Constraints on the Refugee Irrigated Agricultural Resettlement in Jalalaqsi District (Somalia)

A case study

By

Abdirashid Abdullahi Mohamed

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Dr. LILLIAN K. BEAM,
Director.

P. M. OMOKI (MSc; ECon.)
Lecturer in Research Planning and Administration
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a case study of constraints on Refugee irrigated resettlement project in Somalia particularly in Jalalaqsi District.

It considers problems of resettlement in the context of both local and refugee population. The first chapter gives an idea about the influx of refugees resulting from Ogaden War (1977), and how the Somali government handled the emergency situation of the refugee with the help of international community. And chapter finally, states the scope of the study in relevance or resettlement project.

The second chapter analyzes the characteristics of the local population their decision making and conflict resolution processes as well as their agricultural activities.

The third chapter is the review of the government policy on agriculture. It further analyzes the government land tenure policy and local practices.

Chapter four analyzes the refugee population, their agricultural initiativeness and compares differences and similarities between the refugee and local people relevant to their social, cultural and economic commonalities.

The fifth chapter is the conclusion and recommendations for overcoming the problems highlighted during analysis of the two populations (i.e. local and refugee population).

It is my hope that this case would provide some approaches that could be adopted when the project is needed to be implemented.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 TOTAL OVERVIEW OF THE COUNTRY (SOMALIA)

Somalia is a large country, located in the north eastern corner of Africa has a pastoral economy with a population of 5.3 million distributed over an area of 64 million hectares. Climatically, Somalia can be divided into three zones:

1. The North-West Zone with a semi-mediterranean climate and an average rainfall of 400 mm a year.

2. The Central and North Zone which has a semi-arid climate with an annual precipitation ranging between 50-100 mm and basically rangeland.

3. The Southern Zone, where the two main rivers - namely Jubba and Shabelle - provide surface water, has relatively higher precipitation with an average of about 600 mm (Industrial management 1985).

The country has experienced a large influx of refugees over the last decade, resulting from Ogaden War (1977). The number of refugees in camps in the Somali grows and poses a serious socio-economic threat. This has been up-setting to all development plans. There is an estimated 700,000 refugees in the camps and quarter of a million invisible refugees scattered through out the rest of the country (UNHCR 1980).

The Somali government is faced with the most serious refugee crisis in Africa, on a greater comparable scale than that of Sudan and Djibouti.
At present there are a total number of 35 camps, combining those located in the North Western regions as well as Gedo, Hiran and Lower Shabelle areas.

As the refugee burden on the Somali economy continued, and refugees were dependent on food aid from outside the country, it became necessary to recognize the situation. The Somali government and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees began taking active measures on refugee problems.

The idea of refugee self reliance came into existence. Agricultural projects are being recognized as some of the important projects that can lead to self reliance. Various studies such as (HECC, 1980 Macdonald, 1983) have been conducted along the two rivers Shabelle and Jubba in exploring their agricultural potentiality. Finally, the studies identified an area of 1000 hectares in Jalalaqsi district as the most suitable for refugee irrigated agricultural resettlement.

1.2 THE BACKGROUND INFORMATION

There are 3,000,000, refugees in North East African countries such as Somalia, Djibouti and Sudan (UNHCR 1984). These countries share refugees who came originally from same country (Ethiopia).

The refugees were compelled to leave their homelands by political crisis existing in this region. For example, refugees in Somalia are the consequence of Ogaden War between Somalia and Ethiopia (1977).
During this war many people who were both of Somali and Oromo background began to move into Somalia in order to seek asylum. The first quarter of 1978, 500,000 people were received at the transit camps near the border between the two countries.

It was found out that the transit camps could not accommodate the increasing influx of refugees. In effect, the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development surveyed sites to relocate refugees along the banks of Jubba and Shabelle river in the southern part of the country, and established 35 camps for the relocation of the 700,000 refugees who had arrived at transit camps (UNHCR 1981).

The 1951 UN Convention relating to the status of refugee indicates that a refugee is a person who owing to well founded fear of being prosecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, or membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the country of his nationality; or who not having a nationality and being outside the country of his formal habitual residence as a result of such events is unable or owing to such fear is unwilling to return. (OAU- and Africa Refugee 1984).

According to this UN convention, the Somali government accepted as host country the refugees resulting from Ogaden War (1977) and called for international assistance for this larger number of refugees which Somalia alone as developing country could not afford to maintain.
Due to the number of refugees in the country, the Somali government established the National Refugee Commission. The major functions of NRC are:

(a) Survey and select a land for refugees

(b) Settle conflicts which arise between local and refugees

(c) Run the administrative activities of the 35 refugee camps.

(d) Prepare annual report with UNHCR branch office and attend annual meetings at Geneva.

(e) Monitor and evaluate projects implemented in the refugee camps.

The National Refugee Commission runs the administrative activities of the 35 refugee camps. They are divided into regions and districts. There are four regional headquarters and under each region comes a number of districts. At the regional level there is a regional refugee commissioner who is in charge of all the refugees in the region; under him there is also deputy who assists him in administrative activities and a supervisor who constantly visits the camps and reports to them (as shown on organizational chart) Page No. 6

At the district level there is a Refugee District Commissioner who is responsible only for the camps that are in the territory of the district. The camps in a district can range from 3 to 5 in number. A camp cannot be established if the number of refugees is less than 5,000. (UNHCR 1982). At the district level there is also a supervisor, who is the deputy of District Refugee Commissioner and he supervises camp commanders and reports to District Refugee Commissioner (DRC). The DRC
also reports to the Regional Refugee Commissioner (as shown on the organizational chart) Page No. 6

On the other hand the United High Commission for Refugees was the first International Organization which arrived at Mogadishu and opened a branch office in the Capital and sub offices at the refugee concentrated areas. UNHCR represents the international community that raises funds for those who are, according to 1951 UN Convention, recognized as refugees.

There is annual meeting at Geneva which discusses the problems of world refugees. The participants for this meeting are delegates from donor countries as well as the United Nation High Commission for Refugees, World Food Program and philanthropic organizations. Prior to the Geneva meeting, every host country and UNHCR branch office work together and assess current problems existing in the area such as food, shelter, medicine, and such report is then submitted to the annual Geneva meeting. At this meeting amount of funds raised for each specific country are designated.

The UNHCR sub office in Mogadishu has the following specific assignments:-

(a) Prepare the annual report with NRC for the submission of Geneva meeting.

(b) Manage and control funds allocated for refugees.

(c) Monitor and evaluate projects implemented in the refugee camps.

(d) Procure international funds for food, medicine, clothes, materials needed for the refugees.
Figure 1.2 UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSION FOR REFUGEES
BRANCH OFFICE ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

- Representative
- Legal Advisor
- Deputy Representative
- Assistant Deputy Representative
- Assistant Administrative
- Water Officer
- Health Officer
- Food and Logistic Officer
- Construction Officer
- Agricultural Officer

Regional Level Sub Offices
- North West Region
- Hiran Region
- Gedo Region
- Qoroshe Region
At the regional level UNHCR has established sub offices which serve as counterparts to the regional refugee office of NRC (as shown on the organizational chart). This office monitors the refugee projects implemented by contractors; it also regulates and controls the food distribution process and assures that every refugee has received the amount of food allocated for him. The sub office is responsible for screening people who arrived at transit camps to determine whether they are refugees or not. If they are recognized as refugees, they are reported to the branch office in Mogadishu.

With the help of UNHCR, NRC, and voluntry Agencies an emergency program was launched to meet the primary needs of refugees such as food, medicine and shelter. Donor countries contributed the basic needs of the refugees. The Somali government selected refugee areas along the banks of rivers in order to ease the availability of water and agricultural productions. Voluntary and philanthrophic organizations took an important role in the salvation of the lives of the refugees. The assistance and services rendered by all of those people mentioned above made it possible to meet the basic needs of the refugees such as food, medicine, shelter and water.

During the first years (1978-81) of the refugees crisis in Somalia, emphasis was placed on meeting the critical needs of the refugees i.e food, shelter and medicine on an emergency basis. In mid 1981, as the situation finally stabilized, the need for refugee self-reliance and settlement began to gain more significance. It was discovered that given the complexity
of designing long term settlement projects, specific studies were needed to ensure that the goals and objectives of such projects were feasible and could be implemented in a manner that was consistent with social, cultural, political, and economic realities of the host communities.

Both UNHCR and NRC began to discuss the long range planning projects to meet the basic needs of refugees and enable them to become economically self-supporting.

The Jalalaqsi camps (I, II, III, IV) represent some of the largest concentration camps of refugees in Somalia. Relief agencies such as UNHCR, NRC, ELU-Care estimate that there are 85,000 refugees in Jalalaqsi camps, with 21,000; 32,000; 14,000; and 18,000 in camps I, II, III and IV respectively. As in other refugee camps, donation of food from the international community and streamlined distributions system have ended the much publicized hunger emergency of past years. This has left this large population alive but economically inactive and in an open ended position of dependence on food donations. Although some agricultural activities have been started on a small scale there exists little in the way of opportunity to end the dependence on outside assistance. This situation has been recognized by Somali government and in Jalalaqsi preliminary measures have been taken by the National Refugee Commission. In July, 1980, an agreement was signed with the British Engineering firm of Sir M Macdonald and plans were made to explore the Shabelle Valley, among other sites, for refugees, using the river as a source of irrigation water for agricultural activities.
The report of October 1980 referred to as the "Macdonald Report" identified an area of 1700 hectares, only seven kilometres from Jalalaqsi as the most suitable area for agricultural production. This "Macdonald Report" encouraged both Somali government and UNHCR to become interested in the settlement project in Jalalaqsi. In March 1983 a high level UNHCR mission led by the UNHCR deputy secretary for assistance, Mr Jaques Cuenod, visited Somalia. The primary purpose for the mission was to discuss with Somali government the possibilities for refugee settlement in Somalia. The Somali government announced a significant policy change with refugees now being allowed to permanently settle in Somalia as an option to voluntary repatriation. With this significant policy shift, the Jalalaqsi refugee settlement proposal was immediately altered from focus on relocation to settlement of refugees.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The various studies conducted by different organizations such as the "Macdonald Report" (1980) and "Technical Appraisal Report" (August 1983) have indicated that the Jalalaqsi irrigated land settlement project is feasible and should be implemented provided adequate funding could be made available. The Jalalaqsi Irrigated Lands Settlement for Refugees - Technical appraisal report - (August 1983) provided a very important statement concerning the need to know about the refugees as well as the local people with whom they interact "The social and demographic composition of the refugee and local populations are not yet analysed in sufficient detail to allow confident human resources planning. It should
be recognized that many of the ideas have come from outside planning agencies and are based substantially on supposition." A good identification of this and how planning ideas can be led astray is indicated by the Macdonald Study (1980) in which was described the population of refugees in the following way.

"In the refugee camps most of the people are nomadic who have left behind their livestocks to find refuge. A very few, particularly those who have come from the river areas, have some experience in the production of the cultivated crop.

Based on the above description in the Macdonald Study (1980) one immediately receives an impression of the great difficulties to be faced by former nomads who were to be settled in irrigation schemes which included adaptation and re-orientation through training.

On the other hand, H. Lewis in African Social Analysis (1982) described the refugee population as follows "Camp II refugees have come from the Ogaden from a number of people who once lived along the Shabelle river in places such as Kalaafio, Ime, Godey and Jove, others came from districts far from the river such as Kabredahare, Shilawe and Warder. Still others came from the northern region of Harar, Diridawe and Jig Jiga. Many of these people were familiar with farming and practiced various forms of agriculture together with livestock breeding and different degrees of pastoralism before leaving their homes. The farmers of Kalaafio practiced some canal irrigation while others carried on some form of rainfed with various forms of flood recession."
Not only did many of these people combine agriculture with herding, some also owned shops, restaurants, trucks or operated sewing machine or trade.

As mentioned above, different studies described the refugee population differently although Lewis indicated different places from which the refugees came originally and described their previous activities. My study takes as its point of departure the existing socio-economic context in which refugees have been placed and is based on the analysis of social structures and behaviours of local population. It also describes refugee life and the ways in which the two groups have developed their style of life, their interaction and cooperation. In doing this the major questions being raised are:

(a) What are the government policies on land tenure rights in Jalalaqsi?

(b) What are land tenure patterns and rights for the local and refugee population?

(c) What are the formal and informal community decision making structures among local people?

(d) What potentials do refugees have for agricultural development?

(e) What is the feasibility of agricultural development in Jalalaqsi District?

Answers to these and related questions should provide reliable data critical to the planning for long term durable solutions to refugee related problems in the area.
1.4 APPROACH

This case study was written within a short time period, due to both time and financial constraints encountered.

The research concerns about the refugee resettlement project in Somalia.

The information on this paper cannot be considered as primary data since questionnaires and interviews were not used in collecting data. In their place, library research method was conducted and previous studies done in Jalalaqsi District in respect of refugee in Somalia have also contributed important data which was not available in the Library.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 POPULATION CHARACTERISTIC OF JALALAQSI DISTRICT

2.1 Total Population

Jalalaqsi is the smallest of the three administrative districts in Hiran Region, and Jalalaqsi town is the smallest district capital. (as shown on the map of Hiran Region). Page No. 14. The other districts are Beletweyn farthest north, which houses the regional capital, and Bulo Burti, the largest in the area which is situated in the middle. Jalalaqsi as a district was established in 1971. An area becomes district based on criteria such as size and dynamism of population as well as potential political and economic importance. The local people may make the request or the proposal, the proposal may come from the government official, and in either case the president of the republic makes the final determination.

The major source of livelihood in the district is animal herding and Jalalaqsi is the district in the region with the greatest potential agricultural production, producing maize, sorghum beans (cow Peas) and semsane as well as some vegetables. In the region population is divided 80% nomads and agro-pastoralists, 19% agriculturalists 1% commercial poeple (Somali republic 1984) - It is important to mention that these occupational categories overlac. Few people have an exclusively commercial oreintation, for example, and many people and all extended family productive units combine more than one economic activity. The major deve-lopment (potential) possibility in the area is irrigated agri-cultural based on Shabelle river, but its potential is not fully
Figure 2.1  HIRAN REGION ON MAP OF SOMALIA

The agriculture of the region is divided into two major parts: the northern pastoral region and the southern agricultural region. The pastoral region is characterized by the presence of nomadic populations, while the agricultural region is known for its cultivation of crops such as wheat and sorghum. The region is also known for its rich fishing industry, particularly in the coastal areas.

Key:
- CAPITAL
- PROVINCIAL CAPITAL
- JALALALQSI
- BULU BURTI
- SEA
exploited because of the relative absence of pumps and canals from Jalalaqsi town, which is 170 km, North of Mogadishu and 9 km east of the paved north-south national road, the district extends 60 kms to the north 140 km to the west and 25 km to the east. Although it is clearly impossible to establish accurate population figures with a majority of nomadic population moving easily from one district to another provincial borders depending on rainfall, the best average population estimate (either the maximum from the ideal rainy season nor the minimum from the worst dry season), according to the Jalalaqsi District Commissioner, and based on estimates from the national literacy campaign, electoral campaign and the current Arabic language teaching campaign is 400,000 more or less regular inhabitants.

2.2. AGRICULTURAL POPULATION OF JALALAQSI

The Agricultural population of Jallaqsi district is divided into two major parts i.e. the Bantu Riverine Sedentary Agriculturalists and the Agro-pastoralists:

2.2.1 The Bantu Riverine Sedentary Agriculturalists

The Bantu Riverine Sedentary agriculturalists are people who live along the strip of the land on both banks of the Shabelle river north south of Jalalaqsi town. It is important to understand in our study their life style, because they are purely agricultural population and centrally located with respect to any agricultural development/refugee resettlement project.
In the area of south of Jalalaqsi along both sides of the river banks west of 1000 hectare site, there are villages of sedentary agriculturalists of Bantu ethnic stock related by ties of kinship and marriage. There is one chief for all the Jalalaqsi Riverine villages whose role is hereditary but is also government employee. Decisions are made by the village elders in the company of the chief and there are also shiekhs who are responsible for the upholding of Islamic law, for teaching Koranic schools and for healing through religious means.

The Riverine people practice recession agriculture on the specific areas the river floods, when it floods which are determined by land configuration. The flood waters bring nutrients that fertilize the soil, in which farmers plant when the water recedes. The following periods when there are no flood waters to allow planting, and in the dry season between rains, they grow maize, sorghum, beans, and sesame and plant during every rainy season practicing both inter-cropping and crop rotation. On one farm, for example, a farmer would plant maize during the spring season followed by beans during the summer season, or plant sorghum and beans together. They consider that the major variable affecting their agricultural production is water, both river flooding and rain, which vary independently of each other. The river floods come as a result of rains in Ethiopia. Other issues such as improved seed and crop protection, although known to them abstractly, are less important to them than water.
They expect, ideally, the river to flood each year, and to have more both rain and flooding in the spring season, but know that the water is inconsistent. In 1983 the flood came in summer season, giving them a good crop but during 1984 summer season the river was very low and there was little rain, so they did not get good harvest (Somali government, 1984). Harvest also vary from village to village and location to location on the river bank depending for example on the height and slope of the bank with respect to the river. The Riverine Farmers have no pumps and consequently they do not carry out irrigated agriculture, besides, they do not receive the benefits of any agricultural extension service.

The land, including manual clearing, is done by nuclear family, their production capacity being dependent on the size of the family. Close relatives may help each other and women participate in all phases of agricultural production, though their primary domestic responsibilities include getting water from the river, preparing food, and caring for children.

The Riverine people do not carry out significant livestock keeping although they have few chicken which produce eggs for their home consumption. They also have sheep and goats but they believe that they are not rich like agro-pastoralists, and hence have no animals. They only slaughter the sheep and goats for important occasions such as Idd holidays.

The Riverine people have considerable economic interaction with the agro-pastoral neighbors. They sell them stocks as a fodder for their animals and occasionally buy milk from them as well.
as meat. They also sometimes work as agricultural wage laborers for the agro-pastoralists, mainly preparing their rainfall and irrigated farms for planting and doing of the agricultural work on large farms. They have also established significant economic relationships with refugees. They provide firewood, sticks for building houses and beans to the refugees, either for money or by bartering them for some of the refugee food rations.

The refugee presence has made impact on the economic lives of the Riverine people, and it appears that the relative proximity to them of camp II as compared to the town has brought closer medical care as well as market in which they sell goods.

The Riverine people are like mostly everyone in the area south of Jalalaqsi town, aware of the proposed 1000 hectare irrigated agricultural settlement scheme since were visited by local authorities to discuss their possible role in it. As the 1,000 hectares site is east of their villages, the pumps and canals would have to be on the river banks where they farm and live, thus their population would be the most immediately affected by the project. According to source from local authorities, such as District Commissioner, indicated that the villagers would contribute to the refugee irrigated resettlement their experience in agricultural as well as their land, if only they would benefit from the project.

The Riverine people feel that although they are the most long time permanent residents of the area, they have not got the benefits of the development that has taken place there in that they have not been able to have their land improved. This is why the government has recently recognized Jalalaqsi as a district and few developmental projects have been implemented in the
District which these people cannot immediately benefit from. Consequently, they see the proposed refugee irrigated, agricultural resettlement as their opportunity to participate in development program. In exchange for their land they anticipate access to the more productive lands, increase their agricultural techniques as well as providing health care and educational facilities for their children (UNHCR 1985). It must take in consideration that the Riverine people would be the major asset to the refugee irrigated agricultural project, given their agricultural background as well as their history of providing much of the physical labor involved in the agro-pastoralists farming activities.

2.2.2 THE AGRO-PASTORALISTS:

The segment of population designated as agro-pastoralists consists of those for whom a major activity is farming of either rainfed or irrigated land, and also have a significant number of animals.

The rainfed farm is divided into three non-contiguous plots separated and surrounded by uncleared land. In the middle is a small hut in which family stays. Five hectares of their land are cultivated and planted seeds such as maize and sorghum and there are some other hectares (four or five) which are not farmed and will remain so for eight growing seasons or four years. People tend to talk in terms of growing seasons, the meaningful units of agricultural time, rather than years, when talking of farming practices. (RAU1984).
the reason for not farming all of the land owned by the farmer is because since this people are also having a number of animals, the unused land would provide pasture for their animals during dry seasons while the farmed area would also provided their daily food consumption.

The rainfed farmers plant maize, sorghum, sesame and beans and usually expect more rainfall in spring seasons than in summer seasons. They know much about the various crops they plant the one that needs much more water than the other, so that maize and beans are planted during spring season during which they expected adequate rainfall. Sesame is planted summer season during little rainfall is expected.

The fact that planting and hoping for rain each season is logical as the results are uncertain in the same areas one sees flourishing farms as well as dried up ones. The flourishing ones may have been planted at exactly the right time to have benefited from the sparse rain or specific area in which they are located or may have received more rain at the right time and adequate rain. Farmers often plant during the first rain but if additional rain does not come, the seeds may germinate or may begin to grow and die.

The irrigated farms in Jalalaqsi represented by a group of farmers who farm irrigated land using water from Sarıro canal south of camp II. They are called Sarıro agricultural cooperative. These people have been farming on an irrigated basis for the last ten years. They grow, sorghum, maize, beans on irrigated land and always do inter-cropping. (The table enclosed will show their yearly income from 1982-1985).
Although they have better chance of success than the dry land farmers who farm cooperatively irrigated land also have their problems. They would ideally prefer not to have to irrigate their land but to have it watered by adequate rainfall because in order to irrigate, they must pay for diesel fuel, which is not always available on time or in the right quantities, and sometimes is totally unavailable. Rain water is also better for their crops and for continued usefulness of the land because when the river is low, the water is excessively saline, hence, detrimental to the crops and to the future utility of the land.

2.1 TABLE OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE YEARLY INCOME FROM 1982-‘85

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>TYPE OF CROP</th>
<th>TOTAL PRICE OF GRAINS So.Sh.</th>
<th>TOTAL EARNINGS So.Sh.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>130 ha.</td>
<td>Sorghum</td>
<td>180,000</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>150 ha.</td>
<td>Sorghum</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>110 ha.</td>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>160,00</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>130 ha.</td>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Agricultural Development Corporation, 1985)
2.3 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PEOPLE

The basis of Somali society is the partilinear clan family of which there are several major ones, each divided into sections and sub-sections, each with different degrees of rights and responsibilities. ABBY Thomas, an astute student of Somali culture says of this system as follows:

"The traditional Somali social structure is build upon the detailed reckoning of partilineal family trees into the 20th and 30th generation. This structure called "Tribalism" by its detractors, "clanship" by its analysts and .... other names by its practitioners remains today the only firm basis for community and for long term cooperation in rural areas and in issues which involve city and rural people together in only somewhat attenuated fashion. It determines community within towns and cities and when a certain loss of a day today interaction is discounted, it extends itself to include the large number of northern Somalis living in Saudi Arabia and Arabian gulf states".

While understanding and acknowledging the value of the revolutionary government determined efforts to abolish the clan family based system that traditionally structured and regulated all social, economic and basic human-relations in Somalia. It
would be a grave error, however, to assume that the clan family system has been destroyed, and to ignore the fact that especially in rural areas where government effects are diluted and traditional patterns persist. The indigenous social structure remains. The organizing principle for most social and economic behaviour, for the control and use of resources and for implementing government representatives know they must respect the indigenous authority structure, which is based on these principles. The elders and village chiefs represent the hierarchy of this structure and they are the government representatives to the people, the chiefs in fact, are government employees. Hence, in spite of its efforts to modify this traditional structure, the government strongly accepts it continued existence and its own necessity to work through it.
2.4 DECISION MAKING AND CONFLICT

RESOLUTION PROCESSES

The most fundamental form of both decision making and conflict resolution among the different social groupings in the Jalalaqsi area is based on the fact that it is assumed that the elders (male) have been alive the longest and thus know most, are worthy of most respect, and thus are the segment of the population most capable of making decisions going beyond nuclear family matters. This is a commonality of all of the district subsistence - based on social groups, and is a principle of authority that seems common to the various levels of Somali society.

When a decision is to be made, elders from the relevant social units gather and discuss the matter based on current facts and historical background until they arrive at some conclusion. Younger men may attend, but their right to speak may be limited by elders, although informational inputs are welcomed. Among elders there are always the elders who are respected and believed to have most experience and wisdom, for example, elders are the only group of people who can solve disputes over land use and their decisions are acceptable by the social members. Most of the people in Jalalaqsi area prefer to resolve their disputes themselves in the traditional manner without involving government institutions.

One area in which this kind of decision making structure is particularly important is in issues of land tenure.
It is elders of each extended family who are responsible for knowing who has rights to which land, and it is they who (the elders) are responsible for settling any land based disputes. The elders stress the fact that only they, and no governmental body is competent to deal with the issue because since is in almost all cases no written documents and no official land registration, only the elders have the knowledge base to do so. They also assert that since the people who farm and herd in an area are all related and the new people rarely come into an area already belonging to someone else, land conflicts do not often arise. Since almost no land in Jalalaqsi district is legally registered with the government, it is only this traditional system that can resolve such conflicts at this point in time.

The story of the problems of the team from Hydraulic Engineering corporation of China (HECC) during their survey on 1,000 hectares site shows the importance of local authority and their influence on any project being carried out in their district.

Chinese team arrived in Jallaqsi and contacted the District Agricultural Coordinator to inform him about their project. Then they went directly to work on their equipment and began surveying they were stoned and harassed by local people who confused with their aims.

The Chinese team returned to Mogadishu to inform their difficulties. They high officials travelled from Mogadishu to Jalalaqsi to resolve the problem. Explaining the government position, and made responsible for local government the safe
completion of the Chinese study. The District officials met with the elders and explained the national government position, and elders quaranteed that the Chinese would no longer be harrassed and they were not. Chinese returned to continue their work and hired some of the elders to work as security. (HECC report 1984).

The Sir Macdonald team that preceded the Chinese in surveying the area had no problem, they were apparently perceived by the local people as doing a study to put in wells, which the people welcomed plus they did their study before the idea of refugee resettlement on their land became a threat to the local people. When Chinese came later, the population in the area, aware of the issue of refugee resettlement on the land that had always belonged to them, reacted. They then also tried to uproot the metal Sir Macdonald stakes, but were unable to do so because of their firm implantation.

The Clear and obvious error in this process was the local authority structure was not taken into consideration, whereas it should have been not only informed, but also incorporated into the process, and in reaction sought to subvert it.

Local people are the owners of the land. Although government claim the land onwership, it is not possible to implement a resettlement project without the cooperation of the local people. In other words, any projects proposed by government should take into consideration the consultations with the elders.
2.5 JALALAQSI TOWN AND ITS RELATIVE IMPORTANCE IN MARKETING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

The evolution of Jalalaqsi from a remote small town to an important population centre is because of the recognition of Jalalaqsi as district by government in 1971, followed by the influx of refugees resulting from Ogaden War (1979-80) which led to an explosion of development in the town.

The town is situated on the east and west banks of the Shabelle river, which besects it from north to the south, and over which there is a bridge that prolongs the road that runs from the main road from Mogadishu into the centre of town. Prior to the building of the bridge the town was seperated from the 9 km of land between it and main road by the river, the crossing of which was done by small pulley boats and on hanging food bridge next to which the new bridge was built. The town was linked with Jowhar (town with great agricultural potentiality) to the south by the dirt road that runs parellel to the river on the east side. The vehicle bridge allowed for the rapid development of the town by linking it to the country's main artery.

East of the river is the old town and the commercial centre, which is expansion of market place. The commercial sector is consentrated along the main street with some extention to the smaller more or less parellel streets on either sides. The residential area is to the south. Indications of relatively earlier development of this areas are the seperation of the
commercial and the fact that many dwellings are circular, as opposed to the predominance of more recently built rectangular dwellings on the west bank in the new area of the town.

There is a mix of residential and commercial activities in the new area west of the bridge, the development of which followed the installation of the bridge. There have been open to the street devoted to small shops. There are tea shops for drinking tea, playing cards and discussing. There are also bakeries and an oil extracting business. The administrative centre is in the new section, and contains the offices of the District Commissioner, the Mayor, and other national and local government officials. This geographical separation of commercial and political centres is reflective of the town's evolution from small market town on subsiding road to administrative centre linked to the main road.

Jalalaqsi is the major commercial centres between Jowhar 70kms to the south and Bulu Burti to the north. Buyers and sellers decide which market to attend based on distance, relative price scales, and social relations, Wholesalers bring non perishable food stuffs from Mogadishu for sale to retailers in the market and in the shops whilst fruit and vegetable sellers bring their food stuffs from Jowhar. Some fruits and vegetables are purchased when available by the sellers in the Jalalaqsi local government farm, and most of the mangoes that are constantly present in abundance are harvested from the big mango trees, along the river in Jalalaqsi town. Jalalaqsi has a major market day on Thursday. It was made for the convenience of the agro-pastoralists and the nomads who live places far from the town.
The commercial centre lies just east of the river. It is at the end of the major commercial street that is lined with small tea shops some of which also sell some food and non-food items.

The Thursday market begins with a large influx of sellers coming by trucks from as far as Jowhar and on foot from any direction. People come from all over to the Thursday market, often for more social, cultural and informational than commercial purposes. Groups of elderly men gather to exchange information about animals, crops, weather, social facts and disputes etc. The fruit sellers both on Thursday and during the week tend to be Riverine Women from the Jowhar area. They do not necessarily come to the daily market on a regular basis, but as they have enough produce to sell to make the trip worthwhile and they may spend the night with relatives in Jalalaqsi in order to sell any remaining stock the next day.

Women bring bananas and lemons from Jowhar and buy sesame oil to sell in Jowhar and Mogadishu. The fruit and vegetables one sees on a daily basis are abundant mangoes which grow on the trees along the river in Jallaqsi and beyond, lemons and sometimes banana from Jowhar, onions, some tiny tomatoes and occasional green peppers.

Although Jalalaqsi area has agricultural potentiality there are no agricultural development projects that have been implemented earlier by the government. Even the Agricultural population of Jalalaqsi have done little in agricultural production. This can be understood since most of the vegetables and fruit brought to Jalalaqsi market are from Jowhar.
Jalalaqsi market could have absorbed any agricultural produce that are from Jalalaqsi district since it is now selling fruit and vegetables from other towns.

Goods, food stuffs, fruit in Jalalaqsi market usually come from Mogadishu, Jowhar, refugee camps as well as the town itself. It has great commercial relation with these three different places. Because of the great number of refugees in Jalalaqsi area the market absorbs all the goods brought for sale.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON AGRICULTURE & LAND

3.1 REVIEW OF GOVERNMENT POLICY ON AGRICULTURE

Fifty percent (50%) of the Somali population are nomads and semi nomads who depend on livestock raising for their livelihood. It is also estimated that 25% of the population are settled farming families. The remaining 25% of the population are engaged in various non agricultural activities, such as import and export trading, livestock traders, and small scale business. It is also indicated that 60% of the Gross Domestic product (GDP) is obtained from agricultural sector which employs about 80% of the country's total labor force. Within the sector, crop production accounts for about 40% of the GDP and provides about the same proportion of export receipts (Industrial Management, 1986).

According to the available information on the pre-colonial area of Somali some sedentary agriculture took place along the rivers with systems of shifting cultivation and rain-fed agriculture in places of suitable soil and water supply. The people who lived along the rivers and in the north west were a link between the inland nomadic pastoralists and the coastal traders.

The earliest records of sixteenth century show till of sorghum bun (coffee roasted in butter) being taken from traders by the cultivators. In the nineteenth century, expansion of rainfed agriculture took place in small scale plantation and
the main products were sorghum, sesame and orchella. Also
maize became an important crop, second only to sorghum, in area
of production of cotton coming from local wild perennial variety
started appearing in the South. In the North and North West,
date palms and coffee were to become more important to the
local agro-pastoralists. During the colonial era, an attempt
had been made to exploit the virgin land of Somalia through cheap
labor by the introduction of cotton, sugar, bananas and oil seeds,
mostly under irrigation in the southern part of the country.
In the North, little was done to expand agriculture.

The colonial government however, excluded local commercial
participation that would have competed with the foreigners and
local subsistence agriculture and pastoral life continued.
At independence 1960, Somalia inherited an extremely low level
of economic development. The large agricultural sector,
supporting 80% of the population remained virtually neglected,
except some agricultural development centred around irrigational
projects in the reverine areas which were in the hands of
foreigners and consisted mainly of banana and sugar plantation.

the Somali government taking over the leadership of the
country after independence thus faced a difficult and challenging
task of removing constraints on agricultural development, and
consequently economic backwardness continued. The crop
production sector continued to dominate by a mono culture
banana production in a few thousand hectares of irrigated area
around the two rivers - Shabelle and Jubba.
Since the revolution of 1969, the government has tended to put emphasis on production. In doing this, the government took many steps to improve economic situation and several positive initiatives in the field of agriculture. The government also passed agricultural land law No. 73 of 21 October, 1975. In which the sue of the land for agricultural purposes is subject to a permit of concession to be granted by Ministry of Agriculture. It maintains a land registration in respect of concession granted. Offenders of agricultural land law are liable to imprisonment from two to ten years as to a fine of So.Sh 10,000 and to cancellation of land concession (Somali government environmental protection legislation, 1985).

Although this law has been issued the main thrusts of agricultural policy have been the following direction:-

1) Increase food production since it is necessary to foreign exchange for development purpose by reducing expenditure on import of food grains, sugar and oil and other commodities.

2) Increasing productivity, output and incomes of the agricultural producers in both subsistence and modern sectors.

3) While assisting the small holder, state farms and cooperatives are the main policy instruments for bringing traditional producers into the monetary sector and for raising their low standard of living as well as their knowledge in agricultural production

4) Improvement of modern inputs and servicing research, seed production, extension and crop protection.

5) Strengthening of technical know how especially in irrigated areas through improved agricultural research and extension.
3.2 GOVERNMENT LAND TENURE POLICY AND LOCAL PRACTICE

The official Somali government land tenure policy, announced formally in 1975 with the law No 73 is very straightforward, the basic premise is that all land belongs to the government which has prior claim on the use of any part of it, and that the Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for issuing leases to cooperatives, state farms, private agencies, local governments and individual farmers. No land may be sold, bought or rented by individuals. Individuals may request the government a 50 year inheritable lease on any piece of land of up to 30 hectares of irrigated land or 60 hectares of rainfed land not being used or reversed by the government and to which no one else has a previous rightful claim. Leases for cooperatives are not limited in time or size.

In order to acquire a lease for a piece of land or to officially register the land that a family has traditionally been using a person begins by making an application to the District Agricultural Coordinator for the area who is the local representative of the Ministry of Agriculture.

The DAC (District Agricultural Coordinator) surveys, measures, and establishes a map of the land, assess its agricultural potential, verifies claim to all adjoining land, and ascertains from local elders that the land is indeed free and available, He then posts a notice of the petitioner's desires to lease the land for thirty days in his own office and in the office of District Commissioner and the chief of police so that
anyone who feels he has a prior claim to the land may so indicate to DAC. If at the thirty day period the DAC has assured that the land is suitable for Agriculture, and chief of police has verified that there is no conflicting claim on it, the District Commissioner certifies that the land may be registered.

On that point three of the copies made of all documentation drawn up, including the request, a map of the area and certification from the various district officials, are sent to the regional level that there are no competing claims or prior plans for the land, and registers it on his level, keeping one copy of documentation. He then forwards the two remaining copies of the documents to the Ministry of Agriculture in Mogadishu for registration at the national level. The original fully approved document is then returned to the lease, who must develop the land within two years for his claim to remain valid.

Only those who have very productive farms have made the effort to register them, which involves going to the district capital to do the initial paperwork, if they want the process to be expedited, taking rather than sending the completed documents to the regional capital and then to Mogadishu. On the other hand, dryland farmers whose production is tenuous and not overly abundant do not feel that anyone might want to compete for their land thus see no necessity to register it. Besides local people honor their claim to their land, and they think that given all the land around, the possibility that the government might want their small part is unlikely, so why bother getting involved in the complicated and time consuming
land registration exercise. If formally free, registration process. Additionally, a tax on registered land must be paid to the local government thus the only people who register their land are rich and influential who have the funds to acquire well placed land and irrigated it to make it of value, thus having an investment worthy of protecting.

It is noteworthy that only agricultural land can be registered, and no possibility for registering the grazing land of the majority of the nation's population, and to which the indigenous social system also assures rights, thus creating the possibility of future farm land disputes. Most land disputes are still settled by the indigenous social system by having the relevant elders bring their knowledge and authority to hear. Some disputes however, are brought to the attention of the District Agriculture co-ordinator who is responsible for land problems.

Since all land belongs to government, it is illegal for individuals to buy or sell it. According to the traditional system, the transfer of cleared land, there being no premium on uncleared bush, is done easily between kin. An area of some determined size was controlled by an extended family group and land arrangement were family affairs. An outsider could possibly acquire or use rights to land by an arrangement with family elders, but land could both be permanently alienated from family control. This system still prevails
The person with traditional rights to the land may not be able to like full advantage of its productive capacity because of inadequate resources or knowledge. The owner may thus be putting a good deal of labor into the land but minimal results are achieved or may decide not to plant on the land currently because of lack of funds for clearing or buying seeds. Consequently when approached by someone offering to buy his land, he may find such an offer much more interesting than keeping land he has little hope of using profitably. Given the lack of knowledge of the land registration law, it is probable that the few local people suspect that selling the land they believe to be theirs because their ancestors have always lived there could possibly be made illegal by the government. The buyer probably knows, but are also aware that if there is no dispute, they will have no problem registering the land, and no one really cares how they acquire it. Such local arrangement for land claim transfer are, thus, common. They meet with no opposition from government officials because unless it is involving governments reserved and legally registered land, and all participants in the deal are satisfied enough not to go to the police, there is no reason for the government to get involved.

The non-profit voluntary organizations who work in the refugee camps, especially those who are involved in agricultural activities suggested "The first step after identifying the piece of desired land it to "tell everyone" i.e. have project staff
of high status in the local society spread the word through formal and informal channels of the project's desire to use the land because "No one would react to a posted notice". This is, after all, an oral society, and moreover since so few people know about the registration process at all. It is even less likely that they would know of its finer details, like posted thirty-day notices, which are apparently mainly a formality anyway. Even after word is spread, no one reacts until someone fences the land and begins working on it.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 THE JALALAQSI REFUGEE SITUATION

4.1 ORGANIZATION OF THE CAMPS

There are four camps in Jalalaqsi District located on the banks of Shabelle river, to which refugees from Ethiopia were sent after arriving Beledweyn which is 160 km. northwest of Jalalaqsi Camp I, the first camp established in mid, 1979 is approximately 5 km. north of Jalalaqsi town on the west bank of the river. Camp II, the second established at the beginning is 7 km south of the town on the east bank of the river. Camp III, IV, also established in early 1980 are adjacent to camp I respectively southwest and northwest of it (as shown on the map of refugee in Hiran region). The official UNHCR data concerning the refugee indicates that of the 209,000 refugees in Hiran Province, there are 85,000 in Jalalaqsi, with 21,000, 14,000 and 18,000 in camp I, II, III, and IV respectively (as shown on the map). Page No. 41

The camps are located on the two sites in the Jalalaqsi District surveyed as a part of a fourteen site survey of areas in the Hiran region for possible refugee resettlement under taken in July 1978 by a four person team from the state planning commission. The survey was done at a time when about 5,000 refugees were located in two camps near Beletweyne in the Hiran Region and whose numbers were at that time only predicted to double or triple (Ministry of Planning 1978). The sites were evaluated for possible agricultural settlements for the displaced refugees on the basis of climate, soil, water, existing potential agricultural production and existing potential livestock activity, population in the area, roads, and transportation and availability of Agricultural machinery.
As none of the soils were recommended as very favourable for agricultural production because of their salt content, it was suggested the fiscal constraints might limit the feasibility of refugee resettlement in the region, but of the fourteen sites, the one that became camp II had one of the three least unfavourable soil profiles. As with the others, however, other physical constraints limited its potential. All of the areas were deemed only marginally suited for irrigated agriculture, so the development of additional agricultural land in the area was not recommended. The magnitude of the refugee influx far beyond the highest numerical speculation clearly obliged the Somali government to lower its criteria for ideal settlement sites in the national's fragile eco-system. Thus, not only camp II but also camp I, III, IV situated on one of the definitely not recommended sites, became the realities and the irrigated farms that the refugee cooperatives established are shown the level of the production of these camps.
Figure 4.1  REFUGEE CAMPS IN HIRAN REGION

REFUGEE POPULATION
Total Hiran Region 209,000
- Beletuen Area: 124,000
- Jalalaqsi Area: 85,000

Belet-uen

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<tr>
<td>4. Lebow</td>
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<td>5. Luuq Jellow</td>
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<td>6. Qoqane</td>
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Jalalaqsi

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<tr>
<td>2. Jalalaqsi II</td>
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<td>4. Jalalaqsi IV</td>
<td>18,000</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
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SHABELLE RIVER

JALALAQSI
4.2 REFUGEE AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

There is one major example of refugee initaitiveness in creating agricultural project in Jalalaqsi refugee camps. This was created presumably by influential individuals in line with government encouragement and material support for cooperative farming efforts. Additionally, there were an encouraging number of individuals who have made arrangements with local people to farm some of their unused land. A good example of refugee agricultural initaitiveness is the camp II refugee cooperative.

The refugee cooperative was created in 1980 by four wealthy refugee from Ethiopia who have kinship with the people in the Jalalaqsi area. The leader of the group's father was born in Jalalaqsi area but had been living in Jig Jiga (Ethiopia), where the man was born for decades, apparently large number of people from Jalalaqsi area had moved to Jig Jiga in the past.

The four men, who had been bussinessmen in Ethiopia acquired 170 hectares site and four piston pump from the Ministry of Agriculture. They were provided with tractors land clearing and payment for the seeds and for the Riverine laborer expenses who built the canals. In turn they had to create a production farm. The refugee farmers hired the Riverine men as agricultural laborers and to do land preparation including contouring, ploughing and painting for their first crop which was maize. They cleared an area of 44 ha. and planted maize during the first year 1981 (May-July).
After putting a lot of efforts and materials, such as money for purchase of seeds, expenses of the Riverine laborer as well as transport expenses, they have received a net profit of So. Shs 15,800 (Refugee Agricultural Unit report 1981).

The following year 1982, the refugees had again planted maize. Although at that time they had acquired some experience about farming. They could not afford to maximize profit. They also failed to clear extra land and invest more money than they had invested during the first year. This was due to the problems of fuel shortage, which they as other people in Somalia had encountered throughout of the year 1982. Secondly the crop production in the second year was affected by the low level of the river resulting from the inadequate rainfall received in Ethiopian mountains where the river flows. However in the exclusion seeds, transport and labor expenses, they obtained a net profit of So. Shs 20,000 in 1982 (RAU Report, 1985).

NRC and refugee Agricultural Unit recognized the output of refugee agricultural cooperative and felt that if more funds were made available they could have generated more income than the first two years (1981-82).

The refugee Agricultural unit proposed to allocate funds for the refugee agricultural cooperative in order to be model for the other refugees who are idle in the camps and encourage them in agricultural activities.
The National refugee commission requested UNHCR to provide funds for refugee agricultural cooperative. Then a meeting was called by UNHCR in which NRC and RAU participated. In the meeting it was discussed how much funds to be allocated and who would manage and monitor after it is being released for the refugee cooperative. Finally, it was decided, since Refugee Agricultural Unit is responsible all the agricultural activities in refugee camps, it must also be responsible for the management of this fund in order to monitor and evaluate the refugee agricultural activities as well as reporting to NRC, UNHCR any progress being made in agriculture.
4.3 REFUGEE LAND OWNERSHIP POLICY

In order to acquire a lease for a piece of land, the refugee agricultural unit requests land from the ministry of agriculture for the establishment of refugee farms in the name of Refugee Agricultural Unit. Although individual refugee cannot establish a farm alone due to the financial constraints, there are few refugees such as those who established the cooperative discussed the previous section who managed to acquire the land and fund on their own arrangements. Most of the refugees who wish as a group to have a farm of their own, they should seek the assistance of Refugee Agricultural Unit so that they can secure National Refugee Commission approval of their project. Since refugees have no funds to invest on the farms, and request they make is considered as a project and must be approved both by NRC and UNHCR in order to acquire funds to implement. After approval of the project the refugee Agricultural Unit identifies the area and requests by making application to the District Agricultural Coordinator, who is the local representative of the Ministry of Agriculture. Then, the District Agricultural Coordinator surveys, measures, and establishes a map of the land, assess its agricultural potential, verifies claims to all adjoining land and checks from the list of registered land. He then posts a notice of the petitioner's desires to lease the land for thirty days in his own office. At the end of thirty day period of notice, the DAC after making sure that the land is suitable for agriculture and the chief of police has verified, the District Commissioner certifies then the land may be registered.
At this juncture, two copies are prepared by DAC, then one is kept in the district agricultural office, while the original document is sent to Ministry of Agriculture in Mogadishu for registration at the national level. The original document fully approved is then returned to refugee Agricultural Unit who made the request giving them authority to develop the land for refugees (Somali Government, 1984). If an individual refugee wishes to settle permanently in Somalia the official policy is that he can request land through the normal procedure like any other Somali citizen. It is often possible to arise local conflicts on land use, because local people and government have different views on land ownership. Government issues laws concerning about land, in which land is owned by government, and only leases it to the people. The local people insist that without registration of the land it is for their property and believe that they inherited from their predecessors.

Although the formal procedure of land registration works one must take into consideration that the local people who have been using the land for decades though not officially registered. Unless local people are convinced and satisfied one will have constant problem from the local people even if the land is registered officially by the Ministry of Agriculture. Since refugees are given the rights to own a land like citizens, it would be difficult to cultivate the land without giving compensation to the local people.
4.4 REFUGEE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND INTEGRATION WITH LOCAL PEOPLE

Since camp I, is the first camp that had been established in 1979 with an official population of 21,000 (UNHCR 1985), it has experienced a long time integration with the local people (Jalalaqsi). Besides these, all the refugees in the camps have experienced the same socio-economic system since they all originated from Ogaden region, in my study I have selected camp I to represent all the other camps of the refugees II, III, IV in the context of revealing the existing social organizations and the refugee integration with locals.

Camp I, divided into six named sections, each of which is subdivided into 5 subsections, which are further subdivided into units of three to five hundred families which are also divided into groups of ten families each represented by an elder. The sections are named Kabre dahare, Daga Bur, Danan, Godey, Ime, and Kalaaf to remind children born in Jalalaqsi of the places of the origin of their parents. The majority of people in each named section are from the named geographical area, although there are also people from other areas in each section.

The section and subsection leaders are responsible for the civic and political education of the people of their section and are links between the informal community structure (authority, decision making process) and formal structure (official administration). They urge parents to send their children to school, organizing people for tasks such as planting trees and to resolve social conflicts when there is inforamtion to be shared with community. It is they who inform the family heads in their
section to pass it on them. These sectional leaders are selected by groups of elders, religious leaders and women who are organized into committees and important criterion being the degree of peoples' trust in them to represent them well.

The role of section leader in refugee camps is like the leadership role of chief which existed in their community structure before they took refugee into Somali. He is respected and given prestige for his age, experience and decision making. The section leaders are responsible for settling conflicts that arise among the refugee. They are community representatives who always participate in the official meeting held in the camps by government, and talk on behalf of the refugee when there is any issue concerning refugee. Besides that they are influential in the distribution of job opportunity among refugees.

There is religious committee consisting of religious leaders and people knowledgeable about the Koran, who organize Koranic schools, prayers, religious ceremonies etc. Besides that, there is also an agricultural committee of farmers who work with refugees Agricultural unit. The committee selects among the refugee those who have agricultural skills and submit to RAU in order to be given further training in agricultural skills. There is also women committee, which is composed traditional birth attendants who share health information with the other women through the committee structure.
The camp I market is one of the most important areas, unlike the Jalalaqsi town market, the camp I market functions every day and from Friday through Thursday. Many local people as well as refugees from camp I, II, III and IV shop there. In the morning people leave from the town to the market, some to sell, others to buy rations from the refugees in order to sell in the shops of Jalalaqsi market. On entering the market one first encounters a string of women sitting on the ground selling firewood. These women are local Bantu Riverine Villagers who come to sell wood on the refugee market. In the market women and men sell mangoes, bananas, maize, onions and beans. They bring stock either from Jalalaqsi or Jowhar and stay until they sell everything in the refugee camps.

Most of the sellers are local people as are the shop owners and some are refugees the local people who seem to be in the majority selling their produce and the refugee extra rations.

It is commercial relationship that provides the essential interaction between refugees and local people. Local people before the arrival of refugees in Jalalaqsi had limited market for their agricultural and animal produce, they used to travel places far from Jalalaqsi such as Jowhar and Afgoi to look for market of their produce. It was common the person who left for selling goods to spend several days away from Jalalaqsi. But now Jalalaqsi people have access to the refugee market to sell all their produce. On the other hand the refugees obtain a limited number of different kind of foods, such as wheat, maize, oil, and rice which are not adequate to satisfy their primary needs. Meat,
vegetables and milk were not included in the refugee rations. Cash to buy clothes, notebooks and pens for their schooling children was also needed.

In order to fulfill the above mentioned needs they sell their extra rations to exchange the needed items.

The refugees would have not satisfied their needs and local people would also have not got market for their agricultural and animal produce if there was not the refugee market which helped both sides in fulfilling their needs.

4.5 DECISION MAKING & PROBLEMS RESOLUTION

After refugees have been relocated in the 35 camps of the southern and northern part of the country an administrative system has been established by national refugee commission consisting each camp with three paid staff camp commander, who heads the camp and supervisors who helps him to keep abreast camps affairs and a secretary who does the routine office service such as typing and filing memos.

It would be illusory to imagine that the administrative structure that has been superimposed on the refugees for the past six years has in such a brief time replaced the system that they have evolved over centuries. Thus the traditional roles and functions continue to exist, although some are in semantically disguised from as a result of the superimposed formal
administrative structure. Former village chiefs for example have become section leaders, role to which they are selected by the elders who have become the peace and religious committees.

In the refugee camps there are both formal and informal decision making processes, the one represented by the governmental administrative structure and the other by traditional authority structure of elders, Sheikh and chiefs. The same could be said of the local population who are formally governed by the local government structure but who also maintain the same indigenous authority figures as refugees. In the refugees camps if any problem arises among the refugees such as food shortages, section leaders are the first group who seek solution to the problem. If the shortage is due to the distribution process the section leader complains to the people concerned on the behalf of the refugees. Then he asks refugees to contribute some food for the family which was run out of food. After solving the problem internally, the section leader submits to the formal authority structure for taking active measures in order the action should not be repeated again.

Both refugees and local people have their parallel District level leaders, the District Commissioner, and District Refugee Commission who in turn supported by series of others. In both structure however, these officials must consult with the representatives and leaders of the people for whom they are the chief administrator, these people are traditional authority figures. Some of these have formal roles in the administrative bodies, the Jalalaqsi local district authority and refugee section leaders
must be involved in any decision taken by the government their advice must be respected. Because they are fountains of community wisdom and authority, it is through them the community is reached and their cooperation assured.

Hence the formal and informal, the modern and traditional structures function as two intertwined aspect of the same system.

The District refugee commission are the ultimate source of administrative authority and legitimacy but their basis of support is the people as represented by their traditional authority figures, hence decision and actions on the level of the official system may be presumed to have already received the counsel and approval of what become informal system.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 CONCLUSION

Jalalaqsi district has the greatest agricultural potential of the three districts in Hiran Region, hence is the most probable site in the region for agricultural refugee resettlement prospect. In 1978, the Trieweiler team surveyed fourteen settlements in Hiran Region for potential refugee agricultural settlement, eleven of which were found unsuitable and three marginally suitable. The Sir M. Macdonald team that did the major survey in Jalalaqsi essentially found the proposed agricultural resettlement project suitable for irrigation but not recommended for rainfed farming.

There is unanimity on the parts of the Somali government and local people and officials, refugees and their officials in Somalia on the idea that the best solution to the refugee problem is voluntary repatriation. Given, however, the fact that the voluntary repatriation is not possible currently, there is concurrence on the part of the government that the refugees must be allowed to be productive while in Somalia, and that rather than continuing to be a burden to the nation and international donors, they must contribute to the development of the country as well as to their own maintenance. Furthermore, even where large scale voluntary repatriation is to become possible soon, some people would undoubtedly opt to stay if they considered their options to be better in Somalia than in Ethiopia. The local people in Jalalaqsi are understandably less than enthusiastic about the possibility that they may be deprived of some of their already limited resources in favour of refugees.
It is thus clear that the idea of creating an irrigated agricultural project in Jalalaqsi on which to locate some of the refugees has definite merits, not only to take care of themselves but also to contribute to Somali domestic food production and to help the country toward the achievement of its goals of food self-sufficiency. It should clearly noted, however, that a 1000 hectare to be irrigated and settled by refugees, is a drop in the ocean given the number of refugees in Jallaqsi camps.

This is because the Scheme can only accommodate about 5000 people productively at the rate of one five family per hectare. This unavoidable conclusion supports the idea that any technically feasible project for the refugees, particularly if it reduces dependence in the form of food handouts and indeed helps the local people and contributes to the national development, should be undertaken, but should not be expected to produce extra ordinary results.

5.1.1 **SOCIO-CULTURAL CONSIDERATION**

In spite of the fact that the local and refugee population share ethnic origins, religion, agricultural herding and commercial habits as well as land tenure patterns, styles of community organization, decision making, and authority structure, they nevertheless regard themselves as two distinct societies. The refugees are seen as foreigners by local people and see themselves as distinct social enclave, an island in the sea of local people. The local people and refugees have developed economic relationship and there is a constant economic interaction
between the two population. It is the common socio-cultural system and common sense of the land rights and use that they share with the local people that makes the refugees aware of their status and themselves as foreigners who are privileged and being settled someone else land. They share the understanding that the land rights are governed by kinship and that specific kinship groups have traditional rights to specific tracts of agricultural and/or grazing land. Any use of it by outsiders is based on specific arrangements between the two groups. The refugees thus recognises that they cannot be assertive and they must therefore wait for what is offered to them. In spite of their fundamental commonalities and parallel structure with the local people. They are further distinguished from them by unusual nature of their current status and imposed artificial life style.

The local people see the refugees as essentially privileged foreigners who have been settled on their land by both the government and international agencies and provide for them better water supply and health services and education for their children than they themselves have.

Thus, the fundamental cultural commonalities between the two populations are not clear, and are seen as two distinct societies. This is because of the current economic system development by refugees which made them diverge from local people. The two groups should be treated as separate communities with paretled and compatible structures and conveniently cannot be integrated immediately.
5.1.2 ECONOMIC CONSIDERATION

It is clear that Jalalaqsi needs the refugees. The town grew to accommodate them and its economy is based on the presence of the refugees. They have become an essential part of the economic lives of the local people. The local people have also benefited from the hygienic water supply, and health care system provided for refugees. The refugee presence in Jalalaqsi serves the interests of all the segments of the population, and were the refugees, to leave or be moved from Jalalaqsi, the town would die, returning to its insignificant status during pre-refugee period. So the settlement of refugees in Jalalaqsi made the town to grow, and in turn their departure would break it, which apparently is not in the public interest. In other words, refugee constitute the bulk of Jalalaqsi market. Because of the proximity to the refugee market, local people save both money and time, they no longer travel for a distant place in search of market for their commodities.

The fundamental problem, however, is that the existing economic system of refugee depends on the donation from International Community. It is doubtful the perpetuation of this artificial economic system. The refugees are an asset to the local people as long as they have valuable resources, the rations they receive contribute to commodities sold at local market with out the resources, then presence would offer no benefit to the local people.
The reality is that because this artificial economic base will not exist or continue, a new one must be developed to replace it, and the only one available is the same resource base sustains the local people. Local people would not allow the refugees to share with their already scarce resource. If refugees are not contributing something to the local economy. The local people are willing to contribute their resources, land, work force, provided that they should also benefit from refugee resettlement project. i.e. local people are also farmers need their farms to be improved, whether by providing seeds, extension services or developing their agricultural techniques.
5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Although one purpose and very obvious benefit of a resettlement scheme would be the harmonious integration of the refugees into the local population of Jalalaqsi. It is crucial to acknowledge that the groups to be integrated, inspite of their socio-economic commonalities would need time to live well in close proximity to each other. Because local people are afraid of being deprived their already scarce resources without benefiting the refugee resettlement project. Although the resettlement would involve an extensive degree of change in so many aspects of life when arranging refugees in respect of resettlement, the existing social structure should be respected and be consulted with the existing authority structure, i.e. section leaders, chief, elders, shiekh etc. Time should also be allowed for the natural, gradual process of social integration to take place. In the mean time the two groups can be situated seperately, in the northern and southern areas of settlement. Their farming plots can be located and grouped accordingly, allowing for closest possible access to them.

Specific allocation of land for farming and residences must be carefully planned by Committee of Implementers and representatives and should involve the various categories of refugees and local people. it is also necessary that land use rights would have to be negotiated with the local people using the land. Anyone of the local people who loses land should be given comparable compensation. It is obvious that not all the Jalalaqsi population can involve the irrigated resettlement
project but the population should benefit in terms of sharing with refugees health facilities, hygienic water as well as improving their infrastructures. It is also crucial that the physical uses of space by population, which is a part of the generally accepted sense of socio-geographic reality and should not be disrupted inappropriately. It is very clear that many animals graze and browse in the bush, near the area of 1000 ha. identified for resettlement. Disrupting the habits of animal herders for the sake of agricultural use, for example by blocking their watering paths with a canal or farm would lead to conflict between farmers and herders. Therefore careful planning for the interaction between farmers and herders would be inevitable in the resettlement project. The following steps should be considered. All the existing Hilos (water spots for animals and people) should be surveyed as well as different directions that animals come in respect of main routes leading to the Hilos. After recognizing the main Hilos and animals routes, the pump station should be away at least 2 km - from the Hilos in order to avoid damages from animals when watering. The canals should be protected by providing adequate crossing points for the animals in respect with the animal routes. In doing this, the conflicts that might arise between farmers and herders would be avoided.

5.2.1 LAND TENURE POLICY

Because of the requirements of the cultivated irrigation system all land must be used on a cooperative basis in which a committee will regulate pump use and maintenance, as well as
being responsible for the procurement of needed materials. The cooperative structure should also facilitate marketing, the acquisition or furnishing of credit to farmers, and the disseminating of the extension services that should certainly be provided for the new settlement. The Sariro refugee cooperative may serve as a model of such agricultural organization. The Committees selected to manage the coopeartive should be composed of representatives of the farms, who might be divided into several groups according to plot proximity, and each such group could elect a representative to a central committee.

The current land law No. 73 states that the Ministry of Agriculture in responsible for issuing lease to cooperatives, state farms, private agencies, local governments and individual may request from the government a 50 year inheritable lease on any piece of land of up to 30 hectares of irrigated land or 60 hectares of rainfed land. But leases for cooperative are not limited in time and size as individuals.

Because of the low degree of restrictions of government laws on coopeartive farming as mentioned, the overall registration of the land should be done in the same way as the cooperatives. There should be a provision that land must be used on a continuous basis by the registered owner. A system of replacement would have to be devised for cases in which the initial land holders to prove to be somehow undesirable. In order to assure that families retain personal interest in and commitment to their farms, a careful selection among refugees should be made. Individuals and households selected to become farmers should be those who have interest, skills and experience in agricultural activities.
5.2.2 NO RAINFED AGRICULTURE

Since the main economic activity of the settlement will be agriculture and, given the existing climate conditions, the only viable option for agricultural production is irrigated farming. It is not recommended that any rainfed farming be undertaken as a part of the agricultural project. In Jalalaqsi the annual rainfall is less than 400 mm. Although the Jalalaqsi population widely cultivates on raifed basis, the yields are still very low and in 1982 there was a total failure of crops in one season. In Jalalaqsi for example, the reports of the Ministry of Agriculture (1985) indicated that the Jalalaqsi rainfed farms had failed to produce satisfactory crops due to the scarcity of the rainfall for the past three years.

The essence of refugee resettlement project is that the refugee in Jalalaqsi to become self sufficient and economically active even if it is cut food aid from donor countries. Refugee economic system cannot be dependent on rainfed agriculture, although local people practice a wide range of rainfed agriculture. They do not rely totally themselves on rainfed agriculture, because they also keep some cattle which produce milk to sell and then buy for their basic needs.

Besides that, even if the crops fail they use stalks from the maize as fodder for their animals, which in turn fulfills their basic needs.

So rainfed agriculture can be recommended for refugee only if the refugees keep animals as local people, then they would have relied on both the farms and animals.
5.2.3 APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY

There are many refugee projects that have failed because of the inappropriateness of the technology in the project. A good example, is that of Refugees Water Development Agency installed an equipment at refugees camps. The equipment works on solar system and intended to supply water for the refugee camps. The system failed after working few months. And because of the an availability of its spare parts in the country whenever the system fails, it takes about two months to put it again in order. Due to its frequent failure it becomes difficult to constantly maintain Refugee Water Supply System. Later on, it has been recognized the inconveniences of the technology and installed a simple windmill system that can be repaired locally.

Somalia is one of the developing countries in Africa, which did not develop, economically and technologically and 80% of its agriculture is on a subsistence basis. So the irrigation system of refugee agricultural project should not be used an advanced equipment such as pumps, machines etc, which their parts are not available in the country.

On the other hand, since most of the farms in the country are cultivated by either ox ploughing or labor force. If refugees are given modern equipment for agriculture, such as tractors, machines, pumps, it would hinder the development of agriculture for refugees because it is obvious that the refugees do not know how to operate with these equipments, and also equipments need
constant maintenance and fuel. These needs cannot be constantly provided to the refugees so it is important to train them on intermediate and appropriate technology, such as digging canles, planting seeds and transporting their crops by using animals force as well as human force.

If there must be some modern equipment, refugee should be trained on how to operate and use them for cultivation. Equipments should be imported from the country that commonly provide agricultural equipment to the Ministry of Agriculture in order to make easy the availability of the spare parts.

5.2.4 SETTLEMENT DEVELOPMENT

In accordance with lesson learned from the other settlement experiences in Somalia, emphasis should be placed on firmly establishing the productive base of settlement, i.e.: the viability of agricultural production, prior to installing social services such as health centre and a school.

Currently some of the local people get their farms by pick up truck which is used as the public transport and/or stay in small huts on or near their farms. They get their drinking water from town by donkey cart or from the river brought on the back of a donkey or a woman, practices that could be continued until the portable water supply is installed. Certainly the refugees could begin their agricultural enterprises under the same conditions.

The refugee farmers will have to structure themselves into committees to organize the cooperative activities of the farm. Although they will probably wish to have separate committees for the local people.
The people should be organized initially into committees with specific activities related to the initial structuring and functioning of the community activities. The committees should probably be similar to the initial committees formed in the refugee camps. i.e., women's committee, religious committee etc. It can also be expected that they will evolve naturally like those in the camps, existing to the extent that they have real activities and re-orientation as realities change. Parallel committees should be created for each group in the interest of both current harmony and future potential integration. These parallel committees of community leaders should meet with each other regularly to discuss common interests and any problems that arise between the two groups. Because they will be sharing settlement, there will be community activities that should be organized in common. These activities such as self help programmes, would lead by community elders.

Once the farmers have built the irrigation system and began farming, it could not be expect that they would also have free time to work on constructing buildings other than their homes. So laborers could be hired from refugee and local population.

5.2.5 THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS AND NON PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS (PVO'S) IN SETTLEMENT

A Steering Committee has been set up in Somalia to be responsible for issues having to do with refugee resettlement. Composed of representatives from the National Refugee Commissions,
Ministry of National Planning, The UN High Commission on Refugees and UN development program. The Committee is responsible for delineating policy, establishing areas of priorities for project identification and for approving projects submitted concerning Settlements. Steering Committee would presumably have ultimate authority for deciding upon whether or not the proposed Jalalaqsi irrigated agricultural refugee resettlement will be implemented and would probably make determinations as its overall configuration.

It would be reasonable to expect that the government agencies currently responsible for the institutional infrastructure of the refugee camps would initially continue to perform the same functions in resettlement project. That is, the water supply would be taken care of by the Refugee Water Supply Division (RWSD); health care would be the responsibility of the Refugee Health Unit (RHU); agriculture would be under the Refugee Agricultural Unit (RAU); construction of buildings, community development work and the promotion of income-generating activities would be the task of the Community Development Unit (CDU); women's program would also be responsible of the Family Life Program (FLP); and the Institute of Inservice Teacher Training (IITT) would be in charge of primary education.

Because the resettlement project would involve local people also, it would be logical to expect the Somali government ministries involved with the corresponding institutions, e.g., The Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, and Ministry of Agriculture. In order to work in conjunction with the refugee agencies in performing the services they now perform for the
general population. At the level of local population, The Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development would perhaps be the logical coordinating and decision making body. All of these would work with the PVO implements the project.

Since once it becomes institutionalized the settlement will cease to be a refugee affair and the refugees will eventually have to lose their refugee status and become citizens. There should be a progressive transfer of responsibilities from the refugee agencies to the national Institutions responsible for the development of the Somali people.

The most important group of implementers will obviously be the settlers themselves, refugee and local people. They must be involved from the very beginning in the decision making and planning process. They must be made clearly aware of the project objectives and their role in attaining them. They should also be involved in evaluating what has been accomplished and in redesigning any element deemed necessary. An executive Committee composed of refugees and local leaders and elders, as the respected authority figures of the people, have an important role in all decision-making concerning the new community.
These community activities such as self help programmes, would lead by community elders.

Once the farmers have built the irrigation system and began farming. It could not be expected that they would also have free time to work on constructing buildings other than their homes. So laborers could be hired from refugee and local population.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADC</td>
<td>Agricultural Development Corporation</td>
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<td>CDU</td>
<td>Community Development Unit</td>
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<td>DAC</td>
<td>District Agricultural Coordinator</td>
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<td>FLP</td>
<td>Family Life Program</td>
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<td>IITT</td>
<td>Institute of Inservice Teacher Training</td>
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<td>NRC</td>
<td>National Refugee Commission</td>
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<td>RHW</td>
<td>Refugee Health Unit</td>
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<td>RWSD</td>
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<td>RAU</td>
<td>Refugee Agricultural Unit</td>
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<td>SDR</td>
<td>Somali Democratic Republic</td>
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<td>United Nations High Commission for Refugees</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency of International Development</td>
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<td>WFP</td>
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