

# OKTOOBER 24

## INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM REPORT SOMALIA 2025

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## Acknowledgments

OKTOBER 24 Media, in collaboration with Somalia Journalists Without Borders, is pleased to issue this investigative journalism report on Somalia. This 31 pages report covers the challenges, progress, and corruption that unfolded across the country in the year 2025.

We sincerely thank all stakeholders who contributed to the drafting of this report. Your insights, expertise, and feedback were invaluable in shaping the content and ensuring its accuracy and relevance.

We also extend our appreciation to the public and private sources, both online and offline, whose information we referenced in this report. Your contributions have helped provide a more comprehensive understanding of the situation on the ground.

This is the second issue (Volume 02, 2025) in our ongoing effort to document and analyze Somalia's social, political, and economic developments. Through investigative journalism, we aim to highlight challenges, track progress, and provide solutions to issues such as human rights violations and corruption.

We recognize the dedication of journalists who stand on the frontlines, documenting realities and amplifying voices for change. Your work strengthens transparency, accountability, and the pursuit of justice across Somalia.

## Executive Summary

Somalia in 2025 stands at a critical juncture marked by fragile political progress, persistent insecurity, and deep-rooted governance challenges. While efforts toward state-building, security sector reform, and democratic transition continue, these advances remain uneven and vulnerable to setbacks. Federal state tensions, weak institutional capacity, and limited public trust continue to undermine effective governance and national cohesion. The gap between political commitments and the lived realities of ordinary citizens remains wide, particularly for marginalized and vulnerable communities.

The security situation remains one of the most significant obstacles to stability and development. Armed conflict, terrorist threats, clan disputes, and weak law enforcement continue to disrupt daily life and restrict humanitarian access. Although recruitment and restructuring within the security forces have increased, oversight of defense spending, coordination among forces, and protection of civilians remain inadequate. Security operations have at times resulted in civilian harm, displacement, and loss of livelihoods, highlighting the need for stronger accountability and adherence to human rights standards.

Human rights violations persist across Somalia, with minorities, women, journalists, human rights defenders, internally displaced persons, and persons with disabilities among the most affected. Gender-based violence, forced evictions, arbitrary arrests, and restrictions on freedom of expression remain widespread, while accountability mechanisms are weak or ineffective. Survivors often lack access to justice, reinforcing a culture of impunity that erodes public confidence in state institutions and undermines the rule of law.

Humanitarian assistance continues to play a vital role in addressing widespread displacement, food insecurity, and climate-related crises. However, the effectiveness of aid is undermined by mismanagement, diversion of resources, politicization, and weak accountability to affected communities. Aid distribution is often influenced by political and clan dynamics rather than objective needs assessments, leaving some vulnerable populations underserved. Limited local ownership and sustainability further reduce the long-term impact of development and humanitarian interventions.

Economic governance and public finance management remain major areas of concern despite the approval of a record national budget for 2025. Somalia's economy continues to rely heavily on donor funding, while domestic revenue systems remain inequitable and vulnerable to corruption. Small businesses, informal traders, women entrepreneurs, and low-income populations bear a disproportionate tax burden, while politically connected entities often avoid taxation. Weak regulation of investments and public finance leakages limit inclusive growth and effective service delivery.

Land management, natural resource allocation, and forced evictions represent some of the most serious human rights and governance challenges documented in this report. Thousands of families were forcibly

evicted from government and private land in 2025 without due process, consultation, or compensation. Resource allocation processes in land, fisheries, oil, gas, and minerals remain opaque, enabling elite capture, environmental degradation, and community displacement. These practices deepen inequality and fuel social tensions and conflict.

Electoral processes in 2025 marked an important transition toward direct elections, yet serious credibility and participation challenges persisted. Low voter turnout, limited transparency, vote-buying, intimidation, and political interference weakened public confidence in the democratic process. Women, youth, and persons with disabilities remained underrepresented despite legal commitments, reflecting structural barriers, weak enforcement of quotas, and inadequate accessibility measures. Leadership accountability following elections remains limited, further reinforcing public skepticism.

Youth, women, and persons with disabilities continue to face systemic exclusion from economic opportunities, political participation, and public services. High youth unemployment drives irregular migration and insecurity, while women entrepreneurs face excessive taxation, harassment, and limited access to markets and finance. Persons with disabilities remain among the most marginalized, with inaccessible infrastructure and limited institutional support. Addressing these interconnected challenges requires inclusive, transparent, and rights-based reforms supported by strong investigative journalism, accountable governance, and meaningful citizen participation.

In 2025, Somalia's overall expenditures included approximately \$1.3 billion allocated to government operations, covering civil service salaries, security forces, infrastructure, and public services. In addition, humanitarian aid funding totaled around \$1.9 billion, provided by international donors, UN agencies, and NGOs, supporting emergency response programs in food security, health, water and sanitation, protection, and shelter for vulnerable populations affected by drought, conflict, and displacement. This highlights that humanitarian assistance continues to exceed domestic government spending, reflecting the ongoing challenges facing Somalia.

In 2026, Somalia faces a dual state of alert. Politically, there is growing concern over tensions ahead of national elections, which historically trigger conflict and instability at the end of government mandates. Humanitarian risks are also rising, as most of the 18 regions outside Mogadishu experience severe rainfall shortages, leading to drought, crop and livestock losses, reduced water sources, and increasing food insecurity. Immediate measures are needed to protect vulnerable populations and prevent further disaster.

## BACKGROUND

Somalia remains at a critical crossroads in its political, social, and economic recovery after decades of conflict, institutional collapse, and humanitarian crises. In recent years, the country has made measurable progress in state-building, constitutional development, security sector reforms, and international engagement. However, these gains are fragile and uneven, with deep structural challenges continuing to undermine governance, accountability, and public trust in institutions. The gap between policy commitments and lived realities for ordinary citizens remains wide.

The political landscape is characterized by ongoing electoral transitions, federal–state tensions, and contested leadership processes. While electoral frameworks and democratic aspirations exist, elections continue to face credibility challenges, including allegations of corruption, exclusion, intimidation, and limited public participation. Leadership accountability mechanisms remain weak, and decision-making is often centralized among political elites, leaving women, youth, persons with disabilities, and marginalized communities largely excluded from governance processes.

Socially and economically, Somalia faces persistent inequality, widespread poverty, and high unemployment, particularly among youth and women. Economic growth driven by remittances, private investment, and emerging natural resource prospects has not translated into inclusive development. Weak regulation, inequitable taxation systems, and limited public service delivery have exacerbated social tensions and undermined trust between citizens and the state. Vulnerable groups, including internally displaced persons (IDPs), continue to bear the heaviest burden of economic hardship and social exclusion.

Humanitarian needs remain severe, with millions of people affected by displacement, food insecurity, climate shocks, and conflict. Although large-scale humanitarian assistance and development aid flow into Somalia, concerns persist regarding transparency, effectiveness, politicization, and accountability. Forced evictions from government and privately claimed land have displaced thousands of families, often without due process, consultation, or compensation, raising serious concerns over housing, land, and property rights violations.

In this complex environment, investigative journalism plays a vital role in uncovering hidden abuses, amplifying marginalized voices, and holding power holders accountable. Journalists in Somalia operate under significant risks, including threats, harassment, censorship, and violence. Despite these challenges, investigative reporting remains a crucial tool for exposing corruption, human rights violations, mismanagement of public resources, and failures in justice, security, and development systems. The Somalia Investigative Journalism Report (SIJR) 2025 is grounded in this context, aiming to document evidence-based findings that contribute to transparency, reform, and inclusive, rights-based governance.

### **Political Alert – Election-Related Tensions**

In 2026, there is increasing concern over political tensions ahead of national elections, which occur every four years at the end of the government’s mandate. Historically, election periods in Somalia have been accompanied by heightened conflict and instability. Authorities, civil society, and international partners are monitoring potential disruptions, particularly in urban centers, as well as risks to civilians and public institutions. Early measures are being recommended to mitigate violence, protect communities, and ensure the electoral process is conducted peacefully and transparently.

### **Humanitarian Alert – Drought and Food Insecurity**

Across the 18 regions of Somalia outside Mogadishu, there is widespread concern over a severe shortage of rainfall, raising the risk of drought and associated disasters. Reports indicate increasing livestock and crop losses, reduced water availability, and heightened vulnerability for rural populations. Communities are already experiencing food insecurity, water scarcity, and economic hardship, with significant threats to livelihoods and property. Immediate humanitarian support and disaster preparedness measures are needed to prevent further loss of life and protect vulnerable populations.

### **Objectives**

- To investigate and document governance, policy, and institutional gaps affecting Somalia’s development and stability.
- To expose human rights violations and social injustices affecting vulnerable groups, including women, youth, persons with disabilities, and displaced communities.
- To assess the effectiveness, transparency, and accountability of humanitarian aid and development interventions.
- To examine economic policies, investment practices, taxation systems, and their impact on citizens’ livelihoods.
- To analyze electoral processes, leadership accountability, and public participation in governance.
- To strengthen investigative journalism as a tool for justice, reform, and public awareness in Somalia.

## SOMALIA CONTEXTUAL

### POLICY AND GOVERNANCE

#### **Lack of Transparency in Policy Formulation and Implementation**

Policy formulation and implementation in Somalia continue to suffer from limited transparency and inconsistent information sharing. Key national and sectoral policies are often developed behind closed doors, with minimal public disclosure of draft documents, decision-making processes, or implementation plans. Budget allocations, regulatory frameworks, and strategic agreements—particularly in areas such as natural resources, security, and public finance—are frequently approved without clear communication to citizens. This lack of openness weakens public trust, creates opportunities for corruption, and limits the ability of independent media and civil society to monitor government actions effectively.

#### **Weak Oversight Mechanisms and Accountability Failures**

Oversight institutions tasked with ensuring accountability, including parliamentary committees, audit bodies, and anti-corruption mechanisms, remain under-resourced and politically constrained. Investigations into misuse of public funds, abuse of power, and violations of law are often delayed, incomplete, or inconclusive. In many cases, findings are not publicly released, and responsible officials face little or no consequence. This culture of impunity undermines the rule of law and reinforces perceptions that political elites operate beyond scrutiny, further eroding institutional credibility.

#### **Limited Public Consultation and Exclusion of Civil Society Voices**

Public consultation in policy development remains limited, with civil society organizations, community leaders, and marginalized groups rarely meaningfully engaged. Policies affecting land, taxation, elections, humanitarian aid, and social services are frequently introduced without adequate dialogue with those most impacted. Women, youth, persons with disabilities, and internally displaced populations are particularly excluded from decision-making spaces. This exclusion not only weakens policy relevance and effectiveness but also restricts democratic participation and reduces opportunities for inclusive, rights-based governance.

### SOCIAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

#### **Gender-Based Violence and Discrimination Against Women**

Gender-based violence (GBV) remains widespread in Somalia, driven by conflict, displacement, harmful social norms, and weak legal protection mechanisms. Women and girls face domestic violence, sexual exploitation, early and forced marriage, and limited access to justice. Survivors often encounter stigma, fear of retaliation, and inadequate support services, while perpetrators frequently enjoy impunity. Discriminatory practices also restrict women's participation in political, economic, and social life, reinforcing gender inequality and undermining efforts toward inclusive development and human rights protection.

### **Marginalization of Youth in Decision-Making Processes**

Despite constituting a majority of Somalia's population, young people remain largely excluded from formal decision-making processes at local, regional, and national levels. Youth participation in governance is often symbolic rather than meaningful, with limited representation in political leadership, policy formulation, and public institutions. High unemployment, lack of skills development opportunities, and restricted civic space further marginalize youth, increasing frustration and vulnerability to exploitation, migration, and insecurity. This exclusion weakens social cohesion and limits the country's long-term development potential.

### **Systemic Exclusion of Persons with Disabilities from Public Services**

Persons with disabilities in Somalia continue to face systemic barriers to accessing public services, including education, healthcare, justice, and employment. Public infrastructure remains largely inaccessible, assistive devices are scarce, and disability-inclusive policies are poorly implemented or unfunded. Limited data collection and weak institutional capacity further obscure the scale of exclusion. As a result, persons with disabilities are disproportionately affected by poverty, social isolation, and humanitarian crises, despite national and international commitments to disability rights and inclusion.

### **Violations Against Children, Including Access to Education and Protection**

Children in Somalia face persistent violations of their fundamental rights, particularly in access to education, protection, and basic services. Prolonged conflict, displacement, poverty, and insecurity have disrupted schooling for millions of children, while attacks on educational facilities and shortages of qualified teachers continue. Child labor, recruitment by armed groups, early marriage, and neglect remain serious concerns. Weak child protection systems and limited enforcement of existing laws leave children vulnerable, threatening their safety, development, and future prospects.

## **DEVELOPMENT AND HUMANITARIAN AID**

### **Mismanagement and Diversion of Humanitarian Assistance**

Humanitarian assistance in Somalia continues to face serious challenges related to mismanagement and diversion of aid resources. Investigative findings indicate that portions of food aid, cash assistance, and relief supplies are frequently redirected away from intended beneficiaries through corruption, weak monitoring systems, and interference by powerful actors. In some cases, aid is reportedly taxed, manipulated, or controlled at checkpoints and distribution points, reducing its effectiveness and exacerbating vulnerability among affected populations. These practices undermine donor confidence and compromise the lifesaving purpose of humanitarian interventions.

### **International Humanitarian and Development Assistance to Somalia**

International humanitarian and development assistance has been critical in supporting millions of people in Somalia over the past decades, particularly since the collapse of the former government in 1991. Each year, international donors and UN agencies pledge and provide billions of dollars in aid to address humanitarian needs and support recovery and development efforts. However, in 2025, significant concerns emerged regarding the diversion of funds away from intended beneficiaries. In some cases, donors were compelled to partner with for-profit private companies and government

institutions, which undermined established international humanitarian principles that prioritize partnerships with non-profit organizations and local NGOs. Reports also indicate that portions of aid were collected in cash and invested in businesses abroad by actors linked to certain institutions and private companies, contributing to reduced availability of aid and cash circulation within the country.

### **Aid Politicization and Unequal Distribution**

Humanitarian and development aid in Somalia is often politicized, with assistance influenced by political affiliations, clan dynamics, and local power structures rather than objective needs assessments. This results in unequal distribution of aid, where some communities receive disproportionate support while others remain underserved or excluded. Politicization not only deepens social divisions but also erodes the principles of neutrality, impartiality, and independence that guide humanitarian action, increasing tensions and mistrust among communities.

### **Lack of Accountability to Affected Communities**

Accountability mechanisms to affected communities remain weak or poorly enforced. Beneficiaries frequently lack access to information about aid entitlements, selection criteria, and complaint or feedback systems. When grievances are raised, responses are often delayed, ineffective, or absent altogether. This absence of downward accountability limits community participation, reduces transparency, and leaves affected populations without meaningful recourse when aid delivery fails or rights are violated.

### **Limited Sustainability and Local Ownership of Development Projects**

Many development projects in Somalia are designed and implemented with limited local ownership, resulting in short-term outcomes and low sustainability. Projects often rely heavily on external funding and expertise, with insufficient investment in local institutions, skills transfer, and community-led planning. As a result, once funding ends, services and infrastructure frequently deteriorate or collapse. This approach weakens long-term development impact and fails to empower Somali communities to drive their own recovery and resilience.

## **JUSTICE, RULE OF LAW, AND JOURNALISM**

### **Impunity for Human Rights Abuses and Corruption**

Impunity for human rights abuses and corruption remains a pervasive challenge in Somalia. Serious violations, including unlawful killings, arbitrary detention, abuse of power, and large-scale corruption, are rarely investigated or prosecuted effectively. Perpetrators—particularly those linked to political, security, or economic power structures—often evade accountability. This entrenched culture of impunity undermines public confidence in state institutions and weakens the enforcement of national laws and international human rights obligations.

### **Weak Judicial Independence and Access to Justice**

The judicial system in Somalia continues to face structural and political constraints that limit its independence and effectiveness. Courts are under-resourced, judicial appointments are frequently politicized, and legal processes are vulnerable to interference and corruption. Access to justice remains

particularly limited for women, internally displaced persons, persons with disabilities, and rural communities due to cost barriers, insecurity, and lack of legal awareness. As a result, many disputes are resolved through informal or customary mechanisms that may not align with constitutional and human rights standards.

### **Harassment, Intimidation, and Arrests of Journalists**

Journalists in Somalia operate in a highly restrictive and dangerous environment. Investigative reporters face harassment, threats, arbitrary arrests, and physical attacks for covering sensitive issues such as corruption, security operations, elections, and human rights violations. Law enforcement agencies and other powerful actors frequently use vague laws, intimidation, and detention to silence critical reporting. These practices have created a climate of fear that discourages investigative journalism and limits the public's right to information.

### **Restrictions on Media Freedom and Self-Censorship**

Legal and regulatory restrictions on media freedom, combined with security risks and economic pressures, have led to widespread self-censorship among journalists and media outlets. Broad and ambiguously defined media laws are often used to criminalize reporting deemed critical of authorities. Fear of retaliation, closure of media houses, and loss of livelihoods further constrain independent journalism. As a result, critical public interest issues remain underreported, weakening democratic accountability and informed civic engagement.

## **ECONOMIC INVESTMENT AND TAXATION**

### **Unregulated Foreign and Domestic Investments**

Despite receiving hundreds of millions of dollars in international aid and development financing, Somalia's investment environment remains largely unregulated and poorly monitored. Foreign and domestic investments in sectors such as real estate, telecommunications, energy, ports, and extractive industries often proceed without clear legal frameworks, transparency, or public oversight. Agreements are frequently negotiated behind closed doors, raising concerns about elite capture, land dispossession, and long-term national interest. The absence of strong regulatory institutions undermines fair competition, labor protections, and environmental safeguards.

### **Inequitable Taxation Systems Affecting Small Businesses and the Poor**

Somalia's taxation system places a disproportionate burden on small businesses, informal traders, and low-income populations, while powerful corporations and politically connected entities often enjoy exemptions or avoid taxation altogether. Local and federal tax collection practices are frequently inconsistent, overlapping, and arbitrary, creating confusion and financial strain for citizens. Despite significant donor support aimed at strengthening public finance systems, tax policies have not translated into equitable revenue generation or improved public service delivery, deepening public mistrust.

### **Corruption in Revenue Collection and Public Finance Management**

Corruption remains a major obstacle in revenue collection and public finance management, limiting the

effective use of both domestic revenue and international aid. Investigations point to leakages, informal payments, diversion of funds, and weak financial controls within government institutions. Auditing and reporting mechanisms are often delayed or inaccessible to the public, reducing transparency and accountability. As a result, substantial financial resources fail to reach critical sectors such as health, education, infrastructure, and social protection.

### **Limited Economic Inclusion for Youth, Women, and Persons with Disabilities (PWDs)**

Economic growth in Somalia has not been inclusive, leaving youth, women, and persons with disabilities largely excluded from investment opportunities, employment, and financial services. Despite donor-funded programs targeting livelihoods and entrepreneurship, structural barriers such as limited access to capital, skills training, accessible infrastructure, and discriminatory practices persist. This exclusion exacerbates poverty, increases dependency on humanitarian aid, and undermines the potential of large segments of the population to contribute to sustainable economic development.

## **NATURAL RESOURCE ALLOCATION**

### **Lack of Transparency in Land, Oil, Gas, Fisheries, and Mineral Allocations**

Despite the economic potential of Somalia's natural resources—including fisheries, land, and newly signed oil and gas contracts expected to enter exploration phases in the coming years—allocation processes remain largely opaque. Contracts and licensing agreements are often negotiated without public disclosure, parliamentary scrutiny, or access to key terms. This lack of transparency fuels public concern over disproportionate resource sharing, weak national benefit, and long-term economic risks. The absence of clear regulatory frameworks and independent oversight further undermines public confidence in resource governance.

### **Community Displacement Without Consultation or Compensation**

Resource-related developments, particularly in land allocation, coastal access, and infrastructure expansion, have led to the displacement of communities without meaningful consultation or adequate compensation. Fishing communities, pastoralists, internally displaced persons, and low-income urban residents are often excluded from decision-making processes that directly affect their livelihoods and land rights. Forced evictions and restricted access to traditional resources raise serious concerns over violations of housing, land, and property rights, as well as international standards on free, prior, and informed consent.

### **Environmental Degradation and Livelihood Loss**

Weak regulation and enforcement have contributed to environmental degradation linked to resource exploitation. Illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing continues to threaten marine ecosystems and coastal livelihoods, while land mismanagement and unregulated extractive activities risk soil degradation and water contamination. Climate vulnerability further compounds these challenges, leaving communities with diminishing resources and limited alternatives. The long-term environmental costs of poorly managed resource extraction are rarely assessed or publicly debated.

## **Elite Capture of National Resources**

Investigative findings point to elite capture as a recurring pattern in natural resource management. Political and business elites, often operating through opaque networks, benefit disproportionately from access to land, fisheries licenses, and extractive contracts. Revenue-sharing mechanisms remain unclear or weakly enforced, limiting benefits to federal member states and local communities. This concentration of wealth and power exacerbates inequality, fuels grievances, and increases the risk of conflict over resources that should serve the national interest.

## **ELECTIONS AND LEADERSHIP**

### **Electoral Irregularities and Lack of Transparency**

Despite the establishment of the National Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (NIEBC), the adoption of a national electoral law, and the shift toward a one-person-one-vote electoral system, significant transparency challenges persisted during the 25 December 2025 local council elections. More than 900,000 citizens were registered, yet only about 500,000 collected voting cards, and approximately 230,000 ultimately participated in voting. The large gap between registration, card collection, and voter turnout raised concerns regarding voter education, administrative effectiveness, and public trust in the process. Limited public access to detailed electoral data, results transmission procedures, and complaint-handling mechanisms further weakened confidence in electoral integrity.

### **Vote-Buying, Intimidation, and Political Interference**

Investigative reporting indicates that vote-buying, intimidation, and political interference continued to affect the electoral environment. Allegations emerged of candidates and political organizations offering financial incentives, favors, or services to influence voter behavior. In some districts, reports of pressure exerted on voters, volunteers, and local officials undermined the principle of free and fair participation. Although nearly 23 political organizations contested across 16 districts and 213 polling stations, uneven enforcement of electoral rules created an unlevel playing field, particularly disadvantaging smaller or less-resourced political actors.

### **Underrepresentation of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities**

While the introduction of direct elections marked a historic shift away from indirect systems used in previous state, federal parliamentary, and presidential elections, representation gaps remain significant. Women, youth, and persons with disabilities were underrepresented among candidates, elected officials, and electoral decision-makers. Structural barriers—including campaign financing constraints, social norms, accessibility challenges, and limited legal enforcement of inclusion commitments—restricted meaningful participation. The absence of accessible polling infrastructure and tailored voter support further limited participation by persons with disabilities.

### **Weak Leadership Accountability Mechanisms**

Leadership accountability following elections remains limited, with weak mechanisms to ensure elected officials respond to citizen priorities and campaign commitments. Oversight institutions, political party accountability structures, and public reporting requirements are insufficiently enforced. Despite the engagement of approximately 4,000 volunteers in the election process, citizen-led monitoring and

feedback systems remain underdeveloped. As a result, electoral participation has not yet translated into stronger democratic accountability or improved public service delivery, reinforcing public skepticism toward political leadership.

## **YOUTH, WOMEN, AND DISABILITY RIGHTS**

### **High Youth Unemployment and Limited Economic Opportunities**

Youth are estimated to constitute approximately 75 percent of Somalia's population under the age of 35, yet they face extremely high levels of unemployment and underemployment. Limited access to quality education, vocational training, and formal employment opportunities has left many young people economically marginalized. As a result, some youth resort to dangerous irregular migration routes, risking death and exploitation, while others are drawn into armed groups or security forces as one of the few available livelihood options. The absence of structured recreational programs, entrepreneurship support, and meaningful political participation further exacerbates youth frustration and weakens social cohesion.

### **Structural Barriers to Women's Political and Economic Participation**

Women account for nearly half of Somalia's population and form the backbone of household and community survival, with a majority of Somali households led or economically supported by women. Women entrepreneurs predominantly operate small and informal businesses, yet they face disproportionately high taxation, harassment, and illegal fees imposed by individuals abusing government authority. Political participation remains limited due to cultural norms, inadequate legal enforcement of gender quotas, limited campaign financing, and insecurity. These structural barriers undermine women's economic resilience and restrict their influence in decision-making processes.

### **Inaccessibility of Public Infrastructure and Services for Persons with Disabilities (PWDs)**

Persons with disabilities are estimated to represent approximately 16 percent of Somalia's population, yet they experience the highest rates of unemployment, poverty, and social exclusion. Public infrastructure, transportation, schools, health facilities, and polling stations remain largely inaccessible. Limited availability of mobility aids such as wheelchairs, crutches, and white canes severely restrict independence and participation. Children and youth with visual and hearing impairments face significant barriers in education due to the absence of inclusive learning materials, trained teachers, and sign language or braille support services.

### **Absence of Inclusive Policies and Data-Driven Planning**

Despite the establishment of a National Disability Agency, operational capacity, funding, and coordination remain limited, leaving an estimated three million persons with disabilities without effective institutional support. Broader policy frameworks across youth, gender, and disability sectors lack reliable data, inclusive planning, and meaningful participation of affected communities. This absence of evidence-based and inclusive policymaking results in fragmented interventions that fail to

address systemic inequalities, perpetuating exclusion from humanitarian aid, development programs, and national progress.

## **EVICTIONS AND GOVERNMENT LAND ISSUES**

### **Forced Evictions of Thousands of People from Government and Private Land**

Somalia continues to experience widespread forced evictions, with government actions on public land displacing nearly 35,000 families in 2025 alone. Internally displaced persons (IDPs), many of whom were already living in fragile conditions due to conflict and drought, lost homes, personal property, and access to essential services. The cumulative effect of repeated evictions has intensified vulnerability, leaving large numbers of families without shelter, security, or livelihood opportunities. Private land evictions further compound the problem, creating an environment of uncertainty and fear for low-income communities.

### **Lack of Legal Safeguards, Due Process, and Compensation**

Evictions often occur without legal safeguards, proper due process, or meaningful consultation with affected communities. Families are frequently removed abruptly, with no formal notice or opportunity to contest decisions. Compensation for lost property or alternative housing arrangements is rarely provided, leaving displaced households entirely dependent on limited humanitarian support. These practices violate both national legislation and international standards for housing, land, and property rights, undermining the rule of law and citizens' trust in government institutions.

### **Disproportionate Impact on IDPs, Women-Headed Households, and Persons with Disabilities**

The social impact of forced evictions is disproportionately felt by the most vulnerable groups, including IDPs, women-headed households, and persons with disabilities. Women often bear the primary responsibility for caring for children and elderly family members, making the loss of housing and income particularly devastating. Persons with disabilities face additional barriers to relocation and access to services, exacerbating exclusion and marginalization. These inequities highlight the need for targeted protection measures and inclusive planning during land management and urban development processes.

### **Violations of Housing, Land, and Property Rights**

Forced evictions in Somalia constitute a significant violation of housing, land, and property rights. Displaced families frequently lose not only their homes but also livelihoods, community networks, and access to education and healthcare. The situation has fueled further displacement, irregular migration, and socio-economic instability. Without reforms to enforce legal safeguards, ensure compensation, and provide inclusive relocation support, the cycle of displacement is likely to continue, exacerbating humanitarian crises and undermining national development goals.

## **SECURITY AND DEFENSE: PROGRESS AND CHALLENGES**

### **Security Sector Reforms Showing Limited but Uneven Progress**

The Somali government has made notable efforts to strengthen its security and defense institutions, particularly in the fight against terrorist armed groups such as Al-Shabaab. Recruitment of police and military personnel has increased significantly, with hundreds of officers promoted to higher ranks, reflecting attempts to professionalize the security sector. However, progress remains uneven, with gaps in training, logistical support, and coordination across federal and regional forces. While improvements are visible in personnel numbers, structural weaknesses continue to limit operational effectiveness and long-term stability.

### **Civilian Harm During Security Operations**

Despite these reforms, security operations continue to have unintended consequences for civilians. Anti-terrorist campaigns and defensive military positions often expose communities to risks, including collateral damage, displacement, and loss of livelihoods. Families and communities have reported casualties and injuries among civilians during operations, highlighting deficiencies in operational planning and adherence to international humanitarian and human rights standards. Complaints from soldiers who suffered severe injuries or loss of limbs indicate systemic gaps in medical support, compensation, and rehabilitation for frontline personnel.

### **Weak Oversight of Defense Spending**

Oversight and transparency in defense spending remain limited. Budget allocations, procurement processes, and resource distribution often lack independent monitoring, leaving room for mismanagement, corruption, and inequitable allocation. These weaknesses undermine both operational efficiency and public trust in the government's ability to provide effective security. Insufficient accountability mechanisms also affect morale among troops and contribute to grievances from soldiers and their families regarding pay, equipment, and post-injury support.

### **Continued Insecurity Affecting Media Freedom, Civic Space, and Development**

Persistent insecurity across large parts of Somalia has broader societal implications. Threats from armed groups, volatile frontlines, and ongoing military operations restrict media reporting, civic engagement, and humanitarian access. Development initiatives are delayed or limited in scope due to security concerns, disproportionately affecting vulnerable populations. While government efforts to maintain defensive positions have reduced some offensive threats, the ongoing insecurity continues to challenge governance, public confidence, and the safe implementation of development and human rights programs.

## FOREIGN DIPLOMACY, IMMIGRATION AND OPPORTUNITIES

### **Somalia Immigration and Citizenship Leadership**

Somalia's immigration and citizenship leadership has undergone notable changes amid long-standing challenges of corruption in passport and visa services. In December 2024, new leadership took office and introduced important reforms, including improving passport processing and administration, connecting Somalia to international migration systems and networks, training staff, and equipping the agency with better tools and systems. Despite this progress, challenges remain, particularly the imposition of extra visa fees and difficulties faced by Somalis abroad in accessing passports and related services. The service passport has become one of the most commonly misused documents for illegal migration, while diplomatic passports are easily issued and reportedly sold on the market, allowing many individuals to use them as tools for irregular migration.

### **Somali Foreign Affairs and Diplomacy**

Somalia's foreign affairs and diplomatic engagement have shown progress through strengthened relations with new countries, improved ties with East African Community (EAC) member states, and increased participation in international organizations and forums. These efforts have enhanced Somalia's regional and global presence. However, concerns persist regarding corruption in the nomination of ambassadors, with legislators and political actors accusing the presidency of appointing close family members and politically connected individuals to key diplomatic positions.

### **International Contracts and Government Engagement**

The Somali government has expanded its engagement with international companies and foreign governments through contracts aimed at improving services and supplying equipment to state institutions. While these agreements reflect increased international cooperation, they have also raised concerns about transparency and accountability. Reports indicate that several contracts were awarded to individuals closely linked to the president, the prime minister, the speaker of parliament, and other senior political figures, undermining public trust in fair procurement processes.

### **Illegal Migration and Return of Somali Migrants**

The government has made efforts to address illegal migration by facilitating the return of hundreds of Somali migrants from Libya and other countries, where many had suffered abuse,

kidnapping, and extortion for ransom. These return initiatives have provided relief to affected families. However, major challenges remain, as unemployment, evictions, and lack of opportunities continue to drive large numbers of youth to flee the country in search of work and safety, contributing to ongoing irregular migration from Somalia.

### **Overseas Scholarships and Emerging Challenges**

Scholarship opportunities for Somali students to study abroad increased in 2025, with most programs managed by the federal government, the Ministry of Education, federal member states, and the Benadir Regional Administration. Each year, hundreds of students are sent to overseas universities, offering important opportunities for education and skills development. However, challenges have arisen as some beneficiaries abandon their studies and instead pursue irregular migration. This trend has raised concerns among donor countries, particularly regarding the high number of visas issued and the disproportionate outcomes compared to the intended educational objectives of these scholarship programs.

## **PROGRESS AND CHANGES 2025**

### **Governance and Democratic Progress**

In 2025, the Federal Government of Somalia achieved a major democratic milestone by conducting direct local council elections in Mogadishu based on one-person, one-vote. This marked the first such election since 1969 and demonstrated progress toward inclusive and representative governance.

### **National Policies and Development Planning**

The government launched the National Transformation Plan (2025–2029), setting clear priorities for economic growth, service delivery, governance reform, and resilience. This plan serves as the main policy framework guiding national development efforts.

### **Long-Term National Vision**

Somalia introduced the Centennial Vision 2060, a long-term strategic roadmap focused on peace, prosperity, state-building, and sustainable development. The vision aligns national goals with regional and global development agendas.

### **Public Finance and Budget Reforms**

The 2025 federal budget was increased and approved, with greater allocation to security, infrastructure, social services, and institutional strengthening. This reflects improved fiscal discipline and confidence from international partners.

### **Digital Governance and National ID**

Progress continued on digital government reforms, including the expansion of the national digital identification system. These efforts aim to improve service delivery, financial inclusion, and trust in public institutions.

### **Legislative and Legal Reforms**

The Council of Ministers approved several key draft laws, including legislation banning Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). Additional reforms focused on justice, financial regulation, taxation, and anti-money-laundering frameworks.

### **Women, Peace, and Social Policy**

The government endorsed policies supporting women's participation in peacebuilding, governance, and economic life. These reforms aim to strengthen gender equality and social inclusion nationwide.

### **International Treaties and Memberships**

Somalia approved and ratified several international treaties in 2025, including agreements related to aviation safety, telecommunications, and maritime cooperation. These actions strengthened Somalia's compliance with international norms.

### **International Financial and Economic Cooperation**

Somalia continued its engagement with the International Monetary Fund under the Extended Credit Facility, securing financial support and reinforcing macroeconomic reform and debt sustainability.

### **Food Security and Humanitarian Partnerships**

The Federal Government, in partnership with the United Nations, launched a joint food systems initiative. The program focuses on resilience, governance of food systems, and reducing vulnerability to climate shocks.

### **Economic and Institutional Development**

The launch of the National Securities Exchange of Somalia marked an important step toward developing capital markets and attracting private investment. Institutional reforms continued to support private-sector growth.

### **Infrastructure and Connectivity**

Planning and early groundwork progressed for major infrastructure projects, including the New Mogadishu International Airport, aimed at improving trade, mobility, and regional connectivity.

### **Security and Regional Cooperation**

Somalia continued the security transition with the African Union Support and Stabilization Mission in Somalia (AUSSOM), working toward greater responsibility by Somali national security forces.

### **Foreign Policy and Sovereignty**

In 2025, Somalia actively defended its sovereignty in international forums amid diplomatic challenges related to Somaliland. The Federal Government reaffirmed its commitment to territorial integrity and international law.

## THEMATIC AREAS OF CONCERN

**Somali Security:** Somalia continues to face major security challenges. Insecurity, armed conflicts, and weak law enforcement affect daily life and hinder development efforts across the country.

**Human Rights Protection:** Human rights violations are widespread, affecting minorities, journalists, human rights defenders, and ordinary citizens. Accountability mechanisms remain weak, and victims often lack access to justice.

**Humanitarian Aid:** Humanitarian assistance faces significant obstacles, including limited access to vulnerable populations, mismanagement, and diversion of aid due to governance weaknesses. This impacts the effectiveness of relief programs.

**Eviction from Government Land:** Forced evictions of residents from government-owned land continue to displace thousands of families, creating social instability and hardship for affected communities.

**Youth Unemployment & Illegal Migration:** High unemployment among Somali youth contributes to frustration and drives irregular migration. Many young people leave the country seeking better opportunities abroad due to lack of local prospects.

**Limited Child Education Recruitment:** Enrollment and access to quality education for children remain insufficient. Many children, particularly in rural areas and conflict zones, face barriers to attending school.

**Women Entrepreneurs:** Women face challenges in starting and growing businesses, including excessive taxation, limited access to public markets, and lack of institutional support for entrepreneurship.

**Disability Rights:** Persons with disabilities experience widespread discrimination and exclusion from both public and private opportunities. Accessibility and inclusion remain major barriers in Somali society.

**Minority Rights:** Minority groups report some of the highest levels of human rights abuses and violations. They often face social marginalization and limited participation in public life.

**Political Organizations:** Political organizations raise concerns about corruption and unfair practices during elections, which undermine transparency and public trust in democratic processes.

**Women in Politics:** Women continue to face barriers to political participation, and the mandated 30% parliamentary quota is frequently unmet, limiting women's representation and influence in decision-making.

**Federal-State Conflicts:** Conflicts between federal and state governments disrupt electoral processes, governance, and implementation of national policies, creating instability across the country.

**Civil Society Organizations (CSOs):** Government prioritization of funding for public institutions reduces resources available for local NGOs, causing financial difficulties and undermining their ability to deliver humanitarian and development programs.

**Human Rights Defenders & Journalists:** Human rights defenders and journalists face high levels of threats, restrictions, and violations in their work. Limited protections undermine freedom of expression and accountability.

## SOMALIA FISCAL BUDGET YEAR 2025

### Introduction

In order to implement its planned programs and activities for the fiscal year commencing on 1 January 2025 and ending on 31 December 2025, the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) has prepared and approved a national budget. The budget is financed through treasury revenues and other lawful government resources, including external assistance.

Somalia's Federal Government (FGS) approved a record **\$1.32 billion budget for 2025**, funded heavily by donors (around 67%) and increased domestic revenue, focusing on administration, economic development, social services, and defense, with major boosts for health, education, and infrastructure, though challenges like transparency and donor reliance persist, alongside ongoing fiscal federalism discussions and some reported diversions of World Bank funds from Federal Member States (FMSs)

The approved budget for the 2025 fiscal year is divided into two main components: Recurrent Expenditure and Capital Expenditure. These allocations are designed to ensure the effective functioning of government institutions while supporting long-term development priorities.

The total budget allocation is detailed as follows: Recurrent Expenditure: USD 628,053,674

This component covers operational and administrative costs, including salaries, goods and services, and routine government functions. Capital Expenditure: USD 731,660,654

This allocation supports development projects, infrastructure investments, and other long-term capital initiatives.

Total Approved Budget The combined allocation for both recurrent and capital expenditures amounts to Total Approved Budget: USD 1,359,714,328. Expenditure and Financing, Total Planned Expenditure: USD 1,331,969,583 Grants and External Support: USD 430,341,430 Grants play a significant role in financing government programs, particularly in development and priority sectors.

### Sectoral and Institutional Budget Allocations (USD)

#### 1. Major Sector Allocations

- Defense and Security Budget: USD 257,147,965
- Economic and Investment Institutions: USD 232,106,530
- Social Service Delivery Programs: USD 329,325,352

#### 2. Constitutional and Central Government Institutions

- Villa Somalia (Office of the President): USD 12,529,086

- Federal Parliament: USD 35,866,877
- Office of the Prime Minister (OPM): USD 10,610,236

### **3. Ministries and Government Institutions**

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs: USD 9,410,332
- Ministry of Finance: USD 257,964,773
- Ministry of Planning: USD 25,866,277
- Ministry of Interior and Federal Affairs: USD 33,599,768
- Ministry of Religious Affairs: USD 3,383,537
- Ministry of Justice: USD 13,839,235
- Ministry of Defense: USD 171,002,350
- Ministry of Internal Security: USD 86,145,615

### **4. Infrastructure, Energy, and Natural Resources**

- Ministry of Energy: USD 92,610,638
- Ministry of Water and Minerals: USD 3,318,604
- Ministry of Public Works and Reconstruction: USD 104,248,983
- Ministry of Transport (Land and Air): USD 13,899,300
- Ministry of Ports and Sea Transportation: USD 3,577,044

### **5. Agriculture, Livestock, and Blue Economy**

- Ministry of Agriculture: USD 57,019,584
- Ministry of Livestock: USD 13,924,693
- Ministry of Fisheries and Blue Economy: USD 17,505,744

### **6. Economic and Productive Sectors**

- Ministry of Information and Media: USD 6,319,714
- Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications: USD 16,583,511
- Ministry of Commerce and Industry: USD 4,162,634
- Ministry of Environment and Climate Change: USD 1,463,116

### **7. Social Services**

- Ministry of Health: USD 92,094,620
- Ministry of Education: USD 110,417,499
- Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs: USD 123,931,465
- Ministry of Sports and Youth: USD 1,079,448
- Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development: USD 1,802,320

### **8. Justice and Oversight Institutions**

- Judiciary Agencies: USD 6,429,232
- Office of the Attorney General: USD 2,162,528

- Office of the Auditor General: USD 4,022,894
- Independent Commissions: USD 4,907,482

## Somali Human Resource In The Government Parole

The Federal Government of Somalia, through the National Civil Service Commission and the Ministry of Finance, continues to strengthen human resource management across public institutions. As of the latest update, the civilian civil service workforce, including employees formally registered on the government payroll, is estimated at approximately 25,000 personnel. These staff serve across ministries, departments, and agencies at the federal level, supporting policy implementation, service delivery, and institutional governance.

In addition, the national security sector which includes the Somali National Army, police, and other uniformed forces accounts for an estimated 75,000 personnel. Together, the civilian and security-sector employees bring the total federal government payroll to more than 100,000 individuals. Ongoing payroll verification, biometric registration, and public financial management reforms are being implemented to improve transparency, accountability, and sustainability of government wage expenditures.

The 2025 Allocated Budget reflects the Federal Government of Somalia's commitment to fiscal discipline, service delivery, and national development. Through balanced investment in recurrent operations and capital projects, the government aims to support economic stability, institutional strengthening, and sustainable growth throughout the fiscal year. Somalia's Federal Government (FGS) approved a record **\$1.32 billion budget for 2025**, funded heavily by donors (around 67%) and increased domestic revenue, focusing on administration, economic development, social services, and defense, with major boosts for health, education, and infrastructure, though challenges like transparency and donor reliance persist, alongside ongoing fiscal federalism discussions and some reported diversions of World Bank funds from Federal Member States (FMSs)

## SOMALIA HUMANITARIAN AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS 2025

Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan (HNRP somalia by OCHA In January 2025, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), together with the Federal Government of Somalia and humanitarian partners, launched the 2025 Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan (HNRP), seeking US \$1.42 billion to assist about 4.6 million people in need of life-saving and protection assistance across the country. Funding priorities include food security, nutrition, health, water, sanitation, protection, shelter, and other critical humanitarian services.

Despite this large appeal, funding has fallen far below requirements. By mid-2025, only a small portion of the HNRP target had been received through the UN's Financial Tracking Service, with reports indicating roughly 11–12 % of the required funds were met, leaving a large funding gap of over US \$1.2 billion. This severe shortfall has forced humanitarian actors, including UNOCHA partners, to scale back operations and prioritize the most urgent needs.

UNOCHA also manages the Somalia Humanitarian Fund (SHF), a pooled multi-donor mechanism that allocates contributions to priority projects implemented by national and international partners. Allocations from the SHF support famine prevention, emergency response, and essential life-saving activities, but overall funding remains well below what is needed for a full response.

### **European Union (EU) Humanitarian Funding Somalia**

The European Union remains one of the largest humanitarian donors globally and a key supporter of Somalia. In 2025, the EU allocated €67.33 million in humanitarian assistance specifically for Somalia, funding emergency responses to drought, food insecurity, malnutrition, health needs, water and sanitation, protection services, shelter, and education programs delivered through international and local partners. This forms part of the EU's broader humanitarian budget of €1.9 billion for 2025, which supports crises worldwide.

In addition, as part of a sub-Saharan Africa emergency package, the EU committed €30 million toward humanitarian operations in Somalia, including food aid, clean water and sanitation, health services, and basic needs support for vulnerable communities

### **Team Europe and Member State Contributions**

Under the *Team Europe* approach—a partnership that combines EU institutions with member states and European financial institutions—Somalia benefits from coordinated humanitarian and development funding. The EU, together with Denmark, Germany, Finland, Italy, the Netherlands, and Sweden among others, has provided hundreds of millions in assistance, including humanitarian response, resilience building, and support for internally displaced persons and vulnerable groups.

European national governments also contribute bilaterally or through NGO partners. Countries such as Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Italy historically provide funding for water, sanitation, nutrition, health, and protection projects alongside EU funding to NGOs operating in Somalia.

Overall, EU humanitarian aid in 2025 aimed to alleviate urgent needs caused by climate shocks, conflict, displacement, and food insecurity, even as global funding shortfalls challenged response capacity.

## SOMALIA FEDERAL MEMBER STATE FISCAL BUDGET 2025

**Somaliland's Autonym 2025 fiscal budget** is estimated at USD 556.3 million, with a strong focus on public service delivery, infrastructure development, and fiscal expansion. The budget prioritizes the payment of civilian and military salaries, expansion of the tax base, and improvements in domestic revenue mobilization. Analyses indicate increased spending in social services, economic development, and defense, although the budget reflects a growing reliance on external funding, raising concerns about long-term fiscal sustainability.

**Puntland State 2025 fiscal budget** of approximately USD 466.84 million, representing an 18% increase compared to the previous year. The budget emphasizes development projects and public service delivery. However, by late 2025, planning documents for 2026 revealed a proposed reduction to around USD 315.78 million, largely due to declining international donor support. This reduction is expected to significantly affect key sectors such as health and education, despite government assertions of improved domestic revenue performance. These developments have created fiscal pressure and mixed public narratives regarding budget stability.

**Jubaland's State 2025 fiscal budget** is estimated at USD 63.39 million, reflecting an increase of nearly 28% compared to 2024. The budget focuses on economic growth, enhanced public service delivery, and institutional strengthening. Both the Ministry of Finance and the State Assembly have endorsed the budget, emphasizing its role in building resilience and achieving the state's development objectives for the year.

**Galmudug State 2025 fiscal budget** of approximately USD 46 million, marking a 35% increase over the previous year. The budget includes revenues from domestic sources, as well as transfers and grants from the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) and international partners.

The Galmudug State Parliament approved the budget, underscoring a commitment to expanding service delivery and strengthening fiscal capacity.

**South West State's 2025 fiscal budget** is estimated at USD 38,080,766. The projected local own-source revenue for the year is USD 6,699,293. After covering minimum operational needs, the remaining USD 1,798,013 is allocated to ministries based on policy priority rankings categorized as Critical, High, Medium, and Low. In addition, the state is expected to receive USD 31,381,473 in the form of FGS transfers and donor grants, which constitute the bulk of its budget financing.

**Hirshabelle State 2025 fiscal budget** of approximately USD 33.5 million, marking the state's first comprehensive financial plan. The budget prioritizes public services, salary payments, and security operations. Mid-year financial reports indicate challenges in revenue collection, although efforts to

enhance tax administration and compliance have increased. These developments are documented in reports issued by the Hirshabelle Ministry of Finance.

The 2025 fiscal budgets of Somalia's Federal Member States demonstrate varied levels of fiscal capacity, donor dependence, and development ambition. While several states increased spending to expand services and stimulate growth, revenue sustainability and reliance on external funding remain key challenges across the federal system.

## THE 9TH CONFERENCE OF HERITAGE

The 9th Heritage Somalia Policy Conference is currently underway in Dhusamareb, bringing together a wide range of stakeholders in a highly organized public forum. The conference, organized by Heritage Institute for Policy Studies (Heritage Somalia), has attracted politicians, traditional elders, religious leaders, civil society members, professors, and legislators from both federal and federal member state levels, reflecting broad national participation.

The main agenda of the conference focuses on shaping Somalia's political process and governance structure, which has long been affected by conflict, mistrust, and misunderstandings between the federal government and federal member state leaderships. Participants are examining the roots of these tensions and exploring ways to strengthen cooperation, political dialogue, and institutional trust among key stakeholders.

A central theme of the discussions is the reorganization and modernization of Somalia's political system, including issues of decentralization and external and local political intervention. While some participants support new reconciliation frameworks and regulatory reforms, others have expressed opposition, arguing that certain proposals may not fully reflect local realities or traditional governance structures.

Both opposition figures and government representatives emphasized the need for a new political roadmap, particularly in preparation for future elections in Somalia. Speakers highlighted the importance of inclusive dialogue, agreed electoral timelines, and credible institutions to ensure peaceful and legitimate elections that can strengthen public confidence in the democratic process.

Heritage Somalia organizes such policy forums annually to address political conflicts, promote civic engagement, and advance social and governance research.

Each year, the institute publishes policy papers and hosts structured discussions, debates, panel sessions, and question-and-answer forums. As a private, non-partisan think tank, Heritage Somalia aims to foster democracy, federalism, transparency, and accountable leadership in support of Somalia's long-term unity and stability.

## THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF REPORT

Based on the findings of this investigative report, the following recommendations are proposed to address systemic challenges, strengthen governance, protect human rights, and promote inclusive and sustainable development in Somalia.

### 1. Governance, Transparency, and Accountability

- The Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) and Federal Member States (FMSs) should institutionalize transparent policy-making processes, including public access to draft laws, contracts, budgets, and implementation plans.
- Strengthen the independence, resourcing, and enforcement powers of oversight institutions such as parliamentary committees, the Office of the Auditor General, and anti-corruption bodies.
- Ensure that audit findings, budget execution reports, and investigation outcomes are made public and followed by corrective action.
- Establish mandatory public consultation mechanisms involving civil society, women, youth, persons with disabilities, minorities, and IDPs in policy and legislative processes.

### 2. Human Rights Protection and Rule of Law

- Reform and enforce national laws to protect journalists, human rights defenders, and whistleblowers from harassment, arbitrary arrest, and violence.
- Strengthen judicial independence by ensuring transparent judicial appointments, adequate funding for courts, and protection from political interference.
- Improve access to justice for marginalized groups through legal aid services, mobile courts, and rights-awareness programs.
- Establish credible accountability mechanisms for human rights violations, including abuses by security forces and politically connected actors.

### 3. Security Sector Reform and Civilian Protection

- Enhance civilian protection standards in security operations by enforcing international humanitarian and human rights law training for all security forces.
- Improve oversight of defense and security spending through independent monitoring, parliamentary scrutiny, and transparent procurement processes.
- Ensure adequate medical care, compensation, and rehabilitation for injured soldiers and affected civilians.
- Promote coordination between federal and regional security forces to reduce duplication, inefficiency, and civilian harm.

#### **4. Humanitarian Aid Effectiveness and Accountability**

- Strengthen monitoring systems to prevent diversion, taxation, and politicization of humanitarian assistance.
- Ensure aid allocation is based on transparent needs assessments rather than political, clan, or elite interests.
- Establish accessible, safe, and responsive complaint and feedback mechanisms for affected communities.
- Increase direct funding and capacity-building support for local NGOs and community-based organizations to enhance local ownership and sustainability.

#### **5. Land, Housing, and Forced Evictions**

- Immediately halt forced evictions that do not meet national and international legal standards.
- Develop and enforce a national land and housing policy that guarantees due process, consultation, compensation, and alternative housing.
- Prioritize protection for IDPs, women-headed households, and persons with disabilities during urban development and land management processes.
- Establish independent land dispute resolution mechanisms to address housing, land, and property rights violations.

#### **6. Economic Governance, Investment, and Taxation**

- Establish transparent regulatory frameworks for foreign and domestic investments, particularly in land, extractive industries, energy, and infrastructure.
- Publish all major investment and natural resource contracts and subject them to parliamentary and public scrutiny.
- Reform taxation systems to reduce the burden on small businesses, informal traders, and low-income populations while ensuring fair taxation of large corporations.
- Strengthen public finance management systems to reduce corruption, revenue leakages, and misuse of public funds.

#### **7. Natural Resource Management and Environmental Protection**

- Ensure transparent, accountable, and equitable allocation of land, fisheries, oil, gas, and mineral resources.
- Guarantee free, prior, and informed consent for communities affected by resource-related projects.
- Strengthen regulation and enforcement to combat illegal fishing, environmental degradation, and unregulated extractive activities.

- Implement fair revenue-sharing mechanisms to ensure benefits reach federal member states and local communities.

#### **8. Elections, Political Participation, and Leadership Accountability**

- Improve transparency in electoral processes, including voter registration, results transmission, and complaint-handling mechanisms.
- Enforce electoral laws to prevent vote-buying, intimidation, and political interference.
- Implement concrete measures to increase participation of women, youth, and persons with disabilities, including enforcement of quotas, accessible polling infrastructure, and financial support mechanisms.
- Strengthen post-election accountability through citizen monitoring, public reporting by elected officials, and effective oversight institutions.

#### **9. Youth, Women, and Disability Inclusion**

- Invest in youth employment programs, vocational training, entrepreneurship support, and safe migration awareness initiatives.
- Reduce discriminatory taxation and harassment of women entrepreneurs and expand access to finance and public markets.
- Ensure all public infrastructure, education, health services, and electoral processes are accessible to persons with disabilities.
- Strengthen the capacity and funding of the National Disability Agency and ensure disability-inclusive data collection and planning.

#### **10. Media Freedom and Investigative Journalism**

- Reform restrictive media laws to align with constitutional guarantees of freedom of expression.
- End arbitrary arrests, intimidation, and censorship of journalists.
- Establish independent mechanisms to investigate crimes against journalists and ensure accountability.
- Support investigative journalism through legal protections, safety training, and sustainable funding for independent media.



## CONTACT

Email: [saim.daily@gmail.com](mailto:saim.daily@gmail.com)

Email: [info@oktober24.com](mailto:info@oktober24.com)

Website: [www.oktober24.com](http://www.oktober24.com)