

A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE RENEWED CONFLICT IN DIINSOOR

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The Institute for Research Analysis and Dialogue (IRAD) is an independent, nonpartisan, non-profit, think tank and research organization based in Baidoa, Somalia. IRAD is committed to conducting interdisciplinary research, policy analysis, and fostering inclusive dialogue with the aim of promoting citizen-centric participatory governance.

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Executive Summary

This policy brief explores the underlying causes of the renewed conflicts in parts of the Southwest State regions, with a focus on the recent clan conflicts in the Diinsoor district. Since August 2023, there has been a conflict between two brotherly clans in the city, whose causes and contributing factors have been long-standing animosity but majorly influenced by contestations over dominance, resources, as well as unaddressed past grievances.

Despite the loss of innocent lives during the period that the conflict was ongoing, the response and interventions have been low due to the nature of the conflict and the ambiguities associated. Therefore, this policy brief attempts to provide a comprehensive analysis of the conflict dynamics and content, as well as relevant recommendations for policy immediate interventions and sustainable peace.

The paper advocates for a multifaceted approach to conflict resolution, emphasizing the necessity of adopting community-based approaches with the local community at the forefront, judicial reforms to enhance accountability, and enhancing the capacity of governmental institutions to proactively address the root causes of conflict. It calls for fostering inclusive dialogue, continuing and strengthening the formation and reinstating of District Councils, formulation of state-level reconciliation policies and plans, promotion of equitable resource allocation, the establishment of district-level peace committees, and strengthening of governance structures, including the judicial system, to achieve sustainable peace and stability in Diinsoor and beyond.

Introduction

Over the past three decades, a culture of grievance influenced by the desire for dominance in power struggles and over resources has emerged within the Somali community, where minor disputes escalate into violent conflicts¹. This has been particularly evident in areas where different clans reside. Conventionally, traditional elders have historically played a central role in mediating conflicts. However, their influence has waned in recent years due to several factors, including a proliferation of arms and easy access to weapons, which has exacerbated conflicts, making resolutions more challenging, reconciliation delayed, and conflict losses and casualties increased. The proliferation of modern structures and institutions, including government authority expanding to various regions and the establishment of government agencies to address some issues as part of their mandate, along with the evolving complexity of conflict dynamics, issues, and actors, has created a void that traditional elders and conflict resolution mechanisms struggle to fill.

Additionally, reconciliation efforts in Somalia, particularly in Southwest state regions, have been hampered by the ineffectiveness and limited capacity of both the federal government and state institutions, unaddressed past grievances among clans, weak community structures, and the absence of preventive conflict resolution mechanisms and approaches. Furthermore, reconciliation and conflict resolution efforts often commence only after conflicts have escalated into violence and incurred losses and damages, adding existing gaps and challenges. Consequently, various conflicts between clans and sub-clans have resurged in Somalia, notably in the Southwest State, such as the one in Diinsoor.

This policy brief examines the resurgence of conflict in the Diinsoor District in the Southwest State of Somalia. The paper seeks to establish a comprehensive understanding of the root causes behind the escalating tensions between the clans in the district, comprehensively analyzes the conflict dynamics, and evaluates the efficacy and gaps of reconciliation efforts at community and state levels aimed at mitigating and/or eradicating violence stemming from power struggles, contestations over resources, and claims of dominance. The brief finally provides policy recommendations to the relevant stakeholders in addressing the conflict and leading towards sustainable peace in the district.

The brief used a qualitative method of data analysis where data was collected using key informants' interviews with public officials, community leaders, and religious and traditional leaders in the district and state; a desk review of secondary sources including security reports, think tank policy briefs, media articles as well as relevant peace and conflict publications.

The Southwest State: Background and Rational

The Southwest State of Somalia emerged as one of the five federal member states in 2014², following the adoption of the federal provisional constitution in 2012, with Barawe as the official capital. However, the administration is currently based in Baidoa as the de facto capital. The initial endeavor to establish the state dates back to November 27th, 2002³, marking its inception as the second autonomous state in Somalia. This was later dissolved in 2005.

Following its formation, clan elders elected Sharif Hassan Sheikh Adan as the inaugural president. In December 2019, Abdiaziz Hassan Laftagareen was elected as the second president of the state. The state residents predominantly speak the Maay dialect of the Somali language. The state is primarily inhabited by the Digil and Mirifle clans, alongside the Biyomaal (Dir), Awlihan (Cawlyahan (Ogaden/Darood), Somali Bantu communities, and various Hawiye clans. Additionally, the coastal trading towns of Marka and Baraawe have also been inhabited by the linguistically distinct Rer Baraawe and Rer Benedari, and overall, the State is the most populous in Somalia4.

Economically, the Southwest State relies on agriculture, livestock rearing, and fishing, The agriculturally rich Lower Shabelle region, traversed by the Shabelle River, is the most productive area of the state.



Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, 'State of Somalia: 2020 Report'
Hiiraan Online, Prof. Mohamed Haji Mukhtar, 'BRIEF HISTORY: Dr Hassan Mohamed Nur "Shaatigaduud"' April 04, 2013, (https://www.hiiraan.com/mop4/2013/apr/28773/brief_history_dr_hassan_mohamed_nur_shaatigaduud.aspx)
Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, 'State of Somalia: 2020 Report'

Bakool and Bay regions adopt an agropastoral lifestyle contingent on rainfall for farming. The state serves as a crucial commercial and strategic nexus, with major supply routes linking Mogadishu to Baidoa and Kismayo passing through its territory.

The Southwest State faces several challenges, including multifaceted insecurity stemming from extremist groups, disputes over resource allocation, and power dynamics, potentially leading to violent conflicts. It also faces recurring droughts, exacerbated by climate change. Additionally, accessibility hurdles between districts pose further complications for governance and development efforts.

In this vibrant and culturally diverse state, addressing past grievances and conflicts, as well as proper social and political reconciliation is a critical priority. This state's rich historical heritage and complex social fabric present challenges necessitating a deep understanding of local dynamics and sensitivities⁵. Achieving lasting peace and unity entails navigating intricate nuances.

The state has been deeply impacted by instability and diverse forms of insecurity, making it one of the most adversely affected regions in Somalia's extensive civil strife. Over the last thirty years, this area has been the epicenter of numerous severe conflicts that have destroyed the lives and livelihoods of its communities. Currently, the state is grappling with multiple ongoing disputes, often rooted in a mix of social, economic, and political disagreements, involving various clans and sub-clans across multiple districts.

Additionally, the situation of conflicts in the State has been exacerbated by disputes over resource sharing such as a simple daily income source, power dynamics, and control over natural resources, particularly water, due to the impacts of climate change. The adverse effects of climate change, particularly evident through widespread deforestation and environmental degradation, have hit hard in most parts of the state, especially in the rural areas leading to excessive displacement and urban migration. These environmental challenges have significantly disrupted the lives of both agricultural and pastoralist communities. The resulting environmental strain has forced a considerable number of people to move from rural areas to urban centers. In these urban areas, the increased competition for limited resources frequently leads to violent confrontations. The movement of populations, driven by environmental distress, has added another layer to the already complex conflict landscape in the state, further complicating efforts toward peace and stability.

The persistent absence of a reliable land tenure system remains a primary driver of conflicts and a significant barrier to reconciliation initiatives, particularly prevalent in Southwest State. Conflicts rooted in settlements, particularly between indigenous inhabitants and newcomers, are common in the state regions. In these areas, certain clans assert exclusive ownership rights over the state, relegating other clans to the status of "squatters" with limited rights.

Despite various reconciliation and peace-building efforts within the state, a comprehensive, state-wide conflict resolution and reconciliation framework is absent.

Another significant challenge confronting the state's development and stability is the widespread presence of the al-Shabaab militant group, which predominates in most non-urban areas of the Southwest State (SWS) except the major urban cities, escalating local clan conflicts over land and resources by exploiting clan tensions. The group also extorts considerable sums of money from local businesspeople transporting goods across the state's major supply routes. Additionally, a growing number of residents in the state are turning to the group's "courts" to resolve civil and criminal matters⁶.

The Socio-economic and Conflict Dynamics in Diinsoor

The district of Diinsoor is characterized by a good landscape and climate that suits agricultural practice and pastoralism. Its residents are recognized for their commitment to the peace of their city and standing for the common interest of their district. The suburban agricultural practices and pastoral activities serve as the district's primary economic sources. However, global climate change and alternating rainfall patterns have limited the economic sources of the district. Consequently, the pastoral and agricultural community have cleared their areas and fled from the district. The district has seen migration of the rural community from the neighboring areas resulting in widespread unemployment, and sparked conflicts over land ownership and resources in the city. Some clans have claimed dominance over the district and ownership of scarce resources and administrative power, creating new tensions and disputes among the clans in the city and its surroundings.

From August 2023, a prolonged conflict erupted between two clans, Dabarre and Gelidle, residing in the Diinsoor district. The power struggle between these clans, fueled by long-standing animosity, has resulted in the loss of innocent lives. The initial outbreak of violence occurred after a series of retaliatory killings, without clear motives driving the bloodshed. Fortunately, the intervention of respected clan elders paved the way for a reconciliation meeting attended by authorities from the Southwest region and various stakeholders, including traditional leaders. This reconciliation meeting, facilitated by the experienced traditional elders, spanned over two months from October to November 2023. However, it did not lead to a lasting peace in the city and among the two clans, despite facilitating agreements and provision of compensation for the lives lost.

The Southwest State authorities, including the President, the Ministry of Interior, and local governments, participated in this momentous occasion on November 8, 2023⁷.

All parties involved in the conflict gathered to observe the terms of the agreement, fostering a sense of unity and promoting dialogue among the local communities.

⁶ Southwest Ministry of Interior Local Government and Reconciliation, 'Report on Resolving Clan Conflicts in Diinsoor: Employing Traditional Insider Mediation', April 2024

^{&#}x27;Southwest Ministry of Interior Local Government and Reconciliation, 'Report on Resolving Clan Conflicts in Diinsoor: Employing Traditional Insider Mediation', April 2024

The presence of the defense minister from the Federal Government of Somalia further emphasized the importance of the reconciliation efforts. One notable aspect of the agreement was the provision for compensation to all individuals affected by the conflict, regardless of their clan affiliation. Compensation was awarded to those who had lost their lives, sustained injuries, or suffered property damage. The amount of compensation varied depending on the nature of the loss, ranging from \$400 to \$2,000 for property damage and injuries. In cases of loss of life, the Islamic Sharia law of Diya was applied. Additionally, the agreement established a strict deterrent for future violence: 'anyone who takes the life of a member of the opposing clan will face the same fate without hesitation'. The agreement was signed by key representatives of both clans as well as the traditional elders of the Southwest. Their unified commitment to peace and reconciliation symbolized an encouraging step forward for the communities involved.

Nevertheless, in March 2024⁸, violence occurred when two soldiers from the Southwest State Darawiish clashed, resulting in the death of one of them⁹. The victim belonged to the Gelidle clan, while the perpetrator hailed from the Dabarre clan. This incident reignited the deep-seated animosity between the two clans, prompting the Gelidle clan to demand accountability under the November 8th agreement and that the authorities honor the November 8th agreement and hold the perpetrator accountable. In a surprising turn of events, the perpetrator himself voluntarily surrendered, admitting to the killing of the Darawiish soldier. This was followed by swift action by the administration, which resulted in the perpetrator being transported to Baidoa to face execution. The Dabarre clan contested the prosecution process, claiming a lack of due process, denial of legal representation, and the incident not thoroughly investigated by the court before the trial. They argued that the killing was an act of self-defense, as the victim had initiated the firing and had intentions of deliberately causing harm to the accused. These grievances exacerbated the conflict further, resulting in a full-scale confrontation between the two clans and causing significant damage and destruction in the city.

On the other side, the Dabarre clan faced accusations of intentionally displacing the Gelidle clan out of their rightful territory, based on a leaked audio statement inciting hateful remarks against the Gelidle¹⁰.

These incidents highlight the delicate nature of the necessary peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts. Despite the community and other actors' readiness to engage in comprehensive processes and reach agreed modalities, a single incident can potentially unravel the progress made. It also illustrates the existing and competing tensions between dispute resolution mechanisms including traditional, religious, and formal judicial systems.

Insight into Diinsoor Conflict

Conflicts between clans are pervasive in Somalia, and the ongoing conflict between the Dabarre and Gelidle clans in Diinsoor is no exception. This conflict, primarily fueled by prolonged revenge killings, has entrenched a vicious cycle of violence that shows no signs of a sustainable solution. Allegations implicating state government officials have surfaced, however, no independent verification of their involvement exists. The roots of the conflict between the Dabarre and Gelidle clans stem from a long history of enmity and disputes over land, resources, and power. Both clans have suffered from past grievances or perceived injustices at the hands of each other. These grievances have festered over time, leading to ongoing tensions that have erupted into violent confrontations. The cycle of revenge killings has only served to deepen the divide between the two clans. Each act of violence leads to retaliation further perpetuating the cycle of violence and bloodshed. The lack of a mechanism for resolving disputes or seeking justice beyond violence leaves both clans trapped in a cycle of revenge and retribution.

Diinsoor, a predominantly rural and agrarian with limited arable land and water sources, holds historical significance, intensifying competition for these resources between the two clans and leading to disputes. The effects of climate change, such as prolonged droughts and erratic rainfall patterns have further strained the already scarce resources in the region, particularly the district.

Historically, the two clans have long engaged in inter-ethnic conflicts and power struggles over land and other modern resources such as representation and administration leadership¹¹. Past incidents of violence and displacement have deepened animosities and created a cycle of revenge and retaliation that has perpetuated the conflict over generations. The absence of formal mechanisms for conflict resolution and reconciliation has allowed these grievances to fester and escalate into new unforeseen circumstances. Additionally, external factors, like the involvement of armed groups such as al-Shabaab, have significantly fueled the conflict between the Dabarre and Gelidle clans¹².



¹¹ Southwest Ministry of Interior Local Government and Reconciliation, 'Report on Resolving Clan Conflicts in Diinsoor: Employing Traditional Insider Mediation', April 2024

¹² Southwest Ministry of Interior Local Government and Reconciliation, 'Report on Resolving Clan Conflicts in Diinsoor: Employing Traditional Insider Mediation', April 2024

Another significant challenge that reconciliation and peacebuilding efforts in Diinsoor face, shared with the wider Somalia context, is the lack of institutional capacity and resources to support the local peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts. Local authorities often struggle to effectively mediate disputes and resolve conflicts due to resources constraints.

The lack of conflict analysis, deep understanding of the dynamics, factors, and actors is also an area of gap which is vital for reaching lasting peace and stability. Identifying the actors involved is key to this. This includes understanding the motivations, interests, and capabilities of various actors. By mapping out the different actors and their relationships, the dynamics of the conflict better and developing strategies to engage with these actors effectively can be revealed. By visualizing the relationships between different groups and highlighting areas of common ground, conflict mapping can facilitate dialogue and mediation efforts that aim to resolve conflicts peacefully. This includes reconciliation initiatives, truth and reconciliation commissions, community-based conflict resolution mechanisms as well as provision of truma healing and mental health sessions for the victims affected by the conflicts that promote healing and social cohesion. Another critical aspect is understanding the impact of the conflict on the local population. This involves examining the social, economic, and psychological effects of conflict on communities and the needs and priorities of affected populations. Analyzing the impact of conflict on communities provides a basis to develop targeted interventions to address these needs and support the recovery and resilience of affected populations. It is also necessary to assess the effectiveness of interventions and adjust strategies to achieve sustainable peace and stability.

The Role of the District Council in the Conflict Resolution Process

Diinsoor is one of six Southwest State districts with an elected District Council until recently. The formation of the District Council contributed to relative calm in promoting a reconciliatory environment in Southwest districts, according to the Heritage Institute for Policy Studies' report in March 2023¹³. This process empowered the traditional elders, centralizing their role in the political and societal negotiations, thereby creating a sense of bottom-up democratization. However, the suspension of the elected mayor after his term's end resulted in a top-down political appointment. The composition of the city council included key clan inhabitants in the district, each one securing a fair share of representation, and therefore could have served as an effective platform for conflict resolution.

The administration's inability to facilitate a successor city council could be a hindrance to maintaining the relative calm in the city. Therefore, the absence of District Commissioners likely aggravated the violence, as a lack of representative governance and leadership has led to lawlessness and chaos in the city.



District Commissioners play an important role in ensuring peace, order, and stability in their respective districts. They are responsible for overseeing local governance, implementing government policies, and addressing the constituents' needs. The lack of functional district commissioners creates a void in authority and decision-making, allowing conflicts to escalate.

Restoring the District Commissioners in Diinsoor would provide much-needed leadership and governance in the city. These elected officials can work with local leaders, community members, and stakeholders to address the root causes of the conflict and find sustainable solutions. They can facilitate mediating disputes, preventing violence, and promoting dialogue and reconciliation among the conflicting parties.

Additionally, District Commissioners can collaborate with law enforcement agencies to maintain peace and security within the community. They can coordinate efforts to disarm militias, combat criminal activities, and ensure the safety of residents in Diinsoor. By restoring the authority of District Commissioners, the State government can demonstrate its commitment to restoring law and order in the region.

District Commissioners can also play a pivotal role in delivering essential services and resources to the people of Diinsoor. Leveraging their local knowledge and connections, they can advocate for development projects, humanitarian assistance, and infrastructure improvements that can improve the lives of residents and address the underlying grievances that fuel the conflict. Restoring District Commissioners demonstrates the government's commitment to addressing the root causes of the conflict and promoting peace and stability in the district.

Furthermore, District Commissioners act as intermediaries between the government and Diinsoor's residents. They listen to community concerns, advocate for their interests, and ensure their voices are heard and respected. This restoration showcases the government's dedication to inclusive governance, transparency, and accountability, crucial for fostering trust and confidence among Diinsoor's residents.

In addition to their role in governance and security, District Commissioners can serve as a bridge between the government and the people of Diinsoor. They listen to the concerns and grievances of the community, represent their interests to the authorities, and ensure that their voices are heard and respected. The restoration of the district commissioners showcases the government's dedication to inclusive governance, transparency, and accountability, which are essential for building trust and confidence among the residents of Diinsoor.

Conclusion

The conflict in Diinsoor district is one of the examples of the recurrent conflict issues facing the Southwest State of Somalia that revolve around resource competition, power struggles, and unresolved historical grievances. Efforts to address these issues must prioritize a community-centered approach, with local leaders and traditional elders playing a central role in mediation and dialogue processes. Strengthening the rule of law and accountability measures is essential for rebuilding trust and achieving sustainable peace.

The recommendations provided in this policy brief outline a path forward that requires collaboration between state and federal governments, as well as partnerships with international organizations. By fostering inclusive governance, improving district-level peace structures, and engaging all relevant actors in the reconciliation process, Diinsoor and other flashpoint areas in the region can work toward breaking the cycle of violence and achieving long-term stability and prosperity.

Policy Recommendations

To resolve the conflict between the Dabarre and Gelidle clans and facilitate lasting peace in Diinsoor, efforts should address the root causes of the violence and promote proper reconciliation, inclusivity, and peaceful coexistence. This will require a multi-faceted approach that addresses the underlying grievances of both clans, provides avenues for resolving disputes peacefully, and holds those responsible for inciting violence accountable. Engaging with local community leaders, religious figures, and clan leaders will foster dialogue and build trust between the two clans. These leaders can help facilitate peace talks, mediate disputes, and work towards finding a lasting solution to the conflict. Involving both clans, particularly the leaders of the youth and militias in the frontlines in the peace process is essential to ensuring that any agreement reached is sustainable and respected by all parties. This could be done in various phases, each phase engaging a particular group and bringing together after consensus has been reached separately. Moreover, efforts should be made to strengthen the rule of law and hold those responsible for committing acts of violence accountable. This will send a strong message that impunity will not be tolerated and that those who perpetrate violence will be held accountable for their actions. Diinsoor's situation is a stark reminder of the importance of effective conflict resolution and the need for swift and fair justice. It is important for all parties involved, including the authorities, to work together to address the underlying causes of the conflict and prevent further loss of life. Through genuine dialogue, understanding, and a commitment to peace by all actors can lead a lasting reconciliation to be achieved in Diinsoor and other similar areas in the state.

Based on the findings and analysis of this paper, along with the involved dynamics and historical events of the conflict in Diinsoor, the paper, therefore, proposes the below detailed two approaches. The first approach emphasizes conflict resolution mechanisms through local initiatives. The second approach involves providing policy recommendations to the Southwest State (SWS), the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS), and other supporting partners to facilitate sustainable peace and stability in Diinsoor and beyond.

1 Conflict Resolution Mechanism Through Local Initiatives:

Efforts should be directed and focused toward promoting peace and reconciliation and establishing the necessary structures that play a key role in preventing or mitigating conflicts in the district. This includes the establishment of Local Peace Committees, comprising representatives from all clans and community groups in the district. The major role of these committees would be mediating disputes, resolving conflicts, and promoting dialogue and understanding among the various factions in the district, including in times of peace. By providing a platform for dialogue and negotiation, the peace committees can be instrumental in reducing tensions and preventing violence in the area.

Another crucial peacebuilding strategy could be promoting community-led initiatives for reconciliation and conflict resolution. This entails organizing peace forums, workshops, and other events that bring together members of the two clans and community groups to discuss their grievances, share perspectives, and foster trust among them. These initiatives foster trust and understanding among the clan members and community, contribute to resolving long-standing conflicts, and enhance social cohesion.

In addition to these local initiatives, there is a need to improve the relationship and collaboration between the local leaders' authorities and the external actors, such as international organizations and the federal government, to facilitate support for the peacebuilding initiatives in the district. This could involve providing training and capacity-building support for Local Peace Committees, District Council members, traditional leaders, youth, women, and other relevant members of the community to become peace champions and advocates. The partners could also assist in developing programs in the district to promote economic development, job creation, and other opportunities for the community. This contributes to the prosperity and development of the district, ultimately leading to peace and tranquility.

2 Policy Recommendations towards SWS, FGS, and Partners:

The following recommendations are proposed to all decision-making policy actors, stakeholders, and other supporting partners for relevant policy actions and interventions that lead to sustainable peace in Diinsoor.

- The administration should prioritize timely and swift intervention in conflict situations as the first and most important step to prevent further loss of life and destruction of properties.
- Despite various reconciliation and peace-building efforts within the state, a comprehensive, state-wide conflict resolution framework is absent. The Southwest State should develop a Reconciliation Plan a framework at state and district levels aligning with the National Reconciliation Framework. The plan should aim to establish guidelines to strengthen districts and regional reconciliation endeavors, seeking to establish a more unified and practical approach to resolving these longstanding issues such as the one of Diinsoor.
- 1) The restoration of district commissioners in the city is crucial, given their pivotal role in conflict resolution, particularly in mediating conflicts.

- A district insider mediation network should be established in All SWS districts to resolve local issues.
- The State should take immediate action against the individuals/ administrations who are accused of or found guilty of escalating conflicts in the districts, particularly in Diinsoor to demonstrate the legitimacy and effectiveness of the state's authority.
- The state, in collaboration with relevant partners such as the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS), should facilitate comprehensive and genuine reconciliation efforts involving representatives from both clans. This should include engaging elites, such as the politicians, as well as the traditional elders and community or clan members in the mediation and reconciliation process.
- As part of a tracking process and prevention mechanism, it is also useful to undertake a periodic comprehensive conflict analysis review in all state hot-spot areas to anticipate and mitigate recurrent conflict perceptions effectively. This proactive approach will enable timely interventions to mitigate potential conflicts before they escalate.
- The state, regional, and district courts should conduct a thorough assessment and review of the army judicial system, particularly in cases involving inter-clan conflicts. Ensuring fairness and impartiality of the process in judicial proceedings will uphold the rule of law, enhance the effectiveness of the judicial system, and promote trust in the legal system among all parties. Moreover, the state should ensure that perpetrators of violence are held accountable through transparent and fair judicial procedures. This will not only deliver justice but also deter future acts of violence, contributing to the restoration of trust in the justice system.
- Both the FGS and Southwest administration and their partners should empower local leadership, including traditional elders, by providing them with adequate resources and support to effectively resolve conflicts and promote peace-building initiatives. Strengthening their capacity enhances conflict resolution capabilities at the grassroots level, creates robust communication channels between the state and the community and/or the conflicting clans and overall fosters understanding, trust, and cooperation, paving the way for peaceful coexistence.
- Finally, it is imperative for the FGS, Southwest State, and all relevant stakeholders should prioritize addressing the underlying issues of the conflict in Diinsoor and other areas with active conflict within the state, such as power struggles, historical grievances regarding land, resources and political representation. Proactive measures should also be explored and implemented to prevent forced displacements and safeguard the rights of vulnerable communities in the event of conflict escalation.



















