



## Recommendations London Somalia Conference 2013

'Nabad' means 'Peace' in Somali. Peace has long eluded the people of Somalia. Regardless of their geographical location, Somalis have shown a strong desire to reverse the direction of conflict and rebuild their country. Many people, however, such as younger generations and women are excluded from genuine political participation, despite their obvious role in the future of the Somalia. The Anti-Tribalism Movement (ATM), a youth-led, non-profit organisation based in London, Nairobi and Mogadishu, with over 100,000 members, convened this conference to debate and discuss how Somalis based in the UK can add value to the London Somalia Conference 2013, and other externally-supported peace talks which are too often based on a mixture of clan, military influence, and financial power. ATM members stand united with their brothers and sisters in Somalia, and would like to engage in the decision-making processes which will affect their future. Over 30 carefully nominated Somali students, young professionals, emerging leaders and activists therefore met to discuss five main themes that were pre-selected by the young adults through a survey. The delegates wish to table the following seven priorities at the London Conference.

### Somali Government

1. **Establish a Somali Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ)** as a matter of urgency in order to provide the Government with exclusive fishing and fishery management rights in the waters off the coast.
2. **Ratify the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)** to signal that the Government will strive to protect its most important assets, while giving them the right to a childhood, an education, health, fair treatment, and importantly the right to be heard.
3. **Establish the Somali Human Rights Commission**, as stipulated in the provisional constitution. This should be independent from Government so that it can monitor and investigate abuses effectively.
4. **Signal to the population that the Government is addressing impunity and curtailment of press freedoms by delivering a formal apology for its treatment of the journalist and woman who claimed to be raped by Somali security forces.** Use widespread media outlets such as Universal TV.
5. **Re-establish a professional Somali Navy as part of a coherent maritime and anti-piracy strategy. Equip the Somali Armed Forces and Somali Police Force with the appropriate resources and systems.**  
Create financial and non-financial incentives for them (e.g. clear blockages to them being paid, provide subsidised rent and food), and establish a screening process in recruitment to detect post-traumatic stress.

### International community

6. **Plan for the transfer of Nairobi-based international aid operations and diplomatic posts to Somalia, and implement by end of 2013.** There are reportedly 12,000 personnel working on Somalia but who live in Kenya. As a result, their effectiveness is hugely diminished. Such a move has both economic and motivational benefits, demonstrating solidarity with the Somali people. It will also give the international community a better understanding of Somalia which will enable them to engage better in the future.
7. **Human rights, justice and women's empowerment must be translated to local Somali culture and religion so that they make sense for the population – 'we want justice for those who have been violated, a system for us by us. People will respect the law they helped create not imposed'.** Therefore the new UN mission and other international bodies should not rush to find its own solutions, but rather listen and understand the context they are entering into. Support programmes within Somalia where women, for example, can debate the seeming contradictions between Shariah, *xeer* and internationally-agreed human rights principles that affect them.



# Anti-Tribalism Movement Nabad Youth Conference

Report: London, 29 April 2013



The primary purpose of this report is to act as an aid to discussions ahead of the London Somalia Conference 2013. It is also intended as a working document for the participants.

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### **Unconventional and Somali-owned solutions**

The international engagement in Somalia is not always productive because the tendency is for Western solutions to be imposed on the country. This impedes the development of grassroots-level solutions, which have a greater chance of enduring due to their natural ability to customise to the local context. Human rights, justice and women's empowerment must be translated to local Somali culture and religion so that they make sense for the population – 'we want justice for those who have been violated, **a system for us by us**. People will respect the law they helped create not imposed'. Therefore the new UN mission and other international bodies should not rush to find its own solutions, but rather listen and understand the context they are entering into.

By including people outside of the main power structures such as youth in the decision-making processes that affect Somalis, more creative and perhaps unconventional solutions can be reached. The participants touched on key priority areas requiring such solutions.

In the area of human rights and gender violence, the group discussed the possibility of creating programmes within Somalia where women, for example, could debate the seeming contradictions between **Shariah, xeer and internationally-agreed human rights principles** that affect them. Debates such as this should directly influence the development of the Somali constitution so that it is owned by the people. Demobilised child soldiers must also play a key role in such discussions as their rehabilitation is vital to the future of the country – they must not be dismissed because of their age. Emerging leaders within this community should be supported by others who have privileged expertise, such as young people within the diaspora who have received higher education. A 'buddy' or mentoring system could be developed as a support to the youth.

The recent case of a male Somali journalist being sentenced to one year in jail, along with his source – a Somali woman who claimed to have been raped by Somali security forces – also sparked some useful brainstorming on how the Government can use this situation to 'right' a 'wrong'. Instead of simply repealing the decision and freeing the citizens, the Government could formally apologise through widespread media outlets and use it to signal to the population that it is **addressing impunity** and curtailed **press freedoms**.

Equally, there was much debate about the role, causes and nature of **piracy** in Somalia. The youth discussed the possibility of empowering people who have taken the route of piracy, by rehabilitating them and making use of their maritime skills. These people have not necessarily been well understood, and a military campaign is therefore not the best strategy for fighting the problem.

It was felt that the piracy issue overshadows the real **environmental** problems of 'stealing our fish and toxic dumping' in Somali waters. With the longest coastline in Africa, Somalia should do more to protect its own natural resources, rather than simply allowing international navies to patrol its waters, and explore positive ways to exploit its amazing geography. The participants discussed the possibility of piloting the establishment of 'Energy' departments in all the regions of Somalia; these can be used to engage the local populations and business and debate the exploitation of different natural resources. These could also attract 'environmental entrepreneurs' from other countries who would like to pioneer sustainable energy production. Such expertise would be welcome above other work that NGOs currently undertake. The damaging environmental effects of charcoal production attracted

much debate, and it was suggested that a 'cost-benefit analysis' of the industry be commissioned, so that it is clear what the benefits to the local economy are against the negative impact of deforestation. Such a study should be produced in simple terms so that it can be easily communicated to local communities. The Energy departments could use the information in a public information campaign through an outlet such as Universal TV, which regularly reaches millions of Somalis around the world.

While the group did not all agree on the **Somalia-Somaliland** issue, there was a strong sense that Somalia needs a 'democratic de-centralised government co-ordinated by unified national authority, not a federal or centralised method of governance'. It was suggested that a Parliamentary Unitary system could pose as a practical alternative for Somalia/Somaliland. 'The Unitary system is particularly utilised by Britain where by nations of the British Isle have separate national parliaments but are represented in Westminster and backed up by the British Constitution. This can be symbolised in the Union Jack flag representing Scotland, Wales, England and Northern Ireland.' 'Can we convert the five-pointed white *Star of Unity* in the Somali flag into our own Union Jack, incorporating South Somalia, North Somalia, Puntland and Djibouti?'

### **Navy and National minimum wage**

Security and employment underpinned much of the discussion during the conference. There was strong support for the professionalism of a Somali Naval Force to protect its own coastline and curb piracy without the reliance on international Naval Forces. Likewise, youth employment was recognised as key to the future of the country, and there is a sense that a national minimum wage would introduce professionalism and protection for those people as they gain employment.

### **Investment**

The economy was considered to be the most effective vehicle for moving away from a tribal Somalia. Therefore solutions that focus on economic development and Somali business should be prioritised, with a view to this contributing to eventual reconciliation or tribal and political differences. In the discussion on natural resources, it was also deemed critical to invest in Somali 'human resources' – 'we need to focus on creating jobs, training people – otherwise we won't be able to use our natural resources.' This includes support to the identification of role models across Somali society – both within the country and in the various diaspora – and in education: 'Creating more schools and a national curriculum will help remedy a number of social problems, from youth extremism to public health'.

### **Transparency**

The need for greater transparency was raised frequently throughout the conference. Very specific recommendations included the rapid establishment of the Somali Human Rights Commission, as stipulated in the provisional constitution. This should be independent from Government so that it can monitor and investigate abuses effectively. Participants also wanted to learn from and replicate other models, such as that of Integrity Watch Afghanistan, which track where the aid is going and monitor abuses. In this model, citizens are provided with their own cameras and internet connections to help them directly capture their experiences of abuse of power or funds. They also argued for a transparent procurement system within Government, merit-based appointments, and an open consultative approach to natural resource exploitation. Finally, in order to better secure the population by motivating government troops, proper screening in recruitment and robust payment channels must be in place. Participants want to understand the current blockages to soldiers receiving their pay.

### **Dialogue and Diaspora**

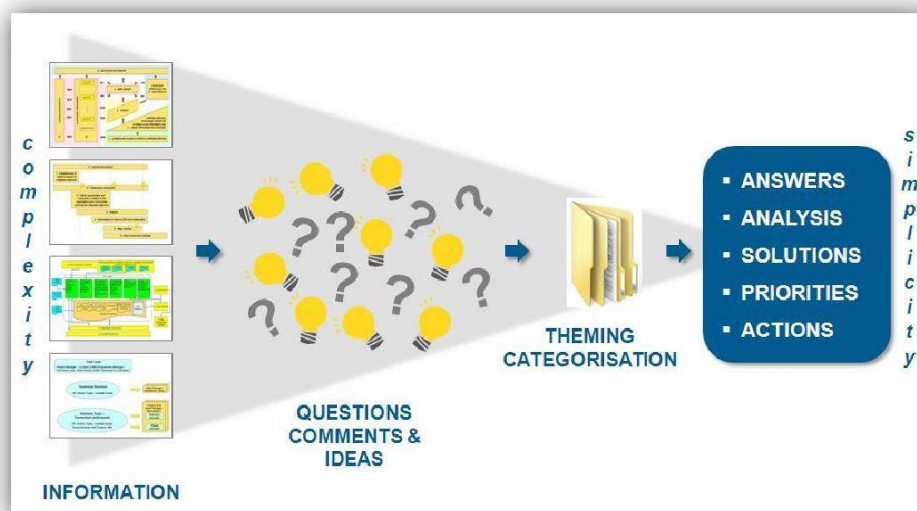
Many ideas were discussed to support the much-needed reconciliation process, including drawing from other countries which have experienced trauma, public apologies that are shared through media, recognition of the past and shared visions of the future through dialogue. The group explore the role of the diaspora in the dialogue and beyond, through the transfer of skills, investment, links to higher

education resources, and more. Participants discussed their potential role in supporting a long-term campaign to fight the damaging social effects of *khat* imports, and agreed that while a long-term goal is the eventual outlaw of the drug, this must be managed in a sensitive and phased way. Any increased controls or illegalisation of the drug must protect the people who rely on this as their livelihood, and help them seek alternatives. A final recommendation was made, related specifically to tapping into the UK diaspora: 'We have experts and graduates, but without educating them about these issues - through workshops - we can't know how to support and contribute in solving these issues. Somali businesses should sponsor these workshops with a view to encouraging better policies, and greater investment back into the homeland.'

## METHOD

ATM has over 100,000 members, mainly consisting of Somalis between the ages of 25-35. The membership naturally holds a wide range of views, but one area unites them – their passion for Somalia and a peaceful future. The organisers carefully selected a group of ATM's members to represent this voice through a focused, strategic workshop. The participants are both 'freshies' and 'fish and chips' (i.e. recent arrivals to the UK, and UK-born Somalis), and share a high level of education, in some cases self-education through rigorous personal research. They represent a variety of professions, from IT, business, teaching and hotel management to finance and customer service at Transport for London, and over half were women. They were, however, selected on the basis of their perceived personal contribution to such a significant discussion rather than their gender, role in society, or background.

In order to maximise the opportunity for participants to interact, brief 'topic presentations' were combined during the sessions with facilitated small groups to stimulate and guide dialogue. During the discussions and presentations, people were encouraged to engage in the creative process, by capturing questions, comments and ideas anonymously, using a system of wirelessly connected netbooks called the *TEAMWIN Collaborator*.



Each bullet point in the main body of this document is a direct input from participants, edited only for spelling.



## EXPECTATIONS

*To keep the purpose of the discussion focused, participants were asked at the start of the conference to fast forward to the end of the London Somalia Conference, and list what they would like to be celebrating as a successful outcome.*

- Our voice is finally heard
- Somali-led initiative
- Involvement of Somali citizens
- International support for Somalia
- An action plan where the government sets goals and achievable milestones, specify when and how they will be achieved
- Concrete solutions and recommendations
- The importance of unity - 'we are united'!
- Evaluating what is changed since last year?
- Launch of a major initiative following on from last year
- Investment from the diaspora
- Diaspora skills, expertise to be utilize
- Improvements in human rights
- Infrastructure development
- Security across Somalia
- Security: build effective security force: political timeline for exit of foreign troops
- Genuine reconciliation
- A serious consideration of what young Somalis have to say on key issues
- Utilising the skills and experiences of Somali professionals around the world
- Young people involvements
- More cohesive consultations within the Somali diaspora
- More transparency/legitimacy
- Transparency within the Somali government and between the UK (and international) and Somali government.
- Transparency - cultivate an honest discussion
- Genuine engagement of the international community on the challenges in Somalia
- Formation of a transitional justice system
- Conference expectations: economic development, trade policy
- Commitment to investment in building infrastructure in Somalia
- Collaboration between international community working on Somalia
- Gain a deeper understanding of one another's perspectives and learn to cooperate despite our differences
- Securing diplomatic relations between UK and Somalia
- Fair allocation of Somali resources
- Need to re-think security to include local residents, tough security without local involvement is likely to allow militants to keep striking
- A concerted effort to rebuild the economy, establish a judicial system, and a clear commitment to human rights and social justice.
- *Nabad* means peace so how can we support our government to have a long lasting peace
- Emphasis on infrastructure development
- Commitment by Somali government to listen and interact with the youth
- Provide alternatives to local youth to avoid them joining Al-Shabaab
- Development of coastal guards
- Emphasis on security and building infrastructure

- Need to think about re-settling vulnerable masses still in refugee camps inside the country, Ethiopia and Kenya
- The international community should be clearer on the Somali unification
- Somali youth..... Somali youth.... Somali youth. It is time to give a chance to the Somali youth
- Creating stability on the ground: building effective institutions on the ground
- Tackling poverty and famine
- Agreed framework on how to tackle toxic dumping and illegal unidentified and unreported fishing in Somalia.
- Somalia should be clearer in its dealings with Somaliland
- Somali professionals
- Capitalise on the opportunity given international communities
- Natural resources
- Tackling criminality and mindless violence
- Creation of more representative national army
- Job creation
- Tackle corruption:
- Confidence in Somalia's security
- The refugee issue both internally and externally displaced, and how they can return to Somalia
- Government needs to address the huge problem of land ownership that is the cause of sporadic violence
- Improvements of public services and public institutions
- Tackling poverty
- Youth involvement in the political process
- Transparency between UK and Somali governments regarding maritime sovereignty
- Politics vs religion
- Initiative local grassroots reconciliation, truth, forgiveness, trauma healing with ordinary people
- Create youth employment opportunities
- Reconsider AMISOM mandate
- Accountability of the government officials and workers
- A support for the government on health issues which originated from the toxic dumping.
- Asserting government authority and legitimacy beyond Mogadishu.
- Establishment of key institutions such as local government and human rights agencies
- Exit strategies of external international actors
- Commitment to Somali minority groups
- To give the youth the bigger role in decision making
- Accountability of government, NGOs in funding received from donors
- Education curriculum reformed i.e. emphasis written language

## SESSION 1

*To progress the discussion beyond just an interesting discussion, participants engaged in strategic conversations under the five pre-selected topics. They swapped topics, and built on each other's work throughout the day, beginning with the capture of brainstorm in small groups, then the distillation and prioritisation of the main ideas. Finally, recommendations were offered, which are highlighted below in bold.*

### HUMAN RIGHTS & GENDER VIOLENCE

APOLOGY	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Public apology from Government?</li> <li>Who has the right to make an apology and how Pragmatic is it to actually making a difference?</li> <li>Apology from government to Somali ethnic clans</li> <li>No apology from the government as they have been just set up and do not have control over the country</li> <li>Yes apologies are important, but it is more important to look at how to change their situation going forward - i.e. ensuring they have equal rights, access to employment etc.</li> <li>If an apology is made it implies that the discrimination has stopped, but this is not the case.</li> <li>The government apologizing is not enough - leaders of the majority clan must also take responsibility</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Clan/tribal leaders to apologise to other clans where they have grievances</b></li> <li><b>Perhaps rather than a traditional apology, the government should make a strong statement against tribalism as part of a campaign against division between groups</b></li> </ul>
COMPENSATION	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fund to compensate clan groups?</li> <li>Compensation: in what terms?? Land? Money?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Women should be given financial benefits - like funds for small businesses - because the role of women is key to the well-being of Households.</b></li> <li><b>Compensate in the longer term smaller tribes</b></li> <li><b>Investment in education for the youth of families who have suffered would be the most effective form of compensation.</b></li> </ul>
COORDINATION	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Efforts should be tied in with international efforts to end gender based violence and rape as a war crime.</li> <li>We've always adopted Western laws that are not always compatible with Somalis. Decision-making is now too difficult with current system. Somalis need to develop a system that works with our religion culture, and will endure.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>When rolling out international policies, be mindful of what exists in Somali culture and religion which can enhance the efforts to reduce gender violence. Our view of how to uphold human rights could be simpler than the international view of decision-making.</b></li> </ul>
EDUCATION & SKILLS TRANSFER	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Education: bringing about a grassroots culture that is in line with human rights, rather than expecting it to come about by a top down approach.</li> <li>Transferring ideas</li> <li>Transferring skills, expertise to our country</li> <li>Institution of human rights needs to be instilled from an early age.</li> <li>Ideas of gender equality need to be established</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Should be incentives for the poorest children to go to school. E.g. children shouldn't be sent out to work because they bring in more money to the family. These costs should be covered by the government - could be means tested.</b></li> <li><b>FGM campaigns should rely more on mobile clinics - education is best achieved through health care provision</b></li> </ul>

<p>into the curriculum.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Educating youngsters about tribalism - we need government that is anti-tribalism with great leadership</li> <li>• Men need to have greater input into the lives of their children and wives</li> <li>• Create more state run schools. No fees</li> <li>• School fees are prohibitive - the government must provide free education in order to encourage people to send their children to school.</li> <li>• Through education you can address a number of issues i.e. Public health</li> <li>• Somali culture needs to be taught exclusive of religion - they should be able to coexist, but the unifying story must be dominant.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Gender violence and human right to be incorporated in the curriculum.</b></li> <li>• <b>Implementing a national curriculum build schools</b></li> <li>• <b>Creating more schools and a national curriculum will help remedy a number of social problems - from youth extremism to public health.</b></li> <li>• <b>Education: set up a department for children which receives greatest funding.</b></li> <li>• <b>Education: establish state funded schools and reduce private schools so that education is equal to all.</b></li> <li>• <b>Children to be enrolled into schools free of charge.</b></li> <li>• <b>Education of girls</b></li> </ul>
<b>IDP CAMPS</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• IDP camps should have processes in place to hold people to account for crimes such as rape.</li> <li>• Move women from IDP camps - where they are most vulnerable - to a better living standards, and improved security.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>There needs to be a task force dedicated to female IDP issues – independent from the police forces.</b></li> </ul>
<b>INCLUSION</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Invite African bantu to the farming land</li> <li>• Mogadishu has to appeal to all clans</li> <li>• Recruitment/representation: men have control of the political process. Establishing a minimum representation of women is the only way to break this monopoly on power and then once this is established it will be possible for women to be elected purely on merit.</li> <li>• Government should be made up of at least 50% women.</li> <li>• 50% of women in parliament should not be based on law but women should be elected by their individual merit.</li> <li>• Women can reach the top based purely on their individual merit.</li> <li>• But making a minimum number of women in parliament ensures that they will be given representation.</li> <li>• Creating an environment where women's places is given by 'charity' is unhelpful.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Women need to be included in police forces if women are going to feel comfortable reporting sexual crimes.</b></li> <li>• <b>Create a minister for women in the government.</b></li> <li>• <b>Inclusion: ensure merit-based recruitment of public servants, parliamentarians. Include adequate representation of women.</b></li> <li>• <b>Create a Minister for Women and Equality.</b></li> <li>• <b>Positive discrimination (for orphans and IDPs - not based on ethnicity) could help to demonstrate that the government is truly sorry</b></li> <li>• <b>We need to come up with a system that is representative. Society must have an input creating it, conducive to our society as a whole including culture, language and practices, involving religious leaders, elders, business people, minsters and diaspora to make sure that everyone is represented. This needs to be tangible and then made accessible to the wider community, making people aware of consequences, to be clear of law, justice for those who have been violated, a system for us by us. People will respect the law they helped create not imposed.</b></li> </ul>
<b>LAND</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Property relocation</li> <li>• Allocation to lands and property</li> </ul>	
<b>LEGAL</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There should be rule of law regarding women rights</li> <li>• Clear laws to address violence against woman independent of government</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Human Rights Commission, every aspect of Somali society should be represented. They should be funded separately, we need to address these issues separately to make sure that they adequately represented.</b></li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the UK women were not allowed to vote. This right needed to be established in law before creating the environment that we have today where women are able to succeed in all walks of life.</li> <li>• What are the limits on human rights? Need to define human right vs equality, when they conflict with <i>Deen</i> then exercise your right to leave</li> <li>• Death sentences for rape of woman</li> <li>• The legal system needs human capacity, resources and training.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Change should move from political to legal and social changes.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Social consciousness, local policing and legal framework should be established to support the upholding of human rights.</b></li> <li>• <b>Establish a human rights agency - statutory body that could be a parliamentary body, or a stand-alone body where it accesses the situation of women in Somali and makes recommendations to government.</b></li> <li>• <b>We need to revert to old systems of law and order that worked in the past and take positives from that.</b></li> </ul>
<b>MINORITIES</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Minorities are always the first to be targeted for discrimination - all over the world. Protecting against this is very difficult.</li> <li>• How do we ensure protection for these groups going forward?</li> <li>• The minority groups are not properly represented so there should be justice system which identifies at this point.</li> <li>• Ethnic minorities need to be given what they have lost - compensation.</li> <li>• Empowering women economically</li> <li>• Must recognise the importance and role of women</li> <li>• Liberated women as promoted by the Islam</li> <li>• Children growing up in Somalia become child soldiers because that is the only way to live. Children born into this society this is all they know.</li> <li>• Opportunities for children and young people</li> <li>• Mind-set of young people needs to be changes with non-tribalistic thinking</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Targeted support for the ethnic minority communities.</b></li> <li>• <b>Positive discrimination. Make sure the gov consists of tribes from all across Somalia.</b></li> <li>• <b>The 4.5 power-sharing formula needs to be dismissed as that degrades part of our community.</b></li> <li>• <b>Community and children clubs to be built to keep children and youth busy with positive activities.</b></li> <li>• <b>Age discriminations needs to rectify</b></li> <li>• <b>Equality policy needs to be done</b></li> <li>• <b>Tribal and women legislations needs to be done</b></li> <li>• <b>Child protection policies and models</b></li> <li>• <b>We need to make sure that the Somali government recognises the human rights of Somali children and ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC).</b></li> </ul>
<b>RECOGNITION</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Somalis need to feel ownership</li> <li>• We need to admit the problems that happen and have a clear plan as to how to move forward.</li> <li>• We need to recognize the loss of cultural identity - historically, Somalis took care of their own people, especially women. This must be addressed.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Acknowledge what took place and then agree way forward.</b></li> <li>• <b>Bring back all the positive activities that were practiced in Somalia in the past to keep the youth busy.</b></li> </ul>
<b>ROLE MODELS, PATRIOTISM, FAMILY VALUES</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Role models for young people.</li> <li>• Problem with young people in Somalia dismissing Somali youth in the diaspora because they are the same age.</li> <li>• Incentives should also be given to men to be better fathers and role models.</li> <li>• Breakdown of Somali family and family values and we can therefore not hold people to account for crimes committed.</li> <li>• If families breakdown how can we protect those who can't protect themselves unless we re-establish family values?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Women to have a local female leader to support them and empower them to become activists - to voice their own issues without the involvement of outsiders.</b></li> <li>• <b>Citizenship programmes advocating patriotism and a united national identity.</b></li> <li>• <b>Re-establishing cultural and religious rights of women that have become lost whilst adopting other values not relevant to Somali people and women.</b></li> <li>• <b>Sports activities for children and create role models, i.e. Mo Farah.</b></li> <li>• <b>Traditional empowerment of women needs to be restored. Relying on a male only process of dealing with this is unrealistic.</b></li> </ul>

**PROTECTION & ADDRESSING IMPUNITY**

- FGM outlaw in Somalia does not reflect the popular view, is the constitution simply reflecting the will of the international community?
- Young people involvement from Somalia and diaspora – how can they influence children who have been forced to fight?
- Use of technology to prevent abuses
- The trial of the journalist who covered the rape case sent a message to tell women to back off from seeking justice. This needs to be challenged.
- Women and young females – there should be a 'zero tolerance' policy for serving military and police offices for rape.
- The court should decide the consequence of rape and gender violence independent from the government.
- **In Somaliland and Puntland have 'mics report' regarding multiple indicator cluster survey. This should be expanded to cover the whole of Somalia.**
- **Establish services which monitor the progress of vulnerable children.**
- **Address the issue of FGM from a health risk perspective in order to reach those parents who continue to perform this practice.**
- **Bring together traditional, Islamic scholars and health workers to have a consensus on the issue of FGM.**
- **Women must have independent platform where they can report violence to non-governmental entities.**
- **Independent community radio for locals to talk and share their thoughts.**
- **Work with the customary law (xeer) and improve that to support and develop the justice system.**
- **We need to work with xeer, to address rape from the women's perspective. At the moment customary law is not listening to the female voice.**
- **Effective police forces and protect women**



## SECURITY, JUSTICE & RECONCILIATION

- Key actors in security: Somali armed forces (SNA; police) and intelligence agency; AMISOM (18,000 troops); Al-Shabaab (Middle Juba, Shabelle regions) - is enough being done to win their hearts and minds?
- How do we help stop youth radicalisation?
- International community and neighbours - how do we make Somalis feel like they are a part of the decision-making process? What is the role of diaspora in building more trust of Somali citizens?
- Key actors in justice: constitutional court; federal government level courts; federal member state level courts - how do we establish 'law and order' to a largely younger generation of Somalis who haven't seen stability or any type of law/order?
- How do we encourage press freedom?
- How do we uphold the rights of children and women?
- How do we manage toxic waste problem?
- Reconciliation: how can we create the space for healing and restoring pride in Somali identity? How do we reconcile different interests and needs? Can we use 7-point Ankara accords between Somalia and Somaliland?
- Need a unique, national security force
- How do we bring young people back?
- How do you recruit members for the security forces?
- Zero tolerance for rape: what justice system do we have in place to carry this out to ensure that justice is done?
- There should be better equipment and facilities for local policing and intelligence gathering
- Federal system not being implemented properly
- The funding is not viable and even when it gets on the ground it will probably not reach the intended target.
- Miscarriages of justice would be a big risk.
- Recruit ex-military personal
- Hire people with guns
- Buy guns from people that disarm people
- Disarm militia
- Does the justice system have the ability to ensure justice? Does it have the capacity/teeth to implement its rulings?
- Power should be completely centralised to undermine factionalism.
- Reconciliation will come when security comes
- The diaspora are probably the only people who have had the opportunity to sit and reflect on the idea of reconciliation. People back home are focused on survival rather than nationhood and state

### ADDRESS IMPUNITY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elders should be addressed to build consensus on removing individuals from government who have committed war crimes - this can help to avoid offending entire groups</li> <li>• Create a system of 'house of elders' outside the government that maintain their power within community. - undergoing systematic checks to ensure they address impunity</li> <li>• Lots of war lords and former leaders need to be held accountable but first dialogue between all Somalis needs to happen</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>To address impunity the best way is to have one central body.</b></li> <li>• <b>Create a system of 'house of elders' outside the government that maintain their power within community. - undergoing systematic checks to ensure they address impunity</b></li> <li>• <b>Address impunity/culture change: complete change of personnel/soldiers to have fresh start.</b></li> </ul> |
|---|---|

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Should be a stance against people who have committed crimes from being in government</li> <li>• There are people who have committed crimes who are serving in government - there should be a strong, collective stance against this</li> <li>• Justice needs to be done</li> </ul>	
<b>APOLOGY</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The government should publically apologise</li> <li>• Senior independent figures who investigate injustice and make recommendations to the government as to how to address miscarriages of justice.</li> <li>• Public apologies by government</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Dialogue needs to happen and reconciliation and truth commission to be set up immediately and conferences held in cities around Somalia. The government should provide public apology to allow progression and reconciliation</b></li> <li>• <b>A national apology could also be accompanied by financial compensation</b></li> <li>• <b>A commission needs to be created to review lessons learned from other reconciliation processes before compensation programmes are instated.</b></li> </ul>
<b>ARMY / SECURITY SECTOR REFORM</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Army is who the local people mainly come in contact with on a day to day basis, therefore focus on building them</li> <li>• Somali navy needs to be established</li> <li>• Somali intelligence forces needs to empower and established</li> <li>• Strategic police forces rather military forces</li> <li>• Having military alone reduces the chances of military coup</li> <li>• Empower and trained</li> <li>• Army and police forces needs to be disciplined</li> <li>• Security personal needs to be trained</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Recommendation: complete overhaul of current army and leadership to change culture.</b></li> <li>• <b>Re-establish national service.</b></li> <li>• <b>National service instils sense of civic duty and ensures that the armed forces are representative of all Somalis.</b></li> <li>• <b>Create a localised policing model. Where people trust the local police.</b></li> <li>• <b>Create a clear distinction between the army and the police.</b></li> <li>• <b>Security - use the model of Somaliland and Puntland</b></li> <li>• <b>Better training for Somali citizens to aid Somali police and army</b></li> <li>• <b>Police officers should only be allowed to serve in areas where they aren't from, in order to discourage favouritism</b></li> <li>• <b>Create a community policing model</b></li> <li>• <b>Create incentives for army, food stamps, subsidies, education</b></li> <li>• <b>Somali national army needs to immediately capture areas that Al-Shabaab have been removed from before other fractions get involved</b></li> <li>• <b>Establish naval force and decide what the boundaries of Somali waters are and make it clear to international community to protect interests of Somali people.</b></li> <li>• <b>Security, representative Somali army needs to be established, trained by Somali national forces</b></li> <li>• <b>Provide more support in developing a unified Somali national army and police force</b></li> <li>• <b>Somali government should endeavour to abide by international standards and not recruit anyone under 18 into national army</b></li> </ul>



COMMUNICATION	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government needs to communicate its security plans to the people</li> <li>• All the journalism is biased towards the particular clan that they represent. This should be changed.</li> <li>• Preservation of life should be ultimate goal, even though law is based loosely on sharia it is very difficult to impose without a Khalifa, we should move away from killing as even with Sharia when is implemented. All justice systems with effects should be made more clear</li> <li>• Create awareness based on justice system</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Land disputes needs to be documented and follow proper procedures</b></li> <li>• <b>Provide training for journalists and establish journalism schools - free press represent the 4th state.</b></li> <li>• <b>Use Somali media platforms to create awareness based on justice systems.</b></li> <li>• <b>We lack citizenship - understanding of rights and responsibilities.</b></li> </ul>
CULTURE CHANGE	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is a culture in the current army that legitimises rape etc. It goes right to the top.</li> <li>• Should be a complete change in personnel. There is a culture in the current army that legitimises rape etc. It goes right to the top. People need to be brought in who are able to credibly change this culture.</li> <li>• Patriotism should be tied to national security service</li> <li>• Do we ignore the traditional way of reconciliation and ruling and just replicate the western model of democracy?</li> <li>• Our mind-set seems to assume that we living in the west have morally progressed to understand human rights and those in Somalia haven't. This isn't the case.</li> <li>• We shouldn't be recognised by our clan but by the democratic institutions elected by the whole country.</li> <li>• Traditional clan system is not beneficial to everyone. Only benefits those who have power.</li> <li>• Diminish stigmas, and promote tribal harmony.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Culture change: move away from reliance from international community for training of army and look to stable Somali regions with armies and police force such as Puntland and Somaliland- could this be unifying in sense - direction towards building one Somali national army</b></li> <li>• <b>Should be freedom of expression.</b></li> <li>• <b>Journalists should be free to criticise the government. They should not be attacked/targeted for critical reporting.</b></li> <li>• <b>Promote inter-tribal marriage.</b></li> </ul>
DIALOGUE	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dialogue and reconciliation</li> <li>• Xeer justice system, dialogue</li> <li>• No reconciliation without dialogue</li> <li>• Need a reconciliation conference for all communities</li> <li>• Truth and reconciliation committee should have been established but is still yet to happen</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Set up truth and reconciliation commission.</b></li> <li>• <b>Reconciliation conference in each region in Somalia</b></li> <li>• <b>Somalia, Somaliland and Puntland talks need to continue</b></li> </ul>
INCLUSION	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Soli justice system will ensure that women's right are protected. No other way is viable without establishing the right foundation for justice to take its route.</li> <li>• There should be a reconciliation process that involves all victimized groups</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Commission should be set up to restore property to their rightful owners esp, farm land and houses</b></li> </ul>

LEGAL	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The laws need to be clearer</li> <li>• Somali people not aware of their law, law is ambiguous, such a long state of lawlessness people therefore don't know their rights</li> <li>• Judicial commission service according to constitution should have be established but hasn't</li> <li>• Not enough awareness of justice system in Somalia</li> <li>• Make an ethical law for the media so they should be held accountable for what they write.</li> <li>• Limit the room for interpretation regarding Somali legal framework.</li> <li>• Independent judiciary system is needed</li> <li>• Citizenship - people need to be taught their rights and their roles, all within the legal system.</li> <li>• Does Somalia need the ICC in order to prosecute individuals who have committed crimes against humanity etc.?</li> <li>• The presence of Shariah principles or law integrated in the legal system.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Establish support funds that give those who are not able to afford legal representation to be able access justice</b></li> <li>• <b>Sound public law/policy development and constitutional reformation</b></li> <li>• <b>Create equality and tribal legislation</b></li> <li>• <b>Clear constitution that everyone should follow something that is fundamental to the country more pragmatic approach to cases</b></li> <li>• <b>Coordination, inclusion and integration of local customs and practices in regions within the legal framework</b></li> </ul>
LONG TERM VIEW	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dialogue, understanding forgiveness, justice and reconciliation - understand that this is a proposed method and also understanding that this will take time</li> <li>• Impose justice that right for Somalis as result of talks regarding accountability and ownership therefore justice may not necessarily be prison or death</li> <li>• Just and fair government</li> <li>• Strong judiciary system</li> <li>• The International community supporting Somalia from Nairobi doesn't only contribute the disadvantages of Somalia economy but it sends huge negative gesture and indication to the world that Somalia is a 'no go' zone area. This is an internationally portrayed image that needs to be reflected on in order for Somalia to succeed and people to have courage and confident to go back and invest.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Impose a system that is based on local customs not imposed by foreign powers and therefore more likely to respected and adhered to.</b></li> <li>• <b>The international community must relocate the 12,000 people they have working on Somalia from Nairobi. This will contribute local economic benefits by increasing local employment and industry, and will give the international community a much-needed better understanding of Somalia and Somalis which will enable them to engage effectively in the future.</b></li> </ul>
RECOGNITION	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hard to have reconciliation without justice being served, in way where everyone gets what their entitlement and apologies for past, acknowledging what's happened. Should the current regime apologise to people killed by former leaders</li> <li>• Promote ownership for what has happened in Somalia</li> <li>• Dialogue and acceptance of what has happened, perhaps hold community talks whereby local Somali issues and grievances addressed</li> <li>• Reconciliation. Some type of healing. Discussion of the past crimes.</li> <li>• ATM has be involved in Somalia and</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Focus on grassroots reconciliation processes.</b></li> <li>• <b>Somalis from all regions should sit together to reconcile over atrocities committed - similar to process in South Africa - transitional justice.</b></li> <li>• <b>Support and enhance the work of the ATM.</b></li> </ul>

<p>reconciling people and clan, tribes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Movements like ATM is needed in Somalia and they are the future for many issues.</li> <li>• ATM can solve grievances, hatred, myth, grudges, prejudices between clans and tribal.</li> <li>• More anger in the diaspora than within Somalia and Somaliland regarding separatist issues - consult all Somalis to get overall view.</li> </ul>	
<b>RECRUITMENT &amp; PAY</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Quality over quantity when looking into the police force</li> <li>• Al-Shabaab gets paid monthly \$200-250 whereas the SNA gets paid \$100 (even though they haven't been paid yet, which is another huge problem) - so there needs to be a bigger financial incentive to join the SNA.</li> <li>• It is up to the Somali government to manage their funds, which includes increasing salaries for the SNA</li> <li>• Members of the security forces need to be psychologically screened, because there are many people who aren't stable as a result of their experience (i.e. Trauma)</li> <li>• Should there be financial incentives for government departments meeting certain aims?</li> <li>• Screening process when recruiting</li> <li>• Young soldiers needs to pay on time</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Establish an adequate screening process (e.g. Psychological to detect post-traumatic stress) when recruiting army</b></li> <li>• <b>Establish why the current forces are not being paid - find solutions.</b></li> <li>• <b>Ensure police force and army be more gender neutral</b></li> <li>• <b>Create incentives that are both financial and non-financial (i.e. subsidized rent, food Vouchers etc.)</b></li> <li>• <b>International training for Somali soldiers with an emphasis on establishing an army that supports and respects human rights and serves the government to the best of its abilities.</b></li> <li>• <b>Members of Parliament and government should be chosen on merit not clan based.</b></li> </ul>
<b>RESPECT</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government need to show that they respect the police force. They're likely to do their job properly and instil respect/fear into people</li> <li>• Government needs to support the local police forces in order to emphasize the rule of law</li> <li>• There needs to be more professionalism within the police forces if they are going to maintain respect</li> <li>• Somali forces are key to creating greater unity within groups</li> <li>• Police forces and the army need to be more approachable, especially in terms of issues affecting women</li> <li>• Trauma healing</li> <li>• Every clan needs to come out from their bubble</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>If you don't have law and order this crimes will continue. The government should focus on establishing trust in the police and government as a first step.</b></li> </ul>
<b>ROLE OF BUSINESS AND EDUCATION</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economics and universities help break down boundaries because business and education encourage the sharing of resources and ideas</li> <li>• Businesses and universities etc. builds unity. I.e. Visiting lecturers going to different universities in Somalia</li> <li>• Business is one of the channels that overrides political/clan alliances</li> <li>• Expansion of national economy should not be at the cost of civil rights.</li> <li>• Foreign investors should not have monopoly over various business.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>One generated system of education for all.</b></li> <li>• <b>University degrees need to reflect the jobs in the market in order to have graduates that would go straight into these fields.</b></li> <li>• <b>Housing and infrastructure should be preserved for the development and prosperity of Somali people in particular the poor need to be given the opportunities to succeed</b></li> <li>• <b>A national minimum wage should be enforced on businesses</b></li> <li>• <b>An internship system provided for the graduates to integrate business and</b></li> </ul>

	<p>education - proving business from the diaspora with local graduates.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Diaspora can help in the area of education by encouraging connections between universities back home and those in the UK and other European universities</li> <li>• National and major industries should be nationalised</li> <li>• Lessons should be learned from different models of nationalisation of industries – e.g. China/India/UK</li> <li>• No need to nationalise all industries, but water, electricity, oil etc should be in the hands of the government.</li> <li>• Middle class should be supported in order to keep finance in circulation, developing business and employment. Only having super rich and super poor is not conducive to a functioning economy.</li> <li>• Promote a business-friendly environment</li> </ul>
<b>PROTECTION</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Set up rape helpline</li> <li>• Health education family planning welfare and social security = Mariam Gassim setting her up to fail, need to individually addressed</li> </ul>
<b>OTHER</b>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create incentives to institutions in order to encourage them</li> <li>• Create better job opportunities</li> <li>• Establish a system that enables terrorist attacks are stopped - a strong structure provided aid by the US &amp; UK who tackle terrorism and attacks every day. Provide help building a system not only funds</li> <li>• Complex problem but Mogadishu needs to be mutual capital city or we rather create another capital city</li> <li>• Leader that puts interest of nation before interest of his or her clan</li> <li>• 18 percent of parliamentary needs to be increased</li> </ul>

## SESSION 2

### ENVIRONMENT & NATURAL RESOURCES



#### Accountability & transparency

- A system needs to be established for distributing money generated through resources that come from certain regions.
- Accountability for trade detrimental to Somali interests
- Central government who is accountable to the decisions and where citizens are consulted when these types of decisions are made.
- Government needs to be transparent about the decisions it is making regarding contracts.
- Lack of true, honest leadership
- Regulate and publish what is being signed
- Role of the government: how do we know that it isn't making corrupt decisions about the awarding of contracts for natural resources.
- Somali Government must create transparent contract/procurement systems that the Somali citizens can understand and scrutinise as a public right
- Transparency in activities carried out by Somali government regarding Somali waters and resources
- No standardised system that can be used across the board need to rectify this

#### Alternative energy sources

- Elephant in the room is nuclear power.
- Explore nuclear power options. No African countries are allowed to develop nuclear power because they are 'not trusted' by the international community. But Somalia cannot be expected to build its own country without it.
- Renewable energy sources cannot produce enough.
- Could Somalia draw international environmental entrepreneurs to pioneer sustainable energy production?
- Energy sources cannot be either/or, but must be a mixture of different sources.
- Tapping into natural renewable resources to meet the energy demands of the country e.g. solar, wind geothermal etc.

### **Alternative wealth creation**

- Alternative to deforestation should be farming.
- Need to create alternative forms of wealth as we can't cut off gulf states as they are key aid contributors to Somalia

### **Bilateral trade relations**

- Charcoal exports to GCC: leaving GCC or Arab league in protest seems too drastic and works against our geo-political interests in the region.
- Improve bilateral trade relations, government must prioritise long term Somali interests

### **Engagement with local communities**

- Clarify the impact of deforestation and climate change to the local public - towards putting an end to the deforestation.
- There is a need for an official, legitimate communication campaign about these issues with Somali people.
- Communities need to be consulted before the government gives permission to multinational corporations to extract resources.
- Environmental awareness campaigns are necessary to create ownership amongst the population.

### **Education**

- Awareness-raising and education: we need to make sure that the leaders understand what is really going on in terms of abuse of the Somali coastline by outside governments.
- Diaspora: we have experts and graduates, but without educating them about these issues - through workshops - we can't know how to support and contribute in solving these issues. Somali businesses should sponsor these workshops with a view to encouraging better policies, and greater investment back into the homeland.
- Educate the local people about the issue.
- In Kenya the government educated the local population about the impact of deforestation so that they are aware of the consequences of charcoal production if it is not done in a sustainable way.
- Part of solving all these issues, both short and long term, is to have university faculties that teaches and trains the right people to help solve these issues - we can't rely on external support forever.

### **Enforcement and revision of legal frameworks**

- Formulate environment preservation policies and laws that encapsulate EEZ initiatives and must be conducive to Somalia's energy ambitions.
- Establishing an EEZ Somali can establish their authority
- Establishing an EEZ helps unite the country because it allows for job creation it allow for tax to be imposed to establish institutions like educational systems
- Urgent matter to be EEZ for the Somali government
- 1972 Somali Law on the Territorial Sea and Ports contravenes public international law, and since there is no Somali Exclusive Economic Zone' (EEZ) legislation in place, the Somali government lacks exclusive fishing and fishery management rights in the waters off the coast
- EEZ should be prioritised. How can pressure be put on the international naval forces to enforce the EEZ?
- Declare exclusive economic zone (EEZ) as soon as possible
- Deforestation and biodiversity link needs to be apparent and clear agreed framework to protect biodiversity in Somalia.

- Enforce policing of fishing in the coast in terms of lack of regulation and under-reported fishery.
- Negotiate with all perceived stakeholders in EEZ to establish EEZ as Somalia as a sovereign nation who have legal rights to protect their interests
- Tackle deforestation by enforcing a stabilising system - thereby providing employment for skilled workers.
- Toxic dumping needs to be regulated as well as illegal, unreported fishing needs to stop.
- Update 1846 mandate to 2013
- Update UN resolution 2036 (2012) to enforce the export of charcoal

### **Equitable resource distribution**

- If Somalia finds oil reserves, it is important to make sure that the wealth is distributed. This could be achieved by fuelling money into programmes that benefit society as a whole, like the education system or establishing a national health service.
- Profit sharing based on population sites. Distribution of economy for a central system without giving the government full control.
- Resources should be shared regionally and based on population size.

### **Piracy**

- Training the pirates to become part of the naval force. Give them an alternative. Rehabilitation programme for pirates.
- So-called pirates need to be empowered and given opportunity
- The issue of pirates overshadows the real problem of stealing our fish and dumping in our sea

### **Role of diaspora**

- Control the import *khat*, and eventually outlaw in phased way. It should be branded as a drug, and people should be educated on the use of *khat*. As part of the strategy, ensure that people who rely on this as their livelihood are protected / provided with alternatives.

### **Somali-driven investment in our people, security and business**

- Central government to provide research and census for statistical awareness.
- Could we establish our own oil exploration organisations? How pragmatic is this?
- Create a navy.
- Ensure that local jobs created should first go to Somali local first before the diaspora as they have more of right instead of filling these possible positions with diaspora or foreigners.
- Explore how sea minerals in Somalia can be used for global technology.
- How quickly could our own exploration companies be developed?
- 'Human resource' is a national resource - we need to focus on creating jobs, training people - otherwise we won't be able to use our natural resources.
- Identify Somali skills and experience and catalogue them as a consequence of creating an electoral role.
- Lack of long term vision, addressing issues, development of systems to safeguard Somali interests in the future
- Maybe some of these industries need to be nationalised and that revenue be used to build national institutions such as schools, hospitals etc. Best way to enforce EEZ is to establish a Somali naval force. This should be invested in. It can then be merged with the international presence. The international forces are only there to serve their own interests, not for the benefit of Somalia.
- National action plan in place that responds to these issues
- Skilled workers within Somalia that are trained. More money into our economy
- Somali coast guard has to be built long-term

- There needs to be a more transparent vision of the direction for environment and national resources within the government and what role we have in this process.
- We have experts in every field including exploration. A website should be established to harness the skills of the diaspora in order to develop our own exploration organisations.
- We need to use the human resources we have to improve our situation

### **Sustainability**

- A mechanism should be developed to measure the economic pros and cons of charcoal production i.e. the amount of economy produced against the negative impact of deforestation and explore ways it can be sustained.
- Brownfield/greenfield type sites. So a cut off point for where exploitation can take place
- Charcoal could be produced in a sustainable way. Replanting trees which are cut down.
- Charcoal demand is not going to decrease so it should be exploited by Somalia but in a sustainable way otherwise we are missing out on a major source of economy.
- Charcoal needs to be stopped.
- Create sustainable fishing policies.
- Establish climate change policies that deter further deforestation of Somalia. Charcoal is obsolete!
- Establish energy departments in regions within Somalia.
- Finance gained from natural resources should be invested in the development of the country.
- For every tree we lose, another should be planted.
- How can we measure the economic benefit of charcoal production and other forms of local economy?
- Huge priority should be to address toxic dumping - major issues for the economy.
- Stop or at least drastically reduce the issue of charcoal production - seize activities detrimental to landscape, exploit other resources as an alternative to charcoal export such as fish exports.
- Toxic dumping





## SESSION 3

### SOMALIA & SOMALILAND

- Must understand the other sides argument - put ourselves in the others' shoes
- Both sides need to compromise and come to common agreement.
- Power-sharing solution.
- Both sides need to have a truce and build their capacity prior to joining each other.
- Referendum: What are the implications for Somalia if the north does leave? How would the oil revenue be distributed?
- Two countries would share strategic interests.
- Somalia and Somaliland issue is very emotional topic because both side undermine the other's side of the story - time to be open and frank and considerate.
- If there is a difference between the Somaliland government's rhetoric and the public opinion then a Somaliland referendum would expose this.
- One side lack vision the other side is in denial.
- Part of reconciliation is understanding the other side's argument
- For reconciliation to happen, the atrocities that happened must be acknowledged
- There would need to be international monitors if there was a referendum to make sure it was free and fair.
- Power sharing: In parliament, the people from Somaliland would have veto rights (proportionate to their representation)
- There needs to a reconciliation process where they need to discuss the issue and negotiate the terms of joining.
- Somali Government needs to sit with Somaliland's government and give the option to decide what they want for them to be part of the union.
- Ethnic minority tribes in Somaliland would be the greatest sufferer if Somaliland left.
- Tribe elders need to be part of the solution on the issue of Somalia and Somaliland.
- What is the reason for the international community for not recognising Somaliland?
- Real reconciliation process which is internationally recognised by the international community and the perpetrators need to be brought to justice.
- Somaliland would not be able to secure its border. This is the main reason why the international community will not recognise it.
- If Somalia remains a united country it would need to be enshrined in the constitution that each region would receive their fair share of national resources. This would have to be written into the law in order to win the trust of the Somaliland people.
- Federalism: should allow space for each region to have local representation (like the federal system in the USA).
- ATM's youth parliament model is a good solution.
- If referendum to be conducted, how many other ref will it take for each side to stop bickering? Somaliland had 2 ref so far.
- Polls should be carried out to see what the perspective of public opinion is in Somaliand.
- 1977: practical measure: businesses and university and sports have role in the reconciliations process - these three entities have no boundaries - build unity around these sectors
- Unionist: strong belief that they should be one. But identity of 'Somalilander' has now been created, and you can't get rid of that.
- Why don't we ask Somaliland for help? Change the way we ask for a relationship
- Constitution: 4.5 must be taken out
- What would replace 4.5?
- To be a union is not something that can be jumped into too quickly – it's a long term goal

- Stability comes from the people; that needs to be replicated in the south for collaboration
- If Somalia and Somaliland separate each one will become a client state for the neighbouring countries especially their arch rivals.
- Exchange of expertise from Somaliland to Somalia: a mentorship programme to encourage understanding?
- Previous constitution were put to referendum so we need to put this constitution on referendum.
- Exchanges between Somaliland and Somalia happening already in business community (cross shareholding, etc.). It's within their business interests to exchange information and mentor others. The private sector doesn't see boundaries. Also between journalists. Could also happen in universities, and civil society.
- We need to focus on youth, and creating exchanges/dialogue between them, so that when an emotional event happens they don't carry the baggage of their parents.
- Dealing with Somaliland isn't something we can take on later--its part of getting Somalia's house in order.
- Somaliland breakaway could have a serious impact on Somalia, and set a dangerous precedent
- South of Somalia should stabilise itself first prior to asking the north to reunify with it.
- Education and training based on the Somaliland model and how it has developed and worked so far. That's the base that we can operate from.
- There should be a transition withdrawal system for the AMISOM troops.
- Disease of tribalism in Somali community must be eradicated
- I don't know if unity is a price worth paying for peace and development. Dis-unity should be considered.
- Cultural unity is subjective; economic unity is not, and can be a good precedent for 'real' unity
- Unity is tied to many other issues, particularly long-term. It's not just one area (Somaliland), its all different groups that could potentially breakaway.
- What would be the legal procedure if Somaliland wanted to leave the union?
- The issue of Somalia and Somaliland is not properly addressed as a result of leaders in denial and the lack of focus on real reconciliation
- It wasn't just Somaliland affected by the regime of Siad Barre - The south was affected as well
- Do we need to be one country to be united? The UK is 4 countries but they are united

#### *Key priorities*

- Compromise from both sides
- Deep resentment passed down generations that is difficult to reverse
- Address issues which are the roots of this hatred and sensitivity
- Concentration of authority in South
- Benefit from Somaliland's improved security and find ways to implement that in South Somalia
- Constitution
- Dialogue is needed especially amongst youth
- Economic development and business
- Education
- Emphasis on promoting development in both sides equally
- Ensure proper inclusion of Puntland
- Even though many people have an emotional tie to the historic crimes, we need more intellectual debates
- How representatives were the referendums held in Somaliland regarding its secession?

- Media
- Neglect of development in Somaliland
- Perhaps the statue in Central Hargeisa should be put into a museum as a part of changing the social perspective and not having the visual reminder constantly?
- Recognition
- Should the Somali Federal Government be dissolved if Somaliland wants a new election as a pre-requisite of uniting with the South?
- Support a referendum in Somaliland as to whether they want to leave the union.
- Support infrastructure and economic advancement in once neglected Somaliland region
- Unity
- We shouldn't be making the same mistakes

### ***Recommendations***

- **Devise a recognised process to address what happened and seek justice for those who were affected**
- **Learn from the Rwandan and the South African experience – now, the survivors of the perpetrators and the victim families live side-by-side. They have joint ventures, they own hairdressing salons together; they are healing.**
- **Diffusion of power**
- **Real reconciliation recognised internationally where the perpetrators are brought to justice**
- **Promote partnerships through business partnerships, sports and other activities to alleviate hatred**
- **If healthcare, education, and security were standardized from North to South, it could be a starting block for reconciliation, trust, and partnership**
- **Use the media constructively; it has a huge responsibility in the reconciliation process**
- **Coalition government - Puntland is the link between achieving a consensus between the two regions - They are key and must take a positive role in this**
- **Organise a meeting with all the major elders of tribes and sub-tribe leaders. Get them to talk, embrace and apologize to each other. This could be a symbolic facet to the greater reconciliation movement. Somalis admire and respect their tribal elders, so if there was a large event with massive media coverage, capturing moments of elders congregating together in harmony. Use local media outlets to then reach other Somalis.**
- **Constitution should ban tribalism to enter the public sphere. Tribe affairs should be a private utility and not a means to acquire political power.**
- **YSL and Somali unification was first expressed in Somaliland therefore the importance of emphasizing that history to the youth could potentially change their perspective of Unionism and ultimately win their hearts and mind.**
- **Three priorities: Higher education (including primary and secondary) as a tool to change minds and create vision; Economic development and sharing of resources; Reconciliation and unity. These are the things we believe the current government needs to focus on NOW!**

## FEDERAL GOVERNMENT & SOMALI CONSTITUTION

- It's dangerous to talk about a constitution when different districts have not been consulted, and are not representative. Currently the constitution doesn't take into account representation.
- Current constitution is ambitious, but ambiguous
- Is there a component for the diaspora?
- Need for greater clarity in the constitution: there are several contradictions (Sharia, human rights, *xeer*, etc.)
- At some point you need to accept what you have, and get on with it: if you put too much focus on one thing, you'll always find holes
- Lack of an independent judiciary
- Education and training programmes on how to implement the constitution. We can work on the constitution to ensure flexibility, and create public awareness. It is people that need to uphold the constitution.
- ensuring that consultative processes are really broad and include non-urban communities
- Given the size of Somalia, a federal government is the most practical approach
- Greater Somalia has never existed as a single entity; Somalia national flag features a white star on a sky-blue background. The five points on the star represent five regions of greater Somalia. However, the idea of unification of Somalia is little more than a fantasy. The dream of greater Somalia existed for last 150 years.
- There should be a period where the south develops economically and politically, whereas the north should develop economically prior to re-joining.
- Clan in Somalia. Clan divide into sub-clans, which divide again and again , sometimes ending up as a group of just a few families, which identifies itself as a separate clan with its own distinct name . This popular Somali proverb illustrates the divisive nature of the society: Me and my clan against the world; Me and my family against my clan; Me and my brother against my family; Me against my brother.
- Clans are confusing, even to Somalis themselves.
- Constitution does not address key areas key to Sovereignty such as Somali borders
- Federalism in Somalia is another form of clanism that will just divide the country into Qabil/clan lines
- Somali people need consultation regarding consultation - referendum
- The 4.5 needs to be removed from the constitution or at least put to referendum so the public can have a say on it.
- There needs to be a Somali coastguard set up to protect the exclusive economic zone. Toxic dumping needs to stop and illegal and unregulated fishing needs to stop.

### ***Recommendations***

- **1 problem, 1 solution: members of parliament. We need checks and balances. MPs don't have the experience or knowledge to be proper lawmakers.**
- **At a local level, creating federal member states so they can implement the constitution at a district level.**
- **Let's work with what we have – try to move it forward and continually create changes we feel are necessary through a democratic process.**
- **Local, regional, central, and country governments should be established to deal with the democratic deficit of the country.**
- **Parliamentary boundaries should cross-cut tribal regions, mixing the populace, and encouraging a nationalised sense of democracy rather than clan-based boundary system.**

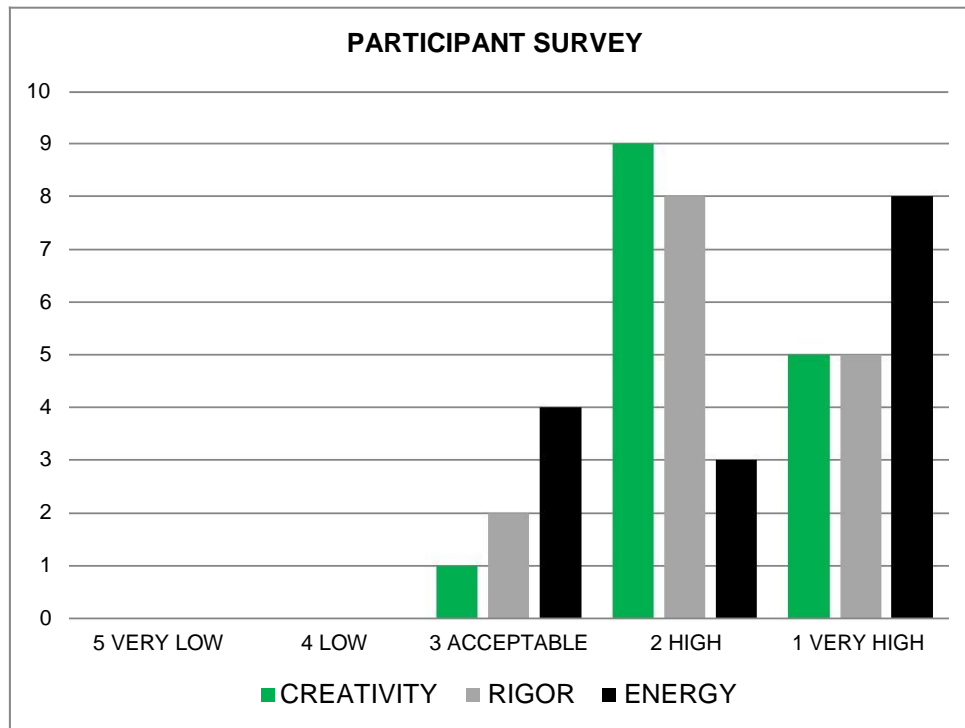
- **Parliamentary Unitary system could pose as a practical alternative for Somalia/Somaliland. The Unitary system is particularly utilized by Britain where by nations of the British Isle have separate national parliaments but are represented in Westminster and backed up by the British Constitution. This can be symbolized in the Union Jack flag representing Scotland, Wales, England and Northern Ireland – South Somalia, North Somalia, Puntland and Djibouti – Somali Union Jack?**
- **Party politics should be encouraged but laws need to prevent these being based on clan systems.**
- **Setting deadlines would get projects off the ground; consultations have been going on for some time, it's time to implement.**
- **Somalia needs a democratic de-centralised government co-ordinated by unified national authority, not a federal or centralised method of governance.**



## ANNEX A: QUALITY OF THINKING

**Participants were asked to rate the collective quality of thinking in the conference on a 5-point scale for each of the three indicators below:**

- **Creativity:** How do we rate our inspiration – idea generation outside the box?
- **Rigor:** How do we rate our 'perspiration' – persistence, patience, discipline?
- **Energy:** How do we rate our enthusiasm – zeal, excitement, fun?



## ANNEX B: CONFERENCE PROCESS

*The following suggestions and comments were made by participants about the conduct of the meeting itself.*

What did you like about the workshop?

- Distinct contribution from all participants
- Fantastically well-structured and insightful
- First of its kind
- First time I attended this kind of a workshop and I found it very encouraging and inspiring; well-done ATM for organising it
- Great dialogue
- Great energy and conversion
- I liked the selection of topics covered in this conference ranging from political to social issues facing the Somalis
- It was great and went really well
- Laptops allowed us to express our ideas/criticism in a constructive and detailed manner
- Sharing and listening to different viewpoints whilst producing concise recommendations that can be used
- Very informative and interactive
- Very interactive workshop and different from the usual sessions/consultations
- Very representative
- Well structured
- Workshop was a means to facilitate dialogue – I enjoyed the freedom of discussing without feeling under pressure to agree with any given opinion
- Youth were able to show their range of expertise and knowledge on a variety of topics

What would you do differently and better?

- Do it on a bigger scale
- Do more of the same and well done!
- Encourage people to participate more
- Invite a famous Somali poet to add a bit of entertainment and wisdom on the topic of Somali reconciliation
- Invite more people and continue to repeat it
- Keep it the same
- Less topics so we can discuss in more detail and more structured recommendations
- Not much
- Nothing much
- Perhaps have included a segment where young people have introduced themselves and their background, to make networking an easier process

