"The health status of the Somali population as a whole reflects the years of crisis the country has experienced. Average life expectancy is 47 years of age, one of the lowest in the world, while the maternal and infant mortality rates are considered to be the highest in the world, with an infant under five mortality rate of 210 per 1000. [...]

The Somali health care system was never very comprehensive. Before the civil war health services and health professionals were concentrated in Mogadishu. The conflict destroyed most facilities, disrupted the supply of medicines, ended all training and broke down the already poor management systems, which were based on government ministries and departments. As with other social services, the health care system in Northwest and Northeast Somalia has had to be developed from scratch.

At the moment, the health system takes a more curative than preventive approach to health problems. To date there has been little emphasis on health education, and consequently the health system is characterised by late treatment seeking behaviour among patients, low prioritisation of health care expenditure among communities and a general reluctance to pay for health services at public facilities."

Extremely poor health status of IDPs in most regions of Somalia (June 2006)

- Polio continues to be a real threat for Somalia and the entire region, if it cannot be contained
- Health assistance provided by MSF and UNICEF in Kismayo region jeopardized by persistent war between Majerteen and Marehan militias
- Cholera is endemic in Mogadishu especially during the dry season
- 250 children monthly accepted in ACF Therapeutic Feeding centers in Mogadishu (2001)
- Gedo recorded the worst health indicators in Somalia, basic health services are next to inexistent and the only Hospital in Luuq has hardly any equipment and is understaffed (2001)
- IDPs in Hargeisa indicate the lowest health services compared to other displaced populations (2002)
- Vaccination rates were lowest among IDPs in Hargeisa
- Southern Somali women displaced in Hargeisa were less likely to receive prenatal care and had no access to a trained attendant
- Sheikh Nur only IDP settlement with operational public health facility

OCHA, 30 June 2006, p.5:

Polio in Somalia: A Far Cry from Over.

More than US\$ 4 billion, immeasurable resources, and tremendous efforts will have gone to waste if the ongoing polio outbreaks in countries such as Somalia are not contained. Although there are currently only four endemic countries left globally – Nigeria, India, Pakistan and Afghanistan –, polio-free countries are importing the crippling disease from some of these countries at an overwhelmingly increasing rate.

In Somalia, the already low routine immunization rate, preconceived attitudes towards vaccines, insecurity, and thus inaccessibility, have played a large role in contributing to the spread of the outbreak that began in July 2005 in Mogadishu. At present, there are 211 confirmed wild poliovirus cases in the country, 185 of which were identified in 2005. Although the number of cases has plummeted significantly in Mogadishu, from 158 in 2005 to seven in 2006, the virus has circulated to new regions including Gedo, Mudug, Lower Juba, Bari, Hiran, Galgadud and Middle Juba. Twelve out of Somalia's nineteen regions are infected and pose a significant threat to neighbouring countries such as polio-free Kenya. The main priorities for organizations working to eradicate polio remain the containment of the ongoing outbreak; the maintenance of the high quality surveillance of acute flaccid paralysis (AFP) (an indicator of polio); and meet the funding requirements.

National immunization days (NIDs) have been conducted every four to six weeks, and will be continued until after the last polio case has been identified. Strategies such as door-to-door immunization, door-marking, finger-marking, as well as announcements made by religious peer are in use to improve the quality of campaigns. Additionally, independent monitors from NGOs and medical institutes in Somalia conduct post-campaign evaluations. In an effort to reduce further proliferation within the Horn of Africa, a series of meetings between member countries have been held that will see synchronized immunization campaigns in Somalia, Ethiopia and northeast Kenya, amongst other initiatives.

Working under conditions that are anything but conducive, partners have been striving to maintain high quality AFP surveillance at 434 sites, as well as vaccinate every target child, using every 'window of opportunity' possible. In total, seven international staff members and 185 nationals have been deployed on a full-time basis to carry out the job. In a strenuous effort to halt further transmission in Somalia, the polio programme is in dire need of US\$ 7.7 million. A donor meeting held in Nairobi in May 2006 updated a few of the major donor missions in Kenya, as well as the press, on the funding shortfall and the urgent need for resources to conduct the activities planned for the rest of 2006. So far, four NID rounds and one round of sub-national immunization days (SNIDs) have been implemented. On average, 1.5 million children have been vaccinated during each round this year. High quality AFP surveillance is being maintained, and another four rounds of NIDs are yet to be conducted."

UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.27:

Kismayo:

"Poor living conditions (limited access to adequate food, safe clean drinking water, and good shelter), and poor sanitation in the camps are the major causes of health problems facing IDPs. Reports from UNICEF supported MCH activities in Kismayo indicate that anaemia, malaria, worm infection diarrhoea and urinary tract infection is among the most common communicable diseases in the area. UNICEF and other aid agencies provide health care support to the population in Kismayo. However, due to insecurity it is difficult to provide adequate assistance to the vulnerable groups particularly the IDPs. Cholera outbreak normally takes place during dry seasons (from January up to March). During this period, there is an acute shortage of water in Kismayo especially in IDP camps, which leads also to poor sanitation and poor health. Most of the IDPs have no access to adequate water to clean their hand and utensils before food. This fosters the spread of epidemic diseases in the camps. Unconfirmed reports indicate that twenty people including seven IDPs died of cholera outbreak in February 2001.

Limited health care provisions are provided to the IDPs. After MSF withdraw from Kismayo hospital, the only hospital in city, has no adequate drugs and qualified medial personnel that address the high demand of medical care by Kismayo residents. There are about 6 MCH, 60 OPDs and 34 health posts assisted by UNICEF. However, their activities have been jeopardized by persisting insecurity and sporadic clashes between the Majerten and Marehan militia. Recent clashes between the Juba Valley Alliance and Majerten have further deteriorated the humanitarian activities in the area. There are a large number of private clinics and chemists in the city. However, because of poverty, IDPs can not afford to pay for drugs and health services."

Clar,, June 2002, p.8, 27, 59:

Hargeisa

Interagency assesment conducted in 8 areas around Hargeisa (Somaliland) in returnee and IDP settlements (June 2002). The second largest settlement, Daami hosts about 10,000 people, of whom 35% are displaced from Southern Somalia.

[...]

"- Southern Somalis and non-Somali Ethiopians were significantly less likely than Somalilanders or Somali Ethiopians to receive TT shots during pregnancy or to receive prenatal care."

[...]

"The rate of under-5s receiving any vaccinations is significantly lower in Ayaha and Daami than in other returnee settlement areas, and vaccination card retention rate of those under-5s who received vaccinations is significantly lower in Daami and State House than in other areas. Southern Somali children under 5 years old and 12-23 months old were vaccinated at significantly lower rates than Somalilanders living in the areas."

ACF, 21 December 2001:

Mogadishu:

"In the capital, where 500,000 to 700,000 people live, including 150,000 displaced people, there are no safe drinking water provision systems, sanitation installations are drastically insufficient and health structures are almost entirely absent. A significant number of children are suffering from diarrhoea, the first cause of malnutrition in the town, to which can be added numerous cases of infections, such as measles or tuberculosis. More than 250 severely malnourished children are admitted each month to the two Therapeutic Feeding Centres run by Action Against Hunger in north and south Mogadishu, where the children receive intensive treatment and immunisation.

To add to this dramatic situation, cholera, an endemic disease, usually occurs from December to May and affects several thousand people each year.

Action Against Hunger is preparing to launch an anti-cholera programme amongst the most vulnerable to avoid the spread of the epidemic."

Water and sanitation

Most IDPs have no access to safe drinking water and sanitation facilities (2004)

- Only one in four Somalis have access to drinking water
- 48.5% Somalis have access to sanitation services
- IDPs and their livestock in Bula Hawa depend on river water and unprotected wells
- Trucked water is out of price for IDPs, at Kshs 6/=per 20 liters and women and most families rely on less than 10 liters of water daily

- Women fetching water walk up to ten kilometers daily exposed to rape by militias
- All the temporary camps around Bula Hawa lack pit latrines
- IDPs have often to pay to use very basic latrine on the land they have settled, in addition to paying rent
- 43% of IDPs in camps in Kismayo and Burao have no access to sanitation facilities
- IDPs in Wajid and Gedo regions survive on about 2 litres of water per day while the minimum recommended is 15 litres (2004)
- Women spend most of the day looking for water leaving little time for breastfeeding
- In Boqolka IDP camp latrines built by UNICEF were closed to IDPs by 'landowners' on the argument that IDPs did not pay their fee
- In Hargeisa price of water was three times higher for IDPs than residents buying larger quantities (2004)
- In Southern Somalia most wells are saline and most IDPs drink from the river contaminated by organic matters and waste because they cannot afford to buy water
- Out of 175 wells in Bay and Bakool, at least 101 have been voluntarily destroyed beyond repair during war

"Only one in five Somalis has access to treated water, and only about half the households have a source of water within a kilometre during the dry season, according to a recent [Socio-Economic Survey](#) by the World Bank and UNDP." (UNDP, 8 June 2004)

"According to the latest Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS), which was undertaken in 2000, less than 26% of the population has access to safe water and fewer than 48% has access to sanitation facilities. While many improvements have been made since the 2000 study, a substantial proportion of the population does not have acceptable levels of access to sustainable water and sanitation services." (UN, 18 November 2004, p.22)

"Following an 11 day visit to the country in September, The United Nations-appointed independent expert on Human Rights for Somalia Dr Ghanim Alnajjar called for urgent action to address the plight of IDPs in Somalia from the international community, local authorities and civil society groups lamenting that the camps have absolutely no basic services such as water, health facilities or schools and IDPs have to pay to use very basic toilets on the land on which they have settled and in addition, are also charged rent." (OCHA, 31 October 2003, p.8)

"**Sanitation** in IDP settlements is a problem. In Kismayo and Burao, human waste has been observed littered in the camps. Survey findings show more than 43% of the population without access to sanitation facilities in the various areas surveyed." (FSAU, 17 December 2003)

"The biggest reason for cholera outbreaks being endemic and recurrent now is the lack of safe drinking water and sanitation, with less than 25% of Somalis having access to potable water and 48.5% to sanitation (taking population groups and regions into account). The risk of acquiring water-borne diseases like dysentery, cholera, diarrhoea and Typhoid Fever are increasingly high as a result." (MSF, 9 December 2002)

"Only 31% of the population have access to safe drinking water, with an important variation between urban areas (46%) and rural areas with (28%). Only 43 % of the population have access to adequate sanitation disposal, 39 % in rural areas and 69 % in urban areas." (IGAD/UNDP/UNHCR, June 2002, p.19)

Gedo:

“Ever since the beginning of violence, people have been displaced within and out of Bula Hawa. Those living within Bula Hawa depend on river Dua River, and hand-dug wells in Malkariyey, 7 kms away from the town. However during the rainy season, an earth pan is an additional source of water. Water is transported by trucks and retailed at Kshs 6/= per 20 litter container, a price which is too high for most of the displaced persons to afford, hence majority of women and children spend 5-6 hours in search of the same. Water quality range from salty to brackish with high turbidity. Water points for domestic consumption are shared with livestock leading to increased pollution hence increased water borne related diseases. The shallow wells are unprotected from waste matter inflow due to lack of linings – the situation that worsens during the rainy flood seasons. During the week of 24th July, Gedo Health Consortium (GHC), (a Consortium of three International NGOs, Implementing health program in Gedo), reported 62 diarrhea cases, and noted a general upsurge in gastroenteritis cases. There is no much data available at the moment, but it is speculated that, with the onset of Dyer (rainy) season, air and water borne related diseases like Bilharzias, typhoid, dysentery, respiratory tract infection (RTI) and cholera will pose a real threat in the absence of good sanitation and water systems.

[...]

The water resources are scarce. Women fetching water from river Dua have to walk for 10 kms and they are exposed to rape by renegade militias, hence most families have to survive on less than 10 liters of water per day.

Temporary refuge centers/camps have been set up around Bula Hawa town as a safe place for the displaced. These centers provide relatively secure environment for the most vulnerable, however, basic services like water and sanitation are conspicuously lacking. Pit latrines are lacking in all the centers.” (ACT, 17 September 2004)

Burao

“The population estimate for the three IDP camps [Burao] was 6400 people (1600 families of four) comprised mainly of women and children;[...] An average of 2.0-4.7 litres of water was available per person per day (minimum recommendation of 15 litres); attributed to long distances to and capacity of water points and lack of storage containers. Sanitation and hygiene practices were generally poor, leading to high prevalence of diarrhoea. Caregivers spent a significant portion of the day fetching water, food, income and firewood, leaving little quality time for breastfeeding and child care. Reduced feeding frequency of younger children was manifested in the high level of wasting in the 6-23 month age group.” (FSAU, 20 February 2004)

Hargeisa:

“In addition, the price of water [in the eight returnee/IDP settlement areas] was more than triple the price in areas where residents are settled, the incidence of disease was high and childcare was inadequate.” (ACC/SCN 41, April 2004)

Kismaayo:

“The IDP camps of Kismaayo are crowded, and most shelters are rudimentary structures made of scavenged materials. They lack adequate sanitary facilities, and the incidence of communicable diseases appears to be high, although conditions vary between camps. Many latrines have collapsed or are simply full, and have been abandoned. In some instances, communal areas outside of the camps are used as informal latrines. The domestic use of contaminated water is a major contributor to poor nutritional status. For groups along the Juba Valley unable to purchase clean water, the river provides for their needs. This greatly increases the risk of water-borne disease.” (ODI, 31 December 2003, p.13)

“Access to adequate and clean water is very limited. IDPs use water from shallow and unprotected wells contaminated with organic matters. Some of the camps are far from the water points. For example, there is hone hour walking distance between Nuh Mohamud camp and the

nearest well. Water shortage in the IDP camps is acute during the dry seasons when the level in the wells falls down.

In terms of sanitation, congestion of the camps along with lack of latrines and proper waste disposal system results in poor sanitation condition in the camps. Sanitary activities in the area are constrained by insecurity. Latrines built in villages along the Juba River by UNICEF have already been destroyed and the concrete slabs were looted. Piles of garbage and human wastes disposed everywhere in the camps, causes nuisance and poor sanitation." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, pp26-27)

Jilib:

"IDPs access to safe drinking water is very limited. The town's only drilled borehole is not functioning. There are 6 shallow wells, but they yield saline water, which is not suitable for drinking purpose. Both the IDPs and the local people use water drawn from the river for their drinking purposes, but the river is contaminated with organic matters washed out from the wastes thrown into the river by the local residents.

The general sanitation condition of Jilib is poor. The IDPs have no toilets. They use the empty rooms of the abandoned houses for defecation in open." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.31)

Jalalqsi:

"These IDPs have no access to adequate and clean drinking water. Water from wells is sold at So Sh 200 to 500 and prices are not affordable to the IDPs. Because of their economic difficulties, the IDPs collect water from the river as their drinking water. However, this water is contaminated and is not fit for human consumption." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.53)

Mogadishu:

"Where Mogadishu residents used to have clean running water at the turn of a shiny brass tap, they must now depend on hand-dug wells. Dirty water, hauled up from about 30 metres underground, sells at Somali shillings 2,000 (US \$0.20) per drum. People and animals use the same water supply. Among the devastated buildings, in the maze of broken streets, women with jerry cans join the goats and camels, and the queues of donkey carts. The wells are owned – but not maintained – by individuals. Aid agencies occasionally provided chlorine to treat the drinking water, but no one really monitored its use or distribution, health workers said.

Once the water system had collapsed, many people dug their own wells. The wells that used to provide the city with running water are now in the hands of militia. One set of wells is on the Afgoi road between Mogadishu and Afgoi town; the other to the north of the city, between Mogadishu and Balad. The wells are in total disrepair.

So far, efforts by the new interim government to start tackling the 10 year-old waste dump - once a beautiful coastal capital - have barely touched the tip. Mogadishu has lacked government structures and services for almost a decade. 'You can't clean up 10 years of piled-up rubbish without a complete campaign, with the right equipment,' said one Mogadishu resident. Sanitation workers and equipment are available, but have yet to be mobilised, signed up and funded. Since establishing itself in October, the new government is struggling with other priorities: funding, peace and reliable personnel. And in a city where money, militia and warlord-run mafias have ruled since 1991, even rubbish is 'owned', explained the resident. Gangs expect nothing less than a cut from sanitation projects." (IRIN-CEA 20 December 2000)

"As families flee conflict areas, the few safe water sources that do exist are being abandoned or destroyed. Wells, generators, pumps, and pipes have been destroyed or intentionally contaminated by warring factions. Out of 175 wells in Bay and Bakool, at least 101 have been destroyed beyond repair. " (US Fund for UNICEF 6 September 2000, "Water and sanitation")

"In largely arid Somalia, access to water is limited for human and animal consumption. Livestock, Somalia's main export, is the mainstay of the economy and is dependent upon rainfall for adequate pastures and upon ground water for watering. People require daily access to safe sources of water. In most areas however, community access to any water source is restricted, especially in the dry seasons, and access to safe water (typically from ground water sources) is available for only about 30 percent of the population, mostly in urban areas.

Poor access leads to higher prices (stretching poorer incomes to the limit) and greater distances in water collection (increasing the workload of women and girls). In turn, diarrhoeal diseases, cholera epidemics, and malnutrition of children are all directly or indirectly caused by limited access to safe water and poor personal and environmental hygiene practices.

Ground water constitutes the principal source of potable water in most areas of Somalia. Studies show that there is sufficient quantity of good quality ground water to cover the domestic needs of the whole population of Somalia. Though they are seasonal, rainwater catchments are a major water source. These reservoirs include: ware, an excavated reservoir, sometimes lined with plastic sheets, common in the south; bally, a depression in the ground which may be natural or artificial; maxiid, a hand-dug vertical pit; and berked, a cemented underground catchment mostly found in the central and northern regions." (UN November 1999, p.30)

Bosaso

"About 22% of the households accessed water from protected wells and about 38% from berkads. About 76% of the households disposed off faecal matter on open ground around the camps. About 44% of the children came from households seeking health services from public health facilities and about 53% from private clinics and pharmacies." (FSAU, 30 September 2004)

"The main source of drinking water was through purchases from tanker/truck vendors. Utilisation of sanitation facilities was quite minimal with 75.4% of the population relieving themselves in open grounds or bushes. Additionally, for the minority (24.6%) that used a sanitation facility, about 43% of these facilities were observed to be used and dirty." (FSAU, 31 May 2004)

"The expert visited the Boqolka Bush camp [Bosaso] for IDPs on 30 August. The conditions were extremely poor, perhaps even to a degree unfit for human habitation, with inadequate or no access to water and sanitation facilities, shelter, education or protection from criminal activity. IDPs lived in dwellings of 2 metres by 2 metres for which rents were charged; toilets built by UNICEF were locked by the landowner, reportedly because of the inability of tenants to pay user fees." (UNCHR, 31 December 2002, p.15)

Shelter and non-food items

Most IDPs live in shacks in slums or in public buildings (2004)

- Between 800-1000 displaced families had their shacks washed away or destroyed by floods in Mogadishu (2004)
- IDPs displaced by violent conflict in Mogadishu fled within town to other overcrowded IDP camps lacking sanitation and health facilities
- As police tried to move IDPs out of a secondary school to a new site in Burco (Somaliland), a riot broke out in September 2003

- IDPs huts are made of plastic sheeting, pieces of cloth and cardboard, and this inadequate housing predisposes IDPs to respiratory infections
- The makeshift huts in which IDPs live are prone to fire and hundreds of IDP homes were destroyed in Bosasso in 2003
- IDPs in Kismayo live under shacks which provide no protection against rain, wind and sun
- Most displaced live in unplanned slum areas in makeshift huts or in abandoned government buildings, schools or factories

"Persons in Mogadishu were submerged in water in the last week of June following one week of heavy rainfall. The floods affected 800-1,000 families. Shelters were destroyed in the downpour and household goods and food were either swept away or destroyed by the resulting floods. Shelters in IDP camps are poorly built, of which many have no proper roofs. At the Coca-Cola IDP camp, two children died when part of an old building wall in the camp collapsed. The wall destroyed some huts/shelters. Most of the able-bodied people moved from the camps leaving the elderly and the sick.

Apart from the floods, IDPs living in Government houses in Shangani District of North Mogadishu are being evicted by freelance militias for unknown reasons. Some IDPs have returned to their camps but Miranio, one of the largest camps, remains empty. The concern about the security in the camp. Mogadishu was affected by heavy fighting that left more than almost 100 people dead last month." (OCHA, 9 July 2004)

"Those from the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps in Abdulaziz, Shangani, Bondhere and Shibis have been forced to move to other IDP camps in Mogadishu. The other camps can not accommodate the fresh influx of IDPs because they are already overcrowded. The huts are too small and can not accommodate more than four people leaving some people to sleep in the open. The camps also suffer from poor sanitation and lack of health facilities. A survey conducted in July 2003 showed the above camps had 2,871 households. The influx is causing serious congestion and stress on the little available amenities." (OCHA, 21 May 2004)

"In most instances, the settlement areas are unplanned, unsanitary and overcrowded with minimal availability of basic amenities. Housing generally consists of simple structures made of nondurable materials like plastic sheeting, pieces of cloth, cardboard and cartons that fail to provide adequate *shelter*, a factor that predisposes families to a range of communicable diseases, including respiratory tract infections.

[...]

These shelters are prone to fires which essentially renders these families homeless e.g. during the nutrition survey, a fire broke out in the [Bosasso] camps burning down at least 100 shelters." (FSAU, 31 May 2004)

"A riot took place in Burco, "Somaliland", on 1 September. The incident occurred when the police tried to move a number of internally displaced persons from the secondary school to a new site in the town. The move had apparently been agreed to, and the reason for the clash is not yet clear. One internally displaced person was killed and a police officer was injured. The school, the only secondary school in the region, was badly damaged by fire during the incident." (UNSC, 13 October 2003)

"IDPs in Kismayo live in the shelled houses and government offices or in huts made of sticks, pieces of plastics, and clothes that give no protection against rain water, wind and sun." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, pp26-27)

In Mogadishu, "an overwhelmingly poor but tenacious population has made homes amongst the shell-shattered houses and offices, or congregates in makeshift camps for the internally

displaced. International development aid has effectively been suspended, and those displaced by war and hardship are left to a precarious hand-to-mouth existence." (IRIN-CEA 27 April 1999)

"Heavy rains in early July [2000] caused flash floods in Mogadishu, damaging buildings and washing away several hundred of the shanty structures in the displaced camps in the south of the city. The floods brought a tide of sewage through the shanty towns, raising concerns about the potential for the spread of disease." (IRIN 7 July 2000 in UN Sub-Commission on Nutrition 25 July 2000, p. 31)

"The floods [of late 1997 and early 1998] particularly harmed populations already displaced by the country's warfare. Heavy rains washed away makeshift huts housing displaced families in Mogadishu. Other displaced families in the capital continued to live in abandoned government buildings, schools, factories, and houses left empty by the country's decade of instability." (USCR 1999, p. 88)

"Makeshift camps of displaced Somalis and refugees (primarily originating from Ethiopia in the 1970s and 1980s) have mushroomed in the city since the fall of Siad Barre's government in 1991. Most of the dome-shaped huts are made from paper, sticks, sacks and cloth scavenged from the growing mountains of rubbish, with barriers of scrap metal delineating different sections of the camps. Some camps receive rudimentary help from humanitarian agencies or Islamic organizations, but the vast majority of internally displaced people must rely on their own survival skills." (IRIN-CEA 27 April 1999)

ACCESS TO EDUCATION

Overview

Access to education (Special report, 2006)

Primary school enrolment in Somalia is the lowest in the world. Only one in five children attend primary school and girls constitute roughly one third of the pupils (IRIN, 15 December 2005). Yet education remains one of the most chronically under-funded sectors in the Somalia UN Consolidated Appeal (CAP). The requirements for 2005 were only 27 per cent met at the end of the year (OCHA, 30 November 2005).

In 2005, UNICEF started a countrywide back-to-school campaign which includes the training of teachers and parents' sensibilisation of the importance of education (UNICEF, 2005). The task is enormous: in 2004, fewer than 40 per cent of teachers had gone through training and many had not completed their own primary education (UN, 18 November 2004, p.10). Whole generations of Somalis have little to no formal education and few marketable skills and, as a result, are more likely to be drawn into militia activities, which in turn poses serious threats to the security and socio-economic development of the country. As a result of the war, the entire public school system has collapsed, virtually all school facilities have been either completely or partially destroyed and when classroom space is scarce, local children are given priority over displaced children.

Most schools now are private and many parents cannot afford school fees or prefer their children, especially the girls, to help them generate income by working or begging. Another issue is the reluctance of aid organisations to build permanent education facilities in temporary IDP settlements, particularly in Bossaso. Local authorities in Somaliland and Puntland are equally reluctant to build any kind of infrastructure in the settlements in order to avoid these settlements to become permanent. A recently developed solution is the setting up of mobile infrastructure, like school tents.

General

Minimal access to education, especially for girls and IDP children (December 2005)

- While UNICEF says Somalia's primary school enrolment rate is the lowest in the world, donors funded this sector less than 50 per cent in 2005
- UNICEF supports a countrywide Back-to-School campaign
- Girls represent one third of the primary school pupils with rising drop out rates in the upper primary grades
- Less than 40% of teachers are trained and many have not completed primary education
- Koranic schools funded by local communities have functioned throughout the conflict
- Informal education through radio or mobile facilities would be a way to reach displaced and nomadic populations

- 90% of school facilities were destroyed by war and some school buildings are occupied by IDPs

IRIN, 15 December 2005

"Only one out of every five children in Somalia is enrolled in primary school, the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) said in its State of the World's Children report for 2006. Somali children are further disadvantaged by disease, conflict and harsh environmental conditions, the agency added. "The net primary attendance ratio is lower than anywhere in the world, at just 12 percent for boys and 10 percent for girls,' the report said. 'Years of underinvestment have left Somalia lagging behind the rest of the developing world in education.'

Donor funding of educational programmes of the Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP) 2004 only covered 4%, in 2005 it was 27 per cent of the less than \$12 million. For 2006, the CAP asks for over \$16 million (OCHA, 30 November 2005)

OCHA, 30 November 2005

"Continuing urbanisation by nomadic pastoralists (following several years of drought in the north) and considerable numbers of returning refugees has put enormous pressure on the coping ability of a very limited and fragile educational infrastructure. The system is currently struggling with a large number of weaknesses. These include very low access to facilities and low enrolment rates (worst off are nomadic and riverine communities, as well as girls and children living in IDP settlements especially in central and south zones); low enrolment of girls and low representation of women on the teaching force; low completion rates; inadequacy of learning spaces and learning materials and weak secondary and tertiary education. There is also a large number of unskilled youth who missed out on any form of education during the many years of conflict in the 1990s. Six out of seven Somali girls of school going age do not have access to education. This constitutes a silent emergency in itself with enormous negative social implications for all of Somali society.

[...]

Clear links exist between education, peace and sustainable development. Support for the development of education in Somalia is of crucial importance, as the development and sustainability of services, food security, governance, peace and stability, economic growth, health, nutrition and sanitation and infrastructure very much depend on the population being literate and acquiring critical and vital life skills. Failure to support education may inhibit or reverse gains made in other sectors.

Sector Objectives

- Improve access to education for all, especially girls and vulnerable groups;
- Support the rehabilitation of learning spaces including the establishment of community cluster learning centres in IDP and returnee settlements, marginalised and hard to reach communities;
- Provide non-formal basic education, including primary alternate education, functional literacy and vocational education, especially for children and youth;
- Upgrade local capacity for emergency education sector response, including the capacities of vocational education managers and instructors in vocational training centres;
- Provide quality learning, with a strong component in life skills, HIV/AIDS, peace and human rights education, especially for girls and vulnerable groups."

UNICEF supports a countrywide Back-to-School campaign, focusing on the most disadvantaged and vulnerable. (UNICEF, 2005)

UN, 15 June 2004, p.8

"The majority of schools are concentrated in and around urban areas, effectively excluding children in remote, rural locations, particularly nomadic children. Dropout rates, especially for girls, increase dramatically in the upper primary grades. Gender-related disparities are significant, with girls constituting only slightly over one third, or 36%, of the primary school pupils. Female teachers constitute only about 13%, of the teaching cadre. Overall the sector suffers from severe limitations in managerial, technical and financial resources and a lack of consistency in standards.

Both national and international agencies are seeking to change this situation but see their efforts stalled sometimes by insecurity, but more often by funding shortfalls and the sheer enormity of the problem. The lack of educational opportunities for Somali children and youth undoubtedly poses the greatest challenge to the country's development. Yet, education remains one of the most chronically under funded sectors in the Somalia CAP, a fact that is made all the more remarkable for the modest amounts of assistance requested, only about US\$ 15 million in 2004 and US\$ 8 million in 2003. Yet, so far in 2004, this sector is only 4% funded. For the remainder of the year, the UN will seek to engage donors in a vigorous dialogue on how to rectify this situation, with the aim of ensuring that yet another generation of Somalis does not go without access to education."

UNICEF, 30 June 2004

"According to the most recent survey, there are 210 schools in Puntland with 33,600 students, which means less than 20% of the children have access of education."

UN, 11 November 2004, p.10

"Notwithstanding these positive developments, Somalia's Primary Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of 20.2% is still the lowest in the world, lower than Niger's (32.4%) and Djibouti's (36.9%). [...] Only one out of five Somali children receives primary education, with very few girls enrolled and retained. An entire generation of youth and young adults has missed the opportunity to be educated. Less than 40% of currently practicing teachers have received pre-service training and the number of untrained teachers increases every year, while only 13% of the teachers are women. With education authorities lacking the capacity to remunerate teachers, the annual growth in GER is slowing down considerably. The high cost of education, especially in urban areas, is equally responsible for a slowdown in enrolment growth. It is worth noting that the various zones of Somalia have developed at a very uneven pace, leaving the more populous central and south Somalia far behind. ."

UN, November 2002, p.5

"According to field data, the number of primary schools in Somalia increased by 29%, from 859 in the academic year 2000/2001 to 1,105 in 2001/2002. Moreover, Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) witnessed an upward trend from 13% (11% for girls and 15% for boys in 2000/1) to 17% (14% for girls and 19% for boys) in 2001/2. There was also a 30% increase in the number of teachers. Such encouraging developments served to underline the importance of sustained, coherent and community-focused promotion of formal and non-formal education, in particular targeting girls."

UN, 27 September 2002, pp.9-10

"For example the adult literacy rate for Somalia's urban population is estimated at 35% whereas the rate for rural and nomadic populations is only 10%. Similarly while 50% of the urban population have direct access to health services, the rate for the rural population is only 15%.

Female adult literacy is estimated to be only 52% of the male rate, and the female primary school enrolment ratio similarly only 53% of the male rate. Few data are available for variation in development across Somalia's regions, but it is clear that levels of development remain vulnerable to concentrations of fighting and instability which continue to cause localised crises of food security, health and displacement."

UN November 1999, p.32

"On average, only about one in ten children of primary school age are enrolled, and only two thirds of them are boys. Of the youth aged 14-18 years, almost all are out of school and without access to education or other basic services. The few operational primary schools function mainly through community and parental support. All secondary education remains confined to highly urbanised areas.

The quality of education on offer is generally very poor. About 40 percent of all teachers are unqualified; many have not completed their own primary education. The absence of a central educational authority has led to a lack of consistency in educational standards, including acceptable curricula and textbooks. Much of the pre-war school infrastructure has been destroyed. Poor families, communities, and local authorities have insufficient funds to meet even the very basic expenses related to teachers' salaries and effective supervision. The absence of any learner assessment or certification system has rendered the appraisal of the quality of education impossible.

Koranic schools have continued to operate throughout the conflict, with the support of parents and communities. These schools do not offer opportunities for secular education and are primarily religious institutions imparting knowledge of the Koran. Pilot projects have been initiated for the inclusion of some elements of basic education in the daily teaching of selected Koranic schools and the results are awaited.

Private language schools are mushrooming in most towns and some rural communities teach informally, borrowing curricula and textbooks from other countries. Some language and vocational education schools are also integrating some primary subjects on an ad-hoc basis. There is, however, a near-total lack of early childhood education, alternate forms of primary education, and adult informal education in Somalia. The potential of reaching excluded communities, such as by way of satellite schools, informal education centres, and radio, is as yet untapped."

UNDP 1999, Chapter 3, "History of education in Somalia"

"The civil war dealt another devastating blow to the formal education system, which completely collapsed in 1990. Many teachers and pupils were displaced and forced to seek security in their clan areas or flee to refugee camps abroad. . . . The aftermath showed that about 90% of school buildings in the country were either completely or partially destroyed. In addition, many were occupied by internally displaced persons. Almost all educational materials and equipment were looted."

IDP children in Merka get enrolled in school (July 2006)

- Almost 1000 IDP children in Merka get registered for school
- UNICEF teachers' training all over Somalia, in the framework of the 'back to school' campaign

Enrolment boosted: Nine-hundred fifty out-of-school children were registered in IDP camps in Merka, southern Somalia. This was part of the Back to School initiative that seeks to register children to prepare them for a return to learning. In Qoryoley, another 3,600 children were registered. Meanwhile, three school tents were erected at El-Ahmed school in Tsunami affected area of Merck district.

Twenty-eight trainers of head-teachers from Puntland commenced training to enable them impart skills among head teachers in July. 1,042 primary school teachers from Huddur, Wajid, Mogadishu and Merka were trained in basic knowledge and skills related to teaching. Besides professional issues, the trainees were taught about peace, conflict resolution and basic facts on HIV/AIDS.

Access to education in Hargeisa's IDP settlements (July 2006)

- Teachers training is ongoing
- School enrolment in settlements is insufficient, some IDP children have access to local schools
- NRC provides emergency education to children aged 10 to14

UNICEF, 7 July 2006, p.4:

"Training: Forty education advisers (mentors) from Somaliland were trained as trainers in school management and administration. They will train 534 head teachers in July. Twenty eight members of community education committees from different regions of Somaliland were trained in school sanitation and hygiene. Similar training is planned for 60 primary school teachers in July."

OCHA, October 2005:

"There are public primary schools in three of the four settlements (3 in M. Mogeh, 2 in Sh. Nur & 1 in Aw' Adan), Stadium has access to neighbouring schools. While there are no reliable figures on school enrolment, percentage of Girls is 27% in M Mogeh:, 30% in Sh. Nur: & 34% in Aw'adan, (source: interviews with School Administrators, Oct. 05). NRC is implementing Emergency Education using the Alternative Approach to Basic Education (AABE) in M. Mogeh & Sh. Nur, targeting 120 children among most vulnerable HH who never attended any school (60 girls & 60 boys). These children are provided with school uniform, and their parents do not have to pay fees."

IDPs' access to education determined by income and ethnicity (2003)

- There is no free education thus IDPs cannot afford to send their children to schools as Quranic schools cost up to SShs10,000 and non-religious ones cost up to SShs40,000 monthly
- Women are particularly disadvantaged in access to education as they have to remain home to help their mothers who are often away to undertake small-business
- Low school attendance of IDP children due to illness
- Parents often need their children to work for income rather than to go to school
- Most IDP children are rejected from schools due to lack of space and discrimination
- Low enrolment of southern Somali children in Hargeisa due to discrimination of minorities and use of children to beg
- 74% of boys age 10 to 14 are enrolled in school compared to only 46% for girls Hargeisa

"There is a common and strong desire for education amongst IDPs and other vulnerable groups in Kismaayo (as elsewhere in Somalia). In Kismaayo, where there is no free primary or secondary education, access is determined by the ability to pay for private facilities (Quranic schools cost up to SShs10,000 a month per child, and non-religious schools SShs20,000–40,000/month/child). For minority groups, including many in the camps, the ability to pay is partly determined by socio-ethnic status." (ODI, 31 December 2003, p.13)

"Hardship – violation of rights - is frequently experienced by children, particularly their right to education as either access to education is constrained (schools in settlements are not completely rehabilitated or built or they are some distance from the settlements.) In this respect girls are particularly disadvantaged by the need expressed that they remain home to help since the mother must be out of the home to undertake small-scale business." (UNICEF, 30 October 2003)

"Even Koranic schools that have been set up in some camps, for example in Jenyo, Hanshi, and Aideytoi IDP camps [Kismayo region], the attendance of IDPs children is very low. This is due to the fact that IDPs children are sick most of the time. They cannot regularly attend the schools. More over IDP parents prefer to send their children to generate some income at the expense of their physical and social well being." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.27)

"Almost all the IDPs [in Bu'ale] children are illiterate and they have no access to education. There is only one primary education that receives UNICEF and World Vision support. However, because of the limited size of classrooms and lack of enough education facilities, there is no room for the IDP children. First priorities are given to children from local communities. There are several koranic schools and two private schools. However, because of economic constraints, very few IDPs children attend these schools." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.30)

***School enrolment status in Hargeisa:
Interagency assesment conducted in 8 areas around Hargeisa (Somaliland) in returnee and IDP settlements (June 2002). The second largest settlement, Daami hosts about 10,000 people, of whom 35% are displaced from Southern Somalia***

"-Boys and girls are enrolled in schools at similar rates until age 10. Over age 10, girls' enrollment plateaus at below 60% before dropping off, while boys' enrollment climbs to 80% at age 13. For both sexes, a majority of those enrolled in school are enrolled in primary schools by age 10.

- Boys age 10 to 14 are enrolled in school at an aggregate rate of 74%, while girls in that age range are enrolled at an aggregate rate of 46%.

[...]

- Southern Somalis and non-Somali Ethiopians are enrolled in school at lower rates than Somalilanders, more so for girls than for boys.

- Children in households from Southern Somalia and Ethiopia (both Somali and non-Somali) are more likely to be working to bring income into the household than households originally from Somaliland.

[...]

Ayaha and Daami are near the bottom for boys' and girls' enrollment across the board. [...]

The Daami focus groups addressed this issue, saying that some of the difference was due to ostricization of minority communities and that Southern Somali and Oromo families use their children to beg and they are therefore not in school.

[...]

In Daami, social exclusion of minority groups was reported as another major reason that Returnee Settlement Area Assessment, June 2002 children were not in school.

[...]

Daami's adult population is significantly less educated than any of the others." (Clark, June 2002, pp. 7,43, 44,46,47)

ISSUES OF SELF-RELIANCE AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Overview

Self-reliance (Special report, 2006)

During the past 13 years of protracted war, Somalis have survived in one of the most extreme environments, lacking a functioning government or basic services, and with hardly any foreign assistance. Recurrent droughts and war have stretched their coping mechanisms to the limit. The fine socio-economic balance between pastoral and agricultural communities based on the exchange of milk and meat products against cereals and the right to seasonally graze on fallow lands has been disrupted. Somalia is the third poorest country in the world, with nearly half of the population living in extreme poverty, on less than \$1 per day (UNDP, 2004; UNHCR, 30 January 2004). Many displaced, particularly in the more food-insecure south, live in even poorer conditions as they have lost their properties and productive assets, are in a difficult social and political environment and lack relief food and assistance from aid agencies.

In Somalia, the division of labour is established along identity. Each clan or ethnic group has specific skills adapted to their survival needs and environment. For example, the Galgala are traditionally wood craftsmen, other minority groups like the Tumul are blacksmiths, the Midgan work with hides. The Bantu are traditionally small-scale farmers whose agricultural skills are not transferable to the urban environment where they flee; the same applies to displaced agro-pastoralists and nomads. These groups usually work in labour-intensive, low-skill and low-income jobs. The men find irregular employment as porters, builders, latrine diggers or casual labourers and the women work as domestic servants, garbage collectors, cleaners or petty traders (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.26).

The labour market is also regulated by clan and sub-clan networks. IDPs lack the capital and the social connections to have access to trade and market activities which tend to be dominated by sub-clans of the Isaaq in Somaliland and by Majerteen and other Harti sub-clans in Puntland. In both regions, IDPs competing with local labour or begging on the streets have been subject to harassments, and as “guests” they do not enjoy full legal rights and protection (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.24).

Not all IDPs from the south living in Somaliland have access to gainful employment. But they have a reputation of working hard and of bringing valuable skills. In Hargeisa, they are therefore appreciated for carrying out menial work in the official or the lucrative informal economy. Nevertheless, begging is now also seen in Hargeisa, supporting southern IDPs, and people referred to as “seasonal beggars”: Somalilanders who temporarily move to towns each year to bridge the dry season (Interviews, NRC, Hargeisa, October 2005). In other, less economically active parts of Somaliland, the vast majority of displaced households depended exclusively on begging, which is often barely sufficient to provide one meal per day (UNCU, 30 July 2002, pp.15, 27). Most IDPs are unable to access any assistance or business opportunities, unlike returnees, who are able to get small income-generating loans from international organisations, and draw support from their clan and the council of elders. It is unlikely that displaced southerners in Somaliland will be socially and economically integrated, according to analysts, due to the fact that they are associated with the crimes of the Barre regime committed against the people of Somaliland, and are easily identifiable by their different speech and look to northerners (Ibrahim F., 15 August 2002).

IDPs in Puntland also tend to be viewed as undesirables by the local community. But they appear not to be actively discriminated against and have more job opportunities, especially in Bossaso where the building sector is booming and port activity is thriving. Many displaced families in Bossaso earn between two and four dollars a day, over twice what most displaced earn in Hargeisa. Casual work and small-scale trade are the main sources of income for 80 per cent of displaced households in Bossaso (UNDP, May 2005, p.21, 22). The average income of IDPs in Garowe is one dollar a day per family (UNDP, June 2005).

In Juba (southern Somalia), nearly half of the displaced households surveyed had to borrow money or food. As women in IDP settlements outnumber men, they are the primary breadwinners, often at the expense of childcare. But since the income earned is very limited, displaced households depend heavily on the income of children who often beg or shine shoes instead of attending school (UNICEF, 10 December 2003).

Food shortages and poor health and water access in southern and central Somalia undermined host communities' ability to cope with the influx of displaced people. The price of imported food remained high as transport costs between Mogadishu and the Juba Valley were inflated by militia checkpoints extorting illegal taxes (FEWS, 8 May 2003).

As food shortages become more acute, targeted food distribution can become problematic. For example, the World Food Programme (WFP) was unable to distribute food aid to IDPs in Dinsor district (Bay region), because the local communities complained that given the poor *Deyr* performance (October to December rainy season), selective food aid could contribute to tensions between IDPs and the host communities and cause further displacements (OCHA, November 2005).

Unlike returnees and local residents, IDPs generally do not benefit from remittances or from kin support, therefore they are more vulnerable to economic shocks. The prolonged and continued livestock import ban imposed by the Gulf States since 2000, as well as the closure of the Al-Barakaat Bank (main channel for remittances), following accusations of abetting terrorism in 2002, seriously reduced income levels and purchasing power. The ban seriously affects nomadic pastoralists, who comprise nearly half of the population, and particularly north-western and north-eastern Somalia, where the livestock trade is the main source of livelihood for 70 per cent of the population (UN, 18 November 2003, p.10; IGAD/UNDP/UNHCR, June 2002, p.17). At the same time, opportunities for casual labour at ports like Bossaso are beginning to become saturated. Consequently, competition over scarce jobs had increased sharply between urban residents and the displaced from the south who have been increasingly excluded and discriminated against. This discrimination affects IDPs' standard of living as it determines the degree of access to income, which in turn affects their access to food, health and education.

Self-reliance

IDPs' survival strategies eroded by years of protracted conflict and drought (November 2005)

- IDPs' skill often not useful in locations of displacement
- Internal displacement and the collapse of the industry and service sectors has led to 65% urban unemployment rates which sustains large number of militias

- Women are often the main income-earner through the sale of khat (amphetamine) or charcoal, but they are exploited and receive lower wages than men
- Several surveys found that the majority of IDPs have low-skill, low-income and labour intensive jobs as porters, domestic workers and casual labourers
- A significantly higher percentage of children from IDP families work compared to the general population
- Coping mechanisms like clearing land for agriculture, producing charcoal, overgrazing and selling timber cause long-term environmental damages
- Most IDPs receive hardly any assistance, have no economic safety net as they do not benefit from the clan system nor from remittances
- Seasonal migration to key towns, adoption into another clan area and exogamy are traditional survival strategies
- Mutual trust and reciprocity between kin considerably eroded by protracted conflicts

"Based on the 2005 FAO/FSAU post Gu assessment, an estimated 922,000 people are in need of immediate assistance in Somalia, of which 200,000 people are in a state of Humanitarian Emergency, 345,000 people face an Acute Livelihood Crisis, and a further 370-400,000 are the most vulnerable IDPs as identified by UN OCHA. IDPs survive largely on casual labour (73% in Bossasso, 47% in Garowe) and to a lesser extent on small-scale trade (9% Bossasso, 21% Garowe). Women are mostly engaged in casual labour as housemaids, selling wares, clothes, and tea, garbage collection and washing clothes. Most IDPs who claim to have any skills say they are farmers (Bossasso 42%, Garowe 25%), a skill they cannot put to use in their present locations. As a result, IDPs earn a meagre living that does not allow them to meet their most basic needs. Consequently child labour is common to supplement the family income. Returnees from exile, most of them bereft of the assets with which they used to make a living before the flight, find it difficult to establish sustainable livelihoods once back home.

The response strategy of the Food Security and Livelihoods sector builds on lessons learnt in 2005 and has been geographically designed and prioritised in conjunction with the FAO/FSAU Food Security Phase Classification⁵. The strategy aims at preventing families in "Alert" phase to fall to "Acute Livelihood Crisis" and "Humanitarian Emergency" phases, while it should allow families in "Humanitarian Emergency" to resume livelihoods and productive assets and return progressively to the "Alert" phase.

Finally and recognising the key role of Food Security and Livelihoods in rural development, the response strategy (coordinated by UN OCHA) is tailored to facilitate linkages and complementarity between the Common Humanitarian Action Plan (CAP Appeal) and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (JNA exercise). (OCHA, 30 November 2005)

"Therefore, unemployment rates amount to 65.5 percent for urban, 40.7 percent for non-urban and 47.4 percent for the country.

[...]

The proportion of population living in extreme poverty is estimated as 43.2 percent for Somalia." (UNDP, 2003, p.20, 24)

"This deterioration of traditional livelihoods has forced thousands of Somalis to migrate to urban areas -- such as Mogadishu, Bosasso, Galkayo and Hargiesa -- as they can no longer meet the minimal requirements for life in their home communities. [...] Nearly 60% of the urban population aged 15 to 64 are unemployed. [...] Unemployment among youth, who were aged 10-30 and have come of age since the time of complete state collapse, is a particularly disturbing problem. This generation has little to no formal education, few marketable skills, and in many cases has been drawn into militia activities and/or criminality. As such, they pose a serious challenge to

peace and security as well as the economic and social development of Somalia.” (UN, 18 November 2003, p.10)

“In the displacement camp sample, 56% of the adults and 84% of the children reported poverty as the overriding problem of being disadvantaged, while 50% of the children reported feeling excluded from society. This corresponds with UNCU\UN-OCHA's 2002 findings that IDPs constitute nearly half of all Somalis living in a state of chronic humanitarian need.

[...]

This is supported by UNCU\UN-OCHA, which found that the majority of IDPs and returnees are porters, domestic workers or casual labourers. They reported that this type of employment actually perpetuates their poverty, as it is “labour intensive, low-skill and low-income” employment. As employment is so difficult to secure, there is often a great deal of competition between urban residents and the displaced population.

[...]

Children and adults living in displacement 'camps' reported a significantly greater dependence upon the income of children for their family upkeep. This suggests that a higher number of children living in the camps are working.” (UNICEF, 10 December 2003, pp.19,22,25)

“IDPs generally largely remain marginalized. Most of the families have an average of 5-7 persons and in many of these, women are usually the income-earners through, for instance, petty businesses like the sale of *khat* (an amphetamine leaf akin to the coca leaf of South Africa widely chewed in Somalia) or charcoal. Some men could be employed as artisans or labourers in the relatively booming construction business. Some have small kiosks where they sell items.” (UNICEF, 30 October 2003)

“For their survival, the IDPs generate their income from marginal jobs. They work as farm attendants or domestic servants. Others collect firewood or deliver water. Yet women do not get equal treatment as men, though they perform the same job as men. Women's wages do not exceed 5000 So Sh per day. Reports also indicate that some women work only for some subsistence food, and are economically exploited. They have no bargaining power to demand an increase of wages to improve their livelihoods. Harsh living conditions and their need to survive forces them to accept any wage and any work conditions, even if it exposes them to economic exploitation.

In addition to poor wages, inflation and steady increase of the prices of food jeopardizes the purchasing power of IDPs. For example, the price of one KG of maize, the main diet of IDPs had increased from So.sh 2000 to 6000 between May and July 2001. The IDPs can not therefore afford to buy the quantity of food they require. Most of the IDPs eat once in 24 hours a day.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.35)

“Individuals and communities are not passive in the face of crisis but employ their intimate knowledge of the environment, or political and social relations to mitigate against disaster. Rural households in Somalia employ a range of strategies to cope and survive in adverse circumstances. These can include the diversification of livelihood strategies through seasonal migration for employment, changes to dietary intake, or the consumption of famine foods. Often, short-term needs are sacrificed to preserve a 'way of life'. In the absence of any formal welfare system in Somalia, resource transfers and wealth redistribution within social networks play a crucial role in the maintenance of livelihoods. Anecdotal evidence suggests that in hard times, resources from their informal networks can account for 25-60% of the household economy.

[...]

Migration is an integral part of people's way of life in Somalia and a critical coping strategy in a risk-prone environment. Migration, resettlement through adoption into another clan (*sheegata*), and exogamous marriage mean that most Somali families have relatives spread among clans and over a large geographic area. These personal and familial networks can be drawn on in times of

conflict or drought. Mobility as a coping strategy of pastoralists during drought, however, is restricted during conflict.

[...]

Clan affiliation and identity with a place of residence form a system for the sharing and co-operative control of resources at the level of the household, compound, community and clan. [...]

[T]raditional obligations of assistance, in the form of food, shelter, and water [...]. Other forms of assistance include the loan of farmland (*hoorsi*) or a milking animal (*irmaansi*), the restocking of livestock, and the giving of credit (*amaa*). Helping those most in need is also integral to the religious and social obligations of Islam, institutionalised in the giving of *zakat* and *sadaqa*.

[...]

When widespread conflict and drought are combined, as witnessed in the early 1990s, the impact can be devastating. Production systems and household and community assets, such as food stores and livestock, were destroyed or looted and the option of migration was constrained by warring militia. As livelihood options were reduced and trust within and between clans was eroded, the geographical spread of the resource networks contracted, and families retreated to the reassuring safety of the community." (UNDP Somalia 2001, p.69)

"Prior to the war it was estimated that over 70% of the population lived in the rural areas and that over 75% of the population drew their livelihoods from pastoralism and agriculture, 16% from the service sector and 8.4% from the industry [...]. There are currently no estimates of levels of income or employment for various sectors [...]. The rural sector continues to provide the main source of employment of people, but due to massive internal and external displacement and the collapse of industry and public services a high percentage of the population in both rural and urban areas is unemployed or underemployed. Lack of employment opportunities is one factor sustaining the large numbers of militia, particularly in the urban areas of southern Somalia." (UNDP Somalia, 2001, p.70)

"Ironically, some efforts to earn a living – clearing land for agriculture, producing charcoal, overgrazing herds on shrinking pastureland, selling timber for construction – contribute to the problem, are jeopardizing Somali's ability to eke out a living from the land in the future. '" (UNDP 18 June 2001)

Self reliance in southern and central Somalia (2004)

- Fighting and roadblocks in Mogadishu resulted in the rise of prices of food and water
- IDPs working as casual labourers in the market were particularly affected by its closure (2004)
- IDPs in Mogadishu survived on begging, food scraps and portering for 2,000-3,000 Sosh but have limited access to the lucrative informal economy
- To make a living IDPs use their own skills which run along ethnic identity
- Bantu farmers work in non-skilled jobs in the urban centres where they take refuge
- IDP women generate the largest income working as domestic servants, cleaners or petty traders
- Displaced women in Bu'ale sell water from the river or firewood
- Displaced Bantus in Jilib exploited by the Habargedir people who grabbed their lands

"The majority of IDPs have been living in poor shelter in camps or in destroyed houses as in Mogadishu for about 10 year. They have limited access to food, water, health and sanitation facilities. This coupled with the fact that most IDPs are farmers and agropastoral groups who lack the right skills to generate income in the main urban centers. Therefore, the majority of IDPs are

working as porters, domestic workers and casual labourers. Women remain to be the breadwinners despite the poor working conditions, which affects their health conditions and their caring capacities.

[...]

In south and central Somalia where intermittent insecurity prevails such as Gedo, Lower and Middle Juba and Mogadishu, IDPs have limited access to the informal economy. Their main benefit from the market is in the form of service provision such as porters and casual labour. The IDPs are dependent on social network support for their livelihood, besides the limited assistance from the international community in some regions e.g. Gedo." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, pp1;2)

Mogadishu:

"Apart from increased insecurity, disruption of water supplies and market access for traders and consumers by the recent fighting resulted in water, food and non-food items shortage and price hikes in Northern Mogadishu. IDPs who worked as casual labourers in the markets were particularly affected following closure of the markets in May and early June." (OCHA, 30 June 2004)

"Many families in the camps have been repeatedly displaced, and for some, it is their second or third time in the capital. Some arrive seeking relatives, but others come because it remains a traditional migration route – even with Mogadishu's precipitous decline, the displaced still expect the capital to provide opportunities. The majority [of IDPs] said they survived by begging, by receiving food scraps, and by earning a little cash by providing 'carrying services' to people in the market – earning about 2,000-3,000 Somali shillings a day." (IRIN-CEA 27 April 1999)

Kismayo:

"Many of the displaced now live in or close to destitution with the main sources of income consisting of casual work (farm labour, household chores, loaders/porters at the port) and bush product collection (firewood and charcoal burning). Although the unskilled labour rates in Kismayo (less than 25,000Ssh/day) are lower than in other areas of Lower Juba, they remain well over those in other areas of Southern Somalia. Unlike the local residents, IDPs have no kinship support and tend to be engaged in less regular and lower status occupations. On the other hand, the *urban poor* of Kismayo are involved in petty business, sale of water and farm labour." (FSAU Nutrition Update, 31 December 2002)

"The **IDPs** in Kismayo are in extreme poor economic conditions because of loss of their properties, productive assets, difficult social and political environment and lack of relief food and assistance by aid agencies. For their survival, **IDPs** use their own skills and each **IDP** community has its own skills, which correlates with its distinct identity and culture, which shape its own way of survival. For example, the Bantu **IDPs** are traditionally small-scale farmers whose major skill is farming, while, the Galgala **IDPs** are traditionally wooden craftsmen. The Galgala IDPs capitalized on their skills depend on that for survival. The Bantu **IDPs** prefer obviously in working on non-skilled work such as carrying goods, loading and offloading of trucks, digging latrines etc. Their women work as domestic servants as washers and cleaners.

The IDPs have no bargaining power. They are forced to work cheaply and under unfair working conditions that have led them to be in servitude conditions. The maximum wage earned by is about 3000 to 5000 So.Sh, which is equivalent to \$0.15-0.25. Although that small income it doesn't help IDPs to meet their basic needs. A Somali household of 6 to 10 family size needs a minimum of 80,000 So.Sh (USD 4) for its daily subsistence food.

Some Bantu IDPs have profitable skills and they can work as carpenters and mechanics. However, ethnic discrimination denies them to get access to such jobs. IDP's access to land is also very limited. There is no farming land inside Kismayo town. However some Galgala IDPs are engaged in some sort of farming activities on the outskirts of the city, and near the airport.

Because of lack of resources and high dependence on rain, the production is very little food. No crop sharing practices is practiced in this area.

Being more dominant than men, IDP women a key role in generating the largest household income in the camp. Some work as domestic servants as cleaners, while others generate their income through petty trading, selling tea or cooked food in the market. The only way they can generate their income is to work as street peddler or porters.”(UNCU, 30 July 2002,p26)

Juba:

“Vulnerability assessment and baseline work recently carried out by FEWS NET and FSAU in March 2003 suggests that 15-25 percent of the houses in Buaale town were burned down. Moreover, properties and food stocks were looted. Houses, business, standing crops and underground granaries (*bakaar*) were destroyed or looted and civilian populations displaced.

[...]

The IDPs put an additional burden on the resource-poor community hosting them. Food shortages and poor health and water access are worsening the situation. Imported food prices remain high due to the high exchange rate between the US dollar and Somali Shilling and high transport costs between Mogadishu and Hagar, inflated by many 'toll-collecting' militia checkpoints. Apart from Buaale town and Hagar, staple foods are generally available in the markets. But for poor displaced households without sufficient income that find themselves priced out of the markets, food accessibility is becoming a critical issue. Access to paid employment is also limited due to surplus labor in areas where households fled, especially Salagle and Sakow.” (FEWS, 8 May 2003)

“IDPs in Bu’ale are very poor. Their economic livelihoods depend largely on subsistence income that comes from non-skilled work or begging. Being more dominant than men, women play a greater role than men do in household income. They sell water from the river at 500 SoSh per jerrycane of 20 liters. However, because most IDPs collect their own water, there is less demand for water IDP in the camp. A woman could generate between So.sh 10,000 to 15,000 as income, which is much below the required income for subsistence (average So.sh 30,000). Other women generate income by selling of firewood at 500 SoSh per bundle, while others beg in the markets.

Most of the IDPs men are agropastrolists with no profitable skills. They generate marginal income through non-skilled work, such as digging latrines and constructing huts. They have no bargaining power to demand an increase of their wages, which range from So.sh 5000-10,000 per day.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002)

“These living conditions have exposed many IDPs to economic exploitation by the Habargedir and those who took over agricultural lands in the area. Some IDPs alleged that they are forced to work the whole day for only So.sh3000 to 5000. This is not even enough for the breakfast of an IDP household. Others claimed that instead of money, they are given only some cooked maize for the heavy work leaving their families remain without food in their houses. The work the IDPs undertake includes ploughing, sowing, harvesting or guarding harvest from birds and other animals.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.31)

Bay and Bakool:

“Although the IDPs are engaged in coping strategies like selling firewood, water and construction materials; digging toilets and seeking for community support (mobilised handouts) for their food supply, the general downturn of economic avenues occasioned by drought and inflation weighs heavily against any significant contribution to their food security. Food availability is also reported to be low in the market. Gifts from the community have also reduced, as the community does not have sufficient stocks to allow sharing to take place.” (FSAU 16 August 2001, Overview and Update on Bakool).

Self-reliance in the Northwest: Somaliland (June 2006)

- IDPs bare the brunt of unemployment and receive only a tiny proportion of total remittances
- While some settlements in Hargeisa host mostly returnees, others are populated by IDPs - those settlements need particular attention
- IDPs in Somaliland, unlike returnees have no social networks or family support
- The majority of IDPs are agro-pastoralists or farmers who lack the skills to generate income in urban settings
- Most IDPs work as porters, domestic workers and casual laborers
- Women are the main bread winners but they receive lower wages than men
- The closure of remittance companies after September 11 adversely affected IDPs as purchasing power and job opportunities in dramatically decreased
- 50% of IDPs in Hargeisa are destitute compared to 7% of urban residents (2002)
- Residents of Hargeisa have prevented IDPs to get jobs on the informal market
- In the Haryan and Ajjuran camps only 9% IDPs generate income from service and market-oriented jobs

Somalia JNA, June 2006, p. 33, 34 (see also under 'Self-reliance in the North-east: Puntland):

"Puntland and Somaliland's economies are too weak to generate employment for returnees and displaced populations, given a high unemployment statistic of more than 80%. Field assessments reveal that most IDPs and returnees derive income from casual labour such as portage, petty trade, water and food selling, artisanal, and part-time construction work. A high proportion of women lack marketable skills and must resort to petty trade or begging. Financial support IDPs receive through remittances account for under 1% of income, which is far less than the national average, according to recent field findings.

[...]

Lack of adequate employment opportunities force many young girls into the informal labour market. In situations where the mother works in the market, young girls are the caretakers of the family, irrespective of age. A survey conducted in Bosaso notes that 42% of families are fully or partially dependent on the earnings of children Ibid.. The physical and psychological repercussions of these activities require further investigation."

OCHA, October 2005:

Hargeisa

"The majority of the residents of Mohamed Mogeh, Sheikh Nur, Aw'aden & Stadium are returnees, with displaced ranging from 10% to 15%. Hence majority have access to kinship support and most own land except for Stadium. As mentioned above, basic social services are better established in Mohamed Mogeh, Sheikh Nur & Aw'aden. Besides the Returnee Assessment of 2002 indicated relatively higher economic indicators within Mohamed Mogeh, Sheikh Nur & Aw'aden. Hence it might be concluded that these settlements are less vulnerable compared to other settlements in Hargeisa. It is therefore recommended that within Hargeisa agencies should focus their interventions within Daami, State House, Ayaha & Stadium. Since the last comprehensive assessment was conducted in 2002, it is recommended that a PRA be conducted in Stadium to identify prior needs and to establish community action plans.

This does not imply that assistance should be halted within Mohamed Mogeh, Sheikh Nur & Aw'aden, as some vulnerable groups within these settlements remain in need of assistance. As such ongoing initiatives such as School Feeding by WFP and Emergency Education by NRC should be maintained. It is also foreseen that the upcoming Joint Needs Assessment (JNA) would identify needs of poor neighbourhoods and settlements such as Mohamed Mogeh, Sheikh Nur &

Aw'aden. The JNA is aimed at supporting sustained reconstruction & development, among the JNA clusters there is one dedicated for Social Services & Protection of Vulnerable Groups.

[...]

The percentage of female-headed households increased to 31.5% compared to 9.1% in 2003. Indicating additional burden on women, who have to cater for both domestic & economic responsibilities. Average family size is 7, with 2 children under five. About 90% of those surveyed were residing in Hargeisa for more than 2 years now. Around 84% of households were rated very poor earning a daily average of 2.5 USD per HH. Main source of income is casual labour, followed by petty trade mainly practised by women."

Ibrahim F., 15 August 2002, p.2;4-5:

"The difference between the internally displaced persons and returnees is a very fundamental issue that needs to be clearly understood. ***Returnees are returning to their former hometowns and cities and are therefore able to look towards their clan members or relatives for assistance and guidance. Where as the IDP's have travelled a long distance from their home cities and are unable to call on any clan member or relative for assistance. Their voices are not heard because they have no representatives in the parliament, ministries and other government institutions; thus there are no influential members who, they can turn to in their distress.***

[...]

"Unfortunately the IDP's are unable to access any of these employment or businesses opportunities, unlike the returnees who are able to access small income generating loans from UNHCR and a few INGO's and are able to look towards their clan elders for support and assistance.

[...]

Integration is impossible stated the community of the IDP camps, as we have two very distinctive characteristics that cannot be overlooked: a) distinctive face features and b) different dialogue from the Somalilanders, which will not assist them to integrate.

They are also associated with the previous crimes that have been alleged to have taken place in Somaliland."

OCHA, October 2005:

"During discussions, concern was raised that general improving results might obscure deteriorating conditions at specific sites. Shiek Nur, Aw Aden & Mohamed Mogeh are currently normalised settlements, State House & Stadium remain overcrowded temporary settlements, Ayaha 2 settlers are still struggling due to their relatively recent arrival (2004), while Daami remains among the most unfortunate. It was hoped that the final results would highlight different levels of vulnerabilities across the different settlements. While improvement was recorded, care should be taken to investigate the extent to which these communities are practising negative coping mechanisms e.g. high dropout rates are common among children in seek of labour to contribute to HH income.

[...]

Mohamed Mogeh, Sheikh Nur & Aw'aden are permanent, municipalityplanned settlements where land was provided freely by authorities to returnee residents. On the other hand Stadium is an informal temporary area that the authorities plan to reallocate. Some of Stadium's residents were relocated in 2001 to Ayaha 1. Most of the residents in all 4 areas arrived in Hargeisa between 1997 and 2001. Women are mainly engaged in domestic labor & petty trade: sale of milk, vegetables charcoal, meat and Khat. Men practice casual labor: constructions worker, charcoal producers and livestock brokers."

UNCU, 30 July 2002, pp.8-9;11:

“Not surprisingly there is a stark difference between urban residents and the IDPs and returnees living in camps on the outskirts of Hargeisa. While only 7 percent of urban residents can be categorized as destitute, as many as 50 percent of the Returnees and IDPs in the camps belong to this category.

[...]

There are no large-scale labor market surveys of the Hargeisa municipality. However, according to our survey the majority of urban residents (a total of 61percent) are involved in largely informal market and service oriented economic activities. A similar proportion (67percent) of returnees and IDP households earn the majority of their income from market and service oriented work mostly in petty trade and unskilled labor including work in construction and as porters. This implies a keen competition between resident and returnee/IDP in these sectors. For example, urban residents working in the construction sector have organized informal labor unions to keep out displaced persons, particular from southern clans, from competing in the construction sector. Both IDP and returnees complain bitterly of the lack of job opportunities, and the importance of clan and familial contacts in securing gainful employment.

The key distinction between resident and returnee/IDP populations is that the 23 percent of urban households enjoy access to remittances from overseas as a major source of income. In addition, while few households in Hargeisa proper derive income from begging, as many as 9 percent of the displaced –primarily among the Ajjuran of Dima camp—live almost exclusively by begging. Indeed, taking into account the IDPs from the south alone, the percentage of households whose income includes begging is over 80 percent.

[...]

in terms of sub-clan categories the dominant Isaak sub-clans in Hargeisa receive remittance on a largely even basis. No particular sub-clan has a monopoly of remittance inflows. Consequently it is safe to assume that who benefits from them is dependent on a previous asset base that is contingent on the fortunes of particular households, rather than a particular sub-clan.”

Clark, June 2002, p.7, p.50:

"- 73% of men work to bring income into their households, while only 32% of women work to bring income into their households.

- The most common jobs are market activities and casual employment.

- Men have received vocational training at four times the rate that women have. 16% of adults have been through vocational training." [...]

"In Daami, Sheikh Nur, and Stadium the women also work as household servants. On the other hand, men tend to work as construction laborers, charcoal producers, livestock brokers, and porters. Day laborer incomes were reported as between US\$1 and US\$2 per day. Some men in Sinai and Stadium generate income through donkey cart businesses, while it is worth noting that only the men in Stadium were identified as bringing in income through work as soldiers, waiters, or latrine diggers. Only in Ayaha, Daami and Mohamed Mooge were men identified as working in the livestock brokerage business.

Daami was the only area where notably different skills and trades were relied on for generating income. Immigrant and Southern Somali men work as farm laborers, livestock brokers, and construction laborers while the women beg with their children. In contrast, the minority groups rely on their traditional skills to generate income. The men work as barbers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and rubbish collectors while the women earn money through practicing female circumcision and producing traditional items such as water pots, wedding pots, brooms, and stoves."

Toghdeer region:

"The main source of income was casual work (61%) while small businesses accounted for about 20%. Purchasing was the main source of food for 85% of the population, followed by own crop production in small plots within town (3.9%) and various other means including hunting (4.5%).

[...]

An interesting observation is that in 41% of the households surveyed, females were the primary bread-winners. Casual employment for women appears to be more easily sources in households and restaurants whereas casual manual labour and portering for men is more scarce. This was observed to be having particularly negative effects on the time available for women to look after children, particularly in an environment of reduced social support.” (FSAU, 31 May 2004)

“Casual employment as porters, cleaners in restaurants, construction related activities and house-helps form a main source of income for this population. All these activities are not sustainable and pay a relatively low wage rate. Considering that purchases are the main food source, the limited and unsustainable income available to these populations places them in a vulnerable food security situation. Additionally, borrowing (60%) and begging (9.4%) were the main coping strategies while remittances were reported by only 7.5%.” (FSAU, 19 November 2003)

“The socio-economic picture for IDPs from the south residing in Haryan (Bura) and Ajjuran (Yirowe) camps is far worse. In the absence of a formal administrative and legal framework, the labor market in Bura-Yirowe (as elsewhere) is regulated by clan and sub-clan networks. As a result, IDPs from Bay and Bakool, in this instance, find it very difficult to find gainful employment in the service, market or trade activities. Only 9 percent of households in Haryan and Ajjuran camps generate income from service and market oriented jobs, and there are no families that are engaged in trade dominated by the Isaak sub-clans of Haber Younis and Haber Jaalo. The fact that they are not pastoralists or merchants from the south has made it difficult for most to integrate into the local informal economy. They are separated from Yirowe residents and all its commercial activity As a consequence southern IDPs rely on their traditional survival mechanism, begging. As many as 93 percent of households depend exclusively on the women and children of the household begging for either money or cooked food to sustain them. Nor do any families among the southern IDPs receive financial assistance from relatives living and/or working abroad.” (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p15)

Self-reliance in the Northeast: Puntland (June 2006)

- IDPs from the South in Bossaso compete for low-paying jobs and do not enjoy full legal rights and protection
- Many IDPs work as housemaids in the construction business, as porters in the port or collect garbage
- Most IDPs in Bossaso live of purchased food and the loss of jobs and reduction in income have critical consequences for their food security
- The vast majority of Bosasso’s IDPs work as unskilled and semi-skilled laborers
- 17% of IDP households rely on market activities as major source of income and only 4% have the capital and networks to enter the more lucrative informal trade
- Only 2% of IDP receive remittances compared with 38% of urban residents
- Bossaso IDPs earn about US\$1 daily which represents 50% higher wage than for Hargeisa IDPs
- IDPs chances to find seasonal work in the Gulf was restricted by Bossaso port security regulations

Somalia JNA, June 2006, p. 33 (see also under 'Self-reliance in the North-west: Somaliland):

"Puntland and Somaliland's economies are too weak to generate employment for returnees and displaced populations, given a high unemployment statistic of more than 80%. Field

assessments reveal that most IDPs and returnees derive income from casual labour such as portage, petty trade, water and food selling, artisanal, and part-time construction work. A high proportion of women lack marketable skills and must resort to petty trade or begging. Financial support IDPs receive through remittances account for under 1% of income, which is far less than the national average, according to recent field findings.

[...]

Lack of adequate employment opportunities force many young girls into the informal labour market. In situations where the mother works in the market, young girls are the caretakers of the family, irrespective of age. A survey conducted in Bosaso notes that 42% of families are fully or partially dependent on the earnings of children Ibid.. The physical and psychological repercussions of these activities require further investigation."

UNDP, May 2005:

The 2005 UNDP Assessment of IDPs and returnees in Bossaso provides important insight into the situation of self-sufficiency, local integration, sense of security etc.

A stakeholder workshop that was organized and funded by UNDP-RRIDP (October, 2004) established the perceptions of how IDPs are categorized by the Puntland authorities. These include:

- The visible internally displaced persons with no clan or kinship affiliation to the community they reside with.
- The invisible IDPs that ethnically belong to Puntland regions but found difficult to integrate with their host communities
- Invisible IDPs that tried to integrate with their societies through the initiation of business related to Kat sales, livestock sales, cigarette sale and other small scale business at the streets of the towns, but found difficulties in the production of household income.

The visible poor pastoralists, which during periods of drought loose their livestock due to lack of pasture and at times due to dire need for cash they sell their animals at reduced prices. In this scenario, the pastoralists become stripped of the productive assets and fall out of the pastoral lifestyle with fewer efforts to adopt their coping mechanism. They therefore manifest similar behaviours as the IDPs, perform casual labour, beg for their livelihood and make use of kinfolk for gifts and remittances.

FSAU, 30 September 2004:

"Further findings [among IDPs in Bosaso] indicate purchase as the main source of food, and casual work as the main source of income for 95% of the households. The majority (94%) of the households engaged in borrowing as a coping strategy while the rest depended on begging.

[...]

The levels of retrospective mortality for under fives and the general population indicate an alert situation."

Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.24:

"Another pressing humanitarian issue is the status of the growing number of IDPs and migrants arriving from southern Somalia in search of work. There are now an estimated 28,000 such IDPs in Bosaso alone. [...] Many of these migrants are from the weak Rahanweyn or Bantu groups in the south. They come to fill positions ranging from houseboys to construction workers, and in Bosaso live in sprawling shanty-towns which have been dangerously prone to catastrophic fires. Some travel to Bosaso in the hope of crossing by boat to Yemen to seek refugee status. These migrants are very vulnerable – they lack a social safety net, they compete for very low-paying jobs, they are viewed as undesirables by the local community (subject to beatings, robberies, and other harassment, especially if they compete with local labour or beg in the streets), and as "guests" they do not enjoy full legal rights and protection. They are unquestionably the most vulnerable social group in Puntland."

UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.20-1:

“The majority (77percent) of Bosasso's estimated 28,000 IDPs work as casual laborers, rarely finding regular work. However, given the fact that few of IDP households possess significant capital or other assets and they hail from marginalized clans and castes they have minimal opportunity to enter the market or trade sectors. The Majerteen and other Harti sub-clans dominate the latter. In fact, only 17percent IDP households can count on market activities as their major source of income; while only 4percent have the capital or social networks to enter the more lucrative informal trade sector.

Remittances also play an important role in supplementing incomes and establishing a modicum of economic well being. However, while as many as 38percent of urban residents enjoy assistance from expatriate relatives, only 2percent of IDP households receive remittance on a regular basis. Consequently, in addition to their vulnerability stemming from ethnic and geographical marginalization, the lack of access to remittance compounds the relative poverty of residents living in IDP camps.

[...]

In comparison to Hargeisa, Bosasso residents enjoy a higher standard of living if we compare average daily incomes. While urban residents of Hargeisa earn, on average, about \$1 a day, Bosasso residents earn over \$4. Naturally, with respect to Bosasso, IDPs earnings are far lower. Most IDP households in Bosasso earn a daily wage of a little over a \$1, which is more than 50percent, more than most returnee/IDP families living in and around Hargeisa. However, for Bosasso's IDPs these earnings are seasonally dependent.

There is less economic activity in Bosasso's main port during the summer months and since most IDPs work in activities associated with port trade, the figures cited above reflect earnings during the more busy winter months. Many IDPs said that since job opportunities decrease greatly in the summer, they often migrate southward towards Nugal and Mudug regions of Puntland. However, the significant income earning opportunities for IDPs explains the fact the most cite shelter, health and food as priorities rather than job opportunities. Nevertheless, conditions for IDPs in Bosasso are the most severe in northern Somalia. The majority are economic migrants, many with hopes of continuing their migration to nearby oil-producing Gulf countries. However, in recent years local authorities have tightened regulations and security around Bosasso port restricting the chances of many IDPs from travelling to the Gulf. In Bosasso, the issues are largely related to urban planning. In contrast, as noted below, IDPs in Mergaga camp north of Gelkayo are victims of drought. As such, they require different kinds of interventions.”

Livestock ban has led to major income deficits for pastoralists and IDPs (2000-2003)

- Livestock ban imposed by Gulf States since 2000 due to outbreaks of Rift Valley fever have hurt pastoralists, representing 44% of the population
- The re-direction of trade inside Somalia and concentration of livestock has led to overgrazing and environmental depletion
- IDPs in Mogadishu and Bosasso hit by loss of trade-related employment
- Printing of new currency leads to hyperinflation, devaluation and reduces purchasing power and labor opportunities placing IDPs at particular risk
- Livestock ban severely eroded purchasing power undermining food security in main livestock producing areas Puntland and Somaliland
- Somaliland is particularly hard-hit with shortfall in export earnings of US 2.4 million
- On alleged links with terrorist networks the US closed Somali remittance companies the single most powerful business generating the bulk of the national product

- Remittances are estimated to reach up to 1\$ billion yearly, while foreign assistance amounted to 115\$ million in 2000
- As most IDPs must purchase their food income is determinant for access to food

Livestock ban imposed by Gulf countries since September 2000:

“Other factors have combined to threaten Somalia’s traditional livelihoods. The prolonged and continuing ban -- in place since September 2000 -- on the import of Somali livestock by the Gulf states in response to outbreaks of Rift Valley fever in Saudi Arabia and Yemen has badly hurt nomadic pastoralists, who comprise roughly 44% or 2.7 million [...] of the population, and depend on the livestock trade as a vital source of income. Terms of trade for livestock have continued to drop against the value of dry food rations, placing greater stress on poorer pastoral households. While livestock continue to be exported today to alternative markets, their numbers have increased within Somalia since the ban. This overpopulation has left some rangelands in the north and central portions of the country overgrazed and fragile, adding still more pressure on pastoralist livelihoods. Riverine farmers, who at 400,000 [...] comprise about 6% of the population, have also suffered. Only a fraction of riverine land devoted to irrigated agriculture is under production, and rain fed farming has been hurt by insecurity and the displacement of many of Somalia’s small farmers. Post war grain harvests have generally totalled less than 40% of pre-war levels.” (UN, 18 November 2003, p.10)

"The economy of northern Somalia is significantly dependent on livestock production. It is estimated that livestock production contributes to 60% of the income of Northwest Somalia and 90% of the income of the Northeast. Livestock production is estimated to be the main source of livelihood for 70% of the population. The ongoing livestock ban imposed by Saudi Arabia has had a devastating impact on the social and economic systems of Somalia. ." (IGAD/UNDP/UNHCR June 2002, p.17

"The first reported outbreak of Rift Valley Fever (RVF) outside of Africa, in Saudi Arabia, has resulted in a regional ban on imported livestock from Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Kenya and Djibouti.

[...]

Most seriously affected by the regional ban is likely to be Somalia, a country which depends heavily on export of livestock. It lacks an established government and institutions to cope with the ban, and has very limited opportunities for economic diversification. Without a recognised central government for almost a decade, Somalia has struggled to find ways to get livestock certified for export.

[...]

According to one Somali livestock expert, the ban 'reflects not just on export quality but also on local markets and the environment. It will result in the over-production of herds, without the usual market outlet, which will cause environmental damage.'

Somali sources told IRIN that there was an urgent need for international agencies to assist by helping to establish systems to 'investigate the health of animals.'" (IRIN-CEA 22 September 2000, "Introduction" and "Somalia")

"The current livestock embargo was initially imposed by the Saudi government on the 19th September 2000, following a reported outbreak of Rift Valley Fever in early September. Many of the Gulf countries followed suit some days later, banning the importation of all livestock from the main livestock exporting countries in the region. [...] The knock-on effects of restricted trading are expected to reduce employment opportunities and effect access to other important income sources. The economy in the northern and central parts of the country being most susceptible." (FSAU/FEWS 15 October 2000, "Highlights")

"The last time the Saudis issued such a ban, in 1998, it was only partially enforced, due to widespread smuggling through Yemen. This time, however, Yemen appears to be clamping down as well, making this episode potentially much more disruptive." (Menkhaus November 2000, p. 7)

Ban has resulted in significant loss of income at macro and micro levels for Somalis:

"The livestock bans have particularly hurt urban populations, including returning refugees and IDPs who, being dependent on the market, are reliant on a healthy economy for access to jobs and income generating opportunities." (UNDP Somalia 2001, p.68)

"Other Urban Areas, including Mogadishu Estimated Vulnerable Population: 40,000

Urban areas are largely dependent on the modern trade economy, including domestic food produce and imported commodities such as sugar, salt and non-staple items. This makes urban residents and IDPs particularly vulnerable to economic shocks that may limit increase price levels and limit market access. In addition to the livestock ban, the printing of new currency has placed a severe strain on the purchasing power of poor households. Further, opportunities for casual labour at the ports have diminished." (UN Appeal, November 2001, p.5)

"Bari, Nugal and northern Mudug Estimated Vulnerable Population: 33,400

The most vulnerable pastoral population group is lying along the coast where food availability and market access are severely reduced by the impact of the livestock ban and the poor state of infrastructure. Pastoralists in the Iskushuban area are particularly affected. In general, however, northeastern pastoral areas are not considered to be severely at risk to food insecurity or cholera outbreaks at the moment. That said, poor urban households and IDPs in the surroundings of Bossaso are extremely vulnerable following the loss of trade-related employment." (UN Appeal, November 2001, p.4)

"There has been substantial loss of income at macro and household levels, which had limited the purchase of many goods, including medicine, and had accelerated the depletion of assets. Market failure because of the livestock ban would 'threaten livelihoods for many groups'. FSAU monitors and nutritionists said there was particular concern for the urban poor and Internally Displaced Population (IDPs) in and around most towns in the north. Burao, in Somaliland, was marked out as of particular concern as it was a 'heavily livestock dependent'. Bosaso and Galkayo in the self-declared autonomous region of Puntland, northeast Somalia, were also of concern, the report said. However, the worst effects of the livestock ban on food security had been mitigated by 'unusually good livestock production and reproduction', resulting in a high level of milk for consumption and sale." (IRIN-CEA 12 February 2001, Somalia)

Closure of remittance companies by the US because of alleged links to terrorist activity, led to the country's economic collapse:

"Remittances contribute a significant proportion of many households income in Somalia. However with reference to nutrition surveys, it is estimated that the figure ranges between 0.3% to 14.3% among the IDPs compared to 1.6% to 18% in the general population. With purchases being the main source of food among all the IDPs surveyed (ranging between 85% and 99%), income availability is crucial in defining the food security status of these populations." (FSAU, 17 December 2003)

"Remittances from the more than one million Somalis living abroad have mitigated the effects of poverty. While estimated annual flows of remittances into Somalia, including Somaliland, vary, it is estimated between US\$ 750 million to 1 billion [...] is sent each year, far more than the country receives in foreign aid (US\$ 115 million in 2000). [...] This income forms not only the backbone of the commercial and service sectors, but of individual and household purchasing power. It is estimated that of the total amount remitted each year, US\$ 360 million directly contributes to household incomes. [...] Keeping this lifeline of Somali remittances from the Diaspora open is

critical to ensuring that some of the most vulnerable populations receive an income. But the downside of this survival buoy is that it has fostered gaps between the relatively privileged and the destitute who often lack access to remittances." (UN, 18 November 2003, p.10)

"Families with access to overseas remittances enjoy privileged access to social services and have better food security than households without.

[...]

Remittances have long been a critical part of Somalia's economy. Currently, with very low levels of agricultural production and manufacturing, remittances from the large Somali diaspora enable the country to run a balance of trade deficit and to enjoy higher levels of food security and access to private social services than would otherwise be the case. Future trends in remittances will be a key factor in sustaining human development.

[...]

The service sector is the most dynamic part of the economy. Money transfer companies and telecommunication companies have expanded throughout Somalia and increased the range of financial services, facilitating the flow of remittances from the diaspora and commercial transactions.

These companies, which did not exist a decade ago, are amongst the most powerful businesses in Somalia today." (UNDP Somalia, 2001, pp.38-9)

"Another study estimates that remittances to Somaliland alone could be as high as US\$500 million per year. That is four times the value of livestock exports from Somaliland in a normal year [...]. Another study estimates annual remittances to Somalia of US\$800 million.

[...]

A study in Hargeisa, Burco, and Bosasso calculated that remittances constitute nearly 40% of the income of urban households.

[...]

The rural poor and the internally displaced from groups who have fewer relatives abroad receive fewer remittances and are less well served by telecommunications. One study found that while the majority of households in Hargeisa received remittances, only 5% of rural households did [...]. In Hargeisa and Bosasso, there is clear evidence of significant differential access to remittances between urban residents and displaced populations and economic migrants from southern Somalia." (UNDP Somalia, 2001, pp.104-105)

Public participation

Deep-rooted gender discrimination in Somalia hinders participation (May 2006)

- Conflict and displacement have opened new opportunities for women's participation beyond traditional gender roles
- Women's newly acquired roles and skills as widows and household-heads need to be carefully considered during the rehabilitation and return processes
- Women prevented from participating in decision-making and from accessing resources
- Increased role in commerce sometimes makes women more vulnerable to discrimination

UN OCHA, 19 May 2006:

Gender-based violence and discrimination against women: In a broader context, Somali women are systematically discriminated and subordinated such as limited inclusion in decision making structures and leadership roles, limited access to reproductive health, higher rates of stigmatization from HIV/AIDs and Sexually Transmitted Diseases, denial of due process rights,

abuse of women's rights in divorce cases, denial of custody of children, denial women's rights of property ownership and inheritance under customary law. A general lack of awareness of women's human rights both in the judiciary and law enforcement have a negative impact on women in custody and during police detention. Gender based violence is on the increase; violations in the form of rape as a means of intimidation and weapon of war and domestic violence are rife. Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) forced early marriages and using violence as a tool for discipline have caused tremendous suffering. Perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence are rarely prosecuted, given the weakness of the judiciary system and the lack of recognition of these violations. IDP women are particularly vulnerable, having lost their clan protection and common victims of murder, rape and kidnap. Lack of protective environment conducive to the respect of human rights, with the absence of central and authoritative government able to enforce the rule of law as well as of functioning legal and social institutions, individuals are left without appropriate channels for claiming their rights. Traditional Somali society is conditioned not to openly discuss issues such as domestic violence and rape which hampers women's rights to access justice against gender based violence. Women from minorities experience particular difficulty accessing legal mechanisms. A decade of conflict, displacement and impoverishment of the Somali people have also weakened the capacity of communities and families to provide protection to the most vulnerable individuals among them. At community level, duty bearers have neither the capacity nor the commitment to fulfill their obligations towards vulnerable and marginalized populations."

UNICEF 2000, paras. 7 and 8:

"Gender discrimination is deeply rooted in the traditional socio-cultural structures of Somali society and remains a formidable barrier to women's participation in decision-making and access to resources. Violence against women and girls, resulting either from tradition or the civil war, includes the almost universal practice of female genital mutilation and sexual violence against the displaced, particularly against members of rival clans and minority groups."

UN December 1998, pp. 7, 47:

"Female-headed households are particularly vulnerable; in some areas half of the households are headed by women, who shoulder all household responsibilities while generating family income through commerce or farming. There is throughout Somalia an increased role of women in meeting household needs, in participating in community affairs, in agricultural production and in business activities. Since the collapse of the state, the role of women in commerce has grown markedly. The element of rapid change has been important; for many women it has made them more vulnerable, while for others it has opened vistas of opportunity virtually impossible in Somalia before the war.

[...]

In line with this changing role of women in post-war Somali society, evidence is emerging of women gaining political awareness. However, gender discrimination is deeply rooted in the traditional, socio-cultural structures of Somali society and remains a formidable barrier to women's participation in formal decision-making processes and bodies."

DOCUMENTATION NEEDS AND CITIZENSHIP

General

No functioning judicial system available in Somalia, traditional system shows gaps (June 2006)

- Due to their lack of status, minority IDPs are particularly vulnerable to human rights violations.
- The three systems of law in Somalia coexist secular, Shariah and customary law
- The expert on the situation of human rights in Somalia reports that members of the judiciary in Kismayo had no written laws and made judgments based on memory
- Women are particularly disadvantaged by the lack of harmonisation between the three male-dominated systems of law
- The few functioning regular courts in Somaliland sometimes dismissed judges arbitrarily
- Sharia courts functioning in Mogadishu and other areas do not adhere to international standards of fair trial
- Faction militias enjoy impunity for their human rights abuses

Somalia JNA, June 2006, p. 33:

"Despite the existence of national constitutions reaffirming a commitment towards human rights, all authorities (*TFG, Puntland and Somaliland*) lack the capacity of enforcement. IDPs are particularly vulnerable to human rights violations because they lack status. Border demarcations for *Puntland* and *Somaliland* have involved concepts of "citizenship". Many locals who have lived in either state for generations, have, in the post-conflict era, become "foreigners" or "outsiders". They live with ambiguous, undefined status in both *Somaliland* and *Puntland*."

UN OCHA, 19 May 2006:

"Conflict related violence: The conflict and inter-clan fighting have led to a prevalence of violence and terror such as rape, killings and burning of villages targeting civilians and resulting in forced displacement. Violence, attacks and repression of civilians as well as the use of children by militias and forced displacement of populations are violations of international humanitarian and human rights law. People who then become displaced are more vulnerable to violence and abuse as they may no longer benefit from the protection afforded by the clan. Furthermore, the capacity of families and communities to protect the most vulnerable is weakened.

Discrimination and marginalization of vulnerable groups such as IDPs, refugees, economic migrants and minorities. Somalis in south/central are often chased away from their normal place of residence or are forced to flee because of conflict. Various assessments of IDP camps describe how IDPs live in appalling conditions with very poor access to basic services and protection from the wider or local authorities.

Minorities are routinely persecuted and marginalized, having weak political representation and few employment opportunities. Arbitrary arrests are not uncommon leading to security and protection problems for vulnerable groups, hampering freedom of movement. Children without primary caregivers, living or/and working on the streets or in conflict with the law are also particularly vulnerable to violations of their human rights. The largest IDP population (an estimated 250,000) lives in Somalia's most dangerous city – Mogadishu, where they are often

forced to flee militia clashes and are exploited or abused by gunmen who control their settlements. These 'gate keepers' extort aid rations or money from IDPs and force them to work or evict them when they cannot pay. Poverty forces girls into exploitative work relationships and child labour is one of several survival mechanisms for many IDP families."

DRC, 21 August 2004, p.10, 11:

Aside from revenge killings, there are other traditional practices that impinge on the human rights of vulnerable individuals and groups. These include arranged and inherited marriages which deny a woman's right to freely choose her husband without fear of reprisal. These are particularly strong among the nomadic pastoralist communities.

The minority groups complain of social and political discrimination. These groups include the Gaboye, Tumaal and Yibir. Traditionally, they possess specialised skills and trades and are known to be craftsmen, leather workers, barbers and blacksmiths. They are seen as social outcasts and intermarriage with the main clans is a social taboo. They are heavily marginalized in employment and political representation. Those who dared marry from the "majority" clans are heavily persecuted and in most cases forced to separate.

Adherence to the cultural norms is almost inescapable and a violation can immediately trigger condemnation and violent reprisal unless properly compensated.

While disputes remain unsettled, a significant number of suspected wrongdoers are being kept in jails for an indefinite period to avoid violent conflicts. With the very slow pace of settling the cases in courts, more violations occur to the individuals' rights to freedom, security and livelihood. Somaliland society has experienced major changes during the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first century. But the existence of its social structure, tradition, culture and customary law has persisted and continues to be the underlying framework governing the political and social affairs of the country.

UNSC, 13 October 2003:

"Technically, Somalia follows three systems of laws: secular law, Shariah and customary law. Although these three systems coexist, there is a lack of harmonization in the way they address crimes and other legal issues. The ability of Somali women to claim and defend their rights is affected by their social status and the prevailing legal environment, which consists mainly of a combination of Shariah and customary law and is applied differently in each region."

UN, 18 November 2004, p.6:

"In the absence of a functioning government, clan-based groups have taken up the responsibility to provide security to their communities, with varying degrees of success. The establishment of sharia' courts throughout central and south Somalia has reasserted modest levels of rule of law. [...] "When human rights violations take place, in the absence of any properly functioning mechanisms for the rule of law, individuals from 'minority' or weak clans in Kismayo often have little recourse to systems of justice".

UNCHR, 30 November, paras. 25,26,32:

The denial of due process

The legal framework throughout the country remains poor. Persistent challenges include untrained staff, low salaries, lack of basic equipment, training and reference materials, gender inequity and lack of harmonization among secular, customary and Islamic laws. On his visit to Kismayo the expert met with members of the judiciary who informed him that they had no copies of the laws and made judgements based on memory.

[...]

In a report on gender justice published in August 2003 by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the observation is made that:

“There are three parallel systems of law, the Secular law, the Shariah law and customary law. ... Our findings revealed that this environment that allows operation of more than one system is inequitable, restrictive and disadvantageous to women. For example on a murder charge men who murder their wives are tried under customary law where the sentence is *diyya* which is blood money/compensation, women are tried under the secular law where the sentence is death. ... There is limited access to secular justice for women, due to economic and social restraints, and low literacy amongst women. Customary law is perceived as gender unfriendly as the traditional elders who convene the traditional courts are all male, and their points of view and traditional norms influence decisions. Shariah law is the most preferred system of law amongst women because of its divine source, however it is open to misapplication due to the fact that there are no mechanisms in place for certifying judges or recording precedence in the context of Islamic jurisprudence” (p. 3).”

AI, January 2003:

“Regular courts functioned only in Somaliland, although many judges were arbitrarily dismissed in mid-2002. Puntland had an embryonic court structure incorporating *Sharia* (Islamic) law, but these courts did not function regularly. In other parts, the few functioning courts, other than at the customary clan level, included a number of *Sharia* courts in Mogadishu and other regions. These did not adhere to international standards of fair trial and there was generally impunity for faction militias which committed human rights abuses. Courts imposed several death sentences which were swiftly carried out. An amputation sentence from the Benadir regional court in Mogadishu in June was widely criticized as unfair, and withdrawn under TNG pressure for a retrial.”

For more background information see in list of sources: 'Traditional authorities in northern Somalia: Transformation of positions and powers', Max Planck Institute, May 2006.

ISSUES OF FAMILY UNITY, IDENTITY AND CULTURE

Overview

Somali identities and culture (Special report, 2006)

Based on their patrilineal kinship, the Somali people are divided into five major clans, which split into numerous sub-clans and minority groups. The major clans are the Darood, Dir, Hawiye and Isaaq known as the Samale group, and the Digil-Mirifle categorised as the Sab group. Clans have formed alliances which provide their members with physical security and a social welfare safety net. Exogamous marriages into another clan are ways to establish alliances which can be drawn on in times of hardship. Conflicts are minimised and managed by customary law (*xeer*), and the tradition of blood payment (*dhiya*) serves to deter crime and prevent retaliation (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.2).

However, elders' conflict mediation mechanisms and the traditional systems of reciprocal help have been seriously eroded by conflict in many parts of the country, and the clan system has proved to be a divisive and destructive force when manipulated for economic and political gain. Now, freelance militiamen rule at gunpoint and communities have grown mistrustful. On the other hand, in the absence of a state structure the clan system has been virtually the only source of law and order. The interest of businessmen in creating conditions conducive to market activities in a secure environment has become an increasingly important stabilising force, cutting across clan differences (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003).

Minorities make up about 20 per cent of the population. They are outside the clan system, and have been marginalised and subject to attacks and violations by the dominant clans (UN, 18 November 2004, p.9). They are divided into two main groups. The first includes the Midgan, Tumul, Yibir, Gaheyle, Galgale and Boni. Each of these caste-like groups specialises in a specific profession like hunting, crafts, leather and metal work, which are considered "polluting" by the Somali clans. A second group includes the Bantu, Benadiri and Eyle who are not considered "ethnic Somalis". Some are believed to come from early non-Somali agricultural communities and others to be descendants of people who were taken to Somalia in the 19th century by Arab slave traders from areas which are now Tanzania, Mozambique and Malawi. They are small-scale farmers and come from the riverine areas of southern Somalia. Bantus have never been recognised as "real" Somalis and thus have been discriminated against and placed in servitude, treated as second-class citizens (UNCU, 30 July 2002, pp 5-6).

IDPs from these groups have limited access to the judicial system. The three systems of law in Somalia (secular, *sharia* and customary (*xeer*) law), coexist in a chaotic and gender-discriminatory way. The legal framework throughout the country remains poor and minorities or displaced people, either outside the clan system or outside their area of origin are not protected by customary law. Besides, *sharia* courts do not adhere to international standards and militias generally enjoy impunity for the human rights abuses they commit (AI, January 2003).

The University of Hargeisa Faculty of Law, supported by UNDP and UNHCR, has set up a Legal Clinic providing legal advice to vulnerable people, including IDPs. In view of the great need for legal assistance, participants in the October 2005 IDP Working Group meeting suggested that the Legal Clinic increase its capacity, inform vulnerable populations of the services available and open an office in the centre of town (IDP Working Group, Hargeisa, November 2005).

General

Lineage identity is central organizing force in Somalia (2003)

- Clanism in Somalia provides physical security, social welfare safety net and conflict management through customary law (*xeer*)
- The dictator Barre manipulated clan for political purposes and it became a line of fragmentation
- The six major Somali clans are Darod, Dir, Hawiye and Issak forming the Samale group, and the Rahaweyn (Digile and Mrifle) known as the Sab group
- Minority groups who fall outside major clan lineage divisions are often discriminated and marginalized in Somali society
- Bantu minority groups tend to be small scale farmers and lived in the riverine areas
- Bantu were victims of cultural genocide and they now all speak Somali except the Mushunguli group

“Somalia is a lineage-based society, in which virtually all members of society enjoy membership in a patrimonial clan-family. Each clan-family is in turn subdivided by clan, sub-clan, and sub-sub-clan, all on the basis of a Somali’s extended family tree. Depending on circumstances, different levels of lineage identity can be mobilized politically, making Somali clannism very fluid and unstable in nature. A clan may be cohesive against an external threat one month, only to fall prey to internal disputes the next month. Clannism has a range of virtues – it provides its members physical security, a social welfare safety net, and a rich body of customary law (*xeer*) designed to minimize and manage conflict. Blood payment (*diiya*) groups, which serve to deter crime and prevent cycles of retaliatory violence, are also lineage-based. But clan can also be a force for division and fragmentation, especially when manipulated for political purposes. The government of Siyad Barre (1969-1990) exploited clan identity in a campaign of divide-and-rule. That regime is widely blamed for the rise of the destructive clannism which has afflicted Somalia since 1990 and which has made reconciliation and cooperation much more difficult to achieve.” (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.2)

“Based on their patrilineal kinship and lineage segmentation, the Somali people are divided into six major clans, which in turn branch out into numerous sub clans, and minority groups. The major clans include Darod, Dir, Hawiye and Issak collectively known as Samale group, and the Rahaweyn (Digile and Mrifle) community categorized as Sab group. The Hawiye clan includes Habargedir, Abgal, Murusade, Hawadle, Galjel, Moblen, Sheikal, Djijeje, Badi Adde, and Ajuran while the Darood group include Majerten, Marehan, Dhulbahante, and Ogaden, LeelaKase, Ortoble, Kaskiiqabe and Dashiishe. The Dir sub clans include Biyamal, Gadsan, Gadabursi, Fiqi Muhumud, Samaron, Qubeys, Werdai and Akishe. The Issak are subdivided into Habar Awal, Habar Jalo and Habar Yunis, Edigale, Ayub and Arab. The Digil and Mirifle are subdivided into sub clans. The Digil include Geledi, Shanta Aleen, Bagadi, Garre, Tuni, Jido, and Dabarend while the Mirifle are divided into Siyed and Sagal. Some of the major subclans in the Mirifle group are Laysan, Harin, Elay, Boqol Hore, Jiron, Jilible, Gelidle, Hadame, Luway, Huber and Yantar.

Those who fall outside the major clan lineage divisions are considered as minorities. They are disadvantageous of being minorities except when they have patrons or patron clan that support them. This lack of clan protection puts them at the mercy of arbitrary action by major clans.

According to their lineage, the minority groups are divided into two groups: A group, which has similar ethnic origin with the Samale group, but traditionally considered as cast people who have no equal rights with others. This group includes Midgan, Tumul and Yibir (collectively known as Baidari group), Gaheyle and Galagale and Boni. They are traditionally hunters, leather and metal workers, and craft makers living in some parts of north, central and southern Somalia.

A second group, which is distinct from other Somalis in ethnic identity, cultural and tradition. They include Bantu, Benadiri and Eyle. The Bantu, who are refer to as "Jarer", which literally means thick hair are small scale farmers or labourers who live in the riverine areas in southern Somalia. They are also divided into various sub clans with different ethnic origin. Some for example the Mzigua, Mzaramo, Magindo, Myao, Makua, and Manyasa collectively known as Wa Gosha " forest people" or Oji are believed be descendents of Tanzanians, Mozambicans and Malawi's who were taken to Somalia in the 19th century by Arab slave traders (MRG, 1998). They live and practice some subsistence farming in the Gosha area in the Lower and Middle Juba regions.

Second Bantu sub clans, which include Shidle, Shabelle, Makane and Kabole, are believed to have descended from early non-Somali agricultural communities. They are also small-scale farmers who predominantly live in the Middle Shabelle and Hiran regions. The third Bantu group lives in the Lower Shabelle region. Because of cultural genocide, and most importantly for protection reasons they have identified themselves with the other Somali communities in the region. These include Jarer-Hintire, Jarer-Wacdan, and Jarer-Biyamal. Except the Mushunguli group who retained their Mushunguli language, the other Bantu speak Somali language and have become assimilated into local Somali communities. However, they have never been recognized as real Somalia, as a result, they suffer ethnic discrimination which placed them into servitude class. They are marginalized and excluded from main stream of administration, education and minimum social and economic development.

[...]

The Somali clans are grouped into clan bonds or clan alliances formed to safe guard the mutual interest and protection of the members of the alliances. The Social contract or "xeer" is the most important component that cements together the alliances. It calls upon the collective response of any threat to members of the alliance. As marginalized groups, the minorities are outside this system, and they are vulnerable to attacks and human rights violations by the dominant clans." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, pp 5-6)

"In Somali culture, clan is the inherited patriarchal lineage of ancestors, passed down orally in detail, generation to generation, determining origin, social standing, and access to territory, property and power. In times of trouble, the clan also pays a penalty for inflicting death or injury, which relieves the burden from individuals and families. At its worst, clan leads to conflict, xenophobia and control. 'But at its best, the clan works like the western world's social security welfare system. It protects, it means that all actions against you and your family will have consequences,' said a Somali source." (IRIN-CEA 15 June 2001)

"The social context of human development in Somalia cannot be understood without reference to clan affiliation. Lineage identity is a central organizing force in Somali society. At the grassroots level, clan elders and other community leaders play a vital role in providing most of the day-to-day governance throughout Somalia, in the absence of effective state authority, and are often instrumental in maintaining local stability. [...]; the clan is a vital source of group protection, social security and customary law in the absence of state infrastructure. On the other hand, clannism is a powerful force contributing to unstable alliances, diffusion of power and communal conflict over

scarce resources. In the period of state collapse, it has proved to be a divisive and destructive tool in the hands of political leaders. A second force, economic and business interests, at times promotes inter-clan and inter-factional accords for the sake of improved market conditions. However, these players also resort to armed conflict in pursuit of market control and price-fixing." (UN December 1998, p. 7)

PROPERTY ISSUES

Overview

Property issues (Special report, 2006)

Control over power and resources, notably land, is the main driving force behind conflict in Somalia. The war has redrawn the ethnic map of some areas, as strong clan militias have taken possession of valuable and fertile lands in the south. The legitimate inhabitants were often evicted or fled massacres and sometimes were conscripted as forced labour onto the lands they once owned (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.32). Many displaced caused new displacement situations themselves when settling in a new area, thus creating very complex and multi-layered property issues.

Access to land during displacement

Along with land dispossession in areas of origin, lack of access to land in areas of refuge is one of the most serious problems affecting IDPs. Since land in Somalia tends to belong to specific clans, displaced people from minority groups and outside their clan home area usually do not have access to land other than rented plots. The dominant clans are generally reluctant to sell land to “outsiders” or members of other clans (Lindgaard, 23 March 2001). Even where possible, buying land would increase the risk of IDPs being dragged into conflicts which they normally want to avoid given their particular vulnerability. Local authorities usually have no or very little public land available to allocate to IDPs. As a result, the vast majority of IDPs rent plots on privately-owned land while the rest squat temporarily on government sites or abandoned buildings. Most IDPs are unprotected and can be evicted by landowners or authorities at any time. The insecurity of land tenure and ownership was cited as the primary concern of IDPs during a survey conducted in 2002 (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.19).

South and central Somalia

In a number of towns in south and central Somalia, the issue of evictions from public buildings has taken on acute importance during the last months of 2005. The Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in Jowhar threatened to evict an estimated 1,000 IDP families from public buildings, which it intended to occupy. At the time of writing, it was unclear if an adequate area could be found for the families (Interview with UNICEF representative, Jowhar, October 2005; telephone interviews with UNICEF and OCHA representatives, Nairobi, December 2005). In Garowe, IDPs were also being threatened with eviction from public buildings and private properties, and possibilities for relocating them to the old airport area were being examined. In Kismayo, at the end of 2005, more than 600 IDP families were threatened with eviction without alternative living space. At the time, no international agencies were present in Kismayo to promote the provision of alternative accommodation (OCHA, November 2005). UN officials were intending to take up the issue of occupation of public buildings with the federal and local authorities concerned, in order to find acceptable solutions for both the authorities and the displaced. During a Joint Needs Assessment meeting, the Somali authorities expressed commitment to ensuring a fair reclaiming process of public buildings for community service (Telephone interview with OCHA representative, Nairobi, 16 December 2005; email from OCHA representative, January 2006).

Puntland

In Bossaso, the issue of land tenure of IDPs is largely related to urban planning. Because of return movements, displacement and general urban migration of impoverished pastoralists, Bossaso has seen its population increase nearly 30-fold over the past 15 years and has become a major port and trading city, attracting Somali and Ethiopian migrants, returnees and IDPs. The phenomenon of human smuggling has taken on worrying dimensions over the past couple of years and the number of new arrivals is on the increase. While the Bossaso authorities seem willing to understand the particular vulnerabilities of migrants and IDPs, the extent of uncontrolled migration to, and settlement in, Bossaso puts a strain on the willingness to assist IDPs in finding more permanent housing, not least for fear of attracting more people from the south (Interviews with agencies in Bossaso, September 2004 and October 2005).

In this context, the agreement between local authorities and the UN at the end of 2005 for allocating five plots within the city limits to IDP resettlement is a very positive development. IDP settlements in Bossaso have so far been built on private land. Extortion of IDPs by landowners were common, and humanitarian organisations were reluctant to become operational in the settlements because landowners would regularly obstruct their activities. UN agencies have been actively supporting local authorities to find appropriate plots for new settlements. After a failed attempt in 2002, the new plots allocated in 2005 were intended for permanent settlement for a few hundred IDP families. A municipal by-law was to be drawn up to institutionalise the arrangements between land owners, municipality and inhabitants. The development of minimum standards for basic services in the current settlements was to be encouraged. From the UN side, the process is led by UN-Habitat, which plans to use Bossaso as a pilot project, hoping to engage other towns, particularly Hargeisa, in a similar process of resettlement land allocation. A task force of several agencies is to implement projects to improve public services (Telephone interviews with OCHA and UNICEF representatives, Nairobi, December 2005; email from UN Habitat, December 2005).

Somaliland

In Somaliland, the land problem is exacerbated by the need to absorb 800,000 returning refugees in the past decade, of whom 470,000 were assisted by UNHCR. The vast majority of the returnees moved to Hargeisa rather than to their areas of origin. In an attempt to regularise the rapid irregular urban growth, the Hargeisa local authorities have allocated a couple of permanent settlements and recently created two new ones, Ayaha I and II. The settlements have some schools and local markets, and the inhabitants own a plot of land. While returning refugees were registered for relocation on the presentation of a refugee card, IDPs are not eligible for relocation, as the authorities still consider them foreigners and do not want to create a pull factor by giving the impression that IDPs can settle permanently. Some IDPs rent plots from returned refugees who have moved on or had multiple refugee cards, while many others got stranded on the streets, having nowhere to settle. In Hargeisa, as in most towns, there is fierce competition for land and access to scarce basic facilities, particularly water, and many returnees end up destitute among IDP populations, once their UNHCR return package is used up (Interviews with NRC representative and other agencies, Hargeisa, August 2004 and October 2005).

International agencies have also been reluctant to invest in water points, latrines or other infrastructure development projects in IDP settlements situated on privately-owned land, as there have been numerous cases of landlords or militias appropriating and privatising such facilities in order to charge fees from IDPs for their use (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.19). Recently, the international community has become somewhat more confident in investing in infrastructure in the settlements, including market places. But access to basic facilities remains highly insufficient (Interviews with UNICEF and WFP representatives, Bossaso, October 2005).

Solving property issues to foster return movements

Property issues are one of the core obstacles to IDP return and must become a fundamental component of any meaningful reconstruction process. For most IDPs originating from Mogadishu, Juba, Shabelle or Gedo regions, return is neither safe nor sustainable. Most of their lands have

been occupied by other clans, and many villages were burnt to the ground, like in Bu'ale, Middle Juba, during the clashes of 2003 and 2004. Over 80 per cent of southern Somalis in Hargeisa cited war and insecurity as the main obstacle to return (Clark, June 2002, p.31; NRC, State House Survey, 2005). The lack of viable return opportunities consolidates the illegal, nepotistic and violent transfer of property started under the Barre dictatorship, undermines prospects for durable solutions and ultimately is an obstacle to reconciliation if it is not correctly addressed in the current process of peace-building and reconstruction. The Minister of Land and Settlement declared that the TFG would engage in a land reform as soon as it had firmly established itself in Mogadishu. He suggested that the still existing land records from before the civil war should serve as a basis, together with traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, to solve land disputes (IRIN, 2 August 2005).

General

Despite vague plans, government lacks authority to implement property restitution mechanisms (June 2006)

- The Somali Minister of Land and Settlement acknowledges the daunting task of property restitution after many years of conflict
- He envisages using pre-conflict land records to settle disputes, along with traditional dispute resolution mechanisms
- The Somali traditional leaders will have an important role
- The international community is asked to assist the process by providing expertise in land-mapping

Somalia JNA, June 2006, p. 33:

Lack of land restitution mechanisms is a critical problem for refugees and IDPs originating from *South-Central* regions, who are unable to return to their homes. With no implementation of central government authority and the erosion of the legal system, land and property is vulnerable to unauthorized occupation. At the current stage of peace building and reconstruction, unresolved occupation of land and property is a major issue that requires resolution. This is necessary before sustainable durable solutions for the displaced, medium-term and large scale investments, and proper urban planning is possible, since families who owned property and assets prior to the displacement are unable to reclaim and resettle in their places of origin. All regional authorities currently lack the influence and authority to provide adequate protection to the displaced and to implement mechanisms for identification and restitution.

IRIN, 2 August 2005:

Even as Somalia tries to lift itself out of the devastation caused by nearly a-decade-and-a-half of civil war, fears abound that land disputes will erupt when the interim government becomes fully operational, threatening the country's stability once more.

In an interview with IRIN at the temporary seat of government in Jowhar, 90 km north of the capital, Mogadishu, the Minister of Land and Settlement, Mowlid Mani Mohamed, said plans were being drawn up to address questions of land ownership. Below are excerpts from the interview:

QUESTION: What is the first issue your ministry plans to tackle in Somalia?

ANSWER: The first issue is how to negotiate between those who are completely landless, because there are a lot of land disputes in Somalia after 15 years of catastrophe. There are people who looted lands [and] people who openly snatched land from other people. The biggest problem we shall face is how to solve the problem of land disputes.

Q: How do you plan to go about this?

A: We cannot absolutely force the people to give up the occupied land seized by gunmen. The solution is to use the traditional method to convince the person and to use traditional leaders to tell the occupier that he must leave the land. We cannot force them or use guns to get them to leave occupied land. We want to use our own traditional methods to vacate the land occupied by gunmen in Somalia.

Q: It sounds like a daunting task. Do you have records of titles to help you define who owns what?

A: We do, because all lands issued before the civil war broke out were recorded by the local government - in Mogadishu and every local government, in every village and city. All those records are still available, we can get them.

After the civil war [broke out], no one could issue permits or authorisation for owning a plot of land. So we will use the old records because these are the only legal documents that one can use to prove that the land is his. Some people have been known to issue fake documents, but luckily, Somalis know each other, nobody can fool us into pretending they own land they really don't.

Q: Your ministry is now established in Jowhar?

A: The ministry is not established in Jowhar. We are going to Mogadishu, since Mogadishu is the capital city of Somalia. We are moving as soon as the problem [of insecurity] there is solved, which is what we are working on now. As soon as Mogadishu is secure we will have, in all regions, representatives of the Ministry of Lands and Settlements who can respond to the demands of the people in the regions.

Q: Is there a role for Somali civil society to play in this task ?

A: The traditional leaders are part of the civil society, and we want to use these traditional leaders to solve the problem of land disputes; and there are other civil society members who must play their role. Because we cannot say that the Ministry of Lands and Settlements has an armed group who can enforce our decisions. We want to use the civil society and its traditional methods of resolving problems of the people in their area.

Q: What is the traditional Somali way of solving disputes?

A: Our traditional way of solving problems is according to our religion - we put every party on oath. They have to swear that the land is theirs, and the adverse party will not contest this, because we respect our religion very much, and people are afraid of lying in such conditions. We put the party's hand on the holy Quran, and we ask him to swear. If he is not the owner of the land, he will refrain from taking the oath. Then we deliver the sentence that gives back the land to its rightful owner. Before taking the oath, we always try to convince the person that the land is not his - if he insists, we show him the legal documents of the rightful owner.

A: We need the international community, because we want them to give us experts and personalities who are well qualified in land-mapping to draw technical surveys of Somalia.

A: We foresee a change in the legislation because the previous system was the one left by the colonialists. We have to invent a new method of issuing and registering the land.

A: Exactly, we will have land reform in the future. [...] For the time being we have not established them yet, but we are in the process of drafting it with engineers, experts and people who are qualified in this area, and who will assist the ministry.

IDPs face additional insecurity because they cannot own land (April 2006)

- For many IDPs, the fact that they cannot own land adds insecurity to their already precarious social and economic situation

WFP, 30 April 2006, p.11:

"3.19 Land ownership is the main issue for the majority, who live in shacks on private lands. The trauma of fleeing wars and droughts has turned into a nightmare of insecurity. Everyday the men and women set off in search of incomes leaving the children home in care of the eldest child. Land owners have extensive rights, charge rent, and often, without notice, would place rocks in the shacks. (An indication that the premises must be vacated immediately.) The parents would return to a terrified group of children and no alternative place to relocate. This insecurity has stifled their ability to plan, to invest in skills training or small businesses. Life is a daily survival with constant threat of eviction.

3.20 Permanent construction is forbidden, walls are made from cardboard boxes and houses are small one room shacks 4x4 meters (12 ft x 12 ft) in size. There is no electricity or plumbing. There are no private toilets. A camp of 500 households in Bossaso has six public toilets and the open coastline. To make matters worse, public toilets and the berket, which is the only source of water, are owned by the landowners who charge heavily for their use. With an average income of 10 thousand Somali Shillings (0.75 dollars) most of the household incomes are spent on water and food. Children do not attend school because fees and uniforms are unaffordable. Exploitation is the only suitable description of this racket. It is a human rights tragedy.

3.21 Land ownership is the primary issue of these IDPs in a country with a land mass larger than France. Once settled on their own lands, micro-credits, income generating schemes and free schooling would be required."

Farming minorities are particularly dependent on property restitution mechanisms (June 2006)

Somalia JNA, p.19:

"In *South-Central* Somalia, agricultural production is associated with distinct ethnic groups, and considered an inferior occupation by those with a pastoralist heritage. Some of the worst abuses perpetrated during the civil war were directed against the riverine Bantu farmers and the Bay region Rahanweyn agro-pastoralists. There is need for urgent restitution of riverine agricultural land to rightful former owners."

Most IDPs from south/central Somalia in Hargeisa rent land (2005)

- Displaced from south/central Somalia do not own their land and pay between 10,000-20,000Sshs monthly rent
- So far, the local authorities are unable or unwilling to allocate land for IDPs from south/central Somalia, as Somaliland already has to absorb over 800,000 returning refugees
- Some returning refugees having multiple cards were allocated extra land in resettlement area of Aw Aden which they then rent to IDPs
- IDPs would not be willing/able to afford to buy land because they wish to return to the south, and as non-Somalilanders, locals would grab the land from them and disputes would rise

Most land in Somaliland is privately owned and the government owns little land. The resettlement site allocated by the government to returning refugees (of Somaliland origin) is the outcome of lengthy negotiations and it is unlikely that Somaliland authorities would allocate land to southern IDP. They may give them a temporary place of settlement. The authorities seem to want to avoid IDP settlements to become permanent, for fear of attracting more IDPs. Finding solutions for permanent settlement of Hargeisa's IDPs is one of the key projects of the international organisations. Under the lead of UN Habitat, discussions are underway with the Hargeisa authorities to find land to allocate to IDPs, as has been done in the past for returnees. Currently, most IDPs rent land for between 10,000-20,000Sshs monthly. Some of the returnees who were allocated plots of land on government resettlement area in Aw Aden, had multiple returnee cards therefore were allocated more than one plot and then rent it to IDPs from the south.

In the view of some analysts, IDPs in Somaliland are not really interested in buying land, even if they could afford it, because in the future and when safety allows they would like to go back to southern Somalia. IDPs are also interested in avoiding any legal or social problems. Since they do not originally come from Somaliland and are considered illegal migrants, they are not considered to be entitled to land by other Somalilanders. The land would most likely be grabbed back from them, or they would suffer threats and risk to be involved in conflict. (Interviews, Hargeisa, August 2004 and October 2005)

"- 30% of area residents report they owned property before the war and virtually all report having no access to it now, citing war and insecurity as the primary reasons why they no longer have access.

- Almost half of the residents currently own their land. The rest of the households live on land owned by the government (primarily Stadium and State House residents) or by private individuals (primarily in Daami). Three out of four households currently owning their land were allocated it by the government.

- Somalilanders are most likely to own their own land, while Southern Somalis generally do not own their land and are the group most likely to be paying rent for their land/home.

"75% of Daami residents who don't own their land pay rent on it; these residents are predominantly the Southern Somalis and Ethiopians. In Daami, 30 out of 34 interviewed Southern Somali families paid rent, while 11 out of 13 Ethiopian families paid rent. In Daami, only 4 out of 50 families originally from Somaliland pay rent." (Clark, June 2002, p.32)

Public land found for Bosasso IDPs (May 2006)

- At the end of 2005, five plots of public land have been identified for permanently relocating Bosaso's IDPs.
- So far, IDP settlements are build on privately-owned land; this often undermines provision of basic services which are appropriated by the land owners

- Although many fires destroyed IDP houses, IDPs would not build with better materials, because on private land they risk forced evictions at any time
- The fact that public land is 'privatized' by local residents and then rented for exorbitant prices worsens IDP status
- IDPs recurrently evicted incur high re-settlement expenditure

UN OCHA, 19 May 2006:

"A road map was produced to provide concrete proposals on how to operationalise the UNCT approved joint UN strategy to address the needs of IDPs/Returnees in Bosasso, based on discussions held in Bosasso in December 2005 with the international aid community and the local and regional authorities. UN Habitat took the lead of the small inter-agency task force, which worked with a working group established by the Puntland authorities.

Bosasso, a booming port town in the northeast of Puntland, has experienced strong demographic and economic growth, thanks to its relative political and social stability in the region. However, the city's spatial and economic development are severely constrained by the highly congested, inadequate road network, the lack of services and urban infrastructure and a lack of town planning to deal with the rapid urban growth and an increasing number of displaced moving from less stable areas. To deal with the settlement problems of the displaced in Bosasso, the Joint UN Strategy is being translated into an operational road map, clarifying the roles and responsibilities of international organizations and local counterparts. Two committees were formed: one for the improvement of current settlement sites of the displaced and one to deal with resettlement to sustainable locations. Previously the authorities struggled to find suitable land for resettlement but the committees managed to convince landowners to donate 5 parcels of land to be serviced and partially used for demonstration houses. Each will accommodate about 50 families, fully integrated into the host community. More land will be made available through land-sharing agreements. A priority action is to extend the water system through the eastern outskirts, where new expansion is expected to take place, servicing also existing temporary settlements. While this is being implemented, a broader planning framework is developed in parallel. Another priority is to decongest the central market area and the main road by creating a new artery on the eastern part of town. This will divert the heavy flow of trucks away from the congested central area, improve accessibility and hygienic conditions – and increase business - for the many informal vendors, who often originate from the displaced communities. These developments should give the East of Bosasso an economic boost.

Some agencies focus on water and sanitation, others on community mobilization, livelihood development and security. UNHABITAT, through its expertise in planning and urban design, provides an integrated framework beneficial to all, focusing on the provision of shelter (through self-help housing) and appropriate options for security of tenure. Joint action in Bosasso has been undertaken in collaboration with OCHA, UNDP, UNICEF, UNHCR, WFP and the Danish Refugee Council.

Email, UN HABITAT, December 2005:

The problem of IDP settlements on private land has been recognised for years, but it has been very difficult to find suitable public land on which the IDPs could settle without having to pay rent. The situation is also believed to be more conducive to aid agencies providing services to the internally displaced. At the end of 2005, five plots have been identified for permanently relocating IDPs from the 12 current settlement sites. A municipal by-law was to be drawn to institutionalise what is arranged between the land owners, municipality and inhabitants, with a provision that the latter cannot sell the house in the first five years.

The land owners give away the land in return for an upgrade in public services that will take place on the land. The land becomes public land and the IDPs get a long term lease and will own the house. In the future, there may be the possibility for IDPs to buy a plot of land.

A task force of several agencies is to implement projects to improve public services. Pledges have already been made for several hundreds of thousands of dollars, from NGOs and UN, to be implemented in the coming years. UN-HABITAT is trying to get funds to build houses following the approach that is used in Hargeisa and Garowe.

UNCU, 30 July 2002,p.19:

“The larger problem of the IDPs in Bosasso is the complete lack of urban planning and management of the town. While IDPs are the most vulnerable, the fact is that a high degree of land grabbing in which public land is spontaneously “privatized” by a resident landowner has worsened the status of the IDPs. More specifically, the landowners of land occupied by IDPs in Bosasso charge exorbitant rents not only for the occupied land, but also for the use of latrines and in many cases even the charge collection of water from shallow wells or water tankers. UNICEF officials have repeatedly discussed this issue with the camps’ landowners and asked them to reduce the rents they charge for UNICEF constructed latrines and water facilities.

A significant number of the displaced population are very vulnerable to spontaneously and forced relocations. The insecurity of land tenure and ownership on the part of IDPs was cited as the primary concern of the majority of IDPs we interviewed. To make matters worse the security situation in the camps is quite precarious and often dangerous for residents of the IDP camps. This is a particular source of concern for non-Darod clans such as the Madhiban and others displaced from Bay and Bakool.”

Land dispossession is the main driving force behind conflict in Somalia (2004)

- Civil war has redrawn the ethnic map of Somalia as strong clans took possession of urban real estates and agricultural lands
- The Hawiye occupied lands particularly in Mogadishu, Lower Shabelle and Jubba valley
- The Marehan occupied areas inhabited by the Rahanweyn and Aulihan, in turn the Aulihan have displaced Bantu and Hawiye clan in the Buaale area
- In 1999 the Haber Gedir militias led a scorched earth policy against Rahanweyn villages in Bay region
- Militarily powerful clan militias have illegally occupied lands belonging to other clans, who they evicted and sometimes conscripted as forced labour on the land they once owned
- The occupation of property and farmland will be a key issue to address and resolve in post-war Somalia
- Bantu minorities’ lands were occupied by Habr Gedir, Galjeecel and Absame clans
- Bantu and Rahanweyn minorities have been pushed closer towards the river banks where their fields are flooded seasonally

“Should the Mbagathi talks or a successor peace process catalyze real efforts aimed at national reconciliation (and not merely power-sharing among elites), one of the burning issues it will raise is the matter of the forcible occupation of land and property in the course of the civil war. The civil war has redrawn the ethnic map of Somalia, as militarily stronger clans have come into possession of valuable urban and agricultural real estate (both private and state-owned). [...]

Some have argued that the civil war itself has represented a continuation of a long-established pattern of land expropriation – previously via the laws of the state, now at the point of a gun – by stronger groups against weak agricultural communities. [...]The problem of land occupation is most pronounced in Mogadishu, Lower Shabelle, and the Jubba valley, and is most directly associated with the expansion of some powerful Hawiye clans into those areas. But it is by no means unique to the Hawiye; the Marehan clan has occupied land once inhabited by the Rahanweyn and Aulihan, the Aulihan have displaced Bantu and Hawiye clans in the Buale area, the Hawadle have not permitted Haber Gedir property owners to return to Beled Weyn. At some point in the reconciliation process, the matter of occupation of homes, farmland, and state property must be addressed and resolved. For aid agencies engaged in post-war rehabilitation projects which increase the value of private property, this issue can and does become a dangerous flash point.

[...]

Villages and occasionally neighbourhoods are often intentionally sacked and burned as part of armed clashes. Armed conflicts in the Medina district of Mogadishu in 2003, between the militias of Omar Finnish and Musa Sude, culminated in one of the most severe episodes of urban looting in several years. The serious armed clash between the RRA and Haber Gedir militia in Bay region in 1999 featured a virtual scorched earth policy against Rahanweyn villages by retreating Haber Gedir militia. Clashes between the Aulihan and Bartirre clans in Middle Jubba in 2003 also led to entire villages being burned. Such pillaging exacerbates household food insecurity and can contribute indirectly to needless deaths due to malnutrition and disease.

[...]

Clan militias have come to occupy important pieces of real estate in Mogadishu and parts of south Somalia. In contravention of the Geneva conventions, these valuable lands are being settled by the victorious clans at the expense of weaker clans, who have been pushed off their land, evicted from their houses, or in some instances conscripted as forced labour on the land they once owned. This has been a particular problem in parts of the Lower Shabelle and throughout the Jubba valley. In several locations such as Kismayo and Mogadishu occupying militia also restrict the movement of IDPs in camps which the militia control. IDPs may not return home, as the militia use the IDPs as bait for foreign assistance which they then divert.” (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.18-19, 32)

“Armed clan conflict that started in a form of revenge killings in the inland pastoral areas north of Hagar during November 2002 spilled over into a large area in Buale and Hagar districts[...]. Vulnerability assessment and baseline work recently carried out by FEWS NET and FSAU in March 2003 suggests that 15-25 percent of the houses in Buale town were burned down. Moreover, properties and food stocks were looted. Houses, business, standing crops and underground granaries (*bakaar*) were destroyed or looted and civilian populations displaced.”(FEWS, 8 May 2003)

Bantu and Rahanweyn minorities forced off lands:

“Although land grab is not a new phenomenon during the past decade, Bantu communities on the west bank of the river Juba in particular (notably between Kamsuuma and Kismaayo) have seen their land occupied by the Habr Gedir and Galjeecel and, around Buale, by Absame clans. Agricultural implements and water pumps have been looted, water management systems have fallen into disrepair, and where land is no longer farmed it has reverted to scrub. Although some patron–client sharecropping arrangements exist on land under ‘occupation’, the collapse of plantation agriculture has dramatically reduced income opportunities.” (ODI, 31 December 2003, p.11-12)

"During the civil war, the Bantu population has been systematically pushed off their land towards the river by militias or bandits. They are now so close to the river that they face a real risk of their settlements being washed away during floods.

[...]

The Rahanweyn minority lives on fertile agricultural land and is more advanced in agriculture. It too has been subjected to dispossession and displacement." (CHR 18 February 1999, paras. 77-80)

"Bantus continue to be forced off their land, their property continues to be looted and their villages destroyed." (CHR 26 January 2000, p. 17)

IDPs only able to rent land:

" IDPs often come from minority groups (Bantu) and clans with low status in the community. One problem of the IDPs is that the major clans will not sell land to 'outsiders'/members of other clans. IDPs therefore only have access to rented land." (Lindgaard 23 March 2001)

Jiddu sub-clan claim to own all land in Qoroley:

"Fighting between different clans with rival claims to land has left at least 10 dead and 15 injured in Yoroley, 75 km south of the Somali capital Mogadishu, the Associated Press agency (AP) reported on Monday [23 October 2000]. The fighting, which began on Sunday and continued sporadically Monday, pitted members of the Jiddu sub-clan, which claims to own all the land around Qoroley, and farmers from other clans who it claims have occupied its land, the report said. 'The Jiddu clan fighters have started displacing all of the other farmers, by either setting their animals to graze in the others' farms or just destroying them,' AP quoted a traditional elder Abdullahi Khalif Kobleh as saying. So far, six members of the Jiddu and four from other clans had been killed." (IRIN-CEA 24 October 2000, "Ten reported dead in Qoroley land struggle")

IDP women cannot access land without male support (2002)

- Most IDP women who lost their husband in conflict or during displacement are in a predicament to access land and feed their families

"Representing the majority of IDP population in the district, women play a key role in supporting the household income. In their camps, the IDPs women bear two responsibilities reproductive and productive to support their household income. However, discrimination affects their socio-economic activities both in and outside their households. Traditionally women need a husband or male relative to have access to land. However, most of the IDPs women are single parent mothers who lost their husbands during the conflicts or displacement. They suffer lack of access to cultivable lands, which they can use to produce some subsistence food. Even when the husband is present, women still suffer social problems that results from entrenched attitudes of men towards women. In many cases men misuse their responsibilities and harass their wives, particularly when they want to misuse the household income to buy unnecessary goods such as miraa. Because of lack of jobs, most of the IDPs men are depressed and they chew miraa to entertain themselves." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.35)

PATTERNS OF RETURN AND RESETTLEMENT

Overview

Return and resettlement (Special report, 2006)

Due to continued insecurity in south and central Somalia, very few IDPs have gone back to their areas of origin. Surveys in settlements indicate that an overwhelming majority prefers to remain in the settlements or to buy land and settle locally. Pastoralists and farmers who have lived in urban settings for over ten years often do not wish to return to their previous way of life. In this context, the UN Country Team's IDP strategy for finding durable solutions focuses on local integration in urban areas by avoiding to create isolated settlements, and on offering incentives for returning to rural areas. The ongoing efforts to find suitable resettlement sites in northern cities as Hargeisa and Bossaso are part of that strategy.

While there are very few return movements to the south, international organisations are making increased efforts to create resettlement incentives by assisting pastoralists to return to their traditional way of life, and by re-creating agricultural areas for farmers. It is believed that a relatively high number of IDPs would return to rural areas if livelihood prospects and security were provided. The UN Country Team hopes that the planned country-wide IDP profiling will allow locating those IDPs willing to return (Joint UN IDP Strategy, July 2005).

Return

Small-scale returns in Bay and Hiran regions thanks to reconciliations (2004)

- Large number of IDPs who had fled from Baidoa to Mogadishu, Wajid and Burhakaba have started to returning after the RRA reconciled
- Reconciliation among Rahanweyn triggered the return of 2500 IDPs from Baydhabo in the Bay region
- The 1200 IDPs in Waajid who fled the fight between RRA are also expected to return
- IDPs in Wajid had already returned to Baidoa to prepare land in February 2004
- In Hiran region, a peace agreement signed between rival clans west of Belet Weyne allowed people who had fled hostilities around Belet Weyne to return

"The recent peace agreement by the two RRA factions in Baidoa has improved the security situation in Bay and Bakool region. The number of roadblocks on the roads between Baidoa and Mogadishu has considerably reduced easing traffic movement. A large number of people who fled during the conflict to Mogadishu, Wajid and Burhakaba have started to return to their homes. The returns are a positive signal that the residents believe that the truce will hold. As result of improved road transport, food prices in Baidoa markets have come down." (OCHA, 31 July 2004)

"Meanwhile, reconciliation efforts among the Rahanweyn have triggered the return of large numbers of IDPs to the villages surrounding Baydhaba in Bay region, more than 2,500 of who

fled fighting amongst the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) in 2003. An estimated 1,200 remain in Waajid but these too are expected to return home. While the talks have yet to conclude, the area has been peaceful since they began in January 2004, and access has improved considerably.” (UN, 15 June 2004, p.3)

“In response to the recommendations of the Wajid multi-sectoral assessment in January 2004, World Vision visited Bakaar Yar and Bakaar Weyn IDP camps in early February, to provide primary health care services. However, World Vision found deserted IDP camps. The IDPs are reported to have returned to Baidoa after improvement of the security situation there and the fact that the land preparation period (Gu planting season in March/April) was approaching.” (FSAU, 25 March 2004, p.3)

“In Hiran region, a peace agreement was signed between rival clans west of Belet Weyne. People who had been displaced earlier in fighting around Belet Weyne started flocking back.” (UNICEF, 30 June 2004)

IDPs from the South have little to return to owing to recurrent conflicts and unchecked human rights violations (2004)

- IDPs who fled Bu'aale in Middle Juba since the past two years of clan clashes are reluctant to return due to ongoing insecurity, poor rains and the burned villages stayed empty as of August 2004
- Clashes in Gedo discourages the return of IDPs to Belet Xaawo where houses were burnt down
- IDPs' right to return is stipulated in the ILO Convention No. 169 for Indigenous and Tribal People in Independent Countries, on freedom of movement and right to choose one's residence
- Most IDPs are from minority groups and are afraid of returning to their home areas by fear of attacks from the occupying clans
- The unresolved issue of transfer of property and land through clan nepotism during Barre is a major obstacle to return
- 44% IDPs from southern Somalia in Hargeisa want to stay there
- Over 80% southern Somalis state war as the main obstacle to return
- No social services or infrastructure in communities of origin make return unviable

“Bu'ale [Middle Juba] was adversely affected by clan clashes for the last two years that has led to deaths and displacement. Some of the villages burnt at the height of the skirmishes remain uninhabited. Some of the IDPs are reluctant to return because of the failure of the last GU season as farming is their only livelihood.” (OCHA, 5 August 2004)

“In spite of various peace initiatives in Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia, the security situation in Gedo region remains tense. Two houses were burnt down in Belet Xaawo on 22nd July 2004, ostensibly to discourage the return of people displaced by the May and June clashes. Rumours of impending attack caused the militia in the town to mobilise their resources in readiness for fighting. Tension heightened when peace talks hosted by the Ethiopian administration in Dolo Addo between the warring sub-clans broke down.” (OCHA, 31 July 2004)

“Once persons are internally displaced, they need to be guaranteed the right to return voluntarily and in safety to their place of residence. Although there is no general rule that affirms the right of internally displaced persons to return to their original place of residence or to move to another

safe place of their choice. However, such a right can in principle, be deduced from the freedom of movement and the right to choose one's residence. ILO Convention No. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal People in Independent Countries states explicitly that "whenever possible, these people shall have the right to return to their traditional lands, as soon as the grounds for relocation cease to exist" (art.16 para.3)" (Ibrahim F., 15 August 2002, p.4)

"The Rahanweyn constitute over 50% of the IDPs in Luuq. They came from Hudur and Wajid following the violence and occupation that occurred in Bakool and Bay region from 1995 to 1999. Despite harsh living conditions of the IDPs are ambivalent about returning to their original lands. For example the Marehan IDPs have expressed profound fear of the persisting insecurity and sporadic clashes between Marehan subclan which caused their displacement. The Rahanweyn IDPs indicate that the situation in their original lands is not yet good for their return." (UNCU/OCHA, 30 July 2002, p26)

"All IDPs have little prospects of returning to their original places, as conflicts and human rights violations still persist in some of these original places. For example, the Galagale IDPs have profound fear of persecution from the Abgal clan who is still in control of their territories. The Bantu lost all what they had during the conflict and they have little hope of getting back their ancestral lands." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.34)

"However, few of the existing displaced seem to be returning to their original homes. For some who were displaced from rural areas such as Bay and Bakol, there is little economic incentive to do so. For others who were originally residents of Mogadishu, a significant proportion do not feel it is safe or viable to return there. This is a potential obstacle for future reconciliation. First, because it reflects the continuing instability of several regions, and second because it reflects a consolidation of population realignments and the violent transfer of property, such as land, that occurred during the war." (UNDP Somalia, 2001, p.61)

Interagency assessment conducted in 8 areas around Hargeisa (Somaliland) in returnee and IDP settlements (June 2002). The second largest settlement, Daami hosts about 10,000 people, of whom 35% are displaced from Southern Somalia (Clark, June 2002, p.27)

"All respondents were asked if they planned to remain living "here" for the rest of their lives, insh'allah; [...] Residents in all areas but Daami, State House, and Stadium responded "yes" in large numbers. The residents of State House and Stadium are aware that they do not own the land and that they may well be resettled, accounting for the low rate of planning to remain there. Overall, non-Somali Ethiopians planned to remain at a significantly lower rate than those from Somaliland (a rate of 71% [56-82%] versus 85% [81-89%] (P<0.05)). Those originally from Southern Somalia planned to stay at a rate of 44% [30-60%] compared to 85% [81-89%] (P<0.0001) for those originally from Somaliland." (Clark, June 2002, p.28)

"Southern Somalis report owning land before the wars at a significantly higher rate than those residents who are originally from Somaliland. Over 80% of Southern Somalis who had land before the war cited war or insecurity as a reason they could not return; the rest cited drought (under "other reason")." (Clark, June 2002, p.31)

"It is unlikely that the Somali diaspora can be attracted to return to a country where mere survival is often the main priority, development beyond aspiration and where social services and economic and administrative infrastructure have collapsed. Effectively addressing these gaps in services is crucial to the reintegration of the absolute poor, including returning refugees, IDPs and the poorest sectors of the urban and rural populations, who live on the brink of disaster.

[...]

Until security issues are addressed, recovery or progress towards it through reintegration, will remain under threat. Insecurity is a key component of recurrent emergencies in Somalia and one

that needs to be taken into account in order to find viable and enduring solutions. Rehabilitation and reintegration interventions have significant potential to reduce insecurity. In particular, the demobilisation and reintegration of ex-militia during rehabilitation phases contribute to overall security in a region. Settling the militia has been a pre-requisite for lasting peace and security in current zones of recovery and transition." (UN December 1998, p. 10)

Resettlement

Resettlement in Somaliland complicated by unemployment and poverty (2004)

- Many IDPs from the south have not integrated into host communities
- Most returnees live in slum areas and face the same destitution as IDPs and over 95% cannot meet their basic needs
- IDPs and returnees could upset the relative socio-economic balance achieved in Somaliland unless substantial reintegration assistance is invested there
- Since the early 1990s about 1 million refugees have returned to Somalia mainly to Somaliland, 470,000 of which with UNHCR assistance
- Many destitute returnees settle in urban areas alongside IDPs rather than returning to their areas of origin
- Reintegration is complicated by general poverty, scarcity of water, lack of services and unemployment
- The Government of Somaliland is resettling returnees/IDPs from the spontaneous settlements of State House, Stadium, Independence Garden, Hargeisa water storage area and Dami to the permanent settlements of Ayaha I and II and Aw Adan
- The Government of Somaliland has allocated land to returning refugees however is not able to provide the minimum services due to lack of resources
- While the UN designed programmes to resettle and reintegrate both IDPs and returnees, it is unclear whether the IDPs are being allocated resettlement land by the Somaliland authorities

"They are largely from minority groups, and despite their often extended periods of displacement, have not been integrated geographically, economically, socially or politically into their host communities.

[...]

Since more than 800,000 Somalis fled their homeland at the height of the crisis in 1991 and 1992, about 465,000 have returned home with some form of international assistance, mainly to northern Somalia. Many more have returned home spontaneously. About 400,000 remain in exile mainly in Kenya, Djibouti, Yemen and Ethiopia.

[...]

But, after the short-term assistance they receive upon returning is depleted, they share the same multiple problems faced by IDPs and other vulnerable groups in Somalia, as the struggle to become self-reliant continues at home. According to a 2003 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) survey of returnees, more than 95% of them cannot meet their most basic needs. Only 5% are able to afford three meals a day. Most, or 64 %, live on one. Their access to basic services is also limited. More than 64% have no access to a health facility and nearly half are 30 to 50 minutes away from the nearest water source. Women and girls are more vulnerable to abuse and are often unable to take advantage of educational opportunities, as their days are spent trying to feed the family through small scale trade, casual employment, market selling and begging. Returnees themselves most frequently summed up their current situation in two

phrases: “labour market doesn’t exist” and “lack of income makes us vulnerable to disease and malnutrition.”

The challenges of helping returnees integrate are equally severe for local authorities. Somaliland, the largest recipient of returnees (since 1997, 210,000 with UNHCR assistance and another estimated 400,000 who returned spontaneously), has been unable to prevent the establishment of slum areas where returnees concentrate, despite major town planning efforts. Its flagging economy has meant increased competition over scarce resources for all, which has the potential to threaten the hard won peace there. In Puntland, 600 refugees have been assisted to voluntarily repatriate in 2003, while over the years at least another 100,000 returned spontaneously on their own, attracted by the region’s current economic boom and relative peace. But the fragility of this economic upturn could pose major problems for their sustainable reintegration in the future, and thus the stability of the region, unless substantial reintegration assistance is forthcoming.” (UN, 18 November 2003, p.12-3)

“The fact that IDPs and returning refugees are largely viewed as a burden to their host community makes their integration into the host community a long and difficult process. Providing them with skills that could make them self-reliant will therefore hasten the process of reintegration. It is worth noting that literacy centres run by women NGOs are providing some of the vocational skills but lack proper management and funding.” (IRIN, 13 October 2003, p.10)

« In 2004/2005 a further 19,000 are expected to come to Somaliland from Ethiopia mainly from Aisha camp, while 22,000 in the Hol Hol and Ali Adde camps in Djibouti are destined for the same area. Of these numbers, some may choose to disperse in their present countries of asylum, thus final repatriation figures may be lower. Once these repatriation movements are completed, the chapter of voluntary repatriation from Ethiopia and Djibouti to Somaliland will be closed.

[...]

The voluntary return of about 1 million refugees to Somalia (470,000 with UNHCR assistance), since the height of the crisis, continues to take place in one of the world’s poorest countries, with nearly half the population living on less than US\$1 a day and only 10% rural literacy. Less than one-fifth of all children attend primary school and 20% of children die before five years of age. A quarter of the population in urban areas is unemployed.

[.....]

If not carefully supported in a community-based local area development framework aimed at alleviating poverty, fostering economic development as well as providing access to basic services, the voluntary return of large numbers of refugees could result in instability and conflict, rather than be an element of peace-building.” (UNDP/UNHCR, 1 April 2004)

“The country’s huge number of returnees and IDPs are the poorest segment of the Somaliland society, who is yet to be reintegrated with the rest of the society. Indubitably, the returnees and IDPs are the most indigent groups in Somaliland now. The vast number of poor returnees and IDPs has a forlorn hope to reintegrate and re-establish sustainable livelihoods among the rest of their own society, at least for the near future. Although the peace and stability have allowed for some significant development initiatives, however, Somaliland continues to suffer substantial economic losses because of the long-time on –going livestock ban. The government of Somaliland has allocated plots of land and some limited services to certain returning refugees, but the lack of adequate resources impedes the implementation of its commitments to provide all the necessary services for these communities.

[...]

Many returnees, who have been repatriated back to the country with limited and few marketable skills and education, have faced a difficult situation to compete for scarce available job opportunities. In addition, the returnees have no income generating alternatives for them to sustain their livelihoods. Such circumstances often forced the returnees to live under conditions much worse than found in the refugees’ camps they left. Apparently, most of the returnees often

settle, together with IDPs, in and around the urban centres, rather than returning to their areas of origin. Most of the intensions of these particular returnees are mainly to find some kind of employment opportunities to make up for their former lost economic activities, mainly in the livestock sector. Returnees to the urban areas create an enormous burden to the already insufficient necessary life supporting resources, such as water, sanitation, ect. To already overcrowded urban centres. For instance, more than 40% of the Hargeisa residents (800,000) are composed of recent returnees who have settled in five major areas in Hargeisa, (Sheikh Nuur, Mohamed Mooge, Sinai, Ayaha, and Aw Adan). To this context, the following is “ **a Comprehensive Relocation Plan of Returnees and IDPs from the Existing Temporary Settlements to other Permanent Areas in city of Hargeisa, the Capital of Somaliland**” program that the Hargeisa Municipality earlier proposed.

Summary: There is a need to allocate certain permanent settlements for the huge number of returnees/IDPs, who are still residing in public properties for several years and increasing to settle in these areas. This is obviously the first step to reintegrate the returnees. The municipality of Hargeisa is now engaged to make a proactive role reintegration by coming up with the plan to develop areas such as “**Ayaha and Aw Adan**” resettlement areas to absorb an estimated 10,000 returnee families and IDPs currently residing in six identified temporary resettlement areas.

The municipality of Hargeisa has attracted the biggest number of returnees and IDPs after the civil wars. Such massive influx to Hargeisa continues to date as more returnees are coming back formally through UNHCR and spontaneously on their own as Somaliland continues to enjoy peace and stability. Many settled in permanent resettlement areas in Hargeisa, and a lot more unaccounted for are scattered in different poor communities in the city. Hargeisa Municipality has five permanent resettlement areas and six identified temporary resettlement areas of returnees and IDPs. The following table illustrates this point:

Table 1.1: statistic of identified permanenet an dtemporary areas for returnees/IDPs

Permanent resettlements	Current number of estimated houses	Holding capacity	Temporary resettlements	Current number of estimated houses	Direction of relocation
Mohamed Mooge	4,000	6,000	State House	3,000	Ayah
Sheikh Nuur	5,000	6,000	Stadium	2,600	Ayah
Sinai	800	1,500	Independence Garden	200	Sinai/Ayah
Aw Adan	1,500	5,000	Hargeisa Water Storage Area	1,200	Aw Adan
Ayah (new)	52	6,000	Dami	1,800	Aw Adan
			Pepsi Cola	648	Ayah
Total	11,352	24,000		9,448	

(Government of Somaliland, 14 June 2004)

Bosasso allocated plots for resettlement of some IDPs (2005)

With the support of the international community, the Bossaso authorities have allocated five plots for permanent resettlement of a few hundred IDP families. The case of Bossaso should serve as pilot project for other towns hosting large numbers of IDPs and returnees. For more information on the Bossaso resettlement plans see under “Property Issues”

HUMANITARIAN ACCESS

Overview

Humanitarian access (Special report, 2006)

The interest of some warlords in regaining or consolidating power during the Mbagathi negotiations ensured that violence and armed conflict continued throughout much of south and central Somalia. In the absence of a functioning government, international organisations and NGOs are often the only service providers and interact directly with clan leaders and local authorities. Especially in the south, where the clan structure is more varied than in the north, organisations must negotiate access with a host of non-state actors, and it is at times difficult to enter into agreements which will hold over time. Frequent changes in the local power structure and in clan affiliations can hinder dialogue and make many situations volatile and difficult to understand. Civil society groups and individuals, in particular businessmen, are a source of stability and are a crucial factor for improving humanitarian access (OCHA, 30 November 2005; Interview with MSF representative, Nairobi, October 2005; ODI, 2004).

Despite the existence of pockets of stability, insecurity remains so acute in most parts of Somalia that it is difficult to provide adequate and timely assistance, let alone to effectively monitor the living conditions and protection needs of IDPs. Crime, banditry, extortion and kidnapping threats are rife, and national and international staff are the target of attacks due to clan rivalries or disputes over allocation of employment contracts, property rental or project site location (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.47-8).

As a result, the international presence in the southern and central parts of the country is weak and inconsistent. Since the withdrawal of UNOSOM in 1995, virtually all humanitarian agencies are based in Nairobi. ICRC is one of the few agencies which since the 1990s has maintained access to most southern and central regions of Somalia, through negotiations with more or less legitimate authorities and warlords. Of the UN agencies, UNICEF has maintained the most permanent presence in south and central Somalia since the early 1990s. Humanitarian access has also been hindered from outside, when in 2004 Kenya denied Somali passport holders entry. This ban is not only impeding freedom of movement but also information exchange and participation of Somali staff working for humanitarian agencies, all of which are based in Nairobi (Interviews with NRC representative, Hargeisa, October 2005, and with UNICEF representative, Nairobi, December 2005).

Central and south Somalia

The southern port town of **Kismayo** had been the site of heavy inter-clan clashes throughout the conflict and humanitarian access has been inconsistent. The forces of General Mohamed Said Hersi and the Juba Valley Alliance (JVA) repeatedly fought over the control of the Kismayo port, which has become southern Somalia's main market for food, as Mogadishu port remains closed due to insecurity. The clashes caused displacement as recently as September 2004 (IRIN, 20 September 2004). During the first half of 2005, and mostly due to pressure from war-tired civil society and influential businessmen, the JVA was able to establish a certain degree of security in town. In September 2005, the international community gradually resumed their activities in that area considered to be in a critical humanitarian emergency. But the engagement was short-lived. On 3 October 2005, in reaction to the assassination of a UN security officer in Kismayo, the international community had to relocate all their staff. There is much speculation as to whether or

not the assassination was a direct attack on the international community. Somali authorities, including the JVA and President Yusuf (Meeting with TFG president, Jowhar, October 2005), condemned the murder which is seen as a real setback in the effort to re-engage in south Somalia, and particularly in the context of the emerging drought at the end of 2005 (OCHA, October 2005;).

Mogadishu offers a uniquely complex operational and security environment. Since the fall of the Barre regime in 1991, the green line divides the city into north and south. Each part is further divided into a chaotic mosaic of militias and warlord fiefdoms between which movement is very dangerous. As a result, the few humanitarian agencies operating in town, such as MSF Spain, ACF and ICRC, have separate programmes for the north and south and need the protection of armed escorts (ICRC, 9 March 2004). Despite safety precautions, organisations are continuously forced to scale down or suspend their activities. Consistent monitoring of aid programmes is virtually impossible. Given the great risk of expatriate workers being abducted, most programmes are implemented through national staff.

The delivery of humanitarian assistance to Mogadishu is further complicated by road blocks, armed attacks and the fact that the port and airport have been shut down for most of the past decade. In June 2005, civil society groups in Mogadishu joined forces and brought a number of warlords around the negotiating table. A decision was taken to dismantle the road blocks, and it was followed up to a large extent. While the road blocks started to re-appear a few days later, the example shows that civil society is beginning to assert itself against the warlords' manipulations (Interviews with WSP representative, Nairobi, and FUPAG representative, Jowhar, October 2005).

The Juba Valley and Lower Shabelle are affected by the same phenomena of road blocks, illegal taxation, robberies and looting, which raise transport and food prices and lower the food security of deprived displaced people by limiting their freedom of movement in search of affordable food, water or grazing areas. In such a situation, it has been claimed that some sub-clans have benefited from humanitarian aid more than the intended target groups, by manipulating the delivery of assistance through the granting of security or "safe passage" only to areas that will benefit their clan militias (OCHA, 31 July 2004; UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.34, 35). At the end of 2005, access to **Ei Wak** in Gedo remained obstructed because of problems in the peace talks between the Gare and Marehan, and humanitarian activities there had been indefinitely postponed (OCHA, October 2005).

Tensions between government factions in **Jowhar and Mogadishu** had not subsided since the relocation in June 2005. Puntland militia arrived in Jowhar in September 2005 via Ethiopia in support of President Yusuf, and Mogadishu-based ministers continued to threaten to attack Jowhar. Nevertheless, there has also been some dialogue between the factions and a UN presence in Jowhar was re-established cautiously during October (OCHA, October 2005).

The taking hostage of food ships, particularly those chartered by WFP, by Somali pirates also affected humanitarian activities in 2005 (OCHA, November 2005).

Puntland

Humanitarian access is generally granted to all areas in Puntland (except for areas in Sool and Sanaag) but the overall international presence is still weak. While Garowe, as the designated capital of Puntland has received a boost from the increased presence of international and UN organisations, the same organisations are understaffed in Bossaso. It is only recently that international organisations have started to get engaged in delivering infrastructure to IDP settlements in Bossaso, in the form of mobile health facilities, schools, and the construction of market places. In Galkayo, most of the 10,000 IDPs live on the "green line" dividing the northern and southern part of town, where they are exposed to inter-clan violence.

Somaliland

Somaliland has sustained relative stability and peace for several years, despite attacks on aid workers in late 2003 and early 2004, which increased security precautions. This stability appears to have an immediate positive effect on the physical well-being of the most vulnerable groups, as recent nutrition surveys in Hargeisa IDP settlements suggest (FSAU, October 2005). Despite such positive developments, the fact that all international staff need to use armed escort outside Hargeisa indicates how fragile the security situation remains.

General

Islamic Court Union promises international community access to the territory it controls (July 2006)

UNDPI, 11 June 2006:

Although Somalia had been one of the “rare remote-control operations” where sporadic relief aid had been able to get in through Somali intermediaries, fresh fighting had made the already tenuous situation worse. But, he noted that a United Nations humanitarian and security mission had met two days ago with Islamic Court leaders and agreed on opening a dialogue that would allow humanitarian access to Mogadishu -- “the only capital on earth with no presence from international organizations” -- where some 250,000 internally displaced persons were at the mercy of armed groups.

“The Islamic Courts asked humanitarian organizations to step up their operations and said that they would not restrict our freedom of movement and our access to the civilian population”, he said, stressing that such access was critical because Somalia currently had the world’s highest rate of child mortality and lowest rate of school enrolment. If the international community had any hopes of re-establishing a functioning, democratic Somalia that did not harbour terrorists, “We must have a massive international political, diplomatic, security, development and humanitarian investment”, declared Mr. Egeland.

To that end, he said United Nations and other humanitarian agencies were ramping up, presently reaching about 1.4 million of the 2.1 million people in need, and establishing bases of operations in the south of the country. He also hoped to re-establish operations in Mogadishu sometime soon. On the recent killing of award-winning Swedish journalist Martin Adler, he said the Islamic Court had been open to the mission’s request to urgently investigate the matter. The Court had promised to report its findings.

International presence in Mogadishu remains very limited (November 2005)

- Throughout 2005, the security situation in Mogadishu remained tense and humanitarian access very limited and information about IDPs in Mogadishu remains scarce
- Civil society movements achieved temporary dismantling of road blocks, but without long term improvements
- Due to the volatile security in Somalia and its capital international agencies operate from Nairobi, Kenya, since the UNOSOM’s withdrawal in 1995

- Mogadishu is divided between north and south by militias since 1992
- Somalia declared by UN the most dangerous operational environment, with unrelenting banditry, extortions and kidnappings
- As the key resource-centre Mogadishu port city has been wrecked by fighting since 1991

"While the needs of Mogadishu's most vulnerable populations remain high, since the collapse of the government in 1991, ongoing civil disturbances and clan rivalries in the capital have not only interfered with humanitarian relief operations but also prevented any broad based economic development. A dozen factional leaders have divided the city into armed zones yet not one has legitimate authority in the area of their claim. New warlords are also continually emerging all of whom compete for the control of the city's sixteen districts. Targeted kidnappings and violence against Somali nationals and humanitarian workers continues. Recent assassinations include a BBC journalist (May 2005), the Somali peace activist Abdul Qadir Yahya (July 2005) and an attempt on the life of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) Prime Minister (November 2005).

The humanitarian operating environment in Mogadishu remains unpredictable and insecure, resulting in extremely limited access (classified by the United Nations Department for Safety and Security (UNDSS) as the optimal phase of insecurity at Phase V). Provision of aid is further complicated by the need to ensure equity among opposing clans." (OCHA, 22 November 2005)

"The security situation in Somalia in 2003 continued to be tense and the dynamic environment presented significant challenges to Office of the United Nations Security Coordinator (UNSECOORD) in managing UN staff safety and security. As a result, the international aid community largely continues to operate from a permanent base in Nairobi to reduce the risk to staff. It conducts fieldwork from semi-permanent bases in Somalia. Activities take place whenever and wherever there is opportunity. If insecurity worsens in one place, staff members are moved to another, more secure site where they can work effectively and safely." (UN, 18 November 2003, p.1,5,6,21)

"In Mogadishu, where an estimated 20% of the Somali population lives, including 150,000 IDPs (many of whom have been displaced for over a decade), access remains restricted to UN international staff due to ongoing clan conflict and criminal activity" (UN, 3 June 2003, p.2)

« En revanche, dans la capitale Mogadiscio, l'association poursuit son action depuis 1992. Mais, deux programmes distincts doivent coexister : un dans le nord de la ville et l'autre dans le sud, conséquence de la division de la ville-même et de la difficulté pour les populations de se déplacer d'un quartier à l'autre. En effet, une ligne de démarcation, contrôlée par des milices, divise Mogadiscio et il est très risqué de la traverser. » (ACF, 5 February 2003)

« ...et rendant difficile et dangereux le travail des ONG

Cette situation est délicate pour les ONG qui, sans interlocuteur étatique ni institutionnel, doivent morceler leurs interventions et ont donc difficilement accès aux populations. A Mogadiscio en particulier, elles ne peuvent intervenir que par l'intermédiaire de leur personnel national car le risque d'enlèvement est considérable pour les Occidentaux, dont la " valeur marchande " constitue un véritable enjeu dans l'économie des milices. Présente à Luuq (Région du Gedo, Sud-Ouest Somalie) depuis 1999, Action contre la Faim a dû évacuer en mars dernier en raison de la recrudescence des combats. » (ACF, 5 February 2003)

"All UN agencies have a permanent presence in Somalia, although they have remained based across the border in Kenya since UNOSOM's withdrawal in 1995. With such an operation, there are a number of over-arching constraints. These include restricted and unpredictable access due to insecurity; lack of presence in much of southern and central Somalia of international partners;

limited or late funding curtailing emergency prevention and preparedness, as well as longer-term activities where feasible. However, in light of the changing security dynamics in the country, UN projects and programs are increasingly being relocated to Somalia, in order to strengthen the local monitoring / response capacity in four main areas of Baidoa, Garowe, Hargeisa and Mogadishu. Additionally, a common UN House is being rehabilitated in Baidoa to accommodate further staff." (UN Appeal, November 2001, p.2)

"Continuing insecurity poses the greatest constraint for UN agencies and NGOs providing relief to the most vulnerable populations in Somalia. Although large-scale factional fighting is rare, banditry, extortion and kidnapping threats are rife in the absence of any authority to enforce law and order. This was demonstrated by the attacks on ACF, MSF and UNICEF in Mogadishu in late 2000 and early 2001.

Insecurity is often related to contractual and administrative disputes, preventing the modification of project designs and slowing rapid response to emergencies by aid agencies with risk-averse project designs. To overcome these constraints, UNICEF, WFP and other UN agencies ensure flexible operational profiles, balance national staff with members of all Somali clans, and use novel forms of sub-contracting and bonded transport.

Reaching vulnerable groups in Somalia is further complicated by the dispersion of destitute populations. For instance, since 1999, there are very few IDP camps in Somalia. Rather, IDPs and other high-risk groups are integrated within larger urban communities and rural villages. This renders their vulnerability less visible and makes targeting difficult, although the suffering of poor Somalis is no less real.

Four regions in Somalia – Middle and Lower Juba, Lower Shabelle and Benadir / Mogadishu – due to insecurity and lack of funding, have very little continued agency presence and programmes. Hence some 1.6 million Somalis are denied access to basic social services and relief assistance." (UN November 2001)

"The vulnerability of Somalia is exacerbated by the pull-out of most international humanitarian organisations, leaving Mogadishu very isolated. The threat to aid workers in Mogadishu was such that aid moved out of the capital and almost exclusively into the regions - particularly Somaliland, Puntland, and areas of southern Somalia - with expatriate presence in Mogadishu on a visiting basis only. In Mogadishu, since the pull-out of the humanitarian and military operation, expatriate staff are, in many ways, seen as a "commodity" or a "resource". Hostage-taking has sometimes resulted in huge pay-outs by local businessmen. Likewise, aid programmes are seen far more as an economic opportunity than a humanitarian effort - in terms of employment, finances and equipment. Not only an economic asset, the expatriate aid worker is also a political target, with resentment over the international military and humanitarian effort still a factor.

International organisations have therefore headquartered themselves in Nairobi and operate 'in absentia' through a skeleton local staff, which results in large proportions of available funding being used for logistics and salaries - and has increased feelings of resentment. One consequence of this is that Mogadishu has become one of the most isolated capitals in the world. Apart from the strictly controlled aid flights, no commercial flights as such operate from the capital - chartered small aircraft from Nairobi, carrying the stimulant plant qat, take only one or two passengers at a time. Information is therefore very scarce, and dependent on the security perspective of humanitarian agencies based in Nairobi - which try to act in concert over threats, kidnappings and killings in order to protect staff and programmes. This extreme isolation of Mogadishu and lack of information in itself inhibits development.

[...]

Western humanitarian organizations maintaining a rudimentary presence in Mogadishu are ICRC, MSF Spain, Action Internationale contre la Faim, Peace and Life (Sweden), and Daily Bread from

Germany. United Nations offices include representatives from UNDP, FAO, UNHCR, WFP and WHO. These humanitarian agencies presently have no permanent expatriate presence and depend on a skeleton structure of local staff. Some local Somali humanitarian organizations have made efforts to work in the camps, but lack funding. For example, the Somali Refugee Agency SORA, founded in December 1998, has mapped out the camps and compiled lists of families, adults and children, as well as the main health and sanitation problems." (IRIN-CEA 27 April 1999)

Pockets of improved security recognised as chance for stepped up humanitarian intervention (November 2005)

"While the situation remains volatile in central/south Somalia, enhanced security in specific pockets provide new windows of opportunity for access and humanitarian engagement in 2006. It is critical that humanitarian actors vigorously pursue these opportunities when they arise by rapidly expanding humanitarian presence.

[...]

Attempts to gain access to extremely vulnerable groups in central and south zones are currently mostly ad hoc and event driven hindering response, which is often delayed as the humanitarian community struggles to negotiate access. However, towards the end of 2005 this situation looked set to change. In September, United Nations Department for Security and Safety (UNDSS) stated that Kismayo and Lower Juba Valley was conducive to re-engagement of humanitarian activities. As a large number of people in this valley are experiencing a humanitarian emergency, marked by high morbidity and malnutrition rates (as high as 20% in some areas), chronic food insecurity and most recently flooding, the opening up of humanitarian space in this area has been welcomed by UN agencies and NGOs. A UNDSS security assessment in Merka, Lower Shabelle also found that conditions are amenable to the resumption of humanitarian activities.

However, tragically in October 2005, a Somali National working for UNDSS was deliberately shot dead in Kismayo. As of the writing of this Appeal (October 2005), it remains unclear what the motive was but the incident only underlines the precarious and unpredictable operating environment in much of the country. The implications of this incident are serious and mean that humanitarian operations in the area will have to be reassessed. This is likely to lead to an increased use of local partners to enhance the implementation and monitoring of humanitarian activities." (OCHA, November 2005, p.8, 9))

Militias road-blocks and extortion of humanitarian assistance (2004)

- Increased militias' road blocks and armed clashes doubled in 2004 in Lower Juba and Lower Shabelle and considerably increased transport costs and food prices
- Roadblocks, taxation, robberies and lootings by militias along the Belet Weyne/Mogadishu road forced transporters pulled out creating food shortages (2004)
- IDP camp sanitation standards deteriorated in Mogadishu following ACF scaling down activities following money exactions to access the needy
- Due to lack of judiciary system humanitarian workers have been increasingly the targets of attacks due to disputes over allocation of employment contracts, property rental or project site location
- Clan rivalries need to be taken into account by aid agencies working in Somalia in order to guarantee access and staff security
- Sub-clans militias controlling Mogadishu, Lower Juba, Lower Shabelle and Gedo diverted more aid than that reaching IDPs by granting "safe-passage" to aid convoys

“Meanwhile, roadblocks on the Belet-Weyne/Jowhar road have more than doubled this month further reducing access to the Hiran region. Transporters are pulling out of the route due to an increased taxation by militias. The transport industry has been adversely affected by increased incidences of highway robberies and looting in public passenger vehicles. Some cases of rape have been reported. Prices of commodities have started going up due to artificial shortages as a result of transporters refusal to use the tarmac road that serves as the only direct link to the Mogadishu seaport. Equally the prices of locally produced cereals doubled in one week reflecting serious cereal shortfall and the effects of increased restrictions on business activities in the interregional trade flow as well as the on-going drought.” (OCHA, 31 July 2004)

“Frequent clashes at roadblocks manned by militias in Mogadishu are worrying. Last week two people died and two others were injured in a gun battle at an Afgoe roadblock. The number of roadblocks on roads inside and leading to Moga-dishu have almost doubled in the last year, thereby increasing transportation costs which are passed down to the consumers.” (OCHA, 9 July 2004)

“In the Gedo and Lower Shabelle regions there is hardly any established authority. As a result, armed groups are able to set up checkpoints to extort money from travellers. The lack of local authority has significantly reduced the frequency of visits by aid workers to places such as Belet Hawa, Luuq and Bardera.” (UNSC, 13 October 2003)

“The IDPs camps sanitations standards [in Mogadishu] have deteriorated following scaling down of ACF activities due to interference by people who demand money from aid agencies to allow the agencies access to the needy. WHO office is planning a rapid assessment of the sanitary situation in IDP camps.” (OCHA, 30 June 2004)

“Against this backdrop of unpredictability, Somalia remained an extraordinarily complex operating environment for aid agencies. Its shifting balance of clan, economic and political interests, amidst lawlessness and insecurity, present unique challenges to outsiders and demand maximum flexibility on the part of aid agencies. In addition to insecurity, aid actors must often, in particular in southern and central Somalia, negotiate everything from access to project agreements with a host of non-state actors whose attitudes range from helpful to predatory. Rivalries between sub-clans are often a factor aid agencies must contend with in hiring and project design, and any project which increases the value of private property, brings material goods to a community, or involves even the simplest contracting of services, such as for car rental, can serve as a lightning rod for conflict. Reliance on national staff, due to insecurity, often places tremendous pressure on those staff to provide employment and contracts to community members. If not properly navigated, these potential stumbling blocks can have a devastating impact, including threats, assault and even the death of staff members. Such incidents can ultimately result in restricted access, curbing assistance to those who need it most.” (UN, 18 November 2003)

“In some cases the incidents are related to clan or factional fighting; equally as often the insecurity is the result of threats or attacks against aid agencies due to disputes over allocation of employment, contracts, property rental, or project site location. This has put a premium on agencies’ ability to design projects flexibly and groom national officers not only to manage projects themselves but to adapt projects to rapidly shifting needs and circumstances.” (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.47-8)

“The provision of assistance varies from one zone/region to another dependent on the degree of stability and security of the region.

UN agencies such as UNICEF, WFP, UNHCR, UNDP and some NGOs provide limited assistance. Insecurity in some areas in the south such as Mogadishu, Lower Juba, Lower

Shabelle and Gedo affected effective delivery of humanitarian assistance. In such a situation it has been claimed that some of the sub clans that control these regions have benefited more than the target group "the IDPs" by manipulating the delivery of assistance because the clan militia provide security and safe passage to aid workers and supplies.

[...]

Relief food and aid assistance does not normally get through to the IDPs. Most often, relief food is not IDP focused, and the Habargedir and other militia who are in control of the district manipulate the delivery of humanitarian assistance because they grant aid workers a safe passage only to areas that are beneficial to their clan militia groups. Little aid tends to reach IDPs and other vulnerable groups. An IDP elder indicated that the IDPs would continue to suffer high incidences of food insecurity as a result of discrimination." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, pp.2-3; 34-5)

« Persisting insecurity has affected agricultural activities and other coping mechanisms of most of the residents in the Lower Juba region, including relief assistance. Aid agencies found it difficult to effectively monitor the humanitarian condition in the region and provide adequate assistance to the IDPs and other vulnerable groups. There are over 20 roadblocks on the road between Jilib and Kismayo, at which the public transport are forced to pay extortion each time they pass through the roadblocks which increased food prices." (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.27)

Symptoms of complex emergencies hamper humanitarian work in most of southern and central Somalia (2004)

- The murder of four aid workers within six months in Somaliland led to new operational restrictions and several NGOs pulled out
- Tensions along the border between the state of Puntland and Somaliland over the Sool and Sanaag regions continued to hinder humanitarian access
- Access considerably improved in the Bay region due to reconciliation efforts among the Rahanweyn in 2004
- Kenyan ban on Somali passports is restricting information exchange and participation of Somali staff working for humanitarian agencies which are based in Nairobi
- Increased militias' road blocks and armed clashes in Lower Juba and Lower Shabelle critically increased transport costs and food prices (2004)
- Access in Belet Xawo and Belet-Weyne limited by sub-clan militias clashes
- During 2003 the regions of Mogadishu, Baidoa, and the regions of Middle Shabelle and Gedo remained the most unstable and dangerous
- Access constrained by lack of authoritative government, high levels of criminality and unpredictable armed conflicts

"The protective environment for Somalis, and aid agencies responding to these crises, remained fragile and in some cases has deteriorated.

Violence and armed conflict continued throughout much of southern and central Somalia, with some notable exceptions where peace and reconciliation took root, allowing the return of internally displaced persons (IDPs). In the north, the murder of four aid workers within six months in the self-declared independent Republic of Somaliland, and continuing tensions over a long-running border dispute between Somaliland and the self-declared autonomous Puntland State of Somalia, led to new operational restrictions on United Nations (UN) agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

[...]

Meanwhile, reconciliation efforts among the Rahanweyn have triggered the return of large numbers of IDPs to the villages surrounding Baydhaba in Bay region, more than 2,500 of who fled fighting amongst the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) in 2003. An estimated 1,200 remain in Waajid but these too are expected to return home. While the talks have yet to conclude, the area has been peaceful since they began in January 2004, and access has improved considerably.

[...]

Heightened threats against foreigners coupled with the ongoing risks of working in Somalia led in 2004 to new security measures designed to protect aid workers. The most dramatic changes took place in Somaliland, once considered the most secure region, following the deaths of four NGO workers [...] there between October 2003 and March 2004. Investigations into these deaths by Somaliland authorities have reportedly revealed the presence of militant Islamic fundamentalist groups whose express aims are to target foreigners, in particular Westerners. As a result, UN activities slowed for a few days when most non-essential staff were withdrawn. Most have now returned, but the ceiling for international UN staff allowed in Somaliland has been lowered. NGO activities have been curtailed since mid-March 2004, when most abided an European Commission (EC) advisory to withdraw. They, on the advice of the EC, are just beginning to return in small numbers. The kidnapping of an international UN staff member in January 2004 outside of Kismayo highlighted once again the risks of working in southern and central Somalia. Clan warfare, competition for resources, including aid, criminal activity, and landmines continue to pose the greatest risks.

The response to these risks has not been to curtail programming but rather to tighten security measures, as well as collaboration, among aid organizations.

[...]

Kenya denies Somali passport holders entry

A new threat to humanitarian operations arose in the early 2004 in the form of a ban on Somali passports by the government of Kenya. Though the ban has so far been inconsistently implemented, it implies that Somali staff employed by UN agencies or NGOs in Somalia is no longer able to travel to Nairobi. As the vast majority of humanitarian organizations working in Somalia are headquartered in the Kenyan capital, the ban will adversely affect planning by restricting the free flow of staff and thus information, exchange and participation. The ban – which went into effect on 17 April 2004 – reportedly followed the seizure from the Somali section of Nairobi of a significant number of Somali passports pre-stamped with Kenyan entry visas.” (UN, 15 June 2004, p.1-5)

“Aid agencies temporarily halted operations in West-Belet Weyne and evacuated their staff to Nairobi following clashes between two Gajel sub clans; Afi and Abtisame. The confrontation resulted in the death of 13 people and injuries to several others. A majority of the casualties were civilians including women and children deliberately targeted by the militia. The confrontations displaced about 100 families prompting UNSECOORD to advise operational UN agencies and NGOs to evacuate their staff for safety reasons. For the first time since tension broke out between the two sub clans, hand grenades were used on 3rd and 5th August in west Belet Weyne increasing civilian displacements.

[...]

The security situation on the roads of Lower Juba and Lower Shabelle remains unstable. Freelance militia continue to maintain a high number of roadblocks limiting access to the area and increasing transport costs for food commodities.” (OCHA, 31 August 2004)

“Unconfirmed reports indicate that a contingent of Howrarsame sub-clan militia is approaching Belet Xawo to engage the Elidere and Rer Ahmed sub-clans militia currently occupying Belet Xawo town and its environs. Access to the area is further reduced after roads that were in the third week of July for use by aid workers were closed to them. OCHA is closely monitoring the situation.” (OCHA, 31 July 2004)

"Key flashpoints of conflict in 2003 included Mogadishu and Baidoa towns as well as the Middle Shabelle and Gedo regions, and the potential for conflict loomed in areas such as the south Mudug, Lower Shabelle and greater Bay regions, as well as in Buaale in the Middle Juba region and the port town of Kismayo. While some areas of stability exist in southern Somalia, they remain susceptible to sudden reverses, and thus are still problematic operating environments. The possibility of conflict between Somaliland and Puntland over the contested status of Sool and Sanaag regions, which both entities claim as their own, continued to hinder humanitarian access and prevent a comprehensive approach to assistance despite humanitarian needs in both regions. Against this backdrop, aid agencies must daily negotiate everything from project agreements to access with a host of non-state actors amidst shifting clan, economic and political interests, lawlessness and insecurity, underscoring the need for transparency, accountability, information sharing and coordination, as well as do-no-harm approaches to aid.

[...]

Thus, Somalia remained a largely dangerous, unstable and non-permissive environment for aid agencies and beneficiaries in 2003. Most of the southern and central regions of the country continued to exhibit chronic symptoms of complex emergencies: little to no authoritative government, high levels of criminality, sporadic armed conflict, lack of economic recovery, endemic humanitarian needs, minimal health care and education, and population displacement. By mid-year, the prolonged absence of key leaders at the peace talks, combined with efforts by the leaders to consolidate their areas of influence during power sharing negotiations, ensured that violence and armed conflict continued throughout much of the south, in particular in Mogadishu, Baidoa and the Middle Shabelle and Gedo regions. While pockets of stability exist in the south, they remain susceptible to sudden setbacks due to armed clashes and threats, making them a difficult and largely inhospitable environment for sustainable aid interventions. At the writing of this Appeal, aid agencies could safely operate in only a handful of places in southern and central Somalia.

[...]

The threat to UN and NGO staff and work in Somalia arises from a variety of sources. The level of risk varies from place to place but staff can fall victim to an attack anywhere in the country.

Intentional targeting

Incidents of this type of targeting usually arise when an agency is involved in a contractual or financial dispute. There are limited legal systems in most parts of the country and people with a grievance regularly use violence against agency staff and facilities. There are many examples of such attacks involving guns, grenades and/or kidnapping. There is also a risk in some areas of staff being targeted by extremists.

Criminality

All agencies and staff can be victims of looting and other forms of common crime.

Inadvertent incidents

Agencies and staff can be innocent, or collateral, victims of inter-factional fighting. Such fighting is a frequent cause of temporary withdrawals from areas of Somalia." (UN, 18 November 2003, p.1,5,6,21)

"There are, to be sure, shifting zones of very dangerous banditry and criminality in places like Jowhar, the lower Jubba valley, and parts of Mogadishu. It is also true that both Somali nationals and foreigners associated with an international organization or a profitable business are frequent targets of kidnapping for ransom, especially in Mogadishu. But it is important not to confuse the security problems of international aid agencies with security problems for average residents." (Menkhaus November 2000, p. 9)

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES

Overview

National and international response (Special report, 2006)

National response

Given the scale of destruction and the volatile security situation in Somalia, it is premature to expect the Transitional Federal Government to have an immediate impact on the humanitarian, socio-economic and political situation. The TFG has practically no remaining government infrastructure to build on and is itself entrenched in inter-clan rivalries which limit its capacity to establish authority throughout the country and achieve durable peace. It is therefore likely that most of south and central Somalia will remain in a state of chronic complex emergency: little government authority, high levels of criminality, sporadic armed conflict, lack of economic recovery, endemic humanitarian needs, minimal health care and education, and population displacement. Operational humanitarian activities will remain ad hoc, lack sustainability and depend on security. There is hope that the talks between the government factions, initiated in early January 2006, will have a positive effect on the overall security in Somalia (Reuters, 5 January 2006).

In the absence of a state structure, Somali civil society is well organised. Islamic charities provide assistance to IDPs in Mogadishu and throughout the country, mainly with school and health facilities. Civil society groups have been playing an important role in bringing fighting clans around the negotiating table, prominent examples being Mogadishu, Kismayo, the Bay region and Somaliland. Nevertheless, particularly in south and central Somalia, the operational capacity of national humanitarian organisations is weak and no substitute to international organisations which often hand over responsibility to their national counterparts where insecurity forces them to relocate.

Puntland

In Puntland, insecurity and the high turnover of top administration posts hampered coordination efforts in the past. In the absence of a functioning government, community-based organisations and individuals have sporadically taken up the responsibility to provide security and assistance to vulnerable populations. In line with the protection-oriented approach adopted by the UN Country Team, an IDP Working Group was set up in 2005, meeting in Garowe on a monthly basis, involving the authorities, UN organisations and NGOs.

Somaliland

The Somaliland authorities have repeatedly stressed the need for international organisations to improve coordination and better involve them in the design and management of projects. The Hargeisa IDP Working Group, active since 2005, is supposed to meet this need and seems successful at bringing together authorities and local and international aid organisations. Discussions between UN organisations and the authorities are underway to formalise Somaliland's protection approach.

Local NGOs are developing an increasingly high profile and have become important implementing partners of international organisations in the provision of aid and assistance to vulnerable groups.

International response

The consistently declared intention of the interim government to work together with the international community in the reconstruction of Somalia has raised the hopes of the Somali people and the international community that some degree of stability can be achieved. The population is wary of more violence and craves the stability necessary to resume their lives and re-engage in economic activities.

More than before, the international community now explicitly states that local and regional reconciliation processes should be recognised and opportunities to expand humanitarian presence should be “vigorously pursued” (OCHA, 30 November 2005, p.8)

Such wording indicates an important shift in the international response over the past two years. After having resided in Nairobi for years, directing their interventions from afar, many international organisations and NGOs are trying to become more active in Somalia, concentrating their activities on Somaliland and Puntland, but pushing to expand into south and central Somalia. The UN Country Team is collaborating well and commissioned a senior IDP adviser to draft an IDP strategy, the “Joint UN Response to IDPs”, which is widely used as basis and reference in various protection programmes.

The declared “end to complacency” is a positive step, which must be followed by concrete action, as many Somalis express disappointment after dozens of visits and assessments in the past have not brought any improvements (UNDP, May 2005, p.23; meetings with TFG officials, Jowhar, October 2005; visit to Daami settlement, Hargeisa, October 2005).

Coordination

The UN Resident/Humanitarian Coordinator is responsible for overseeing the international response to IDPs which is organised in an inter-agency collaborative approach, as no single agency is specifically mandated to protect and assist IDPs.

In 1993, donors set up the Somali Aid Coordination Body (SACB) to coordinate the activities of donors, UN agencies, NGOs and the Red Cross/Red Crescent Movement. In south and central Somalia, OCHA fielded a number of national humanitarian affairs officers in 2003 in order to strengthen its coordination role, managed from Nairobi. The various ministries of the TFG recognise the need to address IDP protection issues and appear willing to negotiate between local conflicting parties in order to increase stability (Telephone interview with UNICEF representative, Nairobi, December 2005). Discussions between the TFG, other local authorities and the international community openly address IDP protection issues, such as evictions from public buildings.

The joint UN IDP strategy is a key document for coordinating the activities of the different agencies around the goal to improve protection and seek solutions through a variety of activities. The former Working Groups on IDPs and on Human Rights were merged into the Nairobi-based Protection and IDP Working Group, co-chaired by OCHA and UNHCR. The Working Group is the IDP focal point within the UN Country Team. The main goals of the IDP Strategy are to assist local authorities in enhancing IDP protection and living conditions, and in finding durable solutions for the displaced. Operations and consultations are based on the principles of equality before the law and non-discrimination, and of national authorities’ responsibility for people falling under their jurisdiction (OCHA, July 2005). The UN has initiated consultations with national and local authorities which should lead to a set of best practices to be included eventually into legislation. Examples of issues discussed are resettlement within cities, and evictions from public buildings (Telephone interviews with UNICEF and OCHA representatives, Nairobi, December 2005).

The UN Country Team was working on setting up a Protection Monitoring Network which should enable it to monitor protection issues more systematically and signal new protection problems more quickly. The Network was expected to start functioning in 2006. IDP Working Groups have been established in Somaliland (Hargeisa) and Puntland (Garowe), both meeting on a monthly basis. While the Hargeisa Working Group seemed very active at the end of 2005, the Garowe Working Group appeared to still be in the phase of defining its role. A fourth working group is intended to be established in early 2006 for south and central Somalia.

In its Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP) for 2006, the international community has identified one million chronically vulnerable people, including 370,000-400,000 IDPs who suffer severe livelihood distress. The UN Country Team will target this most vulnerable group as a humanitarian priority, focusing on three strategic goals: increase access to basic humanitarian services for vulnerable populations; enhance the protection of and respect for the human rights and dignity of affected populations; strengthen local capacity for social service delivery and disaster response (OCHA, 30 November 2005, p.1).

Complementing the humanitarian focus of the CAP, a Joint Needs Assessment (JNA) concentrating on development issues was launched in November 2005. Led by the TFG, whose representatives appear fully engaged, the JNA is supported by the World Bank and UNDP. The process is grouped into six clusters, one of them focusing on livelihoods and solutions for the displaced, another one on basic needs and protection. It will lead up to a major donor conference in Rome in June 2006.

The UN Internal Displacement Division, which selected Somalia as one of its priority countries in 2004, is assisting the UN Country Team (UNCT) in its efforts to improve the UN's response to the displacement crisis. The OCHA protection coordinator specifically targets coordination of responses to IDPs. A post of Senior IDP advisor is planned for 2006. After having organised a few protection workshops in 2004, the UNCT through the protection and IDP Working Group plans a more concerted and longer term protection training campaign for UN staff, NGOs and local authorities in 2006. The UNCT also plans a country-wide baseline profiling of IDPs in order to obtain more reliable figures about the location of the most vulnerable.

Next to IDP-specific activities, there is a need for organisations to focus on capacity- and awareness-building among Somali authorities and national staff regarding IDP-specific protection needs relating to clan-based discrimination. This includes working towards creating a sense of community or national belonging beyond clan affiliations.

Awareness of the importance of integrating protection into assistance programmes is increasing among agencies. Inter-agency collaboration in line with the separation of tasks laid down in the Joint UN IDP Strategy is becoming common practice. The IDP profiling and subsequent needs assessment planned for 2006 should help agencies to better understand the particular vulnerabilities of IDPs in their specific context and to focus their activities more effectively. This will include addressing the needs of host populations: if not carefully supported in a community-based approach, aimed at alleviating poverty, fostering economic development and providing access to basic services, the local integration or voluntary return of IDPs could create conflicts instead of being an element of peace-building.

The current positive energy and hopes for improving the humanitarian situation in Somalia will be to no avail without the appropriate funding of both emergency programmes and longer term activities. In 2003, many of the projects for integration, protection, human rights and economic reconstruction could not be implemented due to lack of funding and insecurity (UN, 18 November 2003, p.7). In 2005, as in 2004, only half of the Consolidated Appeal was covered. Of that amount, most funds went to food, agriculture and shelter, while economic recovery and infrastructure, and mine action were less than ten per cent covered. The security sector did not

receive any funding (OCHA, 30 November 2005). Donor support for Somalia has fallen by 90 per cent over the last decade (UNHCR, 30 January 2004). A drastic increase in donor support is needed for the return and reintegration of IDPs, recovery and peace-building in Somalia. It is hoped that the TFG will be able to create some degree of confidence among donors.

The tasks remain enormous. With a humanitarian emergency looming in the south, and economically strained towns in the north due to rapid urbanisation, the risks of jeopardising the current attempts towards peace and stability are manifold. There appears to be a clear political will to proactively address the serious gaps in the international response to internal displacement in Somalia and bring this widely ignored humanitarian emergency back to the attention of the international community. It is evident that the Somali people themselves will ultimately have to join their efforts constructively in order to bring stability to the country. But although they have shown remarkable resilience, they have little chance of getting out of the cycle of poverty and war with the low level of assistance currently allocated to their country. The international community must show sincerity in its stated aim of helping Somalia create its own future by providing the necessary financial and political support to the fragile peace- and state-building process, which is a prerequisite for finding durable solutions for the country's displaced populations.

National response

Community-based organisations provide ad-hoc assistance to IDPs where a functioning state is absent

Given scale of war and destruction and the volatile security in Somalia, it may be premature to expect that the new government will have a positive impact on the humanitarian, socio-economic and political situation, let alone that it will have the capacity to establish authority throughout the country and achieve durable peace (UN, 18 November 2004, p.10). It is therefore likely that most of the southern and central regions of the country will stay in a state of chronic complex emergency: little authoritative government, high levels of criminality, sporadic armed conflict, lack of economic recovery, endemic humanitarian needs, minimal health care and education, and population displacement. As a result, most operational activities will remain ad hoc, lacking sustainability and dependent on security.

In the absence of a functioning government, community-based organisations and individuals have sporadically taken up the responsibility to provide security and assistance to vulnerable populations. For example businessmen paid the school fees of some displaced children in Bosaso to enable them to attend school (Interviews, Bosaso, August 2004). The Somali Red Crescent is the only national humanitarian institution represented across the country, providing health care, disaster preparedness and relief. A dozen of Islamic charities have also provided assistance to vulnerable populations and IDPs all over the country. The Al-Islah charity for example, has a strong presence in Mogadishu where it is a primary provider of health and education and other basic services. Orphanages for war orphans are also operated by Islamic organisations. They draw funds from the Gulf States, top businessmen and some politicians. They do not coordinate with other mainly western NGOs and UN agencies (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.13).

A number of local NGOs are also active in supporting displaced communities, but most have a limited scope due to lack of funds and resources. In Hargeisa Somaliland, for example, Gashan provides some assistance to displaced families from southern Somalia particularly targeting women. It has done active advocacy towards authorities and international agencies to address

the needs of IDPs; it provided legal and moral support, food and non-food items, and facilitated access to basic health and school services as well as income-generating activities to IDPs (Gashan, 15 August 2004).

In the north, Somaliland and Punt land have enjoyed relative stability and authorities have been engaged in the coordination and provision of humanitarian and development assistance. However, little has been done to assist IDPs. While both administrations recognize the sheer needs of internally displaced populations, they lack human and financial resources, local populations at large live in extreme poverty, and the international support to assist IDPs has been next to nil.

There has been little enthusiasm from these authorities to design comprehensive IDP policies particularly when it touches upon issues of urban planning, legal status and property rights. And in some instances officials have effectively blocked or diverted assistance meant for IDPs, according to the UN (UNCU, 30 July 2002, p.34-5).

While legitimate and accountable government structures are established in southern and central Somalia, and pending the elaboration of IDP policies in the north, humanitarian assistance to IDPs will remain almost entirely dependent upon the international community.

International response

Providing assistance where access to resources is determined by clan and ethnic divisions

"One of the key issues raised during this research concerned the potential negative impact of aid. In Kismaayo, aid resources are likely to be a source of dispute, destabilising an already-fragile environment and reinforcing the existing socio-ethnic divisions and patterns of power. This raises a number of issues (and challenges) outlined below. One interviewee asserted succinctly that if these are not addressed, it would be like putting 'fuel into the fire'. Rather than simply 'rushing in' in an ad hoc manner, this suggests a more tentative and coordinated approach to committing resources, which incorporates answers to these challenges in an operational plan.

How does the international community work with a de facto authority like the JVA without conferring credibility on its occupation and illegitimate administration? Although this issue is not new in Somalia, the perceptions of other (excluded) groups remain important.

[...]

By working with the JVA clan duopoly in Kismaayo, the international community is, in the eyes of the clans inside and outside of Kismaayo town (whether *guri* or *gelti*), legitimising this claim, albeit inadvertently. The international community is no longer perceived to be neutral in its engagement in the region. This is reinforced by concentrating assistance in Kismaayo to the exclusion of other clans and clan areas.

To counter this, a much more transparent and inclusive approach to engagement in the region, not just in Kismaayo, is required. All clan parties in the region, *guri* and *gelti*, must be approached and brought into negotiations on the provision of assistance. This is a much higher tier of engagement than that normally considered in Somalia (where negotiations are held with local authorities only). However, this may lead to accepting some degree of trade-off between identified needs and operational pragmatism.

2. The international aid community in Somalia falls somewhere between operational pragmatism and a principled approach ('principled pragmatism'). But how pragmatic (or unprincipled) is the international community prepared to be? There must be a bottom line below which agencies suspend activities or withdraw. This is rarely defined, and the negative impacts of aid are rarely monitored. Consequently, the boundaries of operational pragmatism continually shift. Although this lack of clarity and consistency allows the international community to continue working in contested environments, this comes at a cost: it allows those seeking to manipulate the resources of aid to operate between these fuzzy boundaries.

3. International assistance must be sensitive to the multiclan topography of Kismaayo and the Lower Juba in general. This means 'thinking multi-clan' at several levels:

[...]

But how does the international community work with or around entrenched socio-ethnic divisions to ensure that aid resources most benefit those targeted? Similarly, how does the international community work with or around aid gatekeepers? Ultimately, we can either accept some degree of diversion (the pragmatic approach) or enforce a zero-tolerance policy (a principled approach). However, both require that effective monitoring and evaluation indicators are applied and enforced.

[...]

5. The focus of humanitarian assistance is on those considered most vulnerable. To encourage local 'ownership' of project activities, the international community should endeavour to use the 'pillars' of Somali society (such as the ulamaadiin or religious leaders, clan elders and the dynamic business community) to work for the benefit of the vulnerable and the implementing agencies. Using these 'pillars' to provide resources (such as cash or credit), act as guarantors, or simply to facilitate access, transfers the responsibility and risk of potential asset loss to these intermediaries.

6. Due to the fragility of the security situation and the multi-clan topography of the region, 'mobile resources' such as mobile health clinics or veterinary services may be more appropriate than 'fixed' facilities such as hospitals. These could operate a routine multi-location and multi-clan itinerary (Tuesday in Buaale, Thursday in Afmadow, and so on) and could incorporate health education literature (on HIV/AIDS, female genital mutilation and sanitation). In case of renewed fighting, they could be 'evacuated'.

[...]

A monitoring and evaluation component is central to the efficacy of this approach. This paper has argued that many of the problems facing IDPs and other vulnerable groups in Kismaayo relate to the linkage between socio-ethnic status and access to resources. This infers that monitoring and evaluation must move away from implementation checklists, noting the number of wells constructed, tarpaulins delivered or people fed. What is needed in addition are more subtle indicators that depict the real impact of activities. These indicators could include the degree of access to resources based on clan representation (and particularly the degree of access that minority clans can develop); the presence or absence of aid gatekeepers and the degree of resource diversion; the scale of the security threat – to beneficiaries, staff and the wider community – or even changes in port activity. As this component underpins basic and structural needs phases, and indeed should provide the impetus for continuing engagement or disengagement, a systematic reporting system that is transparent and involves all stakeholders should be established." (ODI, 31 December 2003, p.14-5, 17-20)

The Programme for Reintegration of Returning Refugees and Displaced Persons in Somalia is part of a sub-regional initiative launched in 2001 by IGAD, UNHCR and UNDP to facilitate the reintegration of uprooted populations in the Horn of Africa.

At the request of local authorities, UNDP and UNHCR developed reintegration projects for returning refugees targeting both receiving communities and IDPs living alongside returnees in

Somaliland and Puntland, representing about 670,000 and 100,000 people respectively. The agencies have appealed for \$4 million covering the implementation period from 2005 until 2007.

About 1 million refugees returned to Somalia during the past 15 years, about 800,000 in Somaliland and 200,000 to Puntland, out of which about 475,000 with assistance from UNHCR. The refugee agency spent about \$30 millions in Somalia, of which about \$23 millions in Somaliland, between 1993 - 2004.

The reintegration project based on an integrated community-approach, will focus on alleviating poverty, fostering economic development and providing access to basic services to help reintegrate about 1 million returnees since the 1990s. Other UN organizations involved included UNICEF, UNESCO, UNFPA, WFP, WHO, FAO, IFAD, UNHCHR, UNIFEM; and NGOs involved included the Danish Refugee Council (DRC), SC-USA, Swiss Group and IRC.

Although many of the returning refugees have also become displaced in their own country as they had nothing to go back to in their rural or urban areas of origin, and often live in similar destitution as IDPs, there are nevertheless key differences to take into account if assistance is to reach the IDPs. While returnees are Somalilanders, the IDPs from south/central Somalia are not from the same clan, therefore do not enjoy protection in Somaliland. In addition, many of them are associated with the crimes of the Barre regime committed against the region's Isaaq clan. As a result, they are discriminated upon access over basic services and face serious human rights violations. In order for assistance to reach the IDPs and improve their protection situation, they need to be positively-discriminated on the basis of needs assessments taking into account social, cultural and economic factors, while at the same time addressing the needs of host populations in order to ease social tensions. More efforts are needed by agencies to understand the particular vulnerabilities of IDPs in their specific context. To ensure better protection of IDPs, agencies should develop a protection-focused approach to assistance, rather than treating protection and humanitarian activities separately.

ICRC: the only organisation which assisted war-affected populations in central/southern Somalia throughout the war

In 2005, the ICRC was supporting some 300 projects in south and central Somalia.

"The ICRC is providing all necessary support for the only two major referral hospitals in Somalia, located in Mogadishu. So far this year, these hospitals have treated an average of 400 people a month. The ICRC has been working in Somalia since 1982." (ICRC, 16 August 2004)

"In budgetary terms the Somali operation is among the ICRC's top ten operations worldwide. The ICRC is the most active organization in the conflictual regions of central and southern Somalia, its neutrality is widely recognized and it is well accepted by the Somali population including all the various political and traditional leaders and actors.

The ICRC is still well remembered for its role in the first half of the 1990s and while certain areas are temporarily out of bounds for security reasons it has regular access to most regions. A large spectrum of assistance activities, a network of experienced and qualified national staff, and its partnership with the Somali Red Crescent Society (SRCS) allows the ICRC to maintain a good understanding of Somali society and the problems it faces.

In many ways this is an ICRC operation unlike any other. The delegation itself has officially been based in Nairobi since 1994. The ICRC does not maintain any physical structures or transport fleet within Somalia itself. In order to remain effective and relevant in the country, it has over the

past ten years developed and fine-tuned a set-up and an innovative modus operandi tailored to the operational reality.

Currently, there is in Nairobi a team of 13 expatriates attached to the Somalia operation. In 2003 this team succeeded in having an average of two expatriates inside the country each day. The role of the expatriate delegate focuses primarily on strategy and management of programmes, project development and evaluation, know-how and skill sharing.

Crucial to the entire operation is the ICRC team of 20 Somali field officers whose knowledge of the context enables them to carry out multifaceted tasks including: contributing to and updating of political analysis; media monitoring; identifying and assessing projects; establishing dialogue and carrying out negotiations with community elders, private sector and various political or traditional leaders; liaising with regional branches of the SRCS; overseeing of logistics and security arrangements; hiring daily workers; and taking care of local procurement and rentals. In effect the national staff of the ICRC Somalia operation exercise more autonomy and carry more responsibility than is the case with ICRC operations elsewhere.

During all field trips to and within Somalia, ICRC field staff oversees all logistics and security matters. Security concerns remain foremost and measures are regularly adapted to the reality on the ground. Armed escorts are commonly used as a deterrent but are only one aspect of a comprehensive security strategy which includes systematic gathering of information, the development of a network of contacts and an ongoing dialogue with beneficiary communities - all of which amounts to a deliberate and prudent approach on the part of the ICRC.

[...]

While keeping a capacity to react to emergencies, the ICRC Somalia operation is very much project-based, with over 300 projects up and running throughout the country.

[...]

The ICRC's assistance programmes focus on restoring or protecting the essential means of production of farmers and agro-pastoralists while ensuring water access for pastoralists. Special emphasis is put on irrigation facilities along the Shebele and Juba rivers (on which farmers rely heavily for their food production) through the rehabilitation of former pump irrigation schemes (PIPs) and water-controlling gates (GRIPs).

[...]

Through community projects (CIPs), cash is injected into communities with reduced access to food and moreover, ensures the rehabilitation of community-owned infrastructure. The rehabilitation of water points like wells and boreholes remains central to sustaining the corresponding livelihoods of agro-pastoralists and pastoralists in areas away from the rivers.

[...]

In Somalia there are two rainy seasons - the Gu between April and July and the Deyr between September and November. This means that there are two seasons for harvesting. To coincide with this, the ICRC carries out a distribution of staple seeds (maize, sorghum and sesame) before each rainy season (in March and in August) to some 10,000 small-scale farming families. This makes it possible for families, normally without access to seeds, to plant 1.5 ha of crops. A similar programme is in place to distribute staple seeds to 10,000 IDP families.

[...]

Today in Somalia the ICRC provides support for:

- 2 referral surgical hospitals in the capital, Keysaney in north Mogadishu and Madina in south Mogadishu
- 18 health posts jointly supported through branches of the SRCS
- 3 pre-hospital care facilities
- 5 oral rehydration centres

[...]

In January 2004, of a daily average of 50 inpatients some 60% were weapon-wounded as a result of clan fighting.

[...]

Madina is a 65-bed hospital in south Mogadishu and specializes in treating weapon-wounded and providing surgical care. Formerly a 500-bed facility offering a wide range of health care for the police force and the general public, the ICRC has supported the hospital since 2000 after a direct appeal from the local community elders. Today, Madina is the main referral hospital in Somalia and according to its chief surgeon, Dr Jusef Mohammed, "probably as many as 90% are gunshot-wounded civilians. And most of these civilians are street children or IDPs."

[...]

With 19 branches (one in each region of Somalia) reporting to one of the two coordination offices in Mogadishu and Hargeisa, the Somali Red Crescent Society (SRCS) is often cited as the only Somali institution functioning at the national level. The SRCS is a key partner of the ICRC, especially in areas such as health (see above), dissemination and tracing." (ICRC, 9 March 2004)

Emergency aid to south, development aid to north

- With very little outside help Somaliland has to reintegrate 600,000 returning refugees
- UNHCR spoke about raising awareness among the donor community on the relative peace achieved in the north compared to the ongoing chaos in the south
- First ever meeting with Somaliland authorities and international donors in Sept 2003
- Discussion focused on the needs of 600,000 people displaced in Somaliland
- Foreign aid to Somaliland represents only a fraction of the amount of remittances (\$200 million) and export earnings (\$175 million when livestock is not banned by the Saudis)
- Donors devote most of their provision to emergency assistance in the south, while the north receives most of the non-emergency assistance
- UN Resident Representative in Somalia said funding trends were slowly increasing

"A senior official from Somaliland on Wednesday urged donor governments to give the breakaway region of Somalia US\$64 million, saying the self-declared republic deserves support because it is an African success story.

[...]

The entire country has been without a central government for more than a decade, and much of southern Somalia has been carved into a patchwork of fiefdoms by heavily armed, clan-based factions.

In contrast, Somaliland, in the north, with an estimated population of 2.5 million, has enjoyed relative peace. But it has failed to gain international recognition since declaring its independence.

The unrecognized country has also rarely received the international funding it says it needs. But its government has steered programs that include bringing home 600,000 refugees in the past decade – a major success, U.N. aid officials said.

[...]

"We have to work with authorities on the ground wherever we are," said Peter Kessler, spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, when asked about the sensitivities of hosting officials from the breakaway region.

Among donor governments, Kessler said, there is "no understanding of the differences between what has been achieved in the north and the chaos in the south.'" (UNHCR, 16 June 2004)

"Because no state to date has been willing to recognize Somaliland's claim to sovereign independence, Somaliland has been forced to forge ahead with only minimal external assistance. Foreign aid to Somaliland has increased in recent years, but still is only a fraction of the amount

of remittances (US\$200 million) and export earnings (US\$175 million when livestock is not banned by the Saudis) generated by Somaliland.

[...]

While emergency relief is not disaggregated from rehabilitation assistance in SACB reporting, some major donors devote most of their assistance to provision of emergency relief. The US, the second largest donor after the EC, devoted 56 per cent of its US\$30 million in aid in 2002 to food security, and 64 per cent of its assistance went exclusively to the south of the country. [...]

Non-emergency assistance is increasingly targeting northern regions, however. Since 2000, the SACB has refocused its policy framework toward promotion of a peace dividend approach, making non-emergency rehabilitation assistance conditional on security and good governance. [...] Since such conditions only obtain in Somaliland and, at times, in Puntland, that policy has created what one study terms a “northwards drift” of non-emergency rehabilitation assistance in Somalia, in which a growing portion of aid – both in terms of monetary amounts and aid agency presence on the ground – is in Puntland and Somaliland. [...] In 2000, 42 per cent of foreign assistance was targeted at the north, compared to 31 per cent at the south (the remaining 27 per cent was countrywide). [...] The EC in 2002 committed 49 per cent of its non-emergency project funding to Somaliland and Puntland, with only 23.7 per cent for south and central Somalia (27.3 per cent of its funding that year was for countrywide projects).”

(Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.28,46)

“Ministers from Somaliland have held unprecedented talks with international donors and the United Nations. Foreign Minister Edna Adan Ismail described the meeting, held on Wednesday, as a breakthrough for the self-declared republic, which is seeking international recognition. “It gives us status and it gives us political importance that we have never been accorded before,” she told IRIN at the end of the talks.

Officials from Ethiopia and Djibouti also attended the day-long talks, which focused primarily on the 600,000 displaced people in Somaliland. Other participants included the UN refugee agency (UNHCR), the World Food Programme (WFP) and UNICEF, the World Bank and embassy officials from the US, Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, Saudi Arabia, Japan and Finland.

[...]

Maxwell Gaylard, head of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) Resident Representative for Somalia, who initiated the discussions, said the trend for donor support was slowly increasing. “It is the first time that we have brought together, or been able to bring together, the authorities of Somaliland directly with the international donor community,” he said.” (IRIN, 19 September 2003)

Very few international NGOs assist IDPs in south/central Somalia and maintain presence in Mogadishu

“Sixty-two international NGOs are members of the Somalia NGO Consortium; they report that their projects in governance, education, and water/sanitation/infrastructure are heavily concentrated in Somaliland and Puntland, while their activities in agriculture and health and nutrition are mainly in the south, especially in Benadir (Mogadishu), Lower Shabelle, and Gedo regions.” (Menkhaus, UNHCR, August 2003, p.46)

Several international NGOs also participate in developing the Common Humanitarian Action Plan and some also appeal for funds in the UN Consolidated appeal. These are:

Action Contre La Faim (ACF) ; Adventist Development and Relief (ADRA); CARE International; Cooperazione Internazionale (COOPI); Emergency Pastoralist Assistance Group (HISAN-WEPA); Handicap International (HI); HealthNet International; Horn of Africa Relief Development

Organisation (HORN RELIEF); International Committee for the Development of Peoples (CISP); International Medical Corps (IMC); Norwegian People's Aid (NPA); NOVIB Somalia (Oxfam Netherlands); Save the Children-United Kingdom (SCF-UK); Una Terra, Un Mondo Per Tutti (UNA); World Concern International (WCI); World Vision (WV). (UN, 18 November 2003, p.18,19)

Action against hunger (AAH) is present in Somalia since 1992, it is one of the few international NGOs present in southern Somalia, present in Luuq and Merca, and it assists IDPs with emergency food, basic needs kits, immunization and health. ACF is also one of the only international NGO present in north and south Mogadishu assisting both IDPs and vulnerable populations at large. There, it admits more than 250 severely malnourished children in its Therapeutic Feeding Centres monthly. It also runs an anti-cholera programme to check the yearly spread of the disease and works on projects to develop safe water sources (ACF, 21 December 2001; ACF 2000, "Contexte").

CARE is another international NGOs with a presence in southern and central Somalia, mainly in Middle Juba, Hiran, Bakol, Bay, Gedo, Lower Shabelle, Middle Shabelle and Galgadud. It assists IDPs and host populations through emergency and rehabilitation activities including food for peace commodities, food for work (FFW), and emergency food distributions (EFD). Supplementary and/or therapeutic feeding for extremely vulnerable individuals, primarily recently displaced people, is primarily conducted through other international NGOs. Where appropriate, CARE purchases locally available cereals from surplus regions and transport them to the chronically vulnerable areas, in order not to disrupt local markets (CARE, Project Information, 2002).

Africa 70 was one of the only international NGO assisting IDPs in Bosaso. It is part of an Italian consortium composed of 7 NGOs, Una Terra, Un Mondo Per Tutti (UNA). Africa 70's main counterpart in Bosaso is the Ministry of Planning and Development, a merger between the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of Local Government. Africa 70 established a social centre, and a school where it organizes formal and non-formal education for displaced and local children, including sports and training workshops for adults. It adopts a community-based approach to foster local integration. It also provided literacy classes in 3 of the 13 IDP settlements and books were provided by UNICEF and UNHCR. Only one out of the three schools has a concrete building. It also organized waste-collection and health and hygiene awareness activities. WFP provided food at the school to encourage parents to enroll their children. Local businessmen were also supporting the activities of Africa 70 by providing some of the school fees of minority clan children (less than 4\$ monthly) when parents could not afford it. However, Africa 70 still estimates that there is a 20 per cent drop out.

The municipality gave the premises of the social centre to Africa 70, but following a re-shuffling in the administration it was taken away from them. This temporarily ended Africa 70's work however a new governor gave the premises back to them and activities started again in August 2004 (Interviews, mission, August 2004).

Coordination

Joint UN IDP Strategy should facilitate coordination among organisations and with Somali authorities

The UNCT has adopted in 2005 a 'Joint UN Strategic Plan to Address the Needs of Internally Displaced Persons in Somalia'. The IDP Strategy should link up with the approach proposed in the Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP) for 2006, which focuses on humanitarian needs, and

the Joint Needs Assessment (JNA), owned by the Somali authorities and supported by the World Bank and UNDP, which focuses on post-conflict development. As part of the Joint IDP Strategy, the UN Country Team plans the development of a Somali Protection Monitoring Network for 2006.

The Nairobi-based IDP and Protection Working Group is the forum recommending IDP-specific interventions, based on information provided by the Protection Monitoring Network. IDP Working Groups have been established in Hargeisa and Garowe. One is recommended to be formed in Jowhar. The Working Groups collect and analyse relevant information and relate closely to the Working Group in Nairobi (OCHA, IDP Strategy, July 2005).

The Somalia Aid Coordinating Body (SACB) is the national structure facilitating co-ordination in the absence of a state organ. It was established in 1993 to co-ordinate development and humanitarian activities, policies and strategies including information sharing, common planning and implementation. It consists of donors, the UNCT, the NGO Consortium and the Red Cross Movement. The SACB established five sectoral committees and several working groups including one on the Rule of Law and Protection to strengthen coordination and collaboration in these fields (UNCHR, 30 November 2003, para.95).

In the central and southern parts of the country, coordination is ensured by OCHA field staff. There, the level and effectiveness of coordination is largely hampered by insecurity, logistical constraints and the dispersal of key actors. In response, OCHA fielded four national humanitarian affairs officers to improve coordination in Kismayo, Belet Weyne, Huduur and Mogadishu in 2003. These decentralization and participation efforts might be however undermined by the 2004 Kenyan ban on Somali passport holders. Throughout 2004, OCHA had difficulties filling key coordination posts in Puntland and Somaliland. In 2005, the humanitarian representation in Hargeisa is sufficient, but other parts of Somaliland are still not. In Puntland, insecurity and high turn over of top administration posts also hampered coordination efforts. As of April 2004, OCHA had still not filled key coordination posts in Luuq and Bossaso. The Hargeisa post has been vacant for over eighteen months and the Baidoa post for almost a year (OCHA IDP Unit, 16 April 2004).

In order to avert aid manipulation and attacks on staff, and ensure a more principled approach to intervention, the SCAB, the UN and NGOs developed in 2002 the Guiding Principles of Operation. Based on various codes of conduct and international humanitarian law, the principles spell out the roles and responsibilities of the actors engaged in the assistance interface (humanitarian workers and local authorities).

MSF withdrew from the SACB in July 2001 in an effort to maintain its neutrality and impartiality. It saw the involvement in peace-building activities through support to the Transitional National Government of some SACB member as a threat to the neutrality of humanitarian assistance, which ultimately could compromise access to people in need (MSF 11 July 2001).

Specific activities would include a consistently applied rights-based approach to all UN programming; application of the recently-developed UNCT livelihoods approach; capacity building of local authorities and stakeholders on roles and responsibilities for fulfillment of UN IDP Guiding Principles; promotion of the integration of human rights standards into legislative and policy reforms at regional and national levels; establishment of regional human rights institutions; adoption of a systematic and high level advocacy initiative on human rights and protection of vulnerable civilians with all Somali leaders; strengthening of existing local human rights monitoring and reporting mechanisms and of the UNCT's response capacity to provide protection and assistance to vulnerable populations (UNCT, 19 March 2004).

Primary responsibility for IDPs rests with the respective governments. In the case of Somalia, where there is no central government, local authorities must in principle accept this responsibility, though in practice these entities are not yet sufficiently capable to provide IDPs much protection. The international community therefore must do its utmost to assist. In 1998, the UN Emergency Relief Coordinator was given the mandate to ensure the protection of and assistance to IDPs, and to coordinate implementation of the activities by UN Agencies and partners which are operational in Somalia (UN, December 1998).

International response pre-2006

Maintain strong link between relief and recovery activities in 2005

While international agencies have officially committed to prioritise IDPs by developing comprehensive policies targeting them, it has yet to fully materialise.

The UN Resident/Humanitarian Coordinator is responsible for overseeing the international response. While there is no one single agency specifically mandated to protect and assist IDPs, their needs have been included in the programmes of various agencies according to their respective sectoral or thematic focus. During 2005 UN agencies and NGOs will continue to work with local authorities and communities towards three strategic goals outlined in the UN Consolidated Appeal: first, to save lives through emergency aid and helping vulnerable communities become more resilient to crises; second, to enhance the protection of and respect for human rights, particularly those of IDPs and minorities; and third, to support emerging governance structures and civil society through capacity-building, and to provide and enhance access to basic services to vulnerable communities, in order to foster peace building, reconstruction and development. Throughout, agencies will aim at maintaining a strong link between relief assistance and recovery activities. The 2005 Consolidated Appeal for Somalia seeks \$ 164.5 million for 93 projects in eleven sectors (OCHA, 11 November 2004, p.1).

UN activities in 2005 focused on humanitarian and recovery needs throughout Somalia, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration activities, as well as on the return of refugees, and potentially for the resettlement of some internally displaced persons.

“About 70,000 to 100,000 ex-combatants are also targeted not based on traditional measures of vulnerability, but as a special category of, mainly youth, which if not meaningfully integrated into society, will continue to act as a destructive force, creating anew or exacerbating existing vulnerabilities.” (UN, 18 November 2004)

Insecurity, lack of funding and lack of local capacity remained three main constraints to implement activities in 2004

In 2004, UN agencies and NGOs focused, where security allowed, on meeting the needs of the most acutely vulnerable IDPs, returnees and minority groups including host-communities. Changes in the humanitarian context in late 2003 due to the continuing drought, deteriorating food security situation and the escalation of violence led to the revision of the 2004 CAP budget requirements. The Somalia 2004 CAP requested \$110.5 million to cover humanitarian and recovery needs. This figure was revised upwards to \$120 million in February 2004. A of October

2004, half of the funds were received as of October 2004, leaving \$57.8 million unmet requirements (OCHA, 18 November 2004, p.4,5).

The most severe drought ever experienced since 1974, affected the north and central parts of Somalia in 2004, deteriorating the food security situation and depleting up to 90% of the livestock assets of pastoral communities. Agencies had to scale up their emergency response particularly in the food and water sectors. Long-term activities included multi-agency programmes supporting the reintegration of returnees, with a focus on access to basic services and income generation, promotion of rule of law and good governance, and poverty reduction.

The three major constraints to planning and implementing humanitarian response in Somalia remain: insecurity, lack of capacity of local administrative structures to implement activities and lack of funding. Other factors render humanitarian response difficult such as the lack of statistical data and information for measuring impact and early warning; changing governance structures.

Main issues to improve included: striking a good balance between emergency aid and long-term development needs; field-level coordination and duplication of interventions; quality and coverage of interventions; increasing community participation in design, implementation and monitoring of interventions; capacity building of Community Based Organisations (CBOs); improve information sharing with Somali counterparts and develop indicators to measure progress (UN, 18 November 2004, p.6).

To see donor support to the 2004 UN CAP by appealing organization and by sector see the [UN CAP 2005 for Somalia](#), p.46

Gaps

Policy and recommendations

Recommendations by the Inter-Agency Internal Displacement Division, May 2005

Recommendations

- a) Country Team to endorse protection strategy submitted in June by Protection Working Group and agree on respective roles and responsibilities of protection-mandated operation agencies.
- b) OCHA's protection coordinator post to be merged with the proposed IDP Adviser post, to create a Protection/IDP Adviser. However, to avoid delaying recruitment processes currently underway for the protection coordinator, and in the event that a suitable candidate with a solid background is identified, it is recommended that recruitment proceed and TORs be adjusted afterwards. Otherwise the post should be re-advertised at the L4 level. Through the OCHA office, the Protection/IDP Adviser would support and advise the RC/HC and the CT on IDP protection/assistance planning and response, in line with IASC guidance.
- c) OCHA/IDD to follow up on the UNCT's request for an L4 OHCHR protection officer, to be based out of Nairobi. OCHA Somalia has offered to accommodate such an officer. d) UNHCR to explore options for longer-term dedicated capacity on IDP issues for Somalia.
- e) UNICEF Somalia to be encouraged to deploy further child protection officers to the field.

f) UNEP to engage more proactively on the issue of non-Tsunami related environmental degradation.

g) The UN, through the ERC and OCHA/IDD, to step up advocacy with donors on enhanced support for the Consolidated Appeal, on the basis of the IDP Task Force's forthcoming under-funded projects summary and the advice of the UNHCR senior IDP adviser. Particular areas of concern include shelter, income generation, health services, education and airstrip security.

h) The UN, through the HC/RC and Country team, to continue to put pressure on host authorities (TFG, Somaliland and Puntland) to meet obligations toward IDP populations.

Actions considered from the OCHA Somaliland IDP workshop (2004)

- While participants stated IDP rights are protected by existing laws authorities may consider adopting the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement
- IDPs should be better organised and represented in order to better advocate for their needs and participate in project targeting them
- To address discrimination mobile teams providing IDPs health facilities may be considered
- UN agencies may propose to the government that part of the land allocated for returnees be allocated specifically to IDPs
- More information on the situation of the IDPs is needed, including land issues, and strengthening dialogue and IDP participation are needed

"Further on the issue of rights and obligations statement/paper, it was said that there is no need for any new law. The participants stated that traditional laws, secular laws plus the Constitution protect the IDPs' rights. However, OCHA, UNDP/ROLS and Somaliland authorities may look into the possibility of adopting the Guiding Principles for Internal Displacement as law, which was done by other countries.

During the workshop it was mentioned that the IDPs themselves are not organised with no group/organisation representing them. As the participants recognised that there is a lack of knowledge about the current situation of IDPs, this information may need to be further assessed together with the IDPs. If IDPs themselves would like to get better organised, there might be a need for at least technical assistance to do so.

In view of UNDP Somalia's recent receipt of some major funds for water, it might be considered to allocate certain part of those funds specifically for IDPs (perhaps together with the surrounding host communities).

Further on access to/discrimination at health facilities, the sectoral discussions may wish to look into the possibility of mobile teams, promotion of qualified staff from minority clans/groups, rights conditioned assistance, etc.

Regarding the issue of where IDPs live and whether they in fact pay rent on public land, further information is required. However, in connection with UN Habitat's work and/or UNHCR/UNDP's negotiations with LA on land allocation for returnees, it could be proposed that parts of any land allocation goes to IDPs. This will enable IDPs to have a better standard of living and it will assist the LA in preventing/addressing the problem of ad hoc structures being put up in a non-organised manner.

Even though employment was not specifically discussed in terms of actions, the statements above related to employment seem to indicate a discriminatory attitude and may require further action (legislation, different ways of addressing practice, etc). Income-generating (IG) projects targeting IDPs may also take this issue into consideration as well as the below point, i.e. the involvement of the IDPs themselves in assessing and implementing such projects.

With a few exceptions, e.g. UNICEF, there seemed to be little communication with IDPs in group three. As a result, the information about their current situation and problems were limited and/or general – as mentioned above. In order to provide adequate assistance/support to this group, they themselves need to be involved and thereby also take responsibility for their own future. A first step towards such involvement is to establish a dialogue with the concerned persons, either by using the few existing channels or through reaching out by visiting IDP areas. Only through such dialogue and involvement of IDPs, a proper assessment of the IDPs' situation can be made. Such assessment should be followed by concrete actions to address some of the identified problems.” (OCHA, 22 June 2004)

Recommendations from GASHAN local Somaliland NGO working with IDPs (2004)

“The IDP population in Hargeisa is actually living in slums located in the mentioned areas. They are living in poverty, below minimum standards of living, with no reliable source of income. There are no social services in the temporary settlements and they get close to no assistance from the administration or the international community.

Recommendations:

- It is fundamental to establish a well planned resettlement area provisioned with all the necessary facilities and social services for the IDP population at large
- it is absolutely necessary for the IDPs from Somalia to establish a separate and specific resettlement area
- and carry the following pressing activities:

Identify and locate an accessible area

Collect statistics and register IDPs in order to clarify accurate numbers of IDPs present in Somaliland

Assist IDPs with transport to the newly established resettlement area

Provide IDPs with food aid

Provide services such as water and electricity

Ensure protection through establishing police presence

Provide all necessary social services to improve IDPs' livelihoods namely: Health facilities i.e. MCH centers and toilets, shelter and housing, education and vocational training facilities such as schools and training centres, markets and income generation projects, communication facilities, roads and infrastructure.” (Gashan, 15 August 2004)

Recommendations from the OCHA Unit on Internal Displacement (April 2004)

- Deploy remaining international humanitarian officers to central Somalia and strengthen links to the Wartorn Societies Project to strengthen coordination
- That the UNCT strengthen efforts to provide basic education, basic services, and livelihood enhancement programmes to IDPs and highly vulnerable communities
- Reassess who should carry out the coordination of the UNCT's protection activities as UNIFEM lacks capacity

- Appoint a Protection Coordinator within the UNCT
- Strengthen advocacy for donor funding particularly in long-term provisions in order to break the cycle of relief interventions for IDPs

“The mission makes the following recommendations to the HC, the UNCT and to OCHA:

- That the deployment of the remaining international humanitarian officers to the central region be given the highest priority by OCHA in order to effectively strengthen the level of field coordination and the monitoring of the humanitarian environment;
- That OCHA strengthens its level of coordination with local NGOs and civil society through closer links with the Wartorn Societies Project’s (WSP);
- That the UNCT increase its efforts in promoting access to basic education among HVC’s, as well as capacity building among adults for income generation;
- That the UNCT’s strategy of providing the four basic services to all HVCs is strengthened and that the provision of livelihoods enhancement programming is added as the fifth ‘service’ in order to increase the sustainability of the other four;
- That the coordination of the UNCT’s protection activities be reassessed as UNIFEM lacks the capacity to lead this process;
- That the Protection Coordinator position within the UNCT is be filled as quickly as possible and priority be placed on the search for donor resources for this post;
- That a project proposal is developed in order to implement the programming proposed by the Kismayo Livelihood Study in Puntland;
- That a 4Rs workshop be organized jointly by UNDP and UNHCR drawing on the experienced gained in other countries that have passed through transition;
- That the advocacy on behalf of the UNCT for resources be strengthened at HQ and capital levels; and
- That the donor community be continually reminded that longer-term provisions of funding in Somalia are needed to break the unending cycle of relief interventions for Somalia’s HVCs.”
(OCHA IDP Unit, 16 April 2004)

Amnesty International calls for a UN human rights adviser to be appointed in Somalia (2004)

- AI recommends the new leaders of Somalia to put an end to arbitrary killings of civilians, kidnappings, rape and looting and bringing to justice those responsible
- AI advocates for the appointment of a UN human rights adviser to respond to the urgent civilian protection needs
- AI advocates for measures to be taken to implement the frequently-violated UN arms embargo and to demobilise militias
- Creating the conditions for safe return and sustainable reintegration and recovery requires major security improvements

“The resumption of statehood must guarantee human rights and personal security for all citizens, as they regain a recognized citizenship and return from isolation to the world community of nations.

A new government will be under obligation to respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international and regional human rights treaties and conventions, particularly those signed by previous governments of Somalia.

Somalia's new government must be committed to human rights and make a clean break with the gross abuses of the past 30 years, even though some of the perpetrators are still dominating the

power-sharing. New human rights abuses must not be tolerated and those responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity, committed in the past, must be held accountable.

Those entrusted with the responsibilities of government in the transitional period should make clear and public commitments to promote and protect human rights. New conflicts between local communities, clans or regions must be prevented. New violence and abuses must not be tolerated.

[...]

There is widespread public support for the creation of a strong and independent National Human Rights Commission.

The role of human rights defenders must be recognized and respected by the new authorities. They are vital to build a human rights culture to protect all citizens - particularly the vulnerable categories of women, minorities and children - and support their rights and freedoms.

Amnesty International is appealing to the international community to give firm and generous support for human rights and reconstruction in Somalia. Human rights must be prominent in donor assistance strategies, particularly to respond rapidly to civil protection needs in the first few months of a new government. A UN human rights adviser for Somalia is urgently needed. Measures should be taken to implement the frequently-violated UN arms embargo and disband faction militias. Child soldiers should be demobilized and rehabilitated.

State collapse in Somalia led to serious international and regional insecurity and huge refugee flows and internal displacement. Amnesty International calls for an immediate halt to the forced return of rejected asylum seekers to the south. Two people forcibly returned to Mogadishu recently were reportedly killed. Conditions for safe return and sustainable livelihood for refugees will require major improvements in security, safe humanitarian access and substantial post-conflict reconstruction." (AI, 28 July 2004)

Recommendations of the independent expert on the situation of human rights in Somalia (2003)

- At the request of the Ministry of Justice of Somaliland, the expert recommended to establish an office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Hargeisa
- The Expert recommends to set up a committee of experts to investigate past human rights violations and crimes against humanity
- The expert encouraged continued multi-agency activities to meet IDPs' short-term needs and to find long-term solutions for their integration
- The expert recommended the international community to assist local authorities and civil society in fulfilling their roles for the protection and promotion of human rights

"The Minister of Justice, in his meeting with the mission, expressed the desire for the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to be represented in "Somaliland". He also said that it would be useful to have specialist human rights training to raise awareness in the region.

[...]

The expert noted that a law for the establishment of an independent national human rights commission had been drafted, and commended the participatory process involved in its preparation. The "President" expressed his approval and indicated his future support for it when it was submitted for approval. The establishment of the commission had been suggested by the expert during earlier missions.

[...]

(c) Calls on the Secretary-General and the Security Council to establish a committee of independent experts to examine allegations of past massive human rights violations and crimes against humanity committed in Somalia, and to report on options for how these might be addressed;

[...]

(f) Encourages continued comprehensive multi-agency efforts to cater for both the short-term needs of IDPs as well as longer-term solutions to the problem of integration, including the provision of social services to cater for their humane absorption into society;

(g) Calls upon all Somali local authorities to pay serious attention to the protection of children and to coordinate with UNICEF and all other international NGOs to achieve the goal of a better life for the children of Somalia;

(h) Recommends that the international community and local authorities render every assistance to civil society in fulfilling its role with respect to the protection and promotion of human rights in Somalia;

(i) Calls upon all Somali local authorities to provide full protection and support for international humanitarian aid personnel operating in Somalia;

(j) With respect specifically to activity of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the expert recommends the establishment of an office based in Hargeisa, "Somaliland", having close operational links with trained partner umbrella women's organizations in "Somaliland", "Puntland", Kismayo and Mogadishu. The OHCHR international representative would coordinate his/her work with the activities being undertaken under the UNDP ROLS project and undertake the documenting of human rights violations and activities. Human rights advocacy would also be included in the project mandate as an indispensable element for building a human rights culture. He also advises collaboration with civil society groups taking part in the Somali National Reconciliation Conference, with a view to ensuring that they are effectively represented at the meeting." (UNCHR, 30 November 2003, paras.58, 63, 101)

Reference to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement

Known references to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement

- References to the Guiding Principles Reference to the Guiding Principles in the national legislation
- Other References to the Guiding Principles (in chronological order)
- Availability of the Guiding Principles in local languages
- Training on the Guiding Principles (in chronological order)

Reference to the Guiding Principles in the national legislation

None

Other references to the Guiding Principles

The Joint UN IDP Strategy, as developed in 2005, bases its human rights and protection-based approach on the Guiding Principles

Availability of the Guiding Principles

The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement have been translated in Somali

You can access the Somali version here:

<http://www.brook.edu/fp/projects/idp/resources/GPSomali.pdf>

Training on the Guiding Principles

A workshop on the Guiding Principles for Internally Displaced Persons was facilitated by UNHCR and OCHA in Hargeisa in June 2004; two other workshops organised by OCHA and NRC were held in Bosaso and Hargeisa in August 2004.

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