

# Annex 1: Bibliography

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

## Maps

- Map. 2. Somalia - Approximate Territorial Control, 1 April 2023, Political Geography Now
- Map 3. Somalia - Approximate Territorial Control, 31 March 2025, Political Geography Now
- Map 5. IPIS, Distribution of violent checkpoint-related incidents (2020-2023), April 2023, url

## Oral sources, including anonymised sources

- Farhia Mohamud, Telephone interview with EUAA, 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.
- Hoehne, M. V., Interview and email exchange with EUAA, 25 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.
- Independent political and security analyst/researcher based in Jubbaland, Telephone interview with EUAA, 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 with EUAA, 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.
- Mohamed Abdullahi, Telephone interview with EUAA, 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.
- Schouten, P., Telephone interview with EUAA, 13 March 2025. Peer Schouten is senior researcher at the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) and the International Peace Information Service (IPIS), with focus on mapping the political economy of checkpoints in conflict.
- Somali development scholar based in Puntland, Telephone interview with EUAA, 3 April 2025. The Somali development scholar based in Puntland is a seasoned researcher, university professor, and observer of Somali issues.

## Public sources

AA (Anadolu Agency), 8 injured as car bomb targets army checkpoint in Somali capital, 13 September 2023, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/8-injured-as-car-bomb-targets-army-checkpoint-in-somali-capital/2991093>, accessed 10 April 2025

AA (Anadolu Agency), Al-Shabaab terror group attack Ethiopian military base in Somalia, 7 June 2023, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/al-shabaab-terror-group-attack-ethiopian-military-base-in-somalia/2916866>, accessed 10 April 2025

AA (Anadolu Agency), Heavy casualties in clashes between Al-Shabaab terrorists, Ethiopian peacekeepers in Somalia, 17 September 2023, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/heavy-casualties-in-clashes-between-al-shabaab-terrorists-ethiopian-peacekeepers-in-somalia/2994156>, accessed 10 April 2025

AA (Anadolu Agency), Roadside bomb blast kills 3 in Somali capital, 13 November 2024, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/roadside-bomb-blast-kills-3-in-somali-capital/3392983>, accessed 10 April 2025

AA (Anadolu Agency), Somali forces kill 82 Al-Shabaab terrorists in airstrikes, 21 March 2025, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/somali-forces-kill-82-al-shabaab-terrorists-in-airstrikes/3515936>, accessed 10 April 2025

AA (Anadolu Agency), Somali president survives Al-Shabaab assassination attempt, officials say, 18 March 2025, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/somali-president-survives-al-shabaab-assassination-attempt-officials-say/3513634>, accessed 10 April 2025

Abdalle Ahmed Mumin, [X], posted on: 10 March 2025, <https://x.com/Cabdalleaxmed/status/1899066552952975804>, accessed 10 April 2025

Abdalle Ahmed Mumin, [X], posted on: 10 March 2025, <https://x.com/Cabdalleaxmed/status/1899066552952975804>, accessed 10 April 2025

Abdalle Ahmed Mumin, [X], posted on: 16 March 2025, <https://x.com/cabdalleaxmed?lang=en>, accessed 10 April 2025

Abdalle Ahmed Mumin, [X], posted on: 20 March 2025, <https://x.com/Cabdalleaxmed/status/1902770054678053058>, accessed 10 April 2025

Abdalle Ahmed Mumin, [X], posted on: 24 March 2025,  
<https://x.com/Cabdalleaxmed/status/1904216170460217566>, accessed 10 April 2025

Abdinor Dahir and Ali Yassin Sheikh Ali, Federalism in post-conflict Somalia: A critical review of its reception and governance challenges, 8 November 2021,  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13597566.2021.1998005?download=true>, accessed 10 April 2025

Abdirahman Ali, Brokering trade routes - The political economy of checkpoints along the Baidoa corridor, 2023, [https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Brokering-Trade-Routes\\_Final-Reduced.pdf](https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Brokering-Trade-Routes_Final-Reduced.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Abdirahman, K. and Majid, N., Building on the Galkayo Agreement. Mitigating Revenge Killings, PeaceRep (Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform), 25 March 2024, <https://peacerep.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/Building-on-the-Galkayo-Agreement-Mitigating-Revenge-Killings-DIGITAL.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Abdirahman, K. et al., Checkpoints, Ma'awisley and the Political Entrepreneur, PeaceRep (Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform), January 2025, <https://peacerep.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/Checkpoints-Maawisley-and-the-Political-Entrepreneur-DIGITAL.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Abdurahman Abdullahi Baadiyow, Somali Elite Political Culture: Conceptions, Structures, and Historical Evolution, 28 January 2021, <https://mu.edu.so/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/SSJ-V5-Article-2.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACAPS, Somalia – Impact of clan conflicts, 19 March 2025,  
[https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data\\_Product/Main\\_media/20250319\\_ACAPS\\_Crisis\\_Impact\\_of\\_clan\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Somalia.pdf](https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data_Product/Main_media/20250319_ACAPS_Crisis_Impact_of_clan_conflicts_in_Somalia.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

ACAPS, Somalia: Impact of clan conflicts, 19 March 2025,  
[https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data\\_Product/Main\\_media/20250319\\_ACAPS\\_Crisis\\_Impact\\_of\\_clan\\_conflicts\\_in\\_Somalia.pdf](https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data_Product/Main_media/20250319_ACAPS_Crisis_Impact_of_clan_conflicts_in_Somalia.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

ACCORD (Austrian Centre for Country of Origin and Asylum Research and Documentation), Clans in Somalia, December 2009, [https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/1193130/90\\_1261130976\\_accord-report-clans-in-somalia-revised-edition-20091215.pdf](https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/1193130/90_1261130976_accord-report-clans-in-somalia-revised-edition-20091215.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Al-Shabaab targets civilians in Somalia in retaliation for installing CCTV cameras, 29 November 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/11/29/al-shabaab-targets-civilians-in-somalia-in-retaliation-for-installing-cctv-cameras-november-2024/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Assessing Al-Shabaab's Threat to the Region as Somalia Joins the East Africa Community, 8 December 2023, <https://acleddata.com/2023/12/08/special-report-kenya-somalia-assessing-al-shabaabs-threat-to-the-region-as-somalia-joins-the-east-africa-community/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Codebook, 2 June 2023, last updated 3 October 2024, <https://acleddata.com/download/2827/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Controversy over electoral reform sparks debate in Somalia amid Al-Shabaab operation, 28 October 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/10/28/controversy-over-electoral-reform-sparks-debate-in-somalia-amid-al-shabaab-operation-october-2024/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Curated Data Files, Somalia, data covering 1 April 2023 to 21 March 2025, as of 26 March 2025, <https://acleddata.com/curated-data-files/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Fighting deepens around El Fasher in Sudan, Al-Shabaab loses territory in Somalia, and police crack down on tax-related protests in Kenya, 28 June 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/06/28/fighting-deepens-around-el-fasher-in-sudan-al-shabaab-loses-territory-in-somalia-and-police-crack-down-on-tax-related-protests-in-kenya-june-2024/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Somalia: Al-Shabaab Regains Lost Territories Amid Run-up to State Elections, 28 March 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/03/28/somalia-situation-update-march-2024-al-shabaab-regains-lost-territories-amid-run-up-to-state-elections/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Somalia: Al-Shabaab Regains Lost Territories as Tax Dispute Halts Counter-Insurgency Operation, 2 June 2023, <https://acleddata.com/2023/06/02/somalia-situation-update-may-2023-al-shabaab-regains-lost-territories-as-a-dispute-over-tax-halts-counter-insurgency-operation/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Somalia: Al-Shabaab Strikes Back at Local Administrators, 20 October 2023, <https://acleddata.com/2023/10/20/somalia-situation-update-october-2023-al-shabaab-strikes-back-at-local-administrators/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Somalia: Al-Shabaab's Infiltration of a Military Base in Mogadishu and Somaliland's Conflict, 1 March 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/03/01/situation-update-february-2024-al-shabaabs-infiltration-of-a-military-base-in-mogadishu-and-somalilands-conflict/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Somalia: Dispute Over Constitutional Amendment and Increased Al-Shabaab Attacks, 26 April 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/04/26/somalia-situation-update-april-2024-dispute-over-constitutional-amendment-and-increased-al-shabaab-attacks/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Somalia: Political Crisis Deepens Amid Transition to Direct Elections, 28 July 2023, <https://acleddata.com/2023/07/28/somalia-situation-update-july-2023-electoral-crisis-deepens-as-somalia-transitions-to-direct-elections/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Somalia: Political Turmoil Threatens the Fight Against Al-Shabaab, 30 June 2023, <https://acleddata.com/2023/06/30/somalia-situation-update-june-2023-political-turmoil-threatens-the-fight-against-al-shabaab/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), Somalia: Renewed counter-insurgency operations expected as Al-Shabaab regroups, 31 May 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/05/31/somalia-situation-update-may-2024-renewed-counter-insurgency-operations-expected-as-al-shabaab-regroups/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), State officials in Somalia crack down on clan militia checkpoints, 30 September 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/09/30/state-officials-in-somalia-crack-down-on-clan-militia-checkpoints-september-2024/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), The looming threat: A resurgence of Islamic State and inter-clan fighting in Somalia, 31 July 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/07/31/the-looming-threat-a-resurgence-of-islamic-state-and-inter-clan-fighting-in-somalia-july-2024/>

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project), What's next for the fight against Al-Shabaab?, 4 September 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/09/04/whats-next-for-the-fight-against-al-shabaab-in-kenya-and-somalia-august-2024/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location and Event Data) data. Curated Data Files, Somalia, 21 March 2025, <https://acleddata.com/data-export-tool/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location and Event Data), Codebook, January 2021, [https://acleddata.com/acleddatanew/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/ACLED\\_Codebook\\_v1\\_January-2021.pdf](https://acleddata.com/acleddatanew/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/ACLED_Codebook_v1_January-2021.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location and Event Data), Curated Data Files, Somalia, 21 March 2025, <https://acleddata.com/data-export-tool/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location and Event Data), Curated Data Files, Somalia, 30 November 2022, <https://acleddata.com/data-export-tool/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location and Event Data), Curated Data Files, Somalia, 24 October 2024, <https://acleddata.com/data-export-tool/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location and Event Data), Data Export Tool, 4 April 2025, <https://acleddata.com/data-export-tool/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location and Event Data), Somalia at a Glance: 9 December 2023-19 January 2024, 15 January 2024, <https://acleddata.com/2024/01/26/somalia-situation-update-january-2024-the-complexities-of-the-somaliland-ethiopia-sea-access-deal/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ACLED (Armed Conflict Location and Event Data), Somalia: The Government and Al-Shabaab Vie for the Support of Clan Militias, 15 September 2023, <https://acleddata.com/2023/09/15/somalia-situation-update-september-2023-the-government-and-al-shabaab-vie-over-the-support-of-clan-militias/?cmplz-force-reload=1743681652122>, accessed 10 April 2025

Addis Standard, News: Jubaland suspends ties with Somalia's federal government, 28 November 2024, <https://addisstandard.com/jubaland-suspends-ties-with-somalias-federal-government/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Addis Standard, Op-ed: From Insurgency to Power Grab: Al-Shabaab's deadly advance on Mogadishu signals Somalia's descent into disaster, 21 March 2025, <https://addisstandard.com/from-insurgency-to-power-grab-al-shabaabs-deadly-advance-on-mogadishu-signals-somalias-descent-into-disaster/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ADF (Africa Defense Forum), Puntland Forces Believe They Have ISSOM on the Run, 18 March 2025, <https://adf-magazine.com/2025/03/puntland-forces-believe-they-have-issom-on-the-run/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Advocates for Human Rights (The), CSHRDs (The) (The Coalition of Somali Human Rights Defenders) and World Coalition Against Death Penalty (The), Somalia's Compliance with The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: The Death Penalty, 5 February 2024, <https://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/Res/AHR%20WCADP%20CCPR%20DP%20Somalia%202024%202025>, accessed 1 April 2025

AFP (Agence France-Presse), Fears mount over resurgence of Al-Shabaab jihadists in Somalia, 27 March 2025, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

Africa Report (The), Somalia: Constitutional amendments meet controversy, 10 April 2024, <https://www.theafricareport.com/343347/somalia-constitutional-amendments-meet-controversy/>, accessed 10 April 2025

African Arguments, Somalia in the Red Sea Arena: Tensions and Domestic Implications, 23 October 2024, <https://africanarguments.org/2024/10/somalia-in-the-red-sea-arena-tensions-and-domestic-implications/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Africanews, First batch of Somali soldiers returns from Eritrea, 21 December 2022, <https://www.africanews.com/2022/12/21/first-batch-of-somali-soldiers-returns-from-eritrea/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Afyare A. Elmi, Can Somalia's Third Republic be saved?, March 2025, [https://mecouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/03/MECGA\\_Policy-Note\\_PN\\_4-25-Can-Somalias\\_Final.pdf](https://mecouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/03/MECGA_Policy-Note_PN_4-25-Can-Somalias_Final.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Afyare A. Elmi, Mogadishu City Report, August 2024, <https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/Mogadishu-City-report.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Agenzia Fides, AFRICA/SOMALIA - Somaliland: The Opposition Wins the Presidential Elections amid Changes and Regional Challenges, 20 November 2024, [https://www.fides.org/en/news/75690-AFRICA\\_SOMALIA\\_Somaliland\\_The\\_Opposition\\_Wins\\_the\\_Presidential\\_Elections\\_amid\\_Changes\\_and\\_Regional](https://www.fides.org/en/news/75690-AFRICA_SOMALIA_Somaliland_The_Opposition_Wins_the_Presidential_Elections_amid_Changes_and_Regional), accessed 10 April 2025

Agenzia Nova, La Turchia sarebbe pronta a inviare fino a 3 mila militari della compagnia privata Sadat in Somalia [Turkey is reportedly ready to send up to 3,000 Sadat Private Company soldiers to Somalia], 3 April

2025, <https://www.agenzianova.com/news/la-turchia-sarebbe-pronta-a-inviare-fino-a-3-mila-militari-della-compagnia-privata-sadat-in-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

AI (Amnesty International), A ten human rights agenda – For the new government of Somalia, 15 November 2022, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/AFR5261982022ENGLISH.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Amnesty International Report – The State of the World's Human Rights, Somalia, April 2024, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/WEBPOL1048702022ENGLISH.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Death Penalty 2023: Executions more than tripled in sub-Saharan Africa, as global executions soar to highest number in almost a decade, 24 May 2025, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/05/ executions-more-than-tripled-in-sub-saharan-africa-as-global-executions-soar-to-highest-number-in-almost-a-decade/>, accessed 25 March 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Death sentences and executions 2023, 29 May 2024, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/ACT5079522024ENGLISH.pdf>, accessed 25 March 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Somalia, n.d., <https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/africa/east-africa-the-horn-and-great-lakes/somalia/>, accessed 25 March 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Somalia: Death of 23 civilians in military strikes with Turkish drones may amount to war crimes – new investigation, 7 May 2024, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/05/somalia-death-of-23-civilians-in-military-strikes-with-turkish-drones-may-amount-to-war-crimes-new-investigation/>, accessed 10 April 2025

AI (Amnesty International), Somaliland: Urgent investigation needed as fighting takes heavy toll on civilians in Las Anod, 20 April 2023, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/04/somaliland-conflict/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Airwars, KS004, 15 August 2023, <https://airwars.org/civilian-casualties/ks004-august-15-2023/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Airwars, US Forces in Somalia – US Strikes and Civilian Casualties, 2025, <https://airwars.org/civilian-casualties/?country=somalia&belligerent=us-forces>, accessed 10 April 2025

Airwars, USSOM385, 20 May 2023, <https://airwars.org/civilian-casualties/ussom385-may-20-2023/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Airwars, USSOM390 KS001, 16 June 2023, <https://airwars.org/civilian-casualties/ussom390-ks001-june-16-2023/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Airwars, USSOM391 KS002, 16 June 2023, <https://airwars.org/civilian-casualties/ussom391-ks002-june-16-2023/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Airwars, USSOM396, 24 July 2023, <https://airwars.org/civilian-casualties/ussom396-july-24-2023/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Airwars, USSOM405, 22 September 2023, <https://airwars.org/civilian-casualties/ussom405-september-22-2023/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Airwars, USSOM410, 17 December 2023, <https://airwars.org/civilian-casualties/ussom410-december-17-2023/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Airwars, USSOM418, 15 February 2024, <https://airwars.org/civilian-casualties/ussom418-february-15-2024/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Airwars, USSOM424, 7 March 2024, <https://airwars.org/civilian-casualties/ussom424-march-7-2024/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Al Jazeera, At least 32 killed in al-Shabab beach attack in Somalia's capital Mogadishu, 3 August 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/8/3/al-shabab-lido-beach-attack-somalia-mogadishu>, accessed 10 April 2025

Al Jazeera, At least six killed, 12 wounded in targeted Somali bus explosion, 9 August 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/8/9/at-least-six-killed-12-wounded-in-targeted-somali-bus-explosion>, accessed 10 April 2025

Al Jazeera, Breakaway Somaliland holds vote as quest for recognition gathers pace, 13 November 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/11/13/somaliland-eyes-recognition-as-it-goes-to-polls>, accessed 10 April 2025

Al Jazeera, Dozens killed in Somalia's Puntland after parliament debate, 20 June 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/20/fight-erupts-in-somalias-puntland-region-after-parliament-debate>, accessed 10 April 2025

Al Jazeera, Several killed in hotel siege in Somalia's Mogadishu, 9 June 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/9/somalias-al-shabaab-attack-hotel-in-mogadishu>, accessed 10 April 2025

Al Jazeera, Suicide attack on tea shop in Somalia capital kills at least seven, 29 September 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/9/29/suicide-attack-on-tea-shop-in-mogadishu-kills-at-least-seven>, accessed 10 April 2025

AOAV (Action on Armed Violence), Somaliland: fighting between Somaliland forces and tribal leadership claims civilian lives and puts hospitals out of action, 19 April 2023, <https://aoav.org.uk/2023/somaliland-fighting/>, accessed 10 April 2025

AP (Associated Press), 7 killed in suicide bomber attack at a cafe in Somalia's capital, 18 October 2024, <https://apnews.com/article/somalia-alshabab-attack-mogadishu-216e2525751ebc2c489dce3881d5e9de>, accessed 10 April 2025

AP (Associated Press), A roadside bomb in Mogadishu targeted the president's convoy, Somalian government says, 19 March 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/somalia-alshabab-bombing-attack-9a71d32b66cfc677da6edaa73359ef9b>, accessed 10 April 2025

AP (Associated Press), Clashes erupt between Somalia's federal troops and regional forces over a disputed local election, 11 December 2024, <https://apnews.com/article/somalia-federal-forces-jubbaland-fighting-ee77a6fa38e4acdf281a26c28e74570a>, accessed 10 April 2025

AP (Associated Press), Somali forces end a 24-hour siege by al-Shabab militants on a hotel, leaving all fighters dead, 12 March 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/somalia-attack-cairo-hotel-beledweyne-shabab-siege-54575e8873eae84990b61f75b4fa2811>, accessed 10 April 2025

APA News (Agence de Presse Africaine), Somalia accuses Ethiopian troops of infiltrating its territory, 26 June 2024, <https://apanews.net/somalia-accuses-ethiopian-troops-of-infiltrating-its-territory/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Atlantic Council, Somalia's continuing crisis worsens with UAE dispute [Blog], 23 April 2018, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/africasource/somalia-s-continuing-crisis-worsens-with-uae-dispute/>

accessed 10 April 2025

Atlantic Council, Turkey signed two major deals with Somalia. Will it be able to implement them?, 18 June 2024, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/turkeysource/turkey-signed-two-major-deals-with-somalia-will-it-be-able-to-implement-them/>, accessed 10 April 2025

AUSSOM (African Union Support and Stabilization Mission), Military Component, n.d., <https://aussom.org/military-component/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Bacon T., [X], posted on: 19 March 2025, <https://x.com/tricbacon/status/1902173503953977699>;

Baidoa On-line, [X], posted on: 1 March 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1895939360689725765>, accessed 10 April 2025

Baidoa On-line, [X], posted on: 10 March 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1899167145013256315>, accessed 10 April 2025

Baidoa On-line, [X], posted on: 13 March 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1900221795921277408>, accessed 10 April 2025

Baidoa On-line, [X], posted on: 15 March 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1900999084850270210>, accessed 10 April 2025

Baidoa On-line, [X], posted on: 17 March 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1901612305252495400>, accessed 10 April 2025

Baidoa On-line, [X], posted on: 19 March 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1902366985704366519>, accessed 10 April 2025

Baidoa On-line, [X], posted on: 20 March 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1902420861967012335>, accessed 10 April 2025

Baidoa On-line, [X], posted on: 21 March 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1903004160569602282>, accessed 10 April 2025

Baidoa On-Line, [X], posted on: 21 March 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1903000464678949107>, accessed 10 April 2025

Baidoa On-line, [X], posted on: 23 March 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1903762393018069395>, accessed 10 April 2025

Baidoa On-line, [X], posted on: 25 February 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1894318990022889934>, accessed 10 April 2025

Baidoa On-line, [X], posted on: 27 March 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1905320411430007179>, accessed 10 April 2025

Baidoa On-line, [X], posted on: 31 March 2025, <https://x.com/BaidoaOnline/status/1906737909971231165>, accessed 10 April 2025

Balqiis, Special Issue – AUSSOM - Off to an unclear start, 1 January 2025, <https://balqiis.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/Balqiis-Special-Issue.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Barnett, J., Inside the Newest Conflict in Somalia's Long Civil War, 7 August 2023, <https://newlinesmag.com/reportage/inside-the-newest-conflict-in-somalias-long-civil-war/>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC Monitoring Africa, Programme Summary of Somalia's Radio Risalanews 16:00 GMT 7 Nov 24, 8 November 2024, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC Monitoring, Al-Shabab kills five in Somalia over espionage claims, 5 May 2023, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC Monitoring, Al-Shabab publicly kills two soldiers in southern Somalia, 5 September 2024, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC Monitoring, Programme Summary of Somalia's Radio Risala news 16:00 GMT 19 Nov 24, 25 November 2024, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC Monitoring, Programme Summary of Somalia's Radio Mustaqbal News 1730 gmt 22 Mar 24, 2 April 2024, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC Monitoring, Programme Summary of Somalia's Radio Risala news 16:00 GMT 23 Dec 24, 5 January 2025, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC Monitoring, Programme Summary of Somalia's Radio Risala news 16:00 GMT 7 Nov 24, 8 November 2024, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC Monitoring, Programme summary of Somalia's Radio Shabelle news 05:00 GMT 27 Dec 24, 31 December 2024, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC Monitoring, Programme summary of Somalia's Radio Shabelle news 05:00 GMT 21 Oct 24, 28 October 2024, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC Monitoring, Programme Summary Radio Risala News 16:00 GMT 26 Sept 24, 29 September 2024, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC Monitoring, Programme Summary Somalia's Radio Kulmiye News 17:00 GMT 21 Oct 24, 25 October 2024, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC Monitoring, Programme Summary Somalia's Radio Risala News 16:00 GMT 18 Sep 24, 19 September 2024, available by subscription at: <https://www.dowjones.com/professional/factiva>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC News, Somalia's Syl hotel attacked by al-Shabab fighters in Mogadishu, 15 March 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-68569023>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC News, Why Trump is on the warpath in Somalia, 7 February 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cyv4270gljpo>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC, Car bomb kills Somalis watching Euro football final, 15 July 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cd163e4yll4o>, accessed 10 April 2025

BBC, The Somali gold rush endangering frankincense and myrrh, 5 January 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-64162379>, accessed 10 April 2025

Belgium, CGRS-CEDOCA, SOMALIË Veiligheidssituatiein Mogadishu [Somalia Security Situation in Mogadishu], 29 June 2021, [https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2054740/coi\\_focus\\_somalie.\\_veiligheidssituatie\\_in\\_mogadishu\\_20210629.pdf](https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2054740/coi_focus_somalie._veiligheidssituatie_in_mogadishu_20210629.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Bertelsmann Stiftung, BTI Somalia Country Report, 2024, [https://btiproject.org/fileadmin/api/content/en/downloads/reports/country\\_report\\_2024\\_SOM.pdf](https://btiproject.org/fileadmin/api/content/en/downloads/reports/country_report_2024_SOM.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Caasimada, Caro xooggan oo ka dhalatay dil ay ciidanka Itoobiya ka geysteen xuduuda Somaliland [Strong anger over killings by Ethiopian troops on Somaliland border], 12 January 2024, <https://www.caasimada.net/caro-xooggan-oo-ka-dhalatay-dil-ay-ciidanka-itoobiya-ka-geysteen-xuduuda-somaliland/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Caasimada, Clan clashes kill 12 in Somalia's Sanaag region, 10 March 2025, <https://www.caasimada.net/clan-clashes-kill-12-in-somalias-sanaag-region/?amp=1>, accessed 10 April 2025

CFR (Council on Foreign Relations), Conflict with Al-Shabaab in Somalia, 15 October 2024, <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/al-shabab-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

CFR (Council on Foreign Relations), Somaliland: The Horn of Africa's Breakaway State, 21 January 2025, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/somaliland-horn-africas-breakaway-state>, accessed 10 April 2025

Cirka News, [X], posted on: 2 March 2025, <https://x.com/CirkaNews/status/1896002864016949481>, accessed 10 April 2025

Coalition of Somali Human Rights Defenders CSHRDs (the) and HANAHR (Horn Afrik News Agency for Human Rights), Somalia: Patterns of unlawful killings, torture and other ill-treatment, November 2022, <https://www.omct.org/site-resources/files/CAT-Alternative-report-Somalia.pdf>, accessed 1 April 2025

Conversation (The), Islamic State in Somalia: the terrorist group's origins, rise and recent battlefield defeats, 20 March 2025, <https://theconversation.com/islamic-state-in-somalia-the-terrorist-groups-origins-rise-and-recent-battlefield-defeats-252303>, accessed 10 April 2025

Conversation (The), Islamic State in Somalia: the terrorist group's origins, rise and recent battlefield defeats, 20 March 2025, <https://theconversation.com/islamic-state-in-somalia-the-terrorist-groups-origins-rise-and-recent-battlefield-defeats-252303>, accessed 10 April 2025

CRIN (Child's Rights International Network), Inhuman sentencing of children in Somalia, June 2015, [https://archive.crin.org/sites/default/files/somalia\\_2015\\_upr\\_submission.pdf](https://archive.crin.org/sites/default/files/somalia_2015_upr_submission.pdf), accessed 1 April 2025

CSHRDs (Coalition of Somali Human Rights Defenders), HANAHR (Horn Afrik News Agency for Human Rights) and OMCT (The World Organisation against torture), Somalia: Patterns of unlawful killings, torture and other ill-treatment, November 2022, <https://www.omct.org/site-resources/files/CAT-Alternative-report-Somalia.pdf>, accessed 1 April 2025

Daily Sabah, Is there an antidote for Somalia's Federalism?, 23 August 2022, <https://www.dailysabah.com/opinion/op-ed/is-there-an-antidote-for-somalias-federalism>, accessed 10 April 2025

Daljir, Awdal, the sacrificial lamb, and the Devil's bargain between IOG of Djibouti and Habar Awal clansmen of Somaliland, 23 May 2023, <https://daljir.com/awdal-the-sacrificial-lamb-and-the-devils-bargain-between-iog-of-djibouti-and-habar-awal-clansmen-of-somaliland/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Daljir, Land mine blast in Somalia leaves three dead, 17 July 2023, <https://daljir.com/land-mine-blast-in-somalia-leaves-three-dead/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Daljir, Latest Garxajis clan militia defeat of Somaliland army puts Muse Bihi between a rock and hard place, 11 August 2023, <https://daljir.com/latest-garxajis-clan-militia-defeat-of-somaliland-army-puts-muse-bihi-between-a-rock-and-hard-place/>, accessed 10 April 2025

DW (Deutsche Welle), Somalia: Puntland pulls recognition of federal government, 31 March 2024, <https://www.dw.com/en/somalia-puntland-pulls-recognition-of-federal-government/a-68709757>, accessed 10 April 2025

DW (Deutsche Welle), Somalia's new president promises peace, 17 May 2022, <https://www.dw.com/en/somalias-new-president-promises-peace-and-reconciliation/a-61827191>, accessed 10 April 2025

DW (Deutsche Welle), Somaliland unfazed by Somalia-Ethiopia compromise, 16 December 2024, <https://www.dw.com/en/somaliland-unfazed-by-somalia-ethiopia-compromise/a-71065172>, accessed 10 April 2025

EASO (European Asylum Support Office), COI report - South and Central Somalia Country overview, August 2014, [https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/EASO-COIreport-Somalia\\_EN.pdf](https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/EASO-COIreport-Somalia_EN.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

EASO (European Asylum Support Office), Country of Origin Information Report on Somalia: Actors, July 2021,

[https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2021\\_07\\_EASO\\_COI\\_Report\\_Somalia\\_Actors.pdf](https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2021_07_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Actors.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

EASO (European Asylum Support Office), Country of Origin Information Report on Somalia: Key socio-economic indicators, September 2021,

[https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2021\\_09\\_EASO\\_COI\\_Report\\_Somalia\\_Key\\_socio\\_economic](https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2021_09_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Key_socio_economic), accessed 10 April 2025

EASO (European Asylum Support Office), Country of Origin Information Report on Somalia: Security Situation, September 2021,

[https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2021\\_09\\_EASO\\_COI\\_Report\\_Somalia\\_Security\\_situation\\_new](https://euaa.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/2021_09_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Security_situation_new), accessed 10 April 2025

EASO (European Asylum Support Office), Country of Origin Information Report on Somalia: Targeted profiles, September 2021,

[https://coi.easo.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2021\\_09\\_EASO\\_COI\\_Report\\_Somalia\\_Targeted\\_profiles.pdf](https://coi.easo.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2021_09_EASO_COI_Report_Somalia_Targeted_profiles.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

East African (The), Somalia executes 10 Al Shabaab insurgents, police say, 17 August 2024,

[https://www.theeastfrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/somalia-executes-10-al-shabaab-insurgents-police-say-4728654#google\\_vignette](https://www.theeastfrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/somalia-executes-10-al-shabaab-insurgents-police-say-4728654#google_vignette), accessed 25 March 2025

East African (The), US warns of imminent Shabaab attack in Mogadishu, 5 March 2025,

<https://www.theeastfrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/us-warns-of-imminent-shabaab-attack-in-mogadishu-4952612>, accessed 10 April 2025

East African (The), Why Turkey, Atmis jostle for control of Mogadishu Port, 28 April 2024, <https://www.theeastfrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/why-turkey-atmis-jostle-for-control-of-mogadishu-port--4604956>, accessed 10 April 2025

Eastleigh Voice (The), Puntland forces seize cache of weapons in major security operation, 19 May 2024, <https://eastleighvoice.co.ke/isis-africa/42832/puntland-forces-seize-cache-of-weapons-in-major-security-operation>, accessed 10 April 2025

Edle, A., Bay and Bakool: How Somalia's Breadbasket turned into an Epicenter of Humanitarian Crisis, RVI (Rift Valley Institute), 2023, <https://riftvalley.net/publication/bay-and-bakool-how-somalias-breadbasket-turned-into-an-epicenter-of-humanitarian-crisis/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Edle, A., et al., Isbaaro: checkpoints and worldmaking beyond the state, 2024, [https://pure.diiis.dk/ws/portalfiles/portal/24622420/DIIS\\_WP\\_Roadblocks\\_and\\_revenues\\_06\\_Isbaaro.pdf](https://pure.diiis.dk/ws/portalfiles/portal/24622420/DIIS_WP_Roadblocks_and_revenues_06_Isbaaro.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

ENACT, Africa Organised Crime Index 2021, Evolution of crime in a Covid world, 2021, <https://enact-africa.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/2021-11-25-oci-final.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

ENACT, Africa Organised Crime Index 2023 – Somalia, <https://africa.ocindex.net/country/somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

ENACT, Africa Organised Crime Index 2023, Increasing criminality, growing vulnerabilities, 2024, <https://enact-africa.s3.amazonaws.com/uploads/pages/1708078753063-2023-11-24-oci-africa-final.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Encyclopaedia Britannica, Somalia, last updated 23 March 2025, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

EUAA (European Union Agency for Asylum), Country of Origin Information Report on Somalia: Country Focus, May 2025, [https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2025\\_05\\_EUAA\\_COI\\_Report\\_Somalia\\_Country\\_Focus.pdf](https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2025_05_EUAA_COI_Report_Somalia_Country_Focus.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

EUAA (European Union Agency for Asylum), Country of Origin information Report on Somalia: Security Situation, February 2023,  
[https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2023\\_02\\_EUAA\\_COI\\_Report\\_Somalia\\_Security\\_situation.pdf](https://coi.euaa.europa.eu/administration/easo/PLib/2023_02_EUAA_COI_Report_Somalia_Security_situation.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

FDD's Long War Journal, Analysis: Shabaab mounts large-scale offensive, Somali Armed Forces claim victory, 23 July 2024, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2024/07/analysis-shabaab-mounts-large-scale-offensive-somali-armed-forces-claim-victory.php>, accessed 10 April 2025

Felbab-Brown, V., The Problem with Militias in Somalia, 2020,  
<https://i.unu.edu/media/cpr.unu.edu/post/3895/HybridConflictSomaliaWeb.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Finland, Finnish Immigration Service's Country Information Service, Somalia: Fact-Finding Mission to Mogadishu in March 2020, Security situation and humanitarian conditions in Mogadishu [source: oral interview with UNHCR 3.3.2020], 7 August 2020, <https://migri.fi/documents/5202425/5914056/Somalia%20Fact-Finding%20Mission%20to%20Mogadishu%20in%20March%202020.pdf/2f51bf86-ac96-f34e-fd02-667c6ae973a0/Somalia%20Fact-Finding%20Mission%20to%20Mogadishu%20in%20March%202020.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Freedom House, Freedom in the World 2024 – Somalia, 2024,  
<https://freedomhouse.org/country/somalia/freedom-world/2024>, accessed 10 April 2025

Frontier Online, Al-Shabaab executes five men for espionage in Bakool region, 12 June 2023,  
<https://frontieronline.co.ke/al-shabaab-executes-five-men-for-espionage-in-bakool-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

FTL (Facility for Talo and Leadership), 5 People Killed in Roadside Explosion in Middle Shabelle, 25 June 2024, <https://www.ftlsomalia.com/5-people-killed-in-roadside-explosion-in-middle-shabelle/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Gabobe, M., Al-Shabab in Somalia: Bullets and bombs can't bury ideologies, Al Jazeera, 6 October 2024,  
<https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2024/10/6/al-shabab-in-somalia-bullets-and-bombs-cant-bury-ideologies>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Al-Shabaab executes suspected spies in Somalia, 16 January 2024,  
<https://www.garowonline.com/en/news/somalia/al-shabaab-executes-suspected-spies-in-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Al-Shabaab Militants launch Attack on Ethiopian Military Base in Somalia, 12 October 2024, <https://garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/al-shabaab-militants-launch-attack-on-ethiopian-military-base-in-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Al-Shabaab raids Mogadishu hotel, several held hostage, 9 June 2023, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/al-shabaab-raids-mogadishu-hotel-several-held-hostage>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Deadly clan clashes claim over 50 lives in Central Somalia, 9 June 2024, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/deadly-clan-clashes-claim-over-50-lives-in-central-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Deadly Clashes in Somalia's Bardhere Claim Lives of Key Officials, 5 February 2025, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/deadly-clashes-in-somalia-s-bardhere-claim-lives-of-key-officials>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Ethiopian troops take control of airports in Somalia, 10 September 2024, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/ethiopian-troops-take-control-of-airports-in-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe On-line, Hassan Sheikh visits Somali soldiers training in Eritrea, 10 October 2023, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/hassan-sheikh-visits-somali-soldiers-training-in-eritrea>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, ISIS Extortion Threats Force Business Closures in Bossaso, Somalia, 18 June 2023, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/isis-extortion-threats-force-business-closures-in-bosaso-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Jubaland conflict: What we know so far, 26 November 2024, <https://garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/jubaland-conflict-what-we-know-so-far>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Puntland Forces, With International Support, Target ISIS in Bari Region, 9 January 2025, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/puntland-forces-with-international-support-target-isis-in-bari-region>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Puntland seizes weapons and drugs in Garowe, 10 June 2024,  
<https://www.garoweonline.com/index.php/en/news/puntland/somalia-puntland-seizes-weapons-and-drugs-in-garowe>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe On-line, Puntland withdraws recognition of the Federal Government of Somalia, 31 March 2024,  
<https://garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/puntland-withdraws-recognition-of-the-federal-government-of-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Ranking Al-Shabaab leader surrenders in Somalia, 11 May 2024,  
<https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/ranking-al-shabaab-leader-surrenders-in-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Somali and Jubaland Forces Make Strategic Gains Against Al-Shabaab in Lower Jubba Region, 13 October 2024, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somali-and-jubaland-forces-make-strategic-gains-against-al-shabaab-in-lower-jubba-region>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Somalia forces take control of military bases ahead of AU peacekeepers' exit, 7 December 2024, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-forces-takes-control-of-military-bases-ahead-of-au-peacekeepers-exit>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Somalia: Al-Shabaab publicly executes suspected 'spies', 16 November 2024,  
<https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-al-shabaab-publicly-executes-suspected-spies>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Somalia: An airstrike kills four civilians from the same family in Puntland, 28 January 2025,  
<https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/somalia-an-airstrike-kills-four-civilians-from-the-same-family-in-puntland>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Somalia: Hirshabelle President Debunks Somali President's Checkpoint Accusations, 5 April 2023, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-hirshabelle-president-debunks-somali-president-s-checkpoint-accusations>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Somalia: Puntland Bolsters Security in Garowe Post Al-Shabaab Executions, 26 August 2024, <https://www.garoweonline.com/index.php/en/news/somalia/somalia-puntland-bolsters-security-in-garowe-post-al-shabaab-executions>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Somalia: Puntland Police Seize Stolen Bus, Arrest Militiamen After Gunfight, 22 March 2025, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/somalia-puntland-police-seize-stolen-bus-arrest->

[militiamen-after-gunfight](#), accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Somalia: Puntland's Business Center Faces Terrorist Threats as Businesses Close Down, 12 April 2023, <https://garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-puntland-s-business-center-faces-terrorist-threats-as-businesses-close-down>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Somalia: Tension rises in Puntland as president mobilizes troops, 20 November 2023, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/puntland/somalia-tension-rises-in-puntland-as-president-mobilizes-troops>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Somalia: There will be no new administration in SSC, Bihi says, 15 October 2023, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somaliland/somalia-there-will-be-no-new-administration-in-ssc-bihi-says>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Somalia's Govt mobilising troops in Gedo after Raskamboni defeat, 17 December 2024, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/somalia-s-govt-mobilising-troops-in-gedo-after-raskamboni-defeat>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Suspected KDF airstrike in Somalia destroys Telecom infrastructure, 17 June 2023, <https://www.garoweonline.com/index.php/en/news/somalia/suspected-kdf-airstrike-in-somalia-destroys-telecom-infrastructure>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, Twin Al-Shabaab morning car bomb attack targets Somalia, 28 September 2023, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/twin-al-shabaab-morning-car-bomb-attack-targets-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Garowe Online, U.S. Cuts Funds for Somalia's Elite Danab Forces, 6 March 2025, <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/news/somalia/u-s-cuts-to-danab-forces-raise-al-shabaab-fears>, accessed 10 April 2025

Geneva Declaration Secretariat, Global burden of armed violence, 2008, <https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/Crime-statistics/Global-Burden-of-Armed-Violence-full-report.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

GITOC (Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime), Countering the arms race in Somalia, 24 May 2024, <https://globalinitiative.net/analysis/arms-trafficking-somalia-ocindex/>, accessed 10 April 2025

GI-TOC (Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime), Terror and Taxes. Inside Al-Shabaab's revenue-collection machine, 8 December 2022, <https://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/AS-protection-economies.-WEB.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Global Protection Cluster, Somalia Protection Analysis Update - Jowhar District September 2024, 31 August 2024, [https://globalprotectioncluster.org/sites/default/files/2024-08/240830\\_jowhar\\_pau\\_somalia\\_fv\\_0.pdf](https://globalprotectioncluster.org/sites/default/files/2024-08/240830_jowhar_pau_somalia_fv_0.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Global Studies, Somaliland's presidential elections, between quest for international legitimacy and internal stability, 14 November 2024, <https://www.globalstudies.it/en/somalilands-presidential-elections-between-quest-for-international-legitimacy-and-internal-stability/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Goobjoog, Jeyte picked to head Ma'awisley militia affairs amid build-up for second military operations, 29 October 2023, <https://en.goobjoog.com/jeyte-picked-to-head-maawisley-militia-affairs-amid-build-up-for-second-military-operations/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Goobjoog, Somali National Army Crushes Al-Shabaab Militants in Bakool Region Operation, 15 March 2025, <https://en.goobjoog.com/somali-national-army-crushes-al-shabaab-militants-in-bakool-region-operation/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Goobjoog, Somali National Army Seize Two Key Villages in Lower Juba, 10 July 2024, <https://en.goobjoog.com/somali-national-army-seize-two-key-villages-in-lower-juba/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Goobjoog, WFP Suspends Operations in SSC-Khatumo Over Looting of Aid, 30 November 2024, <https://en.goobjoog.com/wfp-suspends-operations-in-ssc-khatumo-over-looting-of-aid/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Guardian (The), Al-Shabaab militants seize UN helicopter killing one and abducting five, 10 January 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/jan/10/somalian-rebels-kill-one-and-abduct-five-after-un-helicopters-emergency-landing>, accessed 10 April 2025

Guardian (The), Inside Somalia's vicious cycle of deforestation for charcoal, 8 August 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/aug/08/somalia-deforestation-charcoal-farmers-logging-al-shabaab>, accessed 10 April 2025

Guardian (The), Somalia accused of ‘threatening national unity’ with new constitution, 5 April 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2024/apr/05/fears-violence-somalia-constitution>, accessed 10 April 2025

Guled Salah Barre, Weaknesses of Federalism in Somalia and Required Reforms, 28 August 2024, <https://www.journals.eanso.org/index.php/eajass/article/download/2152/2840/&ved=2ahUKEwiiemWrJiMAXmgf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halbeeg, Al-Shabaab destroys key water well in recently liberated town, 13 September 2023, <https://en.halbeeg.com/al-shabaab-destroys-key-water-well-in-recently-liberated-town/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halbeeg, Hiiraan governor imposes siege on Al-Shabaab controlled areas, 8 May 2023, <https://en.halbeeg.com/hiiraan-governor-imposes-siege-on-al-shabaab-controlled-areas/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halbeeg, Somali forces destroy Al-Shabaab bases in southern Mudug region, 18 September 2024, <https://en.halbeeg.com/somali-forces-destroy-al-shabaab-bases-in-southern-mudug-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Al-Shabaab Casualties from Lower Juba Operations Rise to over 200, Says Defence Spokesperson, 24 July 2024, <https://halqabsi.com/2024/07/al-shabaab-casualties-from-lower-juba-operations-rise-to-over-200-says-defence-spokesperson/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Armed Militias Abduct 20 Civilians, Including New Mother, in Mudug Region, 9 February 2024, <https://halqabsi.com/2024/02/armed-militias-abduct-20-civilians/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Bossaso Hospitals Shut Down Amidst ISIS Extortion Demands, 24 June 2024, <https://halqabsi.com/2024/06/hospitals-shut-down-amidst-isis-extortion-demands/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Clan Revenge Attack in Mudug Leaves Five Dead, Six Injured, 28 January 2024, <https://halqabsi.com/2024/01/clan-revenge-attack-in-mudug/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Government Forces Ambush Al-Shabaab Militants in Galgaduud Region, 19 October 2024, <https://halqabsi.com/2024/10/government-forces-ambush-al-shabaab/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Government Forces Destroy Al-Shabaab Vehicles in Galgaduud Offensive, 6 November 2024, <https://halqabsi.com/2024/11/forces-destroy-al-shabaab-vehicles/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, HirShabelle President arrives in Bal'ad to bolster anti-Al-Shabaab campaign, 15 September 2024, <https://halqabsi.com/2024/09/hirshabelle-president-arrives-in-balad-to-bolster-anti-al-shabaab-campaign/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Joint Forces Make Gains Against Al-Shabab in Mudug Region, 19 February 2025, <https://halqabsi.com/2025/02/joint-forces-make-gains-against/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Jubaland Security Forces Repel Al-Shabaab Attack in Lower Juba, 27 October 2024, <https://halqabsi.com/2024/10/jubaland-security-forces-repel-al-shabaab-attack-in-lower-juba/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Landmine Explosion in Galgaduud Kills One, Injures Another, 31 July 2024, <https://halqabsi.com/2024/07/landmine-explosion-in-galgaduud-kills-one-injures-another/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Mogadishu Businesses Face Terrorism Threats Over CCTV Camera Installation, 5 December 2023, <https://halqabsi.com/2023/12/businesses-face-terrorism/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, National Army Eliminates 10 Al-Shabaab Fighters in Galgaduud, 22 October 2024, <https://halqabsi.com/2024/10/army-eliminates-10-al-shabaab/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Over 10 Killed in Clan Clashes in Galmudug, 28 April 2024, <https://halqabsi.com/2024/04/over-10-killed-in-clan-clashes-in-galmudug/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi news, Security forces respond to Al-Shabab advance near Mogadishu, 16 March 2025, <https://halqabsi.com/2025/03/forces-respond-to-al-shabab-advance-near-mogadishu/>

Halqabsi News, SNA Forces Repel Al-Shabab Attack in Middle Shabelle Region, 20 February 2025, <https://halqabsi.com/2025/02/sna-forces-repel-al-shabab-attack/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, SNA Intensifies Operations Against Al-Shabaab in Bakool, 29 April 2024, <https://halqabsi.com/2024/04/sna-intensifies-operations-against-al-shabaab-in-bakool/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Somali Army Claims Success in Hudur City Operation, 6 July 2024,  
<https://halqabsi.com/2024/07/somali-army-claims-success/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, South West Security Minister arrives in Barawe, 2 August 2023,  
<https://halqabsi.com/2023/08/south-west-security-minister-arrives-in-barawe/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Targeted Airstrike Kills High-Ranking Al-Shabaab Leader in Bakool Region, 22 September 2023, <https://halqabsi.com/2023/09/targeted-airstrike-kills-high-ranking-al-shabaab/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi News, Tensions Rise in Garowe Amidst Military Build-Up and Electoral Disputes, 19 November 2023, <https://halqabsi.com/2023/11/tensions-rise-in-garowe/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi, Samakaab Clashes Between Somaliland and SSC Result in High Casualties, 16 May 2023,  
<https://halqabsi.com/2023/05/samakaab-clashes-somaliland-and-ssc/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Halqabsi, SSC-Khaatumo Forces Capture Somaliland's Biggest and Last Military Base in Sool, 25 August 2023, <https://halqabsi.com/2023/08/ssc-khaatumo-forces-capture-goojacade/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Harper, M., US troops back in Somalia to fight al-Shabab, BBC News, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-61631439>, accessed 10 April 2025

Harun Maruf, 'Ma'awisley' Militias in Central Somalia Mobilizing Against al-Shabab, 4 October 2022,  
<https://www.voanews.com/a/ma-awisley-militias-in-central-somalia-mobilizing-against-al-shabab-6776048.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

Harun Maruf, Post on Twitter, 25 February 2021,  
<https://twitter.com/harunmaruf/status/1364821082985947136?lang=en>, accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, 102-year-old elder killed in Hiiraan region as clan dispute escalates, 4 February 2025,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200113/102\\_year\\_old\\_elder\\_killed\\_in\\_hiiraan\\_region\\_as\\_clan\\_dispute\\_es](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200113/102_year_old_elder_killed_in_hiiraan_region_as_clan_dispute_es)

Hiiraan Online, A landmine explosion kills one civilian, injures another one in Galgadud region, 31 July 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/July/197319/a\\_landmine\\_explosion\\_kills\\_one\\_civilian\\_injures\\_another\\_one\\_in\\_galgadud\\_region](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/July/197319/a_landmine_explosion_kills_one_civilian_injures_another_one_in_galgadud_region), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, A young doctor killed in suspected clan revenge in Mudug region, 10 September 2023,  
[https://hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Sept/192966/a\\_young\\_doctor\\_killed\\_in\\_suspected\\_clan\\_revenge\\_in\\_mudug\\_region](https://hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Sept/192966/a_young_doctor_killed_in_suspected_clan_revenge_in_mudug_region), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Abudwak airport reopens after 2-week closure due to militia threats and political dispute, 10 October 2024,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Oct/198395/abudwak\\_airport\\_reopens\\_after\\_2\\_week\\_closure\\_due\\_to\\_militia](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Oct/198395/abudwak_airport_reopens_after_2_week_closure_due_to_militia), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Al-Shabaab attacks military bases near Afgoye in Lower Shabelle region, 20 March 2025,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200777/al\\_shabaab\\_attacks\\_military\\_bases\\_near\\_afgoye\\_in\\_lower\\_shabe](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200777/al_shabaab_attacks_military_bases_near_afgoye_in_lower_shabe), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Al-Shabaab leaders flee Jilib following intensified airstrikes by Somali forces, 23 March 2025,

[https://hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200820/al\\_shabaab\\_leaders\\_flee\\_jilib\\_following\\_intensified\\_airstrikes\\_by\\_som](https://hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200820/al_shabaab_leaders_flee_jilib_following_intensified_airstrikes_by_som), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Al-Shabaab leaders flee Jilib following intensified airstrikes by Somali forces, 23 March 2025,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200820/al\\_shabaab\\_leaders\\_flee\\_jilib\\_following\\_intensified\\_airstrikes\\_b](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200820/al_shabaab_leaders_flee_jilib_following_intensified_airstrikes_b), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Al-Shabaab recaptures Mudug region towns as Somali government forces withdraw, 11 March 2024,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Mar/195404/al\\_shabaab\\_recaptures\\_mudug\\_region\\_towns\\_as\\_somali\\_govern](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Mar/195404/al_shabaab_recaptures_mudug_region_towns_as_somali_govern), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Armed clan militia kill two brothers, injure family in Galgaduud region, 7 August 2024,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Aug/197431/armed\\_clan\\_militia\\_kill\\_two\\_brothers\\_injure\\_family\\_in\\_galgadu](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Aug/197431/armed_clan_militia_kill_two_brothers_injure_family_in_galgadu)

Hiiraan Online, Clan militia kills seven soldiers in Middle Shabelle region, two escape, 27 December 2024,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Dec/199550/clan\\_militia\\_kills\\_seven\\_soldiers\\_in\\_middle\\_shabelle\\_region\\_tw](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Dec/199550/clan_militia_kills_seven_soldiers_in_middle_shabelle_region_tw), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Deadly clan conflict in Mudug leaves four dead, 11 injured, 15 October 2024,

[https://hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Oct/198475/deadly\\_clan\\_conflict\\_in\\_mudug\\_leaves\\_four\\_dead\\_11\\_injured.aspx](https://hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Oct/198475/deadly_clan_conflict_in_mudug_leaves_four_dead_11_injured.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Deadly clashes as Puntland forces foil ISIS attack in Bari region, 1 January 2025,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Jan/199623/puntland\\_forces\\_killed\\_in\\_repelled\\_isis\\_attack\\_in\\_bari\\_region.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Jan/199623/puntland_forces_killed_in_repelled_isis_attack_in_bari_region.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Death toll rises to eight in suicide bombing in Hiiraan region, 11 August 2023,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Aug/192578/death\\_toll\\_rises\\_to\\_eight\\_in\\_suicide\\_bombing\\_in\\_hiiraan\\_region.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Aug/192578/death_toll_rises_to_eight_in_suicide_bombing_in_hiiraan_region.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Ethiopian troops enter Somalia for second time in a month, sparking anxiety among residents, 23 July 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/July/197220/ethiopian\\_troops\\_enter\\_somalia\\_for\\_second\\_time\\_in\\_a\\_month.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/July/197220/ethiopian_troops_enter_somalia_for_second_time_in_a_month.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Ethiopian troops reportedly seize airports in Somalia's Gedo region as tensions rise, 10 September 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Sept/197956/ethiopian\\_troops\\_reportedly\\_seize\\_airports\\_in\\_somalia\\_s\\_gedo.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Sept/197956/ethiopian_troops_reportedly_seize_airports_in_somalia_s_gedo.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Federal government recognizes SCC-Khatumo administration, pledges cooperation, 19 October 2023,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Oct/193444/federal\\_government\\_recognizes\\_scc\\_khatumo\\_administration\\_please.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Oct/193444/federal_government_recognizes_scc_khatumo_administration_please.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Five killed as rival clans clash in Hiiraan region, 28 April 2023,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Apr/191043/five\\_killed\\_as\\_rival\\_clans\\_clash\\_in\\_hiiraan\\_region.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Apr/191043/five_killed_as_rival_clans_clash_in_hiiraan_region.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Five killed, ten wounded as rival clan militias clash in Sanaag region, 26 August 2023,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Aug/192778/five\\_killed\\_ten\\_wounded\\_as\\_rival\\_clan\\_militias\\_clash\\_in\\_sanaag.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Aug/192778/five_killed_ten_wounded_as_rival_clan_militias_clash_in_sanaag.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Heavy casualties as Somaliland, SSC-Khatumo forces clash in Ain area, 1 November 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Nov/198740/heavy\\_casualties\\_as\\_somaliland\\_ssc\\_khatumo\\_forces\\_clash\\_in\\_a.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Nov/198740/heavy_casualties_as_somaliland_ssc_khatumo_forces_clash_in_a.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Heightened security measures imposed following deadly clan clashes in Somalia's Galgaduud, 10 June 2024,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Jun/196631/heightened\\_security\\_measures\\_imposed\\_following\\_deadly\\_clan\\_clashes\\_in\\_galgaduud\\_somalias\\_galgaduud](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Jun/196631/heightened_security_measures_imposed_following_deadly_clan_clashes_in_galgaduud_somalias_galgaduud), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Hirshabelle President accuses Somali military of establishing illegal checkpoints, 5 April 2023,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Apr/190688/hirshabelle\\_president\\_accuses\\_somali\\_military\\_of\\_establishing\\_illegal\\_checkpoints\\_in\\_hirshabelle](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Apr/190688/hirshabelle_president_accuses_somali_military_of_establishing_illegal_checkpoints_in_hirshabelle), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Intense clan fighting erupts in Luuq, Somalia, as rival militias clash, 26 February 2025,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200424/intense\\_clan\\_fighting\\_erupts\\_in\\_luuq\\_somalia\\_as\\_rival\\_militias\\_clash](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200424/intense_clan_fighting_erupts_in_luuq_somalia_as_rival_militias_clash), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Inter-clan conflict erupts on Hiiran-Middle Shabelle border, 18 January 2025,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Jan/199877/inter\\_clan\\_conflict\\_erupts\\_on\\_hiiran\\_middle\\_shabelle\\_border.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Jan/199877/inter_clan_conflict_erupts_on_hiiran_middle_shabelle_border.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Inter-clan fighting kills two people in Burhakaba district, 13 April 2024,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Apr/195849/inter\\_clan\\_fighting\\_kills\\_two\\_people\\_in\\_burhakaba\\_district.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Apr/195849/inter_clan_fighting_kills_two_people_in_burhakaba_district.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, ISIS attack in Puntland kills one soldier, injures nine, 25 March 2025,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200851/isis\\_attack\\_in\\_puntland\\_kills\\_one\\_soldier\\_injures\\_nine.aspx?utm\\_source=Facebook&utm\\_medium=organic&utm\\_campaign=Facebook\\_Organic](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200851/isis_attack_in_puntland_kills_one_soldier_injures_nine.aspx?utm_source=Facebook&utm_medium=organic&utm_campaign=Facebook_Organic), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, ISIS forcing migrants into militancy in Puntland, Somali officials say, 12 February 2025,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200222/isis\\_forcing\\_migrants\\_into\\_militancy\\_in\\_puntland\\_somali\\_officials\\_say](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200222/isis_forcing_migrants_into_militancy_in_puntland_somali_officials_say), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Jilib drone strike targets Al-Shabaab amidst leadership feud, 5 December 2023,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Dec/194047/jilib\\_drone\\_strike\\_targets\\_al\\_shabaab\\_amidst\\_leadership\\_feud](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Dec/194047/jilib_drone_strike_targets_al_shabaab_amidst_leadership_feud), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Jubbaland forces take over bases vacated by AU troops in Lower Juba, 4 December 2024,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Dec/199200/jubbaland\\_forces\\_take\\_over\\_bases\\_vacated\\_by\\_au\\_troops\\_in\\_lower\\_juba](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Dec/199200/jubbaland_forces_take_over_bases_vacated_by_au_troops_in_lower_juba), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Jubbaland, Somali leaders back peace talks as Puntland remains silent, 30 March 2025,  
[https://hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200919/somali\\_opposition\\_leaders\\_endorse\\_president\\_s\\_call\\_for\\_consultation](https://hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200919/somali_opposition_leaders_endorse_president_s_call_for_consultation), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, KDF troops in Somalia, SNA kill 40 al Shabaab terrorists, 9 July 2023,  
[https://hiiraan.com/news4/2023/July/192170/kdf\\_troops\\_in\\_somalia\\_sna\\_kill\\_40\\_al\\_shabaab\\_terrorists.aspx](https://hiiraan.com/news4/2023/July/192170/kdf_troops_in_somalia_sna_kill_40_al_shabaab_terrorists.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Landmine explosion kills two civilians in Gedo region, 16 May 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/May/196304/landmine\\_explosion\\_kills\\_two\\_people\\_in\\_gedo\\_region.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/May/196304/landmine_explosion_kills_two_people_in_gedo_region.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Ma'awisley militia strikes Al-Shabaab stronghold in El Buur, 18 February 2025,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200303/ma\\_awisley\\_militia\\_strikes\\_al\\_shabaab\\_stronghold\\_in\\_el\\_buur.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200303/ma_awisley_militia_strikes_al_shabaab_stronghold_in_el_buur.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Prime Minister Barre praises Somali forces for retaking Bulo Haji area from al-Shabab, 10 June 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Jun/196637/prime\\_minister\\_barre\\_praises\\_somali\\_forces\\_for\\_retaking\\_bulo\\_haji\\_area](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Jun/196637/prime_minister_barre_praises_somali_forces_for_retaking_bulo_haji_area), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Protests turn violent in Borama: demonstrators seek justice for fallen coast guard officer, 8 May 2023,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/May/191199/protests\\_turn\\_violent\\_in\\_borama\\_demonstrators\\_seek\\_justice\\_for\\_fallen\\_coast\\_guard\\_officer](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/May/191199/protests_turn_violent_in_borama_demonstrators_seek_justice_for_fallen_coast_guard_officer), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Puntland increases security in Garowe following fears of Al-Shabaab infiltration, 26 August 2024,  
[https://hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Aug/197702/puntland\\_increases\\_security\\_in\\_garowe\\_following\\_fears\\_of\\_al\\_shabaab\\_infiltration](https://hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Aug/197702/puntland_increases_security_in_garowe_following_fears_of_al_shabaab_infiltration), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Puntland President Deni vows zero tolerance for Al-Shabaab, ISIS resurgence, 9 March 2025,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200605/puntland\\_president\\_deni\\_vows\\_zero\\_tolerance\\_for\\_al\\_shabaab\\_isis\\_resurgence](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200605/puntland_president_deni_vows_zero_tolerance_for_al_shabaab_isis_resurgence), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Puntland seizes 'suicide' drones, arrests 7 linked to Al-Shabaab or ISIS-S, 27 August 2024,  
[https://hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Aug/197716/puntland\\_seizes\\_suicide\\_drones\\_arrests\\_7\\_linked\\_to\\_al\\_shabaab\\_or\\_d](https://hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Aug/197716/puntland_seizes_suicide_drones_arrests_7_linked_to_al_shabaab_or_d), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Puntland war against Daesh displaces frankincense farmers in Bari region, 11 March 2025,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200640/puntland\\_war\\_against\\_daesh\\_displaces\\_frankincense\\_farmers\\_in](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200640/puntland_war_against_daesh_displaces_frankincense_farmers_in), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Puntland withdraws recognition of Somali federal government following historic constitutional amendment, 30 March 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Mar/195674/puntland\\_withdraws\\_recognition\\_of\\_somali\\_federal\\_government](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Mar/195674/puntland_withdraws_recognition_of_somali_federal_government), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Shabaab hits Djibouti military base with suicide bombing in central Somalia, 3 July 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/July/196928/shabaab\\_hits\\_djibouti\\_military\\_base\\_with\\_suicide\\_bombing\\_in](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/July/196928/shabaab_hits_djibouti_military_base_with_suicide_bombing_in), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali Army kills 25 al-Shabab militants, including five foreign fighters in Bakool region, 26 July 2023,  
[https://hiiraan.com/news4/2023/July/192379/somali\\_army\\_kills\\_25\\_al\\_shabab\\_militants\\_including\\_five\\_foreign\\_fighters](https://hiiraan.com/news4/2023/July/192379/somali_army_kills_25_al_shabab_militants_including_five_foreign_fighters), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali army recaptures Geriley military base amid ATMIS troop drawdown, 14 July 2023,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/July/192233/somali\\_army\\_recaptures\\_geriley\\_military\\_base\\_amid\\_atmis\\_troop](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/July/192233/somali_army_recaptures_geriley_military_base_amid_atmis_troop), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali Custodial Corps deployed to Middle Shabelle region in fight against Al-Shabaab, 17 March 2025,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200732/somali\\_custodial\\_corps\\_deployed\\_to\\_middle\\_shabelle\\_region\\_in](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200732/somali_custodial_corps_deployed_to_middle_shabelle_region_in), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali forces conduct anti-Al-Shabaab operation in southern Mudug, 19 February 2025,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200322/somali\\_forces\\_conduct\\_anti\\_al\\_shabaab\\_operation\\_in\\_southern](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200322/somali_forces_conduct_anti_al_shabaab_operation_in_southern), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali forces eliminate 10 Al-Shabaab fighters in southern Mudug operation, 16 October 2024,  
[https://hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Oct/198484/somali\\_forces\\_eliminate\\_10\\_al\\_shabaab\\_fighters\\_in\\_southern\\_mudug](https://hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Oct/198484/somali_forces_eliminate_10_al_shabaab_fighters_in_southern_mudug), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali forces kill six Al-Shabaab militants in a military operation in Harardhere district, 21 February 2025,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200354/somali\\_forces\\_kill\\_six\\_al\\_shabaab\\_militants\\_in\\_a\\_military\\_operation](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200354/somali_forces_kill_six_al_shabaab_militants_in_a_military_operation), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali forces raid Al-Shabaab checkpoints, free civilians in Lower Shabelle, 14 February 2025,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200248/somali\\_forces\\_raid\\_al\\_shabaab\\_checkpoints\\_free\\_civilians\\_in\\_lower\\_shabelle](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200248/somali_forces_raid_al_shabaab_checkpoints_free_civilians_in_lower_shabelle), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali forces reclaim key road from Al-Shabaab in Bakool, 17 August 2024,  
[https://test.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Aug/197579/somali\\_forces\\_reclaim\\_key\\_road\\_from\\_al\\_shabaab\\_in\\_bakool.aspx](https://test.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Aug/197579/somali_forces_reclaim_key_road_from_al_shabaab_in_bakool.aspx), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali forces strike Al-Shabaab strongholds in Lower Shabelle, 31 December 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Dec/199614/somali\\_forces\\_strike\\_al\\_shabaab\\_strongholds\\_in\\_lower\\_shabelle](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Dec/199614/somali_forces_strike_al_shabaab_strongholds_in_lower_shabelle), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali forces, Ma'awisley militia push Al-Shabaab back in Hiiraan offensive, 31 January 2025,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Jan/200042/somali\\_forces\\_ma\\_awisley\\_militia\\_push\\_al\\_shabaab\\_back\\_in\\_hiiraan\\_offensive](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Jan/200042/somali_forces_ma_awisley_militia_push_al_shabaab_back_in_hiiraan_offensive), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali government and Jubbaland forces seize key areas from Al-Shabaab in Lower Juba, 11 July 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/July/197023/somali\\_government\\_and\\_jubbaland\\_forces\\_seize\\_key\\_areas\\_from\\_al\\_shabaab\\_in\\_lower\\_juba](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/July/197023/somali_government_and_jubbaland_forces_seize_key_areas_from_al_shabaab_in_lower_juba), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali government expands influence in Las Anod with new immigration office, 13 August 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Aug/197518/somali\\_government\\_expands\\_influence\\_in\\_las\\_anod\\_with\\_new\\_immigration\\_office](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Aug/197518/somali_government_expands_influence_in_las_anod_with_new_immigration_office), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali government forces recapture key strongholds from Al-Shabaab, 18 August 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Aug/197595/somali\\_government\\_forces\\_recapture\\_key\\_strongholds\\_from\\_al\\_shabaab](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Aug/197595/somali_government_forces_recapture_key_strongholds_from_al_shabaab)

, accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali military blocks Ethiopian troops from entering Beled Hawo district in Gedo region, 6 December 2024,

[https://hiiraan.ca/news4/2024/Dec/199240/somali\\_military\\_blocks\\_ethiopian\\_troops\\_from\\_entering\\_beled\\_hawo\\_d](https://hiiraan.ca/news4/2024/Dec/199240/somali_military_blocks_ethiopian_troops_from_entering_beled_hawo_d), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali police deployed to frontlines in Middle Shabelle region to combat Al-Shabaab, 18 March 2025,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200747/somali\\_police\\_deployed\\_to\\_frontlines\\_in\\_middle\\_shabelle\\_region](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200747/somali_police_deployed_to_frontlines_in_middle_shabelle_region), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali President condemns deadly al Shabab attack in Beledweyne town, 24 September 2023,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Sept/193138/somali\\_president\\_condemns\\_deadly\\_al\\_shabab\\_attack\\_in\\_beledweyne](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2023/Sept/193138/somali_president_condemns_deadly_al_shabab_attack_in_beledweyne), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somali President invites political rivals to unite in counterterrorism and state-building efforts, 30 March 2025,

[https://hiiraan.com/news4/2025/mar/200916/somali\\_president\\_invites\\_political\\_rivals\\_to\\_unite\\_in\\_counterterrorism](https://hiiraan.com/news4/2025/mar/200916/somali_president_invites_political_rivals_to_unite_in_counterterrorism), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Somaliland and SSC Khaatumo forces clash in Buqdharkayn as territorial dispute escalates, 7 March 2025,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200573/somaliland\\_and\\_ssc\\_khaatumo\\_forces\\_clash\\_in\\_buqdharkayn\\_as](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200573/somaliland_and_ssc_khaatumo_forces_clash_in_buqdharkayn_as), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, SSC Khaatumo forces claim victory over Somaliland in Shangeed clashes, 31 January 2025,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200044/ssc\\_khaatumo\\_forces\\_claim\\_victory\\_over\\_somaliland\\_in\\_shangeed](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200044/ssc_khaatumo_forces_claim_victory_over_somaliland_in_shangeed), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, SSC Khaatumo leader vows to reclaim Erigavo from Somaliland control, 13 January 2025,

[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Jan/199797/ssc\\_khaatumo\\_leader\\_vows\\_to\\_reclaim\\_erigavo\\_from\\_somaliland](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Jan/199797/ssc_khaatumo_leader_vows_to_reclaim_erigavo_from_somaliland), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Traditional elders demand end to deadly inter-clan clashes in Hiiraan-Middle Shabelle regions, 23 November 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Nov/199039/elders\\_demand\\_end\\_to\\_deadly\\_inter\\_clan\\_clashes\\_in\\_hiiraan\\_m](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Nov/199039/elders_demand_end_to_deadly_inter_clan_clashes_in_hiiraan_m), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, U.S. airstrikes target ISIS militant group in Somalia's Puntland State, 29 March 2025,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200908/u\\_s\\_airstrikes\\_target\\_isis\\_militant\\_group\\_in\\_somalia\\_s\\_puntland](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Mar/200908/u_s_airstrikes_target_isis_militant_group_in_somalia_s_puntland), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, Unidentified drone strike kills four civilians near ISIS stronghold in Bari region, 28 January 2025,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Jan/199995/unidentified\\_drone\\_strike\\_kills\\_four\\_civilians\\_near\\_isis\\_strongho](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Jan/199995/unidentified_drone_strike_kills_four_civilians_near_isis_strongho), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online, WFP halts aid in SSC-Khaatumo after looting disrupts relief efforts, 30 November 2024,  
[https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Nov/199130/wfp\\_halts\\_aid\\_in\\_ssc\\_khaatumo\\_after\\_looting\\_disrupts\\_relief\\_ef](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2024/Nov/199130/wfp_halts_aid_in_ssc_khaatumo_after_looting_disrupts_relief_ef), accessed 10 April 2025

Hiiraan Online: Several Al-Shabaab militants killed in fighting in Hiiraan region, 7 February 2025,  
[https://store.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200155/several\\_al\\_shabaab\\_militants\\_killed\\_in\\_fighting\\_in\\_hiiraan\\_region](https://store.hiiraan.com/news4/2025/Feb/200155/several_al_shabaab_militants_killed_in_fighting_in_hiiraan_region), accessed 10 April 2025

HIPS (Heritage Institute for Policy Studies), 18 Months for fix Somalia's broken political trajectory, December 2024, <https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/Commentary-Fix-Somalias-Broken-Political-Trajectory.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

HIPS (Heritage Institute for Policy Studies), Galmudug – Governance, state formation, conflict dynamics, and reconciliation, March 2024, <https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/Galmudug-Governance-State-Formation-Conflict-Dynamics-and-Reconciliation.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

HIPS (Heritage Institute for Policy Studies), Mogadishu: City Report, 28 August 2024,  
<https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/Mogadishu-City-report.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

HIPS (Heritage Institute for Policy Studies), Security sector reform in Somalia, January 2023,  
<https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/Security-Sector-Reform-Jan-31.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

HIPS (Heritage Institute for Policy Studies), State of Somalia 2023 Report, May 2024, <https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/SOS-REPORT-2023-.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

HIPS (Heritage Institute for Policy Studies), Unpacking the NCC decision: Political ramifications for Somalia's future, November 2024, <https://heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/11/Unpacking-the-NCC-Decision-.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Hiraal Institute, Escalation and adaptation – Assessing President Hassan Sheikh's War on Al-Shabaab, May 2024, <https://hiraalinstitute.org/escalation-and-adaptation/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Hiraal Institute, Somalia's Shifting Sands: Unpacking The Tumultuous Times Of President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud's First Year, May 2023, <https://hiraalinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/HSM-One-Year-On.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Hiraal Institute, Understanding the intricacies of the Las Anod conflict and the path to peace, May 2023, <https://hiraalinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/The-Las-Anod-Conflict.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Hoehne, M.V., Between Somaliland and Puntland, 2015, <https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Between-Somaliland-and-Puntland-by-Markus-Hoehne-RVI-Contested-Borderlands-2015.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Hoehne, M.V., Crisis in Lasanod: Border Disputes, Escalating Insecurity and the Future of Somaliland, African Arguments, 6 February 2023, <https://africanarguments.org/2023/02/crisis-in-lasanod-insecurity-border-disputes-and-the-future-of-somaliland/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Hoehne, M.V., The conflict over Las Anod: Long-term and immediate factors, and prospects for settlements, June 2023, [https://www.academia.edu/103073678/The\\_Conflict\\_over\\_Lasanod\\_Longterm\\_and\\_Immediate\\_Factors\\_and\\_Prosp](https://www.academia.edu/103073678/The_Conflict_over_Lasanod_Longterm_and_Immediate_Factors_and_Prosp), accessed 10 April 2025

Hoehne, M.V., The Dynamics of Conflict over Lasanod: Ongoing Fighting, Administration Building, Failed Mediation and Forecast, African Arguments, 12 June 2023, <https://africanarguments.org/2023/06/the-dynamics-of-conflict-over-lasanod-ongoing-fighting-administration-building-failed-mediation-and-forecast/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Hoehne, M.V., Towards a proper understanding of the conflict in Somaliland, ROAPE (Review of African Political Economy), 31 July 2023, <https://roape.net/2023/07/31/towards-a-proper-understanding-of-the-conflict-in-somaliland/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Examiner, Proliferation Of Illegal Checkpoints in Somalia Raise Concerns of Al-Shabab Resurgence, 12 June 2023, <https://hornexaminer.com/proliferation-of-illegal-checkpoints-in-somalia-raise-concerns-of-al-shabab-resurgence/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Al-Shabaab Assault on Somali Forces Leaves Over 60 Dead, Vehicles Destroyed, 9 June 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2793/Al-Shabaab-Assault-on-Somali-Forces-Leaves-Over-60-Dead-Vehicles-Destroyed>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Al-Shabaab attack on Mogadishu markets inflicts \$4 million in losses amid Government's failure to protect businesses, 28 August 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2929/Al-Shabaab-Attack-on-Mogadishu-Markets-Inflicts-4-Million-in-Losses-Amid-Governments-Failure-to-Protect-Businesses>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Al-Shabaab begins massive extortion campaign amid attempts to mend ties with clans, 3 June 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2778/Al-Shabaab-begins-massive-extortion-campaign-amid-attempts-to-mend-ties-with-clans>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Al-Shabaab Captures Balcad, 30km from Somali Capital, During Ethiopian PM's Visit, 28 February 2025, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3220/Al-Shabaab-Captures-Balcad-30km-from-Somali-Capital-During-Ethiopian-PMs-Visit>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Al-Shabaab Executes 5 Men for Allegedly Spying for U.S., Somalia and Kenya, 15 July 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2847/Al-Shabaab-Executes-5-Men-for-Allegedly-Spying-for-US-Somalia-and-Kenya>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Al-Shabaab Launches Terror Attacks, Seizes Military Trucks in Middle Shabelle, 21 February 2025, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3204/Al-Shabaab-Launches-Terror-Attacks-Seizes-Military-Trucks-in-Middle-Shabelle>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Al-Shabaab seizes control of towns and villages abandoned by Somali army, militia, 18 March 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2676/Al-Shabaab-seizes-control-of-towns-and-villages-abandoned-by-Somali-army-militia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Al-Shabaab seizes control of towns and villages abandoned by Somali army, militia, 18 March 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2676/Al-Shabaab-seizes-control-of-towns-and-villages-abandoned-by-Somali-army-militia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, At least 10 killed as rival armed groups clash in Elbarde town of Somalia, 14 June 2023, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2261/At-least-10-killed-as-rival-armed-groups-clash-in-Elbarde-town-of-Somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, At Least 12 Killed in Roadside Bombing Near Baidoa, Al-Shabaab Claims Responsibility, 17 August 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2904/At-Least-12-Killed-in-Roadside-Bombing-Near-Baidoa-Al-Shabaab-Claims-Responsibility>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, At Least Six Killed by Bomb Blasts in Somalia, 29 September 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2980/At-Least-Six-Killed-by-Bomb-Blasts-in-Somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Battle for Jubbaland: Deadly Conflict Push Region to the Brink of Chaos, 24 December 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3087/Battle-for-Jubbaland-Deadly-Conflict-Push-Region-to-the-Brink-of-Chaos>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Central Somalia: Over 15 Dead, Militia Threatens Domestic Flights, 9 June 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2791/Central-Somalia-Over-15-Dead-Militia-Threatens-Domestic-Flights>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Death Toll of Central Somalia Clan Fight Rises to 50, Authorities Call for Ceasefire, 9 June 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2792/Death-Toll-of-Central-Somalia-Clan-Fight-Rises-to-50-Authorities-Call-for-Ceasefire>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, First year of President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud's term: Political instability and a declining public trust – report, 15 May 2023, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2184/First-year-of-President-Hassan-Sheikh-Mohamuds-term-Political-instability-and-a-declining-public-trust>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Forgotten Futures: Hundreds of Children Out of School in Garowe's Shabelle Camp, 23 January 2025, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3142/Forgotten-Futures-Hundreds-of-Children-Out-of-School-in-Garowes-Shabelle-Camp>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Getting a grip on Somalia's Gold rush, 11 November 2022,  
<https://hornobserver.com/articles/1822/Getting-a-grip-on-Somalias-Gold-rush>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, INTERPOL-Trained Somali Police Officers Among 145 Missing in Mass Defection, Some Suspected of Joining Terrorists, 3 April 2025, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3264/INTERPOL-Trained-Somali-Police-Officers-Among-145-Missing-in-Mass-Defection-Some-Suspected-of-Joining-Terrorists>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, ISIS Believed to Engage in Gold Mining in Puntland to Fund Its Activities, 5 January 2025, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3113/ISIS-Believed-to-Engage-in-Gold-Mining-in-Puntland-to-Fund-Its-Activities>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Jubbaland Forces Regain Control of Dolow After Deadly Battle With Somalia Government Forces, 23 December 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3085/Jubbaland-Forces-Regain-Control-of-Dolow-After-Deadly-Battle-With-Somalia-Government-Forces>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Lower Shabelle Farmers Struggle Between Al-Shabaab Threats and Government Neglect, 29 January 2025, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3155/Lower-Shabelle-Farmers-Struggle-Between-Al-Shabaab-Threats-and-Government-Neglect>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Milestone for Somalia Peace: Clans End Deadly Conflict in Middle Shabelle, 22 August 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2920/Milestone-for-Somalia-Peace-Clans-End-Deadly-Conflict-in-Middle-Shabelle>

Horn Observer, More Than 20 Killed in Deadly Bombings in Mogadishu, Afgooye, 17 August 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2905/More-Than-20-Killed-in-Deadly-Bombings-in-Mogadishu-Afgooye>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Mortar Attack on Mogadishu's Halane Base Camp Leaves Multiple Dead, Including UN Staff, 4 November 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3037/Mortar-Attack-on-Mogadishus-Halane-Base-Camp-Leaves-Multiple-Dead-Including-UN-Staff>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Over 20 Killed in Clan Clashes as Influx of Weapons Fuels Violence in Somalia, 4 December 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3056/Over-20->, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Profile: General Jim'ale Jama Takar – A key figure in Puntland's political conflict, 21 June 2023, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2279/Profile-General-Jimale-Jama-Takar-A-key-figure-in-Puntlands-political-conflict>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Prominent civil society icons assassinated in central Somalia thanks to influx of weapons, 12 December 2023, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2538/Prominent-civil-society-icons-assassinated-in-central-Somalia-thanks-to-influx-of-weapons>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Renewed clashes and shelling erupt in Laascaanood, 26 June 2023, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2287/Renewed-clashes-and-shelling-erupt-in-Laascaanood>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Renewed Clashes in Central Somalia Leave Over 10 Dead, Dozens Injured, 10 September 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2952/Renewed-Clashes-in-Central-Somalia-Leave-Over-10-Dead-Dozens-Injured>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Somali forces and allied militia withdraw from Ceel Garas after brief capture from Al-Shabaab, 11 September 2023, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2454/Somali-forces-and-allied-militia-withdraw-from-Ceel-Garas-after-brief-capture-from-Al-Shabaab>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Somali Forces Arrive in Jalalaqsi After Vacating Positions in Protest, 30 December 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3102/Somali-Forces-Arrive-in-Jalalaqsi-After-Vacating-Positions-in-Protest>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Somali regional states oppose plan to remove Ethiopian peacekeepers, 6 June 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2783/Somali-regional-states-oppose-plan-to-remove-Ethiopian-peacekeepers>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Somalia Lower Shabelle: Clashes Spark Fear of Full-Fledged Clan Conflict, 22 August 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2921/Somalia-Lower-Shabelle-Clashes-Spark-Fear-of-Full-Fledged-Clan-Conflict>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Somalia: Al-Shabaab Carries Out Attacks in Hiiraan and Middle Shabelle, Civilians Flee, 26 February 2025, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3216/Somalia-Al-Shabaab-Carries-Out-Attacks-in-Hiiraan-and-Middle-Shabelle-Civilians-Flee>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Somalia: Al-Shabaab Carries Out Attacks in Hiiraan and Middle Shabelle, Civilians Flee, 26 February 2025, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3216/Al-Shabaab-Carries-Out-Attacks-in-Hiiraan-and-Middle-Shabelle-Civilians-Flee>

[Middle-Shabelle-Civilians-Flee](#), accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Somalia: Multiple mortar rounds hit parts of the Mogadishu airport and Halane, 19 March 2025, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3246/Somalia-Multiple-mortar-rounds-hit-parts-of-the-Mogadishu-airport-and-Halane>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Somalia: Puntland takes historic step with first direct election in 54 Years, 25 May 2023, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2213/Somalia-Puntland-takes-historic-step-with-first-direct-election-in-54-Years>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Somalia's President Narrowly Escapes Al-Shabaab Bomb Attack; Media Station Briefly Shutdown, Dozen Journalists Arrested, 18 March 2025, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3242/Somalias-President-Narrowly-Escapes-Al-Shabaab-Bomb-Attack-Media-Station-Briefly-Shutdown-Dozen-Journalists-Arrested>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Somalia's profitable charcoal trade benefits government and Al-Shabaab, 16 June 2023, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2265/Somalias-Profitable-charcoal-trade-benefits-government-and-Al-Shabaab-Report>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Somaliland deploys more forces to Oog, announces military action against SSC-Khaatumo, 6 September 2023, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2437/Somaliland-deploys-more-forces-to-Oog-announces-military-action-against-SSC-Khaatumo>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Somaliland deploys more forces to Oog, announces military action against SSC-Khaatumo, 6 September 2023, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2437/Somaliland-deploys-more-forces-to-Oog-announces-military-action-against-SSC-Khaatumo>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Tensions Escalate in Sanaag Amid Erigabo Conflict, 4 January 2025, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3111/Tensions-Escalate-in-Sanaag-Amid-Erigabo-Conflict>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Uganda initiates inquiry after deadly Al-Shabaab raid on Somalia's Buulo Mareer army base, 28 May 2023, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/2226/Uganda-initiates-inquiry-after-deadly-Al-Shabaab-raid-on-Somalias-Buulo-Mareer-army-base>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horn Observer, Under The Shade of A Tree, Peace Talks Bring Hope to Rural Town in Puntland, 25 December 2024, <https://hornobserver.com/articles/3088/Under-The-Shade-of-A-Tree-Peace-Talks-Bring-Hope-to-Rural-Town-in-Puntland>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horseed Media, A powerful explosion rocked the Timirshe area in at Iskushuban district of Bari region of Somalia today, 16 March 2024, <https://horseedmedia.net/a-powerful-explosion-rocked-the-timirshe-area-in-at-iskushuban-district-of-bari-region-of-somalia-today/390779/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horseed Media, Somali Federal Government Recognizes New SSC-Khatumo Administration, 19 October 2023, <https://horseedmedia.net/somali-federal-government-recognizes-new-ssc-khatumo-administration/383891/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Horseed Media, Somali Federal Government Recognizes New SSC-Khatumo Administration, 19 October 2023, <https://horseedmedia.net/somali-federal-government-recognizes-new-ssc-khatumo-administration/383891/>, accessed 10 April 2025

HRW (Human Rights Watch), Somalia Events of 2024, 16 January 2025, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2025/country-chapters/somalia>, accessed 20 February 2025

INSO (International NGO Safety Organisation), CHDC data, 4 April 2022, <https://ngosafety.org/latest/conflict-and-humanitarian-data-centre-launch/>, accessed 10 April 2025

INSO (International NGO Safety Organisation), Conflict Data Dashboard, n.a., <https://ngosafety.org/conflict-data-dashboard/>, accessed 10 April 2025

INSO (International NGO Safety Organisation), Conflict Data Dashboard, Somalia, as of 31 March 2025, <https://ngosafety.org/conflict-data-dashboard/>, accessed 10 April 2025

INSO (International NGO Safety Organisation), Humanitarian Data Dashboard, n.a., <https://ngosafety.org/humanitarian-data-dashboard/>, accessed 10 April 2025

INSO (International NGO Safety Organisation), Terms and definitions, n.a., <https://ngosafety.org/terms-and-definitions/>, accessed 10 April 2025

INSO (International NGO Safety Organisation), Who we are, n.a., <https://ngosafety.org/who-we-are/>, accessed 10 April 2025

International Commission Against Death Penalty, Statement by the International Commission against the Death Penalty: Four children executed in Somalia, 25 September 2024, <https://icomdp.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/Somalia-Four-children-executed-by-authorities.pdf>, accessed 25 March 2025

International Crisis Group, Crisis Watch – Somalia: April 2023 – March 2025, n.d., [https://www.crisisgroup.org/crisiswatch/database?location%5B%5D=12&crisis\\_state=&created=custom&from\\_month=1&to\\_month=12](https://www.crisisgroup.org/crisiswatch/database?location%5B%5D=12&crisis_state=&created=custom&from_month=1&to_month=12), accessed 10 April 2025

International Crisis Group, CrisisWatch – Somaliland: April 2023 – March 2025, n.d., [https://www.crisisgroup.org/crisiswatch/database?location%5B%5D=117&crisis\\_state=&created=&from\\_month=1&to\\_month=12](https://www.crisisgroup.org/crisiswatch/database?location%5B%5D=117&crisis_state=&created=&from_month=1&to_month=12), accessed 10 April 2025

International Crisis Group, Fighting Climate Change in Somalia’s Conflict Zones, 10 December 2024, [https://www.crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/2025-01/316-fighting-climate-change-somalia\\_0.pdf](https://www.crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/2025-01/316-fighting-climate-change-somalia_0.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

International Crisis Group, Lessons from the Missed Opportunity in Puntland’s Polls, 12 March 2024, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/lessons-missed-opportunity-puntlands-polls>, accessed 10 April 2025

International Crisis Group, New President in Somalia, New Opportunity for Reconciliation, 27 May 2022, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/new-president-somalia-new-opportunity-reconciliation>, accessed 10 April 2025

International Crisis Group, Somalia: Al-Shabaab – It Will Be a Long War, 26 June 2014, <https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/somalia-al-shabaab-it-will-be-a-long-war.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

International Crisis Group, Somaliland’s Peaceful Handover Withstands Neighbourhood Strains, 11 December 2024, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somaliland/somalilands-peaceful-handover-withstands-neighbourhood-strains>, accessed 10 April 2025

International Crisis Group, The Islamic State in Somalia: Responding to an Evolving Threat, 12 September 2024, [https://www.crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/2024-09/b201-isis-somalia\\_0.pdf](https://www.crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/2024-09/b201-isis-somalia_0.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

International Crisis Group, The Islamic State in Somalia: Responding to an Evolving Threat, 12 September 2024, [https://www.crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/2024-09/b201-isis-somalia\\_0.pdf](https://www.crisisgroup.org/sites/default/files/2024-09/b201-isis-somalia_0.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

International Crisis Group, The Stakes in the Ethiopia-Somaliland Deal, 6 March 2024, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/ethiopia-somaliland/stakes-ethiopia-somaliland-deal>, accessed 10 April 2025

International Crisis Group, The Stakes in the Ethiopia-Somaliland Deal, 6 March 2024, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/ethiopia-somaliland/stakes-ethiopia-somaliland-deal>, accessed 10 April 2025

International Crisis Group, Tracking Conflict Worldwide, May 2021, url, accessed 10 April 2025

IOM (International Organization for Migration), DTM Somalia – Baseline Assessment Dataset – Round 3 (February 2024 – September 2024), 3 December 2024, [https://dtm.iom.int/dtm\\_download\\_track/68196?file=1&type=node&id=39721](https://dtm.iom.int/dtm_download_track/68196?file=1&type=node&id=39721), accessed 10 April 2025

IPC (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification), Acute food insecurity and acute malnutrition analysis, Somalia, January – June 2025, 25 February 2025, [https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC\\_Somalia\\_Acute\\_Food\\_Insecurity\\_Malnutrition\\_Jan\\_June\\_2025\\_Report.pdf](https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC_Somalia_Acute_Food_Insecurity_Malnutrition_Jan_June_2025_Report.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

IPC (Integrated Food Security Phase Classification), Somalia Acute food insecurity and acute malnutrition analysis July – December 2024, 23 September 2024, [https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC\\_Somalia\\_Acute\\_Food\\_Insecurity\\_Malnutrition\\_July\\_Dec\\_2024\\_Report.pdf](https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC_Somalia_Acute_Food_Insecurity_Malnutrition_July_Dec_2024_Report.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

IPIS (International Peace Information Service), About IPIS, n.d., <https://ipisresearch.be/about-ipis/>, accessed 10 April 2025

IPIS (International Peace Information Service), Checkpoints in Somalia, n.d., <https://ipisresearch.be/mapping/webmapping/somalia/v1/>, accessed 10 April 2025

IPIS (International Peace Information Service), Mapping the political economy of checkpoints in Somalia, 20 December 2023, <https://ipisresearch.be/publication/mapping-the-political-economy-of-checkpoints-in-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

ISPI (Italian Institute for International Political Studies), On the Edge: the Ethiopia-Somaliland MoU, 30 January 2024, <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/on-the-edge-the-ethiopia-somaliland-mou-162032>, accessed 10 April 2025

ISS (Institute for Security Studies), Funding for Somalia's new AU peace mission hangs in the balance, 19 February 2025, <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/funding-for-somalia-s-new-au-peace-mission-hangs-in-the-balance>, accessed 10 April 2025

ISS (Institute for Security Studies), Overlapping claims by Somaliland and Puntland – The case of Sool and Sanaag, November 2019, East Africa Report No. 27, <https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/ear27.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

ISS (Institute for Security Studies), The various layers to the Somaliland-Puntland discord, 9 December 2019, <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/the-various-layers-to-the-somaliland-puntland-discord>, accessed 10 April 2025

ISW (Institute for the Study of War) and CTP (Critical Threats Project), Africa File, January 9, 2025: Islamic State Suicide Attack in Somalia; AUSSOM Dysfunction; M23 Captures District Capital in Eastern DRC, 9 January 2025, <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/africa-file-january-9-2025-islamic-state-suicide-attack-somalia-aussom-dysfunction-m23>, accessed 10 April 2025

ISW (Institute for the Study of War) and CTP (Critical Threats Project), Africa File: Houthi-Shabaab Weapons Deal; SFG Boost in Central Somalia, 13 June 2024, <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/africa-file-june-13-2024-houthi-shabaab-weapons-deal-sfg-boost-central-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

ISW (Institute for the Study of War) and CTP (Critical Threats Project), Africa File: Iran Pursues Economic and Military Influence, 2 May 2024, <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/africa-file-may-2-2024-iran-pursues-economic-and-military-influence>, accessed 10 April 2025

ISW (Institute for the Study of War) and CTP (Critical Threats Project), Africa File: M23 Unilateral Ceasefire; SAF Closes in on Khartoum; US Airstrikes in Northern Somalia; al Shabaab Reinfiltrates Central Somalia; IS Sahel Kidnapping Campaign; US-Algeria Relationship Grows, 6 February 2024, <https://www.understandingwar.org/backgrounder/africa-file-february-6-2025-m23-unilateral-ceasefire-saf-closes-khartoum-us-airstrikes>, accessed 10 April 2025

Jamal Mohammed, Navigating trade controls - The political economy of checkpoints along Somalia's Garissa corridor, 2023, [https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Navigating-Trade-Controls\\_Final-2\\_compressed.pdf](https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Navigating-Trade-Controls_Final-2_compressed.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Kaab TV, Djibouti forces join operations against 'AS' in Hiran, 1 February 2025, <https://en.kaabtv.com/djibouti-forces-join-operations-against-as-in-hiran/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Kaab TV, Habar Jeclo Clan Elders Endorse Waddani Candidate Ahead of Somaliland Election, 10 October 2024, <https://kaabtv.com/habar-jeclo-clan-elders-endorse-waddani-candidate-ahead-of-somaliland-election/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Kaab TV, Somaliland Forces Clash SSC-Khaatumo in Guumey, 20 January 2025, <https://en.kaabtv.com/a-battle-between-the-somaliland-army-and-the-ssc-took-place-in-goumeys-area/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Keating, M. and Waldman, M., eds., War and Peace in Somalia – National Grievances, Local Conflict and Al-Shabaab, Hurst and Company London, 2018

Kenya, Ministry of Defence, Commander Kenya army visits Forward Operating Bases, 4 December 2024, <https://www.mod.go.ke/our-community/commander-kenya-army-visits-forward-operating-bases/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Long War Journal, US strikes in Somalia, 2025, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/us-airstrikes-in-the-long-war>, accessed 10 April 2025

LSE (London School of Economics), Somalia's Politics: The Usual Business? A Synthesis Paper of the Conflict Research Programme, June 2021, <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/id/eprint/110878>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mahmood, O. S., Overlapping claims by Somaliland and Puntland, November 2019, <https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/ear27.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mareeg, Ethiopia Negotiates Participation in New AU Mission with Somalia, 2 January 2025,  
<https://mareeg.com/ethiopia-negotiates-participation-in-new-au-mission-with-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Menkhaus, K. and Adawe, I., Looma Dhama: Political Inclusivity in the Somali Urban Context, 2018

Mogadishu24, Al-Shabaab claims deadly attacks on security checkpoints, 21 August 2024,  
<https://mogadishu24.com/al-shabaab-claims-deadly-attack-on-security-checkpoints/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mogadishu24, Al-Shabaab Claims Responsibility for Mortar Attacks on Mogadishu's International Airport, 5 September 2024, <https://mogadishu24.com/al-shabaab-claims-responsibility-for-mortar-attacks-on-mogadishus-international-airport/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mogadishu24, Al-Shabaab militants execute five men accused of spying, 26 June 2023,  
<https://mogadishu24.com/al-shabaab-militants-execute-five-men-accused-of-spying/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mogadishu24, Djibouti troops under ATMIS withdraw from key bases in Beledweyne town in Hiiraan, 12 March 2024, <https://mogadishu24.com/djibouti-troops-under-atmis-withdraw-from-key-bases-in-beledweyne-town-in-hiiraan/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mogadishu24, Government forces kill over 80 Al-Shabaab militants, 28 March 2024,  
<https://mogadishu24.com/government-forces-kill-over-80-al-shabaab-militants/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mogadishu24, Jubbaland Registers Gedo Forces as Tensions with Federal Government Rise, 7 January 2025,  
<https://mogadishu24.com/jubbaland-registers-gedo-forces-as-tensions-with-federal-government-rise/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mogadishu24, Landmine blast injuries two army members in Baidoa town, 4 July 2024,  
<https://mogadishu24.com/landmine-blast-injuries-two-army-members-in-baidoa-town/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mogadishu24, Somali Army neutralizes 7 Al-Shabaab militants, 4 June 2024,  
<https://mogadishu24.com/somali-army-neutralize-7-al-shabaab-militants/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mogadishu24, Somalia Dispatches Urgent Aid to Isolated Diinsoor Town Amid Drought Crisis, 30 October 2024, <https://mogadishu24.com/somalia-dispatches-urgent-aid-to-isolated-diinsoor-town-amid-drought-crisis/>, accessed 10 April 2025

MSF (Médecins Sans Frontières), Extreme violence in Las Anod forces MSF to close activities, 24 July 2023, available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/extreme-violence-las-anod-forces-msf-close-activities>, accessed 10 April 2025

Muib, D., Somalia's Stalled Offensive Against Al-Shabaab: Taking Stock of Obstacles, CTC (Combating Terrorism Center) Sentinel, February 2024, <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/somalias-stalled-offensive-against-al-shabaab-taking-stock-of-obstacles/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somali Government Deploys NISA Forces to Frontlines in Hiraan Region, 16 February 2025, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somali-government-deploys-nisa-forces-to-frontlines-in-hiraan-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Deadly Clan Conflict Erupts in Sanaag, Casualties Reported, 10 March 2025, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/deadly-clan-conflict-erupts-in-sanaag-casualties-reported/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Federal Government Forces Thwart Al-Shabaab Attack in Galgaduud Region, 19 February 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/federal-government-forces-thwart-al-shabaab-attack-in-galgaduud-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Gunmen Kill Father and Young Son in Dhusamareb Amid Ongoing Clan Conflict, 16 October 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/gunmen-kill-father-and-young-son-in-dhusamareb-amid-ongoing-clan-conflict/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Intense Clashes Erupt in South Mudug as Government Forces Repel Al-Shabaab Attack, 3 February 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/intense-clashes-erupt-in-south-mudug-as-government-forces-repel-al-shabaab-attack/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Inter-clan Conflict Claims One Life in Burhakaba, Bay Region of Somalia, 13 April 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/inter-clan-conflict-claims-one-life-in-burhakaba-bay-region-of-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Jowhar: Roadside Bomb Explosion Kills Seven in Somalia, 3 August 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/jowhar-roadside-bomb-explosion-kills-seven-in-somalia/>, accessed 10 April

Mustaqbal Media, Jubaland State Minister Injured in Roadside Explosion En Route to Bulo Haji, 22 July 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/jubaland-state-minister-injured-in-roadside-explosion-en-route-to-bulo-haji/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Shocking Story of 12-Year-Old Boy Killed in Revenge Attack by Tribal Militia in Galgaduud Region, 18 May 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/shocking-story-of-12-year-old-boy-killed-in-revenge-attack-by-tribal-militia-in-galgaduud-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somali Armed Forces Clash with Al-Shabaab in Bakool Region, Capture Suspects, 21 September 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somali-armed-forces-clash-with-al-shabaab-in-bakool-region-capture-suspects/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somali Army Advances in Middle Shabelle, Clears Al-Shabaab Hideouts, 18 February 2025, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somali-army-advances-in-middle-shabelle-clears-al-shabaab-hideouts/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somali Federal Forces and Al-Shabaab Clash in Galgaduud Region, 25 January 2025, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somali-federal-forces-and-al-shabaab-clash-in-galgaduud-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somalia: A Court in Galgaduud executes three men by firing squad for killing two brothers, a Quran school teacher and a doctor., 6 June 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somalia-a-court-in-galgaduud-executes-three-men-by-firing-squad-for-killing-two-brothers-a-quran-school-teacher-and-a-doctor/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somalia: Al-Shabab launch dawn attack on government forces base in Ilbaq village, Bal'ad district., 13 August 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somalia-al-shabab-launch-dawn-attack-on-government-forces-base-in-ilbaq-village-balad-district/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somalia: AS ring Leaders Eliminated in Targeted Operations in Galgaduud, 12 January 2025, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somalia-as-ring-leaders-eliminated-in-targeted-operations-in-galgaduud/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somalia: Deputy Security Chief of Beled-Hawo Killed in Gedo after targeted landmine explosion, 26 January 2025, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somalia-deputy-security-chief-of-beled-hawo-killed-in-gedo-after-targeted-landmine-explosion/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somalia: Gov't, Jubaland Regional forces kill AS ring Leaders Comprising of Somalis and Foreigners in Lower Jubba Region as tough operations continue, 4 March 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somalia-govt-jubaland-regional-forces-kill-as-ring-leaders-comprising-of-somalis-and-foreigners-in-lower-jubba-region-as-tough-operations-continue/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somalia: Heavy Airstrikes Hit Al-Shabaab Bases Near Balcad, Casualties reported, 2 December 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somalia-heavy-airstrikes-hit-al-shabaab-bases-near-balcad-casualties-reported/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somalia: Landmine explosion kills two, a government soldier and a civilian in Beledweyne, 17 July 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somalia-landmine-explosion-kills-two-a-government-soldier-and-a-civilian-in-beledweyne/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somalia: Months-long inter-clan skirmishes in Burhakaba put to rest after joint efforts, 18 April 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somalia-months-long-inter-clan-skirmishes-in-burhakaba-put-to-rest-after-joint-efforts/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somalia: South West administration brokers peace deal between two warring clans in Diinsoor, 20 April 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somalia-south-west-administration-brokers-peace-deal-between-two-warring-clans-in-diinsoor/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somalia: Ten AS fighters Killed, their bases destroyed in a joint Operation in Middle Jubba, Gov't says, 21 December 2023, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somalia-ten-as-fighters-killed-their-bases-destroyed-in-a-joint-operation-in-middle-jubba-govt-says/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Somaliland, SSC forces clash in Samakaab, 16 May 2023, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/somaliland-ssc-forces-clash-in-samakaab/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Mustaqbal Media, Tragic Landmine Explosion Claims Lives of Siblings in Galgaduud Region, Somalia, 11 July 2024, <https://mustaqbalmedia.net/en/tragic-landmine-explosion-claims-lives-of-siblings-in-galgaduud-region-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

NBC News, Biden sends hundreds of U.S. troops back to Somalia to fight al-Shabab extremists, 16 May 2022, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/biden-sends-hundreds-us-troops-back-somalia->

[fight-al-shabab-extremists-rcna29087](#), accessed 10 April 2025

New America, The War in Somalia, March 2025, <https://www.newamerica.org/future-security/reports/americas-counterterrorism-wars/the-war-in-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

New Arab (The), Mortar shell explosion kills 27 people in Somalia, mainly children, 10 June 2023, <https://www.newarab.com/news/mortar-blast-kills-27-people-somalia-mainly-children>, accessed 10 April 2025

New York Times (The), Biden Approves Plan to Redeploy Several Hundred Ground Forces Into Somalia, 16 May 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/16/us/politics/biden-military-somalia.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council), 'I want my land. You have to go.' Understanding the eviction phenomenon in Baidoa, 16 September 2021, <https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/reports/i-want-my-land/i-want-my-land---full-report.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council), Eviction Information Portal: Evictions Graphs, n.d., <https://evictions.nrcsystems.net/evictions.php>, accessed 10 April 2025

NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council), Evictions Information Data Portal, 2025, <https://evictions.nrcsystems.net/index.php>, accessed 10 April 2025

Onkod Radio, Senator Hassan Kobac hails recent peace settlement in the Hiiraan region as a transformative victory for Hirshabelle State, 18 January 2025, <https://onkodradio.so/senator-hassan-applauds-hiran-regions-peace-negotiations-calls-somalia-ethiopia-agreement-a-diplomatic-victory/>, accessed 10 April 2025

PeaceRep (Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform), Checkpoints/Isbaaro – Brokers and Clusters, 5 October 2023, <https://peacerep.org/2023/10/05/checkpoints-isbaaro-brokers-clusters/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Peter Chonka, Mahad Wasuge and Farhia Mohamud, Safety and security in Mogadishu, 2023, <https://tanacopenhagen.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Tana-SPA-ACRC-Safety-and-Security-in-Mogadishu.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

PolGeoNow (Political Geography Now), Somalia Approximate Territorial Control, as of 1 April 2023, n.a., non-public source

PolGeoNow (Political Geography Now), Somalia Approximate Territorial Control, as of 31 March 2025, n.a., non-public source

Puntland Post, The Murder of a Somali Poet by Somaliland Forces, 20 August 2023, <https://puntlandpost.net/2023/08/20/the-murder-of-a-somali-poet-by-somaliland-forces/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, 9 killed in deadly attack by Gaal-Libah rebels in Somaliland's Sahil Region, 12 August 2023, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/9-killed-in-deadly-attack-by-gaal-libah-rebels-in-somalilands-sahil-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, Al Shabaab executes seven alleged spies in Middle Juba region, 16 January 2024, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/al-shabaab-executes-seven-alleged-spies-in-middle-juba-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, ATMIS Ethiopian contingent in Diinsor, Bay region escort high profile peace delegation to address clan hostilities in the district, 19 April 2024, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/atmis-ethiopian-contingent-in-diinsor-bay-region-escort-high-profile-peace-delegation-to-address-clan-hostilities-in-the-district/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, ATMIS Troops Kill and Slaughter Civilians in Somalia's Lower Shabelle Region, 17 July 2024, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/atmis-troops-kill-and-slaughter-civilians-in-somalias-lower-shabelle-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, Deadly Mortar Attack Kills 10 Civilians in Lower Shabelle Village, 10 July 2024, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/deadly-mortar-attack-kills-10-civilians-in-lower-shabelle-village/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, Five Killed in SSC-Khaatumo-Somaliland Conflict, 28 August 2024, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/five-killed-in-ssc-khaatumo-somaliland-conflict/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, Jubbaland Authorities Warn of Crackdown As Deadly Clan Clashes Erupt in Gedo Region, 8 July 2024, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/jubbaland-authorities-warn-of-crackdown-as-deadly-clan-clashes-erupt-in-gedo-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, Security Forces Foil Alshabaab Attack in Hudur, Preventing Potential Mass Casualty Event, 17 October 2024, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/security-forces-foil-alshabaab-attack-in-hudur-preventing-potential-mass-casualty-event/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, Somali army kills Al-Shabaab fighters in fierce battle near Wajid in Bakool region, 14 January 2024, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/somali-army-kills-al-shabaab-fighters-in-fierce-battle-near-wajid-in-bakool-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, Somali Army Kills Over 50 Al-Shabaab Militants in Operations, 7 October 2024, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/somali-army-kills-over-50-al-shabaab-militants-in-operations/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, Somali army liberate ten Villages in Gedo Operation, 19 August 2024, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/somali-army-liberate-ten-villages-in-gedo-operation/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, Somali Forces and Local Militias Crush Al-Shabaab Strongholds in Galgaduud Offensive, 19 October 2024, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/somali-forces-and-local-militias-crush-al-shabaab-strongholds-in-galgaduud-offensive/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, Somali military captures several key towns in Hiraan and Bakool regions as operations against the militants continue to intensify, 10 December 2023, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/somali-military-captures-several-key-towns-in-hiraan-and-bakool-regions-as-operations-against-the-militants-continue-to-intensify/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Dalsan, Somali National Army, NISA, and Local Forces Conduct Successful Operation in Eastern Hiiraan Region, 8 February 2025, <https://www.radiodalsan.com/somali-national-army-nisa-and-local-forces-conduct-successful-operation-in-eastern-hiiraan-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Ergo, New houses and amenities for 1,000 IDP families in Garowe, 16 January 2025, <https://radioergo.org/en/2025/01/new-houses-and-amenities-for-1000-idp-families-in-garowe/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Radio Ergo, War in southeastern Mudug displaces hundreds of families, 8 March 2025, <https://radioergo.org/en/2025/03/war-in-southeastern-mudug-displaces-hundreds-of-families/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Rashid Abdi, [X], posted on: 20 March 2025, <https://x.com/RAbdiAnalyst/status/1902620985401991654>, accessed 10 April 2025

Raxanreeb, Deadly Clash Erupts in Kismayo Amid Jubaland Election Tensions, 23 November 2024, <https://raxonreeb.com/deadly-clash-erupts-in-kismayo-amid-jubaland-election-tensions/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Raxanreeb, Three Civilians Killed in Landmine Explosion in Somalia's Lower Shabelle Region, 18 November 2024, <https://raxonreeb.com/three-civilians-killed-in-landmine-explosion-in-somalias-lower-shabelle-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Reporter (The), Ethiopia's pursuit of a naval base: Navigating Somalia's clan politics, 4 November 2023, <https://www.thereporterethiopia.com/37222/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Reuters, 36 dead in violence in Somalia's Puntland and Lower Shabelle regions, 20 June 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/fighting-erupts-somalias-puntland-regional-parliament-debates-voting-changes-2023-06-20/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Reuters, Roadside blast kills six telecoms workers on outskirts of Somali capital, 29 April 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/roadside-blast-kills-six-telecoms-workers-outskirts-somali-capital-2024-04-29/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Reuters, Somali militants target presidential convoy in bomb attack, president safe, 18 March 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/somali-militants-target-presidential-convoy-bomb-attack-president-safe-2025-03-18/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Reuters, Somali militants target presidential convoy in bomb attack, president safe, 19 March 2025, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/somali-militants-target-presidential-convoy-bomb-attack-president-safe-2025-03-18/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Reuters, Somalia accuses Ethiopian troops of 'illegal' incursion, 24 June 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/somalia-accuses-ethiopian-troops-illegal-incursion-2024-06-24/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Reuters, Somalia pulls troops out of Lower Juba after clashes with Jubaland forces, 12 December 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/somalia-pulls-troops-out-lower-juba-after-clashes-with-jubaland-forces-2024-12-12/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Reuters, Somalia's Jubbaland government suspends ties with federal administration, 28 November 2024, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/somalias-jubbaland-government-suspends-ties-with-federal-administration-2024-11-28/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Reuters, Suspected drone strike kills five in central Somalia, local leaders say, 8 September 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/suspected-drone-strike-kills-five-central-somalia-local-leaders-2023-09-08/>, accessed 10 April 2025

RFI (Radio France Internationale), Fears mount over resurgence of Al-Shabaab jihadists in Somalia, 27 March 2025, <https://www.rfi.fr/en/international-news/20250327-fears-mount-over-resurgence-of-al-shabaab-jihadists-in-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

RULAC (Rule of Law in Armed Conflicts), Non-international armed conflict in Somalia, 10 November 2022, <https://www.rulac.org/browse/conflicts/non-international-armed-conflict-in-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

Saferworld, Clans, contention and consensus - Federalism and inclusion in Galmudug, June 2020, <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/clans-consensus-and-contention--inclusion-and-federalism-in-galmudug.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Sahan, Somali Wire - “Bring the Ball Back to the Centre” – Clan, Politics and Consensus in Somalia, Issue no. 803, 24 March 2025, n.a

Sahan, Somali Wire - Al-Shabaab and a 'Post-Jihadist' State, Issue no. 805, 28 March 2025, n.a

Sahan, Somali Wire - Somalia's Last Chance Saloon, Issue no. 806, 2 April 2025, n.a

Sahan, Somali Wire, A Showdown in Lower Juba, Issue no. 767, 13 December 2024, n.a.

Sahan, Somali Wire, Al-Shabaab Advances and Villa Somalia's Dhusamareb Strategy, Issue no. 798, 12 March 2025, n.a.

Sahan, Somali Wire, Al-Shabaab Tightens Noose Around Mogadishu, Issue no. 800, 17 March 2025, n.a.

Sahan, Somali Wire, Al-Shabaab's Offensive Steps Up Further, No. 801, 19 March 2025, n.a.

Sahan, Somali Wire, Effects of Ethiopia-Somalia Diplomatic Row on South West State, Issue no. 631, 5 January 2024, n.a.

Sahan, Somali Wire, Issue no. 316, 27 January 2022, n.a

Sahan, Somali Wire, Issue no. 776, 20 January 2025, available by subscription at:  
<https://sahan.global/issues/sw-issue-776>, accessed 10 April 2025

Sahan, Somali Wire, Mogadishu Agrees on Ethiopian Troops Remaining, Issue no. 791, 24 February 2025, n.a.

Schouten, P., Paying the Price: The political economy of checkpoints in Somalia, RVI (Rift Valley Institute) et al., October 2023, [https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Paying-the-Price\\_Final-Reduced3-reduced.pdf](https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Paying-the-Price_Final-Reduced3-reduced.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

SD (Somali Dispatch), Airstrike in Somalia targets foreign fighters, 25 February 2024,  
<https://www.somalidispatch.com/latest-news/airstrike-in-somalia-targets-foreign-fighters/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SD (Somali Dispatch), Al Shabab defeated in Lower Juba, 23 July 2024,  
<https://www.somalidispatch.com/latest-news/al-shabab-defeated-in-lower-juba/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SD (Somali Dispatch), Breaking News: SSC Clan Leaders' Summit release a 13 point declaration, 6 February 2023, <https://www.somalidispatch.com/latest-news/breaking-news-ssc-clan-leaders-summit-release-a-13-point-declaration/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SD (Somali Dispatch), SNA forces liberate districts in Janale in Lower Shabelle, 17 December 2023,  
<https://www.somalidispatch.com/latest-news/sna-forces-liberate-districts-in-janale-in-lower-shabelle/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SD (Somali Dispatch), Somalia: Danab Sources clear land mines in Galmudug and Hirshabelle, 29 May 2024, <https://www.somalidispatch.com/latest-news/somalia-danab-sources-clear-land-mines-in-galmudug-and-hirshabelle/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Security Council Report, November 2022 Monthly Forecast – Africa – Somalia, 31 October 2022, <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2022-11/somalia-29.php>, accessed 10 April 2025

Security Council Report, Votes to Renew the Sanctions Regime on Al-Shabaab and to Lift the Arms Embargo on the Somali Government\*, 1 December 2023, <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/whatsinblue/2023/12/votes-to-renew-the-sanctions-regime-on-al-shabaab-and-to-lift-the-arms-embargo-on-the-somali-government.php>, accessed 10 April 2025

SG (Somali Guardian), Al-Shabaab militants attack army base in central Somalia's Masagawa town, 25 January 2025, <https://somaliguardian.com/news/somalia-news/al-shabaab-militants-attack-army-base-in-central-somalias-masagawa-town/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SG (Somali Guardian), Ethiopian military convoy ambushed in south Somalia, 17 September 2023, <https://somaliguardian.com/news/somalia-news/ethiopian-military-convoy-ambushed-in-south-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SG (Somali Guardian), Heavy fighting erupts in Somalia's Kismayo town ahead of controversial vote, 23 November 2025, <https://somaliguardian.com/news/somalia-news/heavy-fighting-erupts-in-somalias-kismayo-town-ahead-of-controversial-vote/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SG Somali Guardian, Kenyan, UAE warplanes carry out airstrikes in south and central Somalia, 17 June 2023, <https://somaliguardian.com/news/somalia-news/kenyan-uae-warplanes-carry-out-airstrikes-in-south-and-central-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SG Somali Guardian, Pro-opposition forces seize key security checkpoint in Somalia's Garowe town, 14 January 2024, <https://somaliguardian.com/news/somalia-news/pro-opposition-forces-seize-key-security-checkpoint-in-somalias-garowe-town/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SG, Somalia's army suffers defeat in Raskamboni battle as Jubaland forces claim victory, 11 December 2024, <https://somaliguardian.com/news/somalia-news/somalias-army-suffers-defeat-in-raskamboni-battle-as-jubaland-forces-claim-victory/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Shafie Sharif Mohamed, Why Youth Join Gangs and Somalis' Approach to Gang Prevention and Intervention, July 2023, [https://www.academia.edu/102823329/Why\\_Youth\\_Join\\_Gangs\\_and\\_Somalis\\_Approach\\_to\\_Gang\\_Prevention\\_and](https://www.academia.edu/102823329/Why_Youth_Join_Gangs_and_Somalis_Approach_to_Gang_Prevention_and), accessed 10 April 2025

SHCC (Safeguarding Health In Conflict) and Insecurity Insight, Critical Condition. Violence Against Health Care in Conflict 2023, May 2024, <https://insecurityinsight.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/2023-SHCC-Critical-Conditions.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

SIDA (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency), Humanitarian Crisis Analysis 2024 - Somalia, 20 September 2024, <https://cdn.sida.se/app/uploads/2020/10/09145653/Somalia-HCA-2024.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Airstrikes Hit Al-Shabaab in Somalia's Middle Shabelle Region After Militant Attack on Army Base, 28 November 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/airstrikes-hit-al-shabaab-in-somalias-middle-shabelle-region-after-militant-attack-on-army-base/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Airstrikes in Somalia Target Al-Shabaab Strongholds, 4 September 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/airstrikes-in-somalia-target-al-shabaab-strongholds/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Al-Shabaab attacks Geriley base after AU troops pullout, 5 July 2023, <https://shabellemedia.com/al-shabaab-attacks-geriley-base-after-au-troops-pullout/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Al-Shabaab Attacks Security Base in Waajid, Somali Forces Capture Key Operative, 21 March 2025, <https://shabellemedia.com/al-shabaab-attacks-security-base-in-waajid-somali-forces-capture-key-operative/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Al-Shabaab executes 5 men on espionage charges, 16 June 2023, <https://shabellemedia.com/al-shabaab-executes-5-men-on-espionage-charges/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Al-Shabaab fighters surrender to Somali government, 2 January 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/al-shabaab-fighters-surrender-to-somali-government/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Al-Shabaab members killed in clashes near Baidoa, southern Somalia, 30 January 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/al-shabaab-members-killed-in-clashes-near-baidoa-southern-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), At least Six Somali Soldiers Killed in Clan Militia Ambush in El-Baraf, 27 December 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/at-least-six-somali-soldiers-killed-in-clan-militia-ambush-in-el-baraf/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Deadly Inter-Clan Clashes Erupt in Somalia, 18 April 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/deadly-inter-clan-clashes-erupt-in-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Death toll from deadly ISIS attack in Puntland rises to 18, injuries climb to 30, 1 January 2025, <https://shabellemedia.com/death-toll-from-deadly-isis-attack-in-puntland-rises-to-18-injuries-climb-to-30/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Ethiopian troops in Diinsoor town fire mortars at Al-Shabaab bases, 30 September 2023, <https://shabellemedia.com/ethiopian-troops-in-diinsoor-town-fire-mortars-at-al-shabaab-bases/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Explosion Claims Lives of Somali Army Commander and Soldiers in Southwest state, 15 June 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/explosion-claims-lives-of-somali-army-commander-and-soldiers-in-southwest-state/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Fighting in Ceerigaabo as SSC-Khaatumo, Somaliland Troops Clash; Both Claim Victory, 15 December 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/fighting-in-ceerigaabo-as-ssc-khaatumo-somaliland-troops-clash-both-claim-victory/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Fresh Airstrikes Target Al-Shabaab in Bakool Region, 22 June 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/fresh-airstrikes-target-al-shabaab-in-bakool-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Jubaland Forces Intensify Security Operations in Kismayo and Surrounding Areas, 16 January 2025, <https://shabellemedia.com/jubaland-forces-intensify-security-operations-in-kismayo-and-surrounding-areas/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Jubaland Forces Launch Operation in Lower Juba, Targeting Al-Shabaab, 15 February 2025, <https://shabellemedia.com/jubaland-forces-launch-operation-in-lower-juba-targeting-al-shabaab/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Jubaland Accuses Somali President of Security Disruption in Gedo, 17 December 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/jubaland-accuses-somali-president-of-security-disruption-in-gedo/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Jubaland Dervish Commander Survives Al-Shabaab Mine Attack in Somali Border Area, 25 November 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/jubaland-dervish-commander-survives-al-shabaab-mine-attack-in-somali-border-area/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Jubbaland Forces Strike Al-Shabaab Hideout in Lower Jubba Region, 29 July 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/jubbaland-forces-strike-al-shabaab-hideout-in-lower-jubba-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Mogadishu Expands as President Recognizes Three New Districts, 20 May 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/mogadishu-expands-as-president-recognizes-three-new-districts/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Nine Somaliland police officers killed in rebel ambush attack, 12 August 2023, <https://shabellemedia.com/nine-somaliland-police-officers-killed-in-rebel-ambush-attack/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), SNA Dismantles Al-Shabaab Trenches in Bakool Region Operation – defense ministry, 19 December 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/sna-dismantles-al-shabaab-trenches-in-bakool-region-operation-defense-ministry/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Somali Army and Local Forces Conduct Operation, 11 Al-Shabaab Members Killed, 13 February 2025, <https://shabellemedia.com/somali-army-and-local-forces-conduct-operation-11-al-shabaab-members-killed/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Somali capital hit by deadly mortar attack amidst tight security, 4 July 2023, <https://shabellemedia.com/somali-capital-hit-by-deadly-mortar-attack/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Somali forces kill four Al-Shabaab militants in Mudug raid, 12 January 2025, <https://shabellemedia.com/somali-forces-kill-four-al-shabaab-militants-in-mudug-raid/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Somali Forces Reclaim Key Areas from Al-Shabaab in Gedo Region, 19 August 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/somali-forces-reclaim-key-areas-from-al-shabaab-in-gedo-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Somali Forces Strike Al-Shabaab Bases, Kill 10 Militants in Southern Mudug, 16 October 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/somali-forces-strike-al-shabaab-bases-kill-10-militants-in-southern-mudug/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Somali Forces Strike Al-Shabaab in Major Operation Near Hudur, 21 September 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/somali-forces-strike-al-shabaab-in-major-operation-near-hudur/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Somali National Army Clears Mines, Enhances Connectivity in Galgaduud Region, 14 July 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/somali-national-army-clears-mines-enhances-connectivity-in-galgaduud-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Somali National Army Strikes Blow Against Al-Shabaab in Bakool Operation, 24 July 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/somali-national-army-strikes-blow-against-al-shabaab-in-bakool-operation/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Somali Officials, Civilians Killed in Heavy Clashes in Gedo's Baardheere, 5 February 2025, <https://shabellemedia.com/somali-officials-civilians-killed-in-heavy-clashes-in-gedos-baardheere/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Somalia: Mogadishu Security Sweep Targets Potential Threats, 22 October 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/somalia-mogadishu-security-sweep-targets-potential-threats/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Southwest State Forces Capture militants: A Significant Victory in Fight Against Al-Shabaab, 9 May 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/southwest-state-forces-capture-al-shabaab-members-a-significant-victory-in-somalias-fight-against-terrorism/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Suspected KDF airstrike reported in Al-Shabaab HQs in southern Somalia, 3 October 2023, <https://shabellemedia.com/suspected-kdf-airstrike-reported-in-al-shabaab-hqs-in-southern-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Tensions Between Somali Forces and Al-Shabaab Erupt in Sabiid Area, 1 April 2025, <https://shabellemedia.com/tensions-between-somali-forces-and-al-shabaab-erupt-in-sabiid-area/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Tragic Landmine Incident Claims Lives of Children in Somalia, 11 July 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/tragic-landmine-incident-claims-lives-of-children-in-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Trump halts U.S. Foreign Aid to Countries Including Somalia, 22 January 2025, <https://shabellemedia.com/trump-halts-u-s-foreign-aid-to-countries-including-somalia/>, accessed 10

April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), Two Soldiers Killed in Al-Shabaab Ambush in Somalia's Lower Shabelle Region, 12 November 2024, <https://shabellemedia.com/two-soldiers-killed-in-al-shabaab-ambush-in-somalias-lower-shabelle-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SMN (Shabelle Media Network), U.S.-Somali Forces Target ISIS in Puntland's Bari Mountains, 26 March 2025, <https://shabellemedia.com/u-s-somali-forces-target-isis-in-puntlands-bari-mountains/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Dialogue Platform and SPA (Somali Public Agenda), Addressing contentious issues on elections in the constitutional review process, March 2024, [https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/pb\\_EN\\_Constitutional-review\\_final.pdf](https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/pb_EN_Constitutional-review_final.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Dialogue Platform, Ma’awisley, September 2023, [https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/pb\\_EN\\_Maawisley\\_WEB2.pdf](https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/pb_EN_Maawisley_WEB2.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Dialogue Platform, Options for allocating powers in Somalia's federal system, 9 September 2022,  
<https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/SDP%20Policy%20AllocationOfPowers%20%94EN%20%94.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Dialogue Platform, The shaping of the Somali National Security Architecture, March 2024, [https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/pb\\_EN\\_NSArch\\_WEB.pdf](https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/pb_EN_NSArch_WEB.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), 100 Ga'an Libaah recruits attempt defection amid amnesty offer, 19 September 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/100-gaan-libaah-recruits-attempt-defection-amid-amnesty-offer/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), 9 Somaliland soldiers killed in clashes with Garhajis militia, 12 August 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/9-somaliland-soldiers-killed-in-clashes-with-garhajis-militia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Al-Shabaab recaptured El Buur, 30 August 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/breaking-al-shabaab-recaptured-el-buur/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Al-Shabab and Danab Clash in Lower Juba, 22 December 2023,  
<https://thesomalidigest.com/al-shabab-and-danab-clash-in-lower-juba/>

Somali Digest (The), Al-Shabab Bombings in Mogadishu, Following Stalled Operations, 3 December 2023,  
<https://thesomalidigest.com/al-shabab-bombings-in-mogadishu-following-stalled-operations/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Al-Shabab Bombs More Mogadishu Businesses Over CCTV Installation, 4 October 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/al-shabab-bombs-more-mogadishu-businesses-over-cctv-installation/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Al-Shabab Escalates Attacks In and Around Mogadishu, 27 February 2025,  
<https://thesomalidigest.com/al-shabab-escalates-attacks-in-and-around-mogadishu/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Al-Shabab Establishes Bases North of Mogadishu, Temporarily Cleared by Government Forces, 28 September 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/al-shabab-establishes-bases-north-of-mogadishu-temporarily-cleared-by-government-forces/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Al-Shabab Kills Four Mogadishu Businessmen Over CCTV Installations, 13 October 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/al-shabab-kills-four-mogadishu-businessmen-over-cctv-installations/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Al-Shabab Launches Attacks on Security Targets in Mogadishu and Lower Shabelle, 28 September 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/al-shabab-launches-attacks-on-security-targets-in-mogadishu-and-lower-shabelle/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Al-Shabab Regains Strategic Locations in Middle Shabelle Amid Clan Rivalries, 27 April 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/al-shabab-regains-strategic-locations-in-middle-shabelle-amid-clan-rivalries/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Al-Shabab Resurgence Around Mogadishu Exposes Government Failures, 17 March 2025, <https://thesomalidigest.com/al-shabab-resurgence-around-mogadishu-exposes-government-failures/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Al-Shabab Tightens Grip Around Mogadishu's Suburbs, 24 March 2025,  
<https://thesomalidigest.com/al-shabab-tightens-grip-around-mogadishus-suburbs/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Al-Shabab Tightens Grip Around Mogadishu's Suburbs, 24 March 2025, <https://thesomalidigest.com/al-shabab-tightens-grip-around-mogadishus-suburbs/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), ANALYSIS: The oscillating frontlines in Somalia, 28 August 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/analysis-the-oscillating-frontlines-in-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Analysis: The prospect of conflict in the Awdal region, 28 September 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/analysis-the-prospect-of-conflict-in-the-awdal-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Analysis: The risks of Colonel Arre's return to Somaliland, 23 October 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/analysis-the-risks-of-colonel-arres-return-to-somaliland/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), At least 2 children killed in suspected KDF airstrike on El Adde, 14 September 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/at-least-2-children-killed-in-suspected-kdf-airstrike-on-el-adde/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), At least 20 killed in clashes between clan militias in Mudug, 2 October 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/at-least-20-killed-in-clashes-between-clan-militias-in-mudug/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), ATMIS Bases in Lower Shabelle Attacked by Al-Shabab, 24 August 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/atmis-bases-in-lower-shabelle-attacked-by-al-shabab/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Balcad: Al-Shabab Attack Exposes Government Fragility, 6 April 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/balcad-al-shabab-attack-exposes-government-fragility/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Breaking: Awdal announced it is breaking away from Somaliland, 4 September 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/breaking-awdal-announced-it-is-breaking-away-from-somaliland/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Clan feuds unleashed: 5 children murdered along Somalia-Ethiopia border, 8 August 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/clans-somalia-ethiopia-children/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Concerns mount over ATMIS withdrawal as Al-Shabaab attacks Giriley base, 5 July 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/concerns-mount-over-atmis-withdrawal-as-al-shabaab/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Daarul Nim'a: A Symbol of Al-Shabaab's Power and Government's Struggling Control, 30 June 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/daarul-nima-a-symbol-of-al-shabaabs-power-and-governments-struggling-control/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Deadly blast targeted government forces in Beled Hawo, Gedo, 9 October 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/deadly-blast-targeted-government-forces-in-beled-hawo-gedo/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Debunking the myth of salary delays and road closures in Puntland, 17 August 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/debunking-the-myth-of-salary-delays-and-road-closures-in-puntland/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Eji Unrest: Somalia's Battle for Land and Tribal Harmony, 28 January 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/eji-unrest-somalias-battle-for-land-and-tribal-harmony/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Ethnic clashes in Somaliland escalate, threaten civil war, 19 September 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/ethnic-clashes-in-somaliland-escalate-threaten-civil-war/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), FGS Advances Jubaland Destabilization, Igniting Conflict in Gedo, 23 December 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/fgs-advances-jubaland-destabilization-igniting-conflict-in-gedo/>

Somali Digest (The), Ga'an Libaah Movement increases territorial gains, 8 September 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/gaan-libaah-movement-increases-territorial-gains/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Gorgor Forces in Crisis: Desertions and Leadership Failures, 28 March 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/gorgor-forces-in-crisis-desertions-and-leadership-failures/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Government forces backed by Ma'awisley make gains in Mudug, 17 September 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/government-forces-backed-by-maawisley-make-gains-in-mudug/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), IED explosion claims lives of 8 family members: Al-Shabaab suspected, 11 July 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/ied-explosion-claims-lives-of-8/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Islamic State in Somalia Strategically Takes over Al Miskaad, 21 April 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/islamic-state-in-somalia-strategically-takes-over-al-miskaad/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Jubaland Triumphs: How Reckless FGS Tactics Crumbled in Ras Kamboni, 11 Dec 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/jubaland-triumphs-how-reckless-fgs-tactics-crumbled-in-ras-kamboni/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Land disputes turn deadly: Abgal subclans clash in Middle Shabelle, 23 July 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/abgal-middle-shabelle-subclans/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Ma'awisley to take lead in the fight against Al-Shabaab, 13 September 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/maawisley-to-take-lead-in-the-fight-against-al-shabaab/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Major Mohamed Noor, Brigade Commander in Bay, Killed by IED, 15 June 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/major-mohamed-noor-brigade-commander-in-bay-killed-by-ied/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Mogadishu Offers What It Doesn't Control in Desperate Bid for U.S. Support, 28 March 2025, <https://thesomalidigest.com/mogadishu-offers-what-it-doesnt-control-in-desperate-bid-for-u-s-support/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Mystery surrounds destruction of vital water source in El Garas, 14 September 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/mystery-surrounds-destruction-of-vital-water-source-in-el-garas/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), New insurgency inside Somaliland? Unidentified militia clashed with Somaliland forces in Golis Mountains, 30 July 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/insurgency-somaliland-militia-bihi/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Political Appointments Ignite Unrest in Gedo, 21 June 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/political-appointments-ignite-unrest-in-gedo/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), President Deni Declares Final Offensive in War Against ISIS in Puntland, 28 February 2025, <https://thesomalidigest.com/president-deni-declares-final-offensive-in-war-against-isis-in-puntland/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Puntland Unleashes 'Hilac' Offensive, Targeting IS-Somalia and Al-Shabab, 26 December 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/puntland-unleashes-hilac-offensive-targeting-is-somalia-and-al-shabab/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Puntland Unleashes 'Hilac' Offensive, Targeting IS-Somalia and Al-Shabab, 26 December 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/puntland-unleashes-hilac-offensive-targeting-is-somalia-and-al-shabab/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Qoryoley Clashes Reveal Clan Mobilization Consequences, 19 June 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/qoryoley-clashes-reveal-clan-mobilization-consequences/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Somali government makes a strategic move by recognizing SSC-Khaatumo, 19 October 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/somali-government-makes-a-strategic-move-by-recognizing-ssc-khaatumo/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Somali government makes a strategic move by recognizing SSC-Khaatumo, 19 October 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/somali-government-makes-a-strategic-move-by-recognizing-ssc-khaatumo/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Somali government makes a strategic move by recognizing SSC-Khaatumo, 19 October 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/somali-government-makes-a-strategic-move-by-recognizing-ssc-khaatumo/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Somaliland: Secessionist Rhetoric Amidst Territorial and Diplomatic Setbacks, 18 May 2024, <https://thesomalidigest.com/somaliland-secessionist-rhetoric-amidst-territorial-and-diplomatic-setbacks/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Tensions flare: Clashes erupted in Ayn region and Erigavo, 8 October 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/tensions-flare-clashes-erupted-in-ayn-region-and-erigavo/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Twin Bombings Strike at the Heart of Security Operations near Bardhere Airport, 21 June 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/twin-bombings-strike-at-the-heart-of-security-operations-near-bardhere-airport/>

[bardhere-airport/](https://www.bardhere-airport.com/), accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), UPDATED: Al-Shabaab captures Giriley military base in Gedo region, 13 July 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/breaking-al-shabaab-captures-giriley/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali Digest (The), Villa Somalia: Somali National Army Assumes Security, 17 December 2023, <https://thesomalidigest.com/villa-somalia-somali-national-army-assumes-security/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somali magazine, Somalia Moves to Regulate Pharmaceuticals and Combat Counterfeit Drugs, 5 March 2025, <https://somalimagazine.so/somalia-moves-to-regulate-pharmaceuticals-and-combat-counterfeit-drugs/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somalia Protection Cluster, Monthly Update, July/August 2023, 21 September 2023, [https://globalprotectioncluster.org/sites/default/files/2023-09/npc\\_somalia\\_monthly\\_update\\_august.pdf](https://globalprotectioncluster.org/sites/default/files/2023-09/npc_somalia_monthly_update_august.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Somalia, Benadir Regional Administration and Mogadishu Municipality, About, n.d., <https://bra.gov.so/about/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somalia, Benadir Regional Administration, Somalia Urban Resilience Project Phase II, September 2022, <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/099335109192251890/pdf/P1709220dab9be0b0aeb4080c9f7f42a68.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somalia, Penal Code, Legislative Decree No. 5 of 16 December 1962, 1962, available at: [https://alp.unescwa.org/sites/default/files/2021-09/Somalia%20Penal%20Code%201964\\_EN.pdf](https://alp.unescwa.org/sites/default/files/2021-09/Somalia%20Penal%20Code%201964_EN.pdf), accessed 25 March 2025

Somalia, Provisional Constitution, 1 August 2012, [https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/adopted\\_constitution\\_eng\\_final\\_for\\_printing\\_19sept12\\_-\\_1.pdf](https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/adopted_constitution_eng_final_for_printing_19sept12_-_1.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Somalia, South West State Ministry of Public Works, Reconstruction and Housing, Baidoa Urban Profile, UN-Habitat, June 2020, [https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2020/07/baidoa\\_urban\\_profile\\_2020.pdf](https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2020/07/baidoa_urban_profile_2020.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Somaliland Government, Maps & Regions, n.d., <https://www.govsomaliland.online/article/maps-and-regions>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somaliland Law, Somaliland Local Government Laws, updated March 2020, [http://www.somalilandlaw.com/local\\_government\\_law.htm](http://www.somalilandlaw.com/local_government_law.htm), accessed 10 April 2025

Somaliland National Electoral Commission, 5. Political Party Elections, n.d., <https://www.sl nec.net/type-of-elections/representatives-election>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somaliland Sun, Clan Militias Battle Puntland Presidential Guards in Garowe, 17 May 2023, <https://somalilandsun.com/clan-militias-battle-puntland-presidential-guards-in-garowe/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somaliland, Somalia army retakes control of El-Dheer, Galgaduud region from Al-Shabaab, 21 December 2023, <https://www.somaliland.com/news/somalia-army-retakes-control-of-el-dheer-galgaduud-region-from-al-shabaab/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Somaliland, Xeerka Ismaamulka Gobolladda iyo Degmooyinka, Lr. 23/2019 [(Somaliland) Regions and Districts Self-management Law, No. 23/2019], published by Somaliland Law, 4 January 2020, [http://www.somalilandlaw.com/Xeerka\\_wkb\\_Gobolada\\_iyo\\_Degmooyinka\\_2019SLLaw.pdf](http://www.somalilandlaw.com/Xeerka_wkb_Gobolada_iyo_Degmooyinka_2019SLLaw.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

SONNA (Somali National News Agency), 10 Al-Shabaab militants killed in joint operation in Lower Jubba, 5 January 2025, <https://sonna.so/en/10-al-shabaab-militants-killed-in-joint-operation-in-lower-jubba/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SONNA (Somali National News Agency), Operations against Al-Shabaab terrorists carried out in the Middle Jubba region, 10 October 2023, <https://sonna.so/en/operations-against-al-shabaab-terrorists-carried-out-in-the-middle-jubba-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SONNA (Somali National News Agency), Over 120 Al-Shabaab Militants Killed in Major Airstrikes in the Middle Juba Region, 17 March 2025, <https://sonna.so/en/over-120-al-shabaab-militants-killed-in-major-airstrikes-in-the-middle-juba-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SONNA (Somali National News Agency), Over 60 Al-Shabaab Militants Killed in Joint Operation in Bay Region, 26 July 2023, <https://sonna.so/en/over-60-al-shabaab-militants-killed-in-joint-operation-in-bay-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SONNA (Somali National News Agency), Police statement: Terrorist explosion attack kills 5 civilians, 20 February 2024, <https://sonna.so/en/somali-police-statement-terrorist-explosion-attack-kills-5-civilians/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SONNA (Somali National News Agency), Senior Al-Shabaab leader injured in a joint operation, 23 May 2023, <https://sonna.so/en/senior-al-shabaab-leader-injured-in-a-joint-operation/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SONNA (Somali National News Agency), SNA conducts clearing operations in Afgooye area in the Lower Shabelle region, 3 February 2025, <https://sonna.so/en/sna-conducts-clearing-operations-in-afgooye-area-in-the-lower-shabelle-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SONNA (Somali National News Agency), Somali Forces Launch Sweeping Operation Against Al-Shabaab in Bakool Region, 29 November 2023, <https://sonna.so/en/somali-forces-launch-sweeping-operation-against-al-shabaab-in-bakool-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SONNA (Somali National News Agency), Somali National Army defeats Khawarij in Bay and Bakool regions, 30 November 2023, <https://sonna.so/en/somali-national-army-defeats-khawarij-in-bay-and-bakool-regions/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SONNA (Somali National News Agency), Somali National Army Foils Khawarij Attacks and Landmine Plot in Wajid District, 21 March 2025, <https://sonna.so/en/somali-national-army-foils-khawarij-attacks-and-landmine-plot-in-wajid-district/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SONNA (Somali National News Agency), Somali National Army kills 25 Al-Shabaab militants near Wajid district, 25 July 2023, <https://sonna.so/en/somali-national-army-kills-25-al-shabaab-militants-near-wajid-district/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SONNA (Somali National News Agency), Somali National Army kills Al-Shabaab militants in Bay region, 14 December 2023, <https://sonna.so/en/somali-national-army-kills-al-shabaab-militants-in-bay-region/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Soufan Center (The), Between Islamic State and Al-Shabaab: An Embattled Mogadishu?, 2 April 2025, <https://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-2025-april-2/>, accessed 10 April 2025

SPA (Somali Public Agenda) and Somali Dialogue Platform (SDP), Governance Brief 28 - The Constitutional Amendment Procedure, February 2024, [https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/SPA\\_Governance\\_Briefs\\_28\\_ENGLISH-in-partnership-with-SDP.pdf](https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/SPA_Governance_Briefs_28_ENGLISH-in-partnership-with-SDP.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

SPA (Somali Public Agenda), Governance Brief 19, The Rise of Youth Gangs (Ciyaal Weero) in Mogadishu, October 2022, [https://somalipublicagenda.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/SPA\\_Governance\\_Briefs\\_19\\_2022\\_ENGLISH.pdf](https://somalipublicagenda.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/SPA_Governance_Briefs_19_2022_ENGLISH.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

SPA (Somali Public Agenda), Governance Brief No. 28, February 2024, [https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/SPA\\_Governance\\_Briefs\\_28\\_ENGLISH-in-partnership-with-SDP.pdf](https://riftvalley.net/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/SPA_Governance_Briefs_28_ENGLISH-in-partnership-with-SDP.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

SPA (Somali Public Agenda), Review and analysis of the controversial national consultative council (NCC) agreement on elections, June 2023, [https://somalipublicagenda.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/SPA\\_Policy\\_Paper\\_05\\_2023\\_ENGLISH.pdf](https://somalipublicagenda.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/SPA_Policy_Paper_05_2023_ENGLISH.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

SSC-Khatumo, Needs assessment report, December 2023, [http://mopdic.khaatumo.ca/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/SSC-Khatumo\\_Needs-Assessment\\_Report-FINAL-2024.pdf](http://mopdic.khaatumo.ca/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/SSC-Khatumo_Needs-Assessment_Report-FINAL-2024.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Stars and Stripes, US military presence in Somalia likely to be scrutinized by incoming Trump administration, 30 December 2024, <https://www.stripes.com/theaters/africa/2024-12-30/africom-trump-somalia-16322045.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

Stars and Stripes, US military presence in Somalia likely to be scrutinized by incoming Trump administration, 30 December 2024, <https://www.stripes.com/theaters/africa/2024-12-30/africom-trump-somalia-16322045.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

Strategic Intelligence Service, Al-Shabaab Militants Killed, Several Captured in Awdiinle, Bay Region of Somalia, 8 July 2020, <https://intelligencebriefs.com/al-shabaab-militants-killed-several-captured-in-awdiinle-bay-region-of-somalia/>, accessed 10 April 2025

Strategic Intelligence, Several Al Shabaab Killed, Dozen Injured After Macawiisley Militia Attacks Militant Camp In Beledweyne, 23 October 2019, n.a

TRT, 6,000 Somali military personnel trained by Türkiye since 2017, 12 March 2024,  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xdi36dM9XWA>, accessed 10 April 2025

UK, Home Office, Proscribed terrorist groups or organisations, [Updated] 23 April 2021,  
<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/proscribed-terror-groups-or-organisations-2/proscribed-terrorist-groups-or-organisations-accessible-version>, accessed 10 April 2025

UN (United Nations), The United Nations Office in Geneva, In Dialogue with Somalia, Experts of the Human Rights Committee Welcome the State's Anti-Corruption Measures, Raise Issues Concerning the Death Penalty and Sexual Violence by Armed Forces and Militias, 8 March 2024,  
<https://www.ungeneva.org/en/news-media/meeting-summary/2024/03/examen-de-la-somalie-au-comite-des-droits-de-lhomme-sont>, accessed 26 March 2025

UN Human Rights Committee, Concluding observations on the initial report of Somalia\*, 6 May 2024, CCPR/C/SOM/CO/1, [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4046158/files/CCPR\\_C\\_SOM\\_CO\\_1-EN.pdf?ln=en](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4046158/files/CCPR_C_SOM_CO_1-EN.pdf?ln=en), accessed 25 February 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Report of the Independent Expert on the situation of human rights in Somalia, Isha Dyfan, A/HRC/57/80, 23 August 2024,  
[https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4061233/files/A\\_HRC\\_57\\_80-EN.pdf?ln=en](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4061233/files/A_HRC_57_80-EN.pdf?ln=en), accessed 10 April 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Report of the Independent Expert on the situation of human rights in Somalia, Isha Dyfan\*, 23 August 2024, A/HRC/57/80,  
[https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4061233/files/A\\_HRC\\_57\\_80-EN.pdf?ln=en](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4061233/files/A_HRC_57_80-EN.pdf?ln=en), accessed 25 February 2025

UN Human Rights Council, Situation of human rights in Somalia: Report of the Independent Expert on the Situation of Human Rights in Somalia, A/HRC/57/80, 23 August 2024,  
[https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3987510/files/A\\_HRC\\_51\\_65-EN.pdf?ln=en](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3987510/files/A_HRC_51_65-EN.pdf?ln=en), accessed 10 April 2025

UN OHCHR (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner), Experts of the Committee against Torture Commend Somalia on Progress in Rebuilding State and Government Institutions, Raise Questions on the Definition of Torture and the Death Penalty, 9 November 2022,  
<https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/11/experts-committee-against-torture-commend-somalia-progress-rebuilding-state>, accessed 2 April 2025

UN Women (United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women), Mapping report on existing women peacemakers, leaders, networks, and forums in Somalia, September 2023, [https://africa.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2024-07/mapping\\_report\\_on\\_existing\\_women\\_peacemakers\\_leaders\\_networks\\_and\\_forums\\_in\\_somalia.pdf](https://africa.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2024-07/mapping_report_on_existing_women_peacemakers_leaders_networks_and_forums_in_somalia.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UN, Somalia, Map No. 3690 Rev. 10, December 2011, <https://www.un.org/geospatial/file/2276/download?token=1i3htsuM>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNDP (UN Development Programme) Somalia, How the Town of Hudur is Pioneering Resilience in Somalia, 30 April 2024, <https://www.undp.org/somalia/stories/how-town-hudur-pioneering-resilience-somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

UN-Habitat and IOM (International Organization for Migration), Dolow – Urban Profile, November 2018, [https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/documents/2019-05/dolow\\_city\\_profile.pdf](https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/documents/2019-05/dolow_city_profile.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UN-Habitat, Baidoa City Strategy, March 2023, [https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2023/03/baidoa\\_urban\\_plan-3\\_compressed.pdf](https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2023/03/baidoa_urban_plan-3_compressed.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) and Protection Cluster Somalia, Somalia - Protection Analysis Update September 2022, 30 September 2022, [https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/somalia\\_protection\\_update\\_september\\_2022.pdf](https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/somalia_protection_update_september_2022.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) Somalia, Protection and Return Monitoring Flash Alert #13, 11 July 2024, <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/109842>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), CCCM Cluster – Somalia Overview, Operational Data Portal, January 2022, [https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/cccm\\_somalia](https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/cccm_somalia), accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Operational Data Portal – Somalia, 2024, <https://data.unhcr.org/en/dataviz/1?sv=1&geo=192>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), PRMN – Somalia, 21 March 2025, <https://prmn-somalia.unhcr.org/dashboard/displacement-report>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), PRMN Datafile – Somalia, as of 21 March 2025, <https://unhcr.github.io/dataviz-somalia-prmn/data/UNHCR-PRMN-Displacement-Dataset.xlsx>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), PRMN Datafile – Somalia, as of 31 March 2025, <https://unhcr.github.io/dataviz-somalia-prmn/data/UNHCR-PRMN-Displacement-Dataset.xlsx>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), PRMN Datafile – Somalia, as of 31 March 2025, <https://unhcr.github.io/dataviz-somalia-prmn/data/UNHCR-PRMN-Displacement-Dataset.xlsx>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Somalia, Protection and Return Monitoring Flash Alert #04, 31 March 2024, <https://data.unhcr.org/ar/documents/download/107603>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Somalia: Intense Clan Conflict in West Mudug Displaces Over 5,820 individuals, Flash Alert #10, June 2024, 8 July 2024, <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/109740>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Somalia: Inter-Clan Conflict Displaces Over 2,910 Individuals in Jariiban District, Mudug Region, Flash Alert #11, July 2024, 8 July 2024, <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/109739>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), Somalia: Recent Clan Clashes in Jiicboor Village, Galdogob District, Mudug Region, Displaces Thousands, Flash Alert #21, December 2024, 31 December 2024, <https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/113492>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), UNHCR Somalia Protection and Solutions Monitoring Network (PSMN) Flash Alert #18 | November 2024, 5 November 2024, <https://data.unhcr.org/ar/documents/download/112279>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), CCCM Cluster – Somalia, 2025, <https://www.cccmcluster.org/where-we-work/somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNICEF (United Nations Children Fund), UNICEF statement on execution of four youths in Puntland state, Somalia, 22 August 2024, <https://www.unicef.org/press-releases/unicef-statement-execution-four-youths-puntland-state-somalia>, accessed 25 March 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia – Bay region, Somalia Atlas, 17 October 2011, [https://humanitarianatlas.org/somalia/assets/files/somalia\\_atlas\\_all\\_maps.pdf](https://humanitarianatlas.org/somalia/assets/files/somalia_atlas_all_maps.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia 2025 Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan, 22 January 2025, [https://www.unocha.org/attachments/873a590b-9947-47fc-941b-d057f7cebbf9/Somalia\\_HNRP\\_2025\\_v9.10.pdf](https://www.unocha.org/attachments/873a590b-9947-47fc-941b-d057f7cebbf9/Somalia_HNRP_2025_v9.10.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia Administrative Reference Map, as of 20 July 2023, [https://www.unocha.org/attachments/21dce458-fade-4db2-ae3e-315a18e0903b/Somalia\\_Administrative Reference Map\\_20230326.pdf](https://www.unocha.org/attachments/21dce458-fade-4db2-ae3e-315a18e0903b/Somalia_Administrative Reference Map_20230326.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia Monthly Humanitarian Update (July 2024), 12 August 2024, <https://www.unocha.org/attachments/646cfb08-9b0e-4b0d-99eb-a92af0d462f8/Monthly Humanitarian Update-July 2024 - to publish.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia Situation Report (Last updated: 13 Aug 2024), 13 August 2024, <https://www.unocha.org/attachments/3e80e038-8b46-4566-b137-f6033e2d265f/Situation Report - Somalia - 13 Aug 2024.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: 2023 Annual Humanitarian Access Overview, 28 January 2024, <https://www.unocha.org/attachments/26bdbb12-a7cd-40d2-82df-9eb6a876eb94/Somalia Humanitarian Access Snapshot %282023 Yearly Overview%29 v3.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Armed Violence in Ceerigaabo town, Sanaag region Flash Update No.1 (as of 18 December 2024), 18 December 2024, available at: <https://reliefweb.int/attachments/733d3e00-236d-4d3c-8f47-35cedc5ca37c/Final-Conflict in Ceerigaabo district flash update 1.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Conflict in Luuq District, Jubaland State Flash Update No.1 (As of 23 October 2024), 23 October 2024, <https://www.unocha.org/attachments/cd30f549-a3da-42ea-9f2c-015c608c73d2/Conflict in Luuq district%2C flash update 1.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Flash Update No.1 Displacement due to inter-clan conflict in Luuq town, Jubaland State of Somalia, 14 July 2024, [https://www.unocha.org/attachments/5e2e943a-9d6d-47e3-9205-3c79c831db85/Luuq Flash Update Final revised. .pdf](https://www.unocha.org/attachments/5e2e943a-9d6d-47e3-9205-3c79c831db85/Luuq%20Flash%20Update%20Final%20revised.%20.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Humanitarian Access Snapshot: 01 April to 30 June 2024, 8 August 2024, [https://www.unocha.org/attachments/89bf63e9-5198-49d1-ae98-1c88037dcef3/2024 - Quarter 2 - Access Snapshot Final.pdf](https://www.unocha.org/attachments/89bf63e9-5198-49d1-ae98-1c88037dcef3/2024%20-%20Quarter%202%20-%20Access%20Snapshot%20Final.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Humanitarian Access Snapshot: 01 January to 31 March 2024, 31 March 2024, [https://www.unocha.org/attachments/99799dd6-9bc4-4583-8c17-555548d080bd/2024 - Quarter 1 - Access Snapshot - Latest.pdf](https://www.unocha.org/attachments/99799dd6-9bc4-4583-8c17-555548d080bd/2024%20-%20Quarter%201%20-%20Access%20Snapshot%20-%20Latest.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Humanitarian Access Snapshot: 01 July to 30 September 2024, 30 September 2024, [https://www.unocha.org/attachments/4b851d07-545e-49eb-8e3a-ef0df708bbcd/2024 - Quarter 3 - Access Snapshot.pdf](https://www.unocha.org/attachments/4b851d07-545e-49eb-8e3a-ef0df708bbcd/2024%20-%20Quarter%203%20-%20Access%20Snapshot.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Humanitarian Access Snapshot: 1 October to 31 December 2024, 2 January 2025, [https://www.unocha.org/attachments/a5e9b474-7b80-4c38-88f2-6eb13f313888/Somalia Humanitarian Access Snapshot 01 October to 31 December 2024%20 - As of 31 December 2024.pdf](https://www.unocha.org/attachments/a5e9b474-7b80-4c38-88f2-6eb13f313888/Somalia%20Humanitarian%20Access%20Snapshot%2001%20October%20to%2031%20December%202024%20-%20As%20of%2031%20December%202024.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Humanitarian Access Snapshot: 1 April to 30 June 2024, 8 August 2024, available at: [https://reliefweb.int/attachments/89bf63e9-5198-49d1-ae98-1c88037dcef3/2024 - Quarter 2 - Access Snapshot Final.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/attachments/89bf63e9-5198-49d1-ae98-1c88037dcef3/2024%20-%20Quarter%202%20-%20Access%20Snapshot%20Final.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Humanitarian Access Snapshot: 1 July to 30 September 2024, 30 September 2024, available at: [https://reliefweb.int/attachments/4b851d07-545e-49eb-8e3a-ef0df708bbcd/2024 - Quarter 3 - Access Snapshot.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/attachments/4b851d07-545e-49eb-8e3a-ef0df708bbcd/2024%20-%20Quarter%203%20-%20Access%20Snapshot.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Humanitarian Access Snapshot: April – June 2023, 25 July 2023, [https://www.unocha.org/attachments/5caf51a0-6321-4ca9-b419-6d62815b8522/2023 - Quarter 2 - Access Snapshot Final.pdf](https://www.unocha.org/attachments/5caf51a0-6321-4ca9-b419-6d62815b8522/2023%20-%20Quarter%202%20-%20Access%20Snapshot%20Final.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Humanitarian Access Snapshot: January – December 2024, 22 January 2025, [https://www.unocha.org/attachments/a956c5b4-548f-4f4d-9f51-2036a2629f86/27012025Humanitarian Access Snapshot\\_Jan-Dec 2024 Cleared V for publication.pdf](https://www.unocha.org/attachments/a956c5b4-548f-4f4d-9f51-2036a2629f86/27012025Humanitarian%20Access%20Snapshot%20Jan-Dec%202024%20Cleared%20V%20for%20publication.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Humanitarian Access Snapshot: July to September 2023, 2 November 2023, [https://www.unocha.org/attachments/a4f261a9-dde2-49d9-b61f-87e0bd76b661/2023 - Quarter 3 - Access Snapshot.pdf](https://www.unocha.org/attachments/a4f261a9-dde2-49d9-b61f-87e0bd76b661/2023%20-%20Quarter%203%20-%20Access%20Snapshot.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Somalia: Humanitarian Access Snapshot: October – December 2023, 1 January 2024, [https://www.unocha.org/attachments/c50f46c2-61ac-4c94-9b3d-ae41c5a80dcf/2023 - Quarter 4 - Access Snapshot.pdf](https://www.unocha.org/attachments/c50f46c2-61ac-4c94-9b3d-ae41c5a80dcf/2023%20-%20Quarter%204%20-%20Access%20Snapshot.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), 2022 Humanitarian Needs Overview: Somalia, October 2021, [https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/2022\\_somalia\\_hnoverview.pdf](https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/2022_somalia_hnoverview.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Humanitarian Data, Somalia CCCM IDP Site Master List, 11 February 2025, <https://data.humdata.org/dataset/5c334c3d-3b40-4819-ae8d-450f7e5fc104/resource/1519fb91-f1a8-4723-bdaa-0d6f5f768e1d/download/idp-site-master-list-4th-quarter-2024.xlsx>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Humanitarian Data, Somalia CCCM IDP Site Master List, 11 February 2025, <https://data.humdata.org/dataset/5c334c3d-3b40-4819-ae8d-450f7e5fc104/resource/1519fb91-f1a8-4723-bdaa-0d6f5f768e1d/download/idp-site-master-list-4th-quarter-2024.xlsx>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNOCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), Humanitarian Needs and Response Plan – Somalia 2025, January 2025, [https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://www.unocha.org/attachments/879947-47fc-941b-d057f7cebbf9/Somalia\\_HNRP\\_2025\\_v9.10.pdf&ved=2ahUKEwiH8O\\_mxKKMAXXegP0HHZR7MHcQFnoECBQzzHWLmcYqGUiw](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://www.unocha.org/attachments/879947-47fc-941b-d057f7cebbf9/Somalia_HNRP_2025_v9.10.pdf&ved=2ahUKEwiH8O_mxKKMAXXegP0HHZR7MHcQFnoECBQzzHWLmcYqGUiw), accessed 10 April 2025

UNSC (United Nations Security Council), Report of the Panel of Experts on Somalia submitted in accordance with resolution 2662 (2022), S/2023/724, 2 October 2023, [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4023494/files/S\\_2023\\_724-EN.pdf](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4023494/files/S_2023_724-EN.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNSC (United Nations Security Council), Report of the Panel of Experts pursuant to resolution 2713 (2023), S/2024/748, 28 October 2024, [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4066421/files/S\\_2024\\_748-EN.pdf?ln=en](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4066421/files/S_2024_748-EN.pdf?ln=en), accessed 10 April 2025

UNSC (United Nations Security Council), Report of the Panel of Experts on Somalia, S/2022/754, 10 October 2022, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N22/638/44/PDF/N2263844.pdf?OpenElement>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNSC (United Nations Security Council), Resolution 2036, S /RES/2036 (2012), 22 February 2012, <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n12/238/47/pdf/n1223847.pdf?OpenElement>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNSC (United Nations Security Council), Resolution no. 2628, S/RES/2628 (2022), 31 March 2022, <https://atmis-au.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/atmis-adopted-res-e.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNSC (United Nations Security Council), Resolution no. 2767, S/RES/2628 (2024), 27 December 2024, [https://docs.un.org/en/S/RES/2767\(2024\)](https://docs.un.org/en/S/RES/2767(2024)) , accessed 10 April 2025

UNSC (United Nations Security Council), Thirty-fifth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, S/2025/71/Rev.1, 6 February 2025, [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4076001/files/S\\_2025\\_71\\_Rev.1-EN.pdf](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4076001/files/S_2025_71_Rev.1-EN.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNSC (United Nations Security Council), Thirty-fourth report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, S/2024/556, 22 July 2024, <https://docs.un.org/en/S/2024/556>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNSC (United Nations Security Council), Thirty-third report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, S/2024/92\*, 29 January 2024, [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4035877/files/S\\_2024\\_92-EN.pdf?ln=en](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4035877/files/S_2024_92-EN.pdf?ln=en), accessed 10 April 2025

UNSC, Somalia – April 2025 Monthly Forecast, 31 March 2025, <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2025-04/somalia-40.php>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNSG (United Nations Secretary General), Children and armed conflict, A/77/895-S/2023/363, 5 June 2023, <https://docs.un.org/en/A/77/895>, accessed 10 April 2025

UNSG (United Nations Secretary General), Situation in Somalia, S/2022/665, 1 September 2022, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N22/579/41/PDF/N2257941.pdf?OpenElement>,

accessed 10 April 2025

UNSG (United Nations Secretary General), Situation in Somalia, S/2023/443, 15 June 2023, [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4013335/files/S\\_2023\\_443-EN.pdf](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4013335/files/S_2023_443-EN.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNSG (United Nations Secretary General), Situation in Somalia, S/2023/758, 13 October 2023, [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4024358/files/S\\_2023\\_758-EN.pdf](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4024358/files/S_2023_758-EN.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNSG (United Nations Secretary General), Situation in Somalia, S/2024/129, 2 February 2024, [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4037356/files/S\\_2024\\_129-EN.pdf](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4037356/files/S_2024_129-EN.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNSG (United Nations Secretary General), Situation in Somalia, S/2024/426, 3 June 2024, [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4051668/files/S\\_2024\\_426-EN.pdf](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4051668/files/S_2024_426-EN.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNSG (United Nations Secretary General), Situation in Somalia, S/2024/698, 27 September 2024, [https://unson.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/sg\\_report\\_situation\\_in\\_somalia\\_27\\_sept\\_2024.pdf](https://unson.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/sg_report_situation_in_somalia_27_sept_2024.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UNSG (United Nations Secretary General), Twentieth Report of the Secretary-General on the threat posed by ISIL (Da'esh), S/2025/72, 31 January 2025, [https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4075119/files/S\\_2025\\_72-EN.pdf](https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/4075119/files/S_2025_72-EN.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

UN SOM (United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia), A round-up of activities of the UN system in Somalia in March 2024, 1 April 2024, <https://unson.unmissions.org/round-activities-un-system-somalia-march-2024>, accessed 10 April 2025

UN SOM (United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia), International Partners call for Calm and Restraint in Garowe, 21 November 2023, <https://unson.unmissions.org/international-partners-call-calm-and-restraint-garowe-2>, accessed 10 April 2025

UN SOM (United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia), Prison Conditions in Somalia - A Holistic Assessment, July 2024, [https://unson.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/prison\\_conditions\\_in\\_somalia-a\\_holistic\\_assessment.pdf](https://unson.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/prison_conditions_in_somalia-a_holistic_assessment.pdf), accessed 26 March 2025

UNU (United Nations University), Hybrid Conflict, Hybrid Peace, 2020,  
<https://i.unu.edu/media/cpr.unu.edu/post/3895/HybridConflictSomaliaWeb.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2025

US AFRICOM (United States Africa Command), Somalia, 2025, <https://www.africom.mil/topic/somalia>, accessed 10 April 2025

US Embassy in Somalia, Security alert for US citizens, 4 March 2025, <https://so.usembassy.gov/security-alert-for-u-s-citizens-march-4-2025/>, accessed 10 April 2025

US Embassy in Somalia, Somalia and United States Graduate 342 Somali National Army Danab Soldiers, 8 August 2023, <https://so.usembassy.gov/somalia-and-united-states-graduate-342-sna-danab-soldiers/>, accessed 10 April 2025

US Embassy in Somalia, United States Increases Security Assistance through Construction of SNA Bases, 16 February 2024, <https://so.usembassy.gov/united-states-increases-security-assistance-through-construction-of-sna-bases/>, accessed 10 April 2025

USDOS (United States Department of State), Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 2023 – Somalia, 23 April 2024, [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/528267\\_SOMALIA-2023-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/528267_SOMALIA-2023-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf), accessed 3 March 2025

USDOS (United States Department of State), Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations, n.d., <https://www.state.gov/foreign-terrorist-organizations/>, accessed 10 April 2025

USDOS (US Department of State), Report on International Religious Freedom 2023 – Somalia, 26 June 2024, [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/547499\\_SOMALIA-2023-INTERNATIONAL-RELIGIOUS-FREEDOM-REPORT.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/547499_SOMALIA-2023-INTERNATIONAL-RELIGIOUS-FREEDOM-REPORT.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America) Somali, Taliye ku-xigeenkii ciidamada badda xeebta Awdal oo la dilay [The deputy commander of the Awdal coastal naval forces has been killed], 5 May 2023, <https://www.voasomali.com/a/taliye-ku-xigeenkii-ciidamada-badda-xeebta-awdal-oo-la-dilay/7079885.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), 11 Somali Soldiers Killed as AU Forces Start Second Round of Troop Drawdown, 19 September 2023, <https://www.voanews.com/a/somali-soldiers-killed-as-au-forces-start-second-round-of-troop-drawdown-/7275141.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), 6 killed by bomb blasts in Somalia after leader addresses UN, 28 September 2024, <https://www.voanews.com/a/killed-by-bomb-blasts-in-somalia-after-leader-addresses-un/7803107.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Al-Shabab Attacks Ethiopian Military Convoys in Somalia, 17 September 2023, <https://www.voanews.com/a/al-shabab-attacks-ethiopian-military-convoys-in-somalia-/7271962.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Al-Shabab Attacks Somali Base Handed Over by AU Forces, 13 July 2023, <https://www.voanews.com/a/al-shabab-attacks-somali-base-handed-over-by-au-forces/7179521.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), AU, Somalia agree on troop numbers for new mission, 25 February 2025, <https://www.voanews.com/a/au-somalia-agree-on-troop-numbers-for-new-mission/7987913.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), AU, Somalia agree on troop numbers for new mission, 25 February 2025, <https://www.voanews.com/a/au-somalia-agree-on-troop-numbers-for-new-mission/7987913.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), First Batch of Somali Troops Trained in Eritrea Arrives Home, 21 December 2022, <https://www.voanews.com/a/first-batch-of-somali-troops-trained-in-eritrea-arrives-home-/6885944.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), New US Airstrikes Kill Al-Shabab Militants, 9 July 2023, <https://www.voanews.com/a/new-us-airstrikes-kill-al-shabab-militants/7173275.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Seven Killed in Attack on Somali Military Training Camp, 21 June 2023, <https://www.voanews.com/a/seven-killed-in-attack-on-somali-military-training-camp/7147223.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Somalia Military Offensive Suffers Setback as Troops Retreat, 29 August 2023, <https://www.voanews.com/a/7245333.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Somalia Military Rebuilding Shows Signs of Improvement, 30 November 2022, <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-military-rebuilding-shows-signs-of-improvement/6856894.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Somalia's Parliament Approves Historic Constitutional Amendments, 30 March 2024, <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-s-parliament-approves-historic-constitutional-amendments/7549916.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Somalia's President Vows 'Total War' Against al-Shabab, 24 August 2022, <https://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-s-president-vows-total-war-against-al-shabab/6714508.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Suicide Car Bomb Kills 6 as Somali Forces Foil 2 Others in Central Somalia, 28 September 2023, <https://www.voanews.com/a/suicide-car-bomb-kills-6-as-somali-forces-foil-two-others-in-central-somalia-/7289193.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

VOA (Voice of America), Suicide Car Bomb Kills Somali Security Personnel, 21 October 2023, <https://www.voanews.com/a/suicide-car-bomb-kills-somali-security-personnel-/7320477.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

Weiss, C., and Webber, L., Islamic State-Somalia: A Growing Global Terror Concern, September 2024, [https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/CTC-SENTINEL-082024\\_article-3.pdf](https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/CTC-SENTINEL-082024_article-3.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Weiss, C., et al., Fatal Transaction: The Funding Behind the Islamic State's Central Africa Province, June 2023, [https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2023-06/fatal-transaction-final\\_0.pdf](https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/2023-06/fatal-transaction-final_0.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

Weiss, C., Shabaab mounts coordinated assault north of Mogadishu, 3 March 2025, <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2025/03/shabaab-mounts-coordinated-assault-north-of-mogadishu.php>, accessed 10 April 2025

WHO (World Health Organization), WHO condemns attack on health care facility in Las Canood, Somaliland, 13 July 2023, <https://www.emro.who.int/media/news/who-condemns-attack-on-health-care-facility-in-las-canood-somaliland.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

Williams, P. D., The Somali National Army Versus Al-Shabaab: A Net Assessment, April 2024, [https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/CTC-SENTINEL-042024\\_article-4.pdf](https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/CTC-SENTINEL-042024_article-4.pdf), accessed 10

April 2025

Williams, P.D., The Somali National Army Versus Al-Shabaab: A Net Assessment, CTC (Combating Terrorism Center) Sentinel, April 2024, [https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/CTC-SENTINEL-042024\\_article-4.pdf](https://ctc.westpoint.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/CTC-SENTINEL-042024_article-4.pdf), accessed 10 April 2025

World Bank, Somalia Urbanization Review: Fostering Cities as Anchors of Development, January 2021, <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/35059/SOMALIA%20URBANIZATION%20REVIEW.pdf?sequence=7&isAllowed=y>, accessed 10 April 2025

Xinhua, AU mission condemns al-Shabab mortar attacks on airport, 20 March 2025, <https://english.news.cn/africa/20250320/2af9f6979a1f41f593b771e24f6d5640/c.html>, accessed 10 April 2025

© European Union Agency for Asylum 2026 | Email: [info@euaa.europa.eu](mailto:info@euaa.europa.eu)