



Somalia

Key socio-economic indicators

Country of Origin
Information Report

September 2021





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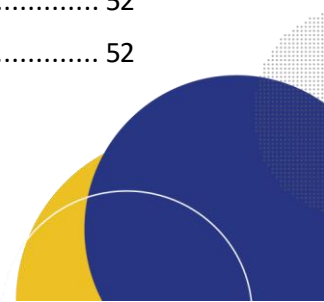
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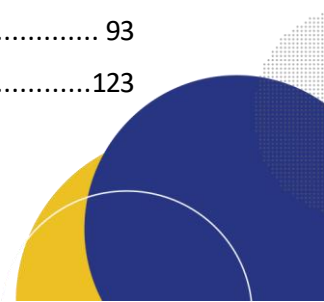
It must be noted that the drafting and review carried out by the mentioned departments, experts or organisations contributes to the overall quality of the report, but does not necessarily imply their formal endorsement of the final report, which is the full responsibility of EASO.

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Disclaimer

This report was written according to the EASO COI Report Methodology (2019)¹. The report is based on carefully selected sources of information. All sources used are referenced.

The information contained in this report has been researched, evaluated and analysed with utmost care. However, this document does not claim to be exhaustive. If a particular event, person or organisation is not mentioned in the report, this does not mean that the event has not taken place or that the person or organisation does not exist.

Furthermore, this report is not conclusive as to the determination or merit of any particular application for international protection. Terminology used should not be regarded as indicative of a particular legal position.

'Refugee', 'risk' and similar terminology are used as generic terminology and not in the legal sense as applied in the EU Asylum Acquis, the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees.

Neither EASO nor any person acting on its behalf may be held responsible for the use which may be made of the information contained in this report.

The drafting of this report was finalised on 13 August 2021, while the reference period of the report is January 2020 – 30 June 2021, or earlier whenever relevant. Any event taking place after this period is not included in this report. More information on the reference period for this report can be found in the [Methodology](#) section of the Introduction.

¹ The 2019 EASO COI Report Methodology can be downloaded from the EASO COI Portal [url](#)

Glossary and Abbreviations

<i>aqal</i>	dome-shaped nomadic hut
<i>berked (berkad)</i>	water reservoir used in arid areas to collect water during the wet season
BRA	Benadir Regional Administration
<i>buul (pl. buush)</i>	makeshift hut
<i>deyr</i>	minor rain season in Somalia (September – November)
FFM	Fact-Finding Mission
FPENS	Formal Private Education Network in Somalia
FSNAU	Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit
GAR	Gross Attendance Ration
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
<i>goof</i>	uninhabited, unused land
<i>goof-leh</i>	owner of unused land
<i>gu</i>	major rain season in Somalia (April – July)
<i>hagaa</i>	dry spell in Somalia (July – September)
ITZ	Inter Tropical Convergence Zone
<i>jilaal</i>	dry spell in Somalia (January – March)
<i>khat</i>	stimulant. Its leaves are usually chewed or brewed as a tea
MRC	Migrant Response Centre
NAR	Net Attendance Ratio
NISA	National Intelligence and Security Agency
<i>tahriib</i>	Somali youth migration to Europe
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene



Introduction

The purpose of this report is to provide relevant context information in view of the assessment of international protection status determination, including refugee status and subsidiary protection. Among others, the report is intended to inform the development of Country Guidance on Somalia (2022).

The report provides background information and details on key socio-economic indicators in three Somali cities, namely Mogadishu, Garowe, and Hargeisa. These represent the main urban centres in Somalia, including Puntland and Somaliland. The report builds upon the preceding EASO COI report on [Somalia: Actors](#) (July 2021) and belongs to the same Somalia COI project along with the EASO COI report on [Somalia: Targeted profiles](#) and EASO's COI report on [Somalia: Security situation](#) (September 2021).

This report provides an overview as well as details about demographic/clan composition, humanitarian issues, mobility and accessibility, socio-economic indicators, and social-protection networks in the above-mentioned cities.

Methodology

The reference period is from 1 January 2020 to 30 June 2021. The information gathered is a result of research using public, specialised paper-based and electronic sources until 30 July 2021. Some limited additional information was added during the finalisation of this report in response to feedback received during the quality control process, until 13 August 2021.

This report is produced in line with the EASO COI Report Methodology (2019)² and the EASO COI Writing and Referencing Style Guide (2019).³

Defining the terms of reference

The terms of reference of this report build on the input received from policy experts from EU+ countries⁴ within the context of country guidance development on Somalia. Terms of reference for this report can be found in [Annex 2](#).

Collecting information

The information gathered results from two main sets of sources: on the one hand extensive desk research using predominantly public, specialised paper-based, and electronic sources until 13 August 2021; on the other hand on a number of oral sources and experts interviews that were conducted for the purposes of the report between 23 June and 29 July 2021. All these sources, including when restricted or non-public information has been used to cover specific details, were duly referenced and described.

² EASO, EASO Country of Origin Information (COI) Report Methodology, June 2019, [url](#)

³ EASO, Writing and Referencing Guide for EASO Country of Origin Information (COI) Reports, June 2019, [url](#)

⁴ EU Member States plus Norway and Switzerland



The sources used are referenced in the [Bibliography](#). Wherever information could not be found within the timeframes for drafting this report after carefully consulting a range of sources, this is stated in the report. The main sources consulted are included in the bibliography.

Quality control

To ensure that the authors respected the EASO COI Report Methodology and that the [Terms of Reference](#) were comprehensively addressed, a review was carried out by COI specialists from the countries and organisations listed as reviewers in the [Acknowledgements](#) section. All comments made by the reviewers were taken into consideration and almost all of them were implemented in the final draft of this report, which was finalised on 13 August 2021. EASO also performed the final quality review and editing of the text.

Sources

In accordance with EASO COI methodology, a range of different published documentary sources have been consulted on relevant topics for this report. These include: COI reports by governments; national and international think tank reports and specialised sources covering Somalia; information from civil society, humanitarian organisations, and NGOs; international and NGO human rights reports; reports produced by various bodies of the United Nations; Somali and regionally-based media; academic publications and books.

At the same time the report relies extensively on experts interviews that were carried out for the purpose of the report between 23 June and 29 July 2021 (see the [Bibliography](#) for additional details).

Structure and use of the report

The report is divided into three parts, each one of them addressing specifically the socio-economic situation in the three selected Somali cities: Mogadishu, Garowe, and Hargeisa. Each part provides an overview as well as details about demographic/clan composition, humanitarian issues, mobility and accessibility, socio-economic indicators, and social-protection networks in the above-mentioned cities.

Note on Transliteration

A national orthography for the Somali language was codified relatively late by adopting a Latin script (21 October 1972). Nevertheless, even today, Somali lacks a commonly applied and binding orthography.

In this text, Somali places, clans and personal names usually follow Somali orthography: 'long vowels are indicated by doubling them', as in *Darood* or *Abbaan*, 'the Latin 'c' stands for a sound close to the Arabic ع (ayn), while "x" denotes the strongly aspirated ح (ha)'.⁵ However, given the fact that other sources adopt different conventions, the reader will sometimes find other forms of places, clans, and personal names in the text, including where direct citations are used or in references.

⁵ Hoehne M., *Between Somaliland and Puntland*, 2015, [url](#), p. 7



Districts Map of Mogadishu⁶

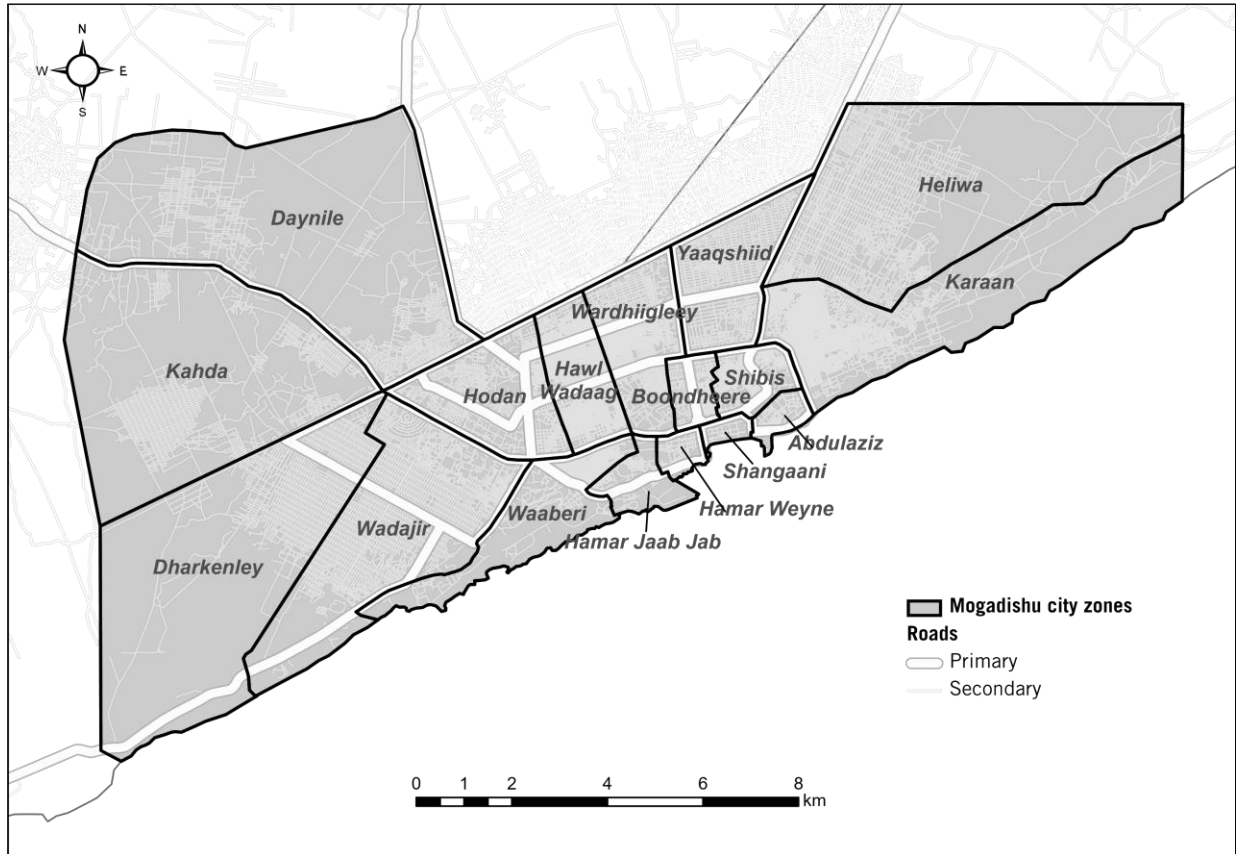


Figure 1. Mogadishu City Zones

⁶ Open Street Map, City Boundaries © UNDP, 2021

1. Mogadishu

1.1 Mogadishu's overview

Mogadishu is the capital city of both Somalia and the administrative region of Benadir (Banadir) and covers the same territory.⁷ The terms 'Municipality of Mogadishu and Benadir Regional Administration are used interchangeably'.⁸ The city is divided into 17 districts.⁹ A reference map of the Benadir region dated March 2012 published by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) lists the following 16 districts: Dharkeynley, Deyninle, Hodan, Wadajir (Medina), Waberi, Hawl-Wadag, Wardhigley (renamed as Warta Nabadda)¹⁰, Yaqshid, Bondhere, Hamar Jajab, Hamar-Weyne, Shingani, Shibis, Abdi-Aziz, Huriwa and Karan.¹¹ Kaxda (Kahda) district was formed in 2012 and became Mogadishu's seventeenth district.¹² The mayor of Mogadishu is also the governor of the Benadir Regional Administration.¹³ As of May 2021, these positions are held by Omar Filish.¹⁴

For further general information on Benadir and Mogadishu, on relevant dynamics and the governance structure, please see sections 7.3 and 7.3.1 of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Actors](#), published in July 2021.

1.1.1 Demographics and clan composition/distribution

1.1.1.1 Population

In 1975 Somalia conducted its first population and housing census, publishing fragmented results. The findings from the following census, carried out in 1986, were not published officially, 'as they were considered to suffer from significant biases'.¹⁵ Owing to the unfolding civil war and state decay in 1991¹⁶, no subsequent census was conducted. In 2014, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the Ministry of Planning published the Population Estimation Survey of Somalia (PESS), the most recent nationwide population estimation.¹⁷ The survey estimated the total population at 12 316 895¹⁸ and noted that the population was growing relatively fast.¹⁹

⁷ Global Shelter Cluster, Ababa - Overview, June 2021, [url](#); BRA, About Benaadir, n.d., [url](#)

⁸ Somalia, MPWR, RAP Ex-Post Audit Report For Sharif Abow Road: Shangani District, Mogadishu, 3 February 2021, [url](#), p. 1, footnote 2

⁹ Global Shelter Cluster, Banadir - Overview, June 2021, [url](#)

¹⁰ AMISOM, Somali district name changed to symbolize peace [source: Radio Bar-kulan], 9 April 2012, [url](#); some sources still refer to the district as Wardhigley, e.g. Global Shelter Cluster, Banadir - Overview, June 2021, [url](#)

¹¹ UNOCHA, Banadir Region - Mogadishu City [Map], 16 March 2012, [url](#)

¹² Bonnet, C. et al., Inclusive Shelter Provision in Mogadishu, 28 July 2020, [url](#), p. 457

¹³ Somalia, MPWR, RAP Ex-Post Audit Report For Sharif Abow Road: Shangani District, Mogadishu, 3 February 2021, [url](#), p. 1, footnote 2; RVI and HIPS, Land Matters in Mogadishu - Settlement, ownership and displacement in a contested city, February 2017, [url](#), p. 8, footnote 5

¹⁴ East African (The), Somalia election certain, now the focus is women seats, security, 31 May 2021, [url](#)

¹⁵ Somalia and UNFPA, The Somali Health and Demographic Survey 2020, April 2020, [url](#), p. 2

¹⁶ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021. Jutta Bakonyi is Professor of Conflict and Development from Durham University, specialised in Somalia.

¹⁷ Somalia and UNFPA, The Somali Health and Demographic Survey 2020, April 2020, [url](#), pp. 2-3

¹⁸ UNFPA and Somalia, Population Estimation Survey of Somalia (PESS), October 2014, [url](#), p. 31

¹⁹ UNFPA and Somalia, Population Estimation Survey of Somalia (PESS), October 2014, [url](#), p. 44

According to a World Bank report published in 2021, existing population numbers were ‘the result of projections or estimations, both of which suffer from large error margins given the scale of uncertainty regarding population movements.’²⁰

The PESS of 2014 estimated the population of the Benadir region at 1 650 227, including 369 288 IDPs.²¹ 49.3 % of the non-IDP population was male, while 50.7 % was female.²² The above-mentioned 2021 World Bank report noted that Mogadishu had a population ‘between 1.7 million and 2.6 million people, depending on estimates’.²³ According to UN data referring to ‘the urban agglomeration’ of the capital city, Mogadishu’s population numbered 2 179 900 as of 2019²⁴, while the CIA World Factbook lists 2 388 000 people as Mogadishu’s inhabitants as of 2021.²⁵

As of 2016, ‘at least 400,000 IDPs lived in Mogadishu, 55 percent of whom lived in Daynile and Kaxda on the city outskirts.’²⁶ According to the UNHCR Operational Data Portal as of 9 April 2020 Mogadishu’s IDP population at sites assessed by the Global Camp Coordination and Camp Management (CCCM) Cluster²⁷ was estimated to be 497 000 persons.²⁸ An overview on the website of the Global Shelter Cluster notes that ‘estimates of IDPs in Mogadishu range between 500,000 and 700,000’.²⁹

1.1.1.2 Religion

The majority of the population of Somalia is Sunni Muslim, traditionally following the Shafi’i school of jurisprudence and practicing Sufism.³⁰ However, before the civil war, most other Islamic schools of thought also existed in the country.³¹ Non-Islamic religious groups combined are estimated to constitute less than one percent of the population.³²

In April 2021 Vatican News published an article mentioning ‘a very small Christian community which [...] continues to move forward with its faith.’³³ WorldAtlas mentioned in 2018 a small Christian community of approximately 1 000 persons.³⁴ Bishop Giorgio Bertin, the Apostolic Administrator of Mogadishu and president of Caritas Somalia³⁵, leads the community. According to the article the ‘Somali Catholic community is very small: in the entire country there are just a few dozen who secretly profess Christianity.’³⁶

²⁰ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 58

²¹ UNFPA and Somalia, Population Estimation Survey of Somalia (PESS), October 2014, [url](#), p. 31

²² UNFPA and Somalia, Population Estimation Survey of Somalia (PESS), October 2014, [url](#), p. 104

²³ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 74

²⁴ UN Data, Somalia, n.d., [url](#)

²⁵ US, CIA, The World Factbook, Somalia, last updated 3 May 2021, [url](#)

²⁶ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 63

²⁷ For further information on the Global Camp Coordination and Camp Management (CCCM) Cluster please see CCCM, About, n.d., [url](#)

²⁸ UNHCR, Operational Data Portal - CCCM Cluster Somalia, last updated 9 April 2020, [url](#)

²⁹ Global Shelter Cluster, Banadir - Overview, June 2021, [url](#)

³⁰ USDOS, International Religious Freedom Report 2020 - Somalia, 12 May 2021, [url](#), p. 2; USAID, The Shari’ah in Somalia - The Expanding Access to Justice Program in Somalia (EAJ), March 2020, [url](#), p. 8; Marchal, R. and Sheikh, Z., Salafism in Somalia: Coping with Coercion, Civil War and its own Contradictions, 2015, p. 136

³¹ Marchal, R. and Sheikh, Z., Salafism in Somalia: Coping with Coercion, Civil War and its own Contradictions, 2015, p. 140

³² WorldAtlas, What Religions are Practiced in Somalia?, 4 April 2018, [url](#)

³³ Vatican News, The hidden life of Somalia’s Christians, 30 April 2021, [url](#)

³⁴ WorldAtlas, What Religions are Practiced in Somalia?, 4 April 2018, [url](#)

³⁵ ICMC, H.E. Bishop Giorgio Bertin, n.d., [url](#)

³⁶ Vatican News, The hidden life of Somalia’s Christians, 30 April 2021, [url](#)



Traditionally, the majority of Somalis were organised in Sufi orders.³⁷ However, since the 1970s the Salafi schools of thought gained prominence.³⁸ Some Salafi groups (like Al-Ittihaad, Raas Kambooni, Hisbul Islaam or Al-Shabaab) propose a violent solution while others opt for the use of non-violent means (like the Somali Muslim Brotherhood -Al-Islaah- whose members also held a significant influence on the consecutive Federal Governments and Parliaments). Al-Shabaab showed no tolerance for non-Salafi Islam interpretations and practices, and actively targeted Sunni-Sufi practices and Sufi leaders.³⁹ The latter were labelled as ‘non-believers’ and therewith presented as ‘legitimate targets for attacks’.⁴⁰ In reaction to destructions of Sufi shrines and tombs by Al-Shabaab in 2008, Ahlu Sunna wa Jama’a, a loose coalition of Sufi orders, took up its fight against Al-Shabaab.⁴¹ However, beyond the so-called Jihadist groups, the rise of Muslim Brotherhoods (al-Islaah, Damul Jadid) and their deep-seated influence in contemporary political affairs also attests to a transformation of religious practices and a tendency towards Salafist Islam interpretations. The country, however, also sees attempts to re-emphasize Sufi practices.⁴² An article by Al Jazeera published in March 2016 described a religious parade by a group of Sufi in Mogadishu, ‘making a short but a symbolic slow walk to a nearby mosque in the Bakara area of the seaside city to continue their afternoon prayer programme.’⁴³ Cultural Atlas, a website that provides information on the cultural background of the migrant community in Australia, states in 2019 that ‘Sufism is having a resurgence as some Somalis are becoming disaffected with Salafism over the actions of offshoot militant groups such as Al-Shabaab. Some see Sufism as a non-political spiritual alternative’.⁴⁴ A local radio station reported in September 2020 that officials from the Benadir regional administration, among others, visited tombs of Sufi clerics and saints buried in Warsheekh, a town about 90 km north of Mogadishu.⁴⁵

According to the US Department of State (USDOS) report on International Religious Freedom in 2020 there is also ‘an unknown number of Shia Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Jews, and those not affiliated with any religion’ in the country as a whole.⁴⁶

1.1.1.3 Clan distribution

Mogadishu is dominated by the Hawiye, in particular the Abgaal, Habar Gidir⁴⁷ and the Murasade sub-clans.⁴⁸ According to sources interviewed for a report on a Finnish fact-finding mission in March 2020, members of the Abgaal are living in Karan, those of Habar Gidir mostly ‘in districts that were occupied

³⁷ ACCORD, Anfragebeantwortung zu Somalia: Allgemeine Informationen zum Sufismus in Somalia; Informationen zur Behandlung von Sufi-Angehörigen in Mogadishu seitens der Gesellschaft und al-Schabaab, Vertretung von Sufis in politischen Ämtern [Query Response on Somalia: General Information on Sufism in Somalia; Information on the treatment of Sufi members in Mogadishu by society and al-Shabaab, political representation of Sufis], a-11388-1, 16 October 2020, [url](#)

³⁸ Marchal, R. and Sheikh, Z., Salafism in Somalia: Coping with Coercion, Civil War and its own Contradictions, 2015, p. 137

³⁹ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

⁴⁰ Al Jazeera, Somalia’s Sufi revival, 29 March 2016, [url](#)

⁴¹ Marchal, R. and Sheikh, Z., Salafism in Somalia: Coping with Coercion, Civil War and its own Contradictions, 2015, p. 157; Stanford University, Mapping Militant organizations - Ahlu Sunna Wal Jama, [url](#), 18 June 2016

⁴² Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

⁴³ Al Jazeera, Somalia’s Sufi revival, 29 March 2016, [url](#)

⁴⁴ Cultural Atlas, Somali Culture, 2019, [url](#)

⁴⁵ Radio Dalsan, Officials visit Warsheekh Somalia’s Popular Tour Destination, 2 September 2020, [url](#)

⁴⁶ USDOS, International Religious Freedom Report 2020 - Somalia, 12 May 2021, [url](#), p. 2

⁴⁷ Norway, Landinfo, Somalia: Security challenges in Mogadishu, 15 May 2018, [url](#), p. 12; see also International Crisis Group, Why Somalia’s Electoral Crisis Has Tipped into Violence, 27 April 2021, [url](#); IOM and Altai Consulting, Youth, Employment And Migration In Mogadishu, Kismayo And Baidoa, 9 February 2016, [url](#), pp. 70, 87

⁴⁸ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 38; see also International Crisis Group, Why Somalia’s Electoral Crisis Has Tipped into Violence, 27 April 2021, [url](#)

by the clan during the civil war',⁴⁹ while members of the Murasade have 'a strong foothold in the Dayniile district'.⁵⁰ The majority of people in IDP camps/settlements in Mogadishu belongs to the Rahanweyne (Digil-Mirifle). In addition, there is an unknown, but not small number of Somali Bantu and other minorities.⁵¹ In a May 2018 report Landinfo noted that 'there is no survey of the clan or group affiliation of Mogadishu's residents, but according to local resource persons, "most" clans are represented in the city'.⁵²

Members of (sub-)clans tend to settle in the same neighbourhoods⁵³ and certain (sub-)clans dominate over others,⁵⁴ however 'people come together across clan boundaries in terms of work, trade, schooling and other social settings.'⁵⁵ According to the Finnish fact-finding mission report of August 2020, the population from most districts in Mogadishu 'has a heterogeneous clan background and there are people from many different communities.' However, the old neighbourhoods such as Hamar-Weyne, Bondhere, Shibis, Shingan, Abdi-Aziz, and Hamar-Jajab are 'regarded as more cosmopolitan'.⁵⁶ A report by the World Bank from 2020 stated that inhabitants in most urban districts, including Mogadishu, 'are treated locally as the domains of their most numerically and politically dominant sub-clans. Others may live and do business there, but the dominant clans of these districts invoke the right to govern and enjoy most of whatever "rents" accrue from control of the district, such as local taxes, jobs, and contracts.'⁵⁷

In 2016 IOM stated in a report that the largest companies and most of the district administrations in Mogadishu are managed by members of the Hawiye.⁵⁸ A World Bank report published in 2021 noted that the different water companies constituting Mogadishu's water sector are owned by sub-groups of the Hawiye. The report mentioned that Xamer Water Development is owned by Murasade members, the Banadir Water Development Co. by members of the Habar Gidir, and the Somali Water Development Union by members of the Abgaal.⁵⁹ With regard to district administrations, the Finnish fact-finding mission report of 2020 further noted that the 'administration of districts is usually the responsibility of the powerful clan in the district', which 'emphasises the position of the Hawiye/Abgaal and Hawiye/Habr Gedir clans'. Bantu do not hold influential positions, although a significant number of members live in Mogadishu.⁶⁰ The governor of the AbdiAziz district stems from

⁴⁹ The FIS report notes that 'the north side of the capital city and its districts of Kaaraan, Yaaqshid, Bondheere, and the Bermuda area, as well as the district of Madina in the south, were manned by the Hawiye/Abgaal clan. The rest of the city centre and the southern sections were controlled by Hawiye/Habr Gedir.' Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020; Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 38; see also RVI and HIPS, Land Matters in Mogadishu - Settlement, ownership and displacement in a contested city, February 2017, [url](#), pp. 42-44

⁵⁰ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020; Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 38

⁵¹ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

⁵² Norway, Landinfo, Somalia: Security challenges in Mogadishu, 15 May 2018, [url](#), p. 13

⁵³ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 40

⁵⁴ RVI and HIPS, Land Matters in Mogadishu - Settlement, ownership and displacement in a contested city, February 2017, [url](#), p. 65

⁵⁵ Norway, Landinfo, Somalia: Security challenges in Mogadishu, 15 May 2018, [url](#), p. 13

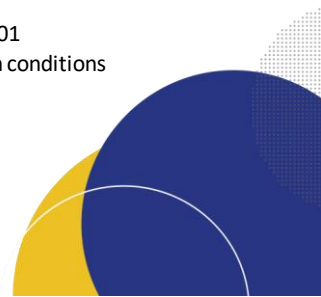
⁵⁶ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020; Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 39

⁵⁷ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 90

⁵⁸ IOM and Altai Consulting, Youth, Employment And Migration In Mogadishu, Kismayo And Baidoa, 9 February 2016, [url](#), p. 70

⁵⁹ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 101

⁶⁰ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020; Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 40



the Darood-Majeerteen clan, Hamar-Weyne and Shangani district is governed by a Reer Hamar (minority clan) and the Hamar-Jajab district has a governor from the Dir-Biyomaal.⁶¹

Members of marginalised groups mostly live in the districts of Wadajir, Hamar-Jajab, Hamar-Weyne, Dharkenley, Medina, Bondhere, Shibis, and Shingani. Members of the Bantu are predominantly living in the districts of Bondhere and Waberi.⁶² Alongside the Bantu, the report further mentions the Reer Hamar/Benadiri and the Tumas as marginalised groups living in Mogadishu.⁶³ Most, if not all, minority groups are likely residing in Mogadishu. Their numbers are, however, not known.⁶⁴

Regarding fighting that erupted on 25 April 2021 in the context of the postponed indirect elections,⁶⁵ the International Crisis Group noted that it mostly took place in ‘neighbourhoods where pro-opposition Abgaal, Haber Gedir and Murosade sub-clans of the Hawiye are dominant.’⁶⁶

1.1.2 Humanitarian situation overview

People in Somalia face continuous socio-economic challenges due to high poverty and highly precarious conditions regarding employment, housing, food and water supplies. Violent conflicts and climatic shocks, among which droughts and floods, lead to displacements and contribute to vulnerabilities.⁶⁷ Since no formal social protection program exists, vulnerable households mainly rely on remittances, community-based safety nets and international aid.⁶⁸ Somalia’s malnutrition rates are high, and health outcomes poor.⁶⁹ By mid-2020, almost 70 % of the population was reported to live in poverty, and one-third of the population was in need of humanitarian assistance.⁷⁰ In general, wage labour employment and remittances are better accessible in cities. Only land and housing are easier accessible in rural areas.⁷¹

Within this context, Mogadishu stands out with a poverty incidence above average. However, access to basic services such as electricity, water, sanitation, improved housing, education, and health is better than in other cities in south and central Somalia.⁷² The Finnish Immigration Service published findings of their fact-finding mission to Mogadishu undertaken in March 2020. They concluded that ‘the humanitarian conditions in the capital city are severe’. Ongoing instability and a troublesome security situation prevented people in need from seeking assistance and services. An expert told the mission in March 2020 that the problematic conditions in Mogadishu are ‘mostly related to

⁶¹ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

⁶² Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020; Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 39

⁶³ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020; Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 41

⁶⁴ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

⁶⁵ The fighting broke out between forces loyal to President Farmajo and those aligned with the political opposition. The rival forces exchanged gunfire in parts of Mogadishu., International Crisis Group, Why Somalia’s Electoral Crisis Has Tipped into Violence, 27 April 2021, [url](#)

⁶⁶ International Crisis Group, Why Somalia’s Electoral Crisis Has Tipped into Violence, 27 April 2021, [url](#)

⁶⁷ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

⁶⁸ ILO, Employment programs and conflict in Somalia, December 2019, 17 October 2019, [url](#), pp. 13-15

⁶⁹ Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), p. 3

⁷⁰ Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), p. 2; Heritage Institute, State of Somalia 2020 Report: SOS 2020 Year in Review, 10 February 2021, [url](#), p. 4

⁷¹ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 35

⁷² World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 35

accelerated urbanisation, urban poverty, chronic cholera, diarrhoea, malnutrition and lack of education and health services'. The expert added that malnutrition affects IDPs most but also applies to other urban poor, and thus to a large part of the city's population.⁷³

From information by NGOs, the Finnish mission learned that Mogadishu has poor food security and relies heavily on food imports because of insufficient food production in the country. Therefore, food prices are high.⁷⁴ In 2020, the largest locust swarms in 25 years hit Somalia's agriculture and drove Somalia into severe food insecurity.⁷⁵ In November 2020, they invaded farmlands at Mogadishu's outskirts putting farmers' livelihoods at risk.⁷⁶

According to a 2018 article by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), fast urban growth and high numbers of arrivals of people fleeing crises in rural areas have made Mogadishu the most crowded city in Africa and the second-most densely populated city in the world.⁷⁷ This development increases the scarcity of already overstretched resources and challenges urban infrastructure and service facilities.⁷⁸

UNHCR related the three main challenges with regard to the humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu to education, health care, and housing.⁷⁹ Access to safe water is equally challenging and water-borne diseases are common across the city.⁸⁰

1.1.2.1 Floods

Mogadishu is located in an area affected by recurrent flash floods.⁸¹ The Inter Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ) moves across Somalia twice a year, creating the major rain season, the *gu*, from April to July in its northerly movement and the minor rain season, the *deyr*, from September to November in its southerly movement. The two rain seasons alternate with the dry spells *jilaal* from January to March and *hagaa* from July to September.⁸² In Mogadishu, heavy rainfall leads to floods because the drainage system cannot intercept the water. Houses can collapse, or the water seeps in. Many dwellings of internally displaced people lack adequate protection from rain. Strong rainfall and floods caused severe problems again in the first rainy season of 2021.⁸³ Between January and April 2021, Benadir district (in Benadir region) recorded the highest number of internal displacements due to

⁷³ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 30

⁷⁴ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 30

⁷⁵ BBC News, Somalia declares emergency over locust swarms, 2 February 2020, [url](#); Welthungerhilfe, Heuschreckenplage in Ostafrika und Südasien, 12 May 2020, [url](#);

⁷⁶ Independent (The), Locusts swarm into Mogadishu's pasture land amid resurgence in Horn of Africa, 10 November 2020, [url](#); Reuters, Outside Mogadishu, locusts turn farmland into desert, 13 November 2020, [url](#)

⁷⁷ NRC, As Somalis flee to cities, Mogadishu becomes most crowded city in Africa, 11 Dec 2018, [url](#); see also IDMC, UnSettlement: Urban displacement in the 21st century - City of flight: New and secondary displacements in Mogadishu, Somalia, November 2018, [url](#), p. 2

⁷⁸ NRC, As Somalis flee to cities, Mogadishu becomes most crowded city in Africa, 11 Dec 2018, [url](#); UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 16; Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021. Jutta Bakonyi is Professor in Development and Conflict at Durham University, specialised in Somalia.

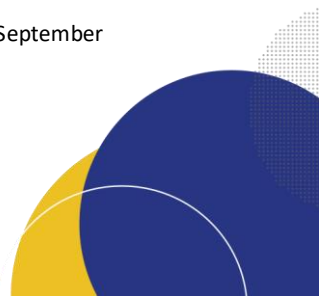
⁷⁹ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 31

⁸⁰ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

⁸¹ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 26; UNOCHA, Somalia Deyr Season Floods Update #3: As of 22 November 2020, 23 November 2020, [url](#), p. 1

⁸² FSNAU, Somalia - Climate, n.d., [url](#); FAO and SWALIM, Somalia Rainfall Outlook for the 2020 Deyr Season, 3 September 2020, [url](#), p. 1

⁸³ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021



floods. 1 610 people departed while 1 790 arrived.⁸⁴ Flash floods and heavy rains continued in May 2021, killing at least 16 individuals in Benadir.⁸⁵ On the other hand, if rainfall fails or remains below average, this also has serious implications, especially for pastoral and farming populations raising the number of food-insecure households as both livestock and crop production will decline.⁸⁶ A 'stressed' food security situation was forecasted for March to June 2021 for the Benadir region⁸⁷ and reported in the first quarter of 2021.⁸⁸ Severe droughts are linked to climate change⁸⁹ and increase disruptions to water access, malnutrition, disease outbreaks, and food insecurity.⁹⁰ The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) predicted below-average rainfall in the Benadir region for the *deyr* season 2020.⁹¹ However, in November 2020, UNOCHA reported that a number of 13 000 people were affected by *deyr* flash floods, 6 500 had been displaced, and three had been killed within the past month.⁹² More than 10 000 people had already been displaced by floods during the *hagaa* season (drought season) in Benadir between June and September 2020.⁹³

1.1.2.2 Impact of the security situation

Somalia ranks among the most insecure places worldwide. Armed conflict between the Somali government, and non-state groups, primarily Al-Shabaab, is ongoing.⁹⁴ Al-Shabaab commits terrorist attacks, regularly causing dozens of civilian casualties in Mogadishu.⁹⁵ UNOCHA reported that 15 humanitarian workers had been killed, 12 wounded and 24 kidnapped between 1 January and 31 December 2020.⁹⁶ The UN compound in Mogadishu was hit by mortar bombs six times, and four aircrafts carrying humanitarian aid and humanitarian workers crashed, were hit by ground fire or were being shot down in the first half of 2020.⁹⁷ As of February 2021, Al-Shabaab continued to hold three international staff members.⁹⁸ For more details, please see the sections 4.1 and 4.3 of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Actors](#) (July 2021) as well as EASO's COI report [Somalia: Security situation](#) (September 2021). The situation in Mogadishu destabilised further in February 2021, because the scheduled presidential elections had been cancelled. In response, opposition candidates were building clan militias to fight the central government.⁹⁹ According to Jutta Bakonyi, who was interviewed for this report, violence and regular attacks in Mogadishu and the conflict between the president and his

⁸⁴ UNHCR, Somalia: Internal Displacements Monitored by Protection & Return Monitoring Network (PRMN) April 2021, 17 May 2021, [url](#)

⁸⁵ UNOCHA, Somalia: 2021 *Gu'* Season Floods Update 1, As of 9 May 2021, 9 May 2021, [url](#), p. 1; see also FloodList, Somalia – 400,000 Affected by Floods Says UN, 7 June 2021, [url](#); FloodList, Somalia – Deadly Floods Strike Mogadishu, Rivers Overflow in Jowhar, 9 May 2021, [url](#)

⁸⁶ *afrol* News, Deyr rainfall fails in Somalia, Somaliland, 14 November 2003, [url](#)

⁸⁷ UNOCHA, Somalia: Overview of Water Shortages (As of 09 March 2021), 9 March 2021, [url](#)

⁸⁸ FSNAU and IPC, Somalia Acute Food Insecurity Situation Overview - Rural, Urban and IDP: Current Food Security Outcomes: January - March 2021, 4 February 2021, [url](#)

⁸⁹ ILO, Employment programs and conflict in Somalia, December 2019, 17 October 2019, [url](#), p. 15

⁹⁰ ILO, Employment programs and conflict in Somalia, December 2019, 17 October 2019, [url](#), p. 15

⁹¹ FAO and SWALIM, Somalia Rainfall Outlook for the 2020 Deyr Season, 3 September 2020, [url](#)

⁹² UNOCHA, Somalia: *Deyr* Season Floods Update #3: As of 22 November 2020, 23 November 2020, [url](#), p. 1

⁹³ UNOCHA, Somalia: Hagaa Floods Response Status [table, map], 22 November 2020, [url](#), p. 1, see also UNOCHA, Somalia: Hagaa Floods Update 2, 26 July 2020, [url](#), p. 2

⁹⁴ ILO, Employment programs and conflict in Somalia, December 2019, 17 October 2019, [url](#), pp. 8, 10; ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer-innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi], 31 May 2021, [url](#), p. 6

⁹⁵ ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer-innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi], 31 May 2021, [url](#), p. 11

⁹⁶ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Response Plan - Somalia, 15 February 2021, [url](#), p. 42

⁹⁷ UNOCHA, Somalia: Situation Report, as of 6 September 2020, [url](#), p. 3; UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 18

⁹⁸ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Response Plan - Somalia, 15 February 2021, [url](#), p. 42

⁹⁹ ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer-innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi], 31 May 2021, [url](#), p. 6

competitors affect the humanitarian situation in Benadir region with its capital Mogadishu. It caused people to rather stay indoor, and transportation efficiency to worsen.¹⁰⁰ Security issues were also a major reason for limitations and barriers in terms of internal mobility, which hampered humanitarian organisations' ability to provide their services.¹⁰¹

1.1.2.3 Displacement and humanitarian assistance

IDP populations, inflows and outflows

A qualitative study undertaken in 2020 in Baidoa and Mogadishu, investigating the impact of COVID-19, showed that Mogadishu is hosting the largest IDP population in the country. The study concluded that the city is 'host to respectively 497 000 IDPs'.¹⁰² UNHCR numbers for April 2021 indicate 198 000 IDPs arriving in and 186 000 departing from the Benadir region; the number due to floods is particularly high.¹⁰³ According to the World Bank, Mogadishu was hosting 20 % of the approximately 2.6 million IDPs in Somalia in 2018, and one-third between 2016 and 2019.¹⁰⁴

IDP sites in Mogadishu and general conditions

The number of IDP sites is fluctuating due to ongoing evictions and establishments of squatter settlements and camps across the city and at its outskirts. Estimates range between 500 and 1 500 IDP sites in Mogadishu.¹⁰⁵ Displaced people often join overcrowded IDP camps at Mogadishu's outskirts.¹⁰⁶

According to UNOCHA, as of January 2021, 1.6 million IDPs in Somalia are in humanitarian need. A high number of them lives in the Benadir region.¹⁰⁷ The safety and protection situation in IDP camps is generally weak and unsanitary conditions prevail.¹⁰⁸ Many women in Mogadishu are affected by gender-based violence (GBV).¹⁰⁹ Distance to water points and firewood collection sites constitutes a safety risk for women and girls in IDP camps at the outskirts of the city.¹¹⁰ IDPs face severe risks of exclusion, discrimination, and evictions. Most evictions are enforced without adequate previous notice. UNOCHA reported that 139 000 people were evicted in Mogadishu from January to October 2019.¹¹¹

For more information on IDP sites in Mogadishu, please see sections [1.3.2.3 Informal settlements and IDP sites](#) and [1.3.2.4 Evictions](#).

¹⁰⁰ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹⁰¹ Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), p. 3; UNOCHA, Humanitarian Response Plan - Somalia, 15 February 2021, [url](#), p. 74

¹⁰² Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), p. 4

¹⁰³ UNHCR, Somalia: Internal Displacements Monitored by Protection & Return Monitoring Network (PRMN) April 2021, 17 May 2021, [url](#)

¹⁰⁴ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 36

¹⁰⁵ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹⁰⁶ Bakonyi, J. et al., War and City-Making in Somalia: Property, Power and Disposable Lives, August 2019, [url](#), p. 85

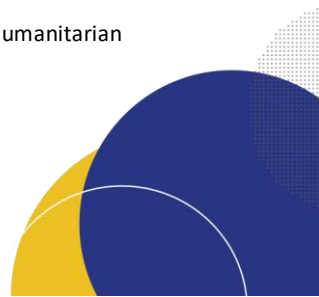
¹⁰⁷ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), pp. 22, 32

¹⁰⁸ European Commission, European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations: Somalia, 18 May 2021, [url](#), p. 1; UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 22 December 2019, [url](#), p. 56

¹⁰⁹ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹¹⁰ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 22 December 2019, [url](#), pp. 22, 57; see also UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 84

¹¹¹ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 22 December 2019, [url](#), pp. 4, 12



Humanitarian needs

On arrival in Benadir in April 2021, displaced people's priority humanitarian assistance needs were, according to UNHCR, food (39 %), livelihood support (35 %), shelter (21 %), and health services (5 %).¹¹² There is a high need for material to protect houses and shelter from the rain. The low need for health services might be explained by a hesitance of people to seek medical support in the context of chronic exhaustion and inability to pay fees.¹¹³ Humanitarian assistance has been disrupted by prevalent violence and insecurity.¹¹⁴ Based on data collected between November 2019 and February 2020, REACH and the CCCM Cluster assessed 'severe' and 'extreme' severity of humanitarian needs of residents in IDP camps in three districts in Mogadishu.¹¹⁵

For more information on this topic, please see sections [1.3 Socio-economic indicators](#) and [1.4.2.2 Returnees, vulnerable groups](#).

Access to humanitarian assistance

Several districts in Mogadishu are inaccessible to humanitarian operations. As of May 2021, people who were displaced to Garasbaly and Kahda districts have not yet received humanitarian assistance.¹¹⁶

Under the prevalent circumstances, IOM scaled-up its cooperation with the Somali government regarding COVID-19 response in order to access hard-to-reach locations and communities in 2020.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, IOM established a new Migrant Response Centre (MRC) in Mogadishu, which was handed over to the Benadir Regional Administration in November 2020. The MRC serves the purpose of 'providing direct assistance, information, counselling, and referrals, to returnees, host communities and migrants in the city'.¹¹⁸ According to UNOCHA, COVID-19 restrictions in 2020 resulted 'in the reduction, suspension or cancellation of humanitarian projects and programmes'.¹¹⁹ Humanitarian actors, state, local governmental, and other actors have responded to displaced people's needs with 'unprecedented or exceedingly rare actions' during the pandemic response measures.¹²⁰

1.1.2.4 Diseases

Moreover, the Benadir region is affected by outbreaks of cholera following floods – the current outbreak had started in December 2017 –,¹²¹ counting 102 cases between January and April 2021 as reported by the Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit (FSNAU) and the Famine Early Warning System Network (FEWS NET). Even though measles infections are decreasing compared to the years 2016-2020, Benadir had the highest number in Somalia, with 280 recorded cases between January and April 2021.¹²² Also, high numbers of tuberculosis and malaria cases have been reported for

¹¹² UNHCR, Somalia: Internal Displacements Monitored by Protection & Return Monitoring Network (PRMN) April 2021, 17 May 2021, [url](#)

¹¹³ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹¹⁴ UNOCHA, Somalia: Displacement Update for Banadir, Berdale, and Baadweyn, as of May 2021, 6 May 2021, [url](#)

¹¹⁵ CCCM and REACH, Detailed Site Assessment (DSA): Key Findings, January 2020, 31 January 2020, [url](#), p. 1

¹¹⁶ UNOCHA, Somalia: Displacement Update for Banadir, Berdale, and Baadweyn, as of May 2021, 6 May 2021, [url](#)

¹¹⁷ IOM, IOM Somalia: COVID-19 Preparedness and Response, the Year in Review (March - December 2020), 31 January 2021, [url](#), p. 1

¹¹⁸ IOM, IOM Somalia 2020 Programmatic Overview, 14 June 2021, [url](#), p. 34

¹¹⁹ UNOCHA, Somalia: Situation Report, 10 August 2020, [url](#), p. 4

¹²⁰ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Response Plan - Somalia, 15 February 2021, [url](#), p. 91

¹²¹ WHO, Epidemic and Pandemic-Prone Diseases: Outbreak Update – Cholera in Somalia, 7 March 2021, 23 March 2021, [url](#)

¹²² FSNAU and FEWS NET, Quarterly Brief with a Focus on the 2021 Jiaal Impact and Gu Season Early Warning, 17 May 2021, [url](#), p. 9

Somalia.¹²³ In response, the government implemented a national malaria programme aiming to ‘attain zero deaths and reduce malaria incidence to at least 0.5 per 1,000 people by 2025’.¹²⁴ Jutta Bakonyi confirmed the prevalence of high tuberculosis and malaria rates in Mogadishu. Regarding HIV, she further noted that infections are not being tested on a regular basis because HIV is highly stigmatised. Therefore, estimates vary greatly.¹²⁵

1.1.2.5 COVID-19

In March 2020, the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic reached Somalia, adding another dimension to the overall situation of humanitarian need.¹²⁶ The government implemented rapid measures to curb the spread of the pandemic as soon as the first COVID-19 cases were detected, such as the closure of border crossings and schools, restrictions of in-country movements and group functions.¹²⁷ With 1 593 cases and 57 deaths, the Benadir region recorded more than 36 % of the total number of reported cases as of 21 November 2020.¹²⁸ Mogadishu had high infection rates. From 1 to 22 February 2021 alone, a total of 1 432 new cases and 76 deaths were reported in Mogadishu – the largest increase in a week since May-June 2020.¹²⁹ The De Martino Hospital in Mogadishu serves countrywide as the main referral hospital for COVID-19 patients.¹³⁰ It is being supported by the WHO with training, medical supplies, and funding.¹³¹ For more information on the impact of COVID-19 on health care in Mogadishu, please see section [1.3.4 Health care](#).

1.2 Mobility and accessibility

1.2.1 Mogadishu airport and flight connections

Mogadishu has an international airport, the Mogadishu Aden Adde International Airport (MGQ), which has formerly been known as Mogadishu International Airport.¹³² Mogadishu airport is located about 1 mile (1.6 kilometres) west of the town on the Indian Ocean coast.¹³³ Information on the airport’s website says that it has one terminal¹³⁴ serving the following international airports via direct flight connections or via transit: Ambouli Airport (JIB) (Djibouti), Berbera Airport (BBO), Bosasso Airport (BSA), Dubai (DXB) (United Arab Emirates), Entebbe (EBB) (Uganda), Galkacyo Airport (GLK), Hargeisa Airport (HGA), Istanbul (IST) (Turkey), Jeddah (JED) (Saudi Arabia), Nairobi (NBO) (Kenya), Riyan Mukalli Airport (RIY) (Yemen), Sharjah (SHJ) (United Arab Emirates) and Wajir Airport (WJR) (Kenya). Closest airports to Mogadishu airport are K50 Airport (89.6 kilometres), Baledogle Airport

¹²³ Global Fund (The), Data Explorer: Somalia, n.d., [url](#); on Tuberculosis see also World Bank, Incidence of tuberculosis (per 100,000 people) – Somalia, n.d., [url](#)

¹²⁴ UNOCHA, Somalia - Humanitarian Bulletin, April 2021, 11 May 2021, [url](#), p. 5

¹²⁵ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹²⁶ UN Somalia, UN Country Results Report: Somalia 2020, March 2021, [url](#), p. 5

¹²⁷ Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), pp. 1-3

¹²⁸ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 22

¹²⁹ UNICEF, COVID-19 vaccines arrive in Somalia: Bringing new hope to the fight against the global pandemic, 19 March 2021, [url](#)

¹³⁰ UNFPA, UNFPA Humanitarian Response in Somalia: Situation Report No. 4, 30 April 2021, [url](#), p. 4

¹³¹ WHO, WHO intensifies support to improve case management in Somalia as cases soar, 20 May 2020, [url](#); WHO, UN Envoy calls for continuing support for Somalia’s ongoing response to COVID-19 and praises frontline health workers, 2 July 2020, [url](#)

¹³² Mogadishu Aden Adde International Airport, Airport Information, n.d., [url](#); ICAO, Flight Information Services for Somalia (FISS): List of Valid NOTAM, 12 April 2017, [url](#)

¹³³ ICAO, AIP – Aeronautical Information Publication: Somalia, Part 3 Aerodrome (AD), 1 February 2018, [url](#), p. 41;

Mogadishu Aden Adde International Airport, To & From The Airport [map], n.d., [url](#)

¹³⁴ Mogadishu Aden Adde International Airport, Contact Us, n.d., [url](#)

(105 kilometres), Baidoa Airport (246 kilometres), Bardera Airport (335.05 kilometres), Beledweyne Airport (339.4 kilometres), Garbaharey Airport (376.55 kilometres), Lugh Ganane Airport (412.49 kilometres), Kismayo Airport (413.49 kilometres) and Kelafo Airport (Ethiopia) (418.72 kilometres).¹³⁵

1.2.1.1 International flights and carriers

The airline African Express Airways operates in Kenya, Uganda, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Somalia connecting Mogadishu with Nairobi in Kenya on Sundays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, as well as Juba in South Sudan.¹³⁶ Freedom Airline Express approaches Mogadishu on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays,¹³⁷ as well as Galkacyo and Kismayo from Nairobi.¹³⁸ Air Djibouti connects Mogadishu to Aden (ADE) (Yemen), Addis Ababa (ABB) (Ethiopia) and Djibouti (JIB).¹³⁹ The Djibouti Daallo Airlines offers flight connections to and from Mogadishu to and from Dubai (DXB), Nairobi (NBO) on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and Jeddah (JED) about once a month.¹⁴⁰ Ethiopian Airlines connect Mogadishu to Addis Ababa on a daily basis.¹⁴¹ Turkish Airlines serve Mogadishu to and from Istanbul (IST),¹⁴² Kenya Airways to and from Nairobi (NBO)¹⁴³ and Qatar Airways to and from Doha (DOH).¹⁴⁴ Salaam Air Express operates between Mogadishu and Nairobi on a demand basis.¹⁴⁵ Fly Premier Airlines operates flights from Nairobi to Mogadishu on Fridays and Sundays.¹⁴⁶ Utair Express operates between Mogadishu and Entebbe (EBB).¹⁴⁷

1.2.1.2 National flights and carriers

Domestic flights of African Express Airways connect Mogadishu with Bosasso, Garowe, Hargeisa on Mondays and Thursdays, and Kismayo.¹⁴⁸ Air Djibouti operates domestic flights between Mogadishu and Hargeisa (HGA).¹⁴⁹ Daallo Airlines offers connections between Mogadishu and Bosasso (once a week) as well as Hargeisa (twice a week).¹⁵⁰ Ethiopian Airlines serves Mogadishu, Hargeisa and Garowe.¹⁵¹ Freedom Airline Express operates domestic flights between Mogadishu and Garowe on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays,¹⁵² and Blue Sky Air serves Adado (AAD), Abudwak (AWQ), Baidoa (BIB), Beledweyne (BWY), Dhobley (DHO), Galkacyo (GLK), Guriel (GUK) and Kismayo (KMU) from Mogadishu.¹⁵³ Blue Sky Air in cooperation with Freedom Airline Express connects Mogadishu with Adado (AAD), Abudwak (AWQ), Baidoa (BIB), Beledweyne (BWY), Bosasso (BSA), Galkacyo (GLK),

¹³⁵ Mogadishu Aden Adde International Airport, Airport Information, n.d., [url](#)

¹³⁶ African Express Airways, Home, n.d., [url](#); FlightConnections, Non-stop flights to Mogadishu (MGQ), n.d., as of 13 August 2021, [url](#)

¹³⁷ FlightConnections, Non-stop flights to Mogadishu (MGQ), n.d., as of 13 August 2021, [url](#)

¹³⁸ Freedom Airline Express, Nairobi – Mogadishu, n.d., [url](#)

¹³⁹ Air Djibouti, Home, n.d., [url](#)

¹⁴⁰ Daallo Airlines, Home, n.d., [url](#)

¹⁴¹ Ethiopian Airlines, International, n.d., [url](#); FlightConnections, Non-stop flights to Mogadishu (MGQ), n.d., as of 13 August 2021, [url](#)

¹⁴² Turkish Airlines, Flights to Somalia, n.d., [url](#)

¹⁴³ Kenya Airways, Kenya Airways Network, n.d., [url](#)

¹⁴⁴ Qatar Airways, Flights to Africa, n.d., [url](#)

¹⁴⁵ Salaam Air Express, Home, n.d., [url](#); Salaam Air Express [Facebook], posted on 15 July 2021, [url](#)

¹⁴⁶ Fly Premier Airlines, Flights to Mogadishu, n.d., [url](#)

¹⁴⁷ FlightConnections, Utair Express routes and airport map, n.d., as of 13 August 2021, [url](#)

¹⁴⁸ African Express Airways, Home, n.d., [url](#); FlightConnections, Non-stop flights to Mogadishu (MGQ), n.d., as of 13 August 2021, [url](#)

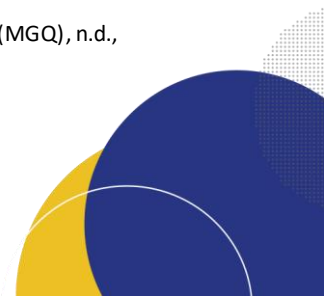
¹⁴⁹ Air Djibouti, Home, n.d., [url](#)

¹⁵⁰ Daallo Airlines, Home, n.d., [url](#); FlightConnections, Non-stop flights to Mogadishu (MGQ), n.d., as of 13 August 2021, [url](#)

¹⁵¹ Ethiopian Airlines, International, n.d., [url](#)

¹⁵² Freedom Airline Express, Nairobi – Mogadishu, n.d., [url](#); FlightConnections, Non-stop flights to Mogadishu (MGQ), n.d., as of 13 August 2021, [url](#)

¹⁵³ Blue Sky Air, Flights, n.d., [url](#)



Garowe (GGR), Guriel (GUK), Hargeisa (HGA) and Kismayo (KMU).¹⁵⁴ Salaam Air Express schedules passenger and cargo flights within Somalia on a demand basis.¹⁵⁵ The Mogadishu based airline Mandeeq Air announced in a social media post in August 2018 that it connected Mogadishu with Adado, Galkacyo, Dhobley, Nairobi, Baidoa and was starting to serve additional connections between Mogadishu - Kismayo and Dolow – Mogadishu from August 2018.¹⁵⁶ Saacid Airline, also based in Mogadishu, offers charter flights and tours within Somalia as well as cargo flights.¹⁵⁷

In April 2020, the government imposed COVID-19 related restrictions on Mogadishu and closed all airports.¹⁵⁸ FAO reported that the restrictions were partly lifted in October 2020 and airports reopened.¹⁵⁹ UNOCHA stated that flight suspensions were lifted on 3 August 2020 and that humanitarian cargo had been exempt from the suspensions throughout.¹⁶⁰ The closure of the airport in Mogadishu had a significant impact. People who can afford it prefer travelling by plane to travelling by bus, since it is considered safer and domestic flights are not overly expensive.¹⁶¹

1.2.2 Internal mobility, including checkpoints

The Finnish Immigration Service published findings of their fact-finding mission to Mogadishu undertaken in March 2020. The report mentioned several hundred checkpoints in Mogadishu manned by security forces that were meant to ensure the safety of the city. Most of them were in the city centre, where political institutions are situated, and in the northern section around the military headquarters. All main roads leading to the city – two from the coastline: one from the south and another one from the north; two from the west towards Ethiopia: one towards west from Baidoa and Buurhakaba and one from the northwest from Beled-Weyne, Jowhar and Afgooye – had checkpoints.¹⁶² According to Bakonyi, their number has not decreased since, on the contrary, the number of checkpoints has increased.

It happened in 2020, under prime minister Mahdi Mohammed Gulaid, that whole streets were closed. This led to protests, particularly by businessmen, who said they were not able to transport and trade their goods anymore. His successor, Mohamed Hussein Roble did not continue this practice.¹⁶³ According to sources interviewed by the Finnish Immigration Service, the checkpoints were partly temporarily, partly permanently installed to stop traffic. Responsibility for maintenance was divided between police, the Somali National Intelligence and Security Agency (NISA) and the military. Sometimes clan affiliations were considered. For example, members of the subclans Habar Gidir and Abgaal (both from the Hawiye clan) who belonged to the security forces, were posted at checkpoints in areas populated by the respective clan communities.¹⁶⁴ UNHCR in Mogadishu confirmed in an

¹⁵⁴ Freedom Airline Express, Nairobi – Mogadishu, n.d., [url](#); Blue Sky Air, Flights, n.d., [url](#)

¹⁵⁵ Salaam Air Express, Home, n.d., [url](#); Salaam Air Express [Facebook], posted on 11 July 2021, [url](#)

¹⁵⁶ Mandeeq Air [Facebook], posted on: 5 August 2018, [url](#); Mandeeq Air [Facebook], posted on: 15 August 2018, [url](#)

¹⁵⁷ Saacid Airline, Home, n.d., [url](#)

¹⁵⁸ USDOS, 2020 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - Somalia, 30 March 2021, [url](#), p. 19; FAO, Somalia: Agricultural livelihoods and food security in the context of COVID-19, January 2021, [url](#), p. 7

¹⁵⁹ FAO, Somalia: Agricultural livelihoods and food security in the context of COVID-19, January 2021, [url](#), p. 7

¹⁶⁰ UNOCHA, Somalia: Situation Report, as of 6 September 2020, [url](#), p. 4

¹⁶¹ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹⁶² Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 22; Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

¹⁶³ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹⁶⁴ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), pp. 21-22

interview with the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) in June 2020 that the main checkpoints in the city were controlled by Federal Government forces.¹⁶⁵

The Finnish mission could not acquire confirmed information on official fees for passage. One expert said that security forces sometimes extorted money from people passing through checkpoints; one said that drivers of vehicles always had to pay a fee and only pedestrians were exempt; and others said that fees applied to everyone; or that no fees applied to passers-by but that identities were checked and that it was necessary to indicate a contact person on the other side of the checkpoint that would take responsibility for them. Regarding the amount charged by security forces at checkpoints experts and NGO members stated a range between 0.25 and 5 US Dollars.¹⁶⁶ Iman Elman, former Director of External Affairs at Somalia's Ministry of Internal Security and Head of Programs and Security for Committed to Good (CTG), a private company in international development, stated in January 2019 that security checkpoints in Mogadishu were commonly located every one to two kilometres, and that one should make sure to provide an ID card at checkpoints.¹⁶⁷ However, Bakonyi stated in July 2021 that a majority of people in Mogadishu does neither possess IDs nor other identity documents. Official fees are not levied at checkpoints, but bribes may be requested and especially so if identity documents are missing. People without IDs are more likely to be body checked. Also, cars are checked for explosives at checkpoints, which is among the reasons for the popularity of motorbike taxis. Sometimes, people have to leave taxis behind at checkpoints, pass on foot and look for alternative means of transportation.¹⁶⁸

Bakonyi, as well as the Finnish report, stated that residents were often irritated by the restrictions of movement through checkpoints in the city.¹⁶⁹ For members of marginalised groups, passage was not always possible even though they had the required identity certificates. People reported fear going through checkpoints because of corrupt police officers or the risk of terrorist bomb attacks. Violent incidents at checkpoints causing death included shootings at three-wheel mopeds and other vehicles for not obeying security forces' orders to stop, clashes between different units of security forces and terrorist attacks by armed groups (the majority of which perpetrated by Al-Shabaab).¹⁷⁰ In addition, harassments by NISA or other security agents at checkpoints have been reported.¹⁷¹ Yet terrorist attacks happen not only at city checkpoints but in all kinds of infrastructure used by government officials, politicians and security forces in Mogadishu, including restaurants, hotels and shopping malls.¹⁷² This is why generally, 'moving about in the city causes fear and anxiety among city residents'.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁵ Canada, IRB, Somalia: Entry and exit requirements at land borders and airports, including documentation required; whether there are checkpoints for domestic and international travel; whether there are travel agencies that facilitate travel within and outside Somalia (2018-August 2020), 3 September 2020, [url](#)

¹⁶⁶ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), pp. 22-23

¹⁶⁷ CTG, Staying Safe in Somalia: 9 Top Security Tips For Humanitarian Aid Workers, 22 January 2019, [url](#)

¹⁶⁸ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

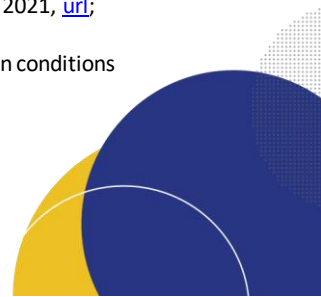
¹⁶⁹ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021; Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 24

¹⁷⁰ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 24

¹⁷¹ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹⁷² AI, Amnesty International Report 2020/21: The State of the World's Human Rights, 7 April 2021, [url](#), pp. 19, 323; Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 25; AA, Suicide bomber strikes near Somali mall, police station, 23 February 2021, [url](#); Reuters, At least 8 killed in Mogadishu by suicide bomb targeting government convoy, 10 July 2021, [url](#)

¹⁷³ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 25



According to scholar Jutta Bakonyi, Mogadishu is an unsafe place for everyone living there. Particular challenges of accessibility are faced by the wealthiest, by those working for the government and the UN and by well-known businessmen who refuse to pay taxes to Al-Shabaab. These people often use bulletproof cars and move around the town as little as possible. Private cars are used only by the wealthiest to go about the town, the rest relies on the chaotically functioning bus system, three-wheel vehicles (*bajaj*) originally from India, motorbikes, motorbike taxis, taxi cars and a taxi app via mobile application. The number of motorbike taxis has increased in the last years due to the proliferation of checkpoints and subsequent traffic jams in the city.¹⁷⁴ For additional details see section 6 of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Targeted profiles](#) (September 2021).

In Mogadishu, the 'airport zone',¹⁷⁵ which is also known as Halane,¹⁷⁶ is a high security zone hosting the UN offices, most European and the Kenyan embassies. Access to the walled airport zone is only provided through three gates with heavy security checks. Surrounding Mogadishu's highly secured airport zone is the 'green zone', where further international organisations and government officials reside and where hotels are located which are used by international and national experts who are not able or willing to move into the segregated airport zone. The green zone has a high number of checkpoints and is heavily patrolled by Somali security forces. Nonetheless attacks could not be entirely prevented.¹⁷⁷

COVID-19 related dusk-to-dawn curfews in Mogadishu between April and August 2020 restricted people's movements and the government banned assemblies and large gatherings, closed schools and academic institutions.¹⁷⁸ Physical isolation and movement restrictions imposed by the government sometimes caused limited access to food and medical supplies.¹⁷⁹ Two people who had violated the curfew in April 2020 were shot dead by a police officer in Mogadishu. Later, the officer was sentenced to death by a military court.¹⁸⁰ The government's response to a consequent COVID-19 wave in 2021 was 'more lax' and, with markets, mosques and football stadiums remaining open, life 'continued relatively normally'.¹⁸¹

For more information on mobility, please see section 3.1 of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Actors](#) (July 2021).

1.2.3 Accessing and settling in the city

Yahya Amir, professor in Mogadishu, explained to the Finnish fact-finding mission that there was a division of the city between zones controlled by the Abgaal and Habar Gidir from the Hawiye clan during the civil war in the 1990s. Northern, some central and the southern Madina district were under the control of the Abgaal, the remaining central and southern zones under the control of the Habar Gidir. According to Yahya Amir, in March 2020 this clan setting still had an impact and the Abgaal and

¹⁷⁴ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹⁷⁵ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹⁷⁶ GardaWorld, Somalia: Explosions reported in the vicinity of Halane compound, Mogadishu, March 9, 9 March 2021, [url](#)

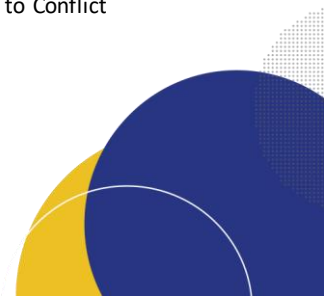
¹⁷⁷ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹⁷⁸ TNH, Who's afraid of COVID-19? Somalia's battle with the virus, 5 May 2021, [url](#); USDOS, 2020 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - Somalia, 30 March 2021, [url](#), p. 19; FAO, Somalia: Agricultural livelihoods and food security in the context of COVID-19, January 2021, [url](#), p. 7; Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), pp. 2-3, 9

¹⁷⁹ Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), pp. 9-10

¹⁸⁰ AI, Amnesty International Report 2020/21: The State of the World's Human Rights, 7 April 2021, [url](#), p. 323

¹⁸¹ TNH, Who's afraid of COVID-19? Somalia's battle with the virus, 5 May 2021, [url](#)



Habar Gidir clans held strong positions.¹⁸² UN-Habitat and JPLG follow the same line when saying that the city's 'economy, politics and power structures are dominated by geographical clan groups'.¹⁸³ For more information on the influence of clan affiliation on settlement patterns, please see section [1.1.13 Clan distribution](#).

But 'in principle, people can move freely within the capital city regardless of their clan background, and there are no clan-based restrictions on movement', local experts told the Finnish mission.¹⁸⁴ UNHCR informed the mission that 'People with means can buy a residence and settle in the best areas of the city, even if they are not members of the capital city's powerful clans'.¹⁸⁵ Still, the clan background often determines where people feel it is safest for an individual to live. When clan conflicts turn violent, it seems safest to move into the districts where the own clan dominates or at least more people from the same clan live. The clan can also provide a safety net in case of hardship.¹⁸⁶

The rural-urban dynamic of movement of the internally displaced population in Somalia is a major driver of cities' growth in Somalia and in many cities IDPs are meanwhile a large percentage of urban residents. But also returnees and refugees from neighbouring countries tend to settle in and around Somalia's urban centres, among which Mogadishu.¹⁸⁷ A study by Charlotte Bonnet et al. indicated that, in the Somali context, the label IDP was not used in the same way as by the international community but rather as a generic term for poor urban residents that had settled in the city in the past 20 years. Therefore, the line between newly displaced and urban poor residents of Mogadishu was blurred.¹⁸⁸ Bakonyi explains in her study on displacement that in the common Somali understanding, someone is considered an IDP when he or she settles on land particularly designated for displaced people. 'The alignment of places of settlement to status as "displaced" was common in all Somali cities, excluding those who join relatives or live in rented accommodations across the city.' In Mogadishu, the majority of residents at IDP sites do not belong to one of the clans that hold political power.¹⁸⁹ The perception of being an IDP depends particularly on the place where an individual settles (e.g. IDP camps, relocation areas, squatter settlements) and on the clan affiliation. Bakonyi notes that urban poor newcomers to the city are not generally considered IDPs. If they move in with relatives, for instance, or if they are able to rent a place, they are not considered IDPs even if they technically are.¹⁹⁰ Likewise, they are not represented in the IDP numbers.¹⁹¹ Together with her co-authors, Peter Chonka and Kirsti Stuvøy, she explains in their study on Mogadishu and Bosasso from August 2019 that 'displaced people without social networks and prior knowledge of the city often ended-up on the city's streets where they turned to begging for their survival'.¹⁹² Newcomers would eventually find shelter in one of the

¹⁸² Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 38

¹⁸³ UN-Habitat and JPLG, Towards Mogadishu: Spatial Strategic Plan, Urban Analyses / Urban Development Challenges / Urban Strategic Planning, 2019, [url](#), p. 3

¹⁸⁴ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 39

¹⁸⁵ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 39

¹⁸⁶ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

¹⁸⁷ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 36; see also UN-Habitat and JPLG, Towards Mogadishu: Spatial Strategic Plan, Urban Analyses / Urban Development Challenges / Urban Strategic Planning, 2019, [url](#), p. 21

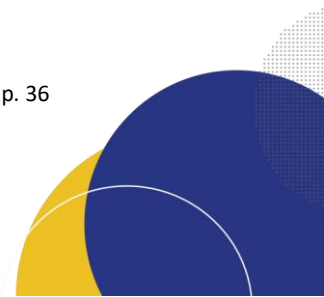
¹⁸⁸ Bonnet, C. et al., Inclusive Shelter Provision in Mogadishu, 28 July 2020, [url](#), pp. 451-452

¹⁸⁹ Bakonyi, J., The Political Economy of Displacement: Rent Seeking, Disposessions and Precarious Mobility in Somali Cities, 15 October 2020, [url](#), p. 18

¹⁹⁰ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

¹⁹¹ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹⁹² Bakonyi, J. et al., War and City-Making in Somalia: Property, Power and Disposable Lives, August 2019, [url](#), p. 36



camps and erect a *buul* (makeshift hut) on *goof* (uninhabited, unused land), which belongs to a *goof-leh* (owner of unused land).¹⁹³

Especially in Mogadishu, informal settlement managers (ISMs), also referred to as ‘gatekeepers’ play an important role in the process.¹⁹⁴ They ‘preside over a lucrative industry providing space for shelter and protection for IDPs’, sometimes buying up land and then actively filling it up with IDPs. Such new camps attract humanitarian aid, from which gatekeepers take a share.¹⁹⁵ In this way, as the national or local state fails to provide shelter and security to the vulnerable, an informal industry has arisen in Mogadishu that ‘negotiate[s] access to plots from local landlords’ and ‘facilitate[s] access to shelter, principally for internally displaced persons (IDPs) but also for long-term urban poor residents, refugees and returnees.’¹⁹⁶ Meanwhile, one has to pay a fee to the gatekeeper for a place to settle in one of the camps with good humanitarian support.¹⁹⁷ In 2017 a study suggested that approximately 140 gatekeepers operated in Mogadishu.¹⁹⁸ Most of them belong to the dominant Hawiye clan and sometimes to the Darood.¹⁹⁹ Their number has most probably increased since 2018 and 2019 saw a higher influx of IDPs, many of them settling in Kaxda district.²⁰⁰ The International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), Econvalue Consult, SDI Kenya, Social Development Direct (SDDirect) and Tana Copenhagen noticed that clan concentration diminished and the city developed a greater diversity in some locations. Still, relatives’ support and clan networks remain important to IDPs upon and after their arrival to the town. This is why they ‘usually move to areas where they have relatives and networks’.²⁰¹ It is not uncommon that, if landowners wish to develop their land, they clear it through forced evictions.²⁰² For more information, please see sections [1.3.2.3 Informal settlements and IDP sites](#) and [1.3.2.4 Evictions](#).

IDPs from minority clans and ethnic groups, particularly those of Bantu origin from southern Somalia, face stronger discrimination and a higher risk of evictions compared to members of majority clans or to non-displaced clan members, who also reside in informal settlements in Mogadishu.²⁰³ For more information on minority clans and ethnic minorities, please see sections 4.2 and 4.3 of EASO’s COI report [Somalia: Targeted profiles](#) (September 2021).

¹⁹³ Bakonyi, J. et al., War and City-Making in Somalia: Property, Power and Disposable Lives, August 2019, [url](#), pp. 85, 87

¹⁹⁴ IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 5

¹⁹⁵ Menkhaus, K., Non-State Security Providers and Political Formation in Somalia, in: CSG Papers, No. 5, April 2016, [url](#), p. 32

¹⁹⁶ IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 5

¹⁹⁷ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

¹⁹⁸ IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 5

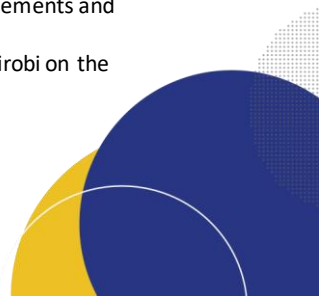
¹⁹⁹ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021a

²⁰⁰ IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 5, p. 5, footnote 3

²⁰¹ IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 8

²⁰² Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2020 Country Report — Somalia, 2020, [url](#), pp. 28-29; IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 12

²⁰³ IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), pp. 6, 8



1.3 Socio-economic indicators

1.3.1 Economic overview and food security

1.3.1.1 Economic overview

Somalia's economy is dominated by subsistence agriculture and fishing.²⁰⁴ According to data from Statista, the agriculture sector produced 80.3 % of the country's total GDP in 2019.²⁰⁵ The majority of the population lives at the subsistence level. People engage as petty traders or small-scale producers of livestock and other agricultural products.²⁰⁶ Somalia is heavily dependent upon imports. In 2020, household final consumption expenditure accounted for 144 % of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), imports of goods and services amounted to 84 % of the GDP.²⁰⁷ According to 2020 data the GDP per capita in Somalia was 309.4 US dollars.²⁰⁸

Private consumption is the main driver of the Somali economy and, according to the Somali Ministry of Planning, Investment and Economic Development, relies to a large extent on remittance inflows,²⁰⁹ which contribute up to 40 % to the Somali economy.²¹⁰ Transport, communication and construction are major drivers of growth on the supply side, for which Mogadishu serves as a major hub.²¹¹ Still, the city's economy remains largely informal and is not regulated by the government.²¹² Domestic revenues are mainly derived from customs duties collected at the Mogadishu sea- and airport, amounting to 5.5 million to 8.5 million US dollars monthly. Furthermore, sales taxes on *khat*²¹³ are collected at the sea- and airport, and income tax is imposed on salaries and government wages.²¹⁴ Apart from that, the country is dependent on international aid.²¹⁵ Somalia's coastal areas, among them Mogadishu, have access to one of the richest fishing grounds in the world. However, illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing activities as well as piracy challenge the fishing sector, contributing to the environmental destruction of Somalia's marine resources and undermining the ability of the state to generate legitimate revenue from fisheries.²¹⁶ The federal government issues fishing licences beyond a 24 nautical mile limit from the shoreline and other permissions. The management of fishing within this limit is in the responsibility of the federal member states. Yet, weak

²⁰⁴ IMF, IMF Survey : IMF to Help Somalia Rebuild Its Economy, 24 June 2013, [url](#)

²⁰⁵ Statista, Somalia: Distribution of employment by economic sector from 2009 to 2019, n.d., [url](#)

²⁰⁶ Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2020 Country Report — Somalia, 2020, [url](#), p. 25

²⁰⁷ Federal Republic of Somalia, National Bureau of Statistics, Somalia Gross Domestic Product Report, June 2021, 30 June 2021, [url](#), pp. 3, 5

²⁰⁸ World Bank (The), GDP per capita (current US\$) – Somalia, n.d., [url](#)

²⁰⁹ Somalia, MoPIED, Somalia National Development Plan 2020 to 2024: The Path to a Just, Stable and Prosperous Somalia, [2019], [url](#), p. 49

²¹⁰ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 34; Boston Globe (The), Mogadishu is booming, 25 June 2021, [url](#); see also Majid, N. et al., How Will Remittances Affect the Somali COVID-19 Response?, LSE COVID-19 [Blog], 7 April 2020, [url](#)

²¹¹ Somalia, MoPIED, Somalia National Development Plan 2020 to 2024: The Path to a Just, Stable and Prosperous Somalia, [2019], [url](#), p. 49

²¹² UN-Habitat and JPLG, Towards Mogadishu: Spatial Strategic Plan, Urban Analyses / Urban Development Challenges / Urban Strategic Planning, 2019, [url](#), p. 18; Somalia, MoPIED, Somalia National Development Plan 2020 to 2024: The Path to a Just, Stable and Prosperous Somalia, [2019], [url](#), pp. 29-31

²¹³ *Khat* is a stimulant, popular in the region. Its leaves are usually chewed or brewed as a tea', see Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 25, footnote 7

²¹⁴ Somalia, MoPIED, Somalia National Development Plan 2020 to 2024: The Path to a Just, Stable and Prosperous Somalia, [2019], [url](#), p. 297

²¹⁵ Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2020 Country Report — Somalia, 2020, [url](#), pp. 24-25

²¹⁶ Bahadur, J., Fishy Business, Illegal fishing in Somali and the capture of state institutions, June 2021, 2 July 2021, [url](#), pp. 1, 40; see also EEAS, The European Union hands over 9 refrigerated trucks to Somali coastal communities as part of the EU funded "No Piracy" fisheries project, 28 January 2021, [url](#)

state structures and corruption are the reasons for which different local Somali authorities do not recognize each other's licences and permissions.²¹⁷ Local fishers use small boats to catch fish along the coast and supply the fish markets in Mogadishu. Fish is also being distributed to the hinterland. Fishers can come from all major clans, while labourers who slaughter, distribute or carry the fish are often from minority groups, such as Bantu or Madiban. In a recent bilateral initiative, Ethiopia and Somalia agreed on the exchange of *khat* with fish.²¹⁸

On Mogadishu's outskirts, pastoralists and farmers engage in agricultural production and animal husbandry.²¹⁹ Since January 2020, goat prices have declined and cereal prices risen. For instance, in January 2021, the sale of a goat bought 158 kilogrammes of maize, which is 24 % less than in January 2020.²²⁰ In 2016, FSNAU reported that from Mogadishu's Bakara market, locally produced cereals were being traded to central Somalia.²²¹ In the past 10 to 15 years, agriculture saw an increase in cash crops production. Lemon, bananas and sesame are produced in the south and along the Shebelle river and then transported to Mogadishu for the local or the export markets.²²² Markets in Mogadishu are the main destination for livestock, such as camel trade and other local agricultural products from surrounding regions.²²³

Annual inflation has been in single digits between 2012 and 2019 based on inflation rates derived from data on consumer prices obtained in Mogadishu.²²⁴ The World Bank projects a stagnation of private consumption in 2021 and a steady international poverty rate of 71 % in 2022 and 2023 for Somalia.²²⁵ Recent gains in economic growth have been lost due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic.²²⁶ Current information on average income in Mogadishu is not available, since many people engage in the trade sector that is highly dependent on business success, such as import, export, wholesale, kiosk, or otherwise handicraft trade.²²⁷

Mogadishu is the country's most vibrant commercial and the state's administrative centre.²²⁸ Despite its chronic insecurity, it is the main economic hub, where approximately a third of Somalia's urban population lives.²²⁹ A report by the Bertelsmann Stiftung described an ongoing building boom and the reopening of restaurants, supermarkets and shops in Mogadishu as 'signs of economic recovery' in the time between January 2017 and January 2019. Similarly, UN-Habitat reports that increased stability between 2014 and 2019, remittance inflows and donor support have contributed to a boom

²¹⁷ Bahadur, J., Fishy Business, Illegal fishing in Somali and the capture of state institutions, June 2021, 2 July 2021, [url](#), pp. 1-2, 4-7

²¹⁸ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

²¹⁹ Independent (The), Locusts swarm into Mogadishu's pasture land amid resurgence in Horn of Africa, 10 November 2020, [url](#); Reuters, Outside Mogadishu, locusts turn farmland into desert, 13 November 2020, [url](#)

²²⁰ FEWS NET and FSNAU, Somalia Food Security Outlook: Consecutive seasons of below-average rainfall likely to lead to widespread Crisis (IPC Phase 3) outcomes, February 2021, [url](#), p. 5

²²¹ FSNAU, Somalia Livelihood Profiles - June 2016, 30 June 2016, [url](#), p. 118

²²² Majid, N. et al., Food and Power in Somalia: Business as Usual? – A scoping study on the political economy of food following shifts in food assistance and in governance, 21 January 2020, [url](#), pp. 23-27

²²³ FSNAU, Somalia Livelihood Profiles - June 2016, 30 June 2016, [url](#), p. 118, 131-133; Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

²²⁴ Somalia, MoPIED, Somalia National Development Plan 2020 to 2024: The Path to a Just, Stable and Prosperous Somalia, [2019], [url](#), p. 47

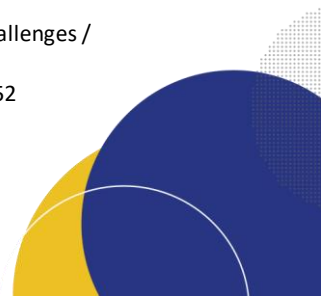
²²⁵ World Bank (The), Somalia – Overview, 18 March 2021, [url](#)

²²⁶ UN, Country Results Report: Somalia 2020, March 2021, [url](#), p. 13

²²⁷ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

²²⁸ UN-Habitat and JPLG, Towards Mogadishu: Spatial Strategic Plan, Urban Analyses / Urban Development Challenges / Urban Strategic Planning, 2019, [url](#), p. 18

²²⁹ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 52



in construction, telecommunication, trade and transport sectors in Mogadishu.²³⁰ Due to investments from the diaspora, also the real estate market expanded in the past 20 years.²³¹ Yet, spiking land and real estate prices in Mogadishu result in large-scale evictions and manifest the growing inequality between rich and poor.²³²

Compared to other cities and rural areas, Mogadishu concentrates a larger number of tradable services enterprises, which create employment opportunities, and have strong connections to markets in Galmudug, Hirshabelle, and the South West State.²³³ However, the Finnish mission found that few business and employment opportunities existed in Mogadishu (see section [1.3.6 Means of basic subsistence and employment](#)).²³⁴ Some Somalis, who have been raised and educated abroad are returning to Mogadishu, investing and opening new businesses.²³⁵ In Somalia, there are some wealthy businessmen and international traders but the majority of the population lives at the subsistence level.²³⁶ Urban wage labour is less dependent on climate or seasonal conditions. Therefore, the majority of urban households make their living on wage labour. In Mogadishu with 64 %, the proportion of households engaged in wage labour is the highest.²³⁷

In June 2020, the Somali Public Agenda published an article on the impact of COVID-19 on the informal economy on Mogadishu. The article states that due to COVID-19-related restrictions and a night curfew in Mogadishu from April 2020, many businesses were closed. Informal businesses such as roadside cafes, milk and tea vendors, hawkers, vegetable and fruit sellers, restaurants, teashops, shoe shiners, travel agencies, *khat* traders/sellers, remittances, *bajaj* drivers, school and university teachers, clothes businesses and other imported goods businesses were heavily impacted by the restrictions. To cushion the economic impact, the Somali government rolled out a 100 % tax exemption for rice and dates and a 50 % tax waiver for wheat flour and cooking oil in April 2020.²³⁸ Due to the COVID-19 crisis remittance flows were interrupted causing a decline of consumption in local markets in Mogadishu.²³⁹

1.3.1.2 Food security

The majority of the population in Mogadishu is affected by food insecurity with highest malnutrition rates among IDPs (for more information on IDPs, please see section [1.1.2.3 Displacement and humanitarian assistance](#)).²⁴⁰ FEWS and FSNAU provide an outlook on the food security situation in Mogadishu. They classify the second and third quarter of 2021 as phases of 'crisis' in IDP settlements

²³⁰ UN-Habitat and JPLG, Towards Mogadishu: Spatial Strategic Plan, Urban Analyses / Urban Development Challenges / Urban Strategic Planning, 2019, [url](#), p. 18

²³¹ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 51; Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2020 Country Report — Somalia, 2020, [url](#), p. 25

²³² Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2020 Country Report — Somalia, 2020, [url](#), pp. 25, 28

²³³ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 51

²³⁴ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 32

²³⁵ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 51; Boston Globe (The), Mogadishu is booming, 25 June 2021, [url](#)

²³⁶ Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2020 Country Report — Somalia, 2020, [url](#), p. 25

²³⁷ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), pp. xix, 35, 51

²³⁸ Somali Public Agenda, The impact of Covid-19 on the informal economy of Mogadishu, 4 June 2020, [url](#)

²³⁹ Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations — a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), p. 6

²⁴⁰ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), pp. 30, 37

and as ‘stressed’ in urban settlements.²⁴¹ ‘Crisis’ means that households either ‘have food consumption gaps that are reflected by high or above-usual acute malnutrition’ or ‘are marginally able to meet minimum food needs but only by depleting essential livelihood assets or through crisis-coping strategies’; and ‘stressed’ means that ‘households have minimally adequate food consumption but are unable to afford some essential non-food expenditures without engaging in stress-coping strategies.’²⁴² The CCCM Cluster recognised a rise in food related complaints in IDP sites where they provide their services, e.g. within Daynile district. The cluster reported an all-time high with regard to food security complaints and information requests in April 2021. This relates to the elevated number of new displacements and coincides with increases of IDP numbers.²⁴³ In March 2021, FSNAU reported a monthly number of 125 000 recipients of food assistance in Mogadishu since July 2018.²⁴⁴ FSNAU stated in December 2020 that a persistently critical level of acute malnutrition prevailed among IDPs in Mogadishu since 2019 *deyr* due to high morbidity and effects on household incomes.²⁴⁵ UNOCHA reported a global acute malnutrition (GAM) rate of 16 % in some IDP sites in Mogadishu for the year 2019.²⁴⁶ Data collected in the course of the World Bank’s Somali High Frequency Survey Wave 2 in December 2017 shows that 72 % of the population in Mogadishu were poor and almost 50 % suffered from food poverty.²⁴⁷

As the local food production cannot sustain the city’s demands, Mogadishu relies mostly on food imports from abroad.²⁴⁸ Moreover, the city’s supply from local producers is vulnerable to climate change, from which food security suffers in time of droughts.²⁴⁹ According to UN-Habitat, ‘facilitation of trade is therefore of vital importance to increase food security’.²⁵⁰ Somalia imports much of its basic food items including rice, pasta, sugar, flour or cooking oil.²⁵¹ Markets fulfil central supply functions in the town. Bakaara market in Mogadishu is the largest of such open markets in all Somalia and one of the largest in East Africa. Another wholesale and supply market is the Zeybiano market in Hodan district. From there, food stuffs are being traded to other districts via retailers, who, as well, form wholesale markets within their districts like Suuq Bacad and Hamar Weyne or Medina markets. Suuq Bacaad in Yaqshid district and Hamarweyne are Mogadishu’s second and third largest markets.²⁵² In neighbourhoods and IDP camps in Weydow and Tabella smaller emerging markets serve the specific needs of the urban poor and IDPs. Nevertheless, there are blank spots in the north-eastern and south-western parts of the city, which are not served.²⁵³ The terms of trade (ToT) between daily labour wage

²⁴¹ FSNAU and FEWS NET, Quarterly Brief with a Focus on the 2021 Jiaal Impact and Gu Season Early Warning, 17 May 2021, [url](#), p. 16

²⁴² FEWS NET, Integrated Phase Classification, n.d., [url](#)

²⁴³ CCCM, Somalia, Complaints and Feedback Mechanism (CFM) - Monthly Summary Report for April 2021, 17 May 2021, [url](#)

²⁴⁴ IPC, Somalia: IPC Acute Food Insecurity and Acute Malnutrition Analysis, January - June 2021, March 2021, [url](#), p. 3

²⁴⁵ FSNAU, Nutrition Update: December 2020, 23 December 2020, [url](#), p. 3

²⁴⁶ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 22 December 2019, [url](#), pp. 17, 53

²⁴⁷ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 37

²⁴⁸ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 30

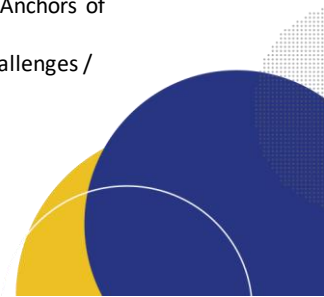
²⁴⁹ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 30; UN-Habitat and JPLG, Towards Mogadishu: Spatial Strategic Plan, Urban Analyses / Urban Development Challenges / Urban Strategic Planning, 2019, [url](#), p. 31

²⁵⁰ UN-Habitat and JPLG, Towards Mogadishu: Spatial Strategic Plan, Urban Analyses / Urban Development Challenges / Urban Strategic Planning, 2019, [url](#), p. 31

²⁵¹ Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2020 Country Report — Somalia, 2020, [url](#), p. 25

²⁵² UN-Habitat and JPLG, Towards Mogadishu: Spatial Strategic Plan, Urban Analyses / Urban Development Challenges / Urban Strategic Planning, 2019, [url](#), p. 19; World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 52

²⁵³ UN-Habitat and JPLG, Towards Mogadishu: Spatial Strategic Plan, Urban Analyses / Urban Development Challenges / Urban Strategic Planning, 2019, [url](#), p. 19



rate and cereals per kilogrammes amounted to nine kilogrammes for white maize in June 2021. Local cereal prices, specifically white maize prices, increased in Benadir by 6 % between June 2021 and May 2021, and also wheat prices slightly increased between June 2020 and June 2021.²⁵⁴

1.3.2 Housing and shelter

The different types of housing and shelter in Mogadishu include: huts (*buush*), *jingaad* (a basic housing structure of only metal sheet), *bacweyne* (iron sheet house, but better decorated than *jingaad*). *Bacweyne* are often erected in a first phase by people owning a small plot of land before they can afford to build a brick or stone structure house for their families. All of these types of houses have outside toilets (pit-latrines). Brick or stone houses have several rooms, iron sheet roofing and indoor bathrooms.²⁵⁵

In Mogadishu, informal housing is widespread. The federal government is unable to meet the shelter needs of the most vulnerable residents. Therefore, an informal industry has arisen maintaining and, sometimes, exploiting IDP populations, urban poor, refugees and returnees. ‘Gatekeepers’ are the informal power holders, who provide access to land or shelter and basic services against a fee.²⁵⁶ Access to land enables people to build their own houses to live or to become landlords (even if only petty landlords allowing other people to establish huts or metal sheet houses). If people can afford it, they can also rent land, rooms, apartments or houses.²⁵⁷

UNHCR informants to the Finnish fact-finding mission stated in March 2020 that housing conditions in Mogadishu were challenging.²⁵⁸ The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) related the challenges to ‘the informal nature of the housing sector in Somalia’ lacking ‘clear laws to regulate transactions’.²⁵⁹ Similarly, in a 2017 fact sheet by the Global Shelter Cluster rental agreements were described as being often informal.²⁶⁰ The World Bank’s assessment of major socio-economic parameters from 2019 showed that due to scarcity of land, access to land and housing was constrained in urban areas and people’s chances of owning property were smaller than in rural areas. Mogadishu had the highest proportion of renters (71 %) and the highest land values in Somalia.²⁶¹ The World Bank saw the need for ‘a proper land administration system’ together with ‘effective land use planning’ and accompanied by ‘coordinated infrastructure investments’ in order to keep the growth of the city under control and provide security of tenure to IDPs.²⁶² The growing influx of IDPs as well as of returnees from neighbouring countries (please see section [1.2.3 Accessing and settling in the city](#)) has further constrained access to land in Mogadishu.²⁶³ According to Bakonyi, an ongoing building boom could trigger speculation with urban land and the expansion of rent economy. This would result in mass-

²⁵⁴ FSNAU, Market Update, June 2021, 15 July 2021, [url](#), pp. 1, 2

²⁵⁵ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

²⁵⁶ IIED, et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 5

²⁵⁷ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

²⁵⁸ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 31

²⁵⁹ IDMC, UnSettlement: Urban displacement in the 21st century - City of flight: New and secondary displacements in Mogadishu, Somalia, November 2018, [url](#), p. 2

²⁶⁰ Shelter Cluster, Somalia Fact Sheet, September 2017, 31 October 2017, [url](#), p. 2

²⁶¹ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 40

²⁶² World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 36

²⁶³ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 40

scale evictions of the urban poor and displaced people.²⁶⁴ The Shelter Cluster's dashboard showed as of 30 April 2021 that in Banadir, 7 846 persons or 1 255 households out of a number of 2.5 million targeted people were reached by in-kind emergency shelter programmes in January and March 2021.²⁶⁵ From June to November 2020, the organisation recorded 21 639 persons or 3 069 households out of 1.4 million targeted people who were reached by in-kind of emergency shelter programmes.²⁶⁶

1.3.2.1 Costs

Some districts, including Waberi, Madina, Hodan and the airport area have become 'extremely expensive'. Prices in districts on the outskirts, such as Huriwaa and Suuqa Hoolahan, were 'more affordable'.²⁶⁷ A room of 25 square metres with no fittings or fixtures and a concrete floor in best quality location could cost up to 100 US dollars per month. People, who could not afford rents in better regions, were forced to live in less secure areas.²⁶⁸

Apartments for rent in the different residential areas are available from monthly rates of about 100 US dollars for a one room apartment in less safe areas up to 400 US dollars in the safe area (Green Zone) around the airport, Maka Al-Mukarama Road that connects airport and statehouse. In recent years, high rise buildings of up to 10 floors were being constructed in Mogadishu, where one can buy apartments with three to four bedrooms and a bathroom for about 100 000 US dollars or more. A maisonette house, if not located in the city centre, costs about 150 000 US dollars. A new suburb at Mogadishu's outskirts is under construction by the telecom company Hormuud. The project offers gated maisonettes for sale at about 300 000 US dollars.²⁶⁹ Markus Hoehne²⁷⁰ said in an interview in March 2021 prices for housing varied significantly between safe and unsafe areas. On the outskirts, where Al-Shabaab was still active and which were partly in their sphere of influence, housing was much cheaper. The safer districts in the centre were secured by the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and monthly costs for a studio in these areas were at minimum 150 US dollars. The same amount applied on the outskirts of Mogadishu for villas with four or five rooms.²⁷¹ The Finnish report remarked that it happened that people coming from outside were charged a higher rent than Mogadishu locals.²⁷² The July 2020 study by Charlotte Bonnet and her colleagues contained a table on housing types, costs and locations in Mogadishu: *buul* (pl. *buush*), self-built temporary shelters which are mainly located at the periphery and inhabited by IDPs and other Mogadishu residents who are locked out of the city's formal housing market. If rent applied at all, it amounted on average to about 13 US dollars per month. Corrugated iron sheet housing accommodated usually low-income and lower-middle class households in central and peripheral areas. Average rent amounted to 140 US dollars per month. IDPs belonging to one of the majority clans sometimes resided informally in abandoned government buildings, which were often close to informal settlements in and around the

²⁶⁴ Bakonyi, J., The Political Economy of Displacement: Rent Seeking, Disposessions and Precarious Mobility in Somali Cities, 15 October 2020, [url](#), p. 20

²⁶⁵ Shelter Cluster, Somalia: Shelter Cluster 5W (Who's doing What, Where, When and for Whom) – Banadir 2021, 30 April 2021, [url](#)

²⁶⁶ Shelter Cluster, Somalia: Shelter Cluster 5W (Who's doing What, Where, When and for Whom) – Banadir 2020, 30 April 2021, [url](#)

²⁶⁷ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 31

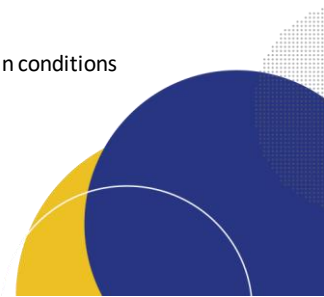
²⁶⁸ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), pp. 31-32

²⁶⁹ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

²⁷⁰ Markus Höhne [Hoehne] is a scholar at the Institute of Ethnology at the University of Leipzig. He has been working on Somalia since 2001 and has spent several years in the country. He speaks Somali fluently

²⁷¹ ACCORD, ecoi.net-Themendossier zu Somalia: Humanitäre Lage, 7 May 2021, [url](#)

²⁷² Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 32



city. In apartments one could find middle-class and upper middle-class households, who paid monthly rents of about 350 to 500 US dollars on average. Many of those were located within the city close to the city centre. As a last category, the table presented villas, which were detached houses with their own compound located in the older parts of the town. Villas were accessible to upper-middle class and wealthy households as well as were rented out to foreign nationals and local and international organisations.²⁷³ Especially in Mogadishu, Somalis from the diaspora and local elites purchased land, despite the lack of a functioning land registry.²⁷⁴

1.3.2.2 Discriminated groups

Tenants need a local male person to vouch for them before a new rental arrangement is made. Single women encounter difficulties when renting their own apartment. Living alone is not customary and might be criticised as westernised. Leaving the parental household is only acceptable for women upon marriage.²⁷⁵ Moreover, single young men are particularly disadvantaged in accessing shelter due to stereotypical views of them as drug-takers, potential Al-Shabaab members, or people likely to cause trouble. For people living with disabilities (PLWD) almost no provisions exist regarding housing. Therefore, they are generally entirely reliant on family members for support. Ethnic minorities outside of the clan system, such as so-called Bantu, experience significant discrimination and tensions surrounding security of tenure or evictions.²⁷⁶

1.3.2.3 Informal settlements and IDP sites

Bakonyi states that displaced people were mainly living in self-established camps at the fringes of Mogadishu.²⁷⁷ Numbers from 2017 counted 480 informal settlements across Mogadishu, most of them located in the north-western Hodan and Daynile districts.²⁷⁸ According to World Bank data from 2017 as well as UN-Habitat and the Joint Programme on Local Governance and Decentralised Service Delivery (JPLG), 55 % of IDPs in Mogadishu resided in peripheral settlements, namely in the outskirts districts Daynile and Kahda.²⁷⁹ In an analysis of their field work carried out in Mogadishu, Bonnet and her colleagues show that housing consisted predominantly of corrugated metal sheet shacks or temporary shelters made of sticks, plastic and fabric (*buuls*) inhabited by IDPs. Newly established settlements at the peripheries were disconnected from urban infrastructure.²⁸⁰ It happened that poverty drove also non-IDP residents into informal settlements in Mogadishu because they could 'no longer afford decent housing'.²⁸¹ IDP and poor households in Mogadishu lack lasting tenure security agreements and face increasing difficulties to find locations to settle that do not bear the risk of eviction.²⁸² In IDP camps, the central figure of the 'camp leader' or 'gatekeeper' (please see section [1.2.3 Accessing and settling in the city](#)) decides 'who is allowed to settle in the camp, register

²⁷³ Bonnet, C. et al., Inclusive Shelter Provision in Mogadishu, 28 July 2020, [url](#), p. 454

²⁷⁴ Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2020 Country Report — Somalia, 2020, [url](#), p. 28

²⁷⁵ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 32

²⁷⁶ IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), pp. 7-8

²⁷⁷ Bakonyi, J., The Political Economy of Displacement: Rent Seeking, Dispossession and Precarious Mobility in Somali Cities, 15 October 2020, [url](#), p. 13

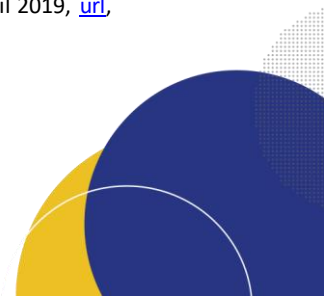
²⁷⁸ Bonnet, C. et al., Inclusive Shelter Provision in Mogadishu, 28 July 2020, [url](#), p. 451

²⁷⁹ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), pp. 40-41; UN-Habitat and JPLG, Towards Mogadishu: Spatial Strategic Plan, Urban Analyses / Urban Development Challenges / Urban Strategic Planning, 2019, [url](#), p. 21

²⁸⁰ Bonnet, C. et al., Inclusive Shelter Provision in Mogadishu, 28 July 2020, [url](#), pp. 454-455; see also World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 41

²⁸¹ Bonnet, C. et al., Inclusive Shelter Provision in Mogadishu, 28 July 2020, [url](#), p. 451

²⁸² NRC et al., Back to Square One, 12 January 2018, [url](#), p. 11



newcomers and identify the spots where they can set-up huts'.²⁸³ The CCCM Cluster surveyed 25 IDP sites in Mogadishu's district Daynile and found that 7 % of shelters were durable, 18 % transitional, 18 % temporary and 57 % make-shift.²⁸⁴ Residents were not satisfied (46 %) or not at all satisfied (12 %) with the public infrastructure in these sites.²⁸⁵ In 2017, IDP settlements already occupied 16 % more space than in 2013.²⁸⁶ For more information on IDPs, please see also sections [1.1.2.3 Displacement and humanitarian assistance](#) and [1.4.2.2 Vulnerable groups](#).

1.3.2.4 Evictions

Without secure land tenure the risk of evictions rises. After their forced eviction many urban IDP residents moved to the cities' outskirts.²⁸⁷ In May 2021, the NRC reported the eviction of 1 937 households – approximately 11 622 people – from 18 IDP settlements in Garasbaley in the Benadir region. The evicted people relocated to settlements in Igadawage in Daynile district.²⁸⁸ In early 2020, an eviction moratorium was issued in response to the COVID-19 outbreak.²⁸⁹ And, in 2019, new policies regarding the protection of returnees and IDPs against displacement²⁹⁰ as well as land distribution for housing to returnees and IDPs,²⁹¹ social protection²⁹² and national eviction guidelines²⁹³ were adopted.²⁹⁴ Nevertheless, evictions by security forces and private landowners continued in 2020²⁹⁵ – e.g. in December a landlord forcibly evicted nearly 7 000 IDPs from seven settlements in Benadir.²⁹⁶ In 2018, a majority of more than 200 000 people affected by forced evictions in Somalia were from Mogadishu. The Bertelsmann Stiftung reported further that security forces regularly demolished settlements in Mogadishu in 2018.²⁹⁷ Similarly, the NRC found that in Mogadishu 153 682 persons were evicted in 2017, 143 510 in 2016 and 123 421 in 2015. More than 11 000 IDPs were evicted each month between 2015 and 2017.²⁹⁸ In Mogadishu, forced evictions by private actors were mostly executed in order to have clear land that they can develop.²⁹⁹ It happens that, if the value of the land in the camp rises due to its better integration into the city's networks, the owner might wish to develop or sell the land. In this case the inhabitants will be evicted and have to move again.³⁰⁰ Repeated evictions and little social upward mobility create a circle of displacement and push urban

²⁸³ Bakonyi, J. et al., War and City-Making in Somalia: Property, Power and Disposable Lives, August 2019, [url](#), p. 87, see also Bakonyi, J., The Political Economy of Displacement: Rent Seeking, Dispossessions and Precarious Mobility in Somali Cities, 15 October 2020, [url](#), pp. 13-14

²⁸⁴ CCCM, Household Satisfaction Surveys - March 2021, 18 March 2021, [url](#), pp. 1-2

²⁸⁵ CCCM, Household Satisfaction Surveys - March 2021, 18 March 2021, [url](#), pp. 2, 9

²⁸⁶ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 40

²⁸⁷ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), pp. 40-41

²⁸⁸ NRC and Somalia Protection Cluster, Rapid Assessment Report – Garasbaley Evictions, 30 May 2021, [url](#), pp. 2-3, 5

²⁸⁹ USAID, Somalia - Complex Emergency, 8 January 2021, [url](#), p. 3

²⁹⁰ Somalia, Federal government of Somalia, National Policy on Refugee-Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), 2019, [url](#)

²⁹¹ Somalia, Federal government of Somalia, Interim Protocol on Land Distribution for Housing to Eligible Refugee-Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons, 2019, [url](#)

²⁹² Somalia, MoLSA, Somalia Social Protection Policy – March 2019, 31 March 2019, [url](#)

²⁹³ Somalia, Federal Government of Somalia, National Eviction Guidelines, 2019, [url](#)

²⁹⁴ Somalia, MoPIED, The National Durable Solutions Strategy (2020-2024), 31 March 2021, [url](#), p. 30

²⁹⁵ AI, Amnesty International Report 2020/21: The State of the World's Human Rights, 2021, 7 April 2021, [url](#), p. 324; USAID, Somalia - Complex Emergency, 8 January 2021, [url](#), p. 3

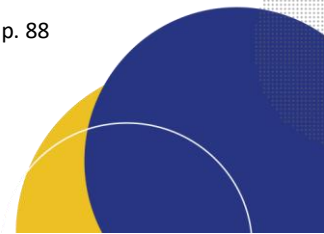
²⁹⁶ USAID, Somalia - Complex Emergency, 8 January 2021, [url](#), p. 3

²⁹⁷ Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2020 Country Report – Somalia, 2020, [url](#), p. 18

²⁹⁸ NRC et al., Back to Square One, 12 January 2018, [url](#), p. 11

²⁹⁹ Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2020 Country Report – Somalia, 2020, [url](#), pp. 28-29; IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 12

³⁰⁰ Bakonyi, J. et al., War and City-Making in Somalia: Property, Power and Disposable Lives, August 2019, [url](#), p. 88



poor and IDPs further and further to Mogadishu's outskirts.³⁰¹ Bakonyi and her co-authors attest the 'extreme precarity of camp life' as well as a 'significant increase of such evictions' since Mogadishu is characterised by a reconstruction boom after Al-Shabaab was forced to retreat and the (Transitional) Federal Government expanded its control across the city.³⁰²

Although, at times also political and military elites conducted land grabs and issued forced evictions.³⁰³ This generated 'significant intra-city migration flows between three of the most densely IDP-populated areas of Mogadishu (Kaxda, Hodan and Daynile) and the city centre (Dharkenley)'.³⁰⁴

1.3.3 Hygiene, water and sanitation

In December 2017, the World Bank assessed deprivation of households considering dimensions of education, water, sanitation, electricity and monetary poverty.³⁰⁵ The study showed that 67 % of households in Mogadishu had access to improved sanitation³⁰⁶. This number corresponds with other urban areas in Somalia.³⁰⁷

According to UNOCHA, the immediate access to the port of Mogadishu ensures regular supply of humanitarian WASH support. Therefore, Mogadishu experienced only minimum supply issues in 2020.³⁰⁸ ReDSS, DRC and NRC reported in 2017 that 126 boreholes in Mogadishu were privately owned. There, water was sold at a price ranging from 0.8 to 1.5 US dollars per cubic metre. Additionally, 12 privately run shallow wells existed. In the IDP settlements KM13-15 Sarkust, Tabelaha Sheik Ibrahim, Jacadda Shabelle and Waydow, water was provided for free by humanitarian organisations.³⁰⁹ Additionally, there were 600 water wells in Mogadishu, but no standards or regulatory bodies involved.³¹⁰

According to the WASH Cluster Somalia, the average price of water was 0.3 US dollars per barrel (200 litres) as of 25 May 2021. In most districts in Benadir under their assessment there have not been significant price changes since February 2021.³¹¹ In 2017, the World Bank assessed that only 2 % of households lacked access to water and even 96 % of households had access to piped water at home. The assessment concluded that Mogadishu was least deprived in access to improved drinking water, by comparison to other parts of the country. Where no water pipes were installed, alternative sources

³⁰¹ UN-Habitat and JPLG, Towards Mogadishu: Spatial Strategic Plan, Urban Analyses / Urban Development Challenges / Urban Strategic Planning, 2019, [url](#), p. 21; IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 8

³⁰² Bakonyi, J. et al., War and City-Making in Somalia: Property, Power and Disposable Lives, August 2019, [url](#), p. 88

³⁰³ Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2020 Country Report — Somalia, 2020, [url](#), pp. 28-29; IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 12

³⁰⁴ IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 12

³⁰⁵ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), pp. 32-33

³⁰⁶ 'Access to improved sanitation refers to those facilities that are not shared, and are likely to ensure hygienic separation of human excreta from human contact. They include flush/pour flush (to piped sewer system, septic tank, pit latrine), ventilated improved pit (VIP) latrine, pit latrine with slab, and composting toilet.' World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 28, footnote 51

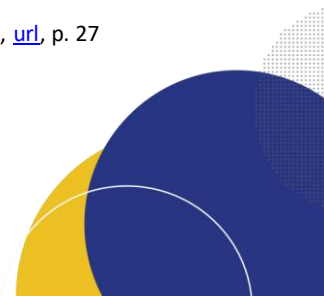
³⁰⁷ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 38; see also Somalia, MoPIED, Somalia National Development Plan 2020 to 2024: The Path to a Just, Stable and Prosperous Somalia, [2019], [url](#), p. 90

³⁰⁸ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 96

³⁰⁹ ReDSS et al., Durable Solutions Framework – Local Integration Focus: Benadir Region, Somalia, March 2017, [url](#), p. 27

³¹⁰ Bonnet, C. et al., Inclusive Shelter Provision in Mogadishu, 28 July 2020, [url](#), p. 453

³¹¹ WASH Cluster Somalia, Somalia: Monthly Water Price Updates (as of 25 May 2021), 25 May 2021, [url](#)



for drinking water were boreholes and water trucks.³¹² Water trucking mainly serves outskirts and IDP camps, but also in these places access to piped water is increasingly available through tanks from where residents can buy water.³¹³

In July 2019, REACH inquired about coping strategies of people in case of water shortages during dry season. Although relocating was stated in other cities, informants in Benadir, as well as people belonging to ethnic minorities and people living with disabilities (PLWDs), did not mention it. Among the instances which would cause water shortages were, according to the informants, aid shortages. Aid shortages reportedly affected residents in Mogadishu in particular.³¹⁴

Regarding access to water in IDPs settlements, Bakonyi experienced a different picture of IDP sites in Mogadishu lacking access to piped water. Rather, they rely on water kiosks, thus on tanks, wells or pipes established in their neighbourhood, where they can buy water from the people owning or managing the kiosks.³¹⁵ ReDSS pointed out that access to water, sanitation and level of hygiene was not adequate in IDP settlements and that for IDPs it was difficult and expensive to access water.³¹⁶ In Mogadishu, 50 % of the privately sold piped water supplied corrugated iron sheet houses, 40 % villas and 10 % multi-storey concrete buildings. IDP settlements were served by water tankers.³¹⁷

IDPs and residents of informal settlements have greater difficulties accessing clean water and are less likely to have access to sanitary or latrine facilities, which are often lacking in informal settlements. Besides, water is less affordable to IDPs.³¹⁸ Water transport to IDP settlements is provided by tankers.³¹⁹ IOM reported in February 2021 the installation of a new solar powered water borehole in the Heliwa IDP site in Mogadishu that will serve 4 200 people.³²⁰ In May 2021, a number of newly evicted IDP households did not have access to clean water at their new location in Daynile and had to buy water at a fee of 1 000 Somali shillings [1.7 US dollars] per 20 litre jerrycan.³²¹

An overview of the severity of WASH needs in IDP-hosting districts from September 2018 to January 2019 provided by REACH showed ‘critical’ needs in Mogadishu’s districts Abdulaziz, Hawl Wadaag, Hodan, Waaberi and Wardhiigleey. In the 12 other districts the severity of WASH needs was ‘high’.³²² With regard to sanitation, the majority of IDPs used either ventilated improved pit latrine (VIP), pit latrine with slab, or pit latrine without slab (91 %). In Mogadishu, 1 % of the population, probably IDPs, had no access to toilets but used open defecation.³²³ In December 2020, shelters, latrines and water distribution points in seven settlements in Benadir were reportedly destroyed by a landlord, who forcibly evicted nearly 7 000 IDPs. According to USAID, this incident put the evicted IDPs in urgent need of shelter and WASH support.³²⁴ The 1 937 households reportedly evicted in May 2021 (see

³¹² World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), pp. 33, 38-39

³¹³ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

³¹⁴ REACH, Somalia: Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene Assessment, December 2019, March 2020 [url](#), pp. 14-15

³¹⁵ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

³¹⁶ ReDSS et al., Durable Solutions Framework – Local Integration Focus: Benadir Region, Somalia, March 2017, [url](#), p. 27; ReDSS, Somalia: Solutions Analysis Update 2019, 2019, [url](#), p. 53

³¹⁷ Bonnet, C. et al., Inclusive Shelter Provision in Mogadishu, 28 July 2020, [url](#), p. 453

³¹⁸ ReDSS et al., Durable Solutions Framework – Local Integration Focus: Benadir Region, Somalia, March 2017, [url](#), p. 30; ReDSS, Somalia: Solutions Analysis Update 2019, 2019, [url](#), p. 53; Bonnet, C. et al., Inclusive Shelter Provision in Mogadishu, 28 July 2020, [url](#), pp. 451, 458

³¹⁹ Bonnet, C. et al., Inclusive Shelter Provision in Mogadishu, 28 July 2020, [url](#), p. 453

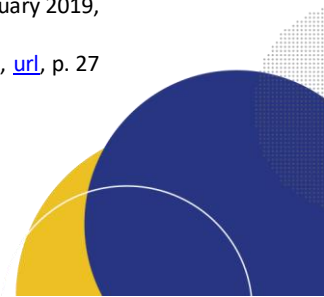
³²⁰ IOM, IOM Somalia: External Updates January & February 2021, 19 April 2021, [url](#), p. 9

³²¹ NRC and Somalia Protection Cluster, Rapid Assessment Report – Garasbaley Evictions, 30 May 2021, [url](#), p. 5

³²² REACH, Severity of needs in IDP-hosting districts: Detailed Site Assessment Somalia, September 2018 – January 2019, May 2019, [url](#), p. 2

³²³ ReDSS et al., Durable Solutions Framework – Local Integration Focus: Benadir Region, Somalia, March 2017, [url](#), p. 27

³²⁴ USAID, Somalia - Complex Emergency, 8 January 2021, [url](#), p. 3



above, section 1.3.2.4 Evictions) from 18 IDP settlements in Garasbaley lacked any WASH facilities and latrines at their new settlements in Igadawage in Daynile district. At the previous site, 79 latrines had existed.³²⁵

Floods compromised sanitation and increased the number of cholera cases.³²⁶ In times of droughts less water for hygiene and sanitation was available and water contamination increased.³²⁷ According to the Regional Durable Solutions Secretariat (ReDSS), poor water management in Benadir was another reason for the outbreak of diseases in 2019 and before.³²⁸ The WHO reported in May 2021 that a current cholera outbreak with active transmissions in the Benadir region started in December 2017 following floods. Flash floods in April 2020 led to the contamination of water sources, which resulted in an increase in cholera cases. In 2021, the highest attack rate of cholera was reported from the districts of Danyile, Madina, and Dharkenly and the majority of deaths were reported in Benadir.³²⁹

1.3.4 Health care

According to a baseline survey of the Somali healthcare system published in May 2020, the essential health workforce (medical doctors, nurses and midwives) per 1 000 population in Somalia in 2017 was 0.4, the health facility density per 10 000 population was 1.69.³³⁰

While most of Somalia's health facilities are located in larger cities including Mogadishu³³¹, experts have described the healthcare situation in the capital as 'worrisome'³³² or even absolutely insufficient.³³³ Markus Hoehne estimated that the six largest hospitals in Mogadishu each have a capacity of between 25 and 200 beds, except for the public Benadir Hospital³³⁴, which has 500 beds.³³⁵

³²⁵ NRC and Somalia Protection Cluster, Rapid Assessment Report – Garasbaley Evictions, 30 May 2021, [url](#), pp. 2-3, 5

³²⁶ WHO, Epidemic and Pandemic-Prone Diseases: Outbreak Update – Cholera in Somalia, 7 March 2021, 23 March 2021, [url](#)

³²⁷ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. xxii

³²⁸ ReDSS, Somalia: Solutions Analysis Update 2019, 2019, [url](#), p. 53

³²⁹ WHO, Epidemic and Pandemic-Prone Diseases: Outbreak Update – Cholera in Somalia, 7 March 2021, 23 March 2021, [url](#)

³³⁰ Heritage Institute and City University of Mogadishu, Somalia's Healthcare System: A Baseline Study & Human Capital Development Strategy, May 2020, [url](#), p. 19

³³¹ Denmark, DIS, Somalia - Health System, November 2020, [url](#), p. 24

³³² Heritage Institute and City University of Mogadishu, Somalia's Healthcare System: A Baseline Study & Human Capital Development Strategy, May 2020, [url](#), p. 65

³³³ ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer-innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi [source: Jutta Bakonyi]], 31 May 2021, [url](#), p. 28

³³⁴ ACCORD, Anfragebeantwortung zu Somalia: Umgang mit psychisch kranken Personen; Zugang zu Behandlung von psychischen Erkrankungen; Umgang mit alkoholabhängigen Personen und Gefährdung; Behandlungsmöglichkeiten von Alkoholabusus [Query response on Somalia: Situation of persons with mental illness; access to treatments for the mental ill; situation and risks facing persons addicted to alcohol; treatments for alcohol abuse [source: Markus Hoehne]], a-11559, 19 April 2021, [url](#)

³³⁵ Denmark, DIS, Somalia – Health System, November 2020, [url](#), p. 46

This signifies that there are no more than 1 000 to 1 200 beds³³⁶ for the city's population estimated at 1.7 and 2.6 million.³³⁷ Many Mogadishu residents are therefore unable to access medical care.³³⁸

According to findings from studies commissioned by the Danish Immigration Service (DIS) on four Somali cities including Mogadishu³³⁹, hospitals are operated by 'Somali health authorities, international NGOs, UN or in collaboration with other national governments (e.g. Turkey).'³⁴⁰ A director of an international organisation was quoted by the Finnish Immigration Service as saying that medical services available in Mogadishu are of 'poor quality' both in the public and the private sectors. Although basic drugs are available, their proper storage is difficult and people 'keep dying' from normally easily treatable diseases such as measles, malaria or cholera. Dialysis treatment and ultrasound examinations, for example, are unavailable in the city.³⁴¹

According to a qualitative study conducted in Mogadishu and published in 2017 the 'private health care system is the dominant health care system in Mogadishu'³⁴² The DIS referred to the Federal Ministry of Health, according to which 'the private health care sector's dominance is due to better capacity, service delivery, diagnostic equipment and experience of staff.'³⁴³ According to the May 2020 baseline survey of the Somali healthcare system, there were 61 public health facilities in Benadir in 2019 and 1 279 confirmed private health care facilities in south central Somalia in 2018.³⁴⁴

According to UNHCR, public hospitals quite often have to send their patients to private facilities because they lack necessary equipment and expertise.³⁴⁵ The public Benadir Hospital, a facility specialised in maternal medicine and paediatrics³⁴⁶, reportedly (according to its director) has good equipment but it performs mostly only basic surgeries and no advanced treatments such as cancer treatment.³⁴⁷ Its treatments, which also include HIV therapy, have been reported to be generally free of charge.³⁴⁸ While healthcare in Somalia is generally not free of charge, Hoehne noted that services in public hospitals are mostly cheaper than in the private healthcare sector. According to local physicians he interviewed in January 2020 and April 2021, inpatient treatment in a public facility costs at least 5 USD per bed and night. Additionally, patients have to pay for food. In large public hospitals

³³⁶ ACCORD, Anfragebeantwortung zu Somalia: Umgang mit psychisch kranken Personen; Zugang zu Behandlung von psychischen Erkrankungen; Umgang mit alkoholabhängigen Personen und Gefährdung; Behandlungsmöglichkeiten von Alkoholabusus [Query response on Somalia: Situation of persons with mental illness; access to treatments for the mental ill; situation and risks facing persons addicted to alcohol; treatments for alcohol abuse [source: Markus Hoehne]], a-11559, 19 April 2021, [url](#)

³³⁷ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 74

³³⁸ ACCORD, Anfragebeantwortung zu Somalia: Umgang mit psychisch kranken Personen; Zugang zu Behandlung von psychischen Erkrankungen; Umgang mit alkoholabhängigen Personen und Gefährdung; Behandlungsmöglichkeiten von Alkoholabusus [Query response on Somalia: Situation of persons with mental illness; access to treatments for the mental ill; situation and risks facing persons addicted to alcohol; treatments for alcohol abuse [source: Markus Hoehne]], a-11559, 19 April 2021, [url](#)

³³⁹ The other three cities covered in these substudies are Kismayo, Baardheere and Beled Weyne.

³⁴⁰ Denmark, DIS, Somalia – Health System, November 2020, [url](#), p. 24

³⁴¹ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 31

³⁴² Gele, A. A. et al., Beneficiaries of conflict: a qualitative study of people's trust in the private health care system in Mogadishu, Somalia, 2017, [url](#), p. 127

³⁴³ Denmark, DIS, Somalia – Health System, November 2020, [url](#), p. 26

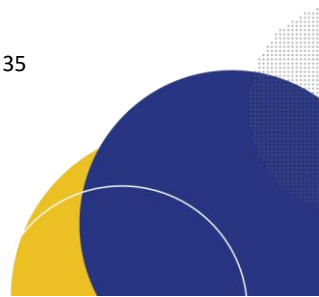
³⁴⁴ Heritage Institute and City University of Mogadishu, Somalia's Healthcare System: A Baseline Study & Human Capital Development Strategy, May 2020, [url](#), pp. 41, 15

³⁴⁵ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 31

³⁴⁶ Denmark, DIS, Somalia – Health System, November 2020, [url](#), p. 46

³⁴⁷ Finland, FIS, Somalia, Fact-Finding Mission to Mogadishu and Nairobi, January 2018, 5 October 2018, [url](#), p. 35

³⁴⁸ Denmark, DIS, Somalia – Health System, November 2020, [url](#), p. 46



like Mogadishu's Madina Hospital, there are no extra charges for surgeries, but laboratory tests are often charged. If drugs are available, they are distributed free of charge.³⁴⁹

While private healthcare facilities provide specialised and, at times, advanced treatment, several sources have emphasised that the health sector is highly unregulated and that the types of services and their quality are unknown.³⁵⁰ A government source added that clinics are big business in Mogadishu and people from Somalia and other countries open private clinics. The source added that their qualification is not checked and they often lack equipment and are not able to do complicated procedures.³⁵¹ According to UNHCR, patients in private healthcare centres are obliged to pay for treatment.³⁵² Hoehne noted that in private healthcare facilities, patients have to pay for their surgeries, quoting local doctors as saying that for a small outpatient surgery (such as removal of an ulcer from the hand) the patient is charged approx. 50 USD, in addition to a 5-10 USD admission fee and some 30 USD for post-treatment with medicines.³⁵³ Bakonyi added that 'pharmacies and private practices charge for medication.'³⁵⁴ According to findings from a study published in 2017, the cost of private healthcare was unaffordable for a large part of the population.³⁵⁵

Funding for the healthcare sector (just like the delivery of healthcare) has been described as 'fragmented'.³⁵⁶ The majority of funding comes from international donors and is 'channelled directly to healthcare providers through a patchwork of projects and instruments, rather than through government systems and budgets.'³⁵⁷ The assistance 'is mostly managed and distributed according to donor priorities and does not necessarily match the needs of the Somali health authorities.' The spending of the Somali government on health in 2017, 2018 and 2019 'amounted to less than five percent of the total health sector expenditure'.³⁵⁸ A 2020 study for which representatives of government, UN agencies, NGOs, and health facility staff were interviewed noted that the 'health system was primarily funded through donors including the US government, the European Commission, and the governments of the UK, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Turkey and Qatar'. The respondents added that 'these donors played an important role in determining what health services were provided'.³⁵⁹ According to a government source, Turkey has invested in three hospitals. They are all privately managed, have comparatively good standards but are very expensive, allegedly the most expensive

³⁴⁹ ACCORD, Anfragebeantwortung zu Somalia: Umgang mit psychisch kranken Personen; Zugang zu Behandlung von psychischen Erkrankungen; Umgang mit alkoholabhängigen Personen und Gefährdung; Behandlungsmöglichkeiten von Alkoholabusus [Query response on Somalia: Situation of persons with mental illness; access to treatments for the mental ill; situation and risks facing persons addicted to alcohol; treatments for alcohol abuse [source: Markus Hoehne]], a-11559, 19 April 2021, [url](#)

³⁵⁰ Denmark, DIS, Somalia – Health System, November 2020, [url](#), pp. 26-27

³⁵¹ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

³⁵² Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 31

³⁵³ ACCORD, Anfragebeantwortung zu Somalia: Umgang mit psychisch kranken Personen; Zugang zu Behandlung von psychischen Erkrankungen; Umgang mit alkoholabhängigen Personen und Gefährdung; Behandlungsmöglichkeiten von Alkoholabusus [Query response on Somalia: Situation of persons with mental illness; access to treatments for the mental ill; situation and risks facing persons addicted to alcohol; treatments for alcohol abuse [source: Markus Hoehne]], a-11559, 19 April 2021, [url](#); see also Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-Finding Mission to Mogadishu and Nairobi, January 2018 [Director of a hospital in Mogadishu], 5 October 2018 [url](#), p. 35

³⁵⁴ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 7 July 2021

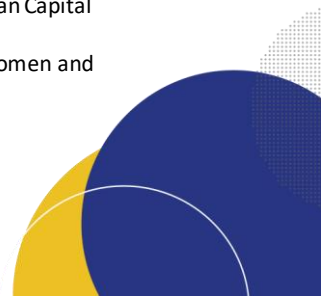
³⁵⁵ Gele, A. A. et al., Beneficiaries of conflict: a qualitative study of people's trust in the private health care system in Mogadishu, Somalia, 2017, [url](#), p. 128; see also World Bank (The) and Federal Republic of Somalia: Systematic Country Diagnostic, Report No. 123807-SO, 1 May 2018, [url](#), p. 41

³⁵⁶ WHO, Somalia: building a stronger primary health care system, 15 September 2020, [url](#)

³⁵⁷ ODI, Beyond the pandemic: strengthening Somalia's health system, 7 October 2020, [url](#)

³⁵⁸ Heritage Institute and City University of Mogadishu, Somalia's Healthcare System: A Baseline Study & Human Capital Development Strategy, May 2020, [url](#), p. 15

³⁵⁹ Ahmed, Z. et al., Understanding the factors affecting the humanitarian health and nutrition response for women and children in Somalia since 2000: a case study, 27 May 2020, [url](#), p. 8



hospitals in Mogadishu. The source believes that Qatar has invested in one hospital and knows that Kuwait has invested in another hospital (which also treats COVID-19). Another donor are the Emirates. Italy has not opened any hospitals, but the Italian government finances health programmes throughout Somalia. Among the programmes are Mother and Child clinics, donating drugs/equipment to hospitals, and supporting the Ministry of Health and general health institution building in Mogadishu and the Federal Member States.³⁶⁰

An assessment conducted in September 2020 found that ‘severe access barriers to basic health services’ contributed to high morbidity and death rates among some IDP populations in Mogadishu.³⁶¹ As for the treatment prospects for persons with mental disorders, it has been noted that there is a ‘particularly acute’ shortage of mental health specialists.³⁶² According to estimates by local doctors, there are only about 15 psychiatrists across the country. In a few larger cities including Mogadishu, hospitals have psychiatric wards, although their capacity is very limited.³⁶³ It has been noted that there are no institutions authorised to verify the qualifications of hospital staff working in mental healthcare.³⁶⁴

While it has been noted that minority groups such as the Bantu, Tumaal, Rerhamar/Benadiri and Madhibani suffer from exclusion, rights violations and lack of protection³⁶⁵ (for further information, please sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 of EASO’s COI report [Somalia: Targeted profiles](#)), the researchers of local studies commissioned by the Danish Immigration Service reportedly ‘did not observe signs of clan-based discrimination in any of waiting rooms’ of health facilities included in their research sample. The DIS referred to several sources emphasising that there is no clan-based discrimination with regard to access to healthcare.³⁶⁶ Another report quoted the director of the Keysaney hospital, a facility run by the Somali Red Crescent (with the support of the International Committee of the Red Cross - ICRC), as saying that the hospital ‘admits all patients regardless of their clan, religion or political affiliations’.³⁶⁷

Displaced persons and humanitarian workers interviewed in IDP camps in three districts in the Mogadishu area stated that IDP’s access to healthcare is limited. Moreover, healthcare services have been scaled down by nearly half as a result of night-time curfews and other restrictions linked to the COVID-19 pandemic (including measures to limit crowding in clinics).³⁶⁸ Mobile health services serve some outskirts camps on weekly or bi-weekly basis, but neither these services nor diagnosis or medication are regular. Many people interviewed by Bakonyi and her team in IDP camps had underlying health issues, such as diabetes or kidney stones, but either did not receive treatment or

³⁶⁰ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

³⁶¹ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 37

³⁶² Heritage Institute and City University of Mogadishu, Somalia’s Healthcare System: A Baseline Study & Human Capital Development Strategy, May 2020, [url](#), p. 42

³⁶³ ACCORD, Anfragebeantwortung zu Somalia: Umgang mit psychisch kranken Personen; Zugang zu Behandlung von psychischen Erkrankungen; Umgang mit alkoholabhängigen Personen und Gefährdung; Behandlungsmöglichkeiten von Alkoholabusus [Query response on Somalia: Situation of persons with mental illness; access to treatments for the mental ill; situation and risks facing persons addicted to alcohol; treatments for alcohol abuse [source: Markus Hoehne]], a-11559, 19 April 2021, [url](#)

³⁶⁴ ACCORD, Anfragebeantwortung zu Somalia: Umgang mit psychisch kranken Personen; Zugang zu Behandlung von psychischen Erkrankungen; Umgang mit alkoholabhängigen Personen und Gefährdung; Behandlungsmöglichkeiten von Alkoholabusus [Query response on Somalia: Situation of persons with mental illness; access to treatments for the mental ill; situation and risks facing persons addicted to alcohol; treatments for alcohol abuse [source: Markus Hoehne]], a-11559, 19 April 2021, [url](#)

³⁶⁵ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 4

³⁶⁶ Denmark, DIS, Somalia – Health System, November 2020, [url](#), p. 31

³⁶⁷ ICRC, Somalia: 28 years of providing health care in Mogadishu, 17 February 2020, [url](#)

³⁶⁸ AI, Somalia: Internally displaced people surviving by “the grace of God” amidst COVID-19, 21 July 2020, [url](#)



received medication only on an irregular basis, either because it was not available or people were unable to pay for it.³⁶⁹

Regarding the COVID-19 situation, in March 2020, the first wave of the pandemic reached Somalia.³⁷⁰ In the same month the Federal Ministry of Health (MoH) developed a 'national contingency plan for preparedness and response to the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19)' for Somalia with the support of the WHO and other international organisations, which allocated an almost 5 million US Dollars -fund for the development and rehabilitation of nationwide healthcare facilities.³⁷¹ Mogadishu was one of only a few places where a COVID-19 response was rolled out.³⁷² UN agencies and cluster partners provided additional funding as outlined in their 'Somalia Country Preparedness and Response Plan (CPRP) COVID-19'.³⁷³ The government established a national response committee and an incident management system. Mogadishu accounted for over a third of all COVID-19 cases reported in Somalia between March and November 2020.³⁷⁴ It has been reported that in March 2021, the country received a first batch of COVID-19 vaccines and launched the vaccination rollout in Mogadishu.³⁷⁵ As Bakonyi noted most recently with reference to a Somali government official, a total of 500 000 doses has been delivered to Somalia from the United Kingdom and China.³⁷⁶ By late April, 'a total of 121,743 people in Somalia [had] received their first doses of the Oxford Astra-Zeneca vaccine'.³⁷⁷ There was a lack of hospitals treating COVID-19 patients. A May 2020 report cited Mogadishu's De Martino Hospital as the only facility dedicated to the treatment of COVID-19 cases.³⁷⁸ In addition, a lack of medical equipment prevails, as BBC News reported in June 2021. The article quoted Dr Ubah Farah Ahmed, director of the family health department at Somalia's health ministry, saying that 'no government-run hospitals have oxygen plants. Only three private hospitals in the capital, Mogadishu, have them.'³⁷⁹ A 2021 report noted that according to some sources, free COVID-19 testing is offered by the De Martino hospital in Mogadishu. Other sources complained about 'a lack of testing facilities, or a refusal to test'.³⁸⁰ Displaced persons and humanitarian workers interviewed in IDP camps in three districts in the Mogadishu area stated that there were no COVID-19 testing facilities within IDP camps.³⁸¹

1.3.5 Education for children

In principle, children's education is free and compulsory. Although, school attendance is not enforced.³⁸² Article 30 (1-2) of the Provisional Constitution grants free primary and secondary

³⁶⁹ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

³⁷⁰ UN Somalia, UN Country Results Report: Somalia 2020, March 2021, [url](#), p. 5

³⁷¹ Federal Republic of Somalia Somalia, MoH, National Contingency Plan for Preparedness and Response to the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19): Somalia, March-June 2020, 5 March 2020, [url](#), pp. 9-10; Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), pp. 2-3

³⁷² Ahmed, M. A. M. et al., COVID-19 in Somalia: Adherence to Preventive Measures and Evolution of the Disease Burden, 6 September 2020, [url](#), p. 8

³⁷³ UNOCHA, Somalia Country Preparedness and Response Plan (CPRP) COVID-19: UN and Partners' Support Towards the Immediate Humanitarian and Socio-Economic Consequences of COVID-19, August 2020, 23 April 2020, [url](#), pp. 7, 22

³⁷⁴ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview - Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 22

³⁷⁵ UNFPA, UNFPA Humanitarian Response in Somalia: Situation Report No. 3, 29 March 2021, [url](#), p. 2

³⁷⁶ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

³⁷⁷ UNOCHA, Somalia - Humanitarian Bulletin, April 2021, 11 May 2021, [url](#), p. 4

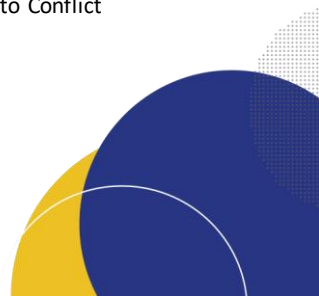
³⁷⁸ Heritage Institute and City University of Mogadishu, Somalia's Healthcare System: A Baseline Study & Human Capital Development Strategy, May 2020, [url](#), p. 67

³⁷⁹ BBC News, African Covid patients 'dying from lack of oxygen', 16 June 2021, [url](#)

³⁸⁰ Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), p. 5

³⁸¹ AI, Somalia: Internally displaced people surviving by "the grace of God" amidst COVID-19, 21 July 2020, [url](#)

³⁸² AACRAO, Somalia, n.d., [url](#)



education as a basic right of all Somali citizens.³⁸³ Under Farmajo's presidency, the Ministry of Education has taken on and unified the development of school curricula and the administration of exams.³⁸⁴ The (USDOS) reported that a new national curriculum framework was under development in 2020,³⁸⁵ which was still underway in March 2021.³⁸⁶ Therein, the Federal Government of Somalia highlighted the importance of 'secular education with a focus on Islamic values and instruction in Somali' in order to 'counter efforts by the terrorist group al-Shabaab to impose a strict version of Islamic law'. The curriculum declared 'Somali as the language of instruction for primary school, Islamic religious instruction at all levels, and Arabic-language Islamic religion courses at the secondary level.'³⁸⁷ Before, the educational system in Benadir was characterised by a 'curriculum chaos' and an inconsistent 'language policy' in formal basic schooling.³⁸⁸

1.3.5.1 Public establishments

Primary education includes *dugsi hoose* (primary school), which covers the first four years of education beginning at the age of six, followed by four years of *dugsi dhexe* (intermediate school). Secondary education is differentiated between vocational secondary school (two years), *dugsi sare* (general secondary school) and technical secondary school (both four years).³⁸⁹ In interviews, Bakonyi reported an amount of about 10 US dollars per month for public primary education in Mogadishu.³⁹⁰ According to informants to the Finnish fact-finding mission, the few public schools charged fees ranging from 15 to 25 US dollars for part-time to 40 to 50 US dollars for full-time per month.³⁹¹

1.3.5.2 Confessional or private school

Education in urban areas is primarily provided by various non-state actors.³⁹² Most children access education through confessional schools. Previously, the leading provider of private education was FPENS (Formal Private Education Network in Somalia), an umbrella organization formed by Islamic charities.³⁹³ Since the integration of the education into the ministry's control, FPENS has lost influence.³⁹⁴

In addition to the secular school system, many *madrasas* (Islamic schools) in Somali called *dugsi Quran*³⁹⁵ (Quran school) exist in Mogadishu, and they play an important role. Most people try to send their children to both secular and Islamic schools. Those, who cannot afford secular schools, rather send their children to *madrasas*. For *madrasas* fees apply as well, but they are usually lower and teachers tend to be 'more lenient' and children will not be expelled immediately if the parents cannot pay the amount. Generally, there is a lenient attitude to a varying degree in other schools as well depending on the location and the teachers.³⁹⁶

³⁸³ Federal Republic of Somalia, Provisional Constitution, 1 August 2012, [url](#), Article 30 (1-2); World Bank (The), Somalia Education for Human Capital Development Project (P172434), 10 March 2021, [url](#), p. 4

³⁸⁴ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

³⁸⁵ USDOS, International Religious Freedom Report 2020 - Somalia, 12 May 2021, [url](#), p. 5

³⁸⁶ World Bank (The), Somalia Education for Human Capital Development Project (P172434), 10 March 2021, [url](#), p. 4

³⁸⁷ USDOS, International Religious Freedom Report 2020 - Somalia, 12 May 2021, [url](#), p. 5

³⁸⁸ Gonnelli, M., The Italoophone Somali Diaspora and Social Change in Somalia, PhD Thesis, 27 November 2018, [url](#), p. 76

³⁸⁹ AACRAO, Somalia, n.d., [url](#)

³⁹⁰ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

³⁹¹ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 31

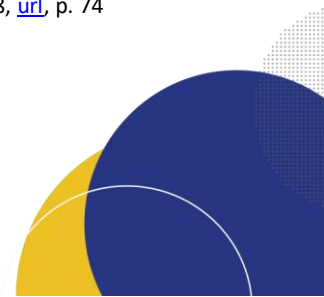
³⁹² World Bank (The), Somalia Education for Human Capital Development Project (P172434), 10 March 2021, [url](#), p. 5

³⁹³ Gonnelli, M., The Italoophone Somali Diaspora and Social Change in Somalia, PhD Thesis, 27 November 2018, [url](#), p. 74

³⁹⁴ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

³⁹⁵ Some sources refer to the Somali *madrasa* or Quran school simply as *dugsi*.

³⁹⁶ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021



In March 2021, the World Bank reported that in Benadir, more than 90 % of all enrolled students were enrolled in non-state schools.³⁹⁷ In March 2020, UNHCR told the Finnish fact-finding mission that 220 of the 250 schools and educational institutions in Mogadishu were private for which monthly fees between 5 and 500 US dollars applied – uniforms and materials not included.³⁹⁸

1.3.5.3 Role of local, community-led and international organisations

Since the decay of the state in 1991, education in Somalia is privatised and most educational initiatives are supported by international organisations.³⁹⁹ In Mogadishu, many primary schools have been founded and financed by international organisations. There, enrolment was free at first, but uniforms and materials were not included. Later, private operators⁴⁰⁰ or Islamic charities⁴⁰¹ took over and charged school attendance fees in order to maintain them.⁴⁰²

1.3.5.4 Enrolment and attendance

In primary schools, the net attendance ratio (NAR)⁴⁰³ was 19.7 % for boys and 17.2 % for girls; at the secondary level, the NAR was 10.6 % for boys and 7.9 % for girls.⁴⁰⁴ The NAR, literacy and enrolment rates were higher in urban than in rural areas but very low among nomadic households.⁴⁰⁵ The gross attendance ration (GAR)⁴⁰⁶ was 28.6 % for boys and 25.2 % for girls in primary education; at the secondary level, it was 28.1 % for boys and 19.6 % for girls. These countrywide figures showed a small gender imbalance at the primary level and a greater gender imbalance at the secondary level.⁴⁰⁷

Oxfam and SSWC (Save Somali Women and Children) in 2021 presented data on primary enrolment in Benadir of 90.3 %, the highest rate in South Central Somalia,⁴⁰⁸ Refugees International, however, claimed in December 2019 that only 30 % of IDP children attended school.⁴⁰⁹ Such, numbers are often contradicting each other if one assumes that 500 000 IDPs live in Mogadishu, and a large percentage of the population in Mogadishu is considered poor.⁴¹⁰ A development organisation operating in Somalia told the Finnish fact-finding mission in March 2020 that many low-income families could not afford education for their children.⁴¹¹ According to a document published by the Ministry of Planning, Investment and Economic Development presumably in 2019, enrolment of children aged 6-13 ranked

³⁹⁷ World Bank (The), Somalia Education for Human Capital Development Project (P172434), 10 March 2021, [url](#), p. 5

³⁹⁸ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 31

³⁹⁹ GPE, Somalia, 30 May 2021, [url](#); Gonnelli, M., The Italoophone Somali Diaspora and Social Change in Somalia, PhD Thesis, 27 November 2018, [url](#), p. 75

⁴⁰⁰ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

⁴⁰¹ Gonnelli, M., The Italoophone Somali Diaspora and Social Change in Somalia, PhD Thesis, 27 November 2018, [url](#), p. 74

⁴⁰² Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

⁴⁰³ NAR = the proportion of children at school age attending school (6-13 for primary school, 14-17 for secondary school), see Somalia and UNFPA, The Somali Health and Demographic Survey 2020, April 2020, [url](#), p. 24

⁴⁰⁴ Somalia and UNFPA, The Somali Health and Demographic Survey 2020, April 2020, [url](#), p. 25

⁴⁰⁵ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 38; Somalia and UNFPA, The Somali Health and Demographic Survey 2020, April 2020, [url](#), p. 25

⁴⁰⁶ GAR = the total number of school students relative to the official school-age population, see Somalia and UNFPA, The Somali Health and Demographic Survey 2020, April 2020, [url](#), p. 24

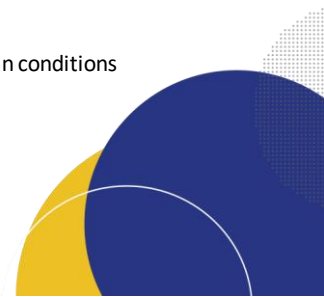
⁴⁰⁷ Somalia and UNFPA, The Somali Health and Demographic Survey 2020, April 2020, [url](#), p. 25

⁴⁰⁸ Oxfam and SSWC, Gender Gap Assessment - South Central Somalia and Puntland, 11 January 2021, [url](#), p. 41

⁴⁰⁹ Refugees International, Durable Solutions in Somalia: Moving from Policies to Practice for IDPs in Mogadishu, December 2019, [url](#), p. 15

⁴¹⁰ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

⁴¹¹ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 32



at 60 %⁴¹² and World Bank assessment from 2019 showed that satisfaction with primary education was at 95 % in Mogadishu.⁴¹³

In 2018, out of a sample of 1 349 learners enrolled at the primary level in Benadir, 739 were boys and 610 were girls. The attendance rate in relation to the numbers of enrolments was particularly low in Benadir with 61 % (70 % boys and 51 % girls). Computed numbers of enrolled learners with physical disabilities were 0.07 % of the total enrolment rate at primary level in Benadir. All of them were boys. The same figures applied for hearing and visually impaired learners. 36 % of displaced boys and 30 % of displaced girls participated in an integration programme at primary level. In four surveyed primary schools in Benadir, the number of children per classroom were 36 on average. In only one out of the four schools, classroom furniture was adequate.⁴¹⁴

Benadir had the second highest secondary enrolment rate in South Central Somalia and Puntland. When asked about the reasons why their children did not attend secondary school, 83.3 % of the responding parents in Puntland and South Central Somalia told Oxfam and SSCW they had no money to send them to school.⁴¹⁵ Despite the constitutional declaration, fees apply for all secondary schools, and only few of them operate in Mogadishu.⁴¹⁶

1.3.5.5 Teaching quality

In September 2020, secondary schools in Mogadishu reported massive failure in the national examination. In response, the Education Minister Goddah Barre spoke of poor quality of tutors.⁴¹⁷ The World Bank noted in March 2021 that Benadir had among the lowest number of qualified primary teachers. Results of an assessment of teachers in Benadir in 2019 showed that they lacked both pedagogical skills and content knowledge.⁴¹⁸

1.3.5.6 School closures

Children's education was disrupted by school closures due to the COVID-19 pandemic from March 2020 with partial reopenings for examinations in July 2020.⁴¹⁹ Alternative learning platforms were implemented in cooperation with the Ministry of Education at the Federal level and member states, and safe return to school campaigns were undertaken together with education stakeholders across the country.⁴²⁰ A teacher in Mogadishu said that children had no access to online classes for primary and secondary education during the time of the school closure.⁴²¹ In June 2021, Save the Children reported that the number of enrolled children in Mogadishu had decreased by 17.3 % compared to the time before the school closures.⁴²² The organisation conducted interviews with school children's

⁴¹² Somalia, MoPIED, Somalia National Development Plan 2020 to 2024: The Path to a Just, Stable and Prosperous Somalia, [2019], [url](#), p. 262

⁴¹³ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 39

⁴¹⁴ Wafula, C. and Mulongo, G., Are Children in South and Central Somalia Accessing Education, and Are They Learning? Baseline Information, 2020, [url](#), pp. 4-7

⁴¹⁵ Oxfam and SSCW, Gender Gap Assessment - South Central Somalia and Puntland, 11 January 2021, [url](#), pp. 42-43

⁴¹⁶ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

⁴¹⁷ East African (The), Mass exam failure stirs up a storm in Somalia, 9 September 2020, [url](#)

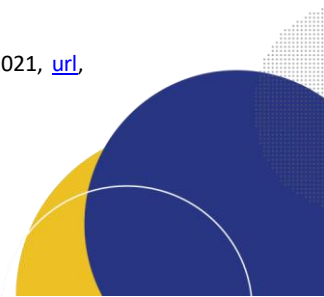
⁴¹⁸ World Bank (The), Somalia Education for Human Capital Development Project (P172434), 10 March 2021, [url](#), p. 7; see also Gonnelli, M., The Italoophone Somali Diaspora and Social Change in Somalia, PhD Thesis, 27 November 2018, [url](#), p. 76

⁴¹⁹ Herring, E. et al., COVID-19 Responses and Education in Somalia/Somaliland, 20 October 2020, [url](#), pp. 201, 208-209; UNICEF, Humanitarian Action for Children: Somalia, 2021, December 2020, [url](#), p. 2

⁴²⁰ Save the Children, Somalia: Coronavirus, conflict and climate crisis prevent children return to learning, Save the Children warns, 1 June 2021, [url](#)

⁴²¹ Herring, E. et al., COVID-19 Responses and Education in Somalia/Somaliland, 20 October 2020, [url](#), p. 209

⁴²² Save the Children, Schools Must be Open, Accessible and Safe from Attacks, Say African Children, 16 June 2021, [url](#), footnote ii



parents. 71 % of the parents told them that they feared their children would catch the COVID-19-virus at school and spread it to the family.⁴²³ Social mobilisation activities by UNICEF in April 2021 resulted in the enrolment of 176 school children in Galgaduud and Benadir.⁴²⁴

In a study co-authored by Eric Herring and others, participants in Mogadishu stated that the vulnerability among children had increased in the context of the school closures due to more time spent at home. Girls, in particular, faced a higher risk of violence and exploitation by their families as well as of being forced into early marriage.⁴²⁵ Similarly, Save the Children warned of children's risk of being forced into child marriage, child labour, or domestic chores when not continuing their education.⁴²⁶

1.3.6 Means of basic subsistence and employment

In Mogadishu, 64 % of households were engaged in wage labour in 2019, according to calculations based on the 2nd Somali High Frequency Survey conducted in 2017.⁴²⁷ Sources interviewed for a report on a Finnish fact-finding mission in March 2020 stated that employment opportunities in Mogadishu were 'limited' and the best jobs among the few ones on offer were 'usually taken'.⁴²⁸ Reportedly, work opportunities were offered by building sites (wages can be approx. 100 USD per month), the Port of Mogadishu, NGOs, the Somali government and by security forces such as the police and the military.⁴²⁹ According to Bakonyi, all following salary data are estimates only. Local sources indicated that people working with the United Nations or international NGOs are better paid and can earn between 1 000 (starting salary) and 5 000 USD, which is why these jobs are in high demand. A member of parliament currently earns 3 500 USD. The salaries of most skilled jobs such as university lecturers, professors and civil servants were estimated to range between 400 and 700 USD (senior level), a teacher earns between 200 and 400 USD per month and a housemaid (full time) between 50 and 70 USD per month.⁴³⁰ There were no precise statistics on unemployment, but the figure was estimated to be high.⁴³¹ Public health measures to contain the spread of COVID-19 have severely impacted people's income and livelihoods.⁴³² Regarding the labour situation in the formal sector, a World Bank/UNIDO survey of private businesses across five major cities in Somalia (including Mogadishu) found that the rate of employment dropped by 30 % as a result of COVID measures. The World Bank notes that while micro-enterprises (the most common type of formal-sector business in Somalia) were generally reported to be 'less affected [...] compared to large firms', some 31% of these

⁴²³ Save the Children, Somalia: Coronavirus, conflict and climate crisis prevent children return to learning, Save the Children warns, 1 June 2021, [url](#)

⁴²⁴ UNICEF, Somalia: Humanitarian Situation Report No. 4, April 2021, [url](#), p. 3

⁴²⁵ Herring, E. et al., COVID-19 Responses and Education in Somalia/Somaliland, 20 October 2020, [url](#), p. 214

⁴²⁶ Save the Children, Somalia: Coronavirus, conflict and climate crisis prevent children return to learning, Save the Children warns, 1 June 2021, [url](#)

⁴²⁷ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 51

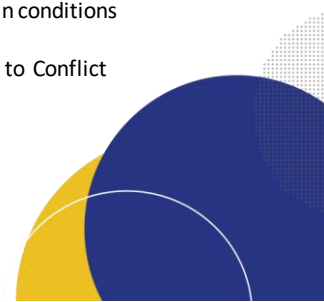
⁴²⁸ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 32

⁴²⁹ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 33

⁴³⁰ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

⁴³¹ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 33

⁴³² Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), p. 2



enterprises in Mogadishu had to suspend their activities, and over 90 % reported shortfalls in liquidity.⁴³³

According to UNOCHA, most poor households in urban centres like Mogadishu (these include IDP households, the non-IDP urban poor and/or migrants from rural areas) have to rely on casual labour to secure an income.⁴³⁴ The Finnish fact-finding mission quoted an international organisation as saying that many in Mogadishu lived from small-scale sales at markets or worked at restaurants and tea shops. UNHCR noted that women selling fruit at markets usually earn a maximum of 1-2 USD per day.⁴³⁵ A 2020 study on Bajaj drivers in Mogadishu stated that more than 60 % of the 400 surveyed respondents said their average income was about 15-20 USD a day.⁴³⁶ Vulnerable and uneducated persons are particularly affected by 'severe lack of access to the labour market in urban settings'.⁴³⁷ This situation is compounded by a steady influx of displaced people from the countryside that has resulted in increased competition for urban livelihoods.⁴³⁸ Concerning the impact of COVID measures on the informal sector, in a recent qualitative study conducted among IDPs and host population members in Mogadishu (Daynile district) and Baidoa, respondents emphasised that it was the COVID-related lockdowns, curfews and restrictions on travel (rather than the disease itself) that had the most significant impact on their daily lives, with the studied population described by the authors as being 'highly dependent on daily wage labour'. Nearly half of the respondents reported that they had lost their incomes and/or their jobs as a result of these measures, although 'the level to which people were affected economically, depended on the type of livelihood or other daily activity such as education or household responsibilities'.⁴³⁹ For example, as reported by the Somalia Public Agenda, small roadside businesses like small cafes or restaurants that used to operate both day and night were affected by the night-time curfews and have lost large numbers of customers. Some have been forced to close. Similarly, curfews and reduced numbers of passengers have affected the city's important rickshaw (bajaj) business, and 'many middle-sized hotels have either temporarily closed or reduced their catering capacity'.⁴⁴⁰ According to a 2020 study by IOM and the local research firm Raagsan Consulting in Mogadishu, 'woman-owned businesses have been especially hard-hit'. Nearly 60 % of the female-led businesses surveyed said 'they had been forced to shut down during the pandemic, with about one third of that group closing permanently'.⁴⁴¹

Strategies employed by residents to cope with the drop or loss of income included buying less, living off savings or relying on one's family network.⁴⁴² Remittances from family members and relatives (though not accessible for most IDPs) have been playing a significant role as a coping mechanism in Somalia.⁴⁴³ However, as family members (including those living abroad) were affected by job loss, illness or inability to travel to Somalia during the pandemic, remittances decreased.⁴⁴⁴ According to

⁴³³ World Bank (The), Coronavirus and fragility: The impact of COVID-19 on Somalia's private sector, 13 January 2021, [url](#)

⁴³⁴ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview – Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 8

⁴³⁵ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), pp. 33-34

⁴³⁶ SRA, A Closer Look at Bajaj Drivers in Mogadishu-Somalia, 2020, [url](#), p. 4

⁴³⁷ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview – Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 8

⁴³⁸ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview – Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 23

⁴³⁹ Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), p. 6

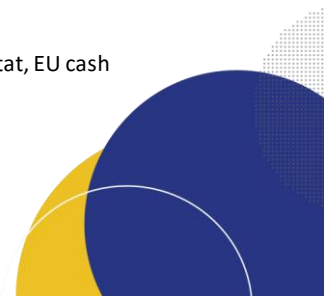
⁴⁴⁰ Somalia Public Agenda, The impact of Covid-19 on the informal economy of Mogadishu, 4 June 2020, [url](#)

⁴⁴¹ IOM, IOM Empowers Women Business Owners in Somalia to Recover from COVID-19 Impact, 12 August 2020, [url](#)

⁴⁴² Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), p. 6

⁴⁴³ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview – Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 36

⁴⁴⁴ Braam, D., COVID-19 impact on health and livelihoods in a complex emergency, n.d., [url](#); see also UN-Habitat, EU cash transfer supports unemployed father injured in Mogadishu blast, 3 June 2021, [url](#)



conservative estimates, remittances sent to Somalia decreased by almost 50 %.⁴⁴⁵ A 2021 report noted that remittances, ‘decreased by about 36 % in April [2020]. By September, at least half of people surveyed nationwide reported receiving less remittances.’⁴⁴⁶

1.4 Social protection networks and (lack of) support to specific groups

1.4.1 Clan-based protection

In Mogadishu, the Hawiye clan, and in particular their Abgaal and Habar Gidir subclans are reported as constituting a majority influencing political processes and a significant part of the government forces.⁴⁴⁷ Apart from these, most clans (or even all clans⁴⁴⁸) are represented in Mogadishu.⁴⁴⁹ The majority of the city’s districts are heterogeneous in terms of clan affiliation,⁴⁵⁰ but according to a World Bank report ‘the dominant clans of these districts invoke the right to govern and enjoy most of whatever “rents” accrue from control of the district, such as local taxes, jobs, and contracts’.⁴⁵¹

The Hawiye clans have been campaigning for the creation of a clan-based Benadir Federal Member State (with Mogadishu as its capital), arguing that Hawiye are the only clan family without political representation, but the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) has so far rejected these demands according to a 2021 World Bank report. The debate whether Mogadishu should be governed by locally dominant clans like other Federal Member States (FMS) or should be considered as capital belonging to all clans, remains undecided at this point.⁴⁵² For more details, please see section 7.3.1 of EASO’s COI report [Somalia: Actors](#), published in July 2021.

A report by the Finnish Immigration Service states that while there are certain freedoms for people outside the powerful lineages (e.g. regarding freedom of movement), clan networks play a very important role in Mogadishu.⁴⁵³ The UNHCR confirms this in its assessment that ‘people without strong social networks and financially capable relatives will not be able to access financial support’⁴⁵⁴. It has been noted that if someone wished to engage in business-related activities of any significant scale, this would require the support of the dominant clan groups that wield economic and political power.⁴⁵⁵

Indeed, most of Mogadishu’s districts are treated as the domains of their most numerically and ‘politically dominant sub-clans’⁴⁵⁶, while only few administration heads belong to groups other than

⁴⁴⁵ Somalia Public Agenda, The impact of Covid-19 on the informal economy of Mogadishu, 4 June 2020, [url](#)

⁴⁴⁶ Braam, D. H. et al., Lockdowns, Lives and Livelihoods: the Impact of COVID-19 and Public Health Responses to Conflict Affected Populations – a Remote Qualitative Study in Baidoa and Mogadishu, 12 June 2021, [url](#), p. 8

⁴⁴⁷ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021; Norway, Landinfo, Sikkerhetsmessige utfordringer i Mogadishu, 15 May 2018, [url](#), p. 13

⁴⁴⁸ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 4

⁴⁴⁹ Norway, Landinfo, Sikkerhetsmessige utfordringer i Mogadishu, 15 May 2018, [url](#), pp. 13-14

⁴⁵⁰ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 4

⁴⁵¹ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 90

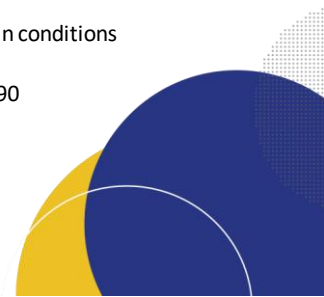
⁴⁵² World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 24

⁴⁵³ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 4

⁴⁵⁴ UNHCR, UNHCR Somalia Interim Livelihoods Strategy 2021-2022, April 2021, [url](#), p. 10

⁴⁵⁵ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 4

⁴⁵⁶ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 90



the Abgaal and Habar Gidir and display limited influence.⁴⁵⁷ Clans and their social and political leaders are also involved in the distribution of resources. This, according to a World Bank report, ‘works against the transparent, merit-based, and equitable allocation of resources that serve more marginalized groups’.⁴⁵⁸

As outlined in EASO’s report [Somalia: Actors](#) from July 2021, the clan network provides protection and solidarity among its members and members of other clans with whom an arrangement has been concluded, as well as towards closely affiliated individuals outside the clan context.⁴⁵⁹ However, a fact-finding report by the Norwegian Organisation for Asylum Seekers (NOAS) from 2014 stated that the scope of protection was only limited, particularly in Mogadishu, where many districts were generally deemed unsafe. Furthermore, protection for members of minority clans was weaker than for members of strong clans.⁴⁶⁰ Minority groups like the Bantu, Tumaal, Reer Hamar/Benadiri, and Madhiban occupy a weak position in society, some are subjected to racist discriminations⁴⁶¹ or ‘removed from the clan-based support system that gives others a safety net and protection.’⁴⁶² Geographically, most IDPs live clustered in ‘peri-urban areas’, and belong to non-dominant clan groups. They are, therefore, both physically and socially excluded from network-reliant services. Moreover, many IDPs come from rural areas in southern Somalia and lack the skills needed to secure livelihoods in an urban environment, which confines them to low-paid day jobs⁴⁶³ or exhausting petty entrepreneurial activities.⁴⁶⁴ Returnees who have been absent for several years with little clan contact may also lack clan support.⁴⁶⁵ Thus, marginalised groups lack financial means and face difficulties when it comes to acquiring land, defending land ownership rights or jobs.⁴⁶⁶ Indeed, it has been reported that people from minority groups have much lower chances ‘of getting a job, even if they are educated and have a university degree’ and even when it comes to employment in ‘the Somali government or international organisations’.⁴⁶⁷

Meanwhile, many people from minority groups enter ‘into an alliance with local powerful clans in order to protect themselves against instability and legal infringements’⁴⁶⁸

Moreover, an expert noted that within the same clan, not every member is treated equally. People may be favoured or disadvantaged based on their wealth, specific patrilineal lineage, gender (men are advantaged in the patrilineal logic) or the morality of their behaviour. For instance, individuals who have suffered rape, committed crimes, consumed drugs or otherwise display fragility may find less support within their family networks or wider society. Thus, while kinship networks allow some people

⁴⁵⁷ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 40

⁴⁵⁸ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 90

⁴⁵⁹ Van Notten, M, The Law of the Somalis: A Stable Foundation for Economic Development in the Horn of Africa, 2005, pp. 49-61

⁴⁶⁰ NOAS, Persecution and Protection in Somalia: A Fact-Finding Report by NOAS, 2014, [url](#), pp. 40-41

⁴⁶¹ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 4

⁴⁶² World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 11

⁴⁶³ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 23

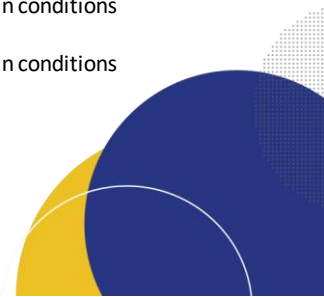
⁴⁶⁴ Bakonyi, J. and Chonka, P., Precarious Labour – Precarious Lives: Photographic Glimpses from Displaced People in Somali Cities, January 2021, [url](#), p. 205

⁴⁶⁵ NOAS, Persecution and Protection in Somalia: A Fact-Finding Report by NOAS, 2014, [url](#), pp. 8, 40-42

⁴⁶⁶ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), pp. 42-43

⁴⁶⁷ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 43

⁴⁶⁸ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Fact-finding mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu, 7 August 2020, [url](#), p. 44



(including returnees) to get support, such as borrowing money, finding accommodation and obtain accessing the job market, others may not receive or receive only very little help.⁴⁶⁹

1.4.2 Returnees, vulnerable groups

1.4.2.1 Returnees

The majority of returnees from neighbouring countries as well as from the diaspora settle in cities, such as Mogadishu, Kismayo or Baidoa,⁴⁷⁰ with many opting ‘not to return to their areas of origin, preferring to settle in urban areas’.⁴⁷¹ DIS explained in their report from July 2020 that there were no support structures in place regarding failed asylum seekers returning to Somalia from Europe without a network.⁴⁷² Large numbers of returnees who lack financial means end up in IDP camps where the living conditions are no different than for those internally displaced,⁴⁷³ thus with ‘limited access to basic services.’ The urban system is ‘already overburdened due to a lack of funding to cover the needs of a rapidly growing urban population’, according to UNOCHA.⁴⁷⁴ At the same time, some sources outline that returnees educated and trained abroad may come back with a broader set of skills that allows them to access better jobs compared to those who have remained in Somalia. Meanwhile, Bakonyi emphasised that networks of families, neighbours, and friends are highly significant for returnees. The support they may be able to muster depends, among others, on whether a person has maintained social networks (including clan-based networks) and can upon return mobilise help from it. In a similar vein, clan-based networks play a crucial role, which is why most returnees (though not all) settle in areas where they can find members of their own clan.⁴⁷⁵

1.4.2.2 Vulnerable groups

Endemic insecurity, recurrent violence and climatic shocks have left a large segment of the population vulnerable and with few coping mechanisms. According to a World Bank report, people without access to social safety nets and those who are chronically poor often adopt coping mechanisms that further increase their vulnerability, such as ‘selling or consuming productive assets, incurring debt, taking children out of school, foregoing medical care or reducing the share of meals consumed’.⁴⁷⁶

IDPs

⁴⁶⁹ ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer-innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi] [source: Markus Hoehne], 31 May 2021, [url](#), pp. 33-34

⁴⁷⁰ ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer-innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi] [source: Jutta Bakonyi], 31 May 2021, [url](#), p. 24; World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 36; see also UN-Habitat and JPLG, Towards Mogadishu: Spatial Strategic Plan, Urban Analyses / Urban Development Challenges / Urban Strategic Planning, 2019, [url](#), p. 21; Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2020 Country Report — Somalia, 2020, [url](#), p. 28

⁴⁷¹ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview – Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 44

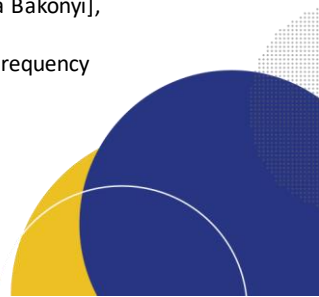
⁴⁷² Denmark, DIS, South and Central Somalia: Security situation, forced recruitment, and conditions for returnees, July 2020, [url](#), para. 14

⁴⁷³ ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer-innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi] [source: Jutta Bakonyi], 31 May 2021, [url](#), pp. 24-25, 27

⁴⁷⁴ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview – Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 44

⁴⁷⁵ ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer-innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi] [source: Jutta Bakonyi], 31 May 2021, [url](#), p. 25

⁴⁷⁶ World Bank (The), Somali Poverty and Vulnerability Assessment: Findings from Wave 2 of the Somali High Frequency Survey, April 2019, [url](#), p. 105



According to UNOCHA, IDPs ‘have limited livelihood assets and options, and therefore often rely on external humanitarian assistance’, adding that their situation ‘has worsened in the COVID-19 pandemic context with declined remittances, increased food prices, and declined employment and income earning opportunities (particularly in urban areas).’⁴⁷⁷ Accordingly, ‘IDPs are the most impoverished demographic group in urban centres’, with IDP settlements often ‘governed by gatekeepers, and overcrowded’.⁴⁷⁸

‘Gatekeepers’ organise IDP camps and act as middlepersons between IDPs, humanitarian organisations and landowners.⁴⁷⁹ They play a pivotal role in the operation of IDP camps and also provide basic services for a fee (including emergency medical care⁴⁸⁰), albeit ‘usually of very poor quality’⁴⁸¹, thus ‘fill[ing] a vacuum left by a weak government incapable of meeting those needs, and a humanitarian community limited in its operations by Mogadishu’s prevailing insecurity’.⁴⁸² According to a 2019 report, gatekeepers have ‘established themselves as unavoidable actors in relation to aid delivery to IDPs, positioning themselves as intermediaries between the displaced and external actors, including the local government and the humanitarian community.’⁴⁸³ It has been reported that when humanitarian aid is delivered, gatekeepers and/or landowners reportedly keep a share of this delivery⁴⁸⁴, using them as rents for their land or services.⁴⁸⁵ Gatekeepers have thus been criticised as being criminal and abusive, preventing humanitarian organisations from directly accessing IDPs, but others have also noted that gatekeepers may ‘care deeply about the well-being’ of the camp inhabitants⁴⁸⁶ or at least support the IDPs initial settlement and ability to navigate the city.⁴⁸⁷

For more information on IDPs, please see sections [1.1.2.3 Displacement and humanitarian assistance](#), [1.2.3 Accessing and settling in the city](#) and [1.3.2.3 Informal settlements and IDP sites](#).

Persons with disabilities

According to UNOCHA, ‘persons with disabilities are often excluded from humanitarian assistance either due to exploitation, pre-existing discrimination and stigma or due to a lack of adequate consideration’.⁴⁸⁸ A representative of an organisation for the rights of disabled persons in Somalia stated that international aid does often not reach Somalia’s disabled community and that ‘the UN and the international agencies don’t give much priority and attention’ to persons with disabilities.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁷⁷ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Response Plan, Somalia, 15 February 2021, [url](#), p. 22

⁴⁷⁸ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Needs Overview – Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 23

⁴⁷⁹ ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer:innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi] [source: Jutta Bakonyi], 31 May 2021, [url](#), pp. 19-20; see also Bakonyi, J., The Political Economy of Displacement: Rent Seeking, Disposessions and Precarious Mobility in Somali Cities, 15 October 2020, [url](#), pp. 13-14

⁴⁸⁰ TNH, Somalia’s displacement camp ‘gatekeepers’ – ‘parasites’ or aid partners?, 18 July 2019, [url](#)

⁴⁸¹ IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 5

⁴⁸² TNH, Somalia’s displacement camp ‘gatekeepers’ – ‘parasites’ or aid partners?, 18 July 2019, [url](#)

⁴⁸³ IIED et al., Access to shelter and services for low-income groups: lessons from Hawassa, Mogadishu and Nairobi on the politics of informal settlements and shelter access, October 2019, [url](#), p. 5

⁴⁸⁴ ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer:innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi] [source: Jutta Bakonyi], 31 May 2021, [url](#), pp. 19-20

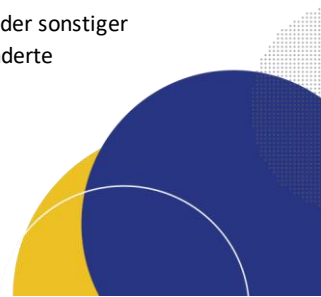
⁴⁸⁵ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

⁴⁸⁶ TNH, Somalia’s displacement camp ‘gatekeepers’ – ‘parasites’ or aid partners?, 18 July 2019, [url](#)

⁴⁸⁷ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

⁴⁸⁸ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Response Plan, Somalia, 15 February 2021, [url](#), p. 20

⁴⁸⁹ ACCORD, Anfragebeantwortung zu Somalia: Mogadischu: Informationen zu Repressalien, Diskriminierung oder sonstiger Ausgrenzung gegenüber körperlich behinderten Personen; gesundheitliche Unterstützung für körperlich behinderte



Moreover, the source adds, 'exclusion leads disabled to falls further into chronic poverty with little opportunity of breaking out of the cycle. When the main family breadwinner becomes disabled the whole households risks sliding more deeply into poverty.'⁴⁹⁰ The COVID-19 pandemic, with its impact on an 'already fragile' healthcare system and socio-economic welfare mechanisms has further exacerbated the pre-existing dire situation of vulnerable groups.⁴⁹¹

Women and girls

While women are not per se vulnerable, they are generally disadvantaged in the patriarchal social set up of Somalia and thus, they are more likely to become vulnerable than men. Gender disparities in education, the social obligation towards unpaid care-work, the increased risk of women to become victims of gender-based and domestic violence and their exclusion from (political) decision making contribute to their overall increased vulnerability.⁴⁹² The gendered division of labour can force women from poor urban households to take on jobs or to engage in entrepreneurial activities that bear a high risk of exploitation and even violence. It limits participation of women in better paid socio-economic activities and, in case of divorce or death of male partners, makes women more prone to poverty and precarity. The unequal access to inheritance and land ownership additionally increases their dependence on male family members and partners.⁴⁹³ DIS and DRC in a report on a fact-finding mission conducted in December 2017 cite an anonymous source as saying that 'the situation is particularly dire for single women without a clan network and women who are internally displaced. The existence of a clan network can offer an individual, including a single woman, a level of protection.'⁴⁹⁴ The same source adds that in Mogadishu, single women without a network are particularly vulnerable to violence and that the situation in IDP camps makes them even more vulnerable to SGBV (Sexual and Gender Based Violence).⁴⁹⁵ According to a 2019 report by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, the lack of protection in combination with the patriarchal system results in discrimination and exclusion of single women.⁴⁹⁶ According to Bakonyi, the position of women who are divorced or widowed depends on their social and economic situation, and to some extent on them and their children's' clan affiliation (children belong to the clan of the father) and the support network they can mobilise. Male family members (fathers, brothers of the father) are often favoured when it comes to custody of children and inheritance (here brother of the women). Single women (unmarried, not divorced, without children) usually live with their families or, if they shift

Personen seitens staatlicher oder privater Einrichtungen sowie seitens NGOs [Query response on reprisals, discrimination or other marginalization against physically disabled people; Health support for physically handicapped people from state or private institutions as well as from NGOs], a-11388-2 (11389) , 16 October 2020, [url](#)

⁴⁹⁰ ACCORD, Anfragebeantwortung zu Somalia: Mogadischu: Informationen zu Repressalien, Diskriminierung oder sonstiger Ausgrenzung gegenüber körperlich behinderten Personen; gesundheitliche Unterstützung für körperlich behinderte Personen seitens staatlicher oder privater Einrichtungen sowie seitens NGOs [Query response on reprisals, discrimination or other marginalization against physically disabled people; Health support for physically handicapped people from state or private institutions as well as from NGOs], a-11388-2 (11389), 16 October 2020, [url](#)

⁴⁹¹ UNOCHA, Somalia Humanitarian Response Plan 2020: HRP Revision – COVID-19 (July 2020), 26 July 2020, [url](#), p. 24

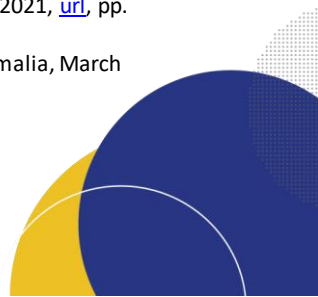
⁴⁹² Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021; USDOS, 2020 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - Somalia, 30 March 2021, [url](#), p. 32

⁴⁹³ Bakonyi, J., communication, 7 July 2021

⁴⁹⁴ Denmark, DIS and DRC, South and Central Somalia - Security Situation, al-Shabaab Presence, and Target Groups, 8 March 2017, [url](#), p. 54; see also Sweden, Swedish Migration Agency, Lifos Report, Somalia: the position of women in the clan system, 27 April 2018, [url](#), p. 13

⁴⁹⁵ Denmark, DIS and DRC, South and Central Somalia - Security Situation, al-Shabaab Presence, and Target Groups, 8 March 2017, [url](#), p. 55; see also USDOS, 2020 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - Somalia, 30 March 2021, [url](#), pp. 30-31

⁴⁹⁶ The Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Country of Origin Information Report on South and Central Somalia, March 2019, [url](#), p. 44



towns, with other relatives. Their social position and vulnerability depends on their families social and economic standing, and on their education and occupation.⁴⁹⁷

For more information on women without a support network in Somalia, please see section 2.5. of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Targeted profiles](#) (September 2021).

2. Garowe

2.1 Garowe's overview

Garowe city (sometimes written 'Garoowe') is located in the Garowe district, one of the four districts of the Nugaal region, which lies in the Nugaaleed Valley (sometimes referred to as Nogal or Nugal Valley), in Puntland, a federal member state of Somalia situated to the north-east of the country. Puntland borders Ethiopia to the southwest, the Indian Ocean to the east, the Gulf of Aden to the North, Somaliland to the northwest (disputed border area) and the Galmudug state of Somalia to the south (disputed border).⁴⁹⁸

Garowe city is located between two riverbeds which are dry except for the rainy seasons (*Deyr* from October to November and *Gu* from April to June). Garowe's climate is arid.⁴⁹⁹

After Bosasso and Galkacyo (also Galkayo), Garowe is the third-largest city in Puntland and the administrative capital of the self-declared autonomous state (since 1998) of Puntland.⁵⁰⁰ The executive, parliamentary and judiciary branches of the state are based in Garowe.⁵⁰¹

In January 2019, Said Abdullahi Deni and Ahmed Elmi Karash were elected respectively as President and Vice-President of Puntland.⁵⁰² Since the end of August 2018, Ahmed Said Muse holds the position of mayor of Garowe.⁵⁰³

2.1.1 Demographics and clan composition

2.1.1.1 Puntland

Since the establishment of Puntland as an autonomous region in 1998, Garowe's population significantly increased.⁵⁰⁴ In 2012, Puntland became the first federal member state of Somalia.⁵⁰⁵

⁴⁹⁷ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

⁴⁹⁸ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 6; Encyclopaedia Britannica, Nugaaleed Valley, last updated 20 July 1998, [url](#); KAALO and OXFAM, Gender Analysis of the Impact of Recent Humanitarian Crises on Women, Men, Girls, and Boys in Puntland State in Somalia, April 2021, [url](#), p. 10; Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), p. 8

⁴⁹⁹ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 10; BBC News, Puntland profile, 11 March 2019, [url](#); Jama, A. A. and Mourad, K. A., Water Services Sustainability: Institutional Arrangements and Shared Responsibilities, 11 February 2019, [url](#), p. 6

⁵⁰⁰ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 6; Encyclopaedia Britannica, Puntland, n.d., [url](#); KAALO and OXFAM, Gender Analysis of the Impact of Recent Humanitarian Crises on Women, Men, Girls, and Boys in Puntland State in Somalia, April 2021, [url](#), p. 10; BBC News, Puntland profile, 11 March 2019, [url](#); Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), p. 3

⁵⁰¹ UN Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 6; see also Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), p. 3

⁵⁰² UNSOM, UNSOM Congratulates Said Abdullahi Deni on Election as President of Puntland, 9 January 2019, [url](#); VOA, Somalia's Puntland Region Elects New President, 8 January 2019, [url](#)

⁵⁰³ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 66

⁵⁰⁴ Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), p. 3

⁵⁰⁵ Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI 2018 Country Report - Somalia, 2018, [url](#), p. 12

The Puntland government estimated its population at 2.4 million in 2003⁵⁰⁶ and at 4.3 million in 2016⁵⁰⁷. Puntland's population is the densest in urban areas such as Bosasso, Galkacyo, and the capital, Garowe.⁵⁰⁸ However, in a 2017 research paper, social scientist Strøh Varming cautions that in the Somali territories, census 'have been scarce and highly disputed since the 1980s, and therefore reliable figures are hard to come by'.⁵⁰⁹

According to Strøh Varming, Puntland's growth in the last decades is due in part to people from the Darood-Majeerteen clans returning 'from Mogadishu and other urban areas in south Somalia to their "original" clan territories in Puntland' attracted by the relative peace and stability in Puntland.⁵¹⁰ Puntland's population growth is also attributed to the influx of IDPs from the other regions and refugees from Ethiopia and Yemen, many of Somali descent.⁵¹¹ The towns of Galkacyo, Bosasso, Garden, Goldogob, Burtinle, and Garowe hosted an estimated number of 270 000 IDPs based on data from the Economic Commission for Africa from 2013.⁵¹² A more current number for the estimated total number of IDPs in Puntland by UNHCR is 388 500.⁵¹³

For further general information on Puntland, please see section 7.6 of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Actors](#), published in July 2021.

2.1.1.2 Garowe district and Garowe City

The urban population of Garowe district, which is by and large identical with Garowe city⁵¹⁴, increased steadily in the past decades. UN-Habitat compared data by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) from 2005 with an estimate by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) from 2014 counting an urban population of almost 100 000 in Garowe district, indicating that 'the population has more than doubled in less than 10 years'. The same source noted that these figures differ in the summer and the winter due to the influx of inhabitants from the coastal region who leave hot summer temperatures and high humidity behind.⁵¹⁵ Garowe experienced rapid urban growth after the central government's collapse in 1991 and partly also due to its status as political and administrative capital of Puntland. IDPs and returnees fleeing conflict in other parts of the country, as well as Ethiopian and Yemeni refugees, contributed to the growth.⁵¹⁶

2.1.1.3 Clans

The Majeerteen – who belong to the Harti branch of the Darood clan-family⁵¹⁷ – constitute the vast majority of the population of Puntland, including Garowe.⁵¹⁸ They are the dominant group in Puntland.

⁵⁰⁶ Puntland State of Somalia, Puntland Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, Puntland facts and figures 2003, 2003, [url](#), p. 11

⁵⁰⁷ Puntland State of Somalia, Puntland Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, Department of Statistics, Puntland facts and figures 2012-2017, [url](#), p. 3

⁵⁰⁸ KAALO and OXFAM, Gender Analysis of the Impact of Recent Humanitarian Crises on Women, Men, Girls, and Boys in Puntland State in Somalia, April 2021, [url](#), p. 10

⁵⁰⁹ Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), p. 31, endnote 6; see also US, CIA, The World Factbook Somalia, last updated 27 July 2021, [url](#)

⁵¹⁰ Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), p. 10

⁵¹¹ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 8; Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), p. 10; see also Jama, A. A. and Mourad, K. A. Water Services Sustainability: Institutional Arrangements and Shared Responsibilities, 11 February 2019, [url](#), p. 5

⁵¹² Mohamud, A. A. et al., Benefits, Mechanisms and Challenges of Integration of Internal Displaced People into Local Community-The Case of Garowe, 14 May 2018, [url](#), p. 429

⁵¹³ UNHCR, Operational Data Portal, Estimated IDPs in Somalia, last updated 1 January 2021, [url](#)

⁵¹⁴ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

⁵¹⁵ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 88

⁵¹⁶ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 8

⁵¹⁷ Hoehne, M. V., Mimesis and mimicry in dynamics of state and identity formation in northern Somalia. Africa 79(2), 2009, pp. 261-262

⁵¹⁸ Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), pp. 8-9;

The three main sub-clans of the Majeerteen are the Osman Mahamoud (also Osman Mahmud, settled in and around Qardho and Bosasso), the Omar Mahmoud (also Omar Mahmud, settled in and around Galkacyo) and the Isse Mahmoud (also Issa Mahmud, settled in and around Garowe). Garowe District and Garowe city were established on the territory of the Isse Mahmoud. Therefore, they are the traditional inhabitants of the Garowe district, Garowe city included. Since Garowe City is the capital of Puntland, people of the other Majeerteen sub-clans have come to settle in the city, as well as people from other clans.⁵¹⁹

In 2017, Kristine Strøh Varming who conducted fieldwork in Garowe city wrote about clan identity: ‘Particularly in major towns like Boosaaso and Garoowe, [...] clan diversity – although still primarily within Darood, but also with the presence of other Harti clans (Dhulbahante, Warsangeli and Marehan, Isaaq from Somaliland and Rahanweyn from Baydhabo) – is becoming more prevalent due to rapid urbanization and internal migration.’⁵²⁰

2.1.2 Humanitarian situation overview

2.1.2.1 General information

Puntland regularly faces droughts and floods, locusts, which tend to render its population vulnerable and impede its access to food, income, education, and health. According to KAALO and Oxfam Puntlanders’ livelihoods, livestock, and land are ‘decimated’ by climatic shocks (general inconsistent and drastic climate variability as well as less common meteorological events like Cyclone Gati in November 2020) and recent locust infestations.⁵²¹ Puntland is notably threatened by water shortages. Pre-drought conditions have been found by local authorities, UNOCHA, and partners in Puntland and other regions of Somalia in December 2020 and January 2021. The assessment noted ‘widely depleted *berkeds*⁵²² and shallow wells, loss of livestock, as well as extensive critical loss of pasture’.⁵²³

Puntland has been affected by a desert locust infestation, which showed signs of decline in March 2021. However, in the plateaus of Garowe, among other locations, newly formed immature swarms were observed.⁵²⁴ The Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit (FSNAU) in Somalia points to the risk for *Gu* season crop production as well as pasture availability (already impacted by previous drought conditions) posed by desert locust hatching and band formation.⁵²⁵

21 settlements are home to close to 5 400 IDP households in and around Garowe, according to Shelter Cluster as of 2016.⁵²⁶ Parts of this large IDP population was relocated to sites at the city’s south-eastern outskirts which lack a proper integration within the city’s urban fabric.⁵²⁷ Sites assessments conducted by the Global Camp Coordination and Camp Management (CCCM) Cluster from December 2020 to March 2021 classified IDPs’ needs in terms of protection, health and water, sanitation and

ACCORD, Clans in Somalia - Report on a Lecture by Joakim Gundel, COI Workshop Vienna, 15 May 2009 (Revised Edition), 15 December 2009, [url](#), p. 12; UNOCHA, Somalia: Clan Distribution Map, 15 February 2013, [url](#)

⁵¹⁹ Hoehne, M. V., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁵²⁰ Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), p. 1414

⁵²¹ KAALO and Oxfam, Gender Analysis Of The Impact Of Recent Humanitarian Crises On Women, Men, Girls, And Boys In Puntland State In Somalia, April 2021, [url](#), pp. 5, 105, 10

⁵²² Often written ‘berkad’, it designates a water reservoir used in arid areas to collect water during the wet season for use in the dry season, see Mercy Corps, Improved Berkad Designs By Mercy Corps - Somalia, 11 October 2017, [url](#)

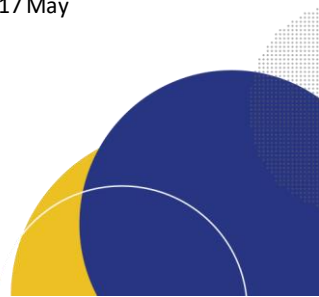
⁵²³ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Response Plan – Somalia, 15 February 2021, [url](#), pp. 11-1211-12

⁵²⁴ UNOCHA, Somalia - Situation Report, 19 April 2021, [url](#)

⁵²⁵ FSNAU and FEWS NET, Quarterly Brief with a Focus on the 2021 Jiaal Impact and Gu Season Early Warning, 17 May 2021, [url](#), p. 5

⁵²⁶ Shelter Cluster, Mapping Exercise: Garowe, May 2016, [url](#), pp. 4-6

⁵²⁷ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 8



hygiene as ‘extreme’ and the food, security & livelihoods, nutrition and education needs as ‘severe’.⁵²⁸ For more information on IDPs, please see section [2.2.3.2 IDPs](#) and [2.4.2 Returnees, vulnerable groups](#).

2.1.2.2 COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic has further strained the fragile situation in Puntland, as restrictions greatly affected livelihoods and impeded unpaid and underpaid care work.⁵²⁹ The Ministry of Planning, Economic Development and International Development (MoPEDIC) stated, at the end of 2020, that the implementation of lockdown measures had placed the food value-chains under major distress, pointing especially to the international trade remittances from the diaspora and Small and Micro Enterprise Sector (SMEs) which constitute the main source of income for a large part of the Somali population.⁵³⁰

As of 5 July 2021, Somalia’s Ministry of Health reported 3 377 confirmed cases of COVID-19 in Puntland, with 74 % of cases affecting men and 26 % women. 80 cases resulted in death.⁵³¹ But according to Mohamed Mohamud Ali Fuje, chief medical adviser to the government’s COVID-19 National Task Force, Somalia’s figures are only ‘the tip of the iceberg’, because of poor testing rates. The World Health Organization has set up three molecular COVID-19 testing laboratories that are located in Mogadishu, Garowe and Hargeisa. As of May 2021, no new lockdown had been decided.⁵³² According to a local source, as of July 2021 no lockdown is implemented in Somalia.⁵³³

2.2 Mobility and accessibility

2.2.1 Garowe’s airport and flight connections

Garowe Airport, also called Garowe International Airport, is the third largest airport in Somalia, located about 12 kilometres from Garowe’s city centre.⁵³⁴ It is operated by the Puntland Ministry for Civil Aviation and Airports.⁵³⁵ Based on online flight schedules accessed through tracking sites, the following connections were available from Garowe’s airport as of 27 July 2021.⁵³⁶

Internationally:

- These destinations are served from/to Garowe:
 - Addis Ababa (Ethiopian Airlines) – 5 flights/week
 - Nairobi (Freedom Airline Express; Jubba Airways) – 2 flights/week

Domestically:

- These destinations are served from/to Garowe:
 - Mogadishu (Freedom Airline Express; Jubba Airways) - 5 flights/week

⁵²⁸ CCCM and REACH, Detailed Site Assessment (DSA): Garowe district, Nugaal region, Somalia (March 2021), 20 June 2021, [url](#), p. 1

⁵²⁹ KAALO and Oxfam, Gender Analysis of the Impact Of Recent Humanitarian Crises on Women, Men, Girls, and Boys in Puntland State in Somalia, April 2021, [url](#), p. 55

⁵³⁰ Puntland State of Somalia, MoPEDIC, COVID-19 Socio-Economic Impact Assessment, December 2020, [url](#), p. IVIV

⁵³¹ Federal Republic of Somalia, MoH, COVID-19 Dashboard, Somalia, 5 July 2021, [url](#)

⁵³² TNH, Who’s afraid of COVID-19? Somalia’s battle with the virus, 5 May 2021, [url](#)

⁵³³ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

⁵³⁴ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 17

⁵³⁵ CAPA, Garowe International Airport, n.d., [url](#)

⁵³⁶ FlightConnections, Direct flights from Garowe (GGR), n.d., [url](#); Flightradar24, Garowe Airport, n.d., [url](#)



- Galkacyo (Jubba Airways) – 1 flight/week
- Hargeisa (Jubba Airways) – 2 flights/week
- Bosasso (Ethiopian Airlines; Jubba Airways) – 2 flights/week

Garowe Airport was closed from 2013 to 2018 to undergo renovations and was officially reopened by the President of Puntland in January 2018.⁵³⁷ The modernisation of the airport was financially supported by the diaspora, by Kuwait⁵³⁸, by the EU Trust Fund for Africa and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. The (IOM) was charged to equip the new airport with the Migration Information and Data Analysis System (MIDAS), IOM's border management information system, to allow Garowe International Airport to collect passenger information.⁵³⁹

Somalia federal authorities banned international flights on 5 March 2020, with the exception of humanitarian flights. Among others, Somali diaspora's seasonal return to Puntland in the summer was thus disrupted.⁵⁴⁰ As of July 2021, flights appeared to be landing in Garowe airport again.⁵⁴¹

2.2.2 Internal mobility, including checkpoints

2.2.2.1 Circulation within the city

Garowe city is located at the crossroad of three main commercial roads: Garowe-Laascaanood, Garowe-Galkacyo and Garowe-Bosasso.⁵⁴² Garowe city is cut in two by the paved National Road, which became the principal town road as the city grew and is nowadays prone to congestions affecting the transport of goods and people. UN-Habitat reported that as of May 2019 existed only a few tarmac roads inside the town. The same source reported that in the absence of walkways or parking spaces, 'vehicles share the streets with small vendors and pedestrians'. Transportation within the city and from Garowe city to other towns is carried out by private taxis or other privately-owned means of transportation; there is no government-owned public transport system in the city.⁵⁴³ The ever-growing number of private vehicles in Garowe city led to the opening of numerous gas stations throughout the town.⁵⁴⁴

Several restrictions were put in place by Puntland's government to manage the spread of COVID-19, including a night-time curfew in Bosasso, Galkacyo and Garowe, restricting movements at night and ordering shops to close at 7pm.⁵⁴⁵ Researchers noted in May 2020 that the enforcement of the curfew was less strict since the start of Ramadan and that restrictions on circulation within Puntland had been eased with the seasonal exodus from the coast to cooler inland areas.⁵⁴⁶

2.2.2.2 Safety within the city

Truck drivers coming from the port of Bosasso and driving to the market in Garowe are stopped at checkpoints manned by security forces, district officials or police officers from the local municipality who collect fees as well as bribes. According to a 2017 study by social scientist Kirstine Strøh Varming,

⁵³⁷ IOM, Renovated International Airport Opens in Garowe, Somalia with IOM Support, 1 December 2018, [url](#); UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 1717

⁵³⁸ Chatham House, Solidifying the Somali State: Puntland's Position and Key Priorities, 24 October 2014, [url](#), p. 44

⁵³⁹ IOM, Renovated International Airport Opens in Garowe, Somalia with IOM Support, 1 December 2018, [url](#)

⁵⁴⁰ Majid, N. et al., Puntland and COVID-19: Local Responses and Economic Impact, 5 May 2020, [url](#)

⁵⁴¹ Flightradar24, Airport – GGR – Arrivals, n.d., [url](#)

⁵⁴² UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), pp. 6, 176, 17

⁵⁴³ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 1717

⁵⁴⁴ Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), p. 16

⁵⁴⁵ Puntland State of Somalia, MoPEDIC, COVID-19 Socio-Economic Impact Assessment, 30 December 2020, [url](#), p. V; Majid, N. et al., Puntland and COVID-19: Local Responses and Economic Impact, 5 May 2020, [url](#)

⁵⁴⁶ Majid, N. et al., Puntland and COVID-19: Local Responses and Economic Impact, 5 May 2020, [url](#)

there were three to seven checkpoints between Bosasso and Garowe.⁵⁴⁷ The World Bank reports 20 checkpoints based on a 2018 source.⁵⁴⁸ According to Markus Hoehne, checkpoints are still frequent in Puntland in response to the tense security situation. According to a local source there are checkpoints between Garowe and Lasanod to the east, between Garowe and Galkacyo to the south and between Garowe and Bosasso to the north. At these checkpoints, cars importing or exporting goods are controlled. Taxes have to be paid mainly for goods coming from or exported via Galkacyo (in the south), Bosasso (in the north) or Lasanod (in the east; Lasanod is currently controlled by Somaliland). Security checks are implemented strictly around Galkacyo and Bosasso. Near Bosasso Al-Shabaab has a base and thus, vehicles in the area are checked carefully at checkpoints. Galkacyo being the ‘gate’ to the south, where Al-Shabaab is very active, ordinary passengers are checked to prevent the circulation of suspected terrorists. Finally, at all checkpoints, youngsters are controlled to prevent illegal migration (Somali: *tahriib*).⁵⁴⁹

According to Bakonyi, controls of people are regular, they don’t necessarily check IDs but ask questions to determine from where one comes. Rahanweyn who often came as IDPs speak a very distinct dialect (some call it language) and can therefore easily be identified (For more details, please see sections 1 and 3.1.1 of EASO’s COI report [Somalia: Actors](#) as well as section 4.2 of EASO’s COI report [Somalia: Targeted profiles](#)). Mistrust against IDPs especially from the Digil and Mirifle (Rahanweyne) Clans is still high in Puntland, as they are perceived as clan groups with highest support for Al-Shabaab and are, therefore, often particularly targeted by security forces.⁵⁵⁰

According to a town hall meeting organised in Garowe City by UN-Habitat in 2017, safety is a common concern among the population. The city is fairly secure in comparison to the rest of the country. Police patrols have contributed to a decrease of crime and violence. However, especially women’s perception of safety in Garowe city is low. UN-Habitat linked this low perception to the poor illumination of the streets (even if streetlights were installed in town in 2016⁵⁵¹) and the lack of space for pedestrians.⁵⁵²

For more information on mobility, please see section 4 of EASO’s COI report [Somalia: Targeted profiles](#) (September 2021), section 3.1 of EASO’s COI report [Somalia: Actors](#) (July 2021) as well as EASO’s COI report [Somalia: Security situation](#) (September 2021).

2.2.3 Accessing and settling in the city

2.2.3.1 Accessing land and urban properties

Garowe city’s rapid growth (please see section [2.1.1.2 Garowe district and Garowe City](#)) has made land tenure highly valuable. UN-Habitat states that ‘land grabbing, lack of official documentation, displacement and returnees of diaspora have contributed to mismanagement and lack of tenure security’. Conflicts around land ownership and use are not uncommon and Garowe city has experienced a high rate of land disputes due to unauthorised occupation of public lands in parts of

⁵⁴⁷ Strøh Varming, K., *The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland*, 2017, [url](#), pp. 16-17

⁵⁴⁸ World Bank (The), *Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development*, 2020, [url](#), p. 85

⁵⁴⁹ Hoehne, M. V., telephone interview, 6 July 2021.

⁵⁵⁰ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

⁵⁵¹ UN-Habitat, *Garowe Urban Profile*, May 2019, [url](#), p. 17

⁵⁵² UN-Habitat, *Garowe Urban Profile*, May 2019, [url](#), p. 14, 1714, 17



the town and its outskirts.⁵⁵³ The diaspora's investment in real estate has resulted in land banking and speculation.⁵⁵⁴

2.2.3.2 IDPs

While Puntland hosts an estimated 388 500 IDPs,⁵⁵⁵ more than a third of the population of Garowe consists of IDPs (close to 5 400 IDP households according to data produced by Shelter Cluster from 2016).⁵⁵⁶ According to the German Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) most of these IDPs want to integrate locally, but are confronted with a growing competition for rare land, income opportunities, employment opportunities and access to basic services.⁵⁵⁷ UN-Habitat and the World Bank reported that IDPs have in recent times been relocated from the city to its periphery on the South-West of Garowe, in settlements supported by international aid, warning for risks of exacerbated segregation and poverty.⁵⁵⁸ For more information on IDPs, please see sections [2.1.2 Humanitarian situation overview](#) and [2.4.2 Returnees, vulnerable groups](#).

2.2.3.3 Impact of clan-identity

In Puntland, the presidency rotates, according to an unwritten power-sharing agreement, between the Osman Mohamoud, the Isse Mohamoud and the Omar Mohamoud lineages of the Majeerteen.⁵⁵⁹ Besides the dominant Majeerteen, the Dhulbahante, Warsangeli and Deshishe are also influential clans. Power is on the one hand divided between clans, sub-clans and lineages. On the other hand, there is competition before presidential elections. Once a new Puntland president starts his term, he brings along with him people he trusts as well as his own guard, all of whom are from the same lineage. Ministers also choose their secretaries and their security guards among their close patrilineal relatives. This indicates that trust is less rooted in state institution than in kinship ties; however, institutions and kinship can complement each other. Therefore, once a new president and new ministers take office, a large part of the civil service apparatus is replaced. Access to good jobs in the government and other positions linked to public services will thus be dependent on belonging to the president's clan or the descent group of influential ministers.⁵⁶⁰

It is different when it comes to positions within Garowe city that are not linked to the government, because the city is traditionally dominated by members of the Isse Mahmoud sub-clan. The mayor and the religious elites, and partly the intellectual elites in Garowe are from Isse Mahmoud sub-clan, regardless of who is the president of Puntland. Yet, businesspeople, traders and professionals from all other groups prevalent in Puntland can settle down in Garowe and go about their jobs. Garowe is generally not a 'clannish' city.⁵⁶¹

Although people can settle in all parts of the town, they tend to settle according to clan affiliation. Clan-based settlement patterns prevail throughout Somalia, since the clan network promises physical and social security.⁵⁶²

⁵⁵³ Puntland Post, Puntland President Sends Stern Warning Against Landgrabbing, 8 June 2021, [url](#); UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 20; see also Germany, GIZ, Promoting the economic and social participation of extremely poor households, April 2021, [url](#)

⁵⁵⁴ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 13

⁵⁵⁵ UNHCR, Operational Data Portal, Estimated IDPs in Somalia, last updated 1 January 2021, [url](#)

⁵⁵⁶ Germany, GIZ, Promoting the economic and social participation of extremely poor households, April 2021, [url](#); Shelter Cluster, Mapping Exercise: Garowe, May 2016, [url](#), pp. 4-6

⁵⁵⁷ Germany, GIZ, Promoting the economic and social participation of extremely poor households, April 2021, [url](#)

⁵⁵⁸ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 23; World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 7474

⁵⁵⁹ Majid, N., Sarkar, A., Elder, C., Abdirahman, K., Detzner, S., Miller, J. and de Waal, A., Somalia's Politics: The Usual Business?, LSE Conflict Research Programme, 2021, [url](#), p. 42

⁵⁶⁰ Hoehne, M. V., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁵⁶¹ Hoehne, M. V., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁵⁶² Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021



2.3 Socio-economic indicators

2.3.1 Economic overview and food security

2.3.1.1 Puntland

Puntland's arid and semi-arid environment contributes to the very difficult and fragile conditions in which pastoralists survive.⁵⁶³ That being said, livestock exports constitute the pillar of the economy of Puntland⁵⁶⁴ and 'contribute approximately 80 % of foreign exchange earnings, 40 % of the GDP and 60 % of employment opportunities' according to the Puntland State and based on World Bank data from 2017. Remittance from the diaspora (mainly located in the USA) accounts for a major part of the economy of Puntland.⁵⁶⁵ The Northern regions including Puntland received strong support from diaspora communities, also in the form of individual remittances, particularly in times of crises.⁵⁶⁶ A 2013 report on remittances and livelihoods support in Puntland and Somaliland, which provides a comprehensive household survey on this subject, found that 'in Puntland, 39 percent [of respondents] received between \$ 1000 and \$ 6000 [in the twelve months preceding the study]; the remainder 61 per cent of Puntland respondents received less than \$1000 [in the last twelve months].' Remittances are used for basic household expenses, and the degree of secondary distribution of remittances to other poorer households is high.⁵⁶⁷ As detailed below, Puntland households' great economic dependence on remittances was highlighted by the decline in money transfers from the diaspora amidst the COVID-19 pandemic.⁵⁶⁸

Between August and September 2020 the Somali shilling lost more than 30 % of its value, reaching 46 000 Somali Shilling per USD. The poor, i.e. low-income families and IDPs, as well as rural communities, are those who suffered the most from the 'dollarization' and depreciation of the Somali Shilling as they do not necessarily have access to e-money services and still rely on local currency for their everyday consumption and trade activities in a general context of 'dollarization'.⁵⁶⁹

2.3.1.2 Garowe

Garowe constitutes a business hub as it profits economically from its location at the 'trunk road' connecting Galkacyo and Mogadishu to the south and the port city Bosasso to the north.⁵⁷⁰ Garowe's industry is mainly composed of 'recently established, small-scale, privately owned manufacturing and construction enterprises' according to UN-Habitat.⁵⁷¹ The same source named hospitality, import and distribution of petrol, the *khat* market and remittances from the diaspora as other economic activities in Garowe. Most economic activities are conducted informally and the informal market is estimated to employ over 69 % of the residents.⁵⁷²

A study conducted by the MoPEDIC in 2020 found that 26 % of households in Garowe reported that

⁵⁶³ Puntland State of Somalia, MoPEDIC, COVID-19 Socio-Economic Impact Assessment, 30 December 2020, [url](#), p. 13

⁵⁶⁴ KAALO and OXFAM, Gender Analysis of the Impact of Recent Humanitarian Crises on Women, Men, Girls, and Boys in Puntland State in Somalia, April 2021, [url](#), p. 10; BBC News, Puntland profile, 23 May 2013, [url](#); UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 12

⁵⁶⁵ Puntland State of Somalia, MoPEDIC, COVID-19 Socio-Economic Impact Assessment, 30 December 2020, [url](#), p. 13; Majid, N., et al., Puntland and COVID-19 : Local Responses and Economic Impact, 5 May 2020, [url](#)

⁵⁶⁶ DRC and DEMAC, Diaspora organizations and their humanitarian response in Somalia, 20 July 2021, [url](#), pp. 27, 48

⁵⁶⁷ Hammond, L., Family Ties: Remittances and Livelihoods Support in Puntland and Somaliland, FSNAU, 5 June 2013, [url](#), p. 2

⁵⁶⁸ Puntland State of Somalia, MoPEDIC, COVID-19 Socio-Economic Impact Assessment, 30 December 2020, [url](#), p. 15

⁵⁶⁹ SIDRA Institute, The death knell for the mighty Somali Shilling, December 2020, [url](#), p. 1; Garowe Online, Puntland in path of rescuing Somali Shillings against dollar, 17 January 2021, [url](#); FSNAU and FEWS NET, Somalia Food Security Outlook, 16 March 2021, [url](#), p. 4

⁵⁷⁰ FSNAU, Garowe Urban Baseline Report, 15 May 2012, [url](#), p. vii, p. 4

⁵⁷¹ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 1313

⁵⁷² UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 1313

the highest percentage of their income came from business, while another 26 % depended on paid jobs as their main source of income (based on data collected from a representative household's sample).⁵⁷³ However, according to the 2019 UN-Habitat report referring to sources from 2012, 2015 and 2017, lack of access to capital and lack of business skills among business creators, lead to a short life span of businesses and related jobs. According to the same source, unemployment stood at 39 %.⁵⁷⁴

Garowe city is the centre of many Government and Non-Government Organisations and UN agencies in Puntland which also generate employment opportunities. Livestock trade and distribution are important economic activities in Garowe, taking place mainly in Suuqa Xoolaha (the older market, outside of town) for camel and cattle trading and in Suuqa Injiga market (in the centre of town) for small ruminants.⁵⁷⁵ Most commodities, including vegetables and eggs, are brought to Garowe city by truck, with the exceptions of unbottled drinking water and meat, which are produced locally according to Strøh Varming.⁵⁷⁶ A FSNAU study from 2012 highlighted that many food items came from the southern parts of the countries among them 'cereal, pulses, fruit, vegetables and livestock products'.⁵⁷⁷ The poor state of roads affects transportation of goods to the markets.⁵⁷⁸

2.3.1.3 Impact of COVID-19 on Puntland's economy

Puntland's revenues from trade taxes on goods imported through its port have declined following lockdowns and reduced imports due to the COVID-19 pandemic.⁵⁷⁹ A study conducted by the MoPEDIC on the impact of COVID-19 in Galkacyo, Qardho and Garowe found that 'domestic revenue declined by 55 percent in this [2020] fiscal year', with a revenue loss of 28.4 % in the 1st quarter of 2020. The same source indicated that in the three towns where the survey was conducted, about one-third of the households' sources of income were vulnerable to the COVID-19 pandemic. After business and paid jobs, remittances were the most vulnerable primary sources of income. Livestock farming was more resilient as a source of income, according to the study.⁵⁸⁰ Scholar Mohamed Said Samantar wrote in a study that the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic have been unevenly distributed across Somalia's economy. In Puntland, where prices were twice as high as those in Jubaland and South West State, the food inflation rate rose from 0.5 % to 2.0 % from February to March 2020. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, Puntland's economy was forecasted to grow by 4.6 % but Puntland's Ministry of Finance estimated a 17.8 % decline during the first half of 2020 according to Samantar.⁵⁸¹

2.3.1.4 Food security

Somali livelihoods rely predominantly on the livestock sector, 60 % of the population are pastoralists.⁵⁸² Livestock exports constitute the largest traded commodity for the country. Agro-pastoralists of Puntland, especially poor households, rely not only on meat and milk generated by livestock breeding but also on income generated by livestock and milk trading for the purchase of

⁵⁷³ Puntland State of Somalia, MoPEDIC, COVID-19 Socio-Economic Impact Assessment, 30 December 2020, [url](#), pp. 5, 9

⁵⁷⁴ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 12

⁵⁷⁵ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), pp. 12-1312-13

⁵⁷⁶ Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), pp. 9, 16

⁵⁷⁷ FSNAU, Garowe Urban Baseline Report, 15 May 2012, [url](#), p. vii

⁵⁷⁸ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 17; WFP, Joint Market and Supply Chain Update - 28th February, 2021-07th March, 2021, 5 March 2021, [url](#), p. 1

⁵⁷⁹ World Bank (The), Federal Republic of Somalia, Somalia Economic Update, Impact of COVID-19 : Policies to Manage the Crisis and Strengthen Economic Recovery, June 2020, [url](#), p. 16

⁵⁸⁰ Puntland State of Somalia, MoPEDIC, COVID-19 Socio-Economic Impact Assessment, 30 December 2020, [url](#), pp. 13, 14, 43

⁵⁸¹ Samantar, M. S., The economic impact of COVID-19 on Somalia – A special focus on business impact, November 2020, [url](#), pp. 5, 8; see also World Bank (The), Federal Republic of Somalia, Somalia Economic Update, Impact of COVID-19: Policies to Manage the Crisis and Strengthen Economic Recovery, June 2020, [url](#), p. 8

⁵⁸² UNOCHA, Humanitarian needs overview – Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), pp. 16, 29

food.⁵⁸³

The livelihoods of agro-pastoral and riverine households rely heavily on pasture and grass land and are thus largely dependent on climatic conditions. Puntland has been affected by climatic shocks in recent years, alternating drought and floods, as well as the Gati cyclone in Bari in November 2020.⁵⁸⁴ Puntland is among the parts of Somalia facing critical water shortages, where pre-drought conditions were recorded in January 2021, characterised by ‘widely depleted *berkeds* and shallow wells, loss of livestock, as well as extensive critical loss of pasture’.⁵⁸⁵ The Desert Locust infestation which affected Puntland (among other regions of Somalia) over the course of the year 2020 showed signs of decline in March 2021, due in part to control operations and poor rain falls which are less conducive to hatching. However, FSNAU and FEWS NET reported the presence of Desert Locust swarms and adult groups in April 2021 in Puntland (among other regions).⁵⁸⁶

The depreciation of the Puntland Somali Shilling had an impact on food prices. Notably sorghum and maize market prices in January 2021 were 11 to 28 % higher than the previous year (2020) and the average over the five previous years. In January 2021 costs of imported rice were reported to be 29 to 53 % above the five-year average.⁵⁸⁷

A nationwide survey of urban and displaced populations in November 2020 found that 3 of the 19 population groups surveyed were affected by acute malnutrition at a ‘critical’ level. The Global Acute Malnutrition indicator (GAM) was used for measuring, for which the critical level starts at 15 %. Of the three affected populations (IDPs and urban population) two were in Puntland with IDPs in Garowe and in Bosasso classified at a ‘critical’ level. An alert level of GAM was seen among the urban population of Garowe city with 5.2 %.⁵⁸⁸ In January 2021 the IDP population in Garowe was still in a ‘critical’ (IPC Phase 4) state of acute malnutrition while Garowe’s urban population was still classified as in ‘alert’ (IPC Phase 2).⁵⁸⁹ Concerning acute food insecurity, IPC in March 2021 classified most displaced populations in the three largest cities of Puntland as in ‘crisis’ (phase 3 of the Acute Food Insecurity Phase Classification), while most urban populations were classified as ‘stressed’ (IPC phase 2).⁵⁹⁰

2.3.2 Housing and shelter

Generally, in urban areas houses tend to be made out of stone, brick or cement blocks with corrugated iron sheet roofs.⁵⁹¹ In an interview, Bakonyi lists the housing types in Garowe: huts (*buush*), *jingaad* (a basic housing structure of only metal sheet, which can cost from 2 000 to 4 000 USD in Garowe), *bacweyne* (iron sheet house, but better decorated than *jingaad*). *Bacweyne* are often erected in a first phase by people owning a small plot of land before they can afford to build a brick or stone structure house for their families. Most privately owned brick or stone houses have several rooms, iron sheet roofing and indoor bathrooms. The other types of houses have outside toilets (pit-latrines). Like in

⁵⁸³ FSNAU and FEWS NET, Somalia Food Security Outlook, 16 March 2021, [url](#), p. 12; see also Nori, M., Along the Milky Way: Marketing Camel Milk in Puntland, Somalia, 11 November 2011, [url](#)

⁵⁸⁴ Puntland State of Somalia, MoPEDIC, COVID-19 Socio-Economic Impact Assessment, 30 December 2020, [url](#), p. 37; KAALO and OXFAM, Gender Analysis of the Impact of Recent Humanitarian Crises on Women, Men, Girls, and Boys in Puntland State in Somalia, April 2021, [url](#), p. 5; CARE, Somalia Food Insecurity Crisis, April 2021, [url](#); UNOCHA, Somalia, Cyclone Gari, 13 December 2020, [url](#)

⁵⁸⁵ UNOCHA, Somalia – Humanitarian Bulletin, January 2021, 14 February 2021, [url](#), p. 1

⁵⁸⁶ FSNAU and FEWS NET, Quarterly Brief with a Focus on the 2021 Jiaal Impact and Gu Season Early Warning, 17 May 2021, [url](#), p. 5; UNOCHA, Somalia – Humanitarian Bulletin, January 2021, 14 February 2021, [url](#), p. 1; FAO, Desert Locust Emergency in Somalia – Update 5, 9 June 2020, [url](#), p. 1; FAO, Desert Locust Emergency in Somalia - Update 9, 19 November 2020, [url](#), p. 1

⁵⁸⁷ FSNAU and FEWS NET, Somalia Food Security Outlook, 16 March 2021, [url](#), pp. 5, 12

⁵⁸⁸ FSNAU, Nutrition Update – December 2020, 23 December 2020, [url](#), pp. 1-2

⁵⁸⁹ IPC, Somalia: IPC Acute Food Insecurity and Acute Malnutrition Analysis; January - June 2021, 1 March 2021, [url](#), p. 7

⁵⁹⁰ IPC, Somalia: IPC Acute Food Insecurity and Acute Malnutrition Analysis; January - June 2021, 1 March 2021, [url](#), pp. 4, 7

⁵⁹¹ Hammond, L., Family Ties: Remittances and Livelihoods Support in Puntland and Somaliland, FSNAU, 5 June 2013, [url](#), p. 6

Mogadishu, most people in Garowe live in stone/brick houses on a land of 20 metres by 10 metres or 30 metres by 30 metres. A house with four to five bedrooms costs around 30 000 USD and can be rented for 300 to 700 USD per month, depending on the location, security of the area and size. The few (approximately 10) high-rise buildings and buildings out of concrete in Garowe are offices. The telecommunication company Dhabshiiil is currently building a 10 storey-building.⁵⁹²

In rural areas mud houses, *aqal*, *buush*, stone houses surrounded by land (in villages), iron-sheet houses can be found but no apartment blocks neither high-rise buildings.⁵⁹³

CCCM Cluster and REACH indicated in a detailed site assessment of March 2021 that in IDPs sites in Garowe district, the types of shelters were either *buul* (88%), out of mud and stick walls with roofs out of corrugated iron sheets (64%), or shelters constructed using shelter kits (60%).⁵⁹⁴

Major Somali cities currently experience a building boom conducive to economic development. Bakonyi warned against the violent consequences of this urban reconstruction: investors and political elites seeking new economic opportunities speculate with urban land and contribute to the expansion of rent economy, thereby precipitating mass-scale evictions of the urban poor and displaced people.⁵⁹⁵ There is a direct link between access to land and access to housing and shelter, as people with land can build their own houses to reside in or can become landlords (even if only 'petty landlords'), allowing other people to establish huts or iron-sheet houses.⁵⁹⁶

In Garowe city specifically, UN-Habitat reported that land tenure has become highly insecure and that 'due to the rapid urbanization and weak institutional control over land matters, disputes and conflicts around land ownership and use are not uncommon [...]'.⁵⁹⁷

In a report on taxation and budgeting in Puntland for Diakonia, analyst Abdulkadir S. M. Salah explained that after the collapse of the Somali state in the 1990s, many residents of Puntland urban centres used the absence of police and formal justice system to 'demarcate or illegally occupy un-owned or publicly-owned land at the peripheries of these centres'. When the local government was established, it did not have the capacity to evict those who annexed land and accepted - against bribes and/or kinship privileges⁵⁹⁸ - to regularise annexations by awarding land titles.⁵⁹⁹ According to Salah's report, claimants who want to see their grabbed land regularised rather seek the authorisation from the Islamic court, as the procedure is less complicated than the municipality's and does not involve the obligation to retroactively pay taxes on the land for the years of occupation.⁶⁰⁰ For more information on access to justice through formal and informal systems in Somalia, please see section 2.3 of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Actors](#) (July 2021).

Since 2013 the municipality started collecting a property tax. UN-Habitat reported that property taxes covered close to 15 % of the total district revenue in 2016.⁶⁰¹ In 2019 property tax revenue

⁵⁹² Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

⁵⁹³ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

⁵⁹⁴ CCCM and REACH, Detailed Site Assessment (DSA): Garowe District, Nugaal region, Somalia (March 2021), 20 June 2021, [url](#), p. 3

⁵⁹⁵ Bakonyi, J., The Political Economy of Displacement: Rent Seeking, Dispossessions and Precarious Mobility in Somali Cities, 15 October 2020, [url](#), p. 20

⁵⁹⁶ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

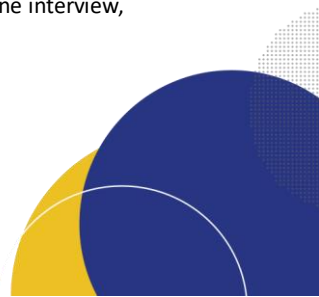
⁵⁹⁷ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 20

⁵⁹⁸ Hoehne, M. V., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁵⁹⁹ Salah, A. S. M., Equity and Taxes in Puntland and Jubaland, October 2014, [url](#), p. 24; Hoehne, M. V., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁶⁰⁰ Salah, A. S. M., Equity and Taxes in Puntland and Jubaland, October 2014, [url](#), p. 24

⁶⁰¹ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 2020



represented 126 454 USD in Puntland's state revenue, according to its Ministry of Planning, Economic Development and International Cooperation (MoPEDIC).⁶⁰²

The municipality tried to establish boundaries for the urban area of the city, to define areas for housing development and to protect grazing lands.⁶⁰³ But urban developments have occurred more organically, 'especially the new governmental zone north of Togga Garowe, and the South-West new constructions in Halgan and Israac', according to UN-Habitat. The same source indicated that most of the IDPs have settled in the east of town in the Wabari district and in the south-east part of the city, which is not well connected to the city centre.⁶⁰⁴ In a 2017 paper based on a study conducted in an IDP settlement in Garowe, Mohamed S. Mohamed reported that illegal land expropriations were widespread in Puntland's major cities and that land grabbers present themselves as legitimate landowners to IDPs from whom they demand rent, using 'coercive force'.⁶⁰⁵

2.3.3 Hygiene, water and sanitation

Social scientist Strøh Varming stated that in Puntland state budgets grew and tax collection increased, but basic services remained in the hands of private and international actors.⁶⁰⁶ Her analysis confirmed Salah's which stated that public funds are disproportionately spent on security and the military rather than on basic services.⁶⁰⁷

In Puntland, drinking water is provided by public private partnerships. Scholars A. A. Jama and K. A. Mourad presumably in 2018 conducted a study of this partnerships for water distribution in Puntland and found that roles and responsibilities were unclear between governmental and private bodies, 'leading to poor and over-priced domestic water quality'. As a result 'most consumers cannot afford a drinking water supply to their homes, so they are forced to walk long distances and queue for a long time in order to access water'.⁶⁰⁸

UN-Habitat reported in 2019 that in Garowe city, Togga Garowe and Lan Alifirin seasonal streams provided water for domestic use after receiving water during the rainy season. Nugal Water Company (NUWACO) manages the piped water system (public private partnership), which covers around 90 % of the urban area. UN-Habitat additionally reported that residents 'also rely on hand dug shallow wells and *berkads*', although the water is generally saline and does not meet World Health Organisation's standards.⁶⁰⁹

In April 2021 UNOCHA reported that most water points across Puntland had dried due to persistent dry conditions, Garowe counting among the worst affected districts. The same source further reported that 'the water prices across most rural areas in Puntland are the highest across Somalia with the cost of water almost doubled in many parts since January 2020, with a 200-litre barrel of water now selling at US\$ 7 to 9 up from an average of \$ 3 in normal time'.⁶¹⁰ This trend is consistent with price inflations observed on markets in this period.⁶¹¹ Water shortages had led to populations displacements in

⁶⁰² Puntland State of Somalia, MoPEDIC, Puntland Facts and Figures, Edition 2020, December 2020, [url](#), p. 3

⁶⁰³ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 66

⁶⁰⁴ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 88

⁶⁰⁵ Mohamed, M. S., Factors affecting to local integration for internally displaced persons in Garowe, Somalia, November 2017, [url](#), pp. 456-457

⁶⁰⁶ Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), p. 25

⁶⁰⁷ Strøh Varming, K., The Experiential Limits Of The State: Territory And taxation In Garoowe, Puntland, 2017, [url](#), p. 25; Salah, A.S.M., Equity and Taxes in Puntland and Jubaland, October 2014, [url](#), pp. 18-19

⁶⁰⁸ Jama, A. A. and Mourad, K. A., Water Services Sustainability: Institutional Arrangements and Shared Responsibilities, 11 February 2019, [url](#), p. 1

⁶⁰⁹ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 1616

⁶¹⁰ UNOCHA, Somalia: Drought Conditions Situation Update (As of 14 April 2021), 14 April 2021, [url](#), p. 1

⁶¹¹ FSNAU and FEWS NET, Somalia Food Security Outlook, 16 March 2021, [url](#), pp. 5, 12



Puntland at the beginning of 2021.⁶¹² In May 2021 water prices were normal again, thanks to the recent *Gu* rains, according to the World Food Programme.⁶¹³

UN-Habitat underlined the lack of reliable sewage or biomedical management system, reporting that ‘toilets either discharge to a septic tank and absorption field or directly to the drainage network, allowing contamination of berkads, shallow wells and ground water, therefore a likely predisposing source of water related diseases’.⁶¹⁴

Another threat to hygiene is posed by littering of waste at the outskirts of Garowe city.⁶¹⁵ UN-Habitat stated in 2019 that the lack of an adequate sewage system in Garowe city as well as the insufficient collection of waste and the mislocation of dumping sites ‘further threaten[ed] water resources, health and hygiene within the population’.⁶¹⁶ Indeed the proximity of the waste collection sites to the riverbeds posed risks of contamination of water resources and agricultural land when the seasonal rivers are full.⁶¹⁷

KAALO and Oxfam reported that in Puntland state generally, women and girls can be put at risk by WASH activities, ‘such as fetching water, using the toilet and bathing, especially for the IDP communities, where toilets are some distance from many of the camp inhabitants and there are no lights’. Proper menstrual hygiene supplies were hardly available, and too costly when they were. The organisation noted that ‘private spaces for proper cleaning practices do not exist and the locations of lavatories and water sources are inconvenient. Women and girls do not have basic hygiene supplies such as soap, and resort to the use of ash and clay to clean and wash’.⁶¹⁸

2.3.4 Health care

UN-Habitat mentioned in 2019 that the condition of health services in Garowe city was insufficient and found that ‘the WHO minimum standard for health care services (20 physicians per 100 000 people) is not met, and numerous clinics are forced to close.’ The growing margins of the city were even more underserved regarding health care. In the nearby countryside, health services were poorer. People in the rural hinterland of Garowe ‘rely on the urban centre, aggravating the load on the existing facilities.’⁶¹⁹

Garowe General Hospital⁶²⁰ (GGH) is the central and public facility regarding healthcare in Garowe. Besides Garowe, there are general public hospitals in Bosasso, Qardho, and Galkacyo within Puntland.⁶²¹ GGH is supported by the Ministry of Health and an Italian NGO, it offers ‘general and specialized medical, surgical, paediatric and maternity services.’ In 2012, it had around 80 beds for inpatient care and also served outpatients, offered an emergency unit, a pharmacy, a medical store, a laboratory, an X-Ray room and an operation theatre.⁶²² A local trader and civil society activist living in Garowe since a decade or more mentioned that GGH has existed since the 1970s. It is considered to be a public hospital. The normal admission fee is 5 USD. Admission for treatment by a certain specialist can be higher, up to 10 USD. Garowe Hospital has many wardens and offers treatment from

⁶¹² UNOCHA, Somalia – Humanitarian Bulletin, January 2021, 14 February 2021, [url](#), p. 2

⁶¹³ WFP, Joint Market and Supply Chain Update, 23rd May, 2021 – 30th May, 2021, 28 May 2021, [url](#), p. 2

⁶¹⁴ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 16

⁶¹⁵ Isse, M. A. and Said, A. D., Key Strategies In Efficient And Effective Solid Wastes Management In Garowe City, Puntland State of Somalia, October 2019, [url](#), p. 2

⁶¹⁶ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 22

⁶¹⁷ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 14

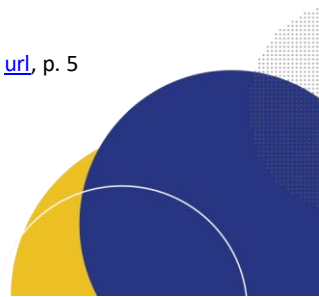
⁶¹⁸ KAALO and OXFAM, Gender Analysis of the Impact of Recent Humanitarian Crises on Women, Men, Girls, and Boys in Puntland State in Somalia, April 2021, [url](#), p. 66

⁶¹⁹ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 19

⁶²⁰ Garowe General Hospital, Facebook Profile, n.d., [url](#)

⁶²¹ Abdi Yusuf Isee, M., Identifying Patient Safety and The Healthcare Environment in Puntland, Somalia, 2018, [url](#), p. 5

⁶²² FSNAU, Garowe Urban Baseline Report, 15 May 2012, [url](#), p. 12



mother and child care to reconstructive surgery. Laboratory tests have to be paid privately. Standard blood tests cost between 1 and 4 USD. Normal beds are free of charge. Single beds cost 10 USD per night. Care and normal services and medicine stored by the hospital are free of charge. Operations, however, have to be paid. A caesarean section, for instance, costs around 350 USD.⁶²³

A 2012 FSNAU report also mentioned private hospitals in Garowe. Among these, Akram Hospital mainly provides orthopaedic and surgical services.⁶²⁴ A local trader and a local midwife mentioned that the largest private hospital in Garowe is called Qaran Hospital⁶²⁵, and that another one is Arafat Hospital⁶²⁶. They added that generally, in private hospitals, admission fees are slightly higher than in GGH. All services and overnight stays have to be paid, operations costs are similar to the costs in the public hospital. There is a psychiatry located at the outskirts of Garowe; the stay there, including food and treatment, costs 100 USD/month.⁶²⁷ FSAU stressed that there are about 30 small private clinics and pharmacies including Qaran, Somali, Kismayo and Altowba, which are found in or nearby Garowe. As of 2012, 'consultation fees in most of the private clinics range between USD 3-5 (Sosh [Somali Shilling] 100,000-150,000)'.⁶²⁸

As elsewhere in Somalia, healthcare is not free in Garowe. However, the costs in the public hospital in Garowe are lower than, for instance, in Hargeisa Group Hospital, which is also considered public, but where every service has to be paid (please see section [3.3.4 Health care below](#)).

A researcher working in Puntland mentioned that some people seek treatment abroad, e.g. in India, Malaysia or Pakistan. But this involves considerable costs (around 15,000 USD). People having these means can use their Somali passport to travel or they hold a passport from another country (e.g., Ethiopia or some country in Europe, if they lived there in the past).⁶²⁹

A local source stressed that the private pharmacies in Garowe function like normal businesses. The owner and staff running them frequently do not have any specialised education. Drugs can be imported from various countries. However, many of the medications on the market in Garowe and elsewhere in Puntland have been imported from Europe. An office controlling the quality of the medications coming to Puntland has been established, albeit it is not yet fully operational.⁶³⁰

2.3.5 Education for children

2.3.5.1 Puntland

The out-of-school population in Somalia is one of the world's most significant. Populations' movements (60% of the population pursues pastoralist activities) and displacements due to violent conflicts or climatic shocks are the main impediments to children's access to formal education.⁶³¹

Education provision is of low quality in Somalia due to poor education infrastructure, multiple curricula and a high number of untrained or unqualified teachers. Education at primary and secondary

⁶²³ Mire, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021. Muse Abdirisq Mire is a local businessman in Garowe and a former civil society activist (in the Puntland youth organisation).

⁶²⁴ FSNAU, Garowe Urban Baseline Report, 15 May 2012, [url](#), p. 12

⁶²⁵ Qaran Hospital, Homepage, n.d., [url](#)

⁶²⁶ Arafat Hospital, Facebook Profile, n.d., [url](#)

⁶²⁷ Husein, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021; Husein, M. Y., telephone interview, 11 July 2021. Marian Yasin Husein works as a midwife in Garowe.

⁶²⁸ FSNAU, Garowe Urban Baseline Report, 15 May 2012, [url](#), p. 12

⁶²⁹ Said, F. O., telephone interview, 29 July 2021. Faysal Omar Said is a researcher in Puntland

⁶³⁰ Husein, M. Y., telephone interview, 11 July 2021

⁶³¹ USAID, Somalia - Education, 19 March 2021, [url](#)



level is predominantly confessional, with school establishments being mostly under the management of private-sector umbrellas, community-owned or run by Islamic charities. The formal public education sector is supported by international organisations.⁶³²

Compared to the rest of the country, Somaliland and Puntland enjoyed a greater political stability, security and administrative development, contributing to an improvement of student enrolment over the past two decades.⁶³³ For more general information in Somalia, please see section [1.3.5 Education for children](#). In a report on taxation and budgeting in Puntland, Salah noted that only a small portion of Puntland's state budget (30.7 million USD in 2014) was allocated to public services, with 3.46 % allocated to education that same year.⁶³⁴ In 2019 the Puntland Ministry of Education and Higher Studies (MoEHS) allocated 7.5 % of its budget to education, which represented 76.2 million USD.⁶³⁵

Puntland, like Somaliland, does not participate in government-administered exams. In 2020 the federal administration refused to recognise the school certificates of high school leavers from Puntland unless they sat the matriculation exam prepared by the federal government. In December 2020 the federal government and Puntland's administration reached an agreement and the students were eventually granted federal high school certificates. The underlying dispute remains: Puntland demands a federalized education system (until the end of the secondary school level) while Mogadishu is in favour of one unitary education system. According to a source in the government, an initiative aiming at convincing Puntland to join the national curriculum is under way, led by the Ministry of Education.⁶³⁶

According to the MoEHS, in the scholastic year 2016-2017, the total enrolment in primary education (with Integrated Quranic Schools) in Puntland stood at 143 546 students, with a gross enrolment rate of 58.2 %.⁶³⁷ The World Bank compared in 2019 the primary school survival rates to grade 5 across Somalia and noted that those of Puntland were comparatively 'at the bottom' at 56 % (57.4 % male, 54.2 % female).⁶³⁸ Puntland's Ministry of Planning, Economic Development and International Cooperation (MoPEDIC) reported a primary school survival rate of 62.7 % for the scholastic year 2018-2019 and a primary school gross enrolment rate of 63.7 % for the same year.⁶³⁹

In a 2020 paper based on education statistics by Puntland's MoEHS, scholar Farah Abdiqani indicated that, as of 2019, 32 766 students were enrolled in secondary education.⁶⁴⁰ According to the MoPEDIC, in the scholastic year 2018-2019, the gross enrolment ratio for secondary school was 19.5 % of the concerned population in Puntland.⁶⁴¹

⁶³² GPE, Somalia, 30 May 2021, [url](#); Gonnelli, M., The Italoophone Somali Diaspora and Social Change in Somalia, PhD Thesis, 27 November 2018, [url](#), p. 74

⁶³³ GPE, Somalia, 30 May 2021, [url](#)

⁶³⁴ Salah, A. S. M., Equity and Taxes in Puntland and Jubaland, October 2014, [url](#), pp. 18-19

⁶³⁵ Puntland State of Somalia, MoEHS, Education Sector Programme Implementation Grant (ESPIG) Program document, 22 August 2019, [url](#), p. 27

⁶³⁶ World Bank (The), Federal Republic of Somalia, Somalia Economic Update, August 2019, [url](#), p. 25; see also Hussein, A. Y. et al., The influence of the Community Involvement on Academic Performance of Secondary Schools: Case of Garowe District, [url](#), August 2018, p. 89; Garowe Online, Somalia: Godah renews war against Puntland education system, 14 July 2020, [url](#); Radio Dalsan, Somalia: Puntland Students to Receive Somalia's Secondary School Certificates, 14 December 2020, [url](#); Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

⁶³⁷ Puntland State of Somalia, MoEHS, Education Sector Programme Implementation Grant (ESPIG) Program document, 22 August 2019, [url](#), p. 22

⁶³⁸ World Bank (The), Federal Republic of Somalia, Somalia Economic Update, August 2019, [url](#), p. 2020

⁶³⁹ Puntland State of Somalia, MoPEDIC, Puntland Facts and Figures, Edition 2020, December 2020, [url](#), p. 1919

⁶⁴⁰ Abdiqani, F., Five Reasons for Student Dropout in Puntland Secondary Schools, October 2020, [url](#), p. 3

⁶⁴¹ Puntland State of Somalia, MoPEDIC, Puntland Facts and Figures, Edition 2020, December 2020, [url](#), p. 20

2.3.5.2 Garowe

According to the MoEHS, the district of Garowe counts 30 primary schools⁶⁴², while UN-Habitat reported the figure of 37, also referring to the MoEHS.⁶⁴³

Based on data from 2018, the World Bank noted that in Garowe district, 29 schools were managed by the government, 35 were independent and 35 had a mixed management.⁶⁴⁴

Based on data by Puntland's MoEHS, UN-Habitat counted 11 primary schools and 5 secondary schools in Garowe's city centre in 2019 and further noted that 'the peripheral districts of Wadair 2, Halgan, Israaac and Wabari appear to be under-serviced' in terms of education facilities.⁶⁴⁵

2.3.5.3 Impact of COVID-19 on education

Puntland's MoPEDIC produced a report on the socio-economic impact of COVID-19 in Puntland, indicating that, after the relax of containment measures such as lockdown, education institutions had resumed normal operations. However, a significant percentage of children have not reported back to school, the main reasons advanced by the report being 'financial constraints, fear of contracting the Corona virus and children being engaged as casual workers' as well as early marriages during the COVID-19 pandemic (45 % of households in Garowe reported 'an increase in early marriages in their neighbourhoods during this period').⁶⁴⁶

2.3.6 Means of basic subsistence and employment

UN-Habitat mentioned in 2019 that Garowe has an urban population of 99 581.⁶⁴⁷ According to an earlier study by FSNAU, poor, middle and well-off are the three wealth groups in Garowe: around 25-35 % of the urban population are poor; around 45-55 % are middle-class; and around 15-25 % are well-off.⁶⁴⁸ The average income of a poor household is between 1 500 and 2 550 USD a year. A middle-class family has per year 2 265 to 6 410 USD. A better-off family lives on 6 565 to 15 630 USD a year.⁶⁴⁹

A local source working in and around Garowe mentioned that food and housing in Garowe are expensive, compared to other cities in Puntland such as Bosasso or Galkacyo. One room costs around 50 USD monthly. A whole house with four to five rooms costs between 200 and 300 USD monthly, depending on the exact location. Additionally, one needs between 20 and 50 USD for electricity and water (depending on the number of persons in the household) and another 10 USD for waste disposal costs monthly. Eating in ordinary restaurants costs around 2 to 3 USD for a breakfast, 4 to 8 USD for a lunch and around 2 USD for dinner. An adult single person needs minimum around 10 USD for eating and drinking per day, if he/she does not cook at home. Cooking at home is cheaper, but one needs additionally charcoal for the oven and water for the dishes.⁶⁵⁰ Monthly school fees at a private school are around 20 USD per child, at a public school the costs are around 10 USD. In general, a poor household consisting of six persons (including 4 children) would survive, in a shanty without access to clean water and sanitation, on roughly 200 to 250 USD per month. A middle-class household of the

⁶⁴² Puntland State of Somalia, MoEHS, Primary, n.d., [url](#)

⁶⁴³ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 1919

⁶⁴⁴ World Bank (The), Federal Republic of Somalia, Somalia Economic Update, August 2019, [url](#), p. 18

⁶⁴⁵ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 1919

⁶⁴⁶ Puntland State of Somalia, MoPEDIC, COVID-19 Socio-Economic Impact Assessment, 30 December 2020, [url](#), p. VV

⁶⁴⁷ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 8

⁶⁴⁸ FSNAU, Garowe Urban Baseline Report, 15 May 2012, [url](#), p. 24

⁶⁴⁹ FSNAU, Garowe Urban Baseline Report, 15 May 2012, [url](#), p. viii

⁶⁵⁰ Nur, S. H., telephone interview, 11 July 2021. Said Haji Nur is an engineer who has been working for around ten years in and around Garowe, but originates from another region.

same size, in a stone house with proper access to clean water and sanitation, would need around 700 USD per month.⁶⁵¹

Income sources and types of income can be quite variable. Many people work in employment, business and irregular casual labour and petty trades.⁶⁵² Employment for many is instable. Due to the oversupply of labour, wage levels are depressed. Additionally, IDPs from southern Somalia who live in Garowe or nearby, as well as natural factors like droughts, burden the local economy. Simultaneously, Garowe is the seat of the government of Puntland and this means that many relatively well-paid jobs can be found in government and administration. Also NGOs and UN agencies have offices in town, and Garowe is home to a number of universities and higher learning facilities. This has a positive effect on the local employment situation.⁶⁵³ However, one source, a local trader and civil society activist, mentioned that when the president changes and new ministers are appointed, which happens normally every four years, the staff working at government offices, at least those directly working in ministries and in the presidential palace, is replaced (see also section 2.2.3.3 Impact of clan-identity). He added that the number of NGOs in Garowe has been decreasing recently. Many people work in the private sector, have little shops, work as cleaners or watchmen or in the security forces.⁶⁵⁴

Industry is little developed in Garowe. UN-Habitat found that 'it is mainly composed of recently established, small-scale, privately owned manufacturing and construction enterprises.' The diaspora is investing in town, which produced a real-estate boom. There is much new construction going on, which creates jobs at least temporarily. Like in most other Somali towns, the service sector is offering considerable employment opportunities. In particular the telecommunications and financial sectors are thriving. Also, 'hospitality is a sector in continuous expansion, with more than twenty hotels throughout the city.' Finally, many households in Garowe receive remittances that cover parts of the essential costs. Generally, the informal sector remains 'the major driver' of Garowe's economy, with a share of over 69% of the district's residents.⁶⁵⁵

The salary of a watchman is between 200 and 250 USD a month, a policeman and a soldier earn 240 USD, a qualified nurse would earn around 350 USD, an established medical doctor around 1000 USD and a lower-level government employee around 300 to 400 USD.⁶⁵⁶

Youth unemployment is very high. Young people often find only temporary or low-level jobs as cleaners or waiters. Many search for better options elsewhere, e.g. in Mogadishu, where life is generally cheaper and the job market is larger.⁶⁵⁷

2.4 Social protection networks and (lack of) support to specific groups

As capital of Puntland State, Garowe has been targeted by Al-Shabaab. Hoehne noted already in 2014 that the militant Islamists had been fighting against Puntland since a decade.⁶⁵⁸ Initially they threatened to conquer Puntland. After several attempts, they settled on occasional terror attacks,

⁶⁵¹ Mire, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021

⁶⁵² FSNAU, Garowe Urban Baseline Report, 15 May 2012, [url](#), p. 24

⁶⁵³ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 12

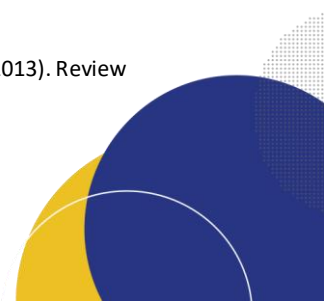
⁶⁵⁴ Mire, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021

⁶⁵⁵ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 13

⁶⁵⁶ Mire, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021

⁶⁵⁷ Mire, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021

⁶⁵⁸ Hoehne, M. V., Resource conflict and militant Islamism in the Golis Mountains in northern Somalia (2006-2013). Review of African Political Economy 41(141), 2014, pp. 366-371



mainly in Bosasso, but occasionally also in Garowe.⁶⁵⁹ Despite this, UN-Habitat found in 2019 that ‘Garowe has a fairly stable security in comparison to other parts of the country.’ The formal security apparatus works effectively in town. The relevant government institutions in cooperation with traditional authorities maintain the peace. The police has a visible presence in the city, which has contributed to the reduction of crime and violence; however, women are still vulnerable to harassment and attacks especially at night, due to missing street illumination and the structure of architecture in certain neighbourhoods.⁶⁶⁰ Land conflicts are another source of insecurity. Garowe is traditionally dominated by members of the Isse Mahamud sub-clan of the Majeerteen clan (see below). A local source stressed that if someone from another patrilineal descent group buys land from a member of the Isse Mahamud sub-clan, it happens sometimes that conflicts arise after the value of the land had gone up. The current government of Puntland under President Deni issued an urban land management law in August 2020 that aims at tackling recurrent land conflicts.⁶⁶¹ In recent years, land conflicts erupted most frequently in Garowe, compared to other places in Puntland.⁶⁶²

2.4.1 Clan-based protection

The dominant patrilineal descent groups in Garowe are Majeerteen and Dhulbahante. Both clans belong to the Harti branch of the Darood clan family which is dominating in Puntland.⁶⁶³ Within Majeerteen, the sub-clan Isse Mahamud claims the area of Garowe and surroundings as their ‘clan-homeland’ (Somali: *degaan*, for further details see sections 3.1.1 and 7.6.1 of EASO’s COI report [Somalia: Actors](#), published in July 2021). Members of this sub-clan dominate the traditional power positions within the city, like the office of the major and the position of the sheikh of the biggest mosque. However, also members of the Omar Mahamoud sub-clan of Majeerteen have a strong presence in Garowe. Dhulbahante have many businesses in the city and also hold important positions in the government of Puntland, therefore having a sizable presence in the capital city. Besides the named groups, other Majeerteen sub-clans and lineages as well as other clans belonging to the Darood/Harti clan-collective (e.g. Warsangeli and Deshiishe), which forms the backbone of Puntland State, reside in Garowe. A local source working in Garowe since many years (but originating from the neighbouring Sool region) emphasised that the inhabitants of Garowe are more tolerant towards people from other clans. IDPs, however, who do not belong to Puntland by patrilineal descent, have a difficult stand. There is little humanitarian aid offered to them in Garowe and surroundings.⁶⁶⁴

According to a local source interviewed for this report, there are few members of minority groups in town. Members of two occupational groups, Madhibaan and Tumal, are prevalent. They are structurally marginalised and have limited access to economic resources. In politics, they have no substantial political representation. Madhibaan have one seat in parliament of Puntland (out of 66 seats distributed between various clans, sub-clans and lineages). Only regarding social segregation, the situation is less rigid in Garowe and Puntland in general than in some other places (e.g. in Hargeisa, Somaliland). There is no specific neighbourhood for Madhibaan or Tumal; they live among other members of society, including majority group members. Moreover, Tumal and Majeerteen marry each other, not very often, but sometimes, and without resistance from the families. Also, in case of conflict

⁶⁵⁹ Mire, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021

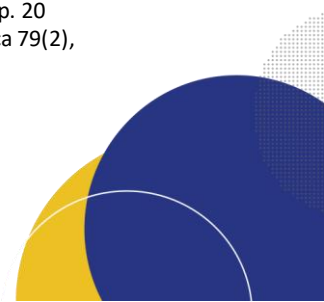
⁶⁶⁰ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 14

⁶⁶¹ Puntland State of Somalia, Sharciga Maareynta Dhulka Magaalooyinka Dowladda Puntland [Urban Land Management Law of the Government of Puntland], 25 August 2020, [url](#)

⁶⁶² Mire, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021; see also UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 20

⁶⁶³ Hoehne, M. V., Mimesis and mimicry in dynamics of state and identity formation in northern Somalia. *Africa* 79(2), 2009, pp. 261-262

⁶⁶⁴ Nur, S. H., telephone interview, 11 July 2021



with members of majority groups, the minority group members are in a slightly weaker position, but still can get their right (e.g. compensation). Madhibaan, however, are facing considerable social exclusion and intermarriage with Majeerteen is not accepted.⁶⁶⁵

2.4.2 Returnees, vulnerable groups

According to data produced by Shelter Cluster from 2016, close to 5 400 IDP households are residing in 21 settlements in and around Garowe. ‘On average, 15 % of the households were reported to be from the host community [i.e., from Majeerteen or other clans predominantly residing in Puntland].’ More than half of these households are organised and have their own committees, which also address security issues. Shelter Cluster found that more than 70 % of the interviewed IDPs perceived their security situation as good or very good.⁶⁶⁶ Also a local source confirmed that IDPs can have access to protection and safety. The most important source for the justice of vulnerable people is the office of the human rights defender,⁶⁶⁷ an institution created by the government of Puntland in 2014. This office is effective and operational and defends the rights of vulnerable persons.⁶⁶⁸

IDPs work predominantly in low-status or casual jobs, as construction workers, cleaners of offices, private homes or hotels, or shoe shiners. They also run small kiosks at IDP camps. Many come from the regions of Bay and Bakool in the south. Some are also non-Somali, e.g., Oromo from Ethiopia.⁶⁶⁹ UN-Habitat and The World Bank noted in 2019 and 2021 respectively that IDPs in Garowe have been relocated from the city to its periphery exacerbating segregation and poverty.⁶⁷⁰ However, the local businessmen and civil society activists emphasised that IDPs are part of the local community and they are not threatened. In the past, between 2009 and 2014, IDPs were sometimes evicted and randomly deported, e.g. to southern Somalia. This happened against the backdrop of the intensification of the fight between Puntland state and Al-Shabaab, particularly in 2010 and 2011. In the past years, since around 2015, the rights and positions of IDPs in Garowe and other places in Puntland have been strengthened.⁶⁷¹ For more information on IDPs, please see sections [2.1.2 Humanitarian situation overview](#) and [2.2.3.2 IDPs](#).

Women are, as everywhere in Somalia, particularly vulnerable to gender-based violence. FGM is widespread in Puntland, including in Garowe.⁶⁷² Yet, in June 2021, the President of Puntland, Said Abdullahi Deni, and his cabinet approved an anti-FGM-bill to be submitted to parliament. If it comes into force, it will criminalise FGM.⁶⁷³ Mohamed Ahmed Mohamed, a lecturer at Puntland State University, mentioned that in Puntland ‘impunity for rape and other forms of sexual violence is pervasive’. In November 2016, the government launched the first ever Sexual Offences Law criminalizing all sexual offences in the region. ‘Despite the low numbers of rape prosecutions, it is a common perception that incidents of rape are increasing in the state.’ The lecturer continued that in the first quarter of 2019, over 15 cases of rape were documented across Garowe, Galkacyo, Bosasso and Qardho. Officials confirmed ‘that cases of rape have been on the rise in Puntland.’ Some cases were shockingly brutal, with a twelve-year-old girl raped and filmed and with footage then posted

⁶⁶⁵ Mire, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021

⁶⁶⁶ Shelter Cluster, Mapping Exercise: Garowe, May 2016, [url](#), pp. 4-6

⁶⁶⁷ Office of Puntland Human Rights Defender, n.d., [url](#)

⁶⁶⁸ Mire, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021

⁶⁶⁹ Mire, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021

⁶⁷⁰ UN-Habitat, Garowe Urban Profile, May 2019, [url](#), p. 23 ; World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 74

⁶⁷¹ Mire, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021

⁶⁷² Mire, M. A., telephone interview, 11 July 2021

⁶⁷³ VOA, Somalia's Puntland Moves to Ban Female Genital Mutilation, 11 June 2021, [url](#)



online, or a nine-month pregnant woman raped and then killed. In 2019, there was a brutal rape and murder of a two-year-old girl in Garowe.⁶⁷⁴ The Sexual Offences Act (SOA) provides investigators with a set of partly advanced tools to collect evidence and persecute perpetrators.⁶⁷⁵ Yet, more generally, societal values and norms are still often grounded in patriarchal views that habitually subject women (not just in Garowe but all over Somalia) to male rule and make them vulnerable to (sexualised) attacks.⁶⁷⁶ For further details please see section 2 of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Targeted profiles](#) (September 2021).

3. Hargeisa

3.1 Hargeisa's overview

Hargeisa (sometimes spelled Hargeysa) is a city of the Woqooyi Galbeed region in the territory of Somaliland, in north-western Somalia. The city is located in a valley of the Galdodon (also called Ogo) mountains⁶⁷⁷, 850 kilometres north of Mogadishu.⁶⁷⁸ The region Woqooyi Galbeed borders Ethiopia to the South, the region of Awdal to the West and Togdheer to the East.⁶⁷⁹ A new administrative partition adopted by Somaliland (and Puntland) places Hargeisa in the new administrative region of Marodi Jeh.⁶⁸⁰

In May 1988 at least 70 % of the city of Hargeisa was destroyed as the result of the use of artillery and aerial shelling by Siad Barre's military government, leading to the displacement of a large part of its population, the majority of which was hailing from the Isaaq clan.⁶⁸¹

Over 20 years later, Hargeisa has become the biggest urban setting in Somaliland, has been almost entirely rebuilt,⁶⁸² and has expanded rapidly in both size and density.⁶⁸³ Estimates of the size of the city vary from 33 square kilometres to 65 square kilometres of built-up land area.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁷⁴ Mohamed, M. A., The determinants of violence against women and access to human rights in Puntland, March 2020, [url](#), pp. 62-63

⁶⁷⁵ Mohamed, M. A., The determinants of violence against women and access to human rights in Puntland, March 2020, [url](#), p. 76

⁶⁷⁶ Ingiriis, M. H. and Hoehne, M. V., The impact of civil war and state collapse on the roles of Somali women: a blessing in disguise, 2013, [url](#), p. 327

⁶⁷⁷ Encyclopaedia Britannica, Hargeysa, last updated 23 October 2006, [url](#)

⁶⁷⁸ Massoud, M., Shari 'a, Inshallah - Finding God in Somali Legal Politics, 2021, p. xvi

⁶⁷⁹ Tahir, A., The production of clan segregation in urban Somalia: Historical Geographies of Hargeisa, April 2021, [url](#), p. 55, Figure 1

⁶⁸⁰ Republic of Somaliland, Xeerka Ismaamulka Gobolada Iyo Degmooyinka Jsl XEER LR 23/2002 [The Law of self-administration of regions and districts of the Republic of Somaliland Law Nr. 23/2002], 22 June 2016, [url](#); Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 6

⁶⁸¹ US, GAO, Somalia - Observations Regarding the Northern Conflict and Resulting Conditions, 4 May 1989, [url](#), pp. 2, 5, 6; Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 5; Encyclopaedia Britannica, Hargeysa, 23 October 2006, [url](#); see also Massoud, M., Shari 'a, Inshallah - Finding God in Somali Legal Politics, 2021, pp. 153, 253; Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 160; UNHCR, New issues in Refugee Research – Working Paper N°65 – Pastoral society and transnational refugees: population movements in Somaliland and eastern Ethiopia 1988-2000, [url](#), p. 9

⁶⁸² Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 5; Global Shelter Cluster, Somaliland - Overview, n.d., [url](#)

⁶⁸³ Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), pp. 154-156

⁶⁸⁴ Demographia, World Urban Areas, 17th Annual Edition, June 2021, [url](#), p. 31; Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 6

Hargeisa serves as the capital of the self-declared but largely internationally unrecognised Republic of Somaliland (despite a recent increase in the number of states with diplomatic relationships; for this aspect please see section 7.7 of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Actors](#), published in July 2021)⁶⁸⁵. It is also among the most populated areas of Somalia.⁶⁸⁶ According to Global Shelter Cluster, the city attracts a large number of refugees, returnees and IDPs.⁶⁸⁷ Analysts write that Hargeisa's economy benefits greatly from remittances sent by Somalilanders living abroad.⁶⁸⁸

Since mid-June 2021 the mayor of Hargeisa is Abdikarim Ahmed Moge⁶⁸⁹, who succeeded Abdirahman Mohamoud Aideed, also referred to as 'Mayor Soltelco' (elected in 2013).⁶⁹⁰

For further general information on Somaliland, please see section 7.7 of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Actors](#), published in July 2021.

3.1.1 Demographics and clan composition

According to the CIA's World Factbook, Hargeisa is the second largest urban area of Somalia with a population of 1.033 million as of 2021.⁶⁹¹ US-based companies specialised in demographics estimate that Hargeisa's population in the last three years ranges from 477 876⁶⁹² to 923 000⁶⁹³. UNOCHA featured the figure of 959 081 for the total population of Hargeisa in a 2021 report⁶⁹⁴ while political scientist David Kilcullen wrote that state officials in Hargeisa referred to a population of 1.2 million, which would represent around a quarter of the total population of Somaliland.⁶⁹⁵ According to Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1.2 million was an estimation by the city government of Hargeisa from the year 2000.⁶⁹⁶ The World Bank reported in 2021 that Hargeisa grew at an annual urban growth rate between 5 and 6.7 %, with urban expansion data collected via remote sensing based on satellite images over the past decade.⁶⁹⁷

Based on data from UNHCR-led Protection and Return Monitoring Network (PRMN), the World Bank reported in 2021 that between 10 000 and 25 730 IDPs arrived in Hargeisa and its wider region from 2016 to 2019.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁸⁵ Encyclopaedia Britannica, Hargeysa, last updated 23 October 2006, [url](#); World (The), Self-declared state of Somaliland celebrates 30 years of independence, 18 May 2021, [url](#); Tahir, A., The production of clan segregation in urban Somalia: Historical Geographies of Hargeisa, April 2021, [url](#), p. 53; Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 153

⁶⁸⁶ US, CIA, The World Factbook, Somalia, last updated 3 May 2021, [url](#)

⁶⁸⁷ Global Shelter Cluster, Somaliland - Overview, n.d., [url](#)

⁶⁸⁸ Tahir, A., The production of clan segregation in urban Somalia: Historical Geographies of Hargeisa, April 2021, [url](#), p. 61; Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 11; Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 160

⁶⁸⁹ Somaliland Chronicle, Mayor Soltelco concedes to Mayor-Elect Mr. Abdikarim Ahmed Moge, 13 June 2021, [url](#);

Somaliland Standard, Ex-Mayor, Soltelco gives up his mayoral re-election bid after 9 years in office, 13 June 2021, [url](#)

⁶⁹⁰ Tahir, A., The production of clan segregation in urban Somalia: Historical Geographies of Hargeisa, April 2021, [url](#), p. 61; AMISOM, Somaliland: Hargeisa Councillors elect new Mayor [sources: Somaliland Informer, Universal TV/ and Horn Cable TV], 15 April 2013, [url](#)

⁶⁹¹ US, CIA, The World Factbook, Somalia, last updated 3 May 2021, [url](#)

⁶⁹² World Population Review, Somalia Population 2021, n.d., [url](#)

⁶⁹³ Demographia, World Urban Areas, 17th Annual Edition, June 2021, [url](#), p. 31

⁶⁹⁴ UNOCHA, Humanitarian needs overview – Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 50

⁶⁹⁵ Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 5

⁶⁹⁶ Encyclopaedia Britannica, Hargeysa, last updated 23 October 2006, [url](#)

⁶⁹⁷ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 77

⁶⁹⁸ World Bank (The), Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, 2020, [url](#), p. 77

In Hargeisa and generally in the heartlands of Somaliland, the Isaaq clan and its sub-clans constitute a majority and dominate the political landscape.⁶⁹⁹ The scholar Abdifatah Ismael Tahir in April 2021 published an academic paper on clan composition over time in Hargeisa, based on archival materials, oral narratives and ethnographic field research in Hargeisa from 2013 to 2015 and 2020.⁷⁰⁰ He argues that the city of Hargeisa is organised according to a unique form of clan-based segregation:

'At present, each of Hargeisa's five administrative districts - Axmed Dhagax, Maxamuud Haybe, Gacan Libaax, 26 June, and Ibraahim Koodbuur - is predominantly populated by a distinctive clan(s). For instance, the Arab and Ayub clans populate Axmed Dhagax, while the Garhajis (Eidagale and Habar Yonis) clans populate Maxamuud Haybe District and parts of Gacan Libaax District, such as the New Hargeisa sub-district. Moreover, the Awal clans (Sa'ad Muse and Isse Muse) predominantly populate Ibraahim Koodbuur, as well as the 26th June district and parts of Gacan Libaax, such as Sheikh Madar, and the Gaboye clan is found in the Daami neighbourhood of Gacan Libaax.'⁷⁰¹

Individuals of the Gabooye minority clan (for more information on the Gabooye, please see section 4.1 of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Targeted profiles](#)) were reported to reside mainly in Dami, a neighbourhood of Hargeisa, since 2 000 returnees from this minority clan returned from refugee camps in Ethiopia (Teferi Ber and Darwanaji) at the end of the 1990s.⁷⁰²

3.1.2 Humanitarian situation overview

UNOCHA, which has a sub-office in Hargeisa⁷⁰³, stated in its humanitarian needs overview for the year 2021 that the district of Hargeisa counts 959 081 people, of which 685 335 are in need of humanitarian assistance (84 553 IDPs, 600 782 non-displaced, 14 745 refugees).⁷⁰⁴ The most pressing humanitarian issues since 2020 related to food insecurity amidst the COVID-19 pandemic in the region.⁷⁰⁵ After the loss of livestock and pasture due to water shortages in December 2020 and January 2021⁷⁰⁶, the region is affected by a wave of desert locusts damaging staple crops and rangelands.⁷⁰⁷

In November 2017 the IOM stated that two of the three most populated IDPs sites in Somaliland (Stadium with 34 000 inhabitants and Statehouse with over 25 000 inhabitants) were located in Hargeisa.⁷⁰⁸ Daami, Ayaha, and Mohamed Mooge are further sites located in Hargeisa's city centre.⁷⁰⁹ These settlements, often referred to as camps, have been established in Hargeisa since the 1990s

⁶⁹⁹ Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 163; Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

⁷⁰⁰ Tahir, A., The production of clan segregation in urban Somalia: Historical Geographies of Hargeisa, April 2021, [url](#), p. 54

⁷⁰¹ Tahir, A., The production of clan segregation in urban Somalia: Historical Geographies of Hargeisa, April 2021, [url](#), p. 54; All clans referred to in this quote are Isaaq sub-clans except the Gabooye: see also International Crisis Group, Somaliland: The Strains of Success, 5 October 2015, [url](#), pp. 4, 20

⁷⁰² UNHCR, New issues in Refugee Research – Working Paper N°65 – Pastoral society and transnational refugees: population movements in Somaliland and eastern Ethiopia 1988-2000, August 2002, [url](#), p. 30

⁷⁰³ UNOCHA, Somalia Staff Contact List, January 2020, [url](#), p. 3

⁷⁰⁴ UNOCHA, Humanitarian needs overview – Somalia, 9 March 2021, [url](#), p. 50

⁷⁰⁵ IPC, Somalia: Acute Food Insecurity Situation July - September 2020 and Projection for October - December 2020, 30 September 2020, [url](#); IPC, Somalia: Acute Food Insecurity Situation January - March 2021 and Projection for April - June 2021, 4 February 2021, [url](#); UNOCHA, Somalia: COVID-19 Impact Update No. 15, 26 January 2021, [url](#), p. 1

⁷⁰⁶ UNOCHA, Humanitarian Response Plan – Somalia, 15 February 2021, [url](#), pp. 11-1211-12

⁷⁰⁷ FAO, Desert Locust briefs 2021, n.d., [url](#); Fewes net, 3.5 million people are expected to be in Crisis (IPC Phase 3) from June to September 2020, [url](#), May 2020

⁷⁰⁸ IOM, Displacement Situation Report - Awdal, Woqooyi Galbeed, Sanaag, Sool And Togdheer Regions (Somaliland), November 2017, [url](#), p. 1

⁷⁰⁹ UNOCHA, Woqooyi Galbeed – Situation Analysis, October 2012, [url](#), p. 1



when they were mainly composed of returnees from refugee camps in Ethiopia joined over time by in-migrants from Somaliland, Somalia, Ethiopia and, more recently, Yemen.⁷¹⁰ For more information on IDPs, please see sections [3.2.3 Accessing and settling in the city](#), [3.3.2 Housing and shelter](#) and [3.4.2 Returnees, vulnerable groups](#).

Somaliland confirmed the first COVID-19 case in March 2020 and from April 2020 until July 2020 the government of Hargeisa ‘implemented a full lockdown’. As of January 2021, most of the registered cases in Somaliland were in Hargeisa⁷¹¹ and as of 25 June 2021 the WHO counted 3 301 confirmed cases in Somaliland, 1 787 of which in the district of Hargeisa, and 275 deaths.⁷¹²

3.2 Mobility and accessibility

3.2.1 Hargeisa’s airport and flight connections

Hargeisa’s airport is located 6 km from the city centre.⁷¹³ Scholars place the construction date of the airport in the 1950s⁷¹⁴, after which it was used mainly as a military base.⁷¹⁵ After the civil war, the airport was renamed after Mohammed Haji Ibrahim Egal, president of Somaliland at the time.⁷¹⁶ In the 1990s and 2000s the airport ‘remained in poor condition’ and was used primarily for humanitarian flights and small commercial flights.⁷¹⁷ Since the mid-2000s, Hargeisa Egal International Airport (HEIA) saw an increase in the number of passengers and cargo flights departing and arriving.⁷¹⁸ The airport was rehabilitated from 2012 to 2015, including the expansion of the runway and the implementation of security practices and new technologies⁷¹⁹, funded by the Kingdom of Kuwait, the United Kingdom, UNDP, USAID, the government of Somaliland, local businesses and private companies.⁷²⁰ Based on

⁷¹⁰ Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa’s urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 154; Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

⁷¹¹ UN-Habitat and UNCDF, Global Compendium of Practices on Local Economic and Financial Recovery, 3 March 2021, [url](#), p. 41

⁷¹² WHO Somalia, COVID-19 DASHBOARD, Somalia, 25 June 2021, [url](#)

⁷¹³ Fly Dubai, Hargeisa Airport, n.d., [url](#); Idealo, Flughafen Hargeisa South (HGA), n.d., [url](#); Louis Berger S.A. and Afro-Consult P.l.c, Pre-Feasibility Study of the Regional Transport Sector in Berbera Corridor, September 2003, [url](#), p. 7

⁷¹⁴ Gandrup, T., Enter and exit: everyday state practices at Somaliland’s Hargeisa Egal International Airport, 2016, [url](#), p. 7; Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), p. 162

⁷¹⁵ Gandrup, T., Enter and exit: everyday state practices at Somaliland’s Hargeisa Egal International Airport, 2016, [url](#), p. 7; Louis Berger S.A. and Afro-Consult P.l.c, Pre-Feasibility Study of the Regional Transport Sector in Berbera Corridor, September 2003, [url](#), p. 7; see also Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), p. 162-163

⁷¹⁶ Gandrup, T., Enter and exit: everyday state practices at Somaliland’s Hargeisa Egal International Airport, 2016, [url](#), p. 11

⁷¹⁷ Gandrup, T., Enter and exit: everyday state practices at Somaliland’s Hargeisa Egal International Airport, 2016, [url](#), p. 12; see also TNH, Hargeisa airport averts closure, 26 September 2003, [url](#)

⁷¹⁸ Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), p. 165; Gandrup, T., Enter and exit: everyday state practices at Somaliland’s Hargeisa Egal International Airport, 2016, [url](#), p. 12

⁷¹⁹ Gandrup, T., Enter and exit: everyday state practices at Somaliland’s Hargeisa Egal International Airport, 2016, [url](#), p. 12; Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), p. 160; Republic of Somaliland, Government of Republic of Somaliland, Hargeisa’s Egal airport reopens, powered by wind, 20 August 2013, [url](#)

⁷²⁰ Gandrup, T., Enter and exit: everyday state practices at Somaliland’s Hargeisa Egal International Airport, 2016, [url](#), p. 12; Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), pp. 160, 167, 187; Republic of Somaliland, Government of Republic of Somaliland, Hargeisa’s Egal airport reopens, powered by wind, 20 August 2013, [url](#)

online flight schedules accessed through a tracking site, the following connections were available from Hargeisa's airport as of 27 July 2021.⁷²¹

Internationally:

- These destinations are served from/to Hargeisa:
 - Addis Ababa (Ethiopian Airlines) – 14 flights/week
 - Dubai (Daallo Airlines; Flydubai) – 2 flights/week
 - Nairobi (Kenya Airways; Daallo Airlines; Jubba Airways) – 2 flights/week
 - Djibouti (Jubba Airways) – 1 flight/week

Domestically:

- These destinations are served from/to Hargeisa:
 - Mogadishu (African Express; Daallo Airlines; Taquan Air; Jubba Airways) - 13 flights/week
 - Galkacyo (Jubba Airways) – 3 flights/week
 - Garowe (Jubba Airways) – 1 flight/week
 - Bosasso (Jubba Airways) – 1 flight/week

The Department of Somaliland Immigration (SIBC) on its website lists travellers who, thanks to their type of passport or nationality, can apply for an 'on arrival' visa directly at HEIA, while other applicants must apply for visas in advance.⁷²² According to the German foreign office, 'on arrival' visas are awarded for stays of up to 30 days.⁷²³ As a rule, an invitation is required as proof of the purpose of stay, without which entry can be refused. Visa fees (60 USD) must be paid locally in US dollars in cash.⁷²⁴ A Finnish resident born in Southern Somalia who was interviewed by the Finnish Immigration Service in 2019 stated that Somaliland authorities require anyone entering the country to have a proper travel document and may require a fee.⁷²⁵

3.2.2 Internal mobility

3.2.2.1 Circulation within the city

A 2020 research report by the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) quotes the UNHCR office in Mogadishu on the presence of entry and exit checkpoints at each district within Somaliland, indicating that checkpoint authorities consistently verify travel documents, driver's licenses, destination and origin of the trip, record plate numbers of vehicles and contact numbers of travellers. The UN agency noted, however, that borders with Ethiopia 'are relatively porous and migrants might

⁷²¹ FlightConnections, Direct flights from Hargeisa (HGA), n.d., [url](#); Flightradar24, Hargeisa Airport, n.d., [url](#)

⁷²² Republic of Somaliland, SIBC, Visa Section, n.d. [url](#)

⁷²³ Germany, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Somalia: Reise und Sicherheitshinweise, as of 7 June 2021, [url](#)

⁷²⁴ Germany, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Somalia: Reise und Sicherheitshinweise, as of 7 June 2021, [url](#); Somaliland Travel, Somaliland Visa, n.d., [url](#); see also Gandrup, T., Enter and exit: everyday state practices at Somaliland's Hargeisa Egal International Airport, 2016, [url](#), p. 16

⁷²⁵ Finland, FIS, Somalia: Keski- ja Etelä-Somaliasta kotoisin olevien henkilöiden laillinen pääsy Somalimaahan, Ashraf-vähemmistöryhmän asema Somalimaassa [Somalia: Legal access to Somaliland for persons from South-Central Somalia, situation of Ashraf minority group], 24 October 2019, [url](#), p.2

enter Somaliland without documentation'.⁷²⁶ Scholar Abdifatah Tahir, who was interviewed for this report, stated that 'There are no permanent checkpoints within the city but security forces maintain a random presence at all the major intersections in the city. There are also checkpoints on all the roads leading in and out of the city. I don't believe this negatively impacts accessibility or mobility of residents.'⁷²⁷

Circulation within Hargeisa is reported to be difficult due to the bad quality of the roads as well as the organisation of the circulation. Sources report increasing traffic on the road connecting Hargeisa to the port of Berbera as well as in Hargeisa itself.⁷²⁸ Frequent congestions occur as a result of the interaction of traffic with 'pedestrians, donkey drawn carts, street markets, parked vehicles' as well as *khat* delivering trucks, in the absence of traffic signs.⁷²⁹ Other paved streets in the city centre are reported to be potholed while many roads outside the business district are not paved. On occasional heavy rains, large areas of the city are reported to be flooded and roads to be 'impassable due to mud'.⁷³⁰

The construction of a highway linking Hargeisa to the port city of Berbera has begun in 2018 and is scheduled to be completed in 2022, promising to turn Hargeisa 'into a major transport hub for traffic from across the Horn of Africa to Berbera'.⁷³¹

2.3.2.2 Safety within the city

Hargeisa is not considered to be particularly insecure by scholars conducting research in the city, when compared to other urban areas in the region.⁷³² According to the scholar and specialist of Hargeisa Abdifatah Tahir, Somaliland's prioritisation of security is however jeopardised in urban contexts by state-involved land conflicts.⁷³³ Basing his analysis on an in-depth study of Hargeisa, the author argues that such conflicts 'induce a significant level of violence, pitting authorities against local land-owners or claimers'.⁷³⁴

For more information on mobility, please see section 3.1 of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Actors](#), published in July 2021.

⁷²⁶ Canada, IRB, Somalia: Entry and exit requirements at land borders and airports, including documentation required; whether there are checkpoints for domestic and international travel; whether there are travel agencies that facilitate travel within and outside Somalia (2018–August 2020), 3 September 2020, [url](#)

⁷²⁷ Tahir, A., email, 23 June 2021. Abdifatah Tahir is a specialist of Hargeisa who obtained his PhD from the University of Sussex and currently (as of June 2021) serves as a member of Parliament in Somalia.

⁷²⁸ Somaliland Sun, Somaliland: Traffic Problems in Hargeisa City, 14 April 2013, [url](#); Somaliland Chronicle, President Bihi Attends the Groundbreaking of Hargeisa Bypass Road, 4 May 2021, [url](#); Louis Berger S.A. and Afro-Consult P.l.c, Pre-Feasibility Study of the Regional Transport Sector in Berbera Corridor, September 2003, [url](#), p. 16

⁷²⁹ Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), pp. 5, 15 ; Somaliland Sun, Somaliland: Traffic Problems in Hargeisa City, 14 April 2013, [url](#); Louis Berger S.A. and Afro-Consult P.l.c, Pre-Feasibility Study of the Regional Transport Sector in Berbera Corridor, September 2003, [url](#), p. 3

⁷³⁰ Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 15 ; see also Somaliland Sun, Somaliland: Traffic Problems in Hargeisa City, 14 April 2013, [url](#)

⁷³¹ Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 21; see also GCR, Berbera–Ethiopia highway set to turn Somaliland into "major regional trading hub", 1 March 2019, [url](#); Somaliland Chronicle, President Bihi Attends the Groundbreaking of Hargeisa Bypass Road, 4 May 2021, [url](#)

⁷³² Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 154; ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer:innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi], 31 May 2021, [url](#), pp. 20-21

⁷³³ Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), p. 193193

⁷³⁴ Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), p. 193193

3.2.3 Accessing and settling in the city

Abdifatah Tahir stated that Hargeisa's population has a history of settling in the city according to a clan-based segregation (please see section [3.1.1 Demographics and clan composition](#)). Newcomers settled where members of their clan lived, because they knew this network would facilitate their access to a range of institutions and services which the state failed to provide: '[...] segregation in Hargeisa can be understood as a response to historical political, economic, and security problems in the city, persisting because of the state's incompetence in managing public services as well as the key roles the customary institutions continue to play in mediating access to services, conflict resolution, and political participation.'⁷³⁵

Hargeisa's urban landscape has however experienced rapid changes with the return in the late 1990s of people who had resided in refugee camps in neighbouring countries (please see section [3.1.2 Humanitarian situation overview](#)). In Hargeisa they settled in *buush*⁷³⁶ aside and in ruins and/or government-owned vacant land. These settlements (often referred to as camps, for example Statehouse and Stadium)⁷³⁷ have nowadays become more densely populated, often overlapping with other areas of the city, even if they are separated from districts 'with more affluent housing and business.'⁷³⁸ Kirsti Stuvøy et al., a group of researchers who conducted a research project in these settlements from 2017 to 2019 pointed to the higher level of social diversity among their inhabitants, complicating the settlement patterns described by Abdifatah Tahir⁷³⁹: "'original" returnees, later displaced people, rural to urban migrants from Somaliland or Somalia, other low-income residents of Hargeisa, who were pushed out of other neighbourhoods in the city by rising rents, and non-Somali migrants, particularly ethnic Oromo from Ethiopia.'⁷⁴⁰ These researchers reported that interviewees admitted to follow clan-based settlement practices (preferring to settle where relatives lived) but 'rejected practices of clan-based exclusion.'⁷⁴¹ Both Stuvøy et al. and Abdifatah Tahir converge in their analysis of an increasing competition over access to land in Hargeisa,⁷⁴² whose 'current mechanism of access to land in urban areas marginalises the poor.'⁷⁴³ Land disputes are on the rise, opposing low-income land claimants and the state who threatens to evict them.⁷⁴⁴

The scholar Tahir, who was consulted for this report on the subject of accessibility and settlement in Hargeisa stated:

⁷³⁵ Tahir, A., The production of clan segregation in urban Somalia: Historical Geographies of Hargeisa, April 2021, [url](#), pp. 61-62

⁷³⁶ *Buush* (singular *buul*) are makeshift huts, see UNHCR, Somalia Settlement Typologies, 2017, [url](#), p. 10

⁷³⁷ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 13 July 2021

⁷³⁸ Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 154

⁷³⁹ Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 163

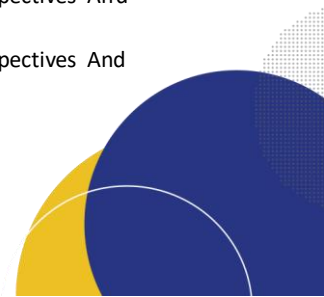
⁷⁴⁰ Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 161

⁷⁴¹ Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 163

⁷⁴² Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 164

⁷⁴³ Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), p. 1818

⁷⁴⁴ Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), pp. 18, 17518, 175



'Yes, the settlement in the city is organised along clan lines. But this does not mean people cannot reside in a neighbourhood populated by a clan different than theirs. One way in which this may have a negative implication is when conflict over land arise. In such cases, returnees and displaced people may feel insecure and unsafe in areas populated by clans other than theirs. Gatekeepers or camp managers may exist in some circumstances i.e when a displaced camp is initiated on private land, speculators or by a closely knit group.'⁷⁴⁵

In Hargeisa, many of the people who squat today on governmental land or reside in informal settlements across the town are returnees from refugee camps in Ethiopia. Over the years they have improved their living conditions, huts (*buush*) were replaced by houses made of corrugated iron sheets, lands were fenced off and an informal property and housing market developed. The squatters have started to rent out land to newcomers, people who were displaced in other parts of the country, fled from Ethiopia or could not afford rising rents in Hargeisa.⁷⁴⁶

3.3 Socio-economic indicators

3.3.1 Economic overview and food security

3.3.1.1 General information

Animal husbandry and livestock export constitute the cornerstone of Somaliland's economy and a consequent tax income for Somaliland authorities.⁷⁴⁷ This sector contributes to 85 % of export earnings and 30 % of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employs 70 % of the population.⁷⁴⁸ A 2012 World Bank survey estimated that the wholesale and retail trade in the formal and informal sector represented 20 % of GDP, while 8 % was derived from crops and 6 % from real estate activities.⁷⁴⁹ Remittances from the diaspora are considered to be the largest contributor to Somaliland's GDP.⁷⁵⁰ The 2012 estimated GDP per capita of 347 USD would have placed Somaliland in the fourth lowest place in the world ranking, with urban poverty estimated at 29 % and rural poverty at 38 %.⁷⁵¹

Still according to the World Bank, the deficit between the value of goods imported to Somaliland and the value of goods exported from Somaliland amounted to approximately 496 million USD in 2012.⁷⁵²

⁷⁴⁵ Tahir, A., email, 23 June 2021. Abdifatah Tahir is a specialist of Hargeisa who obtained his PhD from the University of Sussex and currently (as of June 2021) serves as a member of Parliament in Somalia.

⁷⁴⁶ Bakonyi, J., The Political Economy of Displacement: Rent Seeking, Dispossessions and Precarious Mobility in Somali Cities, 15 October 2020, [url](#), pp. 16-17

⁷⁴⁷ Mills, G. et al., Somaliland – New ways of doing things in a tough neighbourhood, 2019, [url](#), p. 6; Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 8; Louis Berger S.A. and Afro-Consult P.l.c, Pre-Feasibility Study of the Regional Transport Sector in Berbera Corridor, September 2003, [url](#), p. 9; World Bank (The) and IFC, Doing Business in Hargeisa 2012, 2012, [url](#), p. 1; Musa, A. M. et al., Revenues on the hoof: livestock trade, taxation and state-making in the Somali territories, 23 October 2020, [url](#), p. 12

⁷⁴⁸ Musa, A. M. et al., Factors influencing livestock export in Somaliland's terminal markets, 9 January 2020, [url](#), p. 1; World Bank (The), New World Bank GDP and Poverty Estimates for Somaliland, 29 January 2014, [url](#);

⁷⁴⁹ World Bank (The), New World Bank GDP and Poverty Estimates for Somaliland, 29 January 2014, [url](#)

⁷⁵⁰ openDemocracy, COVID-19 has transformed Somaliland's remittance lifeline, 19 April 2021, [url](#); Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 11; UN-OHRLLS, The Role of Remittance in the Economic Development of Somaliland, [source: SomalilandPress], [2013], [url](#); see also Hammond, L., Family Ties: Remittances and Livelihoods Support in Puntland and Somaliland, FSNAU, 5 June 2013, [url](#), p. 1

⁷⁵¹ World Bank (The), New World Bank GDP and Poverty Estimates for Somaliland, 29 January 2014, [url](#)

⁷⁵² World Bank (The), New World Bank GDP and Poverty Estimates for Somaliland, 29 January 2014, [url](#); see also Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 88

Remittances to Somaliland dropped in 2020 due to Covid-19 before picking up again at the end of the year.⁷⁵³

Hargeisa is the largest economic centre of Somaliland.⁷⁵⁴ UN-Habitat reported that the city revenue dropped from March 2020 onwards (a decrease of 11 % in 2020 as compared to the previous year) due to the closure of businesses during the lockdown. Moreover, the intergovernmental fiscal transfer that Hargeisa receives from Somalia's central government has decreased by 53 % in 2020 as compared to the previous year.⁷⁵⁵ Kilcullen wrote in 2019 based on an interview with Somaliland's Ministry of Finance that much of the 700 million USD worth of remittances sent by Somalilanders in the diaspora flew through Hargeisa.⁷⁵⁶ The COVID-19 pandemic led to a fall in the level of remittances sent to Somaliland, 'a concern to local people in Hargeisa' according to UN-Habitat.⁷⁵⁷ In a context of decline in remittances, the Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit (FSNAU) and the Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET) reported that, between April and June 2020, 28 % of urban and IDP households in Hargeisa received external remittances.⁷⁵⁸

Somaliland imports most of its foodstuffs, as David Kilcullen noted in 2019, adding that:

'less than 13 per cent of land is suitable for agriculture, only half of this is cultivated for local consumption and the national market, and only 10 per cent of arable land is irrigated, while the rest is rain-fed. Most farm production is subsistence-based, with the sole (and recent) exception of watermelons, now a successful export to Djibouti. Most farmers grow sorghum or maize for household consumption on small farms of two to 30 hectares, while fruits and vegetables are grown in market gardens for sale to cities.'⁷⁵⁹

Although no large industries developed, the private sector has thrived thanks to relative peace and security.⁷⁶⁰ The government lacks the resources to invest in public goods, notably urban infrastructure.⁷⁶¹ It is the private sector which in Hargeisa 'delivers basic services such as health, education, electricity, domestic water supply and urban waste disposal'.⁷⁶² The high price of basic infrastructures such as electricity is considered to have a negative impact on businesses in Hargeisa.⁷⁶³

⁷⁵³ openDemocracy, COVID-19 has transformed Somaliland's remittance lifeline, 19 April 2021, [url](#); see also FSNAU, Somalia 2020 Post Gu Food Security and Nutrition Outcomes and Projections, 30 September 2020, [url](#), p. 12

⁷⁵⁴ UN-Habitat and UNCDF, Global Compendium of Practices on Local Economic and Financial Recovery, 3 March 2021, [url](#), p. 42; World Bank (The), New World Bank GDP and Poverty Estimates for Somaliland, 29 January 2014, [url](#); World Bank (The) and IFC, Doing Business in Hargeisa 2012, 2012, [url](#), p. 1

⁷⁵⁵ UN-Habitat and UNCDF, Global Compendium of Practices on Local Economic and Financial Recovery, 3 March 2021, [url](#), p. 42

⁷⁵⁶ Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 7

⁷⁵⁷ UN-Habitat and UNCDF, Global Compendium of Practices on Local Economic and Financial Recovery, 3 March 2021, [url](#), p. 42

⁷⁵⁸ FSNAU and FEWS NET, Somalia - Food Security Outlook - Weather shocks, desert locust, and COVID-19 economic contraction lead to Crisis (IPC Phase 3) outcomes – October 2020 to May 2021, 15 November 2020, [url](#); p. 7

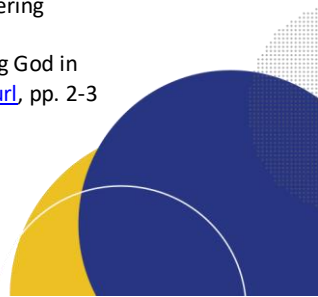
⁷⁵⁹ Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 1111

⁷⁶⁰ Republic of Somaliland, MoERD, Strategic Plan (2017-2021), 1 July 2017, [url](#), p. 20; Encyclopaedia Britannica, Hargeysa, last updated 23 October 2006, [url](#); World Bank (The) and IFC, Doing Business in Hargeisa 2012, 2012, [url](#), p. 1

⁷⁶¹ Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 14

⁷⁶² World Bank (The) and IFC, Doing Business in Hargeisa 2012, 2012, [url](#), p. 1; ICED Facility, Case Studies: Delivering Inclusive Growth Through Infrastructure Programming in FCAS. Consolidated findings, August 2019, [url](#), p. 9

⁷⁶³ Republic of Somaliland, Country Profile 2021, June 2021, [url](#), p. 53; Massoud, M., Shari 'a, Inshallah - Finding God in Somali Legal Politics, 2021, p. 249; see also World Bank (The) and IFC, Doing Business in Hargeisa 2012, 2012, [url](#), pp. 2-3



3.3.1.2 Food security

FEWS NET published a map on food insecurity in Somalia which classified the city of Hargeisa in a 'crisis' phase (phase 3 on the Acute Food Insecurity Phase ladder) in January 2021.⁷⁶⁴ Water and food insecurity are reported to pose the most significant challenge for Hargeisa.⁷⁶⁵

Scholar Hamda Abdullah conducted a study on food insecurity in households in Hargeisa and published the results in 2018, notably showing that 53.2 % of the total households were below the food insecurity line.⁷⁶⁶ Moreover he argued that the rapid increase in the population of Somaliland led to 'easier access to food of low nutritional quality at reduced prices & seemingly less health quality'.⁷⁶⁷

According to the FSNAU and FEWS NET, erratic rainfall distribution in agropastoral areas and a desert locust infestation in north-central Somalia led, among other factors, to significant crop losses in 2020 and livestock prices were 'high across the country, reflecting persistently low supply in north-central Somalia'.⁷⁶⁸ A May 2021 quarterly brief on food security and nutrition in Somalia reported that the desert locust upsurge had 'significantly declined in March'⁷⁶⁹ 2021 due to ongoing control operations and poor rainfall, but forecasted a below average *Gu* season cereal production in agro-pastoral areas of the North.⁷⁷⁰

According to a 2020 report by the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) on the impact of COVID-19 on food security in the East & Horn of Africa, the measures taken to limit the spread of COVID-19 such as restricting access to markets were particularly detrimental to 'poor households' ability to cover daily food needs'.⁷⁷¹ The Food Security Outlook by covering the period between October 2020 and May 2021 stated, mostly in relation to urban areas and internally displaced person settlements, that 'most poor households typically spend a high proportion of their income on food expenditures, and the economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic had a significant impact on their ability to purchase food'.⁷⁷²

3.3.2 Housing and shelter

According to the director of the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies in Hargeisa who was interviewed for this report, the housing types in Hargeisa are: huts (*buul*) which can be rented for 20 USD per month, *jingaad* (a basic housing structure of only metal sheet, which can be rented 35 USD/month for a one-bedroom, 70 or 100 USD for a two- or three-bedroom, more if they are centrally located), *bacweyne* (iron sheet house, but better decorated than *jingaad*). *Bacweyne* are

⁷⁶⁴ FSNAU and FEWS NET, Somalia - Food Security Outlook - Weather shocks, desert locust, and COVID-19 economic contraction lead to Crisis (IPC Phase 3) outcomes – October 2020 to May 2021, 15 November 2020, [url](#), p. 2

⁷⁶⁵ Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 11

⁷⁶⁶ Abdullah, H., Determinants and Dimensions of Household Food Insecurity Risks in Hargeisa City, Somaliland, October 2018, [url](#), p. 1216

⁷⁶⁷ Abdullah, H., Determinants and Dimensions of Household Food Insecurity Risks in Hargeisa City, Somaliland, October 2018, [url](#), p. 1217

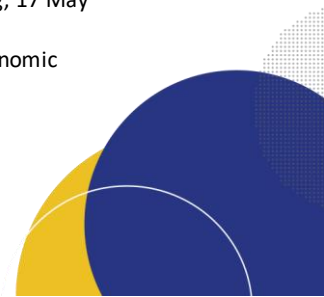
⁷⁶⁸ FSNAU and FEWS NET, Somalia - Food Security Outlook - Weather shocks, desert locust, and COVID-19 economic contraction lead to Crisis (IPC Phase 3) outcomes – October 2020 to May 2021, 15 November 2020, [url](#), p. 4

⁷⁶⁹ FSNAU and FEWS NET, Quarterly Brief with a Focus on the 2021 Jiaal Impact and Gu Season Early Warning, 17 May 2021, [url](#), p. 5

⁷⁷⁰ FSNAU and FEWS NET, Quarterly Brief with a Focus on the 2021 Jiaal Impact and Gu Season Early Warning, 17 May 2021, [url](#), p. 13

⁷⁷¹ IPC, East & Horn Of Africa: IPC Food Security Phase Classification, Desert Locusts & COVID-19, 19 May 2020, [url](#), p. 1; see also FSNAU and FEWS NET, Quarterly Brief with a Focus on the 2021 Jiaal Impact and Gu Season Early Warning, 17 May 2021, [url](#), p. 9

⁷⁷² FSNAU and FEWS NET, Somalia - Food Security Outlook - Weather shocks, desert locust, and COVID-19 economic contraction lead to Crisis (IPC Phase 3) outcomes – October 2020 to May 2021, 15 November 2020, [url](#), p. 7



often erected in a first phase by people owning a small plot of land before they can afford to build a brick or stone structure house for their families. All of these types of houses have outside toilets (pit-latrines). Most privately owned brick or stone houses have several rooms and iron sheet roofing, the price varies with their location and size (a house with four bedrooms, kitchen, inside toilet can be rented for 180 to 200 USD/month; a house with five bedrooms, kitchen, one toilet inside, one toilet outside, garage for one car can be rented for 200 to 250 USD/month; a 'bangalo' i.e. a house with seven bedrooms, a kitchen, two toilets inside, one outside, a garage for two cars can be rented 250 to 350 USD/month). Houses out of concrete (*fooq*) are 2- or 3-storey-houses which can be rented or 800 USD to 2 500 USD depending on the location. This type of house is often rented by government agencies, international NGOs or UN agencies.⁷⁷³

Returnees and IDPs settled on large patches of uninhabited private or public land since the late 1990s.⁷⁷⁴ Their so-called camps or settlements are nowadays located at the outskirts of the city but also within the city centre.⁷⁷⁵ They attracted large numbers of people over the years, not only forcedly displaced people but also residents of Hargeisa who could not afford rising rents.⁷⁷⁶ Settlements named Statehouse, Cakaaro, Daami, Mohamed Mooge, and Digaale are neighbourhoods commonly associated with a population of displaced people, but they inhabited in reality by people with quite different socio-economic profiles.⁷⁷⁷

The Migrants on the Margins project carried out between 2016 and 2019 in Hargeisa (among other cities) compared three urban settlements, showing the diversity of housing types and living conditions.⁷⁷⁸ Camp A is two hours walk away from the city centre and the land is privately owned, with some residents paying rent to the landlord and some others not. Houses are constructed in the traditional *aqal*-style⁷⁷⁹, which the inhabitants are reluctant to modernise, fearing an imminent eviction from the land. Digaale however is a settlement planned by the government with support from the European Commission Humanitarian Office (ECHO) and the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). Residents own the land they were settled on and houses feature corrugated iron sheets. The camp is equipped with latrines and communal water tanks. The settlement referred to as State house is the oldest of Hargeisa's settlements, located in the city centre on ruins of public buildings.⁷⁸⁰ According to another study on State House in Hargeisa, 'less than 15 % live in brick/masonry houses'.⁷⁸¹ Stuvøy et al.'s research participants who resided in State House mentioned regular incidents of fire due to insecure cooking conditions and 'dense packing of housing structures', causing

⁷⁷³ Ali, N. M., mail interview, 29 July 2021

⁷⁷⁴ Mohamed, S. I., Challenges Of Urban Land Conflicts In Somaliland: The Case Of Hargeisa, October 2018, [url](#), p. 24; ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer:innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nichtstaatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi], 31 May 2021, [url](#), p. 17; see also Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 159

⁷⁷⁵ Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 155 ; ACCORD, Somalia: Al-Schabaab und Sicherheitslage; Lage von Binnenvertriebenen und Rückkehrer:innen; Schutz durch staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure [Seminar with experts Markus Hoehne and Jutta Bakonyi], [url](#), p. 17

⁷⁷⁶ Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 155

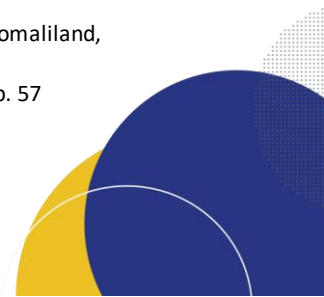
⁷⁷⁷ Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 160

⁷⁷⁸ Hammond, L. and Ibrahim, M., 2019. Migrants on the Margins: Tackling Urban Displacement in Hargeisa, Somaliland, July 2019, [url](#), pp. 1-2

⁷⁷⁹ *aqal* is a dome-shaped nomadic hut, see Hamilton, J., Somalia in Pictures, 2007, [url](#), p. 46

⁷⁸⁰ Hammond, L. and Ibrahim, M., 2019. Migrants on the Margins: Tackling Urban Displacement in Hargeisa, Somaliland, July 2019, [url](#), pp. 1-2

⁷⁸¹ Osman, A. M., Urban Poverty In Somaliland: The Case Of State House Area In Hargeisa, October 2018, [url](#), p. 57



several deaths because the settlement's narrow roads prevent fire trucks from intervening.⁷⁸² Inhabitants hope that the city will reclaim the land on which they settled and relocate them to a new plot of land.⁷⁸³ Digaale, Jimcale, Ayah 1, 2, 3 and 4 are examples of neighbourhoods newly demarcated by the city on the outskirts of Hargeisa.⁷⁸⁴ For more information on IDPs, please see section [3.1.2 Humanitarian situation overview](#), [3.2.3 Accessing and settling in the city](#) and [3.4.2 Returnees, vulnerable groups](#).

Major Somali cities currently experience a building boom conducive to economic development. Bakonyi warned against the violent consequences of this urban reconstruction: Investors and political elites seeking new economic opportunities speculate with urban land and contribute to the expansion of rent economy, thereby precipitating mass-scale evictions of the urban poor and displaced people.⁷⁸⁵ There is a direct link between access to land and access to housing and shelter, as people with land can build their own houses to reside in or can become landlords (even if only 'petty landlords', allowing other people to establish huts or iron-sheet houses.⁷⁸⁶ Hargeisa experienced a rapid urbanisation⁷⁸⁷ in the past decades and saw land prices increase as well as the competition for access to land and housing.⁷⁸⁸ A plot of land of approximately 12m² (large enough for a four-bedroom house) can be bought for approximately 15 000 USD, while a slightly larger plot (for a five-bedroom house with a garage) can be bought for 22 000 to 30 000 USD depending on the location, and a plot on which a seven-bedroom 'bangalo' can be built would cost between 40 000 to 50 000 USD.⁷⁸⁹

In an article published in the Somaliland Peace and Development Journal in October 2018, Suleiman Ismail Mohamed listed different ways of acquiring land in Hargeisa: purchase from a private owner, from the government, inheritance of land after a close relative's death, but also illegal grabbing. He described the latter as the process through which 'individuals claim ownership of a large area of land as their own farms'. Land-grabbers can subsequently obtain a title deeds for their land, with the support of local government authorities via bribes or kinship networks.⁷⁹⁰ Tahir referred to this phenomenon as a malpractice resulting in some cases in the 'multiple allocation and issuance of title deeds for the same pieces of lands'. According to his analysis, such malpractice resulted in a lack of faith in the land management system, leading people to build on land without permit.⁷⁹¹ The absence of strong government and governing laws contributed to the problem.⁷⁹²

⁷⁸² Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 167

⁷⁸³ Hammond, L., Ibrahim, M., 2019. Migrants on the Margins: Tackling Urban Displacement in Hargeisa, Somaliland, July 2019, [url](#), p. 1

⁷⁸⁴ Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), pp. 168-169

⁷⁸⁵ Bakonyi, J., The Political Economy of Displacement: Rent Seeking, Disposessions and Precarious Mobility in Somali Cities, 15 October 2020, [url](#), p. 20

⁷⁸⁶ Bakonyi, J., telephone interview, 28 July 2021

⁷⁸⁷ Ali, N. M., mail interview, 29 July 2021; Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), p. 18; Mohamed, S. I., Challenges Of Urban Land Conflicts In Somaliland: The Case Of Hargeisa, October 2018, [url](#), p. 23

⁷⁸⁸ Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), p. 18; Mohamed, S. I., Challenges Of Urban Land Conflicts In Somaliland: The Case Of Hargeisa, October 2018, [url](#), pp. 21, 23

⁷⁸⁹ Ali, N. M., mail interview, 29 July 2021

⁷⁹⁰ Mohamed, S. I., Challenges Of Urban Land Conflicts In Somaliland: The Case Of Hargeisa, October 2018, [url](#), pp. 24, 28; see also Hiiraan Online, The Cost of Coorruption [source: Somaliland Times], 11 February 2007, [url](#)

⁷⁹¹ Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), p. 122122

⁷⁹² Mohamed, S. I., Challenges Of Urban Land Conflicts In Somaliland: The Case Of Hargeisa, October 2018, [url](#), p. 24



According to Stuvøy et al.'s estimate, several thousand people from squatter settlements in the city centre have already been relocated by the Somaliland government, an approach which is supported by international governmental and non-governmental organisations.⁷⁹³ Taking the example of a conflict over the land surrounding the Hargeysa Egal International airport (HEIA), Tahir analysed that public officials have a 'dual strategy', seeking to negotiate relocation of land claimants, while doubting the legitimacy of local people's land ownership by threatening with forceful evictions.⁷⁹⁴ In April 2020 the House Land and Property Working Group (HLPWG) in Somaliland reported that 61 refugee households had been evicted by the Hargeisa municipality and received shelter grants through local NGOs.⁷⁹⁵

3.3.3 Hygiene, water and sanitation

According to the Joint Market Monitoring Initiative (JIMMI) which conducted interviews in February 2021 with vendors in Hargeisa and other locations in Somalia, 50 % of vendors interviewed in Hargeisa reported having difficulties to stock trucked water in the three months prior to data collection.⁷⁹⁶ One result of the data collection conducted by JIMMI in November 2020 was that in Hargeisa 100 % of the vendors who participated in the study reported having difficulties to stock menstrual hygiene management (MHM) items in the three months prior to data collection. It was also the case for plastic gloves for 50 % of vendors and of water for 33 % of them.⁷⁹⁷

In its 2019 working paper, Kilcullen described the water supply system in Hargeisa as follows:

'Fewer than one in 100 households in Hargeisa has access to running water, with access dropping off sharply as one moves out from the city centre. Most middle-class households purchase plastic or metal water tanks which they place on the roadside and replenish by purchasing water from donkey-driven carts that roam the streets at most hours of the day. One thousand litres of water costs roughly USD\$6 as of late 2018, and lasts a family of four about 10 days. The carts are regulated by government, and their water comes from state-owned rigs and pipes in the city, but the water itself often originates from reservoirs and wells many miles from the city. Frequently, landowners commercialise public water pipelines on their properties, selling public water directly to consumers, and the government is paid by calculating the amount of water used – like a private household, though with far higher usage'⁷⁹⁸

In a 2019 report written by the team of the Infrastructure and Cities for Economic Development (ICED) Facility, the authors stated that '70% of the city's population rely largely on water from tanker trucks and hand carts, paying at least four times the price of piped water per unit, creating an excessive cost burden that falls most heavily on the poorest.'⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹³ Stuvøy, K. et al., Precarious spaces and violent site effects: experiences from Hargeisa's urban margins, May 2021, [url](#), p. 169

⁷⁹⁴ Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), p. 175175

⁷⁹⁵ UNOCHA, Somalia: Update 5 – Overview of Covid-19 directives, 1 June 2020, [url](#), p. 1; see also UNOCHA, Humanitarian needs Overview – Somalia, 22 December 2019, [url](#), p. 58

⁷⁹⁶ REACH, Somalia Joint Market Monitoring Initiative (JIMMI), 20 April 2021, [url](#), p. 12

⁷⁹⁷ REACH, Somalia Joint Market Monitoring Initiative (JIMMI), 21 January 2021, [url](#), p. 7

⁷⁹⁸ Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 15

⁷⁹⁹ ICED Facility, Case Studies: Delivering Inclusive Growth Through Infrastructure Programming in FCAS. Consolidated findings, August 2019, [url](#), p. 9



Kilcullen referred to water as a ‘critical commodity’ for Hargeisa, as droughts in the hinterland due to uncertain rain-fall drive farmers to the city, increasing the demand on ‘already stressed water supply systems’.⁸⁰⁰

The World Bank and the International Finance Corporation noted in 2012 that the ‘limited water and electricity networks and lack of sewage’ in Hargeisa lead to high costs of access to such utilities.⁸⁰¹

3.3.4 Health care

Medical doctor Djibril Ibrahim Moussa mentioned that in Hargeisa around 200 medical doctors are offering services for a population of roughly one million people or more which amounts to an estimated ratio of one medical doctor per 5 000 inhabitants or more.⁸⁰² The desirable doctor-population ratio, according to the World Health Organization (WHO), is 1:1 000.⁸⁰³ A study of Fatumo Abdi Abdillahi et al. mentioned that in Somaliland, the ‘healthcare system has never developed beyond providing the most basic functions, which leave it ill-equipped to deal with any significant challenges’.⁸⁰⁴

Moussa added that health care in Hargeisa is essentially private.⁸⁰⁵ Although the largest hospital, the Hargeisa Group Hospital (HGH)⁸⁰⁶, which is the national referral hospital in Somaliland⁸⁰⁷, is called ‘public’ or ‘state’ hospital due to partly public funding, patients have to pay there for services.⁸⁰⁸ There is an admission fee of around 10 USD, a single bed costs around 20 USD/night, a bed in a shared room is around 10 USD/night.⁸⁰⁹ Operations cost, depending on the type and kind of operation, between 350 and more than 1 000 USD. A caesarean, which is a frequently performed operation, costs around 400 USD, an appendix operation slightly less; orthopaedical surgery or neuro-surgery are more expensive. Additionally, patients have to cover the costs for medication and other services.⁸¹⁰ HGH consists of six main departments and has nearly 700 employees including specialised personnel, administrative support staff and auxiliaries. It serves over 260 patients daily in average⁸¹¹ and has a capacity of around 500-600 beds⁸¹². Medication costs may vary, depending on type and quantity, between 5 and 50 USD for a monthly dose. The smaller manual services cost between 2 and 5 USD per service. In the other (‘private’) hospitals in Hargeisa, costs for admission and beds are around 30 percent higher than in HGH, costs for operations and other services are roughly the same.⁸¹³

⁸⁰⁰ Kilcullen, D., Hargeisa, Somaliland – Invisible City, 2019, [url](#), p. 17

⁸⁰¹ World Bank (The) and IFC, Doing Business in Hargeisa 2012, 2012, [url](#), p. 3

⁸⁰² Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021. Djibril Ibrahim Moussa is a medical doctor who worked many years in Borama and in Hargeisa in Somaliland; he is among the staff of the public health faculty, Amoud University, near Borama.

⁸⁰³ Kumar, R. and Pal, R., India achieves WHO recommended doctor population ratio: A call for paradigm shift in public 2018, [url](#), p. 841

⁸⁰⁴ Abdi Abdillahi, F., Ismail, E. and Singh, S., Mental Health in Somaliland: a critical situation, 2020, [url](#), p. 11

⁸⁰⁵ Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁸⁰⁶ Somaliland Chronicle, Dangerously unregulated: The dire conditions at Hargeisa Group Hospital, 30 June 2019, [url](#)

⁸⁰⁷ THET and LSTM, UKPHS Scoping Assessment Report Somaliland, November 2020, [url](#), p. 25; Hargeisa Group Hospital, About us, n.d., [url](#)

⁸⁰⁸ Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021; Somaliland Chronicle, Dangerously unregulated: The dire conditions at Hargeisa Group Hospital, 30 June 2019, [url](#)

⁸⁰⁹ Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021; compare also the prices given by Somaliland Chronicle, Dangerously unregulated: The dire conditions at Hargeisa Group Hospital, 30 June 2019, [url](#)

⁸¹⁰ Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁸¹¹ Hargeisa Group Hospital, About us, n.d., [url](#)

⁸¹² Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁸¹³ Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021



The other hospitals in Hargeisa, which are all private, are Edna Adan Hospital,⁸¹⁴ Hargeisa International Hospital⁸¹⁵, Gargaar Hospital,⁸¹⁶ Haldoor Multispeciality & Teaching Hospital,⁸¹⁷ Amal Grand Hospital⁸¹⁸ and the Arab Medical Union Hospital,⁸¹⁹ each of which has between 50 and 100 beds and several departments. The admission fees and bed-costs in these private hospitals are around 30 per cent higher than in HGH; the costs for operations are roughly the same. Costs for laboratory tests can be higher, depending on the available equipment.⁸²⁰

Furthermore, there exist numerous smaller clinics focussing on a special field, such as maternal health or internal medicine, and doctors have private offices all over town. Some have a degree from abroad, others, particularly the younger generation, has been educated in medicine at Hargeisa University or at Amuud University near Borama in the past 15 years.⁸²¹

A study based on interviews found that during the recent COVID-19 pandemic, treating patients in Hargeisa was a problem, with a lack of trust in the health care offered. An interviewee stressed that health care was poor, especially in HGH. Reported death tolls were due to negligence of nurses and lack of ventilators⁸²² Structural problems with health care in hospitals in Hargeisa and elsewhere in Somaliland were addressed in discussions at Edna Adan University, a leading institution for training health professionals in Hargeisa. Among the central problems of the health system in Somaliland that were identified in the discussion were: the low preparedness for emergency, the lack of personal protective equipment and life-saving equipment, the lack of proper training and experience of health workers and the lack of standard operation procedures and guidelines.⁸²³

Pharmacies are private businesses often run by people without medical or pharmacological training. The medication is imported from Asia (India and Pakistan) and, more recently, predominantly from Turkey, but also occasionally from the UK and Germany.⁸²⁴ Until recently, no state institution regulated the import of drugs to Somaliland. In 2019, the National Medicines Regulatory Authority⁸²⁵ was established to oversee drug imports. However, it is not yet fully functional as of July 2021.⁸²⁶ The medical fields which exhibit the biggest gaps respectively, in which no health services are offered, are oncology, dermatology and various specialised forms of surgery (e.g., paediatric surgery, spine surgery, heart surgery). Those who can afford it can obtain a visa, sometimes seek medical treatment in these medical fields abroad, e.g. in Turkey, India, or on the Arab Peninsula.⁸²⁷

The field of mental health care is underdeveloped in Somaliland. However, in Hargeisa there are some services. HGH has 100 beds in the psychiatric warden. 'All public psychiatric care is free of charge, and all departments offer limited in-patient (approximately 250 beds nationally) and out-patient services.'⁸²⁸ The main problem is the lack of qualified staff. There are only around five trained

⁸¹⁴ Edna Adan Hospital, Profile of Edna Hospital, n.d., [url](#)

⁸¹⁵ Hargeisa International Hospital [Facebook], About, n.d., [url](#)

⁸¹⁶ Gargaar Multispeciality Hospital, Institutional Background, n.d., [url](#)

⁸¹⁷ Haldoor Hospital, Homepage, n.d., [url](#)

⁸¹⁸ Amal Grand Hospital, Facebook Profile, n.d., [url](#)

⁸¹⁹ Arab Medical Union Hospital, Facebook Profile, n.d., [url](#)

⁸²⁰ Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁸²¹ Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁸²² Herring, E. et al., COVID-19 and sustainable development in Somalia/Somaliland, 2020, [url](#), p. 105

⁸²³ THET and LSTM, UKPHS Scoping Assessment Report Somaliland, November 2020, [url](#), p. 27

⁸²⁴ Osman, A. A., telephone interview, 12 July 2021. Abdishakur Abdullahi Osman is an intellectual from Hargeisa.

⁸²⁵ Somaliland, National Medicines Regulatory Authority, Facebook Profile, n.d., [url](#)

⁸²⁶ Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁸²⁷ Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁸²⁸ Abdi Abdillahi, F. et al., Mental Health in Somaliland: a critical situation, 2020, [url](#), pp. 11-12



psychiatrists in Somaliland; two are practicing in Hargeisa.⁸²⁹ The high relapse rates (between 30 and 50 %) 'were attributed to the lack of available medication and poor treatment compliance due to social stigma.'⁸³⁰

Payments for healthcare have to be managed privately. Normally, family members support each other regarding these costs. Typically, more substantial costs are paid by family members in the diaspora. If someone is completely destitute, he or she can turn to a mosque and ask the community of believers for help. Sometimes, as an exception, they can ask some better off businesspeople belonging to the community to help out.⁸³¹ Hardly anyone in Somaliland has health insurance. According to the Somaliland Central Statistics Department there is less than 1 % of households that have at least one member with health insurance. For urban settings like Hargeisa it is 1 %, while in the countryside it is even less.⁸³²

3.3.5 Education for children

The out-of-school population in Somalia is one of the world's most significant. Populations' movements (60% of the population pursues pastoralist activities) and displacements due to violent conflicts or climatic shocks are the main impediments to children's access to formal education.⁸³³

Education provision is of low quality in Somalia due to poor education infrastructure, multiple curricula and a high number of untrained or unqualified teachers. Education at primary and secondary level is predominantly confessional, with school establishments being mostly under the management of private-sector umbrellas, community-owned or run by Islamic charities. The formal public education sector is supported by international organisations.⁸³⁴

Compared to the rest of the country, Somaliland and Puntland enjoyed a greater political stability, security and administrative development, contributing to an improvement of student enrolment over the past two decades.⁸³⁵ For more general information in Somalia, please see section [1.3.5 Education for children](#).

The Republic of Somaliland's ministry of education and higher studies (MoEHS) reported in 2017 that the budget for its Education Sector Strategic Plan for the period between 2017 and 2021 would be 275 million USD.⁸³⁶ In its 2019 Somalia Economic Update, the World Bank reported that the government of Somaliland allocated 7 % of its total spending to education, commenting that it would be 'insufficient to support core functions of an effective public education system that include payment for teachers and school construction'.⁸³⁷ Somaliland has its own Education Sector Strategic Plans and does not take part in the Somali government-administered exams.⁸³⁸

According to the director of the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies in Hargeisa, several education systems coexist in Somaliland. Public and private schools (from primary level to university) are

⁸²⁹ Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁸³⁰ Abdi Abdillahi, F. et al., Mental Health in Somaliland: a critical situation, 2020, [url](#), p. 12

⁸³¹ Moussa, D. I., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁸³² Somaliland, Central Statistics Department, The Somaliland Health and Demographic Survey 2020, October 2020, [url](#), p. 265

⁸³³ USAID, Somalia - Education, 19 March 2021, [url](#)

⁸³⁴ GPE, Somalia, 30 May 2021, [url: Gonnelli, M.](#), The Italoophone Somali Diaspora and Social Change in Somalia, PhD Thesis, 27 November 2018, [url](#), p. 74

⁸³⁵ GPE, Somalia, 30 May 2021, [url](#)

⁸³⁶ Republic of Somaliland, MoEHS, Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP 2017-2021), October 2017, [url](#), p. xvi

⁸³⁷ World Bank (The), Federal Republic of Somalia, Somalia Economic Update, August 2019, [url](#), p. 2626

⁸³⁸ World Bank (The), Federal Republic of Somalia, Somalia Economic Update, August 2019, [url](#), pp. 25-26



regulated by the MoEHS and the Higher Education Commission. The numerous *Madrasas* or Quranic schools are regulated by the Somaliland Ministry of Religious Affairs and Islamic Endowment as well as by the Department of Informal Education within the MoEHS. Private schools, private universities and *Madrasas* are also owned by local people and/or by members of the Somaliland diaspora. The source analysed that ‘because of this plurality of school systems, multiple rival curricula have emerged, promoting competing views of history and identity, often promoting competing perspectives and different languages of instruction depending on their funders and administrators’.⁸³⁹

The school enrolment rate in Somaliland in 2014/15 was 48 %⁸⁴⁰, with a 53.4 % enrolment rate among boys and 44.2 % among girls.⁸⁴¹ Based on data from the Ministry of Education and Higher Education of the Republic of Somaliland from 2014/2015, Gandrup reported that 44.3 % of the total number of school age population was enrolled in school in this period.⁸⁴² The same source added that the number of enrolled students in private schools increased between 2013 and 2014 while it stagnated in public primary schools.⁸⁴³ The Republic of Somaliland indicated that 50 % of children of both sexes were enrolled as primary students in the scholastic year 2015/2016.⁸⁴⁴ Quantitative data about school enrolment in Somaliland should be taken with caution as different sources present different figures. Gandrup wrote that it could be in part due to some schools slipping through data collection due to the difficulty to classify them as either public or private and to the difficulty to account for private schools which do not take part in government-led testing.⁸⁴⁵

Based on a survey he conducted in Hargeisa in 2016, the scholar Abdirizak Mohamoud Osman reported that 45 % of children who had access to education dropped out from schools before intermediate or secondary school level. He added that ‘primary and intermediate school children also attend at least one formal or informal Quranic school known as Madarasa’.⁸⁴⁶ The vast majority of all children in Somaliland gets at least a basic Islamic education, learning parts of the Koran by heart and getting some additional religious education. For many ordinary people in Somaliland, Islamic education clearly precedes learning in schools.⁸⁴⁷

Children living in households receiving remittances in Hargeisa had relatively good school attendance rates, because families could pay school fees but also because members of the diaspora encouraged families in Hargeisa to send their children to school.⁸⁴⁸ Members of the diaspora who returned to Hargeisa with financial means tended to favour private education, ‘encouraging providers to offer smaller class sizes and English or Arabic medium teaching’.⁸⁴⁹ Gandrup reported that the private sector was rapidly expanding and that in Hargeisa ‘there were 53 public primary schools and 75 private

⁸³⁹ Ali, N. M., mail interview, 29 July 2021

⁸⁴⁰ Somalia, MOECHE, Education Sector Analysis, 2012-2016, September 2017, [url](#), p. 120; see also World Bank (The), Federal Republic of Somalia, Somalia Economic Update, August 2019, [url](#), pp. 26-27

⁸⁴¹ Somalia, MOECHE, Education Sector Analysis, 2012-2016, September 2017, [url](#), p. 120

⁸⁴² Gandrup, T., Making Schools: Primary Education, Governance And The State In Somaliland, PhD Thesis, 21 September 2020, [url](#), pp. 32-33

⁸⁴³ Gandrup, T., Making Schools: Primary Education, Governance And The State In Somaliland, PhD Thesis, 21 September 2020, [url](#), p. 33

⁸⁴⁴ Republic of Somaliland, MoPND, Somaliland in Figures – Edition 14 ; Data 2016, December 2018, [url](#), p. 6

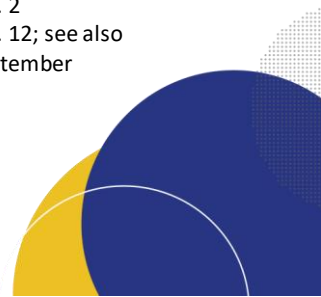
⁸⁴⁵ Gandrup, T., Making Schools: Primary Education, Governance And The State In Somaliland, PhD Thesis, 21 September 2020, [url](#), p. 33; see also World Bank (The), Federal Republic of Somalia, Somalia Economic Update, August 2019, [url](#), p. 25

⁸⁴⁶ Osman, A. M., Urban Poverty In Somaliland: The Case Of State House Area In Hargeisa, October 2018, [url](#), p. 55

⁸⁴⁷ Hoehne, M. V., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁸⁴⁸ Maimbo, S. M., Remittances and Economic Development in Somalia – An Overview, November 2006, [url](#), p. 2

⁸⁴⁹ Maimbo, S. M., Remittances and Economic Development in Somalia – An Overview, November 2006, [url](#), p. 12; see also Gandrup, T., Making Schools: Primary Education, Governance And The State In Somaliland, PhD Thesis, 21 September 2020, [url](#), p. 32



primary schools registered for the national exams in 2017'.⁸⁵⁰ Even after the government tried to implement a free public primary education policy in 2011, gross enrolment rate numbers in primary schools stagnated from the school year 2011/2012 to 2014/2015 and contributions from parents still continued.⁸⁵¹ Those who can afford it prefer to send their children to one of the numerous private schools, which offer education from primary to university level for about 10 USD per month. State schools in Somaliland are often worse than private schools, and the teachers in state schools are also paid much less.⁸⁵²

Children from minority clans (Gabooye – Madhibaan and Muse Diriye - as well as Yibir and Tumul) have limited access to education in Somaliland.⁸⁵³ For more information on these groups, please see section 4.1 of EASO's COI report [Somalia: Targeted profiles](#) (September 2021). A 2017 report by the Swiss State Secretariat for Migration (SEM) indicated that access to education for children of minority clans was difficult because their places of residence often lacked schools. The report took the example of the Daami district in Hargeisa, where the only primary school was overcrowded. In schools attended both by children from majority and minority clans, the latter were sometimes bullied and/or discriminated against by teachers and other students.⁸⁵⁴

3.3.6 Means of basic subsistence and employment

The government of Somaliland found in a survey from 2012, that still constitutes the most recent government-produced available information on the matter, that in Hargeisa employment-to-population ratios were at 23.4 % for males and 14.8 % for females.⁸⁵⁵ A more recent blogpost by Oxfam reported that unemployment rates hovered around 65 % among Somaliland's youth, which itself represents 70 % of Somaliland's population.⁸⁵⁶ UN-Habitat reported in a 2021 analysis of the impacts of COVID-19 on Hargeisa's economy (among other cities) that local employment had decreased by more than 50 % in Somaliland. The source further reported that the local lockdown, lockdowns in other countries and 'disruptions in international supply chains' affected diverse sectors of Somaliland's economy, particularly hurting small businesses.⁸⁵⁷

In Hargeisa, the private sector is providing for health, education, electricity, domestic water supply and urban waste disposal.⁸⁵⁸ Generally, doing business in Hargeisa is rather expensive, in global comparison. Particularly business licenses are expensive. This contributes to a boom of the informal sector. Taxes are often a matter of negotiation, this benefits particularly larger businesses. Legal security for businesses is often guaranteed through customary legal mechanisms. One central problem for start-ups and also for established businesses is getting credit; no international banks are operating in Hargeisa and 'there is no public or private credit registry or bureau.'⁸⁵⁹ A researcher from

⁸⁵⁰ Gandrup, T., Making Schools: Primary Education, Governance And The State In Somaliland, PhD Thesis, 21 September 2020, [url](#), p. 33

⁸⁵¹ Gandrup, T., Making Schools: Primary Education, Governance And The State In Somaliland, PhD Thesis, 21 September 2020, [url](#), p. 35; Osman, A. M., Urban Poverty In Somaliland: The Case Of State House Area In Hargeisa, October 2018, [url](#), pp. 55, 159; Radio Ergo, Thousands of children drop out of school in Somaliland due to teacher salary 'buffer' fees, 23 March 2018, [url](#); Republic of Somaliland, MoEHS, Education Sector Analysis 2012-2016, December 2016, [url](#), p. 125

⁸⁵² Hoehne, M. V., telephone interview, 6 July 2021

⁸⁵³ MRG, No redress: Somalia's forgotten minorities, 31 January 2010, [url](#), p. 17

⁸⁵⁴ Switzerland, SEM, Focus Somalia, Clans und Minderheiten, 31 May 2017, [url](#), p. 48; MRG, No redress: Somalia's forgotten minorities, 31 January 2010, [url](#), pp. 17-18

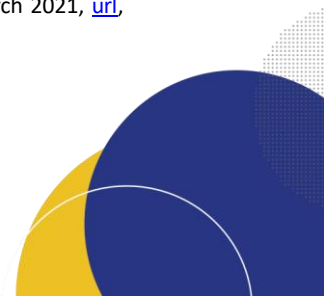
⁸⁵⁵ Republic of Somaliland, Labour force survey 2012. Report on Boroma, Hargeisa and Burao, [2013], [url](#), p. 35

⁸⁵⁶ Oxfam, Getting Somaliland's youth back to work through skills training, 4 October 2019, [url](#)

⁸⁵⁷ UN-Habitat and UNCDF, Global Compendium of Practices on Local Economic and Financial Recovery, 3 March 2021, [url](#), p. 41

⁸⁵⁸ World Bank (The) and IFC, Doing Business in Hargeisa 2012, 2012, [url](#), p. 1

⁸⁵⁹ World Bank (The) and IFC, Doing Business in Hargeisa 2012, 2012, [url](#), p. 3



Burao University found in 2020 that the reasons for small business failure in Somaliland were: '1. Poor economic conditions 2. High operating expenses like rents and wages 3. Competition'.⁸⁶⁰

In 2017 a group of scholars found that the informal economy continued to be a key source of livelihoods in Somaliland⁸⁶¹ and that a 'laissez faire approach from government and lack of restrictive regulation has helped growth'.⁸⁶² Some religious leaders held the view that women should stay at home to take care of household responsibilities. The view of religious leaders is generally respected in Somali society. Therefore, women engaging in businesses might enter unsafe spaces and encounter structural barriers.⁸⁶³ Women are more often confined to the informal sector than men. On the one hand, they enjoy relative freedom in Somaliland, including Hargeisa, to trade in the market, open small or also bigger businesses, travel and, e.g. import goods for resale. On the other hand, Somali women in general (also in Hargeisa) frequently have less education than men.⁸⁶⁴ Additionally, they are supposed to marry early (as teenagers already), deliver many children and take care of them and of the household.⁸⁶⁵ In order to support each other, women traders engage in savings and credit associations. In Hargeisa, some NGOs have been working with groups, particularly women, 'to associate, organise and accumulate capital together which alleviates to some degree, the economic variables of business and the lack of access to credit of IE [informal economy] workers'.⁸⁶⁶

The government of Somaliland found in a survey from 2012, that still constitutes the most recent available information on the matter, that Hargeisa's unemployment rate was 22.3 % in total, with the youth unemployment rate being 37.6 %.⁸⁶⁷ The report also found that the main occupations in Hargeisa for men were in service and sales (28 %), followed by elementary occupations (17 %) and professionals (16 %). Almost half of women were employed in services and sales (42 %) followed by clerical workers (11 %) and technicians (10 %).⁸⁶⁸

Abdifatah Tahir emphasised the crucial role that clan identity plays in the social and economic life of residents in Hargeisa:

'For instance, employment opportunities are to a significant degree influenced by kinship. Justifications for this include that there are social expectations which bind business owners, shareholders and or senior officials to take part in their clan's economic empowerment in order to benefit from its protection. Others point out that businesses require prospective employees to have some sort of a guarantor who could be held responsible in case of a theft and other forms of misappropriation. This makes the employment of people from one's kinship networks much easier to trace and settle cases.'⁸⁶⁹

A local source provided information on monthly incomes. Accordingly, a cleaner earns around 70-80 USD per month, a watchman around 80-100 USD, a policeman or a soldier earns 110 USD, a mid-level military or police officer around 300 USD and a teacher in a public school earns 110 USD. A

⁸⁶⁰ Farah-Kunle, M. A., Causes of Small Business Failure in Somaliland: A case Study of Burao Small Businesses, October 2020, [url](#), p. 23

⁸⁶¹ Mackie, P. et al., Informal economies, conflict recovery and absent aid, 2017, [url](#), p. 375

⁸⁶² Mackie, P. et al., Informal economies, conflict recovery and absent aid, 2017, [url](#), p. 376

⁸⁶³ SomReP and Oxfam, Women Business' Access to Finance in Somaliland: Research Report, 3 June 2021, [url](#), p. 40

⁸⁶⁴ Mackie, P. et al., Informal economies, conflict recovery and absent aid, 2017, [url](#), pp. 377-78

⁸⁶⁵ Mohamoud, B. A., To end child marriage, Somali mindsets must change, 25 June 2020, [url](#)

⁸⁶⁶ Cardiff University, The Informal Economy in Civil War: Hargeisa – Somaliland, 2017, [url](#), p. 18

⁸⁶⁷ Republic of Somaliland, Labour force survey 2012. Report on Boroma, Hargeisa and Burao, [2013], [url](#), p. 49

⁸⁶⁸ Republic of Somaliland, Labour force survey 2012. Report on Boroma, Hargeisa and Burao, [2013], [url](#), p. 38

⁸⁶⁹ Tahir, A., Urban Governance, Land Conflicts And Segregation In Hargeisa, Somaliland: Historical Perspectives And Contemporary dynamics, PhD Thesis, 1 October 2016, [url](#), p. 1212



teacher in a private school gets 100 USD per class and can earn around 300-400 USD per month, depending on the number of classes. A nurse earns 150-200 USD per month, a worker in a government office 200-300 USD, depending on the educational level. A general or a minister earns 1 500-2 000 USD per month.⁸⁷⁰

With regard to costs for living, the same source reports that a house (four rooms) in Hargeisa costs 200-250 USD per month. Additionally, a household of six persons needs around 35 USD for electricity and around 30 USD for water and 5 USD for waste disposal monthly. Monthly school fees in public school are 5 USD and in private schools between 15 and 70 USD, including bus fair and depending on the school. A poor family (parents plus 4 to 6 children) in Hargeisa would need between 300 and 350 USD monthly; a middle-class family of the same site would need some 500-600 USD monthly. The normal income of the family head (e.g. the salary of the father who is a teacher or soldier on government payroll) is often not enough to cover the family expenses; poorer families need regular contributions from relatives (either those having a good job in Hargeisa or elsewhere nearby, or those living in the diaspora).⁸⁷¹

Another local source living for the past ten years in Hargeisa, but originating from Sanaag region, mentioned that someone without relatives or family in Hargeisa would have to spend around 3 USD per night for a cheap hotel room, 2 USD for breakfast, 3 USD for lunch and 2 USD for dinner. The minimum expenses would be 10 USD daily, which means this person would need 300 USD a month to survive in Hargeisa without having a local family connection. This does not include any extra-costs, e.g., for health care⁸⁷²

As mentioned above, it is estimated that in 2012 remittances constituted 40 % of urban households' income in Hargeisa and that remittances constituted the main source of income for one-quarter of these households.⁸⁷³ A study published by the Cardiff University in 2017 also found that the economy remained highly dependent on diaspora remittances.⁸⁷⁴ In April 2021, the Guardian found that, according to Somaliland's central bank, between early 2020 and early 2021, 'remittances increased from \$1.1bn to \$1.3bn'.⁸⁷⁵

3.4 Social protection networks and (lack of) support to specific groups

Hoehne, who lived several years in the region, including Hargeisa, mentioned that generally, society in Hargeisa is clan-based. The dominant groups all belong to the Isaaq clan-family. The dominant groups in Hargeisa are Habar Awal towards the north and the west of the city, Habar Jecllo to the northeast, Habar Yonis towards the west and Idagalle (also Aidagalle) and Arab towards the south and south-east of the city. Some neighbourhoods of Hargeisa are dominated by one clan or sub-clan; others are 'mixed' (particularly the centre and neighbourhoods close to it, like 'Statehouse'). Certainly, also non-Isaaq live, work and have property in Hargeisa (please see also section 3.1.1 Demographics and clan composition). Since the city is the capital of Somaliland, members from all groups represented in government have a residence in the city. Businessmen from all over Somaliland are

⁸⁷⁰ Osman, A. A., telephone interview, 12 July 2021

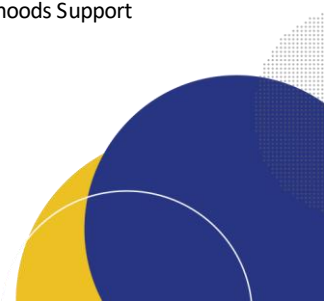
⁸⁷¹ Osman, A. A., telephone interview, 12 July 2021

⁸⁷² Yusuf, A. S., telephone interview, 12 July 2021. Abdullahi Said Yusuf is a driver from outside of Hargeisa.

⁸⁷³ World Bank (The), New World Bank GDP and Poverty Estimates for Somaliland, 29 January 2014, ; World Bank (The) and IFC, Doing Business in Hargeisa 2012, 2012, [url](#), p. 1; see also Hammond, L., Family Ties: Remittances and Livelihoods Support in Puntland and Somaliland, FSNAU, 5 June 2013, [url](#), p. 12

⁸⁷⁴ Cardiff University, The Informal Economy in Civil War: Hargeisa – Somaliland, 2017, [url](#), p. 4

⁸⁷⁵ Guardian (The), Aid agencies can be harmful, says Somaliland tycoon, 9 April 2021, [url](#)



active in Hargeisa. Also IDPs from the region and from southern Somalia reside in Hargeisa. However, the strongest and most influential group are Isaaq.⁸⁷⁶

3.4.1 Clan-based protection

A local source in Hargeisa mentioned that the city has become peaceful over the past 20 years. Government institutions are firmly established, the police is working effectively, and also the court system is well-established.⁸⁷⁷ If a person has a conflict or a problem in Hargeisa, he or she can go to the police. If there are credible allegations that a crime has happened, the police start investigations and if evidence was found, the matter is handed over to the courts. Simultaneously, family elders still play a role. In case of theft, injury or even a killing, they can step in and start negotiations about compensation. If an agreement is reached between the elders of the perpetrator and the ones of the victim, the case is normally dropped by the police and/or the court and a compensation is paid to the family of the victim, which is notified officially by the local government (at least if the parties involved wish that). If a killing was intentional, the state does usually not accept to drop the case. In case of murder, normally a mandatory prison sentence of around 10 years is issued. The source added that inside Hargeisa, clan protection is not necessary, unless a person is involved in an active conflict and thus is a potential target in a revenge attack. Members of different patrilineal descent groups can go about their business, own property, buy land etc. without disturbance by others on clan basis.⁸⁷⁸

Another local source emphasised that generally, security in the city was stable. Even those from non-Isaaq groups feel secure in everyday life in Hargeisa. However, in conflict situations, clan-belonging usually becomes important. If a member from a group whose 'clan-homeland' (Somali: *degaan*) is in Hargeisa, clashes with a person who is an incomer originating from, e.g., the far east or far west of Somaliland, the local person has an advantage. He or she may have acquaintances and relatives in the police, in court or in other relevant positions. The source added that government institutions in Hargeisa do often not work effectively and they are also not neutral. Particularly courts were frequently prone to bribery and corruption. Additionally, and as a second way to defend one's position in a conflict situation, a member of a subaltern group would have to mobilise his/her elders to support him/her. Yet, also in regulation procedures under customary law (Somali: *xeer*), the local groups in Hargeisa would still have an advantage over others.⁸⁷⁹ This is in accordance with the findings of Schlee, who mentioned in his discussion of conflict settlement among Somalis under customary law that 'the outcome is largely determined by the differential in bargaining power.'⁸⁸⁰

3.4.2 Returnees, vulnerable groups

Regarding IDPs in Hargeisa, a local source mentioned that they live in several locations, one camp is in 'Statehouse' area. Many IDPs are from the region (Somaliland). Many are impoverished countryside dwellers/nomads who are Isaaq or from another dominant group in Somaliland. They get free space or housing; their survival is guaranteed by relatives who pay for food etc. or through donations from international or local NGOs. Some IDPs are from southern Somalia. They are dependent on humanitarian aid. Some also can work as construction workers, as watchmen or cleaners. In case of

⁸⁷⁶ Hoehne, M. V., telephone interview, 12. July 2021

⁸⁷⁷ Osman, A. A., telephone interview, 12 July 2021

⁸⁷⁸ Osman, A. A., telephone interview, 12 July 2021

⁸⁷⁹ Yusuf, A. S., telephone interview, 12 July 2021

⁸⁸⁰ Schlee, G., Customary law and the joys of statelessness: idealised traditions versus Somali realities, 2013, [url](#), p. 263



conflict, also these vulnerable groups form ‘defence units’ (Somali: *gashambuur*). They try to mobilise their own elders to negotiate with the elders of the other conflict party.⁸⁸¹

The same source adds that IDPs in Hargeisa are sometimes accused by the majority population to be behind crimes.⁸⁸² A recent example is reported with regard to refugees in Hargeisa who belong to the Oromo group. In July 2021, they demonstrated in the city, ‘saying that they were afraid to be deported [back to Ethiopia] because of rumours accusing Oromo to have abducted children from houses [in Hargeisa].’⁸⁸³ For more information on IDPs in Hargeisa, please see sections [3.1.2 Humanitarian situation overview](#), [3.2.3 Accessing and settling in the city](#) and [3.3.2 Housing and shelter](#).

Returnees from the diaspora generally connect with their local relatives (predominantly from the Isaaq clan-family) to get re-integrated into the local society. Hoehne observed that also diaspora Somalis who have been away for decades, e.g. in Europe or North America, normally retain ties to their patrilineal descent groups and some (distanced) relatives on the ground. Upon return to Hargeisa, these relatives would prepare the ground and assist the returnee in the first weeks or even months to establish herself/himself. However, if a returnee would be problem-loaden, e.g. mentally ill, a drug addict or ‘penniless’, kinship solidarity could be short-lived. Some relatives might offer a place to stay and some food, but eventually, it is expected that returnees fend for themselves. Those returnees persistently violating basic cultural or religious norms are not tolerated; they have to reform themselves, otherwise they are excluded from family solidarity. Furthermore, those who have lived abroad, especially in the ‘global north’, for a longer time are expected to bring back economic and other resources and invest back home. Those who cannot do so are looked down upon and mocked by local relatives and others.⁸⁸⁴

Vulnerable groups in Hargeisa are, besides IDPs, minority groups. Minorities residing in Hargeisa are mainly occupational minorities belonging to the Gabooye collective (consisting of Madhibaan and Muse Diriye) and also Yibir and Tumal (for more information on this groups, please see section 4.1 of EASO’s COI report [Somalia: Targeted profiles](#)). They are marginalised regarding access to education and political and economic resources.⁸⁸⁵

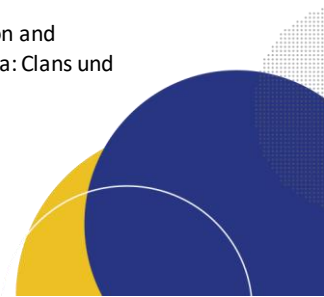
⁸⁸¹ Yusuf, A. S., telephone interview, 12 July 2021

⁸⁸² Yusuf, A. S., telephone interview, 12 July 2021

⁸⁸³ VOA Somali, Itoobiyaanka ku nool Hargeysa oo maanta dibad-bax dhigay [Ethiopians living in Hargeysa made a demonstration today], 11 July 2021, [url](#)

⁸⁸⁴ Hoehne, M. V., telephone interview, 12. July 2021

⁸⁸⁵ Vitturini, E., The Gabooye of Somaliland: transformations and historical continuities of the labour exploitation and marginalisation of hereditary groups of occupational specialists, 2020, p. 474; Switzerland, SEM, Focus Somalia: Clans und Minderheiten, 31 May 2017, [url](#), pp. 14-17



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Husein, M. Y., telephone interview, 11 July 2021. Marian Yasin Husein works as a midwife in Garowe.

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Tahir, A., email, 23 June 2021. Abdifatah Tahir is a specialist of Hargeisa who obtained his PhD from the University of Sussex and currently (as of June 2021) serves as a member of Parliament in Somalia.

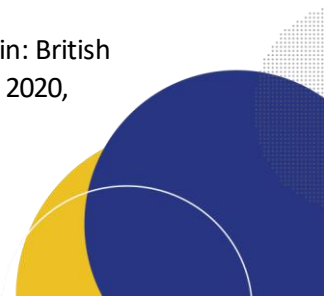
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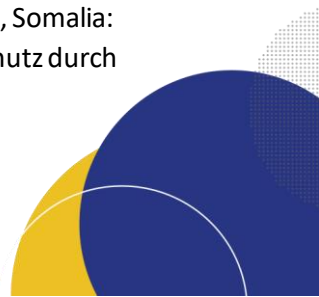
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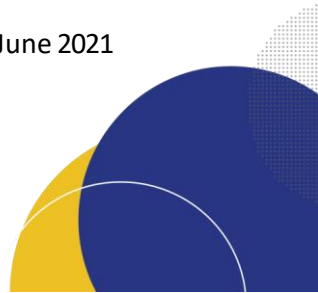
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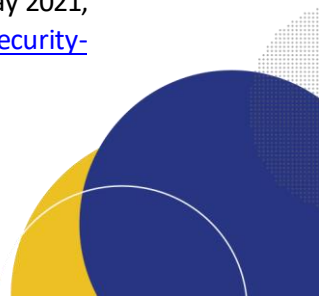
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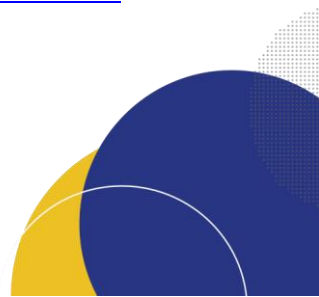
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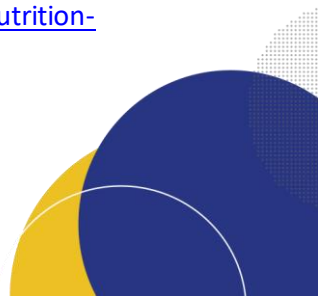
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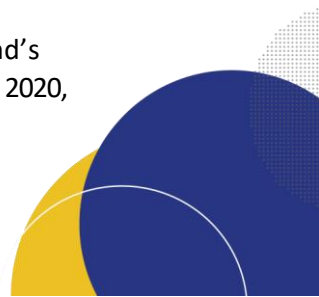
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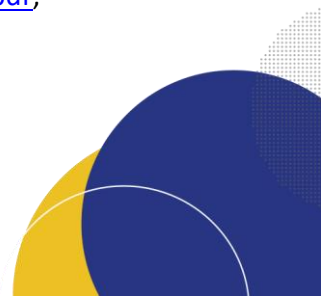
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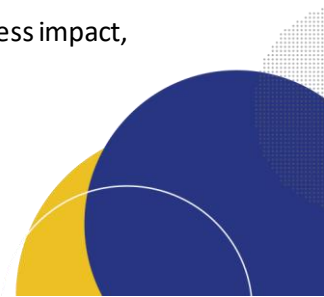
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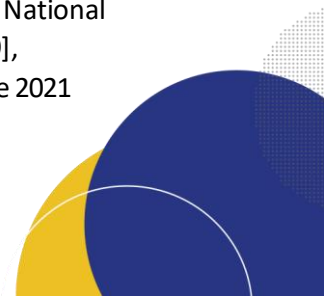
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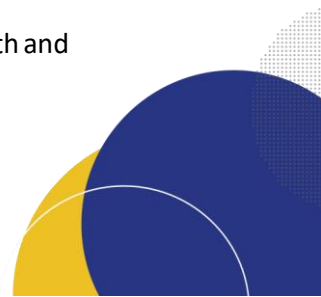
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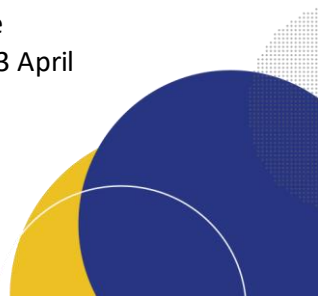
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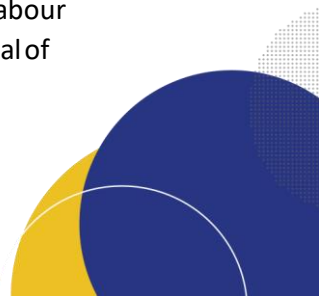
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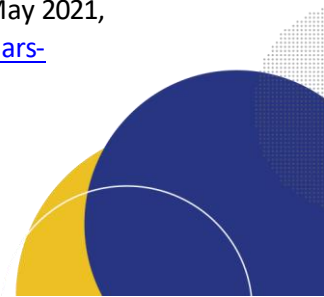
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Annex 2: Terms of Reference

Mogadishu

1. Mogadishu's overview
 - 1.1. Demographics and clan composition/distribution
 - 1.2. Humanitarian situation overview

2. Mobility and accessibility
 - 2.1. Mogadishu airport and flight connections
 - 2.2. Internal mobility, including checkpoints
 - 2.3. Accessing and settling in the city

3. Socio-economic indicators
 - 3.1. Economic overview and food security
 - 3.2. Housing and shelter
 - 3.3. Hygiene, water and sanitation
 - 3.4. Health care
 - 3.5. Education for children
 - 3.6. Means of basic subsistence and employment

4. Social protection networks and (lack of) support to specific groups
 - 4.1. Clan based protection
 - 4.2. Returnees, vulnerable groups

Garowe

1. Garowe's overview
 - 1.1. Demographics and clan composition
 - 1.2. Humanitarian situation overview

2. Mobility and accessibility
 - 2.1. Garowe's airport and flight connections
 - 2.2. Internal mobility, including checkpoints
 - 2.3. Accessing and settling in the city

3. Socio-economic indicators
 - 3.1. Economic overview and food security
 - 3.2. Housing and shelter
 - 3.3. Hygiene, water and sanitation
 - 3.4. Health care
 - 3.5. Education for children
 - 3.6. Means of basic subsistence and employment

4. Social protection networks and (lack of) support to specific groups
 - 4.1. Clan based protection



4.2. Returnees, vulnerable groups

Hargeisa

1. Hargeisa's overview
 - 1.1. Demographics and clan composition
 - 1.2. Humanitarian situation overview

2. Mobility and accessibility
 - 2.1. Hargeisa's airport and flight connections
 - 2.2. Internal mobility
 - 2.3. Accessing and settling in the city

3. Socio-economic indicators
 - 3.1. Economic overview and food security
 - 3.2. Housing and shelter
 - 3.3. Hygiene, water and sanitation
 - 3.4. Health care
 - 3.5. Education for children
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