

Conflict Analysis of Fodder and Honey Value Chain Upgrading for Togdheer Region

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary.....	i
List of Figures	ii
1. Purpose of Research	1
2. Methodology.....	3
3. Background and History	4
3.1. Mapping of Togdheer Region	2
3.2. Background of Fodder and Honey Value Chains	3
4. Sources of Tension and Conflict	10
4.1. Perceptions of conflict, peace, insecurity, violence	10
4.2. Insecurity and Violence	11
4.3. Conflict Typology and Relationship to Value Chains	12
4.3.1. Regional Level	12
4.3.2. National Level	13
4.3.3. District/Community Level	19
4.4. Origins/ Drivers of Conflict and Effects on Community	24
4.4.1. Socio-Economic Causes.....	24
4.4.2. Social Cause	27
4.4.3. Political and Governance Causes	29
4.4.4. Security Causes	31
5. Actor Analysis	33
5.1. Mapping of Key Actors	33
5.2. Horizontal/Vertical Linkages in Value Chains	34
5.3. Capacities for Peace	35
6. Conflict Dynamics and Trends.....	36
7. Interaction between Value Chains and Conflict	37
7.1. Impacts of Wider Conflict on Value Chain	38
7.2. Value Chains Impact on Wider Conflict	40
7.3. Conflict present within Value Chains.....	41
8. Conclusion and Recommendations	42
9. References.....	44
10. Appendices	45
10.1. Baseline Data and Village Profiles	
10.2. Qoyta Mapping Exercise	

Purpose of Research

The purpose of this conflict analysis component of the ILO/PENHA SEED programme is to provide a thorough understanding of the causes and triggers of conflict in the target areas to be covered by ILO/PENHA's baseline study. This is part of the implementing actors' efforts to ensure that interventions to be subsequently designed and implemented in the SEED Programme work to reduce the vulnerability of target communities to conflict while maximising the programme's positive impacts. This is of special significance as the social, economic, cultural and political factors that affect the lives and livelihoods of target communities are increasingly fluid. Carrying out the baseline study as an integrated analytical process is expected to lead to the sound capacity on the part of all the implementing actors involved in subsequent stages of the programme to strategize for and respond to potential risks and opportunities.

The vast majority of the population in the area covered by the baseline study depends on livestock rearing – the sale of live heads of camel, sheep and goats as well as milk and other by-products – for income. In addition, target populations also depend on livestock for subsistence living while some members are also supported by relatives in the Diaspora as well as in major towns across Somaliland. As a result of widespread and unregulated negative exploitation of the rangelands—i.e. overgrazing and massive charcoal production—in particularly Somaliland's eastern regions, the lives and livelihoods have been rendered fairly unsustainable. In addition, successive on-and-off livestock export bans and recurrent droughts have further exacerbate the capacity of rural communities in Somaliland, particularly in the eastern regions of Somaliland, to support themselves. Furthermore, the spill-over effect of the socio-political conflict between Somaliland and Puntland administrations over the eastern borderlands often impacts the security situation of the entire region.

The most serious threat to the livelihoods of communities covered by the study has been the continuous expansion of enclosure formations—stretches of land usurped for purposes of fodder production, land acquisition or agriculture. Conflicts over these enclosures vary and have become increasingly numerous in Togdheer and Odweine—not yet ratified as a region by parliament—regions. With the recurrence of cyclic droughts and the disintegration of Somaliland society into clan enclaves, conflicts over the enclosures seem to be heading for disastrous consequences.

As a result of the combined effect of the factors described above, conflict has been a constant presence in the lives and livelihoods of the people of Somaliland's eastern regions. While the situation in the particular areas to be covered by the study is relatively better, conflict analysis is just as important as any variable –i.e. economic, demography, community resources, etc. –

in a socioeconomic baseline study on such a socially, economically, and environmentally volatile context. Regarding conflict as an issue and attempting to minimise its related risks would prove substantially prudent for large-scale programmes such as that of ILO's Somali programme.

The Academy for Peace and Development (APD) was established in 1999 as a research institute in collaboration with the War-torn Societies Project (WSP) International (now Interpeace). Since inception, APD activities have focused on peace building using Participatory Action Research (PAR) methodology to encourage consensus building among key actors with respect to strategic political, social and economic issues, leading to practical, policy-oriented recommendations and guidelines. The organization has brought together representatives of different sectors of Somaliland society to identify priorities in the process of rebuilding Somaliland. The Academy has been instrumental in facilitating dialogue on issues of human rights, democracy and good governance.

The report is structured in seven chapters. The following chapter describes the research methodology used to collect and analyze data. Chapter three builds the contextual background of the target area of Togdheer region and Burao/Oodweyne districts, where the planned interventions are situated. The most extensive section, chapter four examines the sources of conflict and tension in the area, with a multilevel analysis showing the interrelated nature of conflicts. This chapter also shifts the analysis to the value chains under assessment by examining the relationship between the identified sources of conflict and the value chain. Chapter five and six conduct an actor and conflict dynamics analysis respectively. Chapter six compiles the issues identified in the previous chapter with the aim of adequately assessing the interaction between conflict and the fodder and honey value chain. Lastly, a conclusion and list of recommendation will be provided.

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1. Methodology

The development of this Conflict Analysis component of the baseline study was participatory with involvement from PENHA, as the implementing agency and, where applicable, other relevant stakeholders using qualitative-participatory assessment tools. The study gathered both quantitative and qualitative data from primary and secondary sources, using various methods, including:

- 1- Review of secondary sources of information and data
- 2- Questionnaire and Survey Data to gather and track certain basic information at the district and community level.
- 3- Focus Group Discussions held with a range of actors, including the target beneficiaries of the program and other relevant stakeholders.
4. Key informant interviews with a range of community members, with many being identified after focus group discussions.

The first phase of data collection consisted of desk research and was followed by field work, primarily in Burco and Oodweyne Districts. Activities were structured in such way to obtain relevant information regarding three main objectives:

- 1- To establish a broad district level conflict analysis, including an examination of the regional/ district profile, causes of conflict, relevant actors and stakeholders, and emerging conflict dynamics and trends
- 2- To assesses the relationship between the respective value chains and present conflict dynamics
- 3- To present and assess the potential interaction between the planned value chain upgrading interventions and conflict.

The five target villages of Beer, Qoyta, Galloley, Qalacto, and Gatitaley were also visited to collect conflict and insecurity indicators. Through questionnaires and basic survey data, perception based and standard indicators were compiled in order to establish a baseline for tracking and monitoring conflict dynamics and interaction between conflict and the planned intervention (presented in the Annex).

A holistic approach to data collection enabled APD to gather a wide array of information, contributing to the scope of the findings and overall understanding of conflict dynamics in the target area and its relationship to the value chain upgrading interventions.

2. Background and History

This chapter provides a general profile of Togdheer Region, with a particular focus on Burco and Oodweyne districts where the ILO/PENHA Seed Programme interventions are situated. The first section will assess the wider context by mapping the regions geographic-demographic makeup, prevailing economic and socio cultural conditions, and governance related dynamics. Lastly a brief account of the history of conflict in the region and background information of the fodder and honey value chains will be provided.

3.1 MAPPING OF TOGDHEER REGION

Geographic and Demographic Make Up

Togdheer region is located in central Somaliland, bordering the Sahel region, Hargeisa region, Sool Region, and spreading towards the Hawd plateau to the fifth region of Ethiopia. The size of the region has gone through significant changes since independence. The most recent nomination to establish two new regions of Oodweyne and Buhodel (yet to be ratified) out of Togdheer further shrinks the region. A semi arid environment that lies at the foothills of the Golis Mountains, the regions geographic landscape varies from mountain ridges in the north to flat plateau in the South.¹

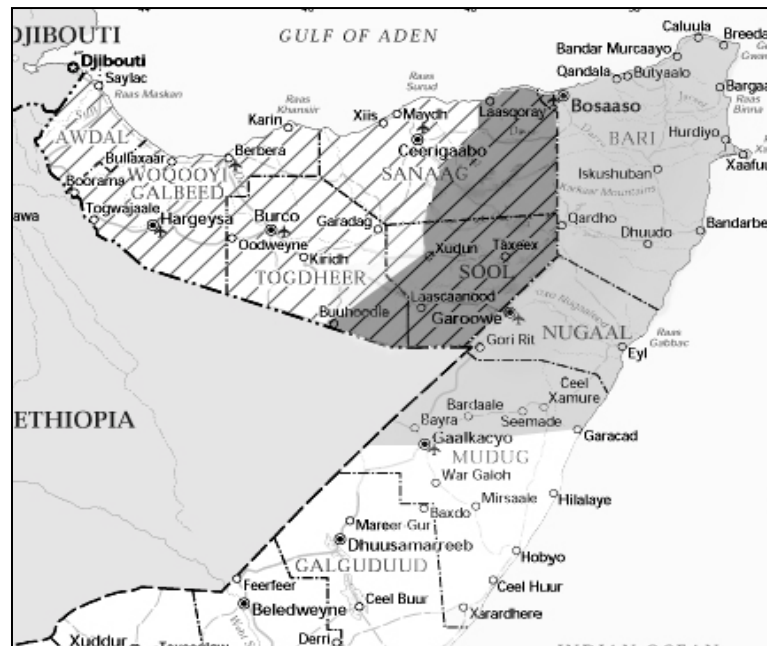


Diagram 1: Map of Somaliland and Puntland. Source International Crisis Group

¹ Academy for Peace and Development (APD) (2009) "Local capacities for peace- land-based conflicts in Somaliland and Afghanistan." Hargeisa, Somaliland.

The population of Togdheer is estimated at 402,295 people, 30% urban, 65% nomadic pastoralists, and 5% agro-pastoralist.² Four clans predominately inhabit the region; the Isaq Habaryounis in the West, Habarjeclo in the East, Issa Musa in the North, and a mix of Habar Younis in the South. The Dhulbahante of the Darod are present in the deep South, and the Gabooye minority groups are spread throughout the region, intermingling with the other clans.

Resources and Economy

Commonly referred to as a pastoral territory, or in Somali *dul daximaad*, Togdheer region was traditionally used and continues to largely be used as grazing area. The region possesses the largest amount of livestock herds in Somaliland and evidently the largest livestock trade market in the country is located in Burao, the capital of Togdheer region. Considering the scale and scope of pastoralism and related livelihood activities in the region, it is reasonable to safely assert that pastoralism is the backbone of the region's economy. In a strategic geographic position, the area benefits from its proximity to Berbera port for access to the international livestock trade and locally from its links to both urban, rural, and Hawd pastoral communities. As the hub of a rapidly expanding livestock trade centre, opportunities for fodder sales and employment are also increasing.

Although pastoralism dominates the landscape, small pockets of rain-fed cultivated land are present, supplemented by runoff from the Golis mountains. The main crops grown are sorghum, maize, cowpea, water melon and vegetables.³ Many farmers are also involved in the fodder and grass trade, in some cases allocating as much as half of their land to its production. In fact, mixed livestock and land cultivation livelihoods comprise the major wealth determinates in the region.⁴ However both sources of livelihoods, mixed or not, are facing numerous challenges primarily associated with reducing assets due to the region's erratic rains, recurrent shocks, and limited farm inputs. For pastoralists, this has led to a shift in livelihood sources, including working in the charcoal trade and/or farming activities.

Other income generating activities include petty trade, labour, sale of charcoal, and the khat trade. Kinship support and remittances from the Diaspora community also serve as a source of income for many families. Togdheer ranks relatively high in terms of income and wealth indicators, with an estimated per capita income of USD 301-350 in 2007, comparable to

² Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit- Somalia (FSNAU) Livelihood Baseline Profile(2011). "Togdheer Agro pastoral Baseline Report." Report No. VI.47

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

Hargeisa and Awdal region.⁵ Nevertheless declining livestock revenues and a lack of alternative economic opportunities poses numerous challenges to the regional growth and stability.

Socio Cultural

Identities in Somali society are primarily formed around family ties, which are defined at the highest level by six large clan families that are further broken down into numerous sub clans. In Somaliland, the population comprises primarily five major clans – the Isaaq, the Gadabursi, the Harti (consisting of Dhubahante and the Warsangeli), the Isse, and the Gabooye. The last clan consisting of several groups is seen as lower by the other clans and marginalized throughout the country.

In Togdheer region, the socio cultural and national identity of many pastoral communities that travel freely across the Ethiopian border is another socio-cultural issue. For the most part, such pastoral communities are ambivalent about their national identity. However in most cases they feel allegiance with the authorities in the North southwards to the Hawd plateau.⁶

Politics and Governance

A byproduct of the former Somali state was the adoption of a decentralized model of governance in Somaliland, enshrined in the National Charter of the 1993 Grand Borama Conference. In addition to being considered better suited to the local political culture of the region, a decentralized system of governance can also contribute to the peace building process in a sensitive post conflict setting. The system draws on elements of both traditional authorities and modern institutions to form a unique, hybrid system of governance with moderately functioning institutions. Although some literature questions the utility of traditional structures in managing new types of conflict, Somaliland provides a unique understanding of the role of traditional authorities and institutions in Africa, the nature and limitations of utilizing local social structures, and its ability to establish dual institutions.

Public interest and support for decentralization was widespread, particularly among the residents of Burao, who have a historical track record and reputation of being vocal and outspoken to any central authority. Under the decentralization arrangement, the district is responsible for service delivery, however in Burao district and across Somaliland

⁵ Horn Peace (2010), "Community Security; an Approach to grassroots peace building- Community safety and security analysis of Burco District." Somali Community Safety Framework, Draft- Version 6.

⁶ Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2009) "Local capacities for peace- land-based conflicts in Somaliland and Afghanistan." Hargeysa, Somaliland.

decentralization has yet to yield improved service delivery for various reasons, including a low skill-base and limited ability to collect revenue.⁷

The political scenery of the region is dominated by two major clans; the Habar Younis and Habar Jeclo. The Issa Musa are proportionally represented in the region's administrative machinery, whereas the Dhulbahante of the Darod clan are largely underrepresented in the regions power structure.⁸

History of Conflict

The fall of the Siyad Barre regime in 1991 led to the disintegration of the Somali society into clans and competing clan families over the territories and other resources. The regime used clan politics to stay in power for 21 years and such a legacy paved the way for the rivalry and new schism that has dominated both the social and political spheres of Somali life ever since. In Somaliland, similar to relatively far less stable Somali territories, clan and regional-based divisions run deep to the extent that close kinsmen, of the same ancestral lineage, have gone to war –and, still do– over resources, real or imagined, land, water, which is essential to their lives and that of their animals, as well as other resources such as access to ports, and trading routes.

The post conflict period constantly proves to be the most sensitive stage of the peace building process, where the potential for a return of violent conflict is tangible, and as a post conflict society, Somaliland was not immune to this reality. Incidents of inter clan conflict broke out throughout the country sporadically between 1991- 1997. Togdheer region, particularly the city of Burco experienced conflict with three major outbreaks since 1991, which were based on political differences, but where clan dynamics were used to draw the lines and mobilize forces. The strong clan rivalry between the major clans of Habar Jeclo and Habar Younis erupted into inter clan fighting between 1991-1993, with violent confrontations in Burco lasting for a week in February 1991. . Subsequently, between March and October of the same year, the *Berbera conflict* – occurred over control of the Berbera seaport and extended to Burao. Although the conflict occurred in Berbera, in the Sahil region, this borders Burao's Togdheer region. The two sub-clans that were involved i.e. *Habar Yonis* (Isaaq) and *Issa Muse*, are found in both districts. Then from 1995 to 1997, the *Habar Yonis* (allied with Idagale clan) Government of Somaliland

7 Academy for Peace and Development (APD) (2010). "Pillars of peace note-'Democracy in Somaliland; challenges and opportunities." DRAFT. Hargeysa, Somaliland.

8 Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2009) "Local capacities for peace- land-based conflicts in Somaliland and Afghanistan." Hargeysa, Somaliland.

were engaged in a full-scale civil war (the so-called *Mashrur* war) that ended after inter-clan negotiations between 1997 and 1998.⁹

3.2 BACKGROUND OF FODDER AND HONEY VALUE CHAINS

In addition to presenting a profile and context of Togdheer region, it is also essential to broadly discuss the context of the fodder and honey value chains in the region, such as the market, enabling environment, active players, and related challenges. Such an overview contributes to the subsequent chapters that delve deeper into the value chains and related conflict analysis by providing a basis of understanding of the situation. Hence how conflict affects or exacerbates the situation and/ or challenges faced in the value chain can be properly assessed.

Fodder Value Chain

As a value chain closely linked to and influenced by the livestock market, the fodder trade shares similar characteristics, including more or less interconnected players and local markets. The active players in the fodder market are fodder producers, fodder traders, livestock traders and keepers. The main markets for fodder are ever expanding livestock markets in Burco and Berbera. With a large percentage of livestock owners, fodder production in Togdheer is relatively high, coming out various farming community, such as Oodweyne, Beer and Qoyta. Fodder producers vary in their use and allocation of output, primarily dividing it among the following activities; storing for personal use to feed their own livestock or in case of drought conditions; sell to peri-urban livestock keepers in and around Burco and Oodweyne; or to livestock traders/exporters and middlemen; or sell to nomadic pastoralists in the main markets or closer to farm.

The history behind enclosing land for fodder production has their roots in colonial British Fodder Reserves.¹⁰ Nowadays, practically all fodder production is from enclosed land, which is also typically used for farming purposes considering it is prohibited to own a farm solely for fodder production.¹¹ It is also prohibited for people to cut and collect fodder from open land without legitimate ownership or to cut fodder from the roots, rather people are only suppose to take the top layer. Taxes are only taken from fodder transport vehicles; however one government official explained that the government is considering taxing farms where fodder is produced.

⁹ Horn Peace (2010), "Community Security; an Approach to grassroots peace building- Community safety and security analysis of Burco District." Somali Community Safety Framework, Draft- Version 6.

¹⁰ Academy for Peace and Development (APD) "From plunder and profit to prosperity and peace- resolving resource- based conflict in Somaliland." Hargeysa, Somaliland.p.3

¹¹ Key informant interview

The fodder value chain faces numerous challenges. A major challenge in the fodder value chain is the overall shortage of fodder, affecting all the actors and processes in the value chain. At production levels, fodder production is affected by the unpredictable changes in weather pattern and soil erosion. Farmers lack skills and training on farming practices and management, including fodder production, harvesting, preservation and storage and value addition at farm levels. Access to inputs is also a challenge as farmer's lack finances and capital to invest in commercial fodder production.¹² For some producers, such as community members from Galloley village are facing the added challenge of limited access to markets, mostly due to a lack of transport routes. Lack of storage facilities was consistently cited as a challenge in focus group discussions. Limited storage capabilities leads to losses through rain and too much dust in the fodder, with the added challenge that fodder dealers have limited skills or techniques in fodder handling.¹³

Honey Value Chain

Most of the active players are involved in more than one role in the honey value chain, acting as both producers and traders. In terms of the enabling environment, there are no formal rules or regulations in honey market. Some production goes on in Togdheer, but overall, according to key informants, there are few people engaged in beekeeping and sell to very few people. Honey is mainly sourced from outside Togdheer, including from neighboring Sheik, which produces more honey.

Various challenges affect the poorly developed honey value chain. At production level, honey producers are concerned with the environmental degradation of the rangelands, for instance through deforestation, droughts and desertification, which drastically affecting the honey trade. Furthermore there is lack of skills, knowledge, and equipment within the honey value chain.¹⁴

¹² Draft market study

¹³ Draft market study

¹⁴ Draft market study

4. Sources of Tension and Conflict

This chapter will combine the analysis of the broader conflict dynamics of the target areas with an examination of how these dynamics are related to and affect and value chains under assessment. By combining these two components and conducting a multilevel analysis, this report will aid in establishing linkages between interrelated levels of conflict dynamics, particularly given they have an impact on one another. The first section will define relevant terms and concepts according to the community's understanding. A brief description of the types of insecurity and violence faced in the target areas follows. The third section looks at the types of conflict from the regional level to the district level, with the focal analysis situated at the community level. Lastly an analysis of the causes of conflict and their effects on the community and value chains will be provided.

4.1. PERCEPTIONS OF CONFLICT, PEACE, VIOLENCE, AND INSECURITY

In order to inform our discussions during field work and uncover how communities understand conflict, participants were asked to define conflict, peace, violence, and insecurity. Focus group participants defined conflict in various forms, however the recurring theme throughout was the involvement of two or more opposing parties. Many participants associated conflict with violence, where causalities, deaths, and weapons are present. Emphasis was particularly placed on the ease with which conflict can split along clan lines in the Somali context, which tends to increase the number of involved actors, and ultimately the scale of the conflict. A gender component was also associated with the understanding of conflict and its weight in terms importance. As one participant explained, "Conflict is mostly between men. Incidents where women and children are involved are not really considered 'conflict', rather a civil disruption more than anything." The term dispute and conflict will be used interchangeably throughout the report.

In defining peace, almost all respondents first stressed their belief in divine order and described Allah (God) as the provider of peace. Secondly, peace was defined as somewhere with the presence of *barwago*- supportive environmental conditions and socio-economic standards, benefiting all groups. Respondents also recognized the role of community members and their conscious effort to want to keep and secure peace, developing a sense of communal responsibility over actions had to present for peace to prosper. Intact and supportive traditional practice was another key definition of peace, where violence and conflict can be averted and/or resolved successfully, especially in villages with the absence of police forces especially. I

Participants defined violence as acts aggression and physical contact with intent to cause harm. In the cities, most cases of violence were attributed to women and children.

Insecurity was defined as the presence of internal or external threats of attack, the presence of fear and overall limited movement due to these insecurities.

4.2. INSECURITY AND VIOLENCE

The main forms of insecurity identified during focus group discussions are violence against women, muggings, disputes among youth and children, as well as land disputes. There was a clear distinction noted between insecurity issues effecting urban areas compared to rural areas. In rural areas insecurity was almost always related to sources of livelihood of the pastoral and farming communities, whereas in the urban area new city problems and challenges are present. The type of disputes that arise from such rural insecurities will be assessed in the next section.

Prioritization of types of insecurity and violence faced by community				
Stakeholders				
	Nomadic Pastoralists	Farmers	Urban Area	Local Authorities (Rural)
1	Enclosures	Encroachments	Violence against women	Land Disputes
2	Water Sources	Boundary Disputes	Compensation Disputes	
3	Charcoal production	Charcoal Production	Youth/children disputes	
4		Water Sources	Thieves/ burglaries	
5				

It is worth noting that a large percentage of focus group participants and survey respondents stressed the stable and improved situation of security in their respective district and villages.

4.3. CONFLICT/DISPUTE TYPOLOGY – REGIONAL, NATIONAL, DISTRICT LEVEL

Prior to examining the causes of conflict, it is first pertinent to identify the types of conflict experienced at the regional, national, and local level. However, so as to not divert from the reports objective, a more in depth analysis will be provided at the district level, where interventions are situated.

4.3.1. Regional Level

The border dispute between Somaliland and Puntland can easily be considered one of the most contentious regional and national issues affecting the country, primarily due to its destabilizing potential. The disputed eastern territories of Sool and Sanaag have been a source of tension between Somaliland and Puntland' both claiming the 'internal territories'. In recent years, the tension over the economically viable regions has intensified into cross border fighting in Las Anood, the capital of Sool region. The territories are not under actual control of the Somaliland or Puntland authorities, rather there is a presence of both governments, contributing to and sustaining hostile conditions.

4.3.2. National Level

Aside from fostering peace and stability, Somaliland suffers from many of the problems facing contemporary Africa, including human right violations, gender inequality and a weak and underrepresented civil society. This section will provide a brief synopsis of interrelated political and economic national issues that have proven to be sources of contention within the country. In particular, the relationship between the state the disputed territories in the eastern regions, imbalances in the national and region representations, the sensitive democratization process, and an absence of major economic development will be examined.

Since Somaliland declared independence in 1991 there have been incidents in which clans and sub-clans have resorted to violent conflict as means to secure a greater percentage of the country's political establishment. Examining the reconciliation and nation building process partly illustrates the causes behind such conflicts. The reconciliation process in Somaliland undertaken over the period of its existence since the early the nineties, effected through the holding of clan conferences in Burao (1991), Sheikh (1992), Borama (1993) and Hargeisa (1996) paved the way for the establishment of a government based on a power-sharing system among the dominant clans. The proportional representation of the different clans in the country's bi-cameral parliament and the cabinet was based on an archaic set of compromises and give-and-take arrangement that reflected neither demography nor land mass inhabitancy –a crude reference to ratios of seats won in the Somalia parliament in the early sixties. Clans on the peripheries, it is often argued, were by and large short-changed. Clans with grievances over the number of seats allocated to them continue with their alienation despite the adoption of

elections as a means to accede to power and the onset of the democratization process through a multiparty system. Some of the present conflicts, particularly in the eastern regions, can be attributed to such earlier grievances.

The onset of the broader democratization process in Somaliland, intended to support peace and stability in the country, faces a number of challenges and is associated with a number of underlying tensions that lead to conflict. The Academy for Peace and Development is extensively involved in the democratization pillar, dedicating an entire pillar of work to the matter. This report will focus on the increasing clan based element present in democratization process, due to its tangible impact at the regional and district level conflict dynamics. Clan based dynamics associated with the political system is an increasing and incredibly alarming phenomena, especially considering the destructive history political perversion of the clan system has played in Somalia/land. As stressed in the Academy's Pillars to Piece Note" in the context of Somaliland's decentralization and democratization process, the occurrence of such multi-dimensional conflicts is likely to continue or increase.¹⁵

The main areas of contention are the politicization of land based conflict drawn along clan lines, and secondly the division's political parties are creating between people of different and the same clan. The three main political parties, although not openly representing one clan, are predominately followed by certain clan groups. As one focus group participant explained, describing the impact this national level issues has at the community level "People that were family and neighbors are now conflicting over politics – it has pushed people apart." Local conflicts over land ownership are increasingly being used as an instrument of politicians to gain influence in politics. The establishment of regional and administrative boundaries also plays a role such dynamics. The concept of degaan is used to expand administrative boundaries or to create new districts. For example, the regional allocation of some rural villages north of Hargeisa has been contentious between politicians of the Sa'ad Muuse sub-clan and the Gadabursi. Districts have been created by Presidential Decree since 1991, but for lack of resources, 19 of these entities exist only on paper, and their territory remains under the previous district administrations.¹⁶ A manifestation of this phenomenon is also the increase in traditional elders and sultans for political leverage.

Although more of a regional issue, the disputed border territories with Puntland have considerable effects on national level conflict dynamics. The relationship between the Somaliland government and the disputed eastern regions is quite sensitive and strained. A primary source of contention faced by and within the eastern regions is a product of grievances

¹⁵ Academy for Peace and Development (APD) (2010). "Pillars of peace note-'Democracy in Somaliland; challenges and opportunities." DRAFT. Hargeysa, Somaliland. P. 40

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 45

dating back to the formation of Somaliland as noted above; however also include more recent imbalance issues. The issue traverses the political realm into fair economic distribution of financial capital and other resources, including development aid. Looking at the monthly distribution from the central government to the local governments, Ceerigavo and Lissanod receive a meager \$1951.9 USD, or 1.09% of total revenues, the lowest in the country.¹⁷ The uneven distribution of development aid in the country shapes the relations between the communities in the eastern regions and the International NGOs and/ or UN agencies, but more importantly has political implications for the Eastern communities who often interpret that the incumbent administration is biased and does not encourage foreign aid agencies to reach out to these regions. “Since the injection of development aid has the effect of pulling together formerly conflicting parties to share development services, its absence is the root cause of persistent tensions.”¹⁸ However it is worth noting that a recent development conference in Djibouti saw a significant increase in resources and financial support to Sool and Sanaag on the part of the government and development agencies.

In the wider context, Somaliland’s economy faces numerous constraints with far less opportunities available for economic growth, ultimately posing a threat to the prevailing peace. The economy remains mostly traditional with livestock exports (sheep, goats) being the main source of foreign export, however the recurrent shocks have severely affected the trade. Overall, there are numerous challenges affecting Somaliland’s stability and development trajectory.

4.3.3. Focus on Togdheer Region

As a target area of the ILO/PENHA SEED Programme, this section will briefly highlight certain challenges affecting Togdheer region. Although it is difficult to separate issues faced at the regional level from the district level, considering issues at the regional level merely consist of pervasive district level issues, this section will zero in on issues particularly felt by the regional administration, such as clan settlements and village formations, and the marginalization of grazing resources.

Territorial claims are known to have shifted over time (I.M. Lewis, Pastoral Democracy, 1962) and (J.A. Hunt, Somaliland Flora and Fauna, 1950) compared to present day dispositions making the claims on flimsy rationale. Oftentimes, the dispute over territory between one clan versus another in the predominantly pastoralist areas of the country’s eastern regions is ambiguous since pastoral movements of livestock have no specific defined demarcations. This was in contrast to the west of the country territorial dispute, reflecting the modern sedentary process,

¹⁷ Academy for Peace and Development (APD) (2010). “Pillars of peace note-’Democracy in Somaliland; challenges and opportunities.” DRAFT. Hargeysa, Somaliland.

¹⁸ Ibid.

is based on a two-way exercise of clan aggrandizement. However, this trend has extended into other areas of the country, including Togdheer.

In Togdheer region, the increase in sedentary agricultural practices and the formation of new villages are an increasing source of contention. Clan settlements in Togdheer region are fairly demarcated with the Habarjeclo and Habaryounis population spread from the vicinity of Burao and extending across the Ethiopian border; Isse Musa pastoralists are in constant drift from their traditional homeland in the North southwards to the Hawd plateau; Dhulbahante are to be found in Buhodel district and across the Ethiopian border.¹⁹ The borderlines between clans consistently proves to be the most conflict prone areas given that there is a higher likelihood of escalation due to an increase in involved actors based on the clan system. For example, the pastoral conflicts in Galgal and Yayle situated in Togdheer illustrate the shifting nature of traditional conflicts over access to land and water resource that are exacerbated by new trends and challenges. Galgal is located at the borderline between Habar Jeecllo clans and Dhulbahante. With a presence of many wells, the area has fertile pasture land that has been contested since the fifties by both clans. The issues of contention are on the one hand the Habar Jeecllo are expanding their grazing lands too far and that on the other hand the Dhulbahante are constructing too many *berkads* and other dwelling structures.

A contextual background of traditional clan settlements or the concept of *deegaan* is essential in order to fully understand the potential for conflict around the formation of new villages (see Figure 5). An in depth analysis of clan dynamics behind the formation of new settlements is beyond the scope of this report however will be briefly analyzed in the following section as a cause of conflict and the effects it has on the community.

Figure 5- Understanding Deegaan

Deegaan encompasses land and its resource base. To Somali, it connotes exclusive control by a group sharing similar language, identity or clan affiliation of a land area and the natural resources found therein. *Deegaan* is synonymous with entitlement, security, usage and identity. In the Somali sense, *deegaan* is the land one inhabits and is able to graze his livestock on without fear or insecurity. *Deegaan* is important to understanding the anatomy of the conflict for a number of reasons. *Deegaan* is important politically and socially: the process of acquiring *deegaan* is delicate and complex and involves continuous negotiation between different sub-clans and groups for access to specific *deegaan*.²⁰

Excerpt from Ecological sources of conflict report.

¹⁹ Academy for Peace and Development (APD) (2010). "Pillars of peace note-'Democracy in Somaliland; challenges and opportunities." DRAFT. Hargeysa, Somaliland.

²⁰ African Centre for Technology Studies. "Deegan, politics and war in Somalia." Policy Research on the ecological sources of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa.

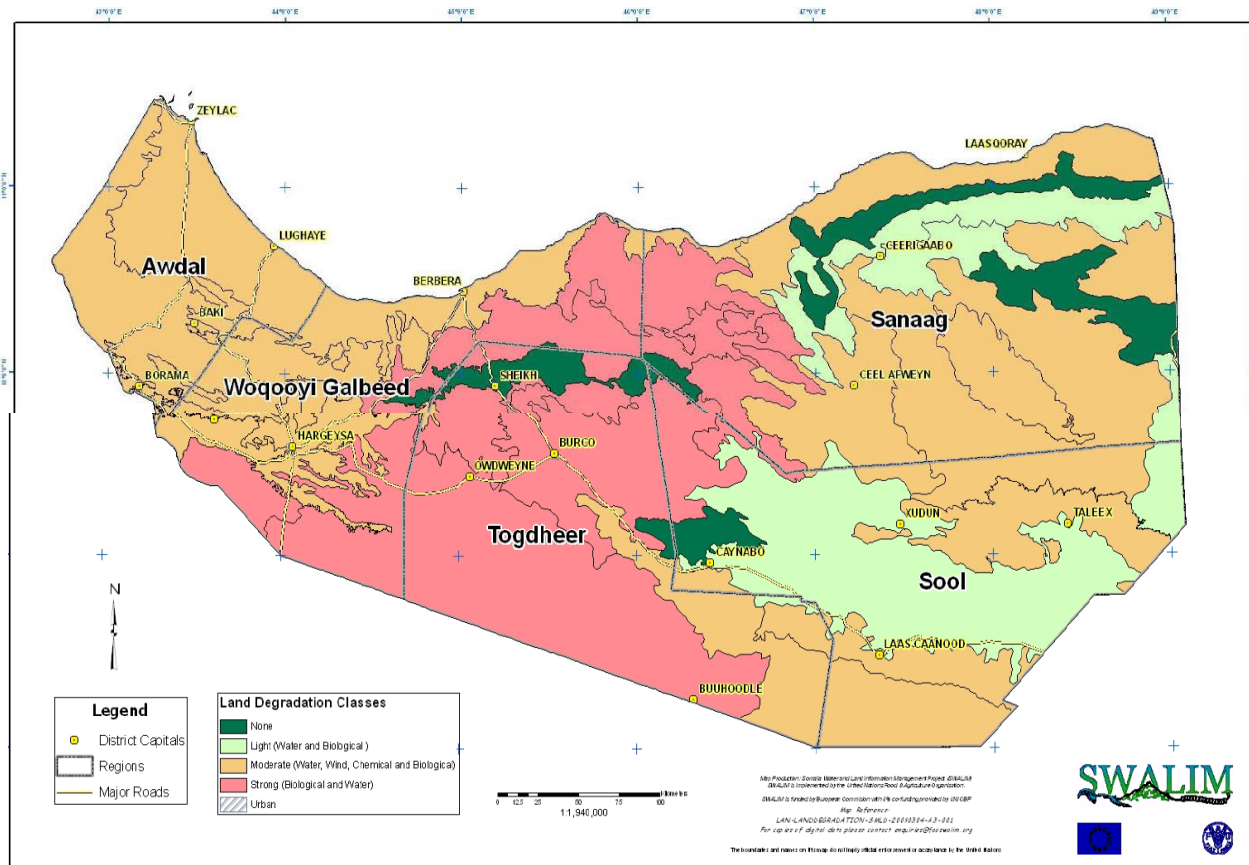
In addition to the establishment of new villages, the distance between villages is decreasing, despite a government law that prohibits the formation of a new village 5km within another village.²¹ In addition new laws have or are in the process of being enacted so as to not allow the creation of new villages all together. A government official from the Ministry of Pastoralism and Environment considers villagers formations, particularly those established on grazing land as one of top challenges affecting Togdheer region. Not surprisingly new villages are being formed along clan lines and through flimsy land ownership claims land. Cases have appeared throughout the country; including the village of Reget, where people began cultivating land that was previously used as open grazing area. Conflict arose between the pastoral communities and farmers; however the government interceded and returned the land for communal grazing purposes. Another case involved the village of Genea, in the northwest, 45 km from Burao. Two areas were under dispute over the creation of a water catchment, the government interceded again, and the catchment has since been destroyed. Government authorities continue to destroy illegal village establishments and related dwelling structures, however as one local government official stated "you burn one today, another one is formed tomorrow." District and regional level officials continue to distribute cease and desist notices to many ongoing village establishments. There are cases where the judiciary process does not succeed and villages that were established illegally are left intact. For example, the Qol Qol conflict in Togdheer region occurred when residents of the existing village of Qol Qol conflicted with a new village that was being established 5 km away. The new residents created 6 traditional houses in one night. Government authorities were involved in the matter, which lasted for about 6 months. The end verdict allowed the village to remain, it is now known as Bali Musse. The primary reason it was left intact was due to the fact that it was an established village by the time the judicial process ran its full course. Harir Jame, the government official that elaborated on the above cases, noted, in regards to the Qol Qol conflict, that both villages are living peacefully without any feelings of resentment, however, this is an area that can be further assessed with through.

The pastoral way of life is threatened with the expansion of such settlements and related dwelling structures, marginalizing grazing resources in the rural hinterlands and ultimately creating underling tensions, increasing the potential for conflict. A cause of this type of conflict is partly due to the weak enforcement of demarcations by government authorities between farming and grazing land- to be examined in the next section further. With the increase of sedentary practices, more permanent dwellings are being established, particularly around water points. The construction of new water catchments or berkads carries repercussions for both the environment and the pastoral inhabitants of the area. The every widening perimeter

²¹ Key informant interview with Harir Jama

around settlements is leading to environmental degradation in the form of increasing topsoil erosion, destruction of trees for fencing material and charcoal.

The below SWALIM map illustrates the level of land degradation faced throughout the country. Togdheer region faces some of the strongest levels of biological land degradation.



4.3.4. District/Community Level

The primary types of conflict and tension identified at the community level are land based disputes, more specifically over encroachments, boundary lines, and illegal enclosures; water disputes over channels and berkads (large water catchments); and charcoal production. In addition to analyzing key community level disputes, this section will also shift and situate our analysis on the value chains under assessment by briefly highlighting the link, if any, between the identified conflicts and the honey and fodder value chains. A more thorough analysis of the effects of these conflicts on the value chains will be provided in the next section.

Encroachments and Boundary Disputes

A large percentage of survey and focus group participants identified encroachments onto their land, mostly farming land, as one of the largest types of disputes faced, partially indicative of the agro pastoral communities located in the project target areas. They explained how primarily nomadic pastoralists forcibly enter farm land with their herd of animals and steal vegetation and fodder. Many farmers expressed their patience with pastoralists, however noted how this patience has run dry, leading to an escalation of conflict when it occurs again. For example, there was a case in Galloley, where an enclosure owner shot a camel that strayed into his enclosure, provoking conflict with the livestock owner. As one participant, a pastoralist, explained, “during drought conditions, we give priority to our animals in search of grazing land and the laws of country do no concern us, if we come across enclosed fodder, there is a high likelihood that we will enter the land, if necessary forcibly.”

In addition to encroachments on farming land by pastoralists, an increasing type of conflict is between settled agricultural populations concerning the open land between farms and the perceived ownership of this land. This is known as *sodemaha* in Somali, literally translating into ‘very close’. There are two types of incidents when considering *sodemaha*, either a case where farming land is clearly demarcated, and one farmer extends fencing without consulting neighbors. Or the land does not belong to either farmer, and rather there is a scramble to increase one’s land by grabbing the open land surrounding the farm. Because of the lack of records depicting the size of the farm and its boundaries in most areas, cultivators often expand their land into neighbouring farms, thus provoking conflict. Another point of contention is the exploitation of trees in a strip of land between two neighbouring enclosures.²²

Ibrahim Maxameed Nurr, the District Councilor for Oodwyne explained that such conflict between settled people is now one of the main types of conflict faced in the district. He provided a case from the village of Aal xume, which is currently experiencing the most incidents of this type of conflict. Two farming families were contesting the land between their farms, which led to violent conflict and the involvement of police and other government officials.²³ He explained that once farmers reap the benefits of their hard labor and output, especially profits from sale, incidents of this type of conflict increase. He added that “instead of benefitting from farming output, money is being used to pay hired guards and khat for them in order to prevent a perceived infringement on ones land.” The increased tendency for commercial uses of farming and particularly fodder output acts as an escalator of conflict.

²² Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2009) “Local capacities for peace- land-based conflicts in Somaliland and Afghanistan.” Hargeysa, Somaliland.

²³ There was also conflict between the water source (gacaan) between the farming families

Relationship to Value Chains

Fodder Value Chain

- Fodder producers face challenges associated with encroachments onto their land by livestock in search of fodder, leading to disputes with the livestock owners.
- Borderline disputes with neighbors, including other fodder producers

Honey Value Chain

- Honey producers face illegal trespassing, mostly in the form of youth/ troublemakers, rarely to steal bee hives/honey
- Bee keepers may encroach to collect bees present on the someone's land

Enclosures

Traditional conflicts over open grazing land are currently wrought with the creation of enclosures, whereby previously communal land is enclosed for personal use and /or profit, either for farming purpose or fodder production. The proliferation of enclosures has become one of the most serious problems in recent years. In the past, scramble for land was acute with the end of large scale violent conflict in the north and the return of displaced populations. Attempts to rectify and return land to rightful owners/or communal purposes have since taken place, however the issue of enclosures proves to be entrenched and faced throughout the country. Although faced throughout the country and impact all levels from the community to national, however we decided to include is at the community level where its effects are most adverse and real.

Enclosures not only affect access to grazing area, but also create challenges for moving nomadic families and their access to wells. Conflict arises when pastoralists are barred access to previously open grazing areas and as a result in many cases forcibly enter the land and destroy the enclosures. Focus group participants noted that enclosed land for farming purposes is not viewed as negatively as much as enclosing land solely for fodder production, commonly known as ceeshmio in Somali. Although, according to Law No 8/99, Article 9, such enclosures are officially banned, the state is by no means able to enforce this prohibition.²⁴ Participants distinguished between enclosures for cultivating food and fodder only, explain that pastoralist will usually pass enclosed land that is used mainly for farming purposes with no problem. The main issue faced is with enclosures, without legal ownership, that are not used for any farming purposes and only for fodder, taking up a lot of land. Another participant described this as dool goosi (cut land), not only causing trouble for access to grazing land, but cutting of access to well and making it difficult for rare gure (nomadic family) to move. The practice of herding livestock

²⁴ Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2009) "Local capacities for peace- land-based conflicts in Somaliland and Afghanistan." Hargeysa, Somaliland.

from depleted areas to good pasture lands is disrupted as passage for the animals in their movement from highlands to lowlands or vice-a-versa during rainy and dry seasons is impeded or made treacherous by these enclosures. Thus, the potential for conflict is rising. The pastoral community has in some instances resorted to violence and in other cases begun the construction of the enclosures themselves as outright retaliation.

The pastoralist's way of life staunchly conflicts with enclosures, as one participant put it, "a farm for fodder is incompatible with a farm for our animals/herds" referring to open grazing land. Problems are further spurred on when pastoralist witness fodder producers using the open grazing communal land for his animals but denying access to their land, and making a profit from the fodder.

Relationship to Value Chains	
Fodder Value Chain	- Many enclosure owners are involved in fodder production/ marketing, an underlying source of tension - Strained relationship between fodder producers and livestock owners due to enclosed land
Honey Value Chain	Honey producers located in rural hinterlands usually possess enclosed land where bee keeping activities are carried out.

Water Disputes

Disputes over water channels and sources are another type of conflict faced at the village level. As primarily farming lands, many of the target village ranked water disputes as one of the main types of conflicts faced. Gacaans are the water channels that feed into homes, and the main issue arises when families dispute over the diversion of the channel and who is using more water or the diversion of water without consultation. For example, when the strip of land between two enclosures develops into waterway and the owners of the adjacent enclosures contest for first diverting the water into their enclosure, confrontation develop soon afterwards.

The construction of a new berkhads (large water catchments) has proven to have a negative effect, often leading to overgrazing. Berkads are also used to prevent others from taking their 'claimed land'. Many participants, whether pastoralist or farmers, recognized the need for such catchment, however recommended that nowadays berkads should only be constructed in already settled land. Participants also added that many development agencies are contributing to this problem by constructing berkhads for communities, without proper knowledge of the context. The construction of new water sources carries repercussions for both the environment

and the pastoral inhabitants of the area. The customary grazing patterns are disturbed and conflict is likely to erupt between those attracted by the water resources and the traditional inhabitants of the area.²⁵

Relationship to Value Chains	
Fodder Value Chain	- Fodder producer require sufficient amounts of water, may be involved in disputes over channels that feed into their land - Increasing fodder transport vehicles disturb water movement patterns by creating new routes
Honey value chain	Limited to no relationship to this type of conflict

Charcoal Production

Illegal charcoal production is also a fiercely contested issue at the district level, both in Burco and Oodweyne Districts. Participants and survey respondents identified it as one of the major types of problem experienced, leading to disputes between individuals and at time larger groups.

Most rural residents, with extensive indigenous knowledge of nature, recognize the devastating impact the trade has on the environment and consequently their sources of livelihoods. However, many involved in the trade, some former pastoralists, who are acutely aware of such realities are still involved in the business. In the face of poverty and recurrent shocks to traditional sources of livelihoods many turn to charcoal production as a means of generating income. Attracting many, the charcoal trade is very lucrative, and is even increasingly becoming a transnational trade with some charcoal production being sent to Bosaso and Yemen. Conflicts related to the charcoal trade are prone to escalate and turn violent as a result of the high stakes involved.

Togdheer region is especially affected by this trade. All the target villages visited listed charcoal production as one of main challenges they encounter, and has the potential to lead to conflict when community member confront charcoal produces. There was even one instance in Oodwyne, where a camel died due to falling into a ditch left behind by charcoal producers.

²⁵ Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2002). "Regulating the livestock economy of Somaliland." Hargeysa, Somaliland.

Conflicts related to charcoal production also evolve when individuals or groups dispute over the control of land ownership of trees to be burned for charcoal. As charcoal burners often target boundary areas between clan communities, their activities can provoke inter-group conflict.²⁶ Villagers recognized the trade as a problem that is affecting all groups, including pastoralists and farmers. The relations between charcoal producers and local communities are complex. In many cases, producers are actually members of the community and thus could somewhat be controlled by their people, however in other cases, outsiders may be contracted to take over control of forest resources to produce charcoal.²⁷ Participants also explained that many initiatives to reduce the amount of charcoal production were attempted, such as providing alternative sources of livelihood to producers. The impact of such initiatives was usually short lived and producer would be back at cutting down trees, increasing the potential for conflict.

Relationship to Value Chains

Fodder Value Chain

- Fodder producer may also have trees located on their land- and be involved in charcoal trade
- Fodder producers may conflict with charcoal producers if production is taking place close to their land, due to the increased chance that it may destroy their livelihood.

Honey value chain

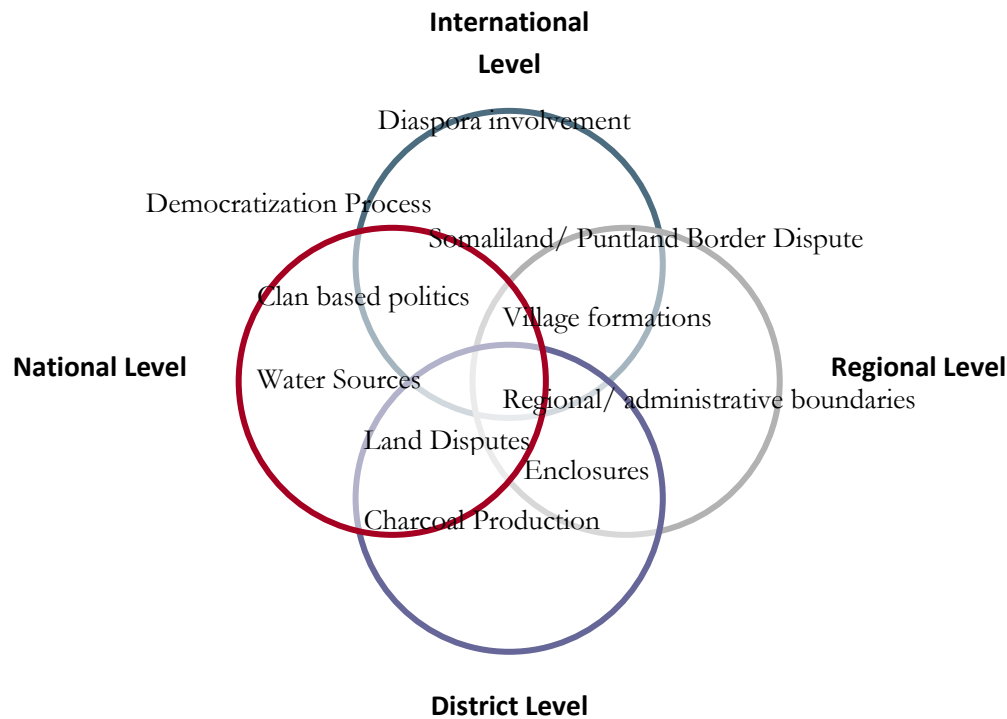
- The charcoal trade itself negatively affects the honey value chain. In terms of its relationship to conflict, honey producer may be also involved in confrontation with charcoal producers.

Below diagram illustrates the types of conflicts at all levels and how they impact one another

²⁶ Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2009) “Local capacities for peace- land-based conflicts in Somaliland and Afghanistan.” Hargeysa, Somaliland.

²⁷ ibid

Figure 1- Integrated Levels of Conflict/Tension



1.1.1 ORIGINS AND DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT AND EFFECTS ON COMMUNITY

The origins of the aforementioned local level conflicts are various and interwoven. This section does not claim to be exhaustive in identifying root causes of conflict; rather it focuses on a few recurring and underlying problems that lead to, drive, and sustain violent conflict. These are separated into political and governance causes, socio economic causes, and security related causes. The causes of conflict examined are poor and incoherent laws, lack of enforcement of capacity of government authorities, resource scarcity and competition, new modes of production and poverty, a breakdown of traditional practices and values, and overarching clan dynamics. This section will also examine the effects of these causes of conflict on the community and the value chains under assessment, if any.

Socio Economic Causes

Socio economic transformations that have taken place in recent years are having detrimental effects on the ways of life of traditional pastoral and farming communities, leading to conflict between and within these groups. These are primarily the result of the following interrelated issues of resource scarcity and competition, poverty and unemployment, and new modes of production.

1- Resource Scarcity and Competition

The primary cause of conflict in the rural context can be attributed to resource scarcity and the resulting competition over declining resources. This pervasive cause of conflict arises with the presence of mutually reinforcing factors, such as environmental degradation, population pressures and shrinking natural resources base. Intensifying environmental degradation has exacerbated traditional conflicts over pasture and water. Caused by a combination of human activities (charcoal burning, improper farming practices) and climatic changes, the major forms of environmental degradation are desertification, deforestation, increasing soil erosion, etc. Recurrent droughts and other shocks greatly affect pastoral livelihoods, reducing the already shrinking natural resources needed by livestock and intensifying resource competition. Rain fed cultivation livelihoods are also negatively affected as large areas of once fertile soil are desertified, damaging the lands productive capacity and reducing available productive land, ultimately increasing competition over remaining land. Although competition for farming land is present, considering the context of the target areas, the main issue has more to do with pastoral/ grazing land. As the span between droughts reduces and become more common, traditional coping mechanisms that mitigated the effects of these environmental shocks are increasingly challenging to fully adhere to. Pastoralists are forced to roam in smaller areas and overgraze vegetation, overexploit water sources and not allow sufficient time for regeneration. In the face of the shrinking grazing resources, some pastoralists, especially the traditional inhabitants, are afraid of losing access to land and water. As a matter of precaution they therefore enclose the prime grazing areas around water points to secure fodder and water for their livestock in harsh dry seasons. Accordingly, the proliferation of unplanned water points increases the tendency to create enclosures and lead to serious conflicts between nomads²⁸

The relationship between environmental degradation and conflict is a cyclical one whereby environmental degradation causes conflict which causes environmental degradation, creating a vicious cycle of environmental decline, tense competition for a shrinking resource pool, increased hostility, and inter/intra communal conflict.²⁹ Overall, the balance between people and nature is threatened, especially in an environment of high population growth, with Somaliland experiencing around 3% population growth rate.³⁰ As one author noted, “population growth combined with commercially-driven increases in the animal population has led to denudation, intensified erosion, falling yields, and possibly climatic change.” As a result of population growth and a loss of assets during drought condition, rural- urban migration has

²⁸ Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2009) “Local capacities for peace- land-based conflicts in Somaliland and Afghanistan.” Hargeysa, Somaliland.

²⁹ Academy for Peace and Development (APD) “From plunder and profit to prosperity and peace- resolving resource- based conflict in Somaliland.” Hargeysa, Somaliland.

³⁰ Ibid.

increased. The decline in the value of livestock following the ban on exports also made life in rural areas less sustainable or bearable. Many herders have lost all their livestock and see themselves forced to start alternative economic activities such as charcoal production, farming or trading.

2- Poverty

Widespread poverty is also another contributing factor to conflict. Poverty limits opportunities in education, employment, and economic/livelihood advancement. Combined with environmental degradation, economic deprivation further spurs on competition for diminishing resources, resulting in conflict between different actors. As one focus group participant explained, “poverty has led people to enclose land, especially nomadic pastoralists, who are facing many challenges and so turn to farming activities, charcoal production or just enclose land to secure fodder/vegetation for his livestock.” The increasing marginalization of grazing resource significantly affects pastoralist’s economic viability. The constraints placed on their mobility and access to grazing area has had detrimental effect on both subsistence and market oriented livelihoods, as well as reducing the capacity of traditional coping mechanisms in addressing and dealing with shocks, ultimately increasing overall levels of poverty. Many pastoralists described their livelihood as consisting of “a life on top of a life,” illustrating their own existence dependence on their livestock. Under such conditions and further precipitated by drought, the likelihood of conflict increases when pastoralists encounter enclosed fodder. Although the pastoral way of life still holds a highly esteemed position in Somali culture, pastoralists are increasingly marginalized. As one pastoralist in a focus group discussion commented in reference to the regulation and laws of the country, “there is no law protecting pastoralists way of life, rather it is now more in favor of settled population, like farmers.”

In the case of alternative nontraditional sources of livelihoods, a lack of employment opportunities is particularly acute in both rural and urban areas. In addition to posing a threat to stability, the potential for conflict arises when the scarce employment opportunities are disbursed along clan lines.

3- New modes of production/ increased commercialization

In addition to the increased occurrences of drought, the new modes of production, particularly surrounding the livestock trade, contribute to the over exploitation of the environment. The commercialization of the livestock trade led to a shift of the pastoral economy from a subsistence one to a market based one. This contributes to a setting where pastoralists are increasingly disregarding traditional mechanisms and environment pressures to fulfill commercial sale targets. For instance, with the increasing number of livestock for commercial purposes, pastoralists stay longer at certain pastures and consequently the danger of

soil erosion and land degradation is increasing. This trend is aided by the increasing construction of water points (berkads) and the use of mechanized transport systems in the nomadic lifestyles, transporting water over great distances. As a result, grazing areas which traditionally was abandoned in the dry seasons because of a lack of water are now used during the whole year.³¹ The export of a million (average) heads from Somaliland temporarily acted as a safety valve against pressures on the environment. But the Saudi Arabian ban on Somali livestock eliminated the safety valve mechanism and aggravated the already deteriorating environmental crisis.³²

EFFECTS ON COMMUNITY AND VALUE CHAINS

- Competition for scarce resources between communities increases, by tendency raising the risk of violent conflict.
- Resource competition heightens social inequalities.
- First to feel the effects are communities with limited income and livelihood alternatives, such as of are small farmers and poor pastoralists
- The decline of pastoralism
- Lack of sufficient grazing land places pressure on the market, since there are a small number of livestock entering the market
- Lack of opportunities can intensify the sense of grievance among social groups suffering discrimination
- Fodder Value Chain
 - Increased competition between fodder producers and other conflict actors.
 - Pastoralist's herds are continuously grazing. Thus there is no time for the seeds to fall out. Once fodder is not found- pastoralists graze into Ethiopia
 - Fodder producers are viewed in negative light since they are associated with enclosed land
 - Enclosures block their trekking and movement routes, with their own animals
- Honey Value Chain
 - Increasing individuals searching for alternative livelihood can potentially turn to honey market
 - Environmental degradation affects to potential for productive honey sector.

³¹ Academy for Peace and Development (APD) (2006). "Urban centers and Human (in)security. Buaro town in Togdheer region ,Somaliland. A case study" Hargeysa, Somaliland.

³² Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2009) "Local capacities for peace- land-based conflicts in Somaliland and Afghanistan." Hargeysa, Somaliland.

Socio-Cultural Causes

1- Breakdown of traditional practices and values

Socio economic transformations have also affected the cultural norms and values of the Somaliland society, challenging the very foundation of social interactions and practices. The reduction of communal grazing areas is spurred on by a culture of privatization through the use of fencing/ enclosures to secure exclusive use. Common user rights within and between groups are increasingly undermined as more land is privatized.³³ This has contributed to the breakdown of traditional xeer agreements that regulated land management as a common resource pool with mostly open access. Even though in practice, certain grazing areas were associated with certain clan group, there was a system whereby during times of drought and scarcity, members of other clans were allowed to have actual open access. To a lesser degree, this system between pastoralists also extended to and existed between farmers and pastoralists. A focus group participant elaborated on this relationship; “during droughts, we [farmers] would sometimes allow nomadic pastoralist to use our enclosed land for grazing and even provide them with some food stuff.” Similarly, a breakdown of traditional practices due to an increase in private ownership values and commercialization contributes to farmers being less inclined to open their land. Traditional practice and values, supported by xeer agreements also helped to ensure the environment was cared for and protected. For example certain valuable trees were prohibited from being cut, such as shade trees (damalka) and trees under which meetings took place (gobka).³⁴

Overall, this customary communal system was better suited to the socio cultural environment and functioned well by providing equitable access to grazing land and water, as well as clear rights and obligations for their members.³⁵ Nowadays, pastoralists are often denied access to pastures claimed by enclosure owners and neighbouring clans, contributing to intra and inter-community disputes with a high potential to escalate to violent group conflicts.³⁶

2- Overarching Clan Dynamics

All conflicts in Somaliland contain a clan component. In addition to being the foundation of identity and all social relations, the system of social organization based on clans also reinforces aspects of social defense and security as a primary source of protection and control against collective retribution. The dynamic nature of the clan system was appropriately summed up as

³³ Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2009) “Local capacities for peace- land-based conflicts

³⁴ Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2002). “*Regulating the livestock economy of Somaliland.*”

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2009) “Local capacities for peace- land-based conflicts...

clan fission and fusion in a Somaliland conflict analysis report submitted to the World Bank. The authors explain the clan system, by its nature as being; “both a binding and distinguishing factor. On the one hand, it fosters cohesion among members sharing lineage. On the other, it distinguishing and separates some members from others reckoning different ancestors.”³⁷

Conflicts over natural resources often intermingle with other clan interests, including economic and political issues, as well as the collective memories of past events in clan relations.³⁸ Such clan tendencies are highly acute and conflict sensitive around the critical issue of land tenure (degaan). This is especially the case when ambitious clan groups try to enlarge their territory at the costs of other clan groups. A manifestation of this is the changing of village names from general names to the name of the sub clan (bali habe)l. One focus group participant explained that during the previous regime there were 230 deegan, and only two were named after a sub clan, which were Sheik Farah and Haji Saleh, however currently, almost every village is named after a sub clan. One focus group participant added that “before we {pastoralist} lived among different clans, however this has changed now, with villages being based solely on clan. Before villages could not overtly be based on sub clans”

EFFECTS ON COMMUNITY AND VALUE CHAINS

- Decline of communal user rights-
- The concept of degaan (as an intra-clan sharing mechanism) is declining.
- Land being claimed on flimsy rational
- Increase land grabbing/privatization
- Repercussions for the public perception and created a spree and attitude of land grabbing, including the creation of enclosures.
- Pastoral community has in some instances resorted to violence and in other cases begun the construction of the enclosures themselves as outright retaliation
- Similar to inner-group processes, weaker clans are marginalized by pushing them away from common grazing land.
- Level of cooperation is declining
- Fodder Value chain
 - Increase of negative attitudes towards fodder producers as an owner of enclosed land
 - Decrease tendency of sharing responsibility/ burdens among fodder producers

³⁷ The Centre for Creative Solution (2004), “*Ruin and renewal: the story of Somaliland*,” Report submitted to the World Bank

³⁸ ³⁸ Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2009) “Local capacities for peace- land-based conflicts in Somaliland and Afghanistan.” Hargeysa, Somaliland.

- Decreasing tradition of farmers/fodder producers assisting pastoralists, as a sense of private ownership and market value of output has increased.
- Honey Value Chain

Political and Governance Causes

1- Lack of formal and consistent government regulations

Lack of a coherent land management system, particularly the regulation of rangelands is another contributing factor to conflict. Although it does not directly cause conflict, it is a factor that creates underlying tensions, increasing the likelihood for conflict. Initially the dramatic increase of enclosures was fuelled by the lack of formal authority and the influx of returnees who had lost their livestock in the civil war and attempted to generate new livelihoods out of the open land.³⁹ The scramble for land led to a reduction of communal grazing area for nomadic pastoralists. Prior to the collapse of the Somali government, the land was more clearly demarcated between what comprised of purely pastureland and farmland. This system underpinned the regulation of rangelands from being over exploited. The presence of functioning reserved territory was another mechanism in place protecting rangelands and pastoralists livelihoods. Reserved territories are government sponsored pasturelands, which are intended to maintain a balance between the land/environments capacity and human needs. Togdheer has three permanent reserved areas, including Benoul, Arore, and Tuuyo, which are intended to prohibit grazing for around 5 years, giving the land enough time to fully regenerate. There are also seasonal reserved territories, mostly located at the peripheries of the above mentioned permanent reserved areas, which only free access during drought season. In almost every focus group discussion held, pastoralists emphasized the importance of these reserved territories, and how their absence indirectly leads to conflict. In principle, the reserves are still present; however in reality due to a lack of enforcement capacity and government will, the reserves are, to many, nonexistent. According to a number of respondents, community conflicts can be avoided through proper land management, including clear demarcation of land; separate pasturelands from farmlands, and restoring reserve territory.

A governance issue is also the lack of clarity and consistently, especially in relation to land ownership and usage. For example, a regional government official from Togdheer region noted the contradictory policies coming out of his Ministry of Pastoralism and Mnvironemnt and the Ministry of Agriculture. The latter promotes the increase of farming land and farming activities,

³⁹ ³⁹ Academy for Peace and Development (APD)(2009) “Local capacities for peace- land-based conflicts in Somaliland and Afghanistan.” Hargeysa, Somaliland.

whereas the former wants the increase of farming land to cease.⁴⁰ In addition, the country's hybrid system of governance entails a presence of both traditional and state legal mechanisms running concurrently, which poses the potential for misunderstanding and contradictory rulings, hence increasing the potential for conflict.⁴¹

Security Related Causes

1- Weak enforcement capacity and poorly controlled demarcations

Closely linked to the previous governance issue, the weak enforcement capacity of regional and district level authorities has created underlying security issues between and within rural communities, contributing to the potential for conflict. As one focus group participant explained, "in the past the ministry of forestry assisted in the protection of farming land, however this is no longer the case, thus forcing farmers to protect their land through whatever means necessary." In terms of the poorly controlled demarcations, the Vice Regional Governor of Oodweyne explained that its ramifications are widespread, affecting both pastoral and farming communities. In Togdheer, Abdi Farah and beyond was considered grazing land and to the west was farming territory, however they now intermingle. Similar to traditional mechanisms, the state apparatus also possesses land management mechanisms to protect the environment; however which are not adhered to due to the limited enforcement capabilities. For example, it was prohibited to enclose any area with the "Qanaa tree" – not even for farming purposes or to enclose gasee land (land with rocks) or even create enclosure within 100km of gasee land.⁴²

The government's inability to properly control demarcations has also inadvertently led to an increase of enclosures. Although both the district and regional governments have participated in burning down enclosures, such limited capacity can only go so far in addressing the problem.

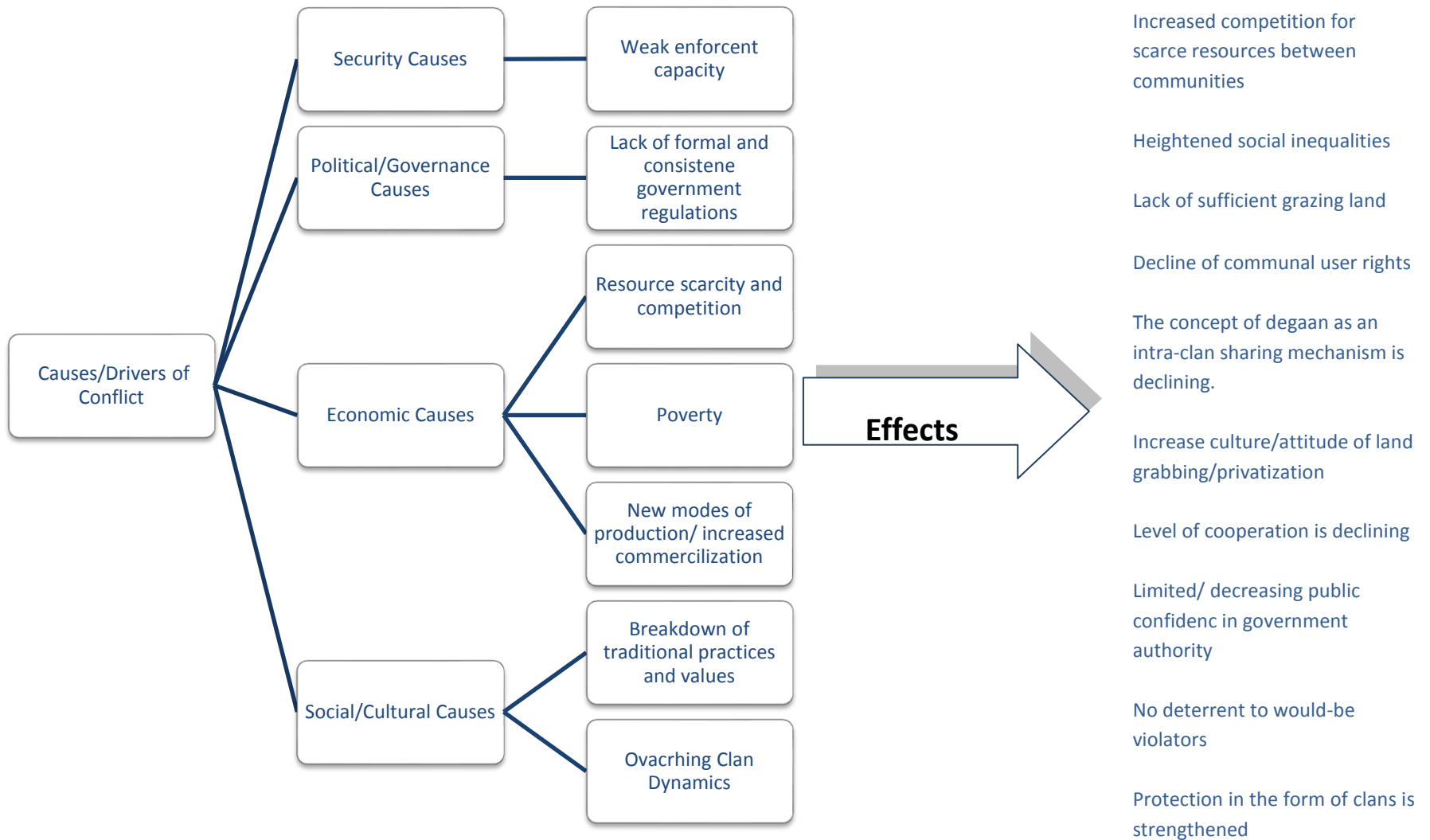
EFFECTS ON COMMUNITY AND VALUE CHAINS

- Limited/ decreasing public confidence in government authority
- Creates opportunities for exploitation of the system
- No deterrent to would-be violators
- Protection is most in the form of the clan
- Increase in conflicts over enclosure and encroachments

⁴⁰Key informant Interview with Harir Jama

⁴¹ Horn Peace (2010), *"Community Security; an Approach to grassroots peace building- Community safety and security analysis of Burco District."* Somali Community Safety Framework, Draft- Version 6.

⁴² Interview with vice Regional governor of Oodweyne



5. Actor Analysis

5.1 Mapping of Key Actors

This reports identification of multilevel types of conflict and subsequent analysis of the origins of conflict, it is rather evident to identify the key conflict actors. The parties to conflict, which have overlapping roles, primarily include pastoralists, agro pastoralists (farmers and fodder producers), enclosure owners, livestock traders, and charcoal producers. Other relevant actor's include traditional elders and village committees that are the main point of contact when conflict arises; police comprise the main security actors; local government authorities, including judiciary officials, are the main governance/political actors; and consumers are the main economic actors.

Value chain actors' relationships with conflict actors

Fodder value chain actors are closely linked to conflict actors. This is primarily due to the fact that fodder production and marketing play a large role in the livelihoods of conflict actors and the society as a whole considering its link to the mainstay economic activity of pastoralism. The fodder and livestock trades overlapping nature creates a higher likelihood for collaboration between relevant actors, however at the same time also increases the chances for disagreements and/or confrontations. In terms of already existing collaborative links, the fodder value chain helps to strengthen links between certain actors across conflict divides. The supply of fodder to livestock owners, particularly nomadic pastoralists, helps to slightly alleviate competition for diminishing grazing resources between pastoralists, as well as between pastoralists and farmers. Although fodder is mostly supplied to commercial livestock owners/traders in large export markets like Berbera, the presence of small scale fodder producers assists to strengthen the link between fodder producers, who tend to also be farmers, and pastoralists. Despite this link, the relationship between fodder producers and nomadic pastoralist is one of the most contentious within the value chain, as one focus group participant described it as a "mouse and cat' like relationship." Fodder value chain actors are sometimes also linked to conflict actors involved in illegal enclosures and charcoal production. In some cases, charcoal producers are members of the community where forests resources are being exploited, and oftentimes turn out to be fodder producers that have either have trees in their enclosures or are exploiting the resources in close proximity to their land.

The honey value chain actors are not as closely linked to conflict actors. Due to this limited and unbiased relationship, the honey value chain actors have the potential of creating new links to across conflict divides and bringing together conflict actors.

Below is an actor analysis using the positions, interests, and needs matrix, which helps to facilitate comparisons and identifies possible constraints and opportunities related to the conflict and value chain actors. The matrix focuses on the issue of enclosures since it poses a high likelihood of instigating conflict and adversely affecting the fodder value chain. The example used is one that is already faced by rural communities and thus has the potential to occur during implementation of the value chain upgrading strategies. This kind of analysis can anticipate and mitigate conflicts within a value chain.

Type of Conflict: Enclosures Conflict arises when a pastoralist decides to forcibly pass an enclosure with his livestock and in retaliation, the enclosure owner, who is a farmer/fodder producer brings out his rifle to scare away the ‘trespasser’ and almost harms one of his camels when firing a warning shot.			
Actors	Positions	Interests	Needs
Fodder Producers	Refuses access to nomadic pastoralist to pass through enclosed	Protecting farming land, as well as fodder production, since he possess legitimate claims/ ownership over the land.	The fodder producer slightly expanded enclosure to include more open land, so as to meet his increasing needs.
Livestock owners	Forcibly enters enclosed land that was previously known/used as a communal grazing area and trekking route to water points	Wants to protect his regular pastoral movements/grazing area	Ensure personal livelihood and health of his herds in need of water and prime grazing area.

→ Considering this is a situation that can occur with a fodder producer that is a beneficiary of the value upgrading intervention, the development agency promoting value chain upgrading should consider strategies for handling and mitigating such occurrences.

5.2 Horizontal and Vertical Linkages within Value Chain

It is also important to look at linkages within value chains in order to assess the potential areas for conflict and how the planned value chain upgrading may relieve, exacerbate, or even have no effect on identified tensions. A more thorough analysis of value chain participants and relationships will be provided in the next chapter.

Fodder Value Chain

Vertical linkages between fodder producers were described by participants as being amicable and collaborative, as many fodder producers assist each other in times of distress/challenges. In relation to the existing conflict dynamics, disputes over boundary lines and water sources sometime arise between fodder producers. Horizontal Linkages are more complex, and with the increased number of actors, poses an increased chance for confrontations. Starting with fodder producers and fodder laborers, the main issue is when the fodder producers do not have enough funds to pay laborers upfront, but most likely have to wait until the fodder is sold in the market. Fodder producer and transporters/traders are typically on a good footing as well; however one identified challenge, faced between almost all the value chain actors was the culture of borrowing, which is further examined in the next chapter (section 6.3).

Honey Value Chain

The linkages between the honey value chain actors are not as delineated as the fodder value chain actors. Most honey producers also carry out the role of being honey traders. There is very limited interaction or networking between actors within this value chain- an area that the planned intervention can attempt to strengthen.

5.3 Capacities for Peace

Intact and functioning good governance systems at the community levels are necessary to help anticipate and resolve issues that lead to conflicts. In rural areas, traditional conflict management/resolution mechanisms in the form of elders and village committees were recognized by focus group participants and key informants as usually the first to respond to conflict. If traditional authorities are unable to resolve the conflict, for whatever reason, they maintain the peace between conflicting parties until the police or other government authorities arrive to commence a judicial process. However, given the deficiencies of the courts, people mostly turn to elders in search of expedient justice and dispute resolution. They are considered more credible than the state apparatus and thus not so open to corruption and manipulation. Land based disputes are usually transferred to elders, and more criminal matters to the police.

6. Conflict Dynamics and Trends

Conflicts in the eastern regions are perceived to have subsided significantly since the early nineties when Somaliland emerged from the turmoil that followed the fall of the Said Barre regime.. However, conflicts flare up every now and then between clan groupings mainly over land and water resource access. The Land Based Conflict Project report by APD lists the number of land based conflicts, almost all of which had been resolved through the intervention of either the government or local elders. In these interventions the Guurti, house of Elders, have played a significant role. In the listing made comprising the entire country, over 1991-2007, only three incidents refer to areas of the east regions. Many more recent conflict occurrences have not been recorded including Aroori Plains (2010), Girni settlement (2010), Kalshaale (2010) Balliguduud (2009). The first two conflicts were between Inter-Isaq clans while the other two had been Harti and Isaq clan groups. This shows that conflict emergence has not disappeared and will remain so long as the conditions for the occurrence and re-occurrence persist. Traditionally Somalis tend to fight over resources only during the rainy season when there is plenty of pasture for the animals and abundant animal products around. Contrarily when there is drought or famine when the animals and people are both in distress, there is very little time for warfare. The primary preoccupation of the pastoralist is the survival of the animal herd and people.

Conflict trends vary from community to community. In Beer, there seems to be less friction involving conflict between community members of different livelihoods while in Oodweine , the respondents were keen to note the rampant disputes and potential for conflict emergence. Factors causing the difference are mainly:

- The historical aspect which makes the Beer fodder farms the oldest among that of the rest of the region
- The close kinship between community members which makes relationships less antagonistic
- And the abundance of water, as Beer lies at the delta-like expanse of Togdheer river land with fertile soil
- Livestock rearing requires free passage of movement of animals from the Haud plains up north to the Golis range. In Odweine, the farms are situated right in the path of such large drive of animals seasonally

Worth noting in the conflict analysis scenario is the importance livestock herders give to free access to pasture and movement. The enclosures formed right in the path of pastoral movement are cause for rigorous conflicts. Fodder production in these areas is necessary for the animal livestock trade at the market place and beyond. It however is the hindrance to the production of animals and the perpetuation of the supply side of the value chain. Most herders only practice what there their forefathers did before them and that is the pastoral way of life- the movement of animals from a location of less pasture to one where there is more – falling right in the path of such a drive.

The devastation of the habitat of some animal stocks, such as the camels and goats, which rely heavily on browsing, by the charcoal burners has a tremendous impact on the value chain as well. The depleted trees are a source of feed for the said animals and the areas near Qoyta, Gatiitale and Qaloocato are but serious examples.

The continuous decimation of the flowering plants such as the acacias for charcoal has also affected the bee production in these areas. Wild honey production has gone down as most respondent admit. These wild bees constituted the larger source of honey in the past but are slowly dying out.

7. Interaction between Value Chains and Conflict

In providing an integrated and multilevel conflict analysis, this report has helped to identify a variety of value chain/ conflict dynamics that should be borne in mind in subsequent steps of the value chain upgrading component of the SEED Project, including the design, implementation, and monitoring phases. This chapter will synthesize different types of interactions between the fodder and honey value chains under assessment and pre existing conflict or potential conflict identified during the analysis under three broad headings.

1. Impacts of wider conflicts on value chain
2. Value chain *upgrading* impacts on wider conflict dynamics
3. Conflicts present within a value chain

6.1 WIDER CONFLICT IMPACTS ON VALUE CHAIN

Fodder Value Chain

The production and sale of fodder has an evident relationship to conflict dynamics and the potential for it, especially in comparison to the honey value chain. The fodder value chain faces considerable conflict related strains right from the start at the production level. In relation to the main types of conflict identified at the local level, fodder producers face tensions with encroachments onto their land from nomadic pastoralist, as well as other farmers in the form of boundary disputes. One focus group participant explained that in the past protection of farming land was properly enforced by government authorities, primarily through the ministry of forestry; however this is no longer the case

The presence of illegal enclosures affects fodder producers by creating a flawed perception of all types of enclosed land, whether legitimate or not. Most of the farming communities in the target areas have historical ties to the land; tracing their farming practices as far back as centuries, such as Beer located in Burao district. As one community member of beer emphasized, “Our lineage is formed through naming our farming people not clans.” In the target areas, many farmers produce both food stuff and fodder. There are rarely farms that only enclose land for fodder production, and are technically prohibited by the ministry of farming, which only issues farming licenses to mixed farms. Also many residents of the target areas are agro pastoralist involved in livestock rearing, meaning enclosed land also affects their access to grazing land. However, this was another area of contention raised by some pastoralists since fodder producers are using communal land for their herd, as well as their own

enclosed fodder output, but denying fodder for nomadic pastoralist herds. This perception and potential conflict escalator is especially heightened during drought conditions.

In reaction to the charcoal production, some respondents expressed a concern and increased perceptions that fodder producer are involved in the charcoal trade, claiming that fodder producers are working with charcoal producers. As one focus group participant stated in reference to fodder produces, “they are destroying land and as long as they make a profit, they do not care about the consequences.”

Honey Value Chain

The honey value chain is not as closely related or conflict prone as the fodder value chain. As one focus group participant explained, “there is no culture of conflict over bees or honey.” However, APD recognized the need for a micro study in order to uncover any existing and potential tensions, regardless of its limited scale.

Encroachments onto other peoples land for bees by honey produces was seen as potentially creating tensions. Bee keepers explained that in many cases land owners with a presence of bees either asks for assistance in the removal of the bees or to assist with the establishment of their own bee keeping/ honey production endeavors. Thus the relationship has a higher potential of being more of a collaborative effort and lessons sharing, than one of conflict.

Another issue with the potential for creating disputes related to the honey value chain is when the bees of honey producers sting community members, particular children. There have been a limited number of incidents where families/guardians ask for compensation from honey producers for the harm inflicted on their children from bees. However this issue sparsely affects the honey value chain.

The issue of people enclosing land for honey production did not arise as a prominent issue in Togdheer region; however it is an avenue for further research. Most of the honey actors interviewed were either farmers, dedicating section of their land to beekeeping or urban dwellers using garages or other building to enclose their beekeeping activities.

6.2 CONFLICT DYNAMICS WITHIN VALUE CHAIN

Fodder Value Chain

A majority of participants involved in the fodder trade stressed that conflict within the value chain is minimal; however the field work did uncover a few issues that have the potential for creating underlying tensions and leading to confrontations.

Although the most contentious relationship in fodder value chain is between fodder producers and livestock owners, especially pastoralists, there are also tensions between the other value chain actors. Sometimes the fodder producers do not have enough funds to compensate laborers for their work, and tensions arise when workers demand for their pay. Also, considering the power dynamics, laborers are more likely to lose out on any demands in comparison to fodder producers. Participants recognized this dynamic as being an issue, however noted that it is only symptomatic of the greater issue present in the value chain. For the most part, there are existing relationships or clan affiliations among these actors; however the culture of lending and borrowing products and services still has the potential of creating underlying tensions that can erupt into disputes. At almost every stage, the relevant actor does not receive payment for his services or products, rather once the actor that initially borrowed is paid from the opposite end of the chain, will the initial service/product provider be compensated. For instance fodder producers would provide a certain amount of fodder to the transporters/traders; however the trader cannot cover the costs at that particular time, or only covers half the costs of the fodder, and agrees to pay the fodder producer once the fodder is sold in the market. Similar transactions take place all the way to the consumer level. Such dynamics occur in an environment where the likelihood of encountering unexpected shocks are a daily reality, such the destruction of fodder from flooding, overturning of transport vehicles, low sales in market, expiration of fodder, etc. Considering this environment and the lack of any formal insurance system, the structure, relationship, and dynamics of the fodder value chain are all affected. Furthermore, the potential for confrontation and disputes are tangible when the livelihoods of the value chain actors and overall profitability of the trade are also negatively affected.

Despite the evident potential for creating and enabling disputes, the issue of lending and borrowing is significantly mitigated by the customary systems and coping mechanisms in place. For example, customary xeer agreements exists between fodder producers and laborers when, for whatever reason, fodder intended for sale is destroyed/lost. In such cases, the fodder producers and laborers will split the remaining fodder and usually go their separate ways. Fodder producers also have coping mechanisms in place to deal with losses faced in the market. Mixed fodder producers/farmers will typically rent out land to slightly regain some lost profit or sustain other assets, such as farming output or allowing personal livestock to use the land.

It is imperative to assess how the value chain upgrading strategies will affect these processes, in order to ensure the program does not disrupt, but rather supports these customary mechanisms to alleviate tensions and maximize benefits.

Honey Value Chain

The honey value chain does not experience much conflict; however areas with potential of creating tensions were identified. Potential tensions or conflict within the value chain can arise from the competition between local honey producers and imported honey from Ethiopia. Many shop owners prefer to purchase and sell low priced imported honey, and so honey producers find themselves lacking a market to supply honey. Another issue with the potential to lead to disputes within the value chain is between honey producers/ traders and their monopoly on certain shops/ market. Many honey producers develop ties with certain honey outlets, and sell to them on a regular basis, however tensions can arise if another honey producer attempts to also sell to that store. One existing tension, small as it may be, identified by focus group participants was the relationship between honey producers/traders and consumers. One participant explained that many consumers were initially hesitant from purchasing his honey, due to misunderstandings about how it is produced; however he remedied this by physically showing the hives and dripping honey to shop owners/ consumers, lessening any preconceived ideas.

6.3 VALUE CHAIN UPGRADING IMPACT ON WIDER CONFLICT

A primary objective of the conflict analysis was to assess and understand the interaction between the planned value chain upgrading interventions and conflict (and the potential for it) in the target areas. Thus the principal question is how the intervention will most likely influence conflict at community level. This section summarizes the potential positive and negative consequences of the fodder and honey value chain upgrading interventions and its influence on conflict.

Potential positive consequences:

Through field work and meetings with various stakeholders, the general consensus expressed by many was that both the honey and fodder value chain upgrading interventions' will likely contribute to an overall reduction of tensions and disputes faced within rural communities, particularly the target villages. Some reasons and factors to support this outlook are outlined below

1- Socio Economic Improvements

In addition to improving existing livelihoods and food security, upgrading of both the fodder and honey value chains creates alternative livelihoods through the generation of employment opportunities. An increase in alternative livelihoods can also attract certain conflict actors,

including charcoal producers, driving them away from the destructive trade. An increase in profits from the fodder and honey trades contributes to an increase in cash flow within a village, aiding local economic growth. Through such improvements, value chain upgrading will aid in decreasing poverty levels, which is the structural force behind many conflicts.

2- Environmental Benefits

The state of the environment and the impact the value chains and upgrading strategies have on environment are of high importance due to its relationship to conflict. Increasing land degradation is affecting the livelihoods of many actors who are incredibly dependent on the environment, leading to conflict in many cases. Focus group participants highlighted the environment benefits of both the fodder and honey value chains, some are outlines below;

- Increasing fodder output reduces the scramble for fodder and other grazing resources that negatively affect the environment, thus benefiting both pastoralist and fodder producers.
- Land used for fodder production serves as grazing reserves, protecting this land from indiscriminate use
- The open land surrounding fodder production zones benefits from the increase in seeds, allowing for reseedling (although mostly transported by wind, participants explained the fodder transported also assist in this process, as fodder falls out of the vehicle)
- Bee keeping has numerous benefits to the environment as adequate pollination leads to good quality seeds and fruits and is essential for maintaining biodiversity.
- Beekeeping is non extractive and sustainable. Dependent on the natural environment, bee keepers are willing to collaborate to conserve forests and vegetation where bees live and forage

3- Supporting peaceful conditions/ co-existence among and between communities

In addition to relieving socio economic tensions and environmental pressures, the value chain upgrading can positively impact the overall conflict dynamics within the value chain, between value chain actors and conflict actors, and between conflict actors.

- Program may help to reduce the culture of loaning within the fodder value chain with an increase inputs and capital for value chain actors
- The tangible benefits as outlined above that value chain interventions bring to a community can create an important economic stake in peace. This impact was even slightly illustrated during field visits to the target villages. Many community members already embraced the planned interventions as their own, expressing an attitude of cooperation between different actors, even between pastoralists and fodder producers.

- The honey value chain is a trade that has no clan affiliations, and thus can assist in establishing links across clan divides.
- Both the honey and fodder value chain are a means of generating employment across clan lines. For example, one elder from Beer noted that around a large percentage of youth were hired to work in the fodder trade, with many coming from other villages and other clan groups. Youth from Beer and different villages are working within the value

Potential challenges/ negative consequences:

1- Exacerbation of socio-economic tensions

There are potential challenges and consequences of the value chain that negatively impact conflict and can fuel violence, such as

- Contributes to the promotion of enclosures for fodder production and land grabbing.
- Reduction of land for farming food stuff, as farmers may increase the amount of land dedicated to fodder production.
- Shifting more communal practices to focus on individual gains and the market, this may prove to be detrimental to traditional ways of life.
- Increase sedentary practices, which are associated with dwelling structures, water points, etc.
- Increasing environmental pressures

2- Increasing tensions among value chain and conflict actors

Although most participants highlighted that increasing profits will benefit all involved actors, it is important to also assess what tensions this may create. Looking at current conflict trends, increasing commercialization and profits are associated with an increase in competition, leading to environmental exploitation in many cases, and eventually some level confrontation between and within communities.

8. Conclusion and Recommendations

Through the examination of multilevel conflict dynamics in Togdheer region, this report has helped to develop a better understanding of the prevailing types of conflict faced, the origins/drivers that fuel these conflicts and the effects they have on the community, as well as identifying the relevant conflict actors and stakeholders. An assessment of the relationship between conflict dynamics at the local level and the honey and fodder value chains identified various risks and challenges that could potentially affect the planned value chain upgrading interventions.

Considering the risks and opportunities present within local level conflict dynamics and its interaction with the value chains under assessment, below are a list of recommendations to consider during the design and implementation of the project:

- Consider how beneficiaries are selected so as to not spur any idea of preferential treatment, especially considering clan/sub clan dynamics of the area.
- Mechanism to ensure beneficiaries possess legitimate land claim legitimate land owners that legitimate claim-in order to reduce the chances of conflict
- Target beneficiated that are involved in charcoal production, and others seeking alternative sources of livelihood.
- Worth targeting beneficiaries that are not already involved in with value chains- ensure balanced reputation- no those that have it all are being given more...
- Consult with tradition authorities elders and local government officials throughout the implementation phase
- Regularly monitor conflict indicators and interaction indicators between the planned intervention and conflict dynamics.
- More thorough analysis required once specific value upgrading strategies are specifically designed, to zero in on the likelihood for potential conflict.
- Support the development of a sense of ownership among in target populations to increase the economic stake they have in the project, which can increase stake in maintaining in peace and reducing conflict.
- Ensure the program supports the coping mechanisms already in place to alleviate tensions between value chain and conflict actors
- Support upgrading interventions with other mutually beneficial support programs/services

This conflict analysis can contribute the design and implementation of the value chain interventions in such a way that can positively and directly address economic and other conflict causes and drivers.

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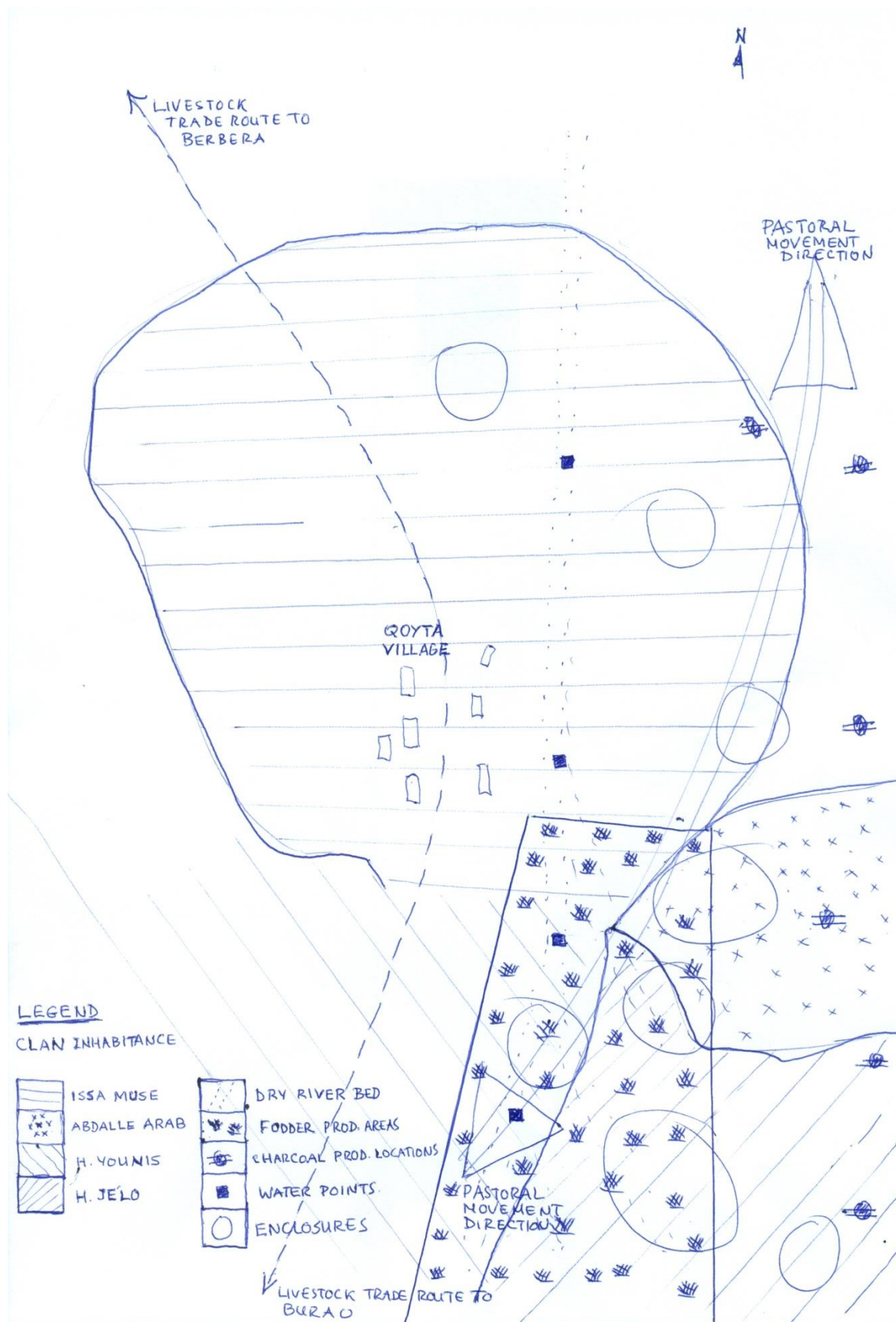
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10. Appendices

10.1 Baseline Data from villages to be included



Mapping of Qoyta village