

Annex 1: Bibliography

- [Oral sources, including anonymised sources](#)
- [Public sources](#)

Oral sources, including anonymised sources

Farhia Mohamud, Telephone interview and email exchange, 5-6, 19 March 2025. Farhia Mohamud is a researcher and Hirshabelle political and security analyst at Somali Public Agenda, a leading research organisation based in Mogadishu.

Ibrahim Issaq, Telephone interview and email exchange, 7, 10, 16 March 2025. Ibrahim Issaq is a Somali development practitioner and Chair of Poverty Concern, a Somali NGO based in UK with field expertise in South-West State of Somalia.

Mohamed Abdullahi, Telephone interview and email exchange, 26 February, 3 March, 18 March 2025. Mohamed Abdullahi is the Director of programmes at Horncenter Dialogue for Peace, Governance, and Development (The Horncenter), an independent, not-for-profit organisation based in Dushamared, Galmudug State of Somalia. He is an expert in reconciliation, peace-building, and governance.

Salim Said Salim, Telephone interview and email exchange, 7 April 2025. Salim Said Salim is a Somali legal expert and the executive director of SIDRA (Somali Institute for Development Research and Analysis). Salim is based in Garowe, Puntland.

Hoehne, M. V., Telephone interview, 9 March 2025. Markus Hoehne is a lecturer in social anthropology at the University of Göttingen (Germany), specialised on Somalia, fluent in Somali language, and with many years of experience in conflict-research.

Kemal Dahir Ashour, Telephone interview, 10 March 2025, and email exchange, 17 April 2025. Kemal Dahir Ashour is an intellectual and long-term minority rights expert with focus on the Gabooye minority group. He frequently appears in Somali-language media as an analyst on Gabooye issues. He is currently based in Sweden.

Roland Marchal, Telephone interview, 26 March 2025. Roland Marchal is a Senior Fellow at the Centre de Recherches Internationales at Sciences Po, in Paris, since 1997, with a specialisation in Somali politics and

conflict dynamics. He is also the co-founder of the research programme, the East Africa Observatory.

Shamso Sheegow, Telephone interview, 1 April 2025. Shamso Sheegow is a Somali writer based in Sweden with extended contacts in Barawa. She runs an NGO supporting environmental projects in and around Barawa.

Sheekhnor Kaassim, Telephone interview, 2 April 2025. Sheekhnor Kaassim is a Benadiri elder based in the USA.

Said Haji Nuur, Telephone interview, 3 April 2025. Said Haji Nuur is a humanitarian and development official based in Garowe.

Zakia Hussen, Telephone interview, 24, 25 March, 8 April 2025. Zakia Hussen is Former Deputy Police Commissioner General based in Mogadishu.

Anonymised oral sources

Abdirisaq, Telephone interview, 6 April 2025. Abdirisaq is a scholar based in Garowe with long standing experience in the education sector.

Amina, Telephone interview, 24 June 2024. Amina is a Somali scholar with focus on social science research based in Mogadishu.

Bootaan, Telephone interview, 7 April 2025. Bootaan works as an accountant in a company in Hargeysa, where he grew up and lives. He graduated from Hargeysa University in 2016.

Conflict and peacebuilding researcher based in Somaliland, Telephone interview and email exchange, 7-8 April 2025. The Conflict and peacebuilding researcher has long-standing experience with conflict analysis and resolution.

Dalmar, Telephone interview, 7 March 2025. Dalmar is a businessman engaged in frankincense trade. He grew up in Puntland and resides mostly in Garowe and Bosaso.

Fadumo, Telephone interview, 28 March 2025. Fadumo works as medical doctor in Mogadishu where she has been based for more than a decade.

Fayza, Telephone interview, 16 January 2025. Fayza is a Somali civil society practitioner partly based in Somalia and partly abroad. She runs an NGO addressing societal issues across Somalia.

Hassan, Telephone interview, 5 April 2025. Hassan has worked extensively with local government and university institutions to then establish himself as an independent businessman. He is a native and life resident of Garowe.

Independent political and security analyst/researcher based in Jubbaland, Telephone interview and email exchange, 15, 18 March 2025. The independent political and security analyst based in Jubbaland works as a consultant and has long-standing experience with conflict analysis.

International humanitarian expert based in Somaliland, Telephone interview, 31 March, 3 April 2025. The international humanitarian expert based in Somaliland has decades-long experience in Somalia and in the humanitarian sector in general.

Jaalle, Telephone interview, 6 April 2025. Jaalle is a medical doctor based in Garowe.

Mahad, Telephone interview, 6 April 2025. Mahad is an international humanitarian worker based in Garowe with long-standing experience in public health.

Siyaad, Telephone interview, 8 August 2024 and 28 March 2025. Siyaad is a medical laboratory supervisor in Mogadishu. Originally from northern Somalia he relocated to Mogadishu in 2013.

Somali conflict and development expert based in Puntland, Online interview, 18 February 2025. The Somali conflict and development expert based in Puntland runs a local NGO and has decades-long experience with peace-building, conflict research and analysis.

Somali development scholar based in Puntland, Telephone interview, 3 April 2025. The Somali development scholar based in Puntland is a seasoned researcher, university professor, and observer of Somali issues.

Somali diplomatic official and Mogadishu native, Telephone interview, 18 March 2025. The Somali diplomatic official and Mogadishu native works in the international sector and has first-hand experience of security issues in the capital of Somalia.

Somali local judge based in South-West State, Telephone interview and email exchange, 2, 7 April 2025. The Somali local judge is a legal expert and practitioner in criminal law in Somalia.

Somali sociological and religious analyst, Mogadishu resident, Telephone interview and email exchange, 17 March 2025, 3 April 2025. The Somali sociological and religious analyst is a scholar of the Somali society.

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