ASSESSING THE CURRENT STATUS OF SOMALI PASTORALISM:
A LIVELIHOODS, RIGHTS AND SERVICES PROVISION PERSPECTIVE

A STUDY FOR UNICEF – SOMALIA: 2001

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CHAPTER 1: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

UNICEF's mission statement as approved in February 1996, shifts the focus from its traditional needs based approach to development intervention to a more radical human rights approach to programming. In order for UNICEF to speak on the situation of women and children from a rights perspective, UNICEF needs to be able to analyse the fundamental causes of profound social change, including economic causes. With this analytical capability, UNICEF will be able to identify the most vulnerable and at risk groups of children and women. Human rights programming will also entail the building of community capacity, so that people are able to understand their rights, to demand their rights and to make a meaningful contribution to having these rights realised.

UNICEF is now making genuine efforts to live up to the above mission and it is revisiting its strategy and planning activities in order to ensure they reflect the above stated goals.

UNICEF-Somalia has put efforts and resources into Somalia over many decades and it has maintained its commitment to the Somali people through many turbulent years. UNICEF now recognises that, whilst it has delivered useful services to the urban and rural poor, its commitment has not been sufficiently extensive and services have not reached the predominantly pastoral nomadic population of Somalia. It has become clear to UNICEF that the overwhelming majority of the nomadic population in Somalia is completely neglected in terms of the delivery of health, education, water and other services.

In adherence to its new mission and in response to the deteriorating situation of pastoral nomads in Somalia, UNICEF decided to invest resources in the commissioning of an initial nomadic study and situational analysis.

The study began in early August and was successfully concluded in late December 2001. After a good start, covering almost all of the North-West Zone, the study was then bedevilled by a series of unforeseen events including September 11th. (see Chapter 2 for details). The completing of the study under very trying circumstances was only possible because of the dedication of the consultants and of UNICEF's staff, who showed tenacity, flexibility and heart when the situation became difficult and when, as it did at times, it appeared hopeless.

Working within the new paradigm, the team used the human rights approach to programming as well as participatory research methods and came up with significant findings that are outlined in Chapter 7.

This research initiative was African-led and the researchers had no language or cultural barriers in dealing with the nomadic population in Somalia.

The major findings can be summarised as follows:

- The livestock ban imposed by the Arab States had a devastating impact on the nomadic population and many nomads have become impoverished as a result. It was clear from the study that many of the nomads did not have any fall back economic activities.

- The great majority of the people interviewed believed that pastoralism is a viable way of life and they are holding onto it despite all the odds (livestock ban, drought, grazing shortage, etc.).

- Pastoral nomads are not as isolated as it is often claimed. There is a vibrant and symbiotic relationship between the attachment villages, urban centres and the nomadic
communities. The distinction between rural semi-nomadic and pastoral-nomadic groups is also very blurred and it is difficult to speak of distinct pastoral production systems.

- In terms of health and education services, nomadic-pastoralists are highly marginalized. Moreover, the so-called semi-sedentary groups are no better off.

- The study found that women and children are on the margins of the marginalized. They fulfil domestic and herding duties day and night and their public and private lives are circumscribed by social and cultural beliefs and attitudes that promote gender disparity. Women are seriously under-represented in social and political structures, despite their prominent role in the pastoral economy.

- Traditional structures of authority have been undermined due to civil conflict over many years and have in many cases become redundant. Nomadic people, therefore, do not have any representation at higher government levels nor do they have NGOs that could represent them.

A number of recommendations of a strategic and practical nature will come out of this study that have implications for UNICEF’s work within Somalia and elsewhere. As a direct result of this study UNICEF now has an opportunity to give a voice to those who are voiceless by taking up the following recommendations.

The authors of this study recommend that UNICEF,

- in consort with other concerned UN agencies and NGOs, launch an appeal for the lifting of the livestock ban which is the most immediate and severe problem for the pastoralists in Somalia

- re-orient its existing services and, using available means, improve service delivery in nomadic areas by enhancing its internal delivery capacity within Somalia.

- work alongside other concerned parties to assist nomads to develop their own institutions and work in that strategic manner to address the marginalisation of women and children in the spirit of CEDAW and CRC.

- initiate and fund small-scale projects in selected nomadic areas.

- draw up a long term strategy for intervention by sponsoring a formulation mission

The authors and contributors hope that, as a result of this study, UNICEF will be better informed and better able to serve the nomads and involve other like-minded UN agencies, NGOs and other stakeholders.
CHAPTER 2 : INTRODUCTION

2.1 Background and Rationale to the Nomadic Study

Population in Somalia is commonly divided into three main groups by lifestyle, namely, urban, rural and nomadic. Various sources estimate that the nomadic population in Somalia account for about 50% of the total population. It is an established fact that the majority of the nomadic population are concentrated in the northern and much of central zones where nomadism has been the only viable livelihood option.

According the findings of the present study, Swift’s definition of pastoral and agro-pastoral in terms of production systems, may not be applicable to the conditions of the North East and North West Zones. The distinction between nomadism, agro-pastoralism and semi-nomadism is rather blurred and the production systems may well be inter-changeable. The nomads themselves define a nomadic person as someone who owns livestock and follows the rains. The majority of respondents according to this study, confirms such a local definition to pastoralism.

In Somalia everyone, including the elite and urban dwellers, refer to themselves as nomads. In reality, however, one can make a distinction between the majority of the practising pastoral nomads and semi-nomads in the rural areas and the urban elite, who consider themselves to be culturally nomadic. This in fact shows strong cultural and historical affinity between the urban populations and the semi-sedentary and nomadic populations in the rural areas. From the assessment the research team was able to make the nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralists are at a great disadvantage in terms of service delivery. It is also true to say that the so-called sedentary or semi-sedentary communities living in the attachment villages are not better off either. The study has clearly shown that there is a very strong link between the nomadic, semi-nomadic and the attachment settlements.

On the basis of the present study, which is of limited scope, the authors can say that well over 80% of the population visited and interviewed, consider themselves as nomadic and semi-nomadic. They believe pastoralism is the most important occupation and economy sustaining their livelihoods.

Readers will appreciate that the present study is a situational analysis survey and not a programme formulation or identification study.

The study team are happy to say that the UNICEF study has fulfilled its objectives and, as a result, UNICEF-Somalia will be better informed on the situation of pastoralists in Somalia.

The data limitations have been discussed under Section 2.1.4 but on the strength of the present study one could highlight the following points in the way of introduction to the report.

− The current breakdown of the population into urban, rural and semi-nomadic, may be a gross under-representation of the nomadic communities.

− The UNICEF study encompassed broader issues which may have not been perceived whilst designing the terms of reference for the present study. (See Annex 1)

− The study has timely, informative and participatory as far as pastoralists are concerned.

− The study has been inspirational and the findings of the study might have far reaching implications for the work of UNICEF beyond Somalia.
The study used the concepts of human rights approach to programming within the new mandate of UNICEF.

The outcome of the study could be a major entry point for creating a long term partnership between UNICEF and pastoralists as its main stakeholding partners.

The study was able to maintain the focus on women and children whilst not losing sight of the broader context under which women and children have been marginalized.

The study took place under very difficult circumstances and has been successfully completed.

### 2.1.1 Study Objectives

Past surveys by UNICEF and other partners, clearly show that pastoral nomads in Somalia face serious problems and lack essential services such as health, education and water. Although current estimates may not be based on demographic surveys, it is safe to assume that 80% of the population in North-West and North-East Zones are predominantly nomadic or semi-nomadic. Pastoral nomadism therefore is a major human occupation and economic base for the majority of the Somali population. The present study which is basically a situation analysis is innovative in itself for being the first of its kind but is also intended to inform UNICEF to inform itself and be able to come up with strategic options in service delivery to the nomadic communities in Somalia.

**Firstly**, in terms of service delivery to women and children, this is a major challenge for UNICEF in view of its new mandate which is anchored on the Child Rights Convention (CRC) and Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

**Secondly**, but nonetheless important challenge for UNICEF is also to recognise that pastoralists marginalisation is essentially a political issue where the neglect of women and children is a much wider part of the overall neglect of the pastoral population and delivery.

**Thirdly**, the new human rights approach to programming is a new approach to UNICEF and the study could be an opportunity for UNICEF which is not yet tested to engage with the communities in a manner which is participatory and long term in terms of need assessment.

In view of the above, it was determined by UNICEF-Somalia to take the bold step in sponsoring a nomadic survey which is the first of its kind. The overall objective of the study is to collect and analyse quantitative and qualitative information on nomadic populations in Somalia in order to:

- Assist UNICEF-Somalia to gain a better understanding on whether or not the current breakdown of the population can still be considered appropriate,
- Assess the current interventions targeting the nomadic communities and analyse if resources are adequately allocated among the different population groups according to the needs through proper equity mechanisms,
- Provide recommendations and corrective actions for proper strategies and sustainable future programme formulation in order to reduce inequity and narrow the gap between the nomadic group and other segments of the population. (See Annex 1 for detailed terms of reference for the Consultancy)
2.1.2 Methodology

To accomplish the above tasks a team of Somali and non-Somali experts and UNICEF staff from the monitoring and evaluation units as well as relevant experts from ministries were assembled under the guidance of a Team Leader and co-author (see Section 2.15 for team composition). The UNICEF-Somalia provided the necessary guidance, resources and logistical support during the entire phases of the study. The Team Leader met with UNICEF-Somalia in Nairobi during early July to be introduced to UNICEF-Somalia to conduct a preliminary literature review and plan the preparatory phase of the study. Both parties agreed that the Team Leader and co-author would reassemble in Nairobi during late July for five days to discuss research methods, tools, concepts and finalise preparation for the field work phase. Given the limitation of resources and time, it was decided that the study will concentrate on North-West Zone (NWZ) and North-East Zone (NEZ) during August/September 2001. Southern Zone was left out due to time, resource limitations and security considerations.

The first phase of the study in NWZ (5.8.01 to 11.9.01) went well and this included two weeks of field work, meeting with nomadic leaders from all the study areas on a three-day workshop in Hargeisa during late August, accompanying the UNICEF film crew during the first week of September and returning to the field to collect additional data from the Hargeisa region. As the study was taking place in NWZ tension was growing in NEZ. At the point where the first phase of the study in NWZ had been completed the September 11th incident happened in the USA. The September 11th incident has triggered a sense of fear and uncertainty in the whole world including Somalia. Consequently, due to insecurity in NEZ, the team was not able to make final plans and kept postponing their plans until late September 2001.

The team left for Sool and Sanag regions in NWZ on 12.9.01 to complete the remaining phase of the NWZ study and then proceed to NEZ subject to clearance from UNICEF-Somalia office. During the third week of September 2001, the Team Leader was called back by UNICEF to Hargeisa and then to Nairobi given the deteriorating situation in NEZ. The Monitoring and Evaluation Officer for NWZ was also withdrawn at the same time, therefore cutting the team membership by 40%. The Monitoring and Evaluation Officer was unable to re-join the group in NEZ during late September due to security considerations. On September 19th 2001, and in consultation with UNICEF-Nairobi, the team appointed the co-author to act as the Team Leader and ensure the continuation of the study in Sool and NEZ. The study in NEZ came to a formal and successful end on October 12th 2001 under the most challenging circumstances.

The data compilation started in earnest after the field work in NEZ once the team members had recovered from their arduous journeys. The first phase of data compilation by the whole team was completed by November 20th 2001.

Whatever methods used under the above conditions would fundamentally affect the outcomes. In brief, the following research methods were used. Using a participatory approach, the team travelled to various parts of NEZ and NWZ to conduct interviews in a cross section of the country’s regions. In terms of area selection, the general aim was to cover a representative proportion of the nomadic population and to ensure that the diversity of livelihoods was represented both socially and ecologically. Given the limited time for the field work, participatory rapid rural appraisal (PRRA) techniques were not fully used in information gathering. The methods included structured and semi-structured interviews, trends assessment and qualitative and quantitative data. The main source of information in the field were pastoralist households, village elders, women and children, focus groups, local NGOs and local authorities. UN agencies and NGOs, both national and local, were also consulted in urban areas.
At the end of the first phase of field work in NWZ, the Team Leader was able to produce a brief report from the field giving the most salient information to key members of UNICEF both in Hargeisa and Nairobi.

At the end of the field data collection in NEZ on October 12th 2001, raw data compilation started around the middle of October and was completed and passed over to the Team Leader during November 20th 2001. At that point UNICEF understandably felt that the team from UNICEF were unable to spare more time and involve themselves in the data analysis phase and that was a shame. However, as originally intended in the terms of reference, data analysis and report compilation was in the hands of the Team Leader and co-author who were working from London and Hargeisa, respectively. The existing data has been entered into a spreadsheet in order to facilitate the analysis, problem ranking and recommendations. It was agreed that the first draft report for UNICEF will be produced by 30th December 2001.

2.1.3 Data Limitations

As described under section 2.2 and 2.3, the nomadic study which UNICEF-Somalia sponsored in itself is a ground-breaking research and the authors hope that UNICEF will take up some of the recommendations to implement by itself and also encourage other agencies to follow up some of the recommendations. The fact that the study has taken place against all the odds and have come up with some good results, in itself is a remarkable achievement for UNICEF and the consultants. The following are some of the key limitations which need to be appreciated.

· It was not possible to try and test the questionnaires before the study had taken place on a pilot basis. This was due to the limitation of time. The questionnaires and other data collection methods were refined as the consultancy was underway. This would inevitably make the data analysis more difficult and complicated.

· Readers should also appreciate that the study may be influenced by seasonal biases as it took place during July, August, September and October and the information does not necessarily complete the full nomadic cycle. Further studies may be necessary to fill such gaps.

· During the literature review it was impossible to have reviewed Somalia’s pre-war experience in pastoral development as well as activities of other UN agencies like UNESCO and national governments working in similar environments like Somalia where there has been successful experiences of nomadic services intervention

· As there has been no official censuses in both North-East and North-West Zones for the last 30 years, it is important that any population figures (including pastoralist populations) should be treated with caution. Because of the civil war in Somalia, many of the official government records and records from research institutions have been destroyed during the course of the war.

· The study is not a national survey (limited to NWZ and NEZ) and should not be treated as such. This is a situational analysis covering less than 1,000 households and groups.

· It was not possible to have complete agency profiles of the government, NGOs and other actors involvement in the past 10-20 years. Part of the problem was records were not available and many of the former government facilities were practically destroyed. For example, the study team could have greatly benefited from knowing more about livestock holding centres, livestock dips, water points and so on. The information the team obtained was mostly word-of-mouth from the people and were not able to verify this through recommendation. However, they were able to visit a number of dilapidated structures throughout the zones.
Women’s participation in the survey had a limited success despite the fact that 50% of the team members were women. However, we are pleased to say that we collected enough information on the challenges facing women and children in the study areas.

As mentioned earlier, the nomadic communities have become totally impoverished due to the imposition of the livestock import ban by the Gulf States. Consequently, the communities became research fatigued and at times showed unwillingness to cooperate with the researchers. Water and grazing resources are always in short supply.

“As we told you we cannot sell our livestock and we became poor. It is very silly for you (who speak our language and look like us) to ask us about our problems and solutions. You know our problems very well and also the solutions. There were two men who were poor but good friends. It is time of drought and hardship. The two men decided to wander in the desert in search of food. They found a tree (gob) and one of them climbed up the tree and started eating the fruits. The man on top of the tree asked the man down below: “…How is your situation, mate?…” The man under the tree replied angrily by saying: “…You know where you left me why are you asking me what my situation is? You have the answer just share with me what you have…”.


The challenge for the researchers also was that they were not offering anything tangible to the nomadic communities in return for collecting information on their livelihoods. It must be said, however, that the UNICEF team was able to distribute a number of medicines, such as, vitamin ORS and other medicines.

2.1.4 Study Team Composition to be added

2.1.5 Survey Population Details to be amended

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2.1.7 *The Structure of the Report*
CHAPTER 3

3. BACKGROUND

3.1 Ecological Context: The Somali Environment

The Somali environment is arid and semi-arid. Annual rainfall ranges from 100 to 500mm, however it is erratic and unpredictable.

There are two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. The most important of the rainy seasons, which is locally known as "Gu", falls between mid-April and May and is brought about by the Southwest monsoon. The second season (June-September), known locally as "Hagaa", is the short dry season and is very windy. The third season (October-November) is "dayr", the second rainy season. The fourth season (December-March) is called "Jilaal" and is the driest season, brought on by the Northwest monsoon.

Somali pastoralists are rangeland experts and their grazing system is based upon a strategy of maximum utilization of the land with minimum depletion. The grazing areas are divided into two zones - wet season and dry season. This system of grazing is sustainable, because it avoids overgrazing and also allows natural vegetation time to regenerate.

However, a substantial increase in the number of surface water storage installations (berkads), with settlements throughout the wet grazing areas, disrupted the traditional migration routes for livestock. Permanent water points allow livestock to utilize rangelands continuously and this leads to environmental degradation.

Consequently, the rangelands are experiencing overgrazing, with a reduction in plant vigour; a shift from palatable species to unpalatable ones such as aleo spp; water erosion and degradation of soil conditions (soil water holding capacity). There has been considerable biodiversity degradation, with the loss of some wild habitats. In the absence of proper interventions to tackle the root causes, rangeland degradation has gradually increased overtime and has led to a drop the number of animals the range can support and declining productivity.

3.1.1 The Haud Region

The Haud zone, has no permanent water sources, such as lakes, streams, and springs, in the dry season. Nevertheless, it is amongst the best grazing areas and nomads move their livestock to that area in the wet season (spring & summer) then move back to areas near permanent water points. The surface water, which is collected in seasonal ponds called “Balleh”, is consumed till it dries up. This usually depends on intensity of the rain in years of good rain about four months of the end of the rain the area turned to desert.

- The area lies at an altitude range of 440 – 450. The Haud plain is characterised by great elevations including the plateau and is waterless in the dry season. Ther is thick thorn jungle and some large strips of open rolling grass plain, as well as tall dark red or brown termite mounds ("dudumo").

- Generally the weather pattern is controlled by the monsoon winds. The Southwestern wind blows from May or June until September and the Northwestern blows from October until April. The period between the cessation of the monsoons brings the main rains. When it is not actually raining, there is a strong wind, known as the kharif, which in general is hot and dry. Wind erosion is severe and common during this season.
The onset of Northeastern monsoon marks the beginning of the short rains and the cooler winter season. “Deyr” rains gradually diminish in frequency and by the end of the year are rare, except in occasional years. Annually, the area receives about 300 mm of rain.

The main soil type in the area is sandy soil of two kinds (dark red sandy and deep sandy/loamy soil).

The vegetation consists of savannah woodland. The treeless plains (banan) are grassland. Highly palatable grasses are found including chrysopogon aucher, dactyloctenium, sporobolus, ruspohanus, sporobolus variegatus, cynodon dactylon, andropogon kelleri and numerous acacia tortilis.

The largest “Ban” is known “Ban tuunyo”, which is about 83 km South East of Hargeisa, and covers approximately 670 square kms.

Acacia Bussie is dominant but there are other plants and shrubs such as: Acacia, Nilotica, Acacia Senegal, Acacia Millefera, Acacia Misera, Grewia Tenax, Grewia Viscosa, Boscia Minimifolia, Cadaba Farinosa and Indigofera Ruspolii.

With the spread of berkeds and settlements over the area, the traditional pattern of grazing movements has changed and the livestock population in the Haud area has steadily grown. Most remain there all year round and this leads to overgrazing. The vegetation is unable to recover. Some plant species disappear, with animals trampling and eating young plants.

The composition of the vegetation has been changing from perennial to annual. Unpalatable species are now colonising the rangelands.

Water and wind erosion have contributed significantly to changes in vegetation, by decreasing soil infiltration and promoting the formation of gullies, so that many shallow rooted plants die for lack of water and others because roots are exposed.

The loss of vegetation cover is associated with declining of livestock productivity and numbers in a given area, and this has in turn, negatively affected pastoralist livelihoods.

There is increased competition for natural resources in the pastoral community. This is prompted by the growth in enclosures as well as the expansion of charcoal production and unskilled farming as alternative sources of income. Because of such pressures on the land there is a reduced grazing area available to pastoralists.

3.1.2 NEZ Ecological Zone

The areas visited include Sanaag, Nugaal, and Mudug, which according to the traditional classification of ecological zones, lie within the Haud and are classified as Yicibland, Sanagland and Nugaalland.

With arid and semi-arid climatic conditions in these areas, mobile livestock production is recognised as an appropriate and sustainable form of land use. In terms of environmental resource management, pastoral production is less risky than cropping. Pastoralism is a system of land management adapted to marginal areas that can maximize feed production with minimal input.
The severest environmental degradation occurred as a result of the large scale burning of acacia-comiphore bush land for charcoal production, partly serving Gulf country markets. Nomads lost key grazing resources for their animals.

The area is topographically varied, with lowlands (valleys), high mountains, broken hills and plains with wooded areas as well as treeless plateaux.

All water resources in the area (surface and ground water) increase with rainfall. Surface water (berkads and ballays) is the principal water source in the wet zones during the wet season (Haud and Yicibland). Berkads can be permanent water points, when refilled by tank trucks.

Shallow wells are a main water source during the dry season in Nugal and Sanag. Shallow wells are usually located at the banks in the dry seasonal floods where ground water may be available.

Boreholes with engine driven pumps were installed, but are too scattered for use in the dry grazing zones. However most broke down during the civil war and have not been rehabilitated. The Hingalool and Buran boreholes were the only functioning ones seen during this survey.

Owing to an active process of weathering (by wind, water etc) the soils in the study areas are immature and comprise yermosol with gypsum, anhydrites, carbonate and with no carbonates. These types of soil are not fit for cultivation, but are suitable for livestock grazing.

(a) **Sanagland Vegetation : Evergreen Scrub**

This zone is characterised by evergreen mountain forest. The elevation ranges from 1500 to 2400 m above sea level. Along the Golis range, the most dominant species are juniperus prucera, sederexylon buxifolium, pistacia lantisicus, dracena, schizantha, dandona viscosa and aleaficana. Common grass species include andropogon spp, cynodon dactylon, eragrosis spp and pennisetum vilsum.

(b) **Acacia Busia Zone**

Openly spaced acaia spp, acacia busia, acacia tortilus, acacia nilotica, acacia melifera, acacia senegal, acacia albida, acacia ethbica, with boscia mininufolia, same grewra spp.

(c) **Gypsious Zone (plains)**

The dominant grass species of this zone are chrysopogan aucheri, sporopulus, suspolium dactyloctenium robchea.

(d) **Nugaal Valley**

The dominant species in Nugaal valley are: indogofera schimperi, cyperus effuses, clylsta nugalensis, plucher hetropghylla, bubania migiurtina, tamarix nilotica, grewia ssp, corlia sinensis, vernonia spothulata, jencus maritimus, cenchrus celiara, dactyloc tenuim glancophyllum, indogofera oblongifalia, grewia tenax, chrysopogan aucheri, sporopulus respoluim, pleuroterantha revolia, maximus justicia flora, phragmites vulgris, leptadina pyrotechnia, abuliton rotundifolium, oldenlan dia longituba, astrochlaena nugalensis, paspalidium desetorum.
Cordeauxia edulis (Yicib) dominates almost all this land area and is commonly accompanied by following species: commiphora spp, acacia spp, grewia spp, boscia spp, alox spp, euphorbia spp, cordia spp, jatropha spp, Ipomoea spp, terminalia spp, momordica spp, neurocanthus spp, digitaria spp, balantis egyptica, boscia minifolia, albezia obbiadensis, acacia edgeworth, termenalia sponosa termenalia polycarpa, acacia melifera, pavonia pirotea, acacaia tortilus, acacia spp, cadaba sp, tephrosis spp.

### 3.2 An Overview of Pastoral Production Systems

We estimated that around 80% of the population we surveyed perceive themselves as pastoral nomads. This percentage includes the nomadic and semi-nomadic sub-categories, which are inextricably linked. Somali pastoralism is an extensive pastoralism, where seasonal migration is a key survival strategy and essential to the production system. Mobility is a response to a critical shortage of grass and pasture during the dry season. One could say that the production characteristics in the North-East Zone and the North-West Zone are similar and they are not atypical when compared with other pastoral production systems in the arid and semi-arid lands. One distinction, however, is that some pastoral systems in the Sanag uplands are characterised by uphill and downhill movements. In the same area, mobility is also closely attached to the riverine valleys, where families have a permanent base. This form of pastoralism, which is worth investigating, could be described as a trans-humant system. In other areas there is some (limited) agricultural activity along riverine areas and in high rainfall zones.

In general, the Somali pastoralism has the following characteristics.

- Somali pastoralism is fairly uniform and specialised. The fact that most nomads, throughout the country, breed the Black Head sheep is an indication of this uniformity and specialisation

- Pastoral nomadism cuts across a number of clan and ecological boundaries. Communities interact economically and socially with few difficulties and share available range resources.

- Berkedes are individually owned and the use of water there is tightly controlled.

- Somali pastoralism is not only subsistence based, but is also commercially oriented

- It is characterised by multi-species herding, which includes sheep, goats and, primarily, camels.

- Pastoralism is the most important activity in the Somali economy

- Pastoralism is facing a profound ecological crisis, which is putting pressure on available water and grazing resources inside and outside the clan base.

- According to Barkhadle (1993):

  “...The true nomadic family will have a number of camels, 50 to 150 heads, not only as an economic asset but also as a status symbol, and about 100 to 600 heads of sheep and goats for family consumption. What they slaughter or sell are only sheep and goats but rarely camels because everybody depends for his prestige in society on the number of camels and sons that he has. Camels are used only for milk production and they are sold or slaughtered only in very special cases, for example, if one of the clan kills someone else or if one of the important persons of the family dies. Camels are, in Somalia, the economic...
unit measuring the purchasing power of the owner. Even the value of a human being is measured in camels. For example, repairing to a man's killing costs 100 camels while for a woman it costs only 50 camels...”. Barkhadle, page 115 (1993)

According to our study, however, nomadic pastoralists are nowadays much poorer and their herds have been greatly reduced following drought, famine and political instability. It appears from our study that extensive long-range nomadism has diminished in importance and only a minority of nomads are involved in such long range movements. The maximum range of movement, we are told, is not more than 100 kms and nomads practising such long range movement are not more than 10% of the people we have interviewed. Most of the nomads could be described as semi-sedentary and they are attached to important wet season and dry season settlements while occasionally, taking up opportunistic grazing depending on the conditions. The fact that most nomads own berkeds everywhere indicates that there is a high degree of stability in the system. Another observation we made is that whilst some ex-nomads are involved in some sort of agricultural activity, such as khat growing, we have not seen any significant drift from pastoral nomadism to agro-pastoralism. There is very little farming tradition manifested in the nomad areas.

The grazing cycle covers vast rangelands, coastal areas and in some cases, upland and lowland ranges and, in a smaller number of cases, crop residues. The different seasons are characterised by different sources of animal feed and labour requirements. The wet season and dry season grazing areas may or may not be very distant from one another depending upon the circumstances of the household. According to our survey, it is safe to assume that probably more than 60% of all total Somali livestock is concentrated in the North-West and North-East Zones. The rangelands, therefore are under intensive pressure from domestic and migratory herds. The rangeland is also the scene of tensions between those who want to enclose it privately and those who want to use range resources communally. Serious conflicts have been brewing between private and communal users of the rangeland, as noted previously. Conflict over resources among the various stakeholders merits further examination and should be the subject of a future study.

3.3 The Current Status of Nomadic Pastoralism and Challenges Facing Pastoral Nomads in Somalia

Somali pastoralism, especially before the collapse of the central state during 1991, has received a great deal of scholarly attention from a number of disciplinary angles. However, for more than a decade now empirical research on Somali pastoralism has been very limited and whatever knowledge has been generated has not been widely available. Somali pastoralism has surely evolved but it is difficult to describe this evolution, given the limitations of the present study.

Long years of war, drought and lack of access to markets as well as social services, have clearly undermined the traditional pastoral production system. All pastoralist communities throughout Somalia have experienced the same suffering as a consequence of two decades of war. This has involved:

(a) Considerable loss of human lives and livestock during and because of war
(b) Looting of livestock and property by the National Army and Raiders
(c) Displacement of many communities from traditional territories
(d) The rounding up of nomadic communities around security hamlets by government soldiers
(e) Destruction of the physical environment by continuous bombing, especially in the North-West Zone during the Siad Barre regime
(f) Disruption of traditional migratory routes as a consequence of war
(g) The general breakdown of social systems, including important social groupings and local markets.
The collapse of the central government in Somalia during 1991 created different conditions for the different zones. It could be said that the North-West Zone (Somaliland) has experienced relative stability over the last decade, whereas nomadic pastoralists in the North-East Zone and the Southern Zone have continuously suffered from the absence of stability and central government. The security situation in the North-West Zone has been relatively better and this relative peace has allowed nomadic communities to re-establish themselves. [The comments in this section are based on the findings of the present study.] The resilience of Somali pastoralists, wherever they may be, is remarkable and they appear to be coping against all odds. There is ample evidence of this in what follows below.

(a) Economic

The livestock ban is the single most important factor in the current crisis and could lead to the collapse of Somali pastoralism. 90% of our survey respondents identified the ban as their number one problem. The livestock ban must be lifted immediately if the nomads are to survive in Somalia. Given the importance of the livestock sector, the ban has plunged the economy into a deep recession and brought about a real crisis. According to a 1992 UNICEF-UNSO study, the livestock economy is the dominant sector and accounts for 36% GDP, whilst the share of agriculture is a mere 7%. In the case of North-East and North-West Zones, the contribution of livestock is probably double the above figure and 70% would be an educated guess. Somali pastoralism is highly specialised and market-oriented and therefore, the livestock ban has hit Somalis harder than other nomads in the Horn of Africa. In neighbouring countries nomadic communities are able to survive better because they have more opportunities to diversify their economic activities. Nomads in Eastern Sudan and Eritrea are able to cope by taking up wage labour and are also able to get food aid in times of drought. There was very little evidence that Somali nomads enjoyed these opportunities. The knock-on effects of the livestock ban are tremendous and include the following:

- More poverty in inability of the pastoralists to buy essential commodities
- Massive rural unemployment
- Inability to maintain economic ties such as, lending animals to relatives, cash to support needy families and so on.
- Inability to pay for any services
- Inability to re-invest in pastoralism through the provision of water, veterinary health, fodder and so on.
- More pressure on the rangelands due to poor off take of animals

There is no contingency in place, such as de-stocking, meat and hide processing to help in the off take. There is also no food distribution to ease the suffering of the nomadic communities. In fact the remittance contribution overall is not significant to the nomadic communities as it may be to urban and rural people in Somalia. The majority of the respondents indicated that they do not receive more than 5% remittances. There are a few exceptions in the Mudug North-East Zone where some families might be receiving up to 25% remittances. Local markets are also depressed and urban markets might be too far away for nomads to trek their animals and to sell them in the major markets. Many nomads cannot afford transport costs to transport small stock like sheep and goats to the nearest market. It is therefore a vicious circle as stressed by the nomads themselves.

“...The only positive change that is promising is that we have peace and stability in our area. Our biggest problem now is the livestock ban and we are deprived from our livelihood...” Pastoralists from Sanag District, NWZ, September 2001
More than 90% of the respondents agreed on the following:

- Environmental degradation has been intense since 1974
- There has been major recurrent droughts since 1974 devastating people’s lives and livestock
- Grazing encroachment of prime grazing land and conversion of communal grazing land to private land is a major problem (NWZ)
- Charcoal burning and tree cutting is devastating the environment
- Shortage of water during the long dry season
- Lack of government or any other agency or NGO intervention or support
- Disappearing of palatable plant species and increase in unpalatable plant species in the grazing area

Most of the above problems are widespread throughout the sub-Saharan region and they are not unique to Somalia. In the case of Somalia, lack of livestock off take is inducing severe environmental decline.

Within Somalia itself and according to respondents in the North-West Zone, encroachment of communal grazing areas by agriculture and private ranchers is the most important element in increasing environmental degradation in the North-West Zone. A careful analysis of the data in the North-East Zone does not indicate encroachment of communal grazing land to be a major issue. The reasons for this are not very clear.

Overall, little is done by agencies or central government to arrest the continuous land degradation in Somalia. Because of the lack of central government in Somalia for more than a decade, the Somali government did not ratify a number of the UN conventions, such as the Convention to Combat Desertification (CCD), the Bio-Diversity Convention (BDC) and other relevant conventions. As the government has not signed such conventions, Somalia cannot benefit from the number of environmental rehabilitation funds. Needless to say, because of the lack of central government, there is no national environmental action plan in operation at present. The authors are aware that the Somaliland government in North-West Zone has introduced a strategic range management plan which is as yet to be implemented due to lack of resources. One has to add that there are so many opportunities for introducing improved land management practices which if implemented could enhance land productivity and ultimately the pastoral production system itself.

In reality, pastoralists are left to fend for themselves. According to Barkhaele. (1993)

“...The Somali people, particularly the nomads, who live in intimate contact with their natural environment, have extended knowledge of plants, animal fundamentals and ecological sub-units. Nomads can give a name and know the uses of virtually every plant within their traditional grazing areas. The Deegaan which can range from 200 to 2,000 kms square. Almost all plants and animals have local names, and their phenology, distribution and main ecological zones are known...” Barkhaele (1993)

There is no doubt about the traditional knowledge of the resource management among the pastoralists but in reality nomadic resources at present are seriously squeezed because:

- There is growing urbanisation and the need for increased charcoal production
· The encroachment of key grazing reserves in North-West Zone (grazing land becoming more privately owned)
· Lack of pastoralist organisations
· Lack of investment in range and water resources
· Lack of livestock markets and proper off take thus contributing to environmental degradation

c) Socio-Political

Under Section 3.5 the neglect of nomadic communities has been stressed. A case has been made that the marginalisation of women and children, especially girls, can only be addressed if the wider issue of pastoralist neglect is faced. This section will focus on the evolution of leadership within the nomadic society, its traditional role and its present and future roles. Compared to other predominantly nomadic and Muslim societies in the Horn of Africa, the Somali social structure is less rigid. By drawing examples from other nomadic communities in the Horn, one could point out how de-centralised and democratic the Somali social structure is. (Fre 1998)

The Somali social structures have evolved dramatically since the civil war. According to a group of representatives of four districts covered by the survey, the following points have been highlighted:

· The traditional leadership has changed over the last decade. During colonial times and subsequent administrations, the clan leadership has its place and the government has its place. The Sultans were the effective rulers of the clan and they were deputised by Akils. The government used the clan system over the nomadic communities. The settlement are inhabited by various clans and headed by the headman who is supported by the village committee.

· Since the civil war there have been changes and everyone wants to be his own boss and everyone wants to usurp power. There is a situation where there is a new order. The reason is because the government has collapsed and every community wants to rule themselves.

· Pastoralists do not have any representatives standing for their interests. The so-called parliamentary representatives work for themselves and not for the nomadic communities. They are members of clans but they do not represent the clans.

· According to the pastoralists interviewed, the regional and district authorities are better placed to serve the pastoralists.

According to 90% of the respondents there is clearly a power vacuum and most nomadic communities do not have confidence in their leadership. There are also exceptions in places like Mudug in the North-East Zone. Some of the nomadic communities expressed their confidence on their Sultans. Discussions with their Sultans in towns, however indicated that they still feel they are the right representatives of their communities. Our overall impression, however is that there is a major power vacuum which further exacerbates the marginalisation of pastoralist communities as discussed under Section 3.5.
Leadership Roles of Sultans, Village Elders and Chiefs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Role</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sultan/Akil/Gurti</td>
<td>• Clan representation mostly in town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Political representation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Inter-clan representation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Heads/Elders</td>
<td>• Mediate in inter-clan conflicts</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Reconcile nomadic families</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Organise communal work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Organise loaning of animals to poorer families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Help organise resource management (water/grass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Act as eyes and ears for the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Organise community defence and honour in times of conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Settle disputes over land, water, family feuds, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Liaising with the administration in all aspects of community development work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Lack of Social Services

Pastoral nomads in North-West Zone and North-East Zone, unanimously agree that they completely lack social services, especially education and health. There is also an overall lack of infrastructural support for the pastoral nomads compounding all the socio-economic and environmental challenges discussed earlier. Chapters Four deals with the issue of social services, gender and other related aspects.

3.4. Will Pastoral Nomads Survive in Somalia?

Many UN agencies, like UNICEF, governments and other stakeholders, will be keen to ask whether pastoral nomadism has a future in Somalia as in elsewhere. Needless to say, this is a contentious issue among academics and development workers and the authors will concentrate on the future of nomadism as it is perceived by the very practitioners, that is Somali nomads. As described in the previous sections, Somali pastoralism is challenged by internal and external forces, some of which are outside its control. Talking to the nomadic communities in both zones, the authors believe that pastoral nomadism has a future and will continue to be a major occupation against all odds.

Firstly, it is adherents (the nomads) think that it will survive. 80% of the respondents clearly confirmed that this is their most reliable livelihood, a job they are good at, and an economy which
has sustained them for centuries. They clearly told us they have no intention of quitting pastoralism. According to our survey, many of the nomads think that things will be better for nomads. There are several cases of returning to pastoralism by people who were originally nomads and tried urban life and have decided to return to their roots. It is difficult to say how widespread this practise is but it will be a subject worth studying. In Chapter One we have shown that there is a clear link between the attachment villages, nomadic hamlets and urban centres in Somalia.

Secondly, pastoralism is a major form of land use suited to the difficult grazing and water resource conditions. Because of its extensive nature, pastoralists are able to use much wider niches in Somalia. It is clear that agricultural potential in the North-West and North-East Zones is fairly limited. There will be a need for a huge capital injection to rehabilitate the drylands in this part of Somalia. Pastoral nomads can be encouraged to re-invest in pastoralism and make it more sustainable. There is considerable experience from other dryland areas which could be invigorate the ecological endowments in Somalia.

Thirdly, in the absence of other mainstay or fall back alternatives, (irrigated agriculture, wage employment, urban industrial employment, migration overseas, etc.) the majority of the nomadic population will depend on the pastoral economy. So many decades will lapse to find a better alternative to pastoralism in North-East and North-West Zones.

Fourthly, the majority of the respondents clearly indicated that the link with urban areas, attachment villages and nomadic hamlets is quite strong and in some ways such linkage is mutually beneficial to all sides. The government officials including ministers and the urban elite, claim to be nomads culturally but not occupationally. Such a positive sentiment towards their nomadic folk in the bush can be positively exploited in terms of development interventions. The crave for camel milk and sheep and goat meat in the urban centres in turn, keeps the economic and social bonds between the nomadic hamlet and urban centres alive. In many sub-Saharan countries government officials or the elite would look at nomadic communities with contempt while they perfectly well exploit the nomadic resources.

Fifthly, on the basis of the present study, the pastoral nomads are fully aware of what needs to be done to save pastoralism.

- Lift the livestock importation ban
- Provide health and veterinary services to the nomadic people
- Invest in the education of children widening their alternative choices in life
- Curtail or ban the land encroachment through private ownership
- Improve the water and grazing situation for the nomads
- Invest in the attachment villages in the rural areas so that nomadic people can benefit directly

On the above premise, UNICEF can safely assume that pastoral nomadism has a challenging future in Somalia (see under Chapter Seven for programming implications).

3.5 The Human Rights Approach and its Relevance to the Current Study

3.5.1 The Broader Context

Nomadic pastoralists are part and parcel of the global village than is often realised. The following are some examples of nomadic globalisation.

- The fact that the livestock import ban on Somali nomads by the Arab Gulf countries and its devastating impact on nomadic incomes and the undermining of the nomadic livelihood
- The nomadic diet depending on imported commodities such as sugar, rice, coffee, wheat, flour, utensils and so on

- The nomads partly depending on remittances flowing from abroad (around 10%). The post-September 11th freezing of assets by some informal Somali banks will deprive the Somali nomads from receiving such assistance

- Limited cross-border activities and sharing of resources, an indication that the nomads are citizens of more than one country.

- Because of the BBC Somali service nomadic pastoralists are well informed of current world events

- Nomadic people are attached to major settlements in their area as well as towns and they do not live in total isolation (attachment villages).

In a nutshell the above shows that the Somali nomad is not so isolated and the pastoral economy they manage is highly commercialised and not only subsistence-based.

The globalisation process has also led over the last decade to certain demands for the development of a universally accepted set of principles to social policy. According to Ferguson:

“...A rights-based approach to social policy to strengthen the claim of the most vulnerable to social, political and economic resources. The human rights framework protects the claim of vulnerable groups which might otherwise be ignored. Participatory negotiation of standards is one of clarifying, legitimising and promoting the human rights claims of the vulnerable...”. Ferguson (1999 – page 21).

There are a number of UN instruments which address the rights of vulnerable groups and these include:

- Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)
- Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)
- International Convention on Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (IERD)
- International Convention on the Protection of Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members and their Families (ICRMW)
- Convention on the Status of Refugees (CSR)
- Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (DRNERLM)
- Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons (DRDP)
- United Nations Principles on Older Persons (UNPOP)

Among the UN instruments those which are particularly relevant to UNICEF are the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

UNICEF adopted the CRC and CEDAW as working principles and is shifting from its traditional basic needs based approach to more complex human rights-based approach to programming.

The UNICEF mission statement approved in February 1996 provided a new foundation for UNICEF to pursue its normative work. The goal could be promoted as inalienable human rights of
children as an obligation of states, rather than continue to just mobilise and remind the world leaders to keep their promises. It was felt that in order to speak on the situation of the children from a rights perspective, UNICEF needs to be able to analyse all fundamental causes of profound social changes, including economic causes. With this analytical capability, UNICEF will be able to identify the most vulnerable and groups of children and women.

The main underlying concept behind this ‘new’ approach is that in a human rights perspective, people are the subjects of rights. It is therefore logical to recognise people, who are poor as key actors in their development, by empowering them to claim their rights. Human rights programming will entail the building of community capacity for people to understand their rights, to demand their rights and to make meaningful contributions to have their rights realised.

While the above approach is relevant to nomadic pastoralists in Somalia, the present study clearly shows that social policy concerns among the nomads are far more complex as they include empowerment, livelihood security, service provision as well as social integration. The present study has shown that pastoral nomads are not benefiting from available services because:

- They are dis-empowered and voiceless and this includes men, women and children
- Their insecure livelihood leading to impoverishment
- Social exclusion
- Lack of services as well as existing services not being nomadically oriented for pastoralist members of society.

The marginalisation of women and children is part and parcel of a much wider state of marginalisation of nomadic communities as a whole. There are three fundamental challenges in adopting this approach. Firstly, there is no doubt that for UNICEF social justice is an ultimate goal. To achieve social justice among the nomads, UNICEF has committed to the cause of the poorest and most vulnerable. The challenge for UNICEF is therefore, while maintaining its mandatory focus, it needs to engaged itself in broader rights issues, such as, land rights issues, livelihood rights issues, women’s rights and so on. Without such broad concept of rights and obligations of nomadic marginalisation the rights approach will remain as a Euro-centric concept based upon western politics and philosophy. Secondly, this new UNICEF approach is untested ground. There should be more room for learning and adoption of tried and tested experiences from elsewhere. According to Mishra and Ferguson (1999):

“...the principle of the indivisibility of human rights indicates that social and economic rights must be given the same weight as civil and political rights. Rights to health, for example, cannot be realised if people are unable to exercise democratic rights to participation in the decision-making process about service provision. Equally, people cannot participate in the decision-making process if they do not have the health or general economic well being to do so...”. (Mishra & Ferguson: 1999, page 8)

Thirdly, the Somali state which formally collapsed during 1991, has not been in a position to formally ratify the relevant UN conventions. Therefore, the two most important conventions for UNICEF, are CRC and CEDAW have not been ratified by a Somali government and may not be binding in the context of Somalia. Although formal ratification has not taken place due to lack of a recognised central government, one has to stress that there is a strong emerging civil society in Somalia which can be strengthened in such a way that pastoralists will have a better voice within such a set up. For example, among the 500 or so registered local NGOs and CBOs in the North-West Zone (Somaliland), there is hardly any pastoralists civic organisation which formally represents pastoral people who are estimated to be 70% of the total population of the North-West
Zone. The following table shows the need for taking into account other UN instruments dealing with rights and livelihoods in the context of analysis of the present nomadic study.
### Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UHDR</td>
<td>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSSD</td>
<td>World Summit for Social Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICESCR</td>
<td>International Convention on Civil and Political Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICPD</td>
<td>International Conference on Population and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRD</td>
<td>Declaration on the Right to Development</td>
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</table>
3.5.2 *The Human Rights Approach as an Analytical Tool (Practical Application)*

The discussion under section 3.5.1 clearly defines duty bearing in its global context. It also states that the Somali state, as a national duty bearer, has not been able to ratify the relevant UN conventions, in particular, the CEDAW and CRC due to the political turbulence in Somalia since 1991.

We have also shown that if UNICEF-Somalia, as an international duty bearer, was to seriously commit itself as a duty bearer for the cause of the nomadic women and children, it has to address the overall issue of pastoralist marginalisation. Women and children, needless to say, are excessively marginalized as shown clearly by this study.

The study has shown that district authorities have neither the resources nor the manpower as duty bearers to deliver services to the nomadic communities.

The traditional leadership structure is no longer an effective channel of authority and cannot be accountable as a duty bearer for the nomadic communities. The nomadic communities and their village elders as well as the nomadic families are the key duty bearers and, from our information, they are aware of their duties and obligations to the children as claim holders. The case of *Salahle Boarding School*, in the Haud pastoral zone, which is mostly sponsored by nomadic families is a clear example that nomadic families realise their responsibility as duty bearers but because of the lack of resources, they are unable to fully realise their duty bearing roles. Most of the nomadic families are unable to realise their duty bearing responsibilities because:

- They are poor or (rather have been impoverished by the livestock ban and other forms of neglect
- Their rights and aspirations are not on the national agenda and they are basically excluded from the national planning and resource allocation process. They do not benefit from state intervention and they have no powers to claim for such services
- They are under-represented politically and therefore have no voice to articulate their demands to higher authorities including UNICEF. Many of the NGOs and CBOs in North-West and North-East Zones, do not represent pastoralist groups.
- There are inherent social and cultural constraints within the nomadic society which may be undermining its own development towards women and girls’ issues. Women and girls might be suffering from some human rights abuses against the spirit and practice of CEDAW and CRC. *(see Table 3B)*

The graphic representation below (tables 3.A and 3.B) propose an action frame intended to serve as an analytical tool for the analysis of the existing data.
Table 3A: An Action Framework for Children and Women from a Rights Perspective

External Resources &
Constraints (economic,
political & organisational)

Income generating activities

Society
responsibilities
and duties

Economic Opportunities

Support to community

Enabling legal and administrative procedures and practices for women and children

Child Rights Fulfilment
18 Years

Child 0 years

Internal Resources
and Constraints
(Human)

Source: M Corsi - UNICEF 2001
Table 3B
Socialisation Process and its Impact on Women’s Rights Based on the Present Study

**Age: 15 years onwards**
- Leadership role not encouraged rather despised
- Very few existing opportunities
- Self refrain from bad habits
- Marriage first priority, family honour
- Very few chances for education outside home area

**Age: 10 – 15 years**
- Socialisation process tamed and obedient
- Family aspiration: girls will eventually marry and leave home
- Role modelling: domestic orientation

**Age: 0 – 10 years**
- Value system: girls less valued
- Cultural practice: FGM, etc. to control promiscuity
- Social attitudes: demote, constrain undermine, etc.
- Division of labour: lack of recognition and value
- Customary law: not in favour of women
CHAPTER 4 : THE STUDY AREAS

4.1 Demography, Settlements, Sedentrazation, and Recent Migration Trends of Pastoral Populace

4.1.1 Population Numbers:

To estimate pastoral population without the help of prior census and on the basis of this survey, which because of it’s limited time sampled only some eco-zones within Somaliland and Puntland can be a daunting task. Lack of census in the country for over twenty years and the effects of different conflicts in selected areas complicated the picture. Different writers throw guess estimates that are difficult to quantify. The team tried to refrain following suite. They, in an effort to put a figure on the population, formulated questions for groups of people and conducted household interviews that could shed some light on the question of the quantity of the population.

According to these interviews, it was frequently pointed out throughout the survey, that nomadic population constitutes 80 per cent of the people. Few groups gave higher or slightly lower figures. One or two groups interviewees believed that around eighty percent of the original nomadic population is on the ground. Either way, the numbers given are much higher than figures used up to now in different statistics addressing the nomadic communities.

Further verifications were made on the basis of dia-paying (blood compensation) among groups. Group interviewees in Dhimbil Riyaale of Hargeisa region recall the number of their sub-clan after their recently paid blood compensation. According to this group:

A sub clan consisted of 4,000 (only men are counted in the dia-paying system.) members, 300 of them are in the urban areas. Another family of 80 members (men), 10 of them abandoned the nomadic life and settled in Hargeisa.

A group interview of elders in Erigavo argued that in Sanaag region for example, about eight per cent of the population or more are in the pastoral areas. Among this group (interviewee of about 22 men) only one person qualified himself an exclusive residence in Erigavo town, the rest had a foot in both sectors or were exclusively nomads.

The interdependency between towns and nomads sometimes blur distinctions of urban-rural life styles. The amount of time nomads spends in towns to purchase and market their produce is difficult to quantify. The market-oriented approach of the nomads due to livestock export coupled with habit of consumerism created a contradictory system to that of the traditional production. New habits of chat chewing increase the amount of time men spend on town and villages at the expense of time they would have spend working with their families. This sort of change in the gender role has a labour implication in the nomadic setup, as the rest of the family especially women and children foot the load work.

The trend of migration is not exclusively towards towns as there is a slight reverse trend of movement among the population. In depth interviews revealed some people moved from towns and re-establish themselves in pastoral areas. A good example of this was the following
two men around Qool Cadey whose stories shed some light on the differing reasons of their return.

Case Study 1

Bixi is the headman of Qool Cadey village and is prominent among his community. He is well thought about and command respect from his community. He started his working life as a businessman and later returned to his area, married there and put his roots and heart in the pastoral way of life.

Biihi is from nomadic family and brought up in the pastoral community of the Hargeisa region. As young man, he went to Hargeisa where he started different small activities to earn his living. He, finally, became a small trader and used to sell clothes in the streets of Hargeisa. The British authorities at that time, arrested him because of trading without license. He was among the first initiators of Hargeisa street market. As wars started in the region, the situation of Hargeisa, at that time, was untenable and difficult to survive. Biihi decided to go back to the countryside and establish himself there. He settled near Qool Cadey village with a nomadic household a farm and berked.

As man of “Miyi (countryside) and Magaalo (town)”, the local authorities nominated him as the village committee headman in Qool Cadey village where he is attached.

Bixi believes that nomadic life is much more gratifying than that of the urban. He said that development has to come to rural areas and urged government and other development agents to redefine their strategy of development if the prosperity and well-being of the nation is to be restored

Bixi understood both lifestyles and prefer pastoralism to that of urban and as a headman knocking different doors to improve the lives of his local community.

This shows that some people prefer nomadic life to urban because in the towns people have to earn their living which is not often easy thing to do to many unskilled people while in the rural setting people have already an occupation and resources to go by.

Case Study 2

Jabaqe used to be soldier in many places in Somalia and Kenya at the colonial times now lives in a nomadic setup. He argues that with all the problems and uphill struggles faced by
the nomadic communities, reinvigoration of pastoralism is absolutely necessary in order to assist the revival and diversification of the socio-economic prospects of pastoralism.

**Jabaqe**

Mohamud alias Jabaqe, of about 80 yrs of age and settled in Banka Qool Adey. He was soldier at the colony times and later joined his family in the nomadic areas where he re-established himself. Jabaqe believes that If development and assistance is offered for the pastoral communities, nomadism is the best profession for him and his family as well as nomadic communities on the ground.

He was a rich man before owning 1,700 shoats. Currently, only 220 shoats left for him due to recurrent droughts and lack of health facilities. His family consists of 26 persons of whom only 2 members are in towns. All are dependent on that small number of livestock.

Water is a problem in his area. The only source of water for the whole community is the Qool Cadey Dam, which is hygienically hazardous as livestock, and humans drink in same place. The dam is unprotected and its sanitation is poor. After a while the taste of the water changes with infestations of urine and livestock manure. He urged us to help them to solve this problem.

4.1.2 **Mobility:**

Population mobility depends on the abundance or failure of rains. If two consecutive rains fail, movement becomes inevitable for the non-moving sector. Movement is usually from north to south and visa versa.

Movement trend is used as a way of land use management and is based on the effects on the rangeland resources management. As rains decrease and land loses its cover, induced degradation created less productivity of forage and forest tree canopy in which the varied livestock herds used to graze and browse. Such scarcity created vulnerability and destitution among nomads because it affects herd’s productivity and creates food shortages.

Despite the climatological factors, the main causes of the impact are improper interventions on the natural resources utilization by the communities. The major environmental problems in Somaliland and Puntland include; deforestation activities due to cutting trees for charcoal production, for farming purposes and fencing. Also water induced erosion problems is prevalent in the plateaus and valleys, while the wind erosion impact is more evident in the coastal areas. Such activities contribute the prevalence of recurrent drought and the shortage of rainfall.

Population and livestock increase is another factor among the contributors of degradation. Consequently, when rains fall sporadically more people moves in to graze in before grass is given enough time to re-seed (Rays derder as Somalis call it) meaning overgrazing before its maturity and is major contributor on loss of cover.
There were seasonal reserve, drought reserves, rotational grazing or forest reserves and permanent grazing designed to protect the environment and serve nomadic community in preserving the land and ensure land suitability use by former governments. None of these are currently in place. Hence, the land issue is quite problematic where some gets more privilege enclosing a large part of communal land.

There is no demarcation between agricultural and grazing land and that alone creates ambiguity and confusion among land users. Private users are acquiring land more seriously and highly contribute to the problem. Such enclosures restricted the traditional livestock seasonal movement and endanger the whole livelihood unless appropriate intervention are planned and executed properly.

In many areas, communities hardly move unless it is an absolute necessity and harsh conditions prevail for at least two seasons. To preserve such lifestyle enclosures or land ownership is prerequisite to their survival to the determent of traditional mobility.

Consequently, livestock movements are restricted to traditional habitat. This disrupts the old acquired land management systems in which seasonal movement is a critical part of it. Instead fodder production and Berkeds water are built for private use. Such practice is widespread and creates a lot of hardship among poor nomads. This is also a cause of major loss of livestock, due to lack of movement for different forage available in different terrain in different seasons.

In between Sahil and Hargeisa regions, the mobility of livestock ranges from Bulaxaar and Berbera in north coast to Awaare in the Haud across the Ethiopian border. In Sanaag, movement is between mountains and the Banaan (plateau) in the south. In Garowe the movement is between Nugaal and Haud or Nugaal and Iyax. All these movement are north-south movements. There are no restrictions that stop nomads to move east/west if there is abundance of rain and the normal grazing land is dry. The nomads in Hargeisa and Mudug regions constantly cross border and do not bother that much about national boundaries. As far as they are concerned, it is their own land and they believe have the right to be there. Different currency use is well adapted, as cross-border movement is part of their lifestyle.

Transhumance is usually long in dry season between November and April known as Jilaal and the short dry season of July and August known as Xagaa. In the rainy season, all nomads come back to their original habitat. At the time of the survey, quite good number of the families around Qool Cadey plateau near Salaxley, moved all the way from Borama because of severe droughts there. Other groups from Odweyne as well were there. This shows that movements are not exclusively from north to south or visa versa as it persistently show from the survey.

Another example was demonstrated in some valleys around east of Erigavo as rains failed this year. Cattle were distributed to families who had better forage in their areas for the animal survival. This is an area where land ownership has a long history and most people hardly move. Again rain or the lack of it determines the length of nomadic movements.

Areas around Garowe in the Nugaal zone, water is abundant and unless rains really fail like this year, pastoralists hardly move. As was the case at the time of the survey, most of the population was moving towards the Haud or Iyax – another eco-zone north of the Haud. They usually move between these three eco-zones.
All nomadic movements have pattern of their own. At any particular season, you can find the population at a given place. There is co-relation of movements and villages, valleys and water points which again reduces the radius of movements. Quite a large number of the Haud on Hargeisa region are highly dependent on satellite villages while Sanaag and Nugaal are valley dependants and Sool and other eco-zones are water point dependents.

“We move usually in and around Qori Jable where we own berkeds. At severe droughts we follow rains especially in and around Salaxley. At the moment some of our families lost their transport camels and are stuck in this plateau.” One respondent in Banka Qool Cadey, said

It was apparent from this statement that most movements are shorter in distance and people prefer not to move far from their normal areas. However, land degradation is intense and interventions are needed to combat desertification. Any development schemes and interventions designed for the nomadic communities must target nomadic aspirations and wishes. The success of such schemes will be highly dependent on the scale of consultations made with nomadic communities and their ability to absorb and contribute to its sustainability.

4.1.3 Recent Trends

4.1.3.1 Frequency of Drought and Good Years Gully

The group interviewees pointed out that for the last 30 years, recurrent droughts and famine are more frequent than the good rainy years. This has created hardships on nomadic communities who sometimes move long distances in search of water and grass. Erosion increase dramatically as the land dries out with terrible consequences. Heavy rains, later on, wash out the soil, creating gullies, furrows and ditches that take water away. As palatable grass dries out and the land losses its cover. Both winds and heavy rains can make more damages on the environment and wash out the good soil. Small rains fall on areas and when large number of families move in and deny the grass to re-seed by grazing prematurely. The probability of erosion is higher where families settle in large numbers and stayed there a long period of time.

There is no drought management system either by the communities or by government and other institutions and hardly any intervention comes up to help out the affected communities. In some years there is a good rain followed by a bad drought which demonstrates the problems nomadic communities face as their coping mechanisms decline and the population are staggered with heavy burden with increasing land encroachments by different stakeholders and private users.

4.1.3.2 Livestock Ban

The disastrous effects of livestock ban imposed by Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries have serious impact on family and livestock prices on the nomadic communities. At the time of the survey, the ban effects were biting and nomadic communities were showing the strain it caused to them. The purchasing power of the nomadic communities deteriorated as price of a shout slumped drastically from 150,000 SL. Sh. to 20,000 and their bargaining ability disappeared with the loss of external markets. The consumer habits adapted by Somali
nomads for the last few decades disrupt their lifestyle. Instead of their self-sufficiency and dependence on their environment and its resources they became rely on imported high priced commodities.

Charcoal production, small fodder farms and other forest exploits become part of the survival strategy since the livestock export ban. One shoat’s cost fell as low as 20,000 SL Sh. while food expenses of family of five in a month could reach over 200,000 at a bare minimum.

As shown in the figures (table 1) below that had been taken from the Hargeisa Region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>shoaat</th>
<th>Flour (50 kg)</th>
<th>Rice (50 kg)</th>
<th>Sugar (50 kg)</th>
<th>Oil (20 kg)</th>
<th>Sorgham 1kg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Price</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>110,000</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the price of sheep is around 20,000 that also include, 3,000 for transport costs, 1000 per night for keeping in town and 1,500 for the tax. Here you can compare the prices and see a huge disparity between the family income and the expenditure. To survive, families pool their livestock together, in order to market them. What they buy as necessities such as food is then divided among them. Each family would get 1/8th of sack of rice - known as Rufuc in Somaliland and Jodhaa in Puntland - and every other item they bought. This is done so that the have and have not members of the community share food.

Most times this system failed and nomads find themselves empty handed after they sell their sheep or goats.

For instance, if a man takes a sheep for Hargeisa market to buy family expenses. He incurs expenses like 5000 SL Sh. for the transport expenses, 10,000 for keeping the sheep in the holding pen, tax levy and his other personal expenses while awaiting the animal to be sold. When he finally sells the sheep, it brings only 15,000 SL Sh. which is exactly equivalent to animal’s up keep and transport expenses, and that puts him into debt. The man finds himself economically in a tight corner and has to seek assistance from relatives to get something to go back with. That is why it became necessary to pool resources.

Sado Local Organization based in Burao, collects weakly food and livestock market prices in Burao to record and monitor fluctuations. Burao is the heart of livestock market with largest sales in the country. The following table demonstrates the current prices in November 01:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Food Item</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Prices on 7</th>
<th>Prices on 14</th>
<th>Prices on 21</th>
<th>Prices on 28</th>
<th>Prices on 28</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>WHEATGRAIN</td>
<td>50 Kg</td>
<td>$125,000/</td>
<td>$127,000</td>
<td>$130,000</td>
<td>$133,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>SORGHUM</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>$160,000/</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
<td>$155,000</td>
<td>$155,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>RICE</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>$298,000/</td>
<td>$290,000</td>
<td>$295,000</td>
<td>$299,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>MAIZE</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>$137,000</td>
<td>$147,000</td>
<td>$146,000</td>
<td>$135,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>SUGAR</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>$340,000</td>
<td>$343,000</td>
<td>$370,000</td>
<td>$373,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>WHEATFLOUR</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>$364,000</td>
<td>$364,000</td>
<td>$340,000</td>
<td>$273,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ONION</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>$300,000</td>
<td>$250,000</td>
<td>$350,000</td>
<td>$360,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>TOMATOES</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>$600,000</td>
<td>$650,000</td>
<td>$400,000</td>
<td>$400,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>POTATOES</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>$320,000</td>
<td>$275,000</td>
<td>$300,000</td>
<td>$350,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>COWPEA</td>
<td>1 Carton</td>
<td>$350,000</td>
<td>$350,000</td>
<td>$340,000</td>
<td>$355,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>C. OIL</td>
<td>1 Barrel</td>
<td>$388,000</td>
<td>$388,000</td>
<td>$360,000</td>
<td>$360,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>WATER</td>
<td>1 liter</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>FRESH MILK</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>SHEEP (LOCAL)</td>
<td></td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>180,000</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>SHEEP (EXPORT)</td>
<td></td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>210,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>GOAT (LOCAL)</td>
<td></td>
<td>140,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>GOAT (EXPORT)</td>
<td></td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>180,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>CATTLE (LOCAL)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>CATTLE (EXPORT)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>CAMEL (LOCAL)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,700,000</td>
<td>1,600,000</td>
<td>1,400,000</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>CAMEL (EXPORT)</td>
<td></td>
<td>700,000</td>
<td>900,000</td>
<td>800,000</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prices demonstrate the disparity of used commodities against livestock. Unless camels’ sales are involved, the prices of sheep and goats can’t match that of daily cereals and vegetables.

Other coping mechanisms include remittance from abroad and other assistance from family, relatives and friends either in cash or in kind, although survey however, demonstrated how such assistance are small in scope. Few young men and women also temporarily take employment in towns to help their families out. The main preoccupation as source of income though, is charcoal production, hides and skins and milk sales.

Milk sales for the nomads around towns were a normal practice but were sold only as a surplus. The disturbing trend here is families are selling whatever milk available at the expense of young children’s nutritional needs.
4.1.3.3 *Chat consumption*

Chat consumption is a big and serious social problem. It has strained relationship between families and many women seriously suffer as a result of that. Whether their family resource allows or not men consume chat. One woman, a respondent near Qool Cadey summed it all up:

“Men seem to indulge in their habits of chat chewing and left all responsibilities of the family on the shoulders of women. When women refuse to let him use the family resources for chat, they borrow it and later on forcibly take some animals to repay their debt. This sort of habit destroys families. However, all men do not consume chat and there are men who are still free from the drug”

The consumption of chat in the nomadic areas is prevalent among men and they seem to be oblivious of its narcotic problems. Younger men are losing their sense of responsibilities of camel herding or assisting the family on other chores. Instead, they spend their time in village enterprise centres selling their animal produce for chat. Instead of taking camels further distance for better grazing, these young men keep their camels around villages or camps where quality grazing is poor.

“Even if we do not chew, we are prone for shaxaat. (Asking chat expense for a relative or a friend) Women are immune from the Shaxaat because they don’t consume chat. That is mainly the reason why it is good for them to market the livestock and shop for the family,” said an old man near Salaxley.

Another women took her share of livestock and left behind the man and children because of a dispute with her husband on the proper utilization of the family resources.

“He took a cow to the market, been away for ten days chewing and came back empty-handed. Can you believe that? And then had the audacity to demand my personal share of the shoats removed because he can’t use without my consent. I found the situation disgusting and left to teach him a lesson because now he can’t go to the town to chew. Let him see the burden I had and come back to his senses” Said a woman near Garowe.

“Chat is menace in the family purse these days, a purse that is getting poorer everyday with the effects of livestock ban and dwindling natural resources.” said another man near Erigavo.

Chat is cultivated in many farms around the nomadic areas and was intense in areas near Hargeisa. Chat is a drought resistant tree that does not need much water said one man near Adadley in an attempt to defend why so much chat is cultivated around the countryside.

“At least the money for buying chat revolves around the community and not fly to Ethiopia. It is good for our local economy and less harmful because ours is milder than the imported one.”
4.1.3.4 **Charcoal and lime Production**

Due to droughts and prolonged dry seasons, many pastoralists have lost, partly or completely, their stocks seeking spatial settlements around villages and roadsides in search of other income sources. These groups exert increased pressure on land as they cut and burn quite good number of forest trees for charcoal and firewood to meet their daily requirements. The high demand of charcoal both within towns of the former Somalia and in Ethiopia offers an lucrative income source for the impoverished families and created unprecedented environmental stress. To combat charcoal production, income-generating actives are required to absorb unemployed young men whose only options are burning charcoal and other environmentally harm full forest exploits.

New trends of charcoal production are now utilized which created environmental disaster and degrade more land than necessary. A major hole is dug and large number of trees is chopped down from branches to trunks to bury them to bake. The hole is then closed and the heat generated affects a large part of the surrounding land where no grass is grown anymore. Charcoal burners failed to rehabilitate the land and large chunks in the forest are destroyed everyday.

At the time of the survey, many trucks loaded with charcoal originated from the Sool of Eastern Sanaag passed through Garowe everyday to Galkayo and beyond. Such a heavy volume of charcoal decimated Sanaag forests and destroyed livestock traditional grazing areas in the dry seasons. When asked these communities why allow their forests to be burnt the response was the poverty is high and unless other sources of incomes created, it is very difficult to control it.

4.1.3.5 **Demand on Social Service Provision and Development**

Nomadic communities throughout the survey complained about lack of development in general and social services provision in particular. Aspiration of education featured highly on their demands and health of both human and livestock was repeatedly cited as high priority. It was clear that the provision of education and other social services in rural and nomadic areas are prerequisite for the continuation of nomadism as younger generation demands not to be left behind.

Again the population increase in rural and nomadic sectors shows a surplus of labour that needs other occupations as unemployment in the rural areas is in the increase. An example given by a man near Garowe explained the situation:

> I have eight children in which 5 are boys between the age of 12-25 years old. Three are grown ups, who are late to marry. Family stock hold is 150 shoats and 20 camels. This is hardly enough to distribute among six families. Some of the boys find it difficult to stay around because of these bleak prospects. Now one of them went to the nearby village to sell tea and other refreshments in a relative’s bar. Two of them are camels herders while the other two are still younger and helping out with the family stock. Before we used to have large herds that could be sub-divided as our offspring came to age and establish
their new households. Now we look around and ask how could we continue without external assistance?

So what are the solutions? He said, well we need assistance and solutions both in terms of developments in the sector as well as markets. If we can sell our livestock and improve the environment and the quality of herds, most problems will disappear.

Most young men and women felt left behind than their counterparts in towns in terms of education and prospective employment. Most interviewees think that income generation activities are essential to absorb the surplus work force in the nomadic set-ups.

Livestock and human health came as an essential requirement for the productivity, welfare of the sector and to ensure its marketability. The desire for development in general and service provision in particular is very high in nomadic sector for its survival and growth. Nomadic communities deem necessary to seek help on drought preparedness, range and water development and investment in the form of markets. The common complaint throughout the survey is that nomads are forgotten and only God can help them to survive. Nomads have been long marginalized and feel time has come to share the national cake otherwise their future might be jeopardized.

4.1.3.6 Villagisation and Settlements

Most villages in the Hargeisa Region covered by the survey shown to be relatively old settlements and not newly established as assumed before. In the Haud of Togdheer and Hargeisa Regions, the manifestations of villages are apparent on the settlement maps of Somalia. These villages are essential for the survival of the nomadic communities as a link to urban centers, a channel for marketing their products and buying essential commodities for their consumption. It is also a channel of communication and trade channels for their livestock and its products. There is also easy access of transport and information in villages and meeting place for a variety of purposes.

The table shown below has figures according to the interviewees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>No of population</th>
<th>Year found</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Salaxley</td>
<td></td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Adam Abokor</td>
<td></td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Laan qayarta</td>
<td></td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Qool Bulaale</td>
<td></td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Qool Cadey</td>
<td>3000 families</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Gumburaha</td>
<td></td>
<td>1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Dhimbil Riyaale</td>
<td>360 families</td>
<td>1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ina Igarre</td>
<td>600 families</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Bali Kaliil</td>
<td>1000 families</td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Water is essential for the nomadic communities and berked water is common in the Haud as shallow wells and spring water is scarce in that eco-zone. All these villages were settled because of formations of the berked water and population numbers expand and shrink with
the movements of surrounding nomadic communities. The tendency is where berked water is established a village might follow and then a number of nomadic community satellites around it more permanently than desired. That contributes highly on erosion and over utilization of resources in a given area for a longer time than usually utilized.

Areas like Sanaag and Nugaal are more valley based settlements and most times people hardly move long distances. This is because the pastures are better and more available in these valleys with adequate water resource. Nugaal is especially known on its water abundance and nutritious grass. Sanaag shares with the quality of grass, as there is abundance of salty palatable grass preferred by the nomads. Mountains also provide a lush forests and perennial grass that is conducive for better herds and provide fat animals that could easily be marketable.

4.1.3.7 **Enclosures**

This is a new trend to enclose land by the nomadic and rural communities due to the attainment of prime land by different land users for different purposes. Such land acquisition is not legal and based on neither land suitability information nor logic accommodating traditional mobility. Communities on the ground felt marginalized and threatened with the failure of former governments to demarcate land for farming and range. Hence the issues became a case of if you can’t beat them join them. Everybody fence out as much land as they desire with the detriment of livestock movement and proper range management. Enclosures are ranked out as one of the highest factors that undermine traditional nomadism and will ultimately bring down the system if not controlled and totally eradicated. Such enclosures hampered animal movements to water and pasture.

Most enclosure owners failed to develop land and depend on rains, while sharing to graze communal land with other people and reserve their enclosure for the hard times. That drastically in turn affects social relations and communal harmony by creating resentment and hatred within families and between communities. Some of the enclosure owners were denied grazing other common areas and being restricted in their land. Again that is a dangerous trend and threat to livestock mobility and welfare.

Some enclosures yield high production of fodder and the revival of land is very apparent while others are unproductive or produce few amounts of fodder. This difference of productivity depends on human investments, type of land and its location. So while some clearly demonstrate the strength of land ownership, the general trend is disastrous for both pastoralists and their livestock. It also limits all movements as no provision is given on travel routes and large areas are fenced side by side without any due considerations for mobility.

Another environmental disaster is cutting large numbers of trees for fencing. Enclosures are also conflict prone as they cover large areas of land and limit livestock and human movements. Such conflicts have no borders and affect families and neighbours alike. It evades grazing communal law and highly contributed to the death of livestock.

Pastoral movements are not only dependent on the availability of water and grass. Livestock needs to graze and browse different types of grass and trees in different eco-zones and variations of weather and rainfall. For example, to limit livestock in the coast all throughout the year is equal in condemning them to severe heat wave. The coast is very hot between May
and August where most livestock and humans are forced to move to cooler areas. Therefore the inability and limitation of mobility by such enclosure are paramount for disaster in animal husbandry and nomadic populations welfare.

Some nomads are taking action as Somaliland government failed to curb the problem. Attempts are made to destroy enclosures and reverse the trend. Failure of law enforcement to uniformly destroy them is a recipe for other problem, like conflict. Nomads buy enclosures because of the difficulty of finding a peace of land to graze his animals. Yet that same person and all nomads are recommending the removal of all kinds of enclosures.

The village committee in Gadhka Warsame Haad village in Adaadley District took action to control enclosure and facilitate the livestock and human mobility with help of the local communities, the Head-man recounted what happened:
The headman told us that the village area is divided into farming in the north of the village and rangelands on the south. For the last ten years, those with the farms extended their borders to the limit while others settled in traditional rangelands to the point where mobility becomes at stand still. As village committee, we decided to do something about it after many complaints from the community resulted common conflicts in our areas, which threatened the social fabric of our community here. We called a meeting for all concerned and decided that the village committee has to take steps to solve some of the problems.

In the first meeting organized by the village head decided that:

➢ All farmers must go back to their old borders
➢ All roads for transport - livestock, people and cars must be cleared
➢ Ununuf and Qoryaale plains ( range lands) must be cleared from all settlement
➢ Those who disobey these decisions will be fined by 1m SL Sh.

The community was given 15 days for compliance. Most of them accepted and acted quickly because of the willingness to see this action’s success as the motion originally came from the community who urged the village committee to act. Few played a wait and see game without fully complying the decision.

After the 15 days, we decided to prosecute the few culprits to show the seriousness of our decisions.

The first culprit was a man who refused to remove his enclosure for common grazing. His neighbours brought him in front of the committee for justice. His neighbours accused him of not complying and creating disturbance among families. He denied the charge and witnesses were brought in who testified against him. When the committee proved him guilt, the fine of 1M Somaliland Shillings was enforced with the knowledge that the man could not afford to pay. They gave him an hour to bring the fine.

The headman emphasized the seriousness of the situation and said that “Our case hung on the balance and if we failed under the watchfulness of the community, it would have proven disastrous and a return to enclosure and conflict with a loss of graze for the village committee”. After a while and when it was apparent that he failed to organize the money, he came back and started to accept the blame and asked the committee for forgiveness. Finally after his pledge to adhere this law, he was pardoned. So far this decision holds.

The headman said “To enforce and maintain this decision we need to see the return of range reserves, forestry crops, discouragement and prohibition of charcoal and strengthening villages committees to enforce such law with community participation. The pastoralist must be in charge of their affairs with the backup of government both in law enforcement and pastoral development interventions”.

The above example demonstrated the ability of the community if they could organize themselves. However, the group interviews accepted a general failure to organize themselves and listen to each other due to the failure of traditional social structures and the lawlessness created by lack of strong government and organized communities.
Enclosures were not a problem in the Nugaal and Haud eco-zone

4.1.3.8 Selling Diary Products

There is a high disproportion of supply and demand of diary and other pastoral products in urban areas. The dependency of pastoral families on cereals and other urban products and commodities have created a disparity where marketing pastoral products per household takes high preference to traditional family consumption.

This created a widespread nutritional deficiency among the pastoral people especially children and old people. This trend is on the rise as the livestock ban bites with both decreased stockholding per family, and its productivity due to environmental degradation and recurrent droughts. Consequently, the nutritional aspect of the nomadic communities was negatively impacted and many poor households resorted to market the basic household nutritional items such as milk and ghee. Thus contributing to the poor health that succumb to diseases while meat and cash required to feed more people per pastoral household is exceptionally high for the expectable income and high expenditure per family.

4.1.3.9 Plastic bags and plastic products

Plastic bags are the biggest health problems for all types of animals, particularly – shoats and cattle. “Recently, a sheep died in the village and 11 plastic bags were extracted from its stomach” said one man in Bali Kaliil. Plastic bags also stick on trees and grass and can damage the growth of vegetation. Pastoralists consider plastic bags as an environmental hazard and would like to see banned by the government and other concerned agencies.

A campaign is needed to educate rural and pastoral communities on issues of hygiene created by plastic bags and other plastic containers replacing traditional containers. Rural and pastoral communities increasingly use plastic containers for milk, Ghee and water. “Plastic containers is vital for our life now as we failed to fabricate our traditional utensils but the worst part is that the longer we use these plastic containers the more difficult to clean” said one women near Garowe.

4.2 Social Organization and Evolution (The Status of Traditional Organization, Village Social Organizations, Formal and Informal Groups

4.2.1 Social Organizations in Nomadic Set Ups

The social organization of the nomadic communities has undergone a drastic change. The military government intervention on the social organizations in order, to extend its control by coercion has effected all levels of society including the nomadic population residing further from the centers of power.

In an interview with group of Aqil-elders of Sanaag communities in Erigavo, the depth of mistrust between those Aqils and their communities transpired. Usually Aqils were government representatives on communal affairs and used to act as intermediaries between their clans and the government. They defend their clan interests or collaborate with others as necessity dictates. They were salaried by subsequent governments starting from the colonial times when there was a need to expand the authority of the state.
The government of Siad Barre founded as it were in coup de’etat, lacked legitimacy and therefore, more and more relied on coercive methods rather than on the consent of the society. It enlisted Aqils for its misbegotten policies that were devoid of community participation. Such collaboration of the Aqils with the unpopular regime, eroded their prestige and whatever standing they had with their clans. Even now, some of them are tainted by modern political culture with all its wheeling and dealings and are ill -fitting to their earlier traditional occupational mandate.

At present both Sultans and Aqils are urban based and said sub-committees in their relative area represent them. Others participants disagree. While a nominal role for them on issues between clans still exists, many deny their efficiency and indispensability in contemporary times. They are often away from their constituencies and hardly aware of what is going on there. They were accused of being politicians rather than community elders. Pastoral representatives said their affairs are dealt in their own ways and hardly reaches outside their sphere. *Raqba waa ku Rageed* roughly translated as in each case it is to its men.

The aqils tried to justify their position and said that circumstances forced them to be in urban areas because of resource shortage.

> “Former governments footed our expenses and salaried us. Now that does not exist and most of us have to fend for ourselves. Also the war and disintegration created disrespect for the law and trust became a victim to dishonesty employed by former government and its cohorts”. Said one respondent in Erigavo.

Nomadic communities represent themselves and have proven capable of managing their affairs. Younger generation’s respect for elders has deteriorated and without the enforcement of law weakens the elder’s authority to maintain communal cohesion. Yet they maintain relative authority to solve problems.

Informal sub-committees exist in each locality to organize their community around issues. There are still figures that command respect due to their honesty, or general concern for communal good that could be instrumental in development.

### 4.2.2 Village Social organization

For the social cohesion, the role of the *Samadoonno* or village headman should be strengthened and contacted to discuss any development interventions to pastoral/nomadic communities. The nomads, themselves, meet and discuss their situation on regular basis in villages and other meeting points. Workshop on Resource Competition held by Ministry of Pastoral Development in August 25-27,01 in Hargeisa confirmed this structure and urged the government to strengthen the village headman in order, to enforce law and order. Again the position of headman and his role in community cohesion was confirmed in an interview held in PENHA premises with a selected group of elders.

They said, “we have regional and district authorities and is better to come through them for any development interventions. If anyone wants to come to a community directly, it is advisable to deal with the village headman or other community elders.”
In that workshop one of the recommendations is to create Pastoral Associations in Hargeisa Region, the village headman can create such an association in consultation with nomadic community under his leadership.

Currently, village committee comes under the supervision of the government and is a vehicle and extension of government rule to the local population. At the same time they act as mediators between groups in their relative areas. Their power has deteriorated because of the breakdown of law and order coupled with the diminished respect of elders in the society. In the above workshop, one of elders’ complaints was the lack of back up from government institution in law enforcement in their areas.

Village committee spent their resources and influence to solve problems and maintain community cohesion. It is the rule of law they demand as backdrop for their efficiency and legitimacy.

Women associations in many villages visited proved their influence among the society especially as village heads directed our team to meet with their representatives. They organize themselves in attempt to approach common issues as a unit and seek assistance from agencies operating in their areas. They also pool resources to assist each other and create programmes for their development. They could be used as another vehicle for development intervention and communication channels on communal issues.

4.2.3 Non–Formal Groups

There are other ad hoc associations within the nomadic and rural setups that could organize themselves for a reason and then disperse as they conclude their chosen activities. These groups can represent either gender or could engage a number of activities. Their association might depend on settlements at that particular times or sub-clans at times when certain activities needed to be undertaken. Among such groups are a committee for a particular dia-payment, women groups for the wail provision (a collection of butter yields for a particular day to be given to a poor family. Women group for the preparation of a wedding of a girl, mediation of conflicts and work groups.

Any particular person can initiate such group activities for example, if a woman wants to fabricate Kebed mat for the Somali Aqal, she will approach a number of women in the neighborhood and ask them to help her out for a number of days. She will feed and entertains women while they continue this particular weaving.

4.3 Gender Roles

In traditional nomadic communities’ women play a vital role in livestock development and welfare of nomadic family. Mothers are the caretakers and nurturers of children and family in general. They are the managers of resources, distributors of roles among children in livestock rearing. They are responsible in bringing water, firewood, make some of the traditional utensils and different types of mats for the Somali aqal. They are also responsible in preparing and preservation of food. While male counterparts are the general foreseer of family movements and general decision-maker where community issues are at stake and usually sit
under a tree for general discussion on communal affairs. His daily contribution to the family welfare is minimal compared to the other members of the family.

*A Somali proverb goes you can reach a man with a horse in a day, you can reach a man who has better grazing in a year but you can’t reach a man who has a better wife than you forever.*

The above proverb confirms the indispensable position of Somali women in the progress and welfare of the family and yet Somali culture positions women in paradoxical roles which often contradicts itself. The survival of the family unit depends on the dedication and devotion of women to her family and her ability organize and execute chores yet positions her in a secondary status. She fosters relations among the two groups she represent and devote her life for fostering her family with minimum assistance unless with the presence of grown up children and again culture hands down the family resource for the man as the owner.

In reality she invests more energy and resources into family prosperity but is assigned to a secondary status. Both men and women respondents varied on how much power women can wield. Most men refused to accept women’s decision-making power when it comes to running family affairs, at same time men hardly made a decision without the consent of their wives. In the absence of their husbands, women are the sole decision-makers except when their grown up children are present whom they consult.

Women’s access to family resources was commonly agreed throughout the survey and most men confirm that women are stronger nowadays, when it comes to the dispensation of family resources for the family welfare. Women can and always privately own their livestock and could dispense as they wish without any interference from their husbands or their other men relatives. A case most men resent but helpless to act against it. She can inherit livestock except camels and can keep that livestock in her home as a separate personal entitlement. In reality men hardly get away with decisions not consulted with their wives and more often lose ground when the grown up children get involved. A woman depends on her strength, wit and ability to manipulate her husband without exhibiting any of these characteristics publicly. Although there has been a change to this sort of subtleties for the last decades and women now speak publicly and can oppose her men flock than ever before without losing grace. Their vital role was consistently acknowledged throughout the survey and increasingly accepted the dire dilemma of a family without a strong woman.

In many reports written about Somali Women, the subject is approached and addressed as one entity. The author’s research deals with a particular region or certain parts of former Somalia but generalize the status women without caution or distinction. And hence create a delusion that all Somali women from all regions are the same.

In reality, their roles and ability to exercise power differs from zone to zone. Women in certain parts of the south suffer more than women in north of the country. While details of such differences are beyond the scope of this document, more studies are needed to look at

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1 Among them are the culture and tradition of women in Somalia by Maison Badawi, © CSIW, 1999, 2000. I hardly recognize the women described there. May be it is the southern agricultural areas because I never some of the proverbs engaged and if that report is to represent all Somali it is a gross misconception and a false interpretation of Somali Women’s position or role.
the situational differences and commonalities of Somali Women. Women in this context are exclusively those that covered by the survey.

In the nomadic communities, women hardly have time to waste and progressively more engaged in decision making as well as livestock ownership in their own right. Since the conflicts in late seventies and early eighties the situation of women changed drastically. A lot of family responsibilities fell on the shoulders of women.

These days more women take livestock to market because men, even if they do not consume Chat still become subject to demands of their mates and other male relatives to help them out with chat expenses. Women are free from such pressure and are mainly in charge of the family assets, although often their decisions have to be in mutual agreement with their spouses. There are women who are under tremendous pressure when their men consume excessive Chat, as problems involved with the negative habit develop into real disputes. For instance, some women find themselves in dept without their knowledge because of the Chat habits of their spouses.

**Activity Table**

Woman activities usually vary according to the seasons. This table represents their tasks in a normal period. In times of drought times family chores are more difficult and everybody joins in as demands multiply.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Daily Activity</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>By Whom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Wake up</td>
<td>3.00 - 4.00</td>
<td>Women and girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Fetching water</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>Mainly girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Boil tea and breakfast (if any)</td>
<td>5.30</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Prayers</td>
<td>5.30</td>
<td>Men and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Milking shoats</td>
<td>5.30 – 6.00</td>
<td>Women and girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Taking products or livestock to market</td>
<td>5.30 – 6.00</td>
<td>Women and men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Taking shoats out for grazing and watering</td>
<td>6.00 – 7.00</td>
<td>Women, men and children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Raring the animals</td>
<td>7.00 – 8.00</td>
<td>Children, women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Looking after the small animals</td>
<td>8.00 – 9.00</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Milking camels</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>Men and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Going to the village</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>Men for information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Cleaning the huts and surroundings</td>
<td>8.30 – 9.00</td>
<td>Girls and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Going after the livestock</td>
<td>8.30 – 9.30</td>
<td>Women and sometimes men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Taking camels or male camels out</td>
<td>9.30 – 10.00</td>
<td>Women and men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Cleaning the pen</td>
<td>10.00 – 11.00</td>
<td>Women and girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Looking after the children</td>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Cooking food (if any)</td>
<td>12.00 – 1.00</td>
<td>Women or girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Going after the livestock</td>
<td>12.00 – 1.00</td>
<td>Women or girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Mid day prayer</td>
<td>12.30</td>
<td>Grown ups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Eating lunch</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>Children and other members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Doing other errands*</td>
<td>1.00 – 3.00</td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Washing clothes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Fire woods collection</td>
<td></td>
<td>Women and children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Going after the animals or raring</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>Women and men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Bring livestock near home</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Counting and bringing to the pen</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>Women and children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Milking the shoats</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Feeding children and family</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Taking children to bed</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Weaving</td>
<td>&lt;9.00</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1 **Female-Headed Households**

In Ina Igarre, most of the inhabitants were female-headed households who either came back from the refugee camps or moved from nomadic sites due to loss of livestock. One woman who is looking after 7 children in the village said, “I would like to restock the lost animals if possible. We were better off as a nomad than as the villagers”. She had 300 shoats and lost all of them because of drought. They would like to have schools for their children, better immunization systems and more awareness raising on issues of ORS use, FGM, which is prevalent, and HIV/AIDS. Most women heard about HIV/AIDS through the radio but most believe it is not their problem. All the women in the interview were part of a village women association.

Few female-headed households were encountered in the nomadic areas but that does not rule out of the existence of the group. Usually wife inheritance solve the problem but quite a good number of women refuse to accept such arrangement and instead bring up their children on their own.

4.4 **Social Service Provision**

4.4.1 **Infra-structure**

In most of the areas of this survey there was hardly any infrastructures service provision for the communities. There are about 5 schools in Hargeisa Regions survey villages; Sallexley Boarding School, two new class rooms in Bali kalil, new constructed school of two classes, store and an office and destroyed Adadley Boarding school in Adadley town.

One MCH in Sallexley, newly constructed small hospital in Saba Wanaag and on MCH in Adadley. No roads and any other structures were in place. There were no rains in this area at the time of the survey and environmental devastation was very apparent. It has many forests and were a subject for charcoal production as well other harmful forest exploits.

In Sanaag Region, Only Erigavo has a hospital and there were no MCHs in any of the villages and valleys visited. There were no roads or other infrastructure either. Lack of roads and other development placed this region into isolation, which in turn increase its destitution, yet Sanaag is one of the richest regions in natural resources. In good years it has lush vegetation and abundant water.

In Nugaal Region, there is a major road that goes between Bosasso and Galkayo through Garowe. The problem of this road is it is built very high up on the ground and prevents water to spread around. Nomads repeatedly put that as one of the problems but appreciate its values on transport and communication.
In Sool Region, the two villages visited had two MCHs in and Las Anood has general hospital. There is again an asphalt road between Garowe and Las Anood in which communities appreciate its benefit on transport, commerce and communication.

Nomadic communities throughout the survey felt left out and marginalized when it comes to development and these roads were built for other purpose, hence their complaints on the height of the road had repeatedly ignored when the constructions was taking place.

4.4.2 **Water Development**

In the discussion groups as well household interviews it was revealed that there are four types of water sources that are used in different localities. Boreholes, berked water, dams and rig water. Shallow wells and spring water are usually available in the rainy seasons as a temporary fall back.

Eco-zones differ on the availability of water and the way communities utilize water in their relevant areas. In Hargeisa Region for example, all villages and communities visited rely on berked or dam water. In the Haud areas of Somaliland almost all berkeds were destroyed in the war against the former military regime. Smaller number of them has been repaired up to now as most people can hardly any means to do so. Some of the people moved from the areas where former berkeds are situated because of different conflicts and settled another areas where they built new berkeds.

A good number of dams has been built or repaired since the end of the conflicts. Both the people and the livestock drink from the same area in these dams and they hazardous for sanitation. Such dams need fencing and water troughs outside the dam to ensure sanitation. For example, the dam in Qool Caday was invested with Calaacul- a parasite that stuck cows in the throat. There were complaints that it might be better to completely close the dam unless water is treated and the hygiene of the dam is restored.

Berkeds are privately owned and are expensive for the poor nomads. A good number of nomads move to near a relative where they can have access to cheap water or move long distance for other types of water. In Saba Wanaag district, different villages have a good number of berkeds in which some of them are not functional.

### The water systems existing in the attachment villages of the interviewed nomads:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Water System</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Functional</th>
<th>Not functional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaam Gaas</td>
<td>Barkedo</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali Adan</td>
<td>Barkedo</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balli Golis</td>
<td>Barkedo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karin Labi</td>
<td>Barkedo &amp; Balli</td>
<td>20 &amp; 1</td>
<td>17 &amp; 1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabo Bahal</td>
<td>Barkedo</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balli Ugaar</td>
<td>Barkedo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aga Doon</td>
<td>Barkedo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daba Dhurwaa &amp; Ina Barre</td>
<td>Barkedo</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaam Omar</td>
<td>Barkedo</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barakadaha Reer Said</td>
<td>Barkedo</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For Example, in Bali Kaliil There are 30 Barkeds, half of them not functioning. 150 shallow wells with hard water are also used, but only for livestock consumption. In the raining seasons, the quality of water from the shallow wells gets better and vice versa in the dry season because of their proximity to the only dam in the village said the respondents.

Most people prefer the rig underground water to other sources. In two places where nomads were using rig water (Ceel dheere near Erigavo and Hingalool in Badan district, the complaints from the water was minimal. The plateau of Qool Caday has three non-functional rig wells dug by different regimes in the country. The wells have water and can be restored but need huge resources to make them functional. Population there emphasized importance the wells and took pains to show us evidence of why they need them to be restored.

Water is a major problem in the Haud areas where water harvesting is essential and hence the multiplications of Berked water and Dams for private and communal use. The failure to develop alternative water systems undermined the exploitation of underground water in the country. In the Ogo for example, where ground water can be easily reached hardly any rigs work and most people relied on the shallow wells as well as some Berkeds and bore holes.

The Nugaal zones have abundance of hard water and only need the development of soft drinking water systems. Nomads in all zones of the survey put development of underground water as high priority. Berked water as the highest prevalent water reservoir in Haud lacks enough mineral metamorphosis for human and livestock. Nomads believe the meat of the livestock dependent on Berked water inferior in taste to those that use of natural water. The presence of too many Berkeds is a health hazard in the Haud because prevalence malaria as one of the worst killer disease.

4.4.3 **Health**

Health is another areas where pastoral communities put a high priority. Unnecessary number of women and children die from curable diseases. In most of the nomadic setups, family usually is a nuclear as shown from the household interviews and hence women can’t afford to go to hospitals in the absence of grown up daughters who can replace her run the family chores.

The Table shows the number of TBAs, CHWs both trained and untrained that was found in the survey areas. It demonstrates the neglect suffered by nomadic communities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description of Staff</th>
<th>Health Facilities</th>
<th>Equipment</th>
<th>Trained</th>
<th>Untrained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sallexley District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Qool Cadey</td>
<td>1 CHWs/TBA,</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 TBAs/1CHW</td>
<td>Health post MCH</td>
<td>UNICEF Kit</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Qumburaha</td>
<td>*12 TBAs, 2 MW,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 QN &amp; 8CHWs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Salaxley</td>
<td>1TBA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Adam Abokor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Some TBAs and CHWs from the surrounding villages are included in this list.*
The other 7 villages visited in Salexley district had no health facilities or health personnel. Neither Sanaag nor Nugaal has any MCHs or hardly CHWs or trained TBAs.

4.4.4. **Access to Primary Health Care**

Nomadic communities are the most neglected sector at every level of service provision. Hardly are there any health facilities around or in the nomadic areas. There were four MCHs and four hospitals in major towns. Only two MCHs were in the rural areas. The former government’s policy on primary health catered for health posts with the small number of trained staff around the satellite villages.

Villages then had a referral system to other primary health facilities in the district. The success and failure of this system differed from region to region. Some international NGOs are running some of these facilities and usually without necessarily integrating the whole system.

There are now few health facilities in place outside urban areas. In the survey areas, there are one functional MCH in Salexley with a training component for four satellite villages, a small hospital newly built but not functional in Saba Wanaag, another MCH in Adaadley, and two MCHs in Boocane and Kala Baydh of Sool region. There was none in Sanaag except Erigavo hospital. Five maternal deaths were announced in Erigavo itself within the two weeks we were there.

Among the few MCHs visited, Kalabaydh was the only one fully stocked and staffed. NPA and UNICEF assisted it. This MCH cover nine other villages and surrounding nomadic population. Lack of transport handicapped this health team for any outreach exercise. Members of some of the communities were there at the time and told us the difficulty they go through to reach the health post. Boocane is dependent on irregular UNICEF supplies. None of these staff are salaried by any administration.

All the visited villages in Nugaal and Mudug have no health facilities except Bur Saleh. This village has health post (OPD – with 2 TBAs and 2 nurses). This demonstrates the degree and magnitude of neglect among rural and nomadic communities in the social service provision.

4.4.4.1 **Immunization**

Immunization is vital for the survival of the children and is the only the service that most villages acknowledged its existence. Most of these areas were aware of the campaigns but too many complaints are thrown towards its performance. A member of MCH staff in Sallexley outlines some of the problems.

“Yes, we receive immunizations campaigns often but honestly its is badly organized, poorly run and hardly reach a fraction of the population. The way they organize is zonal and in each zone certain number of cars and staff are allocated. A time frame is put to announce, and execute. In our area, the Ministry of health hires few cars that go round and announce the incoming immunization programme. Because of time limitation and lack of commitment on the part of the announcers, it is usually cut short and does not necessarily reach all the target village groups.
By the time the immunization starts again the shortage of time hampers its ability to reach the target groups. You are required immunizing certain number of population or cover an areas for let us say five days. You have seen the area, do you think that is enough?

The system needs more planning and more time to reach out the population. At the rate we immunize now we hardly cover the population of some villages let alone nomadic communities."

There was a consensus among health workers interviewed in Salaxley, Adadley, Dayaxa, Boocane and Kalabayd for the need of an alternative method. Except for campaigns it is more beneficial and cheaper to keep a cooling system in village MCHs with the provision of local transport like camels, donkeys, mules and horses. These mobile teams within the rural areas then could barefoot weeks at time and cover larger areas and reach more population. The system can then be monitored and improved.

Last campaigns covered only polio and people complain repetitive injections for certain children while the rest is completely neglected. The practice of card carrying is very important to determine whether an area is covered or not and the continuation and completion of required doses.

Villagers and nomads interviewed verified the above testimony and demanded more time given to announcement and the actual immunization. Campaign is also needed to explain the benefits of immunization to women and children. Women interviewed hardly know the need to immunize women or its benefits. It is necessary to explain why the service is only under-fives and not for rest of the communities.

Another constraint for immunization is the seasonal timing. There was an agreement among the health respondents interviewed that timing has to be carefully selected. It seems the planners are oblivious on seasonal movements, conditionality on the ground and the disbursement of the population in nomadic areas. There is general ignorance or a neglect to plan immunization around population movements and the selection of seasons.

Most nomads in or around villages are in place at the rainy seasons unless such rains fail. There was a complaint that may be early months are too wet to drive around but then later months of the rainy seasons are dream months to undertake immunization. And if the local transport and local facilities are used then anytime at rainy season is applicable. Beside health personnel in the rural areas are more aware on the conditionality on the ground and their knowledge can be utilized at the planning stages.

In both Boocane and Kalabayd MCH facilities in Sool region, there was a group of nomads at the time of the visit that gratefully acknowledged the usefulness of these facilities. Most of them complained the distance and the scarcity of health facilities in a large geographical area with major population catchments.

The personnel there acknowledged other difficulties in serving the nomadic communities. A person who visits the facilities may not be the sick person because of the distances and circumstance. They arrive without the patient and try to describe the sickness and demand a certain medicine. It is very difficult to diagnose and agree whether person suffers such
ailment and symptoms. The demand of certain medicine can create difficulties and put the staff member in a difficult situation. A fact repeatedly stated in rural facilities. Again the issues of transport emerged as a very important, which could then facilitate staff movements to reach sick people before diagnosis and prescription.

A study is needed to determine the knowledge of medicine among nomads and the level of abuse involved. In all the villages visited shops are selling medicine ranging from painkillers to antibiotics. You can buy medicine like you buy sweets. The health risks in connection with the state of storage of such medicine can be hazardous. Some of them are displayed on tables outside the building with no shade. This is in contradiction with the temperature allowed for such medicines to be stored. Other problems may stems from the length of time these medicines can be kept as expiring date mean nothing to many people nor doses required for curing.

4.4.4.2 Women’s and Child Health

As health facilities are very scarce or non-existent in most areas, the ability of women to seek health is very slim. Complaints of health among the nomadic communities were enormous and women and children’s health was cited as the worst. In most nomadic households there was usually one woman who is the mother and the wife and hardly afford to be away. In a study on tuberculosis, it was proven that women seek help at the last stage and when their ailment is very advanced unlike men and children.

There is high maternal mortality among women stemmed from prolonged labour to later complications and hemorrhage. Maternal mortality rates (MMR) are 1,600 per 10,000 live births. Infant and child mortality are 125 and 211 per 1,000 live births, Situation Analysis, UNICEF, Nairobi, 1998.

Hemorrhage, prolonged and obstructed labour and lack of proper delivery system are among the major causes contributed to maternal mortality.

4.4.4.3 Female Circumcision

The issue of female circumcision is as prevalent as when campaigns against it started in the 1980s. Almost all interviewees except those around Erigavo, and few other cases in other regions cite pharonic as the type they use. Most of the areas circumcise girls in this way. Most of them heard the Sunna or the option of omission but needs enormous campaigns against circumcision. Most interviewees know that pharonic circumcision is bad but are die hards or could not dare to publicly abandon such deep-rooted traditional practice.

Even where Sunna is prevalent, the definition of Sunna varies greatly from no incision to the whole process without infibulation as perceived by the practitioner. Hence, campaigns against FGM must target practitioners more as a crucial force for the continuation of this practice. If practitioner refuse to infibulate girls, there is ample evidence that change can be faster. Most mothers failed to witness the actual circumcision and left in the hands of the practitioner to decide what to do.

Female circumcision and infibulations highly contributes and aggravates health problems among women and the girl child. Most of the population is oblivious on the psychological
trauma FGM can cause and together with prolonged labour. That is another angle to use for campaigners against FGM.

4.4.4.4 **HIV/AIDS Awareness**

The knowledge of HIV/AIDS in the entire interviews turned out to be minimal. The best people can say is that they heard from the radio and they belief that it is not one of their concerns. A very high proportion of the population did not know or heard the disease. A major awareness campaign is needed to educate the rural population of the risks they could be in, if not careful of the disease and ways in which they can save themselves.

4.4.4.5 **Awareness of ORS**

Most people interviewed heard or use ORS. Many told us they buy and use ORS regularly. But as usually it is not available in the nomadic areas, most people resort to traditional medicine.

In the report of knowledge, attitude and Practice in North /west Somalia revealed that most of the rural communities especially nomads do not know how to prevent diarrhea in the first instance and usually deal with the aftermath of the problem. Rice water and herbs to combat diarrhea was commonly noted throughout the survey. Many revealed their use on traditional herbs and traditional methods but later take them to hospital in towns.

4.4.4.6 **Sanitation and Hygiene**

The knowledge of hygiene and sanitation is very poor according to answers given. However, as sanitary toilet facilities are non-existent in the nomadic households, the disposal is done in the open air and does not seem to pose any hazard to the nomadic community.

Nomads use herbs and other traditional methods to clear water and other utensils. They usually use *asal* (the trunk cover of an acacia tree) in water containers to kill germs and Burning stick treatment on milk containers known as *culay*. As the containers changed from woven things to plastic the hygiene of these plastic containers are difficult to maintain.

4.5 **Education**

Education is a right of each and every child, without discrimination. It is crucial for their development and for the development of the society. (Situation Analysis, 1998). Nomadic children are the least catered for in the provision of education and served by the smallest number of village schools. Hence nomadic children are denied their basic rights. The perceptions of nomads towards education have changed and education comes out in the survey as a high priority and an aspiration for the nomadic communities’ young generation. They feel left behind and under privileged. Pastoralists have felt excluded from all national development programs and especially in the provision of social services. The following popular expression illustrates their desire to educate themselves: “*Hashaada jiro, halkaagana bario*” which roughly translates as “Herd your camel and learn your alphabet!”

Many nomadic families may be reluctant to send their children to distant schools and would prefer to see education come to them. As things stand, nomads send their children to villages or towns to stay with relatives and in order to get an education. This practice has had serious
implications for the retention of children in nomadic areas and in pastoralism. Most children, after receiving an urban education, are forever lost to the nomadic family, remaining in urban centers to seek employment. Nomads want the opportunity to educate their children within their own set-up, so that greater retention of the younger generation is possible. Schools can be built in villages or near water points and valleys, so that they are accessible for nomadic children. Nomads regard education as necessary, both in order to hold on to their younger generation and as a way forward for their development and prosperity.

4.6 **Boarding Schools**

Boarding schools used to be the cornerstone of nomadic education and were functional in many parts of Somaliland, mainly near or around urban or rural areas. The former government closed down these schools for political reasons. Since then few schools have been built in or around villages to provide basic educational opportunities. The number of such schools increases and decreases with the density of nomadic movements in and around villages. Most of these schools lack proper facilities, qualified teachers and adequate resources.

The re-establishment of boarding schools, with the provision of government resources for food and lodging, is a high priority for many pastoralists. The nomads are ready to contribute towards books, uniforms and other student expenses. Currently, the purchasing power of the nomads is too low to cover the recurrent cost of schooling as well as other essential expenses. Boarding schools offer alternative solutions for nomadic children to counter problems created by nomadic mobility. Children in the surrounding areas of a school can also attend easily. However, more research is needed to establish the feasibility of such education and the ability of nomads to make financial contributions and to ensure sustainability. Special attention should be given to the opportunities for and viability of girls' education in such institutions.

Two boarding schools were visited (Salaxley and Adaadley) by the study teams. The school in Adaadley was still in ruins following the war against the former government.

**Salaxley Boarding School**

Salaxley boarding school was taken as a case study to see how nomads can benefit from such a set-up and whether the proportion of nomadic children surpasses that of town inhabitants
## Case Study of Salaxley Boarding School

The Community started the construction of this school in 1963. It was started with 1 classroom, 1 office, three dormitories for 60 students, a kitchen, latrines and stores. The community extended the school in 1986 to 4 classrooms with one office while the structure of dormitories remained the same. The school (both classrooms and dormitories) was rehabilitated by UNHCR and equipped by Swiss International Aid (IAS).

Students now number 150, of which girls make up only 10. The Ministry of Education pays only two (including the head master) out of 8 teachers at the school. The remaining 6 do not receive any salaries. There are 9 other staff members (cleaners, a watchman, "water" man, cooks and astorekeeper). The school covers Salaxley district that includes a good number of nomadic settlements. Since the war, WFP has supported boarding at the school with food rations of rice and porridge. The school needs water, food, educational materials, extension, staff support, and a playground. The sustainability of the school could be ensured by establishing income generation projects, such as dairy farming, poultry keeping or a fuel station with an equipped garage.

Up until the imposition of the livestock ban, each student has been required to pay fees of 80,000 SL Sh., but family incomes have fallen dramatically and can no longer sustain payment at that level. Fees have, therefore, been reduced to 30,000 SL Sh.. Almost all the staff is forced to work on voluntary basis, but even this revised budget is too high for the nomadic families to bear. As a result there is a high level of dropouts among students. In September of this year only about nine boys were able to register. Relatives who live in Salaxley are under pressure to look after these students, as families can no longer pay the charges for boarding.

While the school is located in Salaxley some of the students come from nearby settlements including nomadic communities. The table below shows the number of children from each settlement and the distances traveled to school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Distance Traveled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaxley</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearby Settlements</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5 km</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Case Study of Salaxley Boarding School

The Community started the construction of this school in 1963. It was started with 1 classroom, 1 office and three sleeping halls for 60 students, kitchen, latrines and stores. The community extended the school in 1986 to 4 classrooms and one office while the structure of dormitories remained the same. The school (both classrooms and the dormitories) was rehabilitated by UNHCR and equipped by International Aid Swiss (IAS).

Students are now 150 in which girls make up only 10. The Ministry of Education pays only two (the head master + another) out of 8 teachers in the school. The remaining 6 do not receive any salaries. Other staff members are 9 (cleaners, watchman, water man, cooks and storekeeper for the boarding). The school covers Salaxley district that includes good number of nomadic settlements as a catchment. WFP supports the boarding since the war with food rations of rice and porridge. The school needs water, food, educational materials, extension, staff support, and a playground. Solution for sustainability of the school can be found in creating income generation projects, such as dairy farming, poultry and fuel station with equipped garage.

Before the imposition of ban, each student has been required to pay fee of 80,000 SL. Sh. but as people are now more impoverished and can’t sustain such payment, it has been reduced to 30,000 SL Sh.. Almost all the staff is forced to work on voluntary basis but even this revised budget is too high for the nomadic families to bear. As a result there is a high level of dropouts among students. During September of this year only about nine boys were able to register. Relatives who live in Salaxley are under pressure to look after these students, as people can’t pay the fees for the boarding.

While the school is located in Salaxley some of the students come from nearby settlements including nomadic communities. Their composition is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the settlement</th>
<th>Distance traveled</th>
<th>No of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baha-Damal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qool Cadey</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaam Tuug</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ina Guuxaa</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banka</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bali mataan</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oodanka</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laanqayrta</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qool Bulaale</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adan Abokor</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhimbil Riyaale</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaxley</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The long distances nomadic children walk to and from schools, in difficult conditions, prove their determination and desire for education.
4.7 **Koranic Schools**

Koranic schools are the only institutions that provide literacy teaching to nomadic communities. Many such schools are now closed because of the shortage of resources and inability to pay teachers. For the first time, nomads have reluctantly accepted the closure of Koranic schools as a direct result of resource limitations caused by the livestock ban. Nomads still wish to send their children to school and pay Koranic teachers to provide education for their children when circumstances allow.

With the recent collapse in nomads' cash incomes, an alternative solution and other sources of revenue must be found to fund education in nomadic and rural communities. Young nomads want education so that they can diversify their economic options and enjoy the same opportunities as counterparts in the urban areas. Koranic teachers usually move with their respective communities, however, most have hardly any formal qualifications or training other than in religious education. The education they can provide, therefore, is unlikely to match the aspirations of nomadic youth.

4.8 **Nomadic and Village Schools**

Throughout the research the team came across few schools situated in villages and only three outside villages - two near Erigavo and the other near Garowe. There are schools situated in villages but most were under-resourced and equipped to cater for the needs of the nomadic and rural communities. Some of these schools were featured in the Primary School Survey and registered with the Ministry of Education, but little in the way of resources was provided. Teachers are unsalaried and school equipment almost non-existent. There are limited classrooms and a lack of furniture and educational material, toiletries and health facilities. Most village schools are in similar conditions.

There were only three nomadic schools found in the course of the survey. Dabablehe Elementary School and Marawade Elementary School, near Erigavo town, are both functional and located in the middle of nomadic communities. Another school situated near Garowe was abandoned for lack of resources and other unspecified reasons.

The team visited the Dabablehe school, looking at it as a case study. This particular school has, from its inception, benefited from a strong contribution by the community, in terms of site selection, seeking funds, construction, high student enrollment and payments for the teachers. The value that pastoralists attach to education is demonstrated by their contribution and commitment to establishing and maintaining the school, the only functional nomadic school in that area.
Dababalehe Nomadic school

Dabablehe is a valley about 50 km east of Erigavo, with a population of about 1000 families according to the group interview our team conducted there. The valley is an old settlement and individual families’ own land. The community is semi-settled and rarely moves unless recurrent droughts force them to. Rains had failed for the third year in a row and the population was not there at the time of our visit.

The settlement built the school in October 2000 with a grant from Candlelight, an NGO, obtained through a member of that community. The community contributed most of the building material and took on much of the management responsibilities. A two-classroom school was built within the specifications of the national school building plan. At the end of the project, the community footed a third of the total expenses.

The school is located in a place with a lot of potential students. It attracted pupils from a five-kilometer radius. In the first group of students that enrolled, there were 56 children, of whom only 6 were girls. After three months, teachers divided the students into two grades, according to their level of literacy. At the time of the survey the process of enrolling a new group was underway. Although a large number of community members moved away because of prevalent drought and the school was only half-full, school enrollment was going well. Some families had left their children behind with other families, so as not to disrupt their education.

The school was featured in the Primary School Survey and government now counts it as a government school. However, it receives no resources from government or any other agency. Families pay the teachers with livestock. It works well because teachers come from the community and the community at large appreciate its value. For the people of the area, it is a model self-help initiative, showing what can be achieved with minimal help from outside.

The school also motivated other communities such as those of Jiidle who reopened their primary school and absorbed other students from nearby. Other people in the area want similar schools and are ready to follow suit.

However, schools in some of the other villages have failed. A good example was provided by an elementary school in Kulmiye village - there were two classrooms and an office inhabited by livestock because of the inability of the village to organize themselves and pay teachers.
CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND CROSS-CUTTING ISSUES

Despite the challenges and setbacks experienced by the study team (described in Chapter 2.1.4), it was possible to assemble the collected data at the end of the fieldwork and enter all the data on a spreadsheet. The use of spreadsheets facilitated data analysis and interpretation and helped to identify cross-cutting issues. Under normal conditions, the PRA and RRA based studies would, naturally, involve the communities in the data analysis and interpretation phase.

The data collected would have been presented to the nomadic stakeholders for their feedback and, after receiving that feedback, problems would be ranked and solutions would be presented in some order of priority. The research team would then have been able to draw major recommendations from the study in consultation with the communities.

UNICEF will no doubt appreciate that the circumstances (security, time and resources) made it impossible for the team to adhere to the above fully participatory agenda and conclude the research in a truly participatory manner.

It has to be said, however, that the team has collected enough authoritative information from the nomadic stakeholders, which is of sufficiently high quality for the team to draw out major recommendations. On the basis of the present information the following tables have been drawn up, depicting problems, causes, coping strategies and opportunities in both zones. The authors will use this data throughout the chapters in the report as the empirical basis for their analysis and recommendations.
5.1

Stakeholder Based Problem Analysis in Some Order of Priority

A Socio-Economic, Environmental, Resource Based

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBLEM</th>
<th>CAUSES</th>
<th>COPING STRATEGY</th>
<th>OPPORTUNITIES</th>
<th>PROBLEM RANKING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Depressed pastoral economy</td>
<td>• Livestock ban (Gulf States)</td>
<td>• Try to diversify (Khat growing, farming, charcoal making, etc.)</td>
<td>• Diversify the economy • Advocacy agenda to lift the ban • Livestock herding preferred option, not abandoned • Look for alternative markets for livestock exports</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lack of viable local markets</td>
<td>• Selling as many animals as possible at lower prices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lack of alternative markets to Gulf States</td>
<td>• Depending on relatives in towns and attachment villages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encroachment on traditional communal</td>
<td>• Diminishing resource base</td>
<td>• high tension and conflict between various users of land</td>
<td>• need for land law securing pastoral land rights • organise nomadic groups around rights issues</td>
<td>A – in NWZ B –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grazing areas</td>
<td>• Privatisation of land</td>
<td>• migration, incursion into other areas</td>
<td></td>
<td>in NEZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lack of government policy to protect pastoral land rights</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drought and famine</td>
<td>• Livestock losses</td>
<td>• Out migration</td>
<td>• Forced sedenterisation (circumstantial and not government imposed) • Improved land management</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Low rainfall</td>
<td>• Food Aid or assistance from relatives in other areas</td>
<td>schemes • De-stockling strategy • Livestock herding preferred option</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Intense run off in some areas and erosion</td>
<td>• Self imposed austerity (minimise expenditure)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Deforestation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lack of kerosene</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lack of de-stocking during famine times</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Water shortage                                                                 | · Run down berkeds (50% efficiency)  
· Sheet and gulley erosion  
· Run down earth dams  
· Lack of boreholes  
· Destruction of traditional wells | · Over-use of berked water  
· Selling/buying water  
· Migration with herds (long distance) | · Rehabilitate berkeds  
· Introduction of check dams  
· Rehabilitate the environment by improved soil cover |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Low incomes and unemployment (poverty)                                       | · Livestock ban  
· Reduced livestock due to drought imposed losses  
· Lack of reliable local markets  
· Low level of economic activity/dearth of alternatives  
· Lack of skills other than herding  
· Isolation of hamlets and lack of infrastructure | · Socialise networking and mutual dependency  
· Out migration with family and herds  
· Search for casual labour elsewhere  
· Hired labour (in NEZ) | · Lift ban  
· Expand economic opportunities other than pastoralism |
## Social Services, Women/Children-Based problem Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROBLEM</th>
<th>CAUSES</th>
<th>COPING STRATEGY</th>
<th>OPPORTUNITIES</th>
<th>PROBLEM RANKING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor Sanitation and Health</td>
<td>· scarcity of water / inadequate water sources</td>
<td>· Use of berked water and bore wells instead of stagnant water</td>
<td>· Improve water situation</td>
<td>△</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>· Families too poor to buy water</td>
<td>· Faith healing / depending on Allah</td>
<td>· Sanitation training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>· Polluted water</td>
<td>· Use of traditional medicine</td>
<td>· Vaccination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>· Malnutrition especially among women and children</td>
<td>· Most nomads fence their berkeds</td>
<td>· MCH, training in curative and preventive medicine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>· Exposure to wind and sun in nomadic hamlets</td>
<td></td>
<td>· Encourage the improved use of traditional medicine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>· Too much of household earnings spent on buying Khat by men (author’s observation)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>· Lack of schools for nomadic children</td>
<td>· Koranic schools, which sometimes include literacy (secular education)</td>
<td>· Combine Koranic and secular mobile education</td>
<td>△</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>· Lack of Koranic schools (no religious education)</td>
<td>· Organise Koranic schools and pay teachers in kind</td>
<td>· Better facilities and incentives for teachers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>· Lack of incentives for teachers</td>
<td>· Close down Koranic school or combine them to cover greater area</td>
<td>· Encourage government and NGOs to invest more in pastoral areas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>· Poor infrastructure in nomadic areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>· Lack of government and NGO interest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women's and Girls' marginalisation</th>
<th>Cultural values and prejudices</th>
<th>Submission and accepting of tradition</th>
<th>Implementation of better policies and implementation of relevant conventions (CEDAW &amp; CRC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of women-oriented project initiatives</td>
<td>Lack of women’s organisation and leadership</td>
<td>Organise their own informal mutual support groups</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of income generating activities</td>
<td>Over-burdened with herding duties</td>
<td>Allow themselves to become enslaved</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over-burdened with domestic and child rearing duties</td>
<td>Submission and accepting of tradition</td>
<td>Accepting this as duty and a given</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poor Animal health</th>
<th>Disease epidemics</th>
<th>Faith healing and use of traditional medicine</th>
<th>Rehabilitation of existing dips</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Droughts</td>
<td>Lack of vet services</td>
<td>Dipping the livestock and using vet drugs</td>
<td>Provide veterinary supplies and staff in attachment villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trekking to markets (poor transport)</td>
<td>Increased consumption of plastic bags (near attachment villages)</td>
<td>Out migration to better grazing areas</td>
<td>Mass vaccination against major diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoonosis (human-to-livestock transferable diseases)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Para-vet training for local nomads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A – for women
C – for men

B
5.3 Conclusion

Analysis of the above data indicates that any sort of effective development intervention in the nomadic areas will be complex, resource consuming, long term and involve an important political/philosophical element. The needs range from advocacy on behalf of pastoralists to the lifting of the livestock ban to providing essential services and mobilizing women to assert their rights in the context of CEDAW and CRC.

The following chapter will look at programming implications.
CHAPTER 6

PROGRAMME DESIGN IMPLICATIONS

This chapter will concentrate on the implications of the present study for the design and delivery of services to nomadic people in Somalia, concentrating on the North-East and North-West Zones. Readers, however, should appreciate that the context in which any delivery programme would be based upon is very complex.

Firstly, the political uncertainties in some zones imply that proper risk assessment and management are essential. It should also be appreciated that some of the important and binding conventions, such as Child Rights Convention (CRC), have not been formally ratified and therefore are not binding on state authorities. In practice, this could mean investing more resources in the emerging civil society managed by pastoralists themselves.

Secondly, there is a need for micro and macro level planning whereby UNICEF-Somalia invests resources within Somalia but also works with UNICEF regional offices and other stakeholders. In this way, there will be an opportunity for the mutual exchange of relevant experiences and competencies within the wider UNICEF family.

Thirdly, UNICEF-Somalia could strengthen its own internal capacity to deal with nomadic issues at grass-root level. Practically, this could mean the extension of existing programmes, giving them a pastoral focus and adapting them accordingly in some of the nomadic areas.

Fourthly, there is a need to implement innovative pilot projects through partners in selected areas in the NE and NW Zones. The authors have collected information that could provide a basis for pilot level intervention in some of the nomadic areas.

Fifthly, there is undoubtedly a need for an identification and formulation mission to draw up long term plans for pastoral development in Somalia.

6.1 Challenges of Service Delivery to Nomadic Pastoralists

Somali pastoralists actively seek health, education and other services as clearly shown by this study. It is not uncommon for Somali nomads to pay for the education of their children in a nomadic boarding school. In some cases, nomadic children are also kept in towns with relatives in order to receive an education. In other countries, services may be imposed on the nomads for the sake of national integration but to no beneficial end for the nomadic communities. A number of parameters, both negative and positive, need to be appreciated in designing service delivery to nomadic people.

(a) Livestock Ban–Induced Poverty

Nomads have become impoverished and their economy weakened. Before the livestock ban, Somalia had emerged from long years of civil war in which central government infrastructure has been destroyed and most of local authorities are still under-resourced and are unable to deliver services. It is therefore advisable that efforts in the area of service delivery should be linked to rehabilitation measures, so that they have a sustained, longer-term impact.
(b) **Nomadic Dispersal**

There is a myth that “...the nomad is a happy wanderer in search of grass and water with no roots...”. However, this myth is far from reality. The present study clearly shows that a great majority of the nomads are attached to important village settlements in the heart of grazing areas. Nomadic movements are systematic and regularly repeated, though in recent years customary routes appear to have been disrupted. So nomadic pastoralists, whether they are from the attachment villages or not, do appear to be benefiting from existing services, if only seasonally.

(c) **Population Density**

Given that there has been no proper census for 30 years, any population estimate is highly questionable. In the rangelands, nomadic areas are characterised by low population densities that vary from region to region. This may often be less than two households per square km. Communities are more scattered during the long dry season and more concentrated during the wet season. The concentration of families during the wet season may have implications for vaccination services. In terms of cost effectiveness, improved services in attachment villages would be a good investment. Mobile clinics could use the attachment villages as a nuclear base to reach the nomads. Many of the nomads surveyed realised that services cannot be made available for nomads everywhere. Some nomads strategically locate their hamlets along roadsides in the hope of receiving services from possible passers-by. We also observed that many of the nomads visit attachments villages to do their shopping, sell dairy products and buy food items, to benefit from health services, buy other commodities and visit relatives. We also observed that livestock dips are regularly used in the attachment villages by both nomads and other members of the community.

6.1.2 **Nomadic Health**

Human and livestock health are inextricably linked given the proximity between livestock and pastoralists.

- Because of this proximity between pastoralists and livestock, pastoralists are susceptible to zoonosis (diseases transferable between humans and animals, such as brucellosis, TB and anthrax).
- Nomads depend a great deal on a milk diet and may lack a balanced diet. Milk-based diets may be low in iron, vitamin A and C.
- Seasonal migration may facilitate the spread of diseases such as cholera and malaria
- The present survey has shown that the majority of nomadic children are not immunised and this is a major challenge for UNICEF-Somalia

One has to be modest enough to admit that there is very little knowledge on nomadic health in the two zones because no nomadic health need assessment has been conducted.

With the information at hand, it is possible to propose a nomadic health delivery system based on the attachment villages with a nomadic health outreach programme to deliver services to scattered nomads. Nomads can be trained as paravets, paramedics and teachers in order to make such a programme sustainable and more nomadically oriented. Health awareness campaigns could also be
organised working closely with the BBC Somali Service, to which most nomads have access. Mobile health units operating from a fixed base could cover wider areas at a lesser cost. There are positive experiences in other sub-Saharan countries and UNICEF-Somalia staff and local partners could visit such countries and develop similar models for Somalia.

6.1.3 **Nomadic Education**

The majority of Somali nomads, according to our study, have positive attitudes towards their children’s education. The rationale behind these attitudes can be partly explained as follows:

- Nomads do not feel that education has been imposed upon them. In fact, many do not think that such services are widely available for their children.

- The teachers, working in very difficult conditions, have a close affinity with their communities. Teachers are volunteers in most cases, do not feel any deep sense of isolation and have a great willingness to serve their communities.

- Education is seen as an opportunity for the children to widen their livelihood choices and opportunities, and is not necessarily seen as detrimental to pastoral nomadism.

- The curriculum is not totally alien to the nomadic community. In some cases the teaching of the Koran is combined with literacy classes. We were not able to assess the government curriculum and how appropriate it is to nomadic livelihoods.

- 90% of the nomads interviewed did not have any objections to girls' education provided that girls are educated in the vicinity of the hamlets or settlements. Boys have much greater opportunities to be educated elsewhere.

The Salahle Boarding School in the Haud region is a good example of positive nomadic attitudes to education. It also shows that attachment village are the most realistic location for providing nomadic children with a viable education. Again, in view of nomads' links to attachment villages, providing sedentary education to mobile pastoralists on a voluntary basis would be a realistic and sustainable option. There are positive examples from Mongolia and Iran, which can be drawn upon in designing such schemes.

The combination at primary level of Koranic and secular teaching for nomadic pastoralists could benefit the great majority of nomadic people and this option has to be looked at seriously.

In conclusion, there is a need for an innovative approach that combines fixed-location with mobile service delivery and, in the case of Somalia, sedenterisation and mobility, for people and services, need not be mutually exclusive.
7.1 Conclusions

Today more than ever, pastoralists are facing acute pressure and impoverishment. Creeping individualization of land tenure, with the expansion of enclosures and family holdings, and their marginalisation in development have taken their toll on the welfare of pastoralists and on the pastoral economy. Throughout this survey, pastoralists conveyed their dismay at the lack of development initiatives and investment in their sector, despite their very significant contribution to the national economy.

In commercial markets, pastoralists have little bargaining power and are powerless in the face of market forces, trade restrictions and external forces, oblivious to their suffering in the current crisis. The livestock ban brought about a catastrophic decline in pastoralists' terms of trade and household incomes, and intensified their marginalisation. While the livestock market collapsed, the prices of essential commodities either remained stable or rose, creating an untenable situation and straining coping mechanisms. Most families are struggling to make ends meet.

Recurrent drought, restrictions on traditional mobility, severe land degradation and substantial increases in human and livestock populations have all combined to threaten the pastoral system and undermine livelihoods and food security. Pastoralism remains the most effective way of exploiting the rangelands and can once again be a dynamic, export-oriented sector. If a positive policy environment is established, with land tenure systems that accommodate mobility and ensure access to natural resources, adequate marketing infrastructure, investments in animal health and open markets abroad, pastoralism will continue to provide sustainable livelihoods for many Somalis. Nevertheless, pastoral systems are under pressure and cannot absorb the growing numbers of unemployed and underemployed. Pastoralists must, therefore, look to alternative sources of income. Government and other development actors should assist them to do this, with a range of interventions that increase human capital and expand opportunities.

Pastoralists have responded to the current crisis with increased sales of milk and other dairy products, to the detriment of family nutrition in many instances. Some nomads have moved temporarily to towns, while many have become increasingly dependent on the good graces of relatives in urban areas or on remittances from abroad. But in most cases, they 'tough it out' on their own and depend on each other more than on any external assistance.

With respect to gender, there has been some positive change. Women currently enjoy enhanced access to resources and women are responsible for marketing livestock to a greater degree than ever before. While this has contributed to greater decision-making power within the family and in resource management, women’s influence outside the home is still marginal. There is an increasingly serious, and almost exclusively male, problem of chat addiction as well as an increased tendency to indulge in cigarette smoking and other personal spending that undermines household welfare. These male addictions are not only hazardous to health, but are also economically devastating. With men absent for extended periods, chewing chat in the villages, women and children are forced to take on much heavier workloads.

Demand for social services among nomads is very high, with education and health at the top of the list. Pastoralists increasingly realize that, without development and investment, their futures are precarious and their communities will not be able to respond to change effectively. While they wish to embrace modernity, they believe that pastoralism is robust and they want their children to be educated in their own environment. They attach equal importance to human and livestock health
and perceive greater investments in water and other infrastructure as essential for pastoral economic development. They need training on food preservation techniques, skills training to support economic diversification, better marketing opportunities for livestock and their products and, more broadly, greater developmental intervention to secure their future prospects.

Pastoralists are not only ready to embrace development and new ideas, but are also prepared to contribute and keen to participate fully at all levels of development. This can only be possible if development is centred on the villages, water points and valleys, depending on where communities are based.

As traditional structures are in decline, pastoralists want to be consulted directly, rather than through intermediaries as in the past. Decisions are more effective at group or settlement level and with the full participation of community members at every level.

Immunization and other social services must take into account the seasonal movements of pastoralists as well as local conditions. Consultations with health personnel on the ground are essential for the successful delivery of health services. Alternative methods of improving rural facilities and the use of traditional modes of transport may be important ingredients in a successful immunization programme. Fuller and wider coverage of the population requires meticulous planning and the full utilization of all resources and sources of information, including local ones.

This study left a number of gaps that need to be followed up, some are urgent issues that require immediate attention, while others can be addressed in the longer term to medium term.

The study did not seriously examine herd ownership and composition. Moreover, a greater understanding of pastoral indigenous knowledge is necessary in order to assess the scope for its further enhancement and to inform planned interventions.

7.2 Major Findings

7.2.1 An Overview of the Major Issues Emerging from the Nomadic Study

During the course of the study a number of major issues emerged, some of which were not originally intended to be covered within the terms of reference. However, without an understanding of these issues, which are part of the broader context for the study, and for subsequent programs, it would be difficult to effectively address the very complex web of issues of which service delivery is part. The following are the key Findings and observations.

(1) The Devastating Impact of the Gulf Countries’ Livestock Importation Ban on Nomadic Livelihoods

Nomadic and semi-nomadic people in all the study areas emphatically confirmed that the livestock importation ban (re-imposed by the Gulf countries during 2000) has had a devastating impact on their livelihoods and incomes. This has meant reduced household incomes, poorer nutrition (with more milk sold to maintain cash incomes and less available for family consumption), reduced ability to purchase food items and pay for school fees and veterinary and human drugs. The nomadic and semi-nomadic people of Somalia, to some extent, maintain a milk and meat diet. However, a typical bundle of household commodities also includes wheat, flour, rice, pasta, sugar, tea, dates and other commodities which have to be purchased with cash earned by selling livestock. The domestic and external terms of trade have shifted dramatically against pastoralists, so that more livestock have to be sold to purchase the same bundle of goods. In 1997, one sheep would buy 650 kilograms of rice - now pastoralists have to sell prized livestock to buy the same amount of rice. As
a direct consequence of the negative impact of the livestock importation, the traditional social security system has been seriously weakened. With the collapse of livestock sales, there is very little money circulating in nomadic communities and the mutual assistance schemes that used to help people through hard times are no longer functioning well. The contribution of remittances from abroad to local incomes is less than 10% and food aid is not widely distributed, thus nomads have very little to fall back on. Nomadic people are resorting to commercial charcoal making on such a scale that it has generated serious environmental degradation. Many have also taken to growing khat as an alternative source of income, aggravating the damaging social impact of this mild, but addictive, narcotic.

(2) *The General Unavailability or Inadequacy of Services*

Our overall assessment is that very little in the way of services exists in the nomadic areas, whether in health, education, water or other services. Where health or educational services do exist, facilities are either run down or completely under-resourced. What is extraordinarily striking is that, in a predominantly Muslim society, many communities are so impoverished that they are not even able to pay for a teacher to teach their children the Quran, a basic religious right for all Muslim children.

(3) *The Exploitation of Women and Children in the Nomadic Sector*

Our overall impression was that women and children are fully engaged in carrying out domestic as well as herding duties. Women and children are an important source of labour in the pastoral economy, however recent social and economic change has seen them taking on much greater and unprecedented burdens. This further exacerbates their marginalisation and constrains their ability to participate in education or gain access to health services.

(4) *Drift of Nomadic Communities to Urban Centres*

During field research the team did not find evidence of a major drift of nomadic people to the urban centres. To the contrary, it is apparent that many of the younger generation are still holding onto pastoralism as a way of life and a viable economy. What does appear to be happening is that families are splitting themselves into sections - some in urban areas and others in attachment villages, while others remain nomadic or semi-nomadic. Distributing family members in this way is a form of risk management and allows them to maintain mutually supportive relationships. This ‘family splitting’ does not necessarily undermine pastoralism as is often assumed. In fact, it is a survival strategy that has kept Somali pastoralism alive and well. So, the nomadic, semi-nomadic, sedentary and urban populations in the study areas are inextricably linked.

(5) *Pastoral Mobility*

Nomadic pastoralists in the study regions are fairly mobile. Mobility is still a critical strategy for pastoralist survival. Agro-pastoralism, although an emerging livelihood, is less significant in the two study zones. According to Swift (1988) an agro-pastoral production system is one in which at least 50% of household income comes from farming and 10 – 50% from pastoralism. We did not come across any groups that would easily fit into this category during the course of the study and it is clear that livelihoods are still overwhelmingly livestock based. Cross-border mobility to Ethiopia is important for a limited number of pastoral nomads. We understood from the study that the range of movement is about 100 kms. Mobility may or may not involve the whole family depending on the ecological setting. Generally, the research team observed that the attachment villages in which many nomadic families are partly based provide important links to services for the mobile nomads.
The attachment villages are where they go to shop, trade, at times, to take their children to school (both Qoranic and secular) and to seek medical care.

(6) **Defining Nomadism in the Nomads' own Terms**

The nomadic pastoralists interviewed during the survey have a very clear idea what a nomad is and how his livelihood is defined. For most nomads a nomad is someone who follows the rains, grass and his animals. Almost all of them agree that the nomadic way of life is viable and they have no attractive alternatives that would allow them to abandon it.

(7) **Intense Competition over Resources**

There is undoubtedly very intense competition between communities over the use of resources. This competition and conflict centres on wetland areas in the valleys, the curtailment of livestock corridors and the increasing use of rangeland for agricultural use. Competition over water resources is relatively minor. On the basis of the present study, it appears that resource competition may be more intense in NWZ than NEZ.

(8) **Health and Other Awareness**

We found that nomads are conversant with what is going on in their world and in the wider world and that, partly thanks to the BBC-Somali Service, nomads are up to date with current affairs. As far as health, nutrition and sanitation are concerned, knowledge, attitudes and practises vary greatly. We found that people are aware of traditional practises to prevent certain diseases and promote health, but, by and large, rely on divine intervention as a remedy. There is some, limited awareness of HIV/AIDS, immunisation and some other health issues, but very little real knowledge or understanding.

The regular proximity between man and beast implies that zoonotic diseases (those transferable from animals to humans) may be a problem, however, we have not investigated this. There are also incidences of malaria and some anecdotal evidence that these may be on an upward trend.

(9) **Khat Chewing among the Nomadic People and its Impact**

From our observation, there are now more and more men and boys chewing khat (a herbal narcotic). We did not see any evidence of women or girls taking up the habit, at least in public. Khat buying is a major drain on meagre household resources and often deprives women and children of basic food commodities. Charcoal is also sold in order to buy khat. It is possible that the addiction is making men apathetic, less willing to herd the animals and, according to some women, less productive. Although the team cannot definitively substantiate such claims, khat consumption is undoubtedly having a negative impact on health and household welfare among nomadic people. Men actively search for khat, and devote considerable time to chewing, and this takes away vital labour from pastoralism and over-burdens women and children.

(10) **Traditional Social Structures**

Traditional social hierarchies have been considerably weakened. Many traditional leaders have become politicians and have settled in towns and they no longer represent pastoral nomadic communities as they once did. There is, therefore, a power vacuum at a higher level. At the very grass roots level, however, it is clear that elders and village heads genuinely represent nomadic people. The team did not come across such representation for women among the nomadic communities and women are under-represented in existing structures.
7.3 **Recommendations**

The following recommendations are consistent with the findings previously discussed. Although the present study is not a formulation or project identification mission, the authors would like to highlight the following recommendations as feasible and reflective of community priorities as they were perceived by the nomadic groups consulted during the study. The recommendations are medium-term but both of a strategic and practical nature:

- The livestock importation ban, according to 90% of the respondents, has had a devastating impact on the pastoral economy and livelihoods. The ban has to be lifted in order for the pastoral nomads to reinvigorate their economy. This could be an important entry point for UNICEF and other concerned partners to work with pastoralists on an issue which is of critical importance to their survival. The study has shown that pastoral nomads have an intimate understanding of their own problems and opportunities. Such a campaign to lift the livestock ban could also lead to developing synergies between planners, development agencies and the broader UN family.

- Education and health are high on the agenda and effective delivery requires from pastoralists their full participation. Furthermore, education and the curriculum in the rural and pastoral areas must be compatible with the pastoral way of life, if it is to attract high participation rates and provide a firm basis for social and economic development. Schools and health facilities must be developed along the routes and settlements of the nomadic people.

- Health provision is urgently required to address the health hazards posed by chat and tobacco products. On issues such as immunisation, women’s health, ORS, HIV/AIDS, hygiene, sanitation, and FGM there is a long way to go before improvements in knowledge and practice are attained. Change will be slow and painful and successful interventions require long term commitment and careful planning.

- There is a need to re-orient and revise existing plans which are intended to deliver services to the rural people in Somalia. The results of the present study should be fed into revising the existing country strategy and programme.

- It is critically important to sensitise UNICEF’s local staff operating in the nomadic areas and project level. This could be done by organising exchange visits for such staff, organising short term training for them in-country and outside-country and provide them with participatory skills in research methodology and project implementation to be able to serve the nomads.

- It is recommended that UNICEF supports innovative pilot projects possibly in the Haud pastoral zone (Salahle District) initiating a support programme for the nomadic boarding school, health and water projects. The Team leader will be happy to quickly formulate a programme of intervention for such an initiative if UNICEF so wishes.

- Undoubtedly, there are other critical areas of intervention which UNICEF could recommend other agencies to look into and these include, firstly, range development, early warning systems and improvement in market infra-structure which should be the foundation for a comprehensive pastoral development strategy. Secondly, range and water development and improvements in stock productivity, should be pursued alongside efforts to support economic diversification, through the promotion of alternatives such as bee and poultry keeping and the creation of new employment opportunities.
♦ A comprehensive and detailed study of the process and mechanism of livestock marketing is needed in order to identify ways to improve the functioning of markets and enhance pastoralists’ ability to secure fair prices and capture a greater share of mark-ups along the marketing chain.

♦ Other studies could include the social evolution within the nomadic society, competition over resources, the role of women in the pastoral economy, comparative studies of production systems in similar countries where UNICEF operates.

♦ The above studies can be realised by UNICEF sponsoring additional research and formulation missions which must be linked to practical development projects. It has been evident throughout the survey that the local people have grown both weary and wary of all research and researchers attaching even the most modest but tangible community development projects to research work could do much to secure goodwill and better participation.

♦ **It is strongly recommended that in addressing the pastoralists’ issues in Somalia, UNICEF does not act in isolation.** This can be achieved by firstly UNICEF working in consort with other UN agencies, local NGOs, regional and international organisations to lift the livestock ban within Somalia and the region generally, revisit its innovative nomadic study of 1992 and update that important document. Thirdly, encourage exchange visits between UNICEF programmes inside and outside Somalia in consort with other concerned partners for UNICEF to work hard in the formulation and ratification of a UN convention to protect the rights of nomadic peoples in Africa.

It is strongly recommended that UNICEF assists or facilitates the formation of self managing pastoralist associations in Somalia.

**DIARY OF MEETINGS**

**Preliminary Meetings in July Pre-Field Work**

5.7.01 Dr Z Fre arrives in Nairobi and first meeting with Yumiko Tokunaga UNICEF-Somalia, Assistant RPO.

6.7.01 Dr Z Fre participating in UNICEF-Somalia programme and operations management meeting and making an initial presentation about the nomad study (*see Annex for list of participants*). Second round of meetings with Marco and Yumiko on logistics. Contract signed.

7.7.01 Formal discussions with Yumiko and Marco on research methods and tools.

8.7.01 Dr Fre departs to Asmara until 31st July 2001.

**Assembling in Nairobi 31st July to 4th August 2001**

31.7.01 Dr Fre returns from Eritrea to Nairobi
1.8.01 Dr Fre first meeting with UNICEF-Somalia to plan the week
Sadia Ahmed co-author arriving from Somaliland

2.8.01 Discussion between Consultants and UNICEF-Somalia on research methods and
tools

3.8.01 Presentation of research tools and methods to UNICEF and collecting of feedback
from UNICEF and other stakeholders

4.8.01 Consultants depart and arrive in Hargeisa

5.8.01 Civil war breaking out in Puntland (North East Zone).
First round of meetings with Norwegian People’s Aid (NPA) representatives
First round of meetings with UNICEF-Somalia at Hargeisa

6.8.01 Second round of discussions with UICEF-Somalia on team composition, logistics
and fieldwork

7-8.8.01 Meeting with Mark Bradbury UNDP consultant on pastoralism in Somalia
Meeting with Nisar Majid of FSAU (Food Security Assessment Unit)
Assembling of whole study team

9.8.01 **Formal meeting between consultants, UNICEF-Somalia, Minister of Pastoralism and
Environment, Minister of Livestock at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Formal
presentation of research tools and methods. Revise questionnaire.**
Attend ICD reception and meet with agencies, Vet-Aid, UNDP, FSAU, OXFAM-
UK, etc. to informally introduce the objectives of the nomadic study.

10.8.01 Friday break and reflection

11-13.8.01 Meeting with war torn societies
Meeting with SCF-USA
Meeting with FEWS (Food Early Warning Systems)
Finalise questionnaires and preparation for first round of fieldwork

14.8.01 Study team depart to Salaxle District, Galbeed Region, NWZ
Set base in Salaxle MCH-Centre

14.8.01 – 20.8.01 Field work in Salaxle District (Haud pastoral region). Meeting with local officials.

21.8.01 – 24.8.01 Field work in Adadle District (Ogo Highland region). Meeting with local officials.

24.8.01 Return to Hargeisa

25 – 26.8.01 Whole research team attending pastoralist leaders workshop in Hargeisa club.

27 – 31.8.01 Preliminary data compilation of the nomadic study results.

1 – 3.9.01 Continuation of the above. Tension increasing in Puntland (NEZ)
4.9.01 In formal presentation of the key findings of the preliminary study at UNICEF offices and revising of questionnaires.

5.9.01 Further meetings with Marco to finalise Phase 2 plans for the nomadic study.

Meeting and updating COSONGO and ICD representatives about the nomadic study.

6 – 9.9.01 Follow up field visit by team leader. Monitoring and Evaluation Officer NWZ and UNICEF film crew to Salaxle District. Main activity was to provide back up support and translation to film crew and re-visit nomadic settlements to collect further information on livelihoods and education.

10.9.01 First meeting with UNICEF country representative in Hargeisa for update on the study.

11.9.01 Terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre and Pentagon in the USA. World tension.

Study team preparing to depart to Sanaag and Sool regions to conduct Phase 2 of the study.

12.9.01 Depart Sanag region spend the night in Burco.

13.9.01 Depart from Burco and arrive Erigavo, Sanag region. Set up base in Erigavo town.

14 – 20.9.01 Field workd in Sanag region.

20.9.01 UNICEF decision to withdraw the team leader due to security considerations in Puntland (NEZ).

Team split into two and appoint co-author as team leader to conduct the study in Sool and Puntland (NEZ). Team leader and monitoring/evaluation officer for NWZ return to Hargeisa.

The team depart for Buran.

21.9.01 Team leader arrives in Hargeisa.

22.9.01 Meeting with UNICEF country representative to update him on the status of the nomadic study.

23.9.01 Evacuation of UNICEF International
23.9.02 including the team leader.

24.9.01 Depart from Hargeisa and arrive in Nairobi.

25 – 29.9.01 Team leader in Nairobi for five days to update Marco and Yumiko.

Make a presentation of the preliminary findings of the nomadic study to key UNICEF people (See Annex for participants)
Conduct preliminary data analysis of data in hand and present plans for the next phase of the study in Puntland (NEZ)

30.9.01 Team leader returns to London

Sadia to add more on diary of events on NEZ

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