Heritage Tourism Development in Post-conflict Somaliland: The Politics of Stakeholders in Heritage Tourism and Nation Building in a Country Without International Recognition

By

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ABSTRACT

Three decades after Somaliland's reassertion of independence from Somalia in 1991, heritage has become a contested political space for nation-building in the post-conflict environment. This study takes its point of departure with a main research question, exploring whether Somaliland's government has a strategy for developing heritage tourism as part of its post-conflict economic reconstruction. This question is addressed through two sub-questions. The first sub-question (RQ2) assesses the factors to consider when dealing with heritage tourism development in Somaliland. The second sub-question (RQ3) explores the role of heritage in nation-building following the liberation conflict with Somalia and how heritage was applied during Somaliland's post-conflict economic reconstruction. Through qualitative research methods, this thesis explores whether there are heritage tourism development strategies in Somaliland and what factors to consider when dealing with the country's heritage. The data collected for this study was obtained from 171 respondents who participated through surveys, focus groups, and interviews. This study shows how Somaliland's unique position of not being internationally recognised has significant implications and risks, not least of which is the potential for reigniting regional conflicts. Overall, this thesis demonstrates how heritage in post-conflict environments can take on several meanings to different groups, which is both contentious and dangerous for the heritage itself.

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AU	African Union
EU	European Union
EUSOM	European Union Embassy in Somalia
HCC	Hargeisa Cultural Centre
HBF	Hargeisa Book Festival
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organisation
IC	International Community
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MRQ	Main Research Question
MTT	Ministry of Trade and Tourism
RQ	Research Question
SAA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SEA	Single European Act
SLA	Somaliland Authorities
SNM	Somali National Movement
UFFO	Resistance Movement
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific Cultural Organisation
WB	World Bank
WHC	World Heritage Convention
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
WTO	World Trade Organisation

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Arabsiyo	Village on the outskirts of Hargeisa
Arawela	Queen of the area of Somaliland (15 AD)
Daalo Mountain	National mountain range
Darood	Clan in Eastern regions of Somaliland
Dir	Clan in Western region of Somaliland
Fighter Jet Monument	Heritage site in Hargeisa city centre
Gaboye	Clan in Somaliland
Hawd and Reserve Area	Territory of Somaliland annexed to Ethiopia
Guluf Hotel	Aeroplane hotel and restaurant
Hido Dhowr	Protect heritage.
Isaaq	Clan in Somaliland (largest by population)
Khariya Park	National Square
Las Geel	The focal point of the country's heritage
Masaa Laha	area of of Hargeisa, near the airport
Naaso Hablood Hargeisa	Translates as virgin's breasts (Twin Hills of
Somalilanders	Referred to people from Somaliland
Shillings	National currency
Waa Dardaaran	Be warned

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Research justification

Fifty years on from the 1972 adoption of UNESCO World Heritage Convention saw the establishment of UNESCO's five strategic objectives (five Cs) for the World Heritage Convention (Albert et al., 2022). The five Cs represent a framework for credibility, conservation, capacity-building, communications, and communities. The overarching aim of the five Cs is to safeguard and promote effective heritage development. This approach centralises an international heritage framework and thus legitimises heritage as a tool for policy, political, and economic development (Ashworth, 2014, Garner, 2016). Although it is specifically for the operation of the World Heritage Convention, this framework serves as a benchmark for international heritage sites and as the pinnacle of international heritage recognition. The convention sets the rules for countries to identify likely cultural heritage sites to consider for inscription on the World Heritage List. However, there are countries in the world which, in spite of having sites of potential merit as well as the need of international recognition and support for managing and protecting their heritage, sit outside the framework of such international systems. Somaliland is one such nation which remains outside the framework of the World Heritage Convention, despite its ambitions of UNESCO membership and hopes to inscribe Las Geel, arguably one of the most important rock art sites in all of Africa. There is an urgent need for understanding how unrecognised governments outside the international systems, such as Somaliland, manoeuvre in

these challenging circumstances. This thesis shows that while UNESCO's strategies promote inclusion, they exclude some states, such as Somaliland, without examining their legal merits and instead adhere to a strategy of political coercion. This approach explicitly undermines UNESCO's five Cs.

The significance of heritage in political, social, and economic development through heritage tourism is not a new concept; international heritage and tourism have had an active part in the economic development and modernisation plans used by different governments (Salemink, 2016; Hampton, 2005). This has been more prevalent after the decolonization period of the 1960s, which shifted UNESCO's position towards former colonies, particularly as the number of newly independent nations that joined UNESCO increased (Garner, 2016, Gasanabo, 2016). The 1982 UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies in Mexico signified the redefinition of culture by dismantling all notions of cultural hierarchy and superiority, declaring that no culture is superior (ICH, 2023). However, despite how well-intentioned current international heritage policy and development may be, UNESCO's conferences and its five Cs have challenges in delivering its aims in post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Slavery, colonialism, independence wars, post-independence civil wars, ethnic and tribal cleansing, terrorism, and election-related crises have all occurred in SSA nations and, as such, left a legacy of distrust among heritage stakeholders (Giblin, 2018, Mire, 2007). Moreover, this has led to the dispersion and displacement of 44 million people from their country of birth in SAA (UNHCR, 2023). This poses opportunities and challenges for migration-producing and migration-receiving countries (Zimmermann, 2017). The total number of diasporas is estimated to be around 286 million people, and they contribute approximately $630 billion in remittances in their country of

heritage; this this is three times more than the international development aid (World-Bank, 2023).

As SSA nations emerge from conflicts, they look for ways to use heritage to rebuild or re-invent to maintain peace, unity, and economic development (Basu, 2008, Basu, 2011, Basu, 2013, Zvingowanisei and Machingura, 2022, Bigambo, 2020). However, in post-conflict development, deciding what is significant or not important, what to remember or forget, sparks new conflict or reignites unsolved grievances or disputes (Basu, 2008, Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015). Authorities in these nations have attempted to instil a strong sense of national identity in their people. They convey their perspectives and interests through re-creations and re-invention of cultural traditions, heritage and symbols (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012, Logan, 2012, Freer and Kherfi, 2020, Silverman, 2005). Political entities often pursue means of remembering the past for their community to reconcile their prior grievances or glorify their achievements (Pinkerton, 2011). This is evident in post-conflict African nations. Establishing museums and remembrance sites is a well-established element in nation-building, notably in the aftermath of a country's independence during the 1960s decolonisation in West Africa (Tunbridge, 1996; Marschall, 2016).

The production and reproduction of memories, traditions, and education plays a crucial part in sustaining nationalism through the generations (Paasi, 2016, Mawere, 2015). The significance of nationalism in SSA has, in recent times, received increased attention (Andreasson, 2022, Akiwumi, 2014, Alemazung, 2010, Arazi et al., 2013, Basu, 2013, Cheeseman et al., 2018, Chirikure et al., 2016, Fouéré and Hughes, 2015b, Giblin, 2018, Fouéré and Hughes, 2015a). Conversely, there is wide attention

dedicated to the SSA diaspora and the important role that diaspora plays as the agents of political, social and economic development (Gevorkyan, 2022, Kessy and Shayo, 2022, Gelb et al., 2021, Mariani et al, 2018, Palmer, 2018, Brubaker, 2017, Sinatti and Horst, 2015, Basu, 2011). However, while increased attention is dedicated to nationalism, diaspora, and heritage studies in SAA, the Horn of Africa, particularly Somaliland, remains understudied.

After gaining independence from Britain on June 26, 1960, Somaliland, an SSA nation in the Horn of Africa, made an attempt to unite with Somalia, a former Italian colony, five days later on July 1, 1960. This unification was interesting as it was driven and motivated by Somalilander's distrust of further British rule in the area. Unbeknown to Somalilanders, Britain secretly ceded Somaliland's territory (Hawd and Reserve Area) to Ethiopia. Furthermore, the decision to merge and form a pan-Somali state aligned with the Primordialist national thinking, a popular concept during this period (Matshanda and Thompson, 2023, Barnes, 2006). This was also further motivated by perceived shared cultural and traditional ties linked with nomadic practices, religion, Somali language, and ethnicity. However, this hastily conducted unification process resulted in the unratified legal union between Somalia and Somaliland in 1960 (Mahmoud, 2023, Nte, 2022, Ali, 2022, McPherson-Smith, 2021).

Political unification between Somalia and Somaliland was problematic due to the different pre-colonial and colonial histories. Despite the initially pre-agreed-upon legislative framework, which was based on equal conditions for power sharing and resource allocation, Somalia imposed an *Atto di Unione* (Act of Union) that differed from what was first agreed upon to create the new Somali Republic (Mutuma and

Ogechi, 2021, Bradbury, 2008). The newly established parliament allocated 33 seats to Somaliland and 99 seats to Somalia; this unbalanced power-sharing system led to a new constitution unilaterally approved by the new parliament, which domineered Somaliland. Paradoxically, the United Nations, which oversees international law, was the caretaker of Somalia (UN Somalia Trusteeship) during this transition, which implicitly and complicitly implicates the UN in the current legal wrangling between Somalia and Somaliland. The 1960s saw several African independence movements, voluntary unifications of other states, and the emergence of international Cold War alliances (Ali, 2022). Thus, less attention was given by the international community (IC) to the independence process between Somalia and Somaliland (Mahmoud, 2023, Nte, 2022, Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021).

In 1969, a coup d'état headed by Siad Barre facilitated his regime to use coercion and brute force to maintain unity between Somalia and Somaliland. Somali unity served the interest of Siad Barre as his clan, the Darood clan, was not dominant in Somalia but was scattered in four areas (the Eastern province of Somaliland, Puntland, a region located in Ethiopia and partly in Somalia). His reign resulted in the systematic destruction of Somaliland's heritage and identity through a state-sponsored genocide campaign and economic blockade. This resulted in the marginalisation, displacement, and massacre of hundreds of thousands of Isaaq clan civilians (Ingiriis, 2016b, Cotter, 2023, Gutiérrez de León Juberías, 2022). The Isaaqs were viewed as a threat to Somalia's unionist administration since they comprised the majority clan in Somaliland. However, it was the displaced citizens who reclaimed Somaliland. Somaliland's diaspora founded the Somali National Movement in London in 1981, and

it subsequently liberated Somaliland from Somalia's control in 1991 (Ali, 2022, Bradbury, 2008, Jani, 2014, Kaplan, 2008).

Following Somaliland's attainment of independence, the SNM rebels surrendered their powers to a civilian administration. It is one of the few instances in Africa where rebels have transferred power to civilians, making it one of the rare instances in which this has occurred in the world (Ali, 2022, Jhazbhay, 2003, Schwartz, 2021). This was mainly attributed to the SNM's hierarchy, which included a mix of diaspora elites and local elites who were educated and owned businesses, as well as local Isaaq military commanders who defected from Somalia's military. Following re-independence in 1991, Somaliland's newly constituted authorities (SLA) based their control on the inherited British colonial borders. A new flag, currency, national anthem, and monuments were subsequently constructed, thus laying the groundwork for the SLA to implement heritage symbols and practices to distinguish itself from Somalia. However, 53 years after the attempted union and devastation and restoration of Somaliland, despite adopting Western democratic values, Somaliland remains under Somalia's coercion, which the IC legitimises. Despite this, the momentum of self-determination remains, further reinforced by the re-discovery of Las Geel as an important heritage site.

Before the re-discovery of Las Geel in 2001 and the independence referendum that followed in the same year, there was less opposition to the SLA's role in taking the lead in heritage development and management. The referendum of 2001 marked the beginning of the process of democratising Somaliland. In 2001, there were around 4.5 million citizens, 1.1 million registered voters, and 97% voted for independence (Nte,

2022, Ali, 2022, Schwartz, 2021) legitimising the SLA's 1991 re-declaration of independence from Somalia. This decade marked the shift from nation-building to economic reconstruction, and the SLA formed the Ministry of Trade and Tourism (MTT), which was meant to reinvent Somaliland's image in order to attract the diaspora as well as international recognition through heritage. The above signalled the beginning of the SLA's post-1991 reinvention strategy and Somaliland's national identity transition. However, as a result of its democratisation, more stakeholders are able to scrutinise the SLA, and it is therefore confronting increasing opposition and conflict of interest from diaspora and local stakeholders.

This research was conceived due to my heritage links with Somaliland as well as my education and employment experience in the field of tourism. Firstly, as a diaspora member from Somaliland having survived the Isaaq genocide, I have often questioned the motivations behind the events which led to my childhood migration from Somaliland in 1991. Often, I have found myself reliving moments of contradictory joy and horror as well as the constant appreciation of life through the privileges I have been granted. Second, my A-level and undergraduate education in tourism management sparked my interest in inquiring into the role of heritage tourism in post-conflict countries. Having seen how quickly the Balkan countries Vietnam and Cambodia emerged from their conflicts and turned to tourism as a national reconstruction and economic development platform, I wondered about Somaliland's circumstances and potential. Thirdly, having worked for Marketing Birmingham (now renamed West Midlands Growth Company) from 2005 to 2011, I have observed the role that heritage and tourism play in developing tourism and destination branding in Birmingham and the West Midlands. Thus, based on the combination of the above

reasons, I conceived this PhD project to investigate whether Somaliland's government had a heritage and tourism development strategy as part of its post-conflict reconstruction.

1.2 Research aims and objectives

Following from the above, this thesis begins with one central research question and forms the basis of the main research question (MRQ) for this thesis. The main research (MRQ) addresses whether Somaliland's government has a strategy for developing and promoting its heritage and tourism. From this starting point, I developed two sub-questions (RQ2, and RQ3) which addressed the MRQ.

- RQ2 is focused on identifying factors to consider while dealing with heritage tourism in Somaliland.
- RQ3 examines how heritage is utilised to shape Somaliland's national identity.

The main research (MRQ) assesses how heritage and tourism are administered at the government level, explores whether there are policies in place, and assesses whether there are management strategies in place for heritage and tourism. RQ2 extracts the factors to consider with regard to Somaliland's heritage tourism development. In particular heritage development in the context of Somaliland's government, international community (IC), local, and diaspora stakeholders. RQ2 explores the dynamics that influence Somaliland's heritage development. The final RQ3 assesses the role of heritage in forming Somaliland's national identity, starting with an

examination of how heritage was applied during the post-conflict reconstruction period (1991-2001) and during current economic reconstruction.

1.3 Methodology and Approach

I applied mixed research methods to assess whether Somaliland's government had a strategy for heritage tourism (MRQ). The primary research methodology employs qualitative approaches based on grounded theory (discussed in Chapter 4). Over the course of a year, I visited Hargeisa (the capital of Somaliland) and the surrounding areas as part of my fieldwork. The fieldwork encompassed two trips. The first visit took place during the summer months of 2019 (July and August), focusing mainly on the perspectives of diaspora tourists in the country, their interactions with heritage tourism sites, and their perceptions of heritage tourism. Since it was less crowded, I spent my second visit in February–March 2020 interacting with the residents in Hargeisa and its surroundings.

During both my fieldwork visits, I carried out semi-structured expert interviews with current and former government officials to determine whether Somaliland authorities had a strategy for heritage development. In addition, I assessed the Ministry of Tourism and Trade's (MTT) website to determine whether the policy and the observations were connected. The second task was to gather data on the factors to consider when dealing with Somaliland's heritage. For this purpose, through semi-structured interviews and focus groups, I gathered the perspectives of elites (diaspora and locals) as they sway significant influence in heritage tourism development in the

country. Furthermore, I have included the participation of local community to provided wider perspective on Somaliland's stakeholder. In addition to observations in the field, I used netnography targeting social media, to widen my research participation and gain access to the perspectives of the diaspora, locals, and members of the international community (NGOs).

1.4 Key Terms and Definitions

In this study, I have used several key terms, which include heritage tourism development, diaspora, elites, local community, and international community. In the following section, I will be explaining how the terms are applied in this study.

d. Heritage tourism development

The term 'heritage tourism' was first recorded in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) in 1983, highlighting it as a contemporary process in the field of tourism (OED, 2023b). This corresponds with the evolution of tourism niches that traditionally cater to the elites and then transitioned to mass international markets (Richards, 2018). Given this context, there is a lack of a universally accepted definition for heritage tourism development (discussed in section 2.1.6). The Oxford English Dictionary defines heritage tourism as "tourism to places of historical or cultural interest." According to the Oxford English Dictionary, development is the process or action of raising something to a higher level of advancement (OED, 2023a). The theoretical heritage definitions (further discussed in Chapter 2) establish a consensus that heritage pertains to both tangible and intangible values, which address aspects of politics,

economic and social dimensions (Ashworth, 2014, Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015, Lowenthal, 1998). Within this context, I base my understanding of heritage tourism development and enquire how the authorities (MTT) and other stakeholders (diaspora, locals, international community and elites) engage with heritage tourism development.

b) Authority/Authorities

In this study, the term 'authorities' pertains to any entity from the legislative branch of the Somaliland government; in my context, a distinction will be made if the term is used in relation to the local council. For instance, this study addresses the role of the Hargeisa Council and the difficulties in communicating with the legislative branches of the government in relation to national parks such as Naaso Hablood (See section 5.4.5). This study additionally shows the dynamic between the authorities and the diaspora, particularly in capacity development and influence in the authorities' decision-making processes (further discussed in chapters 5 and 6).

c) Diaspora

Although the term 'diaspora' was previously associated with the Jewish community due to their exile from their homeland, it has evolved since the 1980s to include other groups (Cohen and Fischer, 2018, Kafle, 2010, Guo, 2022, Van Hear et al., 2020). The term diaspora is widened to refer to any group of people who reside outside of their country of origin, are transnational, share a emotional perspective of home and ethnic perceptions, and aspire to return home (Sinatti and Horst, 2015, Van Hear et al., 2020). Through these definitions (which are further elaborated in chapter 2, the literature review), I will be basing my understanding of Somaliland's diaspora in this study.

Considering that the UK-based diaspora formed Somaliland, members of the diaspora are both revered and despised in Somaliland due to their social, political and economic influence on the development of the country (Hammond, 2015). Developing nations recognise the importance of diaspora from the business and professional classes, particularly in the transfer of knowledge, and states are exploring strategies to attract their diaspora back (Kessy and Shayo, 2022, Gelb et al., 2021, Tellander and Horst, 2019, Palmer, 2018, Sinatti and Horst, 2015, Hammond, 2015) This, however, creates elites and preferences for particular diasporas over others.

e. Elites

This research refers to 'elite' as a select few of locals and diaspora who, through their business and professional class, are influential in Somaliland.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study contributes towards the theoretical knowledge in general of Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly widening the under-researched heritage of Somaliland. The re-discovery of the Las Geel heritage site has generated worldwide media coverage for Somaliland, a nation obscured in the shadow of Somalia (discussed in section 5.2.5). This publicity has resulted in contestation between stakeholders involved in developing Somaliland's heritage. Furthermore, this thesis contributes new knowledge into the development of cultural heritage in a post-conflict context, the role of the diaspora, and the unique challenges faced by non-UN member states that operate outside formal international frameworks (discussed in section 5.3 to 5.6).

This study demonstrates that the UK-based Somaliland diaspora is resisting pressure from pro-Somali unionists by re-inventing their own national identity by exchanging their Somali identity for Somalilander identity, recognised by the UK Census of 2021 (further discussed in 6.4). Furthermore, this study provides an appraisal of Somaliland government departments, particularly the Ministry of Tourism and Trade (MTT), in assessing the effectiveness of their heritage tourism strategies and a comprehensive understanding of the internal and external factors to consider.

1.6 The structure of the thesis

This thesis is separated into seven chapters, and following the introduction, Chapter 2, the literature review, explores previous studies concerning heritage tourism, diaspora, and nationalism in the context of post-conflict countries. The philosophy of this research will be based on theories drawn from critical heritage studies, which emphases the need for a different approach to a traditional heritage conceptualisation. As such, this thesis is dedicated to understanding the role of heritage in the post-conflict tourism development in Somaliland through the lens of political, economic and social contexts. The first section of Chapter 2 identifies the ambiguity encompassing the definitions of heritage and its management approaches, such as the internationally operating Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD). As such, the first section explores how heritage is managed through a top-down approach from a position of power (government, heritage professionals) and its implication for other stakeholders in the periphery of influence. Furthermore, the section identifies the operation of different

heritage values between the Global North and the Global South. The section explores tourism development theories in the context of post-conflict and developing nations. The last section of Chapter 2 explores previous heritage studies related to Somaliland.

Chapter 3 provides context for Somaliland and a historical timeline of pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, and post-conflict reconstruction contexts. The first section provides the pre-colonial context for the Ifat Sultanates. This mediaeval dynasty ruled the present territory of Somaliland. It later evolved into the Adal Sultanates, which formed a 600-year alliance with the Ottoman Empire as Egypt's vassal state during this time. With the decline of the Ottoman Empire, anthropologists such as Sir Richard Burton were influential in remaking the Adal Sultanate as a British Protectorate of Somaliland. During the 57 years of colonial rule, Britain wielded less influence in British Somaliland than in neighbouring Italian Somaliland, which was under full Italian control. The indirect control of British Somaliland and the direct authority of Italian Somaliland contributed to the inability to unite the two Somali territories legitimately. The second section of Chapter 3 discusses how, despite historical and political differences, the Somali dictatorship has legitimised pro-unionists in Somalia to colonise Somaliland. The third and final section of Chapter 3 discusses the re-liberation of Somaliland the nation-building process. It concludes with the re-discovery of Las Geel, which forms the starting point of the research inquiry for this study.

Chapter 4 discusses the research methodology applied, to assess whether Somaliland's government has a strategy for developing heritage tourism. The first section begins with the research context, followed by the ontological and epistemological philosophical principles underlying this study. The chapter is divided

into sections that explore fieldwork approaches, my research positionality, and the challenges I faced in obtaining ethical approval for carrying out research in Somaliland, which the British government considers part of Somalia and thus limits travel to due to current perceptions of risk associated with travel in the region.

Chapters 5 and 6 outline the findings of the research approach used in Chapter 4 and analyse their significance. Chapter 5 is divided into several parts that address MRQ, RQ2 and RQ3. The first part discusses the Ministry of Tourism and Trade (MTT), responsible for heritage tourism development in Somaliland. This section concludes that the MTT depends on diaspora elites in developing heritage tourism policy due to the absence of IC in Somaliland's post-conflict reconstruction. The first section concludes with a discussion of how the re-discovery of Las Geel resulted in the international community (including Somalia) asserting claims to Somaliland's ancient heritage sites. The second section investigates the IC's politicisation of Somaliland's legacy as part of its post-conflict reconstruction agenda for Somalia at the expense of Somaliland. This section assesses how the European Union Embassy in Somalia (EUSOM) applies economic (take it or leave it) coercion to heritage development in Somaliland as part of its "One Somalia" policy. The second part finishes with an analysis of the IC strategy of "take it or leave it," which leads to mistrust among Somaliland stakeholders about Somaliland's heritage development. The third section examines the dispute and contestation between diaspora, locals, and authorities over whose heritage it is and how it should be developed. Section 4, the final section, concludes that without the necessary degrees of authority, capacity, and resources, the government is limited to establishing a top-down national strategy.

Chapter 6 addresses RQ3 and the role of heritage in nation-building. The first section explores the function of heritage in the early phases of nation-building following Somaliland's re-independence. This period was characterised by the massacre of civilians and the destruction of infrastructure (see section 5.2.4). Thus, it resulted in re-imagining a new nation and national identity. The first section of Chapter 6 considers heritage's role in nation-building, the role of heritage in a reimagined nation, and the application of heritage symbols such as flags and insignias depicted throughout national monuments, freedom square and bank notes.

Furthermore, the first segment assesses the role of flags, symbols, and national independence celebrations in uniting citizens to strengthen the Somaliland re-independence quest through international law on statehood. The second section discusses the function of heritage in post-national and economic reconstruction. This section discusses the role of heritage in the transition to economic reconstruction and the challenges encountered between stakeholders. The third section discusses how heritage is utilised to reconstruct Somaliland's new national identity among its British diasporas. Given that the formation of Somaliland's re-liberation from Somalia began with the diaspora in the United Kingdom, a new generation of diaspora has taken additional measures to redefine and reshape their identity. The negative perception of Somalia restricts Somaliland from re-branding the nation, which is essential to economic reconstruction. Thus, to develop the economy and as a strategy to differentiate Somaliland from Somalia, the UK diaspora-initiated strategies to distance themselves from the negative perception associated with being Somali and has thus coined the term 'Somalilander' for the 2021 UK national census. The fourth and final

section examines national theories in the context of Somaliland. As such it will explore the challenges associated with Somaliland's national identity.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research justifications, research aims and objectives, methodology, and the structure of the thesis. The following Chapter reviews the relevant literature on heritage and tourism development.

CHAPTER TWO

HERITAGE IN POST-CONFLICT RE-CONSTRUCTION AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

Researching heritage can be a multifaceted and complex process. By its nature, heritage is a well-established aspect of tourism internationally, as people have always been attracted to historic sites by their own fascination with the past. Heritage as concept advocates for the need to protect, preserve, and develop tangible and intangible features which are valued in the present because they are understood as legacies of particular pasts. Further, heritage appears to be one of the most visible means which countries deploy to construct or re-construct their national image and to develop their economy (Smith, 2006, Lowenthal, 1998, Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015). There is a substantial body of academic literature, debates, and topic specialisation devoted to the study of heritage and tourism in both developed and developing countries. Despite extensive studies on heritage and tourism in Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries such as Nigeria, Gambia, Ghana, South Africa, Kenya, and Rwanda (Akama, 2000, Ankomah and Crompton, 1990, Imbeah and Bujdoso, 2018, Christie et al., 2014), there is still a gap in research and literature on Somaliland. Somaliland, unlike the countries listed above, is not recognised by the United Nations, other governments, or the World Bank, making it difficult for researchers and institutions from other countries to do research.

In this chapter, I will assess relevant literature and theories on heritage, nationalism, tourism development and diaspora. Three themes will develop throughout this chapter. The first theme focuses on providing an understanding of heritage. In doing so, I will be reviewing critical studies of heritage that will reflect on how heritage is far from simply constituting the sites and practises of inherent value that it is often claimed to do (elites in power), for example, in official heritage management and interpretation discourses. Within the discussion of this section, I will be exploring how heritage is a socially contested process of valuation of elements of the past based on present concerns (e.g., social, economic, and political). The first section will also review the role of heritage in constructing and reconstructing a country's perceived identity and in attempts at creating unity through memorialisation of sites and events. In doing so, it begins by examining existing literature on how heritage is deployed in building national images in post-conflict countries.

The second theme examines literature on tourism and associated development approaches. This section discusses how tourism development theories are applied. The focus will be on several tourist niches and theories of growth in post-conflict countries. The final theme examines literature related to social factors impacting the dynamics of diaspora and local community engagement in heritage and tourist development processes, since both groups are important actors in the context of this research.

2.1.1 Understanding Heritage

The concept of heritage is wide and applies to a vast field of theories, international policies, management practices and interpretations, and it would be impossible to cover all these complex aspects of heritage in a single chapter or a dissertation. Therefore, this section of the chapter will review the main contemporary discussions within critical heritage studies, particularly concerning the approaches where heritage is theorised and defined through the lens of national identity and conflict. The definition of heritage is wide and ambiguous: it is used to describe everything from the tangible, such as landscapes, physical structures, monuments and memorials, to intangible elements, such as songs, celebrations, and languages (Harrison, 2012, Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015, Carman and Sørensen, 2009). This is further reinforced by official heritage management and policy interpretations at both national and international levels that often assume heritage, whether tangible or intangible, to hold inherent value as an important inheritance of a society or communities, or even the world's past that requires its preservation for the future (Giblin, 2018, Smith, 2006, UNESCO, 1972). Understanding the development of heritage requires an understanding of the principles that underpin it.

The modern concept of heritage as we know it evolved throughout Europe during the nineteenth century and was used to underpin both national and local identities through institutions such as museums, memorials and protected sites (Jones and Smith, 2017, Winter, 2014, Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, Basu, 2008). The end of the Second World War saw the enactment of international charters such as the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in the Event of Armed Conflict (UNESCO 1954).

Subsequently this has been followed by the introduction of various international conventions and safeguarding principles in the form of charters, proposals, and regulations endorsed by international organisations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS (Ahmad, 2006), of which the most famous is probably the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972), with the international recognition of intangible cultural heritage being a later addition (UNESCO 2003).

The concept of heritage has thus been transformed from a result of European nationalism and modernisation (tourism development) processes to an international template for safeguarding tangible and intangible assets valued as past remains that require preservation for the present and future. Here, heritage is defined from the vantage point of the present, by those who wield power and often from a Eurocentric perspective (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, Harrison, 2012, Smith, 2006, Lowenthal, 1998). Thus, potential disputes and tension could arise between those who are entrusted with the responsibility of defining heritage and others who are not. As such, it is important to question the dynamics of power relations within the heritage process. A crucial starting point is that of examining how decisions are made in legitimising present identities and power relations, how certain forms of social memory are promoted and why others are forgotten.

2.1.2 Authorised Heritage Discourse

The above enquiries are addressed in Smith's (2006) concept of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) and has thus emerged as a prominent concept in theorising how

heritage is created and interpreted. As such, AHD describes heritage as a tangible, non-renewable, and fragile resource that should be preserved along with its authentic values (Smith, 2006). Moreover, AHD implies that heritage is a resource that current generations must maintain and preserve for future generations to inherit it. AHD has evolved from a discourse shaping European national imaginaries into a framework for implementing the World Heritage Convention (Smith, 2006) but also, its identification as a concept to be interrogated and questioned rather than a natural understanding of how heritage operates has shaped critical heritage studies (discussed further within this section). Smith (2006) emphasises that heritage is a phenomenon which can be questioned, debated, and revised. Indeed, she reasons that 'heritage as a thing with inherent value does not exist' (2006: p12). This viewpoint is predicated on the understanding that heritage is something which is valued and negotiated by different stakeholders, who have varying perspectives from the distinctive vantage points of different times and places, as well as from differentiated interests. As a result, understanding heritage has become a process of decoding the making of meanings, which, according to Smith, mandates that heritage should be treated as a verb rather than a noun, a process rather than an object.

In line with Smith's theoretical observations Harrison (2010) is of the opinion that heritage is a dynamic process that entails struggle over whose version of the past, and the related moral and legal rights that result from this interpretation of the past, will find official expression in the present (see sections 2.1.5, 2.1.7 and 2.1.8). AHD advocates for a top-down approach in which governments, heritage experts and heritage managers are tasked to support, interpret and legislate heritage (Smith, 2006, Hall, 2005). Thus UNESCO puts the onus on African countries to take the lead in the

protection, legislation and education on cultural heritage as the responsible governments and their appointed experts know their lands, traditions, history, and are better placed to sustainably manage their heritage (Barillet et al., 2006). This proposal is rather theorical and not practical, as it ignores the impacts of both ongoing and resolved conflicts in many SAA countries. The World Heritage Convention, the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, and the mission of UNESCO advocate for African governments to take the lead in their heritage affairs. However, this stance has the propensity to create controversial boundaries and conflicting power relations between competing practices and thinking, notably between those who are tasked with the official recognition, management, and preservation of heritage and those who are not, and whose views may differ. It is therefore important to note that the African governments cannot complete this task alone, without local and international stakeholder engagement.

Opponents of AHD reason that the concept promotes UNESCO's Eurocentric and North American approach, where local systems of safeguarding heritage are overlooked in favour of western systems (Conway-Jones, 2004, Melis et al., 2022). AHD is accused of a lack of inclusion of significant stakeholders that often ignores the local traditional knowledge, customs, and beliefs and projects its narrative from a western viewpoint (Shackel, 2001, Hayden, 1997, Jopela, 2011, Mumma, 2003). According to Conway-Jones (2004) and Melis et al. (2022), AHD supports site classification and the commercialization of heritage for economic benefit above the position of local ethnic groups. Further, AHD is therefore a term that polarises local communities with conflicting perspectives on what constitutes heritage, how it should be defined, utilised, and managed. Moreover, those tasked with managing heritage at

the authority level have contributed to the loss of community engagement in the protection of heritage sites, thus eroding traditional traditions and customs (Mumma, 2003, Ndoro, 2004, Jopela et al., 2016). According to Levin (2010) in his study of the organisational behaviour of heritage organisations in South Africa, he argues that if there is a lack of communication, it could create mistrust among stakeholders and lead to antagonism.

The previous discussions about the AHD concept have presented insights on its limitations and subsequently inspired and reinforced the establishment of critical heritage considerations. This has offered new considerations in examining heritage studies from the position of understanding the critical issues confronting heritage research (Meskell, 2009, Hamilakis and Duke, 2007, Smith, 2004, Smith, 2006).

Although there are various studies covering the meaning of AHD in heritage studies in developed and developing countries, there is a lack of studies taking up AHD discussions in the Somaliland context – the complex case of a recently emerged post-conflict state which still struggles to achieve both international recognition and internal consensus. As such this study will broaden the scope of studies on AHD formation and impacts, as well as levels of community engagement in heritage and examine whether there are established AHD practises inside Somaliland and how they operate, primarily within the context of the capital, Hargeisa. This research will contribute an academic study of AHD from a Somaliland perspective involving engagement with authorities, heritage and tourism organisations, and communities. AHD debates have offered insights into how heritage may be negotiated and mapped out from the top down, as well as its limits. While authorities' role in preserving heritage and the top-

down approaches are well established, an increasing number of scholars are abandoning preservationist and antiquarian views of heritage. Many point out that these approaches have resulted in the objectification of locations and monuments as well as the folklorization of cultures and the production of wilderness fantasies (McDowell, 2010, Fouéré and Hughes, 2015b).

Carman (2002) underlines that heritage is a complex field which lacks internationally recognised standards and simple principles. This complicates matters further, especially when heritage is split into tangible and intangible components, and meaning is obtained through valuation, which is an intangible process (Smith and Akagawa, 2009, Akagawa and Smith, 2018, Smith and Campbell, 2017). Harrison (2010) contends that tangible and intangible heritage are inseparable; Liu (2018) and Smith (2015) concur, adding that their artificial separation has the potential to produce misunderstanding among individuals involved in heritage production (AHD) and to promote templates for passively consuming heritage.

2.1.3 Heritage Value

Heritage is a field inherently intertwined with complex concepts such as value, meaning, emotional reaction, commercialisation, and the role of professionals in the community (Carman, 2002). It can be argued that heritage is formed through these competing interpretations and valuation processes. However, understandings of the source and root causes of this valuation differ where a classic management philosophy on heritage assumes that heritage is intrinsically valuable. As noted above, critical

theoretical perspectives understand and interrogate these values as the selective and changeable outcomes of social and cultural valuation processes motivated by present needs (Carman, 2005).

Heritage and its protection have always been based on values (Avrami and Mason, 2019). Critical heritage studies have increased awareness of how diverse publics may attach different values to heritage. The process of interpretation of heritage and valuing heritage can present particularly conflicting dynamics in post-colonial and post-conflict locations (Legnér, 2018, Munawar, 2017, Khalaf, 2017). This is of special relevance in countries that wish to supress elements of their past for fears that it could reignite unresolved conflicts, or which attempt to internally unify or externally re-brand their national identity (Legnér, 2018, Miller et al., 2017). This makes the process of identifying, describing, and assessing value complicated and a problematic task in heritage (Jones and Smith, 2017). Yet this process is predominately one of recreation at every stage, which involves creating, interpreting, or generating meaning of heritage among stakeholders. For instance, particular heritage stakeholders are aligned with officially approved heritage discourses, while others are formed via unauthorised and informal ways of involvement with cultural heritage. As such, since the ratification of the UNESCO Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003, debates regarding the nature and meaning of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) and have intensified.

2.1.4 Tangible and Intangible Heritage

At the most general level it is usually understood that heritage is something tangible or intangible that present society receives, values, and therefore passes on to future generations (Ashworth, 1996, UNESCO, 2022b, Harrison, 2012, OED, 2021). However, since the adoption of the UNESCO Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage, debates regarding the nature and meaning of ICH and its connection to physical or material heritage have intensified. The phrase 'intangible cultural heritage' was established to promote the understanding of non-material heritage, such as customs, dance, languages and religion, to be just as significant as material heritage (Harrison and Rose, 2010). However, most heritage management concerns focus on material heritage, while intangible heritage has struggled to get meaningful research and real recognition (Eichler, 2021, DeSoucey et al., 2019). Petrillo (2019) points out that intangible cultural heritage was only recently added to the conceptual framework of UNESCO, the official international organisation responsible for the formal international acknowledgement of heritage. Thus, there were several decades between the introduction of the well-known 1972 Convention on Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage which focused on physical sites, and the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003.

2.1.5. Western Heritage Values vs Local Communities Approaches

Despite efforts made by UNESCO to protect intangible cultural heritage, there are challenges to safeguarding it. While the World Heritage Convention has almost

universal subscription, the 2003 convention has not caught up in terms of the number of states that have ratified it. Further, the convention for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage was in part a response to an official recognition of the Eurocentric values underlying the World Heritage Convention. Regional imbalances remain an issue in terms of what gets nominated and recognised internationally, and African heritage has not been significantly featured on either the World Heritage List (WHL) or the representative list of intangible heritage. According to UNESCO, Africa represents 12% of all the inscribed World Heritage sites, with 39% listed on the World Heritage List in Danger (UNESCO, 2022b) .

Taylor (2010) contends that there is a growing fear that the drive of western institutions' perspective of safeguarding heritage threatens and undermines indigenous, local and regional cultures. Communities have long played an important role in preserving cultural heritage sites through their unique traditional systems. However, official heritage management institutions typically disregard and undervalue these systems (Jopela, 2011). In the context of SAA, during the colonial period, collaboration of heritage management between indigenous groups and colonisers was essentially non-existent throughout many regions, and this has continued to impact postcolonial heritage management, which has often been based on colonial templates (Chirikure et al., 2010, Bigambo, 2020).

UNESCO's imbalanced representation of heritage management in formerly colonised countries, combined with authorised heritage discourse (AHD), has reduced the engagement of local communities in the process of heritage management (Mumma, 2003, Munsaka and Dube, 2018, Kessy, 2017, Shackel, 2001, Hayden, 1997,

DeSoucey et al., 2019, Jopela, 2011). Failure occurs particularly when modern heritage management systems and traditional heritage management systems are at odds. According to Boswell (2011), conserving heritage means safeguarding the sustainability of intangible cultural assets through various methods. If this is the case, UNESCO should advocate for more inclusive approaches that recognise the historical context of the heritage and their communities (Jones and Smith, 2017). Rather, preservation efforts would undermine previous gains and perpetuate the view that heritage is a consequence of western modernisation repackaged and utilised as an international blueprint for conserving tangible and intangible assets for western consumption (further discussed in section 2.3).

According to Merode et al. (2004), throughout SAA's colonial era, political and legal policies mandated the restriction of indigenous people while providing European rulers access to historical and archaeological sites. In essence, this implied the limitation of the agency of indigenous African authority structures such as elders, royals and clan/religious leaders in favour of colonial policies (Njoh, 2000). However, even though the end of colonial rule was supposed to advance the cause of independence, newly formed governments in SAA have kept their European heritage practises. Sa'di (2012) and Marschall (2016), reason that not much has changed from colonial to post-independence heritage management regimes, as newly established African states have been preserving their colonial administrative norms, governance, and legislation.

The need to create a sense of urgency to preserve heritage also accelerates the process of legislation and law implementation, particularly in the context of heritage under threat from looting, conflicts, and global warming, which furthers the alarmist

approach in which governments implement control over areas of importance. The notion of heritage under threat is driven by the arguments of looting and private acquisition in the global market, which only reinforces the state's control of heritage material (Carman, 2005). While heritage legislation is critical for conserving and preserving heritage, it may be challenging in SSA nations, especially in unstable post-conflict regions such as East Africa, where pre- and post-colonial boundaries and ethnicities remain unresolved and subject to tension and disputes. Apart from Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Rwanda, the rest of East Africa has inadequate frameworks for management or lax enforcement powers in protecting their heritage (Maingi, 2019). Tanzania, Djibouti, Rwanda, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Uganda have had stable administrations for longer than Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, and Somalia, which is likely to have an impact on having better management systems in place than the other Eastern African states (Cheeseman et al., 2018, Ali et al., 2014, Katembo, 2008). Ethiopia's heritage management practises might be linked to a range of factors, including the country's long history of withstanding colonial authority. Before the current internal conflict, Ethiopia was among the top economic performers in the world in terms of manufacturing and agriculture, attracting significant foreign investment (Gebreeyesus, 2016, Tolcha, 2020). Moreover, as the headquarters of the African Union, it is the meeting point for African politics and a platform to demonstrate their heritage and pride.

However, despite the discussed issues, there are emerging concepts which favour the recognition and support of heritage particularly from underrepresented communities and regions. Arizpe (2004) contends that international organisations like UNESCO need to give communities the means to re-present and negotiate their tangible and

intangible heritage spaces, for instance, as a way of bypassing state parties as those determining what gets internationally recognised. In evaluating what is significant to them, communities are organising and becoming more involved in the preservation of their heritage. Nevertheless, establishing what comprises a group's cultural legacy and what does not is a challenging task, since communities are not internally homogeneous entities with uncontested beliefs and objectives.

2.1.6 Cultural Heritage

Just like the overarching concept of heritage, qualifying terms such as 'cultural heritage' are inevitably conceptually unclear, as both 'heritage' and 'culture' are used to mean a lot of different things depending on interpretations. Historically, many scholars have attempted to define culture, yet there is a lack of universal agreement on a set definition (Willis, 2014, Smith, 2015, Boswell, 2011, Wiktor-Mach, 2019, Harrison and Rose, 2010). The earliest scholars of culture such as Taylor (in 1871) reasons that cultural heritage is a dynamic system that encompasses knowledge, religion, art, morality, law, tradition, and any other attributes and behaviours developed by mankind as a part of society (Hammel, 1990). More recently Akama (2000) has reinforced that culture has two distinct perspectives, founded on anthropological concepts that are both interrelated. The first is a psychological approach which depends on the thought processes of culture for its basis. The second concept of culture focuses on the physical expression of those belief systems and knowledge. However, if culture, like heritage, is a process and flux and thus a moving target it does not help extensively to pin the definition of heritage. Thus, in this sense, individuals,

communities, organisations and governments are left to select, reject, destroy, invent, reinvent, forget or remember what they define as culture or heritage.

Beyond that, Akama's distinction of culture into psychological and physical expression is reminiscent of that between tangible and intangible heritage, with similar caveats necessarily applying: they are co-dependent and entangled and hence hard to separate in practice. Moreover, heritage plays an important role in the legitimisation of new, current and future political power formations where each form of differentiation can support or infuriate competing stakeholders (Smith, 2022). This could thus lead to the destruction or erosion of sites, beliefs, and customs of significant importance to communities. As such, it is also serving emotional needs, such as those seeking a sense of belonging and stability, or being harnessed in commercial development, notably through tourism (further discussed in section two within this chapter).

In the previous discussions provided an overview of heritage definitions, and relevant theoretical discussions surrounding AHD, tangible and tangible heritage, heritage value, and cultural heritage. In the following section, I will discuss the significance of culture and heritage in constructing and reconstructing a country's perceived identity, as well as efforts to foster unity via the memorialisation of monuments and events. I review related studies on how culture and heritage are utilised in post-conflict nations to shape their national images.

The following discussion explores the role of heritage in constructing a unified national identity. I focus particularly on the context of SAA countries in terms of post-conflict

states and Middle Eastern states that share similar geographic, religious and cultural aspects.

2.1.7 Heritage in the Context of Identity and Nation

Developing a sense of national identity is an essential aspect of state development (Yearwood, 2018). Throughout history, governments have used heritage in some capacity to underpin and legitimise their power (Logan, 2012, Harrison, 2010, Silverman, 2005, Verdery, 1999). Nations and national identity are imagined communities and social constructs designed to fulfil ideological purposes (Kong and Yeoh, 1997). In democracies, to make legitimate decisions in heritage interpretation and interventions, authorities seek legal powers to make decisions; however, in authoritarian regimes, this presents a challenging and complex matter, particularly in the context of conflict-prone regions such as East Africa.

According to Petropoulos (2022), former governing authorities and newly constituted authorities cannot avoid accusations of their part in weaponizing heritage to legitimise their powers and control over their region. Complicating matters further, the establishment of legitimacy and the roles played by heritage in this process is a matter that can be subject to contestation both internally and externally, nationally and internationally. Currently, due to the lack of international recognition, the United Nations, UNESCO and other foreign organisations consider Somaliland as part of Somalia and its authoritarian government, therefore undermining Somaliland's credibility in cultural decision-making.

2.1.7.1 Heritage That Unites and Divides

Heritage is a powerful process in the context of power relations, particularly in East Africa. In this context it is important to understand how heritage is constructed and re-constructed with reference to national identities and power relations. In this regard, heritage promotes a certain form of social memory to serve both ideological and emotional needs (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015, Verdery, 1999). Furthermore, authorities use heritage to create a sense of belonging and stability in their nations and thus legitimise their rule over their populations (Porter and Salazar, 2005). Heritage is understood to unite groups (e.g., a nation) by creating a common point of reference, however by the same token it also divides and excludes communities (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015). See section 2.1.10.1 which examines the process of choosing what to forget and remember in post-conflict countries. For instance in the ways in which different ethnic or religious groups are defined as belonging or not, and in how patterns of changing borders or historic mobilities associated with migration and displacement are considered to impact on who is part of a nation and not (Porter and Salazar, 2005, Panic, 2005, Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015).

Heritage plays a significant role in constructing a sense of national belonging and identity. Yuval-Davis (2006) identifies that an individual may 'belong' in a variety of ways and to a variety of different objects of attachment. Heritage is seen to have an important role in framing and shaping people's ability to negotiate their identities, both as individuals and as communities. See sections 2.1.2 to 2.1.5 for more insight on how governments are involved in authorising heritage to construct or re-construct their

national image. Traditions and symbols are also associated components of heritage, and as a result, they have an impact on the formation of national identity in the context of nationalism. For new states, such as those emerging in a postcolonial context, demarcations and commemorations of independence also factor into the uses of national traditions and symbols in significant ways. The section that follows will give further insight on how governments use traditions such as national festivals, rituals, and symbols such as flags to advance their objectives and promote the notion of shared national heritage.

2.1.8 Heritage, Independence and National Traditions

The study of heritage in terms of national traditions, festivities, and symbols is extensive. Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012) assert that traditions which make use of national symbols, such as national flags and anthems, are created to establish distinct beliefs and behaviours in the perspective of nation development. However, while traditions foster national pride, they are often associated with disputes (Freer and Kherfi, 2020, Kong and Yeoh, 1997, Marschall, 2016, Smith, 2006). As such, a considerable amount of theoretical literature exists on national traditions and symbols, with distinct points of view ranging from modernist to traditionalist (Elgenius, 2007, Fox, 2013, Connerton, 2009, Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012). The celebrations of public rituals, traditions and commemorative events such as Independence Day and displaying symbols such as flags are among the most potent and enduring elements in nationalism and patriotism. Such events enable members of the community to share

in or conversely have a symbolic focal point for contesting the group's lives, emotions, and values or state policies (Moeschberger and Phillips DeZalia, 2014, Sahovic and Zulumovic, 2012). Anderson (1991) points out that while the individuals of a supposed community, such as a nation, may never see or speak to their compatriots, what may be shared is that each person is able to imagine unity. Anderson (1991) provides a thorough explanation through his theory of imagined community, which will be further discussed in (section 2.1.9) on nationalism theory. While it is understood that it is difficult to unify an entire community behind a common vision of their nation, parades, ceremonies, and symbols give a tangible expression of abstract ideals like nationalism and patriotism.

Willems (2013) reasons that national day celebrations and parades are an important element of a nation's collective consciousness and could be seen as an integral part in building national tradition. Similarly, Dimitrova-Grajzl et al. (2016) contend that national pride plays an essential part in the collective concession that may predict government performance, support for protection, and attitude toward migration and global affairs. Independence celebrations such as parades have gained popularity since 1945 to mark the ending of World War II and have since been widely adopted by post-colonial governments to mark the end of colonial control (Hutchings and Rulyova, 2008). This pattern has been well-established internationally since the celebration of India's independence in 1947, several years before any country in SSA achieved independence. The goal of merging these historical practices and encouraging public involvement in them is to develop the participants' nationalistic and patriotic views and to build an image of national unity and legitimacy.

According to Goode et al. (2022), the nation is a cognitive frame through which people comprehend social reality and so construct a habitual activity, validating Anderson's (1991) concept of imagined communities. Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012) accentuate that invented traditions become more important signifiers of continuity and legitimacy in times of historical change and rapture. Ultimately this leads to the understanding that the invention of tradition builds into the polity's desired historical narrative, furthermore it binds the present to a certain imagination of the past as well as the future (Valluvan, 2017, Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012). To this end public squares and spaces become a significant centre stage for authorities to display their desired narrative. Akama (2000) reasons that public displays of tradition and cultural heritage festivals seeks to implement knowledge that is incorporated into present societal imagination. Thus, public displays of traditional events become important mechanisms in the context of cultural intangibles because it allows participants to be a part of the settings through expressions that may be shown on a local or international scale through global media. The continuance of traditional events and festivals may thus provide participants a feeling of belonging to a depicted aura of identity.

The nation has to be performed and legitimated both at home and abroad and as such the following discussion examines the significance of flags and symbols in the context of international gatherings and events. The next part will also evaluate how nations are excluded from the United Nations and hence not globally recognised and how they portray themselves domestically and abroad. Several studies have examined the relevance of flags at public events and the periodic gathering of people in a given place to form, re-create, and reinforce their unique relationship (King, 2006, Benwell et al., 2021). Flags are modernised versions of sacred totemic symbols in that they both

serve to create emotions of communal cohesion (Isobel Darlington, 2019). Podeh (2011) concurs and asserts that nations have superseded religion as a basis of identity. For instance, promoting the country by means of symbols such flags, stamps and currency notes have replaced religious icons.

Since the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, African countries were bestowed new symbols and traditions related to their newly acquired colonial 'mother' nations as countries including France, Great Britain, Belgium, Portugal, and the Netherlands fought to transmit their national emblems to newly acquired colonial areas as a prototype for a modern nation state. This practise was perpetuated when colonial times ended, which often resulted in fresh conflict between people who were marginalised during the colonial era and those who sided with colonial rule.

Commemorative heritage events often become focal points of underpinning and contestation over national imaginaries (Becker and Lentz, 2013, Kong and Yeoh, 1997, Pype, 2013). Likewise, flags are ubiquitous in the everyday lives of a nation and can be referred to as symbols of social unity that develop strength through ritual activities at local, national, and international gatherings (Köse and Yılmaz, 2012, Goode et al., 2022, Schrag, 2009). This leads to sports events and venues becoming popular spaces which evoke a strong sense of nationalism and provide a sense of universal belonging when flags are displayed. Though mega sporting events are not a daily occurrence, mundane displays of national flags and national anthems are often exhibited and sung on a daily basis in public spaces (Smith and Kim, 2006). According to Crawford (2007), sports and flags are often deployed simultaneously as means to provide a sense of collective identity at individual, national and international level. As

such, major sporting events have become the focus point for displaying and exhibiting nationalism in an extrinsic form. Fox (2006) reasons that national holiday celebrations and international sporting competitions have taken their place as key sites for the collective experience and articulation of the imagined community of the nation. Nations compete to host and participate, as well as parading their national flags during the opening and closing ceremonies, often globally through TV, newspapers, and social media. For Grewal et al. (1999), transnational media outlets contribute to how nations are imagined and leads to the production of new identities. This implies that major sports events reinforce nationalism through binding the imagined community through provision of sports as shown in the Olympics and FIFA World Cup. Spectator events facilitate how people see themselves as citizens of a country and are thus means to acquire patriotic feelings (Fox, 2006).

Despite assertions that global events contribute to the branding of countries, place them in the limelight, and promote global solidarity and idealism, they exclude particular communities and nations from their global games (Tomlinson and Young, 2006, Field, 2014). It is therefore possible to understand that oppressions may be both external and internal. Thus, international institutions obstruct the self-determination of unrepresented people while they are internally subjugated domestically by the ruling government. A former aggressor government representing formerly oppressed can trigger traumatic memories and emotionally haunt formerly oppressed people (Prilleltensky and Gonick, 1996, Bulhan, 2004). For instance, this may be the case when they are represented on the world stage by countries that once sought to eradicate them. There are limited studies dedicated to unrepresented nations, as such, there is a lack of awareness of the impacts this may have on unrepresented

communities. In the context of this study, Somalia (the former aggressor) represents the people of Somaliland (the former subjugated) on the international stage and this study seeks to understand how this representation affect diaspora and Somaliland.

Flags, like other types of visual communication, require context and it is therefore imperative to acquire the meaning they could convey. According to Becker et al. (2017) flags are commonly used to accomplish group goals or as a patriotic reaction against outgroups. Flags present two narratives: aggression connected with fascism, racism, terrorist organisations, and emancipation against oppression (Philipps, 2021, Trees, 1992, Becker et al., 2017).

States and nations that are excluded from major international domains of displaying their identity in a popular format facing the wider public, such as sporting competition, have found alternative means to promote their traditions and reaffirm their perceived nationhood to their domestic and diaspora communities through cultural sporting events with other internationally unrecognised nations. Organisations such as ConIFA and VIVA World Cup have provided platforms for unrecognised countries such as Kurdistan, Somaliland, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, North Cyprus, Nagorno Karabagh and those refused by FIFA such as Tuvalu (Rookwood, 2020, Pedersen, 2011). ConIFA has exposed the struggle of different organisations, therefore allowing cultures to be highlighted and networks to be expanded (Duerr, 2019, Utomo, 2019).

Flags invoke national ideals since they are frequently connected with national beliefs and ideologies (Becker et al., 2017, Bratta, 2009). However, in other cases, greater national identity through the national flag can be a cause of out-group animosity, such

as ethnic nationalist ideology rejecting everything or everyone who does not belong to the national culture or ethnos, while classifying those who do into a hierarchy depending on their perceived level of affiliation. Those who lack 'pure' or 'historic roots' and rank low on the scale are frequently accused of disloyalty, since the legitimacy of their membership is called into doubt (Addi, 1997). Flags are considered to be effective in mobilising oppressed, disadvantaged, and underprivileged people behind the flag to strive for self-determination in the context of social, economic, and political progress (Kumar, 2010). It could be argued that self-determination is the central theme for all the conflict in SAA countries. Sub Saharan African countries consist of multiple ethnicities, tribes and clans which were carved into new countries through colonisation. As the purpose of this research is to understand the role of heritage in post-conflict development, it is essential to scrutinise the relationship between heritage and nationalism (discussed in chapter 6). The following section will provide theoretical perspectives of nationalism and country perspective.

2.1.9 Heritage in the Context of Nationalism, Tribalism and Nation State

Nationalism, tribalism, the nation, and states are distinct political notions subject to opposing theoretical views (Lecours, 2000, Addi, 1997, Barrington, 1997, James, 2006). Understanding these notions will provide further insight into Somaliland's approach to nationalism and the extent to which it is considered in the country's cultural heritage and tourist development. Nationalism evokes many meanings, it has widely varying interpretations. Moreover, heritage contributes to the national and tribal myths that link or oppose individuals to their nation-states. This section aims to provide a further understanding of the causes driving these differentiations in the context of

nationalism. The discussion that follows will examine the literature on nationalism, tribalism and nation-states, providing a deeper understanding of the construction of Somaliland as a nation following colonial rule and its liberation from Somalia.

Nationalism debates and ideas are generally divided between top-down (modernist) state-building strategies that create imaginary communities and bottom-up (primordial) approaches based on ethnicity, race, language, and religious identities. Modernists see nationalism as a result of urbanisation, industrialisation, and mass secular education (Kaufman, 2011). This is not always the case, as the analysis chapters will present an alternative viewpoint in the sense that both concepts may complement one another to re-create a new country based on traditional and modern techniques.

Nation-states are founded on common cultural heritage, historical events, and social forces, they are sovereign and people-led, and their historical roots may be traced back to the French Revolution (Barrington, 1997, Keitner, 2000). Though it is difficult to define nation-states, they all have common characteristics such as population, territory, governance, and sovereignty (Williams, 2012). Since the French Revolution, the world has witnessed the formation of many new states, from 50 states in 1900 to 195 in 2021 (Crawford, 2007, State, 2021). According to Keitner (2000), depending on the perspective the concept that nations and states need to be coterminous may seem either outdated or benign, yet it may contribute to separatist and secessionist claims. For instance, political and social discontent may be centred on inequalities between historically and ethnically distinct groups, as well as the borders of countries whose power over part of such people is seen as unlawful.

Throughout history, states have embraced the versions of both the left, right and non-aligned interpretations of nationalism as a political, emotional, and cultural force (Paulus and Pilsworth, 2020). Liberal democracy presupposes national self-determination, and that the people get to choose and agree the form and substance of government while governing themselves (Auer, 2004, Lægaard, 2007, Nielsen, 1998). Benedict Anderson (1991) defines nation as an 'imagined community' and when a state is created to serve the interest of the nation, it becomes a nation state. Nationalism is both inclusive and exclusive, uniting individuals who share similar objective and subjective characteristics and rejecting those who do not. Therefore, who to include and who to exclude may be debated forever.

Anti-modernists analysed cultural activities as expressions of the country rather than as preoccupations of nationalism (Leerssen, 2006). Primordialist and constructivist ideas of 'country' in defining nationhood are vastly different (Finkel, 2016). However, domestic concerns have developed in certain countries as nations have become increasingly connected and integrated via globalisation. For example, the British population seeking self-determination under the slogan "reclaim power" from the European Union with a narrow success for "vote for leave", and the formation of independence movements in Scotland and Catalonia (Swan, 2020). This research tries to determine if Somaliland's cultural heritage and tourist development methods are centred on conservative or liberal, top-down or bottom-up ideologies.

Primordialism theory is derived from the late 18th to 19th century romanticism that fed into the development of European nationalism (Kohn, 1950, Kucich, 2017, Leerssen,

2013). In his book 'Idols of the Tribe,' Harold Isaacs (1975) examines the existence of a fundamental group identity as the result of everyone being born into a society during a given historical time. A person's fundamental identity is influenced by a variety of elements, including physical characteristics, name, and family name, first language, religion, ethnicity, and region. Primordialism argues that group identity is given based on historically developed common traits such as one's language, race, blood, religion and region (Geertz 1973, Shils 1957). The underlying notion is that through the process of time, these ties could result in the formation of modern states - with the notable exception of most former colonies. Geertz criticises primitivism's apriorism, ineffability, and affectivity for lacking sociological research to underpin it (Llobera, 1999). It is criticised for missing critical history on ethnic group formation, and evolution of intermarriage. Geertz thus implies that group identities are sentiments, and therein lies the importance as he does not state that ethnicity or national identity is something biological that we are born with. Primordialists believe ethnic identity is ingrained in the ethnic link and is a natural experience shared with relatives and kindred groups.

The constructivist side of the debate is most often associated with Anderson's and Hobsbawm's research, with Hobsbawm emerging as the most renowned figure (Brincker, 2020). Hobsbawm asserts that nation states are a fully modern phenomenon, as well as a kind of organisation associated with capitalism. Hobsbawm is sceptical of the notion that contemporary states have origins in pre-modern societies. Instead, he advocates for viewing them as the result of a building project or fabrication, undertaken by governing elites, a view similarly held by Benedict Anderson, who suggests that nationalism is imagined and thus invented by elites (Anderson, 1991, Finkel, 2016). Gellner (2015) claimed that nationalism, or a

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supposed homogeneity among people in a particular place, evolved in the late 19th century due to the inability of prior social and cultural groupings to preserve modern nations. Anderson (1991) refutes the assertions of primordialists by defining countries as manufactured fabrications since links between the people making up the nation did not exist previously. Furthermore, Anderson (1991) contends that the nation is imagined since its inhabitants do not know all of their fellow citizens, but they share a collective vision of the nation built on identification of similarity (Anderson, 1991). Given that primordialism promotes the unity of ethnically homogeneous societies, it stirs further ethnic nationalist ideologies who have a high tendency to fuel new conflicts and lead to the marginalisation of communities and destabilise post-conflict states. On balance, among the nationalism theories examined, constructivism would provide a better balance in integrating Somalilanders while reducing dependence on clan or tribal systems to avoid future disputes and conflicts in Somaliland (refer to chapter 6).

 The legacy of unresolved ethnic issues impacts many of the current and recent conflicts which have plagued the continent of Africa and beyond. Therefore to avoid this, Addi (1997) points out that it is imperative for those in power to promote political liberty in their public sphere. For instance, it ensures that governments adopt a universalist and cosmopolitan approach, promoting formal equality for all individuals. Addi argues that this process would eliminate defined formal inequalities by not distinguishing between beliefs, thereby resulting in law-abiding citizens. However, such notions do somewhat ignore the continued emotional pull of the primordialist vision of the nation, which may further have been fuelled by pre-existing conflict and divide and rule policies. To this end of the spectrum, civic nationalism advocates for the integration of people through respect for human rights, democracy, and the rule of

law (Larin, 2020, Lecours, 2000, Smith, 2005). Civic nationalism therefore embraces modernist and constructivist approaches to nationalism, as well as the inclusion of society's members.

2.1.10 Heritage Development and Post-conflict Memorialisation of Heritage

Since the 1960s, international heritage and tourism have been major parts of many governments' economic growth and "modernization" aspirations (Salemink, 2016, Hampton, 2005). Heritage is often used in various economic development initiatives. These aspects may include promoting particular socioeconomic growth, supporting marketing strategies and area redevelopment (Ashworth, 2014). According to Wiktor-Mach (2019), a fundamental conceptual change occurred at the 1982 Mondiale des politiques culturelles (Mondiacult). It was the first international conference to discuss the role of heritage in developing postcolonial areas. Regardless of how well heritage development is meant, there are obstacles, notably in terms of deployment, which is not always equitable. According to Salemink (2016), heritage appropriation "represents a use of past and endeavour to influence the future by governing elites who disenfranchise other groups by commodifying heritage as tourism development".

As nations emerge from violence, they look for ways to use their heritage to rebuild and maintain peace, unity, and economic development. In the context of post-conflict of deciding what is significant or not important, what to remember or forget, could spark new conflict or reignite unsolved grievances or disputes (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose,

2015). The following section examines how heritage is utilised in development initiatives in postcolonial Sub-Saharan Africa, Maghreb and Arab League states.

2.1.11 Heritage Development in Sub-Saharan African Countries

Heritage development in Africa is complex and it is beyond the scope of this research to address all the countries and regions within the continent. However, what is undeniable to ignore is the wide range of diverse heritage management approaches, encompassing both natural and man-made, as well as tangible and intangible elements in Africa. Although historically under-researched and undervalued by Western scholars, there is a growing appreciation of African heritage management approaches (Fontein, 2016). This shift is evident through the lens of Critical Heritage Studies, as well as contributions from Africanist and researchers with roots in the African continent (Fontein, 2016). Ndoro et al. (2017) provides a comprehensive exploration of different heritage management and development approaches in Africa. Addressed through a wide range of themes of political, socio-economic, and environmental challenges in heritage management in African states. It is also interesting to note how this publication addresses the management of heritage across different historical periods, starting with pre-colonial Africa and then transitioning through the colonial period and into the post-colonial era. Additionally, the publication examines the complexity between local, national and international stakeholders on heritage preservation strategies. Chirikure et al. (2016) concurs and makes an interesting observation about the contradictions of heritage researchers who, on the one hand, devalue Western heritage management approaches in Africa yet overlook

traditional heritage practices in the continent. This issue is further intensified by globalisation, which has facilitated the expansion of Western heritage management practices (Ndoro et al., 2017). The African continent has been an experiment for Western heritage practices, and this experiment is enabled by postcolonial states that have maintained past colonial preservation practices (Chirikure et al., 2010, Chirikure et al., 2016, Ndoro et al., 2017). Moreover, the politicisation of heritage development further diminishes local traditional safeguarding approaches (Bigambo, 2020, Munsaka and Dube, 2018, Chirikure et al., 2010, Chirikure et al., 2016). As such, there is a need for community-based approaches (Abbas et al., 2021, Baillie and Sørensen, 2021, Baillie et al., 2021, Schmidt, 2017, Peterson et al., 2015). However, implementation is challenging despite the need for advocacy and cooperation among heritage stakeholders in Southern regions of Africa due to unresolved grievances and distrust between stakeholders.

In South Africa, the displays of art installations in the Fiesta Museum in Johannesburg demonstrate how tension arising from unresolved grievances among heritage stakeholders could be explored (Reid, 2023). The museum depicts the unfulfilled commitments of land and property restitution to non-white South Africans following the post-apartheid democratising process (Reid, 2023, Kepe and Hall, 2020). Though still unresolved, the Fiesta Museum serves as a reminder of the ongoing challenges and provides a heritage space to reflect and reconcile the historical injustice between heritage stakeholders. Indeed, this is similarly observed at the Great Zimbabwe ruins, which have become a significant heritage site for reflecting Zimbabwe's historical injustices and serve as a platform for nation-building and identity reconstruction (Fontein, 2016). Similar to other heritage sites in Africa, the Great Zimbabwe ruins

heritage experienced Eurocentric interpretations, which undermined African heritage practices and heritage sites (Fontein, 2016). However, post-colonial heritage studies (Chirikure et al., 2016, Fontein, 2016, Jopela et al., 2016, Munsaka and Dube, 2018, Willems, 2013) in Zimbabwe have challenged this narrative, advocating for a more inclusive heritage management approach and correcting the past interpretations of the country's history. Inclusive heritage management approaches incorporating local traditional and broader community stakeholder perspectives offer a deeper understanding and appreciation of African heritage development (Schmidt and Pikirayi, 2016). Furthermore, this approach challenges the traditional AHD (discussed in section 2.1.2) top-down approach to heritage development and advocates for a bottom-up approach to establish sustainable, resilient heritage management practices in African countries.

Contemporary heritage studies in Africa often advocate for sustainable development and underline the important role that local stakeholders contribute to safeguarding their cultural heritage sites (Schmidt and Pikirayi, 2016, Chirikure et al., 2010, Chirikure et al., 2016, Ndoro et al., 2017). However, these efforts are undermined by globalisation, environmental issues and socioeconomic challenges which can undermine the involvement of local stakeholders (Cormier-Salem and Bassett, 2007, Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot, 2014). Baillie et al. (2021) emphasise the need to incorporate local and traditional knowledge in heritage safeguarding practises, as this encourages sustainable community resilience in Africa.

2.1.12 Role of Heritage in Rebuilding Post-conflict Africa

African nations have suffered through slavery, colonialism, independence wars, post-independence civil wars, ethnic cleansing, terrorism, and election-related crises (Giblin, 2018, Mire, 2007). In the brief time after a country's war, new political entities often pursue means of remembering the past for their community to reconcile their prior grievances or glorify their achievements (Pinkerton, 2011). This is evident in post-in conflicts in African nations. Establishing museums and remembrance sites is a well-established element in nation-building, notably in the aftermath of a country achieving independence during the 1960s decolonisation in West Africa (Tunbridge, 1996, Marschall, 2016). Post-conflict authoritarian tactics are a crucial influence in the control of remembering the past or establishing a communal memory narrative (Sierraleontrc.org, 2022). Bayly (2004) argues that the concept of nationalism through the production and reproduction of memories, traditions and education play a crucial part in sustaining nationalism through the generations. Probably a more relevant claim in the context of commemorations in which memories are forged.

2.1.13 Memorialization of Monuments in Sub-Saharan African Countries

In the context of post-conflict development, Sierra Leone presents a perspective on the interaction between cultural heritage stakeholders in the construction of a new national narrative. In this regard, Basu's study on Sierra Leone provides a perspective on the challenges in developing cultural heritage. The perception of Sierra Leone in the Western media is dominated by child soldiers, corrupt politicians and limbless

survivors of its civil war from 1991 to 2002 (Basu, 2011). As Sierra Leone is coming to terms with its difficult past, the country is keen to change its perception as a war-torn country and attract investment in the rebuilding process. To accomplish this, an inclusive reconciliation process must be part of the foundation pillars in achieving this. Thus, Basu (2008) advocates that Sierra Leonians should acknowledge and confront their history of difficult conflict rather than ignore it. Consequently, to confront their difficult past, the government of Sierra Leon unveiled a new national monument in 2011 to coincide with the country's 50th anniversary of independence from Great Britain. However, despite the effort to confront their difficult past, the national monument has caused conflicting narratives between ethnic groups in Sierra Leone.

Countries that have chosen to erect memorial sites to evoke a memory of the difficult past, frequently misrepresent the intended purpose of memorial sites (Kansteiner, 2002, Marschall, 2006, Dwyer and Alderman, 2008). Misrepresentation of sites could re-ignite unsolved conflicts and tension in fragile states. It is therefore necessary to understand the complexity in the construction of memorialisation of sites in post-conflict countries. To comprehend historical memories related to traumatic events, it is important to consider questions such as the relationship between contemporary debates in the society, the role memorialisation plays, the impacts of memorialisation in social reconstruction and transitional justice (Naidu, 2017). In addition to these suggestions, it is also imperative to develop a process that considers factors such as political and legal systems, culture and morality, prior to the development of memorialisation sites in post-conflict countries (Naidu, 2017).

The construction of memorials plays a significant role in transitional justice, which is the process of coping with the legacy of previous human rights violations. However, in post-conflict settings, political considerations often define and influence memorial traditions (Clark, 2016). Basu concurs with Clark (2016) in that those in the political sphere in Sierra Leone define and influence the memorialisation of cultural heritage sites. For instance, the government of Sierra Leone unveiled a single National Monument twice – first to commemorate the Armed Forces Day and second as an unveiling for the Sierra Leone Peace and Cultural Monument (Basu, 2013). This indicates the disregard from the political level and the contradiction of their efforts in the reconciliation and peace process. Despite these omissions, the government of Sierra Leone has commissioned an inquiry and concluded that the state has failed its responsibility in the reconciliation process (Basu & Abu Sam, 2016).

When developing cultural heritage sites that include monuments that advocate forgetting or remembering tribal or other civil conflicts and colonial or postcolonial narratives, there must be a careful balance (Naidu, 2017, Harrison, 2013, Wollentz, 2019). This implies that it is important to take an inclusive approach to commemorating the past. Indeed, Sierra Leone's government attempted this endeavour for the first time in 1991, when it announced its constitution that it would develop, protect, and improve its cultural heritage sector. Despite these efforts, the government of Sierra Leone has not fulfilled its responsibility to protect, preserve and promote all of its cultural heritage despite having relevant legislation in place (Basu & Abu Sam, 2016). The process of interpreting and valuing heritage, as discussed in the above context, is rather complex. Protecting and preserving heritage could be viewed as a means to use the past as a resource to resolve previous conflicts, justify current conflicts and or

a prelude to future conflicts (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). This becomes more interesting in shaping and re-shaping the identities from the perspective of SAA nations' post-colonial conflicts.

From a postcolonial viewpoint, historical heritage places play a crucial role in a country's national identity, similar to nineteenth-century European national movements (Jørgensen, 2013, Sengupta, 2018). This was observed during the 1960s, which saw a major change in decolonisation in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, with newly decolonised nations reconstructing and reimagining their newly re-established nations (Thomas and Thompson, 2014, White, 2014, Hopkins, 2017). Moreover, these re-imagined nations needed to be perceived internally and externally as legitimate and thus viable (Anderson, 1991, Marschall, 2016). Similarly, Johnson (1995) presents the notion that displaying a nation's past through heritage sites builds into the nation's identity. Mitchell (2001) suggests that for a country to present itself as a legitimate new country, it must represent its history (see section 2.1.9, 2.1.10). Thus, from this perspective, it could be viewed that heritage is exploited in conveying the country as well as its national identity (in the context of Somaliland, see Chapter 6). It is thus essential to understand the significance of tourism and how heritage is repackaged and utilised to bring diaspora and domestic and international tourists to towns and cities. Moreover, this underscores the important role that tourism plays in heritage, identity and economic and social development facilitators. This conception is best observed in formerly colonised African countries to develop their economies through heritage development at in the end of the colonial period (1960s), which saw (Hoppe, 2010). By extension, newly constructed heritage tourism sites such as museums and monument spaces become agents of modernity (discussed in section 2.2 to 2.2.1) as

well as sites for collective memory (Rowlands and De Jong, 2016). Thus the construction of heritage sites such as museums and monuments acts as signifiers of modernity and performing the nation (Rowlands and De Jong, 2016).

2.1.14 Arab League States and Gulf Cooperation Council

Like the postcolonial countries in Africa, the Gulf nations are essentially newly established and thus use their heritage to legitimise claims of being ancient. Leaders in Gulf nations have instilled a strong sense of nationalism in their people and reaching outside their boundaries to capture important commercial supply lines e.g. through the Gulf of Aden, with which Somaliland shares 850 kilometres of coastline. Internally, Gulf countries have made significant investments in the development of their cultural heritage. National leaders of these nations are conveying their perspectives and interests through the use of the development of museums, urbanisation, as well as the staging of major sporting events (Freer, 2021). For instance, the Louvre and Guggenheim museums in Abu Dhabi, and the Qatar National Museum. It may also be claimed that growth in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) nations surpasses that in traditional Arab cultural hotspots such as Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo (Freer and Kherfi, 2020, Sadiki, 2020). The development of these projects was made feasible by the region's oil economy, but since that is not sustainable, their governments cannot rely on them for future earnings. As a result, they are obliged to seek alternate sources of economic development, such as cultural heritage tourism. While it is critical to develop heritage, it is also essential to include all stakeholders in the protection of cultural heritage.

In the Gulf Cooperation Council, for example, heritage production is centrally administered by the state or via machinery tied to the government and involving grass-roots initiatives (Freer, 2021). However, there is still a long way to go, as the region is not known for democracy and has often been accused of human rights violations (Sadiki, 2020, Mitchell et al., 2018). The GCC and the area are in the early phases of tourist development, and the region's fast expansion may bring issues that need deeper reflection on its global consensus democracy and human rights.

The following section examines tourism development approaches, and as such, I will discuss how tourism development theories are applied. The focus will be on several tourist niches and theories of growth in post-conflict countries.

2.2 Tourism and Associated Development

Tourism is a broad field and as such this study cannot sufficiently address all the themes and variables involved with it. It will focus on evaluating tourism development literature in a post conflict perspective. At the outset of this section, I will address tourism and development as intertwined concepts. I will begin by giving some context for tourism before delving into the link between tourism and globalisation. Following that, I link my research questions with the most appropriate theoretical framework to answer whether Somaliland has a tourism development framework. The preceding part will examine different types of niches of tourism and development approaches.

Like heritage, tourism is as complex process involving various stakeholders with opposing viewpoints (Bianchi, 2009, Cooper, 2020, Smith, 2016, Hall, 2008, Cohen, 2007, Botterill, 2001). From this interpretation, tourism is a multi-layered and complex field similar to heritage. Tourism is a concept which relates to visitors, motivations, meanings, places, politics, business, anthropology and law (Leslie and Sigala, 2005, Snepenger et al., 2004, Heitmann, 2011, McCabe, 2000, Hall and Williams, 2008, Ashworth, 2000, Cooper, 2020, Papadopoulos, 1986). Furthermore, tourism is an industry composed of both tangible and intangible components. Tangible components consist of transportation networks (air, space, road, rail, and sea), hospitality services such as accommodation, restaurants, built attractions, and souvenirs shops (Cooper, 2020). Meanwhile the intangible components include recreation and relaxation, culture, escapism and adventure, as well as ancillary services such as banking, insurance, safety and security and diverse experiences (Novelli et al., 2012, Dwyer et al., 2010, Vengesayi, 2010). It is the combination of these elements that makes tourism a competitive force for development and an incentive for commercial interest groups and policymakers to deploy tourism as a development strategy in post-conflict countries (further discussed in the section on tourism and globalisation). Tourism has accelerated rapidly since the end of the Second World War as means for post-conflict reconstruction in war-affected regions.

Tourism has grown into a global phenomenon that necessitates travel interchange and movement of economic and intellectual elements on an international scale, including commodities, information, values, images, and people (Sofield, 2001, MacKinnon et al., 2011). Before the Covid-19 epidemic, approximately 1.5 billion people travelled for tourism purposes in 2019, and the prospect of tourism was projected to grow to about

4% increase by 2020 (UNWTO, 2021). However, this prediction was not fulfilled as the outbreak of COVID19, and global lockdown measures halted the international tourism from March 2020 to March 2021 (UK timeline). With recovering measures now in place, the industry is currently in the recovery stage internationally (Mensah and Boakye, 2023, Seyfi et al., 2023).

Smith and Graburn (cited in Macleod 2004) justify that globalisation in tourism is linked with the rise of mass charter tourists, a form of tourism having maximum impact due to higher visitor numbers, economic clout and the tendency to expect western amenities. Moreover, the geographical expansion in connecting destinations has become a vital motivation in developing global tourism and enabling the internationalisation of tourism, leisure, and culture, and increase in tourist' flows and competition (Youell, 1998). This notion is further supported by Macleod (2009) who suggests that tourism is the essence of global flows, with the unforced movement of people worldwide as carriers of cultural capital and symbols for the twentieth-century consumer culture. The effects of tourism growth have also reached developing countries, especially SSA countries in Africa, who have historically underperformed in tourism development due to a lack of infrastructure investment. According to UNWTO, the African continent has performed well in tourism receipt, proving to be the second fastest region in the world in 2018.

2.2.1 Tourism and Globalisation

According to Frieden (2018) and Jensen (2017) the speed in which globalisation is taking effect is threatening globalisation itself. This danger is heightened by the growth of populist political groups who undermine globalisation (Yasmin, 2022, Bonifai et al., 2022). Thus, enabling political party movements like BREXIT, which revoked Britain's EU membership, and Donald Trump's 2016 presidential victory, which committed to build a wall between the U.S. and Mexico, impacting human rights, environmental, and trade deals.

Several studies have emphasised that globalisation is conducive for tourism development when there are reduced obstacles to international flows of products and services (Sugiyarto et al., 2002, Thomas and Thompson, 2014, Hopkins, 2017, MacKinnon et al., 2011, Sofield, 2001, Macleod, 2004, Peric, 2005). Further studies have also explored the connection between tourism and globalisation and found that its associated impacts are more globalised than ever before and it is a trend that is not slowing down (Peric, 2005, Novelli et al., 2012, Sugiyarto et al., 2002, Hopkins, 2017, MacKinnon et al., 2011, Sofield, 2001, Koelble, 2018). Ritzer (2014) asserts that globalisation is a process that promotes market forces and increase in multidirectional flows of people, objects and information. Ritzer's interpretation promotes the formation of new country-to-country and business-to-business ties, resulting in a strengthening and expansion of international connections. Nevertheless, combining globalisation and tourism in terms of policy and practice of development as though they were two indivisible forces could lead to complications.

The reduction of barriers is key to the development of tourism, as such organisations such as the EU, WTTC, WTO, regional trade blocs, and free economic zones are established. The objective of these organisations is to reduce travel restrictions and red tape between member partners. However, the implementation of globalisation-friendly policies has been contentious due negative effects on socioeconomics, unemployment, and wealth disparity in the host society (Frent, 2016, Buckley, 2015, Urry and Larsen, 2011). Globalisation has outstripped countries of their traditional powers (Mittelman, 2000, Eberlein, 2019, Koelble, 2018). This is especially common when local decisions are made by distant lawmakers who are detached from local populations. In the UK, the 2016 BREXIT referendum slogan was to 'take back control,' and it was successful (although closely disputed and contentious), demonstrating the perceived necessity to recover authority.

Sofield (2001), underlines the challenges of globalisation and asserts that globalisation is centred on the outward expansion of culture, language, and beliefs and consists of homogeneity that represents a particular image to others. This assertion can be inferred as a new form of imperialism disguised as a global tourism economy in which former imperialists wield control over formerly colonised territories. Indeed, this justifies the crucial role of tourism and diaspora and how these forces facilitate globalisation, which ultimately aims to spread Western values through education and commerce. Kearney (1995) lends his support and asserts that globalisation and diaspora contribute a vital role in erasing what divides nations and fosters the concept of a global village (see also the section on diaspora tourism). However, this is not always the case, and we need a more diversified conceptualisation of globalisation

and its impacts as the history of globalisation is also linked with ancient civilisations, such as the Ancient Pharos, Vikings, Roman Empire and many other civilisations who were in contact with other civilisations (Pieterse, 2015, Sindbæk, 2007, Talbott, 2009). Although the evidence is disputed, there is a widely held perspective that Africans traded with Native Americans before Christopher Columbus arrived in the Americas (Williamson and O'Rourke, 2000, Ferrão, 2013). Similarly, when Vasco De Gama travelled around Africa in 1498, he contributed to globalisation through trade (Williamson and O'Rourke, 2000). This suggests that before industrialisation and the emergence of European axis powers, globalisation existed in a state of mutual understanding, overshadowed by the brutal expansion of European imperialism (Beaujard, 2012).

The post-colonial period saw African nations developing new global partners from rising economies like China, the UAE, India, and Turkey, who have expanded their presence on the continent. This has made China the continent's largest investor, surpassing America and Europe (Zhang, 2021). However, despite China being the biggest investor in SAA, their partnership is associated with patterns of exploitation which have been characterised as neo-colonialism (Yuan et al., 2021, Nyadera et al., 2021). There is a lack of evidence on the effects of globalisation in Somaliland, even though studies have highlighted the complexity of globalisation from emerging nations engaging with SAA countries. Understanding how globalisation affects communities in Somaliland is crucial to this study, particularly in the context of tourism development.

Development studies on Africa and globalisation imply that understanding the continent's difficulties can only be understood through the viewpoint of colonialism and

neo-colonialism studies (Alemazung, 2010, Boshoff, 2009). This implies that discussions about Africa seldom ignore foreign countries exploiting African resources and legacies of former imperialism. Along these lines, as the continent improves its infrastructure, so the number of tourist studies on how the continent could re-brand itself from colonial, post-colonial, and post-liberation perspectives grow. In the context of this research, there is limited understanding of how globalisation and regional organisations such as the African Union (AU) and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) have an impact on Somaliland.

2.2.2 Tourism Development and Modernisation Framework

In the context of modernisation frameworks, tourism is an advocate for development. Tourism contributes to foreign exchange, an increase of GDP and job creation. It is widely acknowledged that tourism development results in the provision of modern infrastructure, facilities and services (UNTWO, 2015; Hall, 2007; Dieke; 2000). Yet, there are instances when these services and facilities are not accessible to residents (Mihalic, 2016; Jafari, 2003). In addition, tourism development frequently involves the creation of tourism enclaves and is often criticised for destroying local sociocultural values (Stocker, 2013). Promoting a neo-colonialist relationship of exploitation, dependency, and inflationary pressure (Jafari, 2003). On the other hand, scholars such as Clancy (1999) argue that tourism exports are explicitly or implicitly made from modernisation frameworks. As a result, the industry is integrated into the world economy, and people are moving from traditional subsistence farming into modern sectors such as the secondary/tertiary sectors.

To understand the role of modernisation, it is imperative to understand its history and limitations. Modernisation is defined by Eisenstadt (1974) as the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America. Modernisation theory implies that poor countries are behind their wealthier counterparts, underdeveloped and are in transition, transforming them from traditional to modern (Clancy, 1999). This framework also supports the argument that economic growth would coincide with political democracy. The modernisation theory supports the creation of employment, foreign exchange earnings, government revenues, the establishment of forward/backwards linkages and the multiplier effect (Dieke, 2000). According to Csapó (2012) there are weaknesses in the conceptual orientation of the modernisation theory. It is, therefore, important to have a framework to assess the level of tourism development and its impact.

When assessing tourism development there are various models and theories to consider. These include Doxy's Irridex Model, Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle and Social Exchange Theory, and Direct, Indirect and Induced approach. Ideas of tourism development methods range from avoiding development to diffusionism, sustainable development, and dependency without any dominant approach. Tourism development is widely recognised as a strategy for economic development across the world, with business organisations and community leaders embracing tourism as an essential activity that can boost jobs, contribute to tax revenues, and diversify their economy (Kim et al., 2013, McKercher and du cros, 2002, WTTC, 2022, Cooper, 2020, Abbas et al., 2021, Miller et al., 2017, Hall and Williams, 2008). Nevertheless, contrary to assertions made, tourism has proved to be an unreliable source for development.

Over-reliance on the tourism economy has detrimental economic and socio-cultural effects, as experienced in African countries such as Tunisia and Egypt during the Arab Spring and terrorist attacks (Mansfeld and Winckler, 2015, Wendt, 2019, Ali et al., 2012).

Aside from the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, there are also serious environmental impacts. For instance, mass tourism does not consider local and environmental needs and sometimes leads communities to revolt against tourists (Screti, 2021, Perles-Ribes et al., 2018). Additionally, it will increase economies of scale in fragile ecosystems and introduce new concepts such as over-tourism and over-dependence of the tourism economy (Koens et al., 2018). Furthermore, post-conflict countries increasingly embrace tourism as a source of economic and socio-cultural development, job creation, and safeguarding vital natural and built landscapes (Dwyer, 2009). According to the United Nations World Tourism Organisation, tourism can significantly alleviate poverty in post-conflict countries (UNWTO), provided all partners increase access to resources, products and services, jobs, and income. However, the reluctance to plan according to the interests of a more diversified group of stakeholders, including local communities, and the lack of competency and talents of tourism entrepreneurs and governments provide a barrier to the UNWTO Millennium Development Goal of poverty reduction.

The impact of COVID-19 global lockdown measures has exposed the over-dependency of this industry in regions such as the Mediterranean and emerging destinations in Africa. Prior to the Covid-19 outbreak, tourism contributed approximately 10% of global employment and 10% of global GDP (WTTC, 2022). The

total halt of the tourism industry has led to 50% loss in tourism revenues and the loss of 62 million jobs, with further long-term implications anticipated (WTTC, 2022, Abbas et al., 2021). Particularly when tourist enterprises restart their operations, it is essential to restore client confidence, hire skilled workers, and retrain previously laid-off employees, all of which take time. In addition to highlighting over-dependence on tourism in the economy, the industry has generated winner and loser destinations. Often in the form of coining new advertising strategies such as 'bucket list' holidays which exclude and include, these approaches have proven to cause detrimental consequences for tourists as well as host communities (further discussed in section sustainable tourism development).

Tourism has been shown to be a significant source of development, especially with the increase of disposable incomes in both developed and developing nations. The above, combined with other factors such as greater leisure time, lower transportation costs, better technology, and social media, has contributed to the industry's global expansion (Hole and Snehal, 2019, Bishop, 2014, Dieke, 2000, MacLeod and Carrier, 2010). Additional tourism sectors, such as diaspora tourism which has seen substantial growth in some African countries (further discussed in this section), have created new travel markets (Huang et al., 2013). While much of the development of tourism and associated research is concentrated in developed countries, there is an increase in development and emerging literature on tourism development from SAA countries. However, in Somaliland, there is an absence of knowledge on the patterns and extent of the economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts of tourism.

Between 1960 and 1970, there was a substantial shift in the pace of growth in international tourism; this period witnessed a global rebuilding after WWII and the collapse of European imperialism in SSA. Many former colonies ousted European imperial authority during this time, prompting many European nations to resort to innovative development tactics to stay politically, economically and culturally relevant. Furthermore, the world has seen a significant expansion in globalisation and tourism development and the emergence of new industries such as financial services, with direct and indirect consequences for host and producing tourism countries (Sa Smeding, 1993, Seetanah et al., 2019, Tooman, 1997). This period also saw the increase of tourism development studies and tourism development initiatives commissioned to evaluate, rebuild, rejuvenate, sustain and supplement existing industries, and alleviate socioeconomic and environmental concerns (Sharpley, 2000, Hunt, 1975, Perdue et al., 1990, Joppe, 1996, Bianchi, 2018, Kayumovich, 2020). Sharpley (2000) contends that development is a process of constant change, and it is ingrained in the context human progress and innovation. Therefore many countries depend on tourism development as part of their solution for their economic and social problems (Dieke, 2003). Binns and Nel (2002) concur and reason that countries that have experienced economic crises are the first to embrace and adapt to tourism development initiatives. However, despite the suggestions, it is not always attainable in post-conflict countries due to safety concerns, since safety and security are pre-requisites for tourists' safety, and post-conflict countries cannot always guarantee safety due to unresolved conflicts and grievances (Mansfeld and Winckler, 2015, Collier et al., 2008, Mansfeld and Pizam, 2006).

Tourism development is seen as a vital economic and socio-cultural booster and hence it is actively used throughout the developed and developing countries. For instance, the European Union has dedicated a substantial amount of capital for tourism development projects (Brînză and Butnaru, 2019, Gica et al., 2021). Similarly in the USA, 30 states have signed up to invest in tourism development as a means to rejuvenate their economy and offset/prevent the decline of their industrial regions. These commitments are further indication of the significance of tourism development and further justification for developing and post conflict countries considering this approach. However, while tourism development approaches are at the forefront for most government policies, development projects have the tendency to rely on higher energy consumption to which developing and post conflict countries lack (Abbas et al., 2021).

Critics of tourism (Jafari, 2003; Martin, 2007) argue that tourist often travel in large conformist groups and have little knowledge of the areas or cultures they visit. On the other hand, Butcher (2005) argues that critique of tourism is as old as tourism itself. For instance, one hundred and sixty years ago, Thomas Cook was accused of devaluing travel by opening it up to those perceived of incapable of cultured behaviour. Since then, the rhetoric of anti-tourism has shifted from the inadequacies of the tourist to the negative sociocultural and environmental impacts of tourism (Mihalic, 2016). Consequently, the anti-tourism movement has developed new marketing opportunities for the tourism industry, with specialist tour operators catering for the affluent market. Namely by promoting exclusive products, calling it 'travel' rather than tourism, and developing alternative products to those unwilling to see themselves as ordinary tourists.

2.2.3 Cultural Tourism

According to UNWTO (2017), cultural tourism is defined as a category of tourist activity in which the visitor's primary purpose is to study, explore, experience, and consume the physical and intangible cultural attractions/products of a tourism location. While the UN organisation responsible for tourism provides a clear definition of cultural tourism, there appears to be a consistent lack of agreement on a unified definition of cultural tourism in research, a recurring theme throughout this chapter on heritage and its varying niches. The lack of clear unified agreement on the definitions of heritage types could signify a lack of cooperation and coordination between heritage scholars and UNESCO and UNWTO. However, McKercher and Du Cros (2002) assert that cultural tourism is very difficult to define, because there are almost many definitions of cultural tourism as there are cultural tourists. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that there are broad and narrow approaches to cultural tourism. The broad version is that all movements of persons might be included in the definition because they satisfy the human need for diversity, tending to raise the cultural level of the individual and giving rise to new knowledge, experience and encounters (UNWTO, 2017, Csapo, 2012, Leslie and Sigala, 2005). Meanwhile the narrow version is movements of persons for essential cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts and travel to festivals and other cultural events, visits to cultural sites and monuments (Csapo, 2012). Similarly, Keesing (1997) proposes that culture has been used to imply an organised system of knowledge and beliefs whereby people structure their experience. Which then leads them use their perceptions to formulate and respond to make choices between different options.

Scholars who attempted to define cultural tourism agree that cultural tourism can be characterised as driven by supply and demand, as well as theoretical and practical elements of heritage (MacLeod and Carrier, 2010, Akama, 2000, Stocker, 2013). Which ultimately leads to cultural tourism becoming one of the primary pull factors which sways visitors' preliminary decision to travel to destinations. So, in this context tourism is inseparable from culture and culture is the framework in which tourism takes place (MacLeod and Carrier, 2010). A significant number of tourists seek cultural experiences, such as visiting cultural attractions and participating in diverse cultural activities that are not 'sun, sand and sea' related (Yun et al, 2008). Moreover, McKercher and Du Cros's (2014) typology (fig. 2) provides a deeper insight on the type of visitor and their motivation for engaging in cultural tourism.

Table 2. The typology of cultural tourists by McKercher and Du Cros (2014)

Type of cultural tourist	Characterisation
The purposeful cultural tourist	Cultural tourism is the primary motivation for visiting a destination and the tourist has a very deep and elaborate cultural experience
The sightseeing cultural tourist	Cultural tourism is a primary reason for visiting a destination, but the experience is less deep and elaborated
The serendipitous cultural tourist	A tourist who does not travel for cultural reasons, but who, after participating, ends up having a deep cultural tourism experience
The casual cultural tourist	Cultural tourism is a weak motive for travel and the resulting experience is shallow
The incidental cultural tourist	This tourist does not travel for cultural reasons, but nonetheless participates in some activities and has shallow experiences.

Cultural heritage is an established sector in tourism, which tourism and heritage professionals use in promotion and marketing to attract visitors to their destinations (MacLeod, 2010). Heritage tourism will continue to grow in value, as there is a demand for destination differentiations and utilising heritage as a platform of distinction. Heritage tourism is described as the search for a cultural, familial and/or collective legacy (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). However, while some cultural tourism is concerned with seeking out heritage that tourists consider to be their own, other heritage tourism displays a more general interest in heritage that could be perceived as somebody else's.

Cultural tourism is experienced through the intangible and tangible components of heritage (Kidron, 2013). Intangible components such as historical knowledge, languages, dance, rituals, and tangible components such as material objects, architecture or landscapes. Recent research on heritage has shifted from exploration of nostalgia to a person-centred approach (Caton and Santos, 2007). This shift may link with the postmodern conceptions of the self in search for a home. A person-centred approach is reinforced by the growth of tours to slave plantations, concentration camps and prisons to trace family/root links to heritage sites where the visitors' ancestors were murdered, incarcerated, or brutally displaced (Kidron 2013). For the purposes of tourism, heritage has become an important source for the economy in many locations and countries, sometimes helping local people retain their culture by performing for visitors on a daily basis (Macleod, 2010). Therefore, tourism is increasingly playing an important role in the production of heritage. For example, supporters of heritage are aware that heritage in the form of attractions, museums, galleries, events, and monuments can attract visitors and consequently bring money

into the economy. Critics of heritage tourism argue that interpretation and representation of heritage is usually in the hands of few people who are in position of power and that commodification may pose risks to cultural phenomena that are displayed to tourists (Macleod, 2010). Overall culture and heritage play a significant role in tourism and will continue to do so, they have also encouraged the development of new sub sectors such as pro-poor tourism, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.4. Pro Poor Tourism (PPT)

Broadly defined, Pro Poor Tourism (PPT) makes it possible for poor people in developing countries to have benefit from the tourism economy. Furthermore, PPT generates net profit for the poor and it is recognised as a mechanism to tackle poverty (Dias et al., 2021, Gica et al., 2021, Ashley and Roe, 2001, Zhao and Xia, 2020). However, scholars such as Hall (2007) argue that tourism is often driven by foreign private sector interests and has limited benefit to contribute to tackling poverty in poorer countries. Aside from the limited benefits, it brings high levels of leakages and much of the revenues are captured by multinationals (Roe, 2001). External events such as political unrest and outbreaks of global diseases such as Ebola, Evian flu, and foot and mouth disease make tourism a volatile industry and result in an impact on PPT. Nevertheless, the United Nations World Tourism Organisation has identified poverty reduction and climate change as a global challenge to the tourism industry (UNTWO, 2007). Sub-Saharan African states with UNWTO membership have adopted this approach and implemented it in their regions.

Maputuland in South Africa, through UNWTO sustainable development strategies has implemented PPT through partnership initiatives between the cooperation of up-market lodges targeting affluent visitors (Ashley, 2001). The positive impact of PPT is not exclusive to Maputuland, the similarity effects is parallel to Humla District in Nepal. For instance, communities in Humla district have signed partnerships with tour operators and their government in a trilateral arrangement to focus on the empowerment of women (Ashley, 2001). Harrison (2008) points out that critics of PPT argue that it advocates for the status quo and thus miss the 'big picture'. So rather than focusing on structural change, redistribution of wealth, resources, and international power structures, they tacitly accept a neoliberal approach and a capitalistic tourism system (Hall, 2007). Furthermore, PPT supports a small selection of the poor groups and excludes the wider community of the poor in the PPT area (Harrison, 2008). It can also be argued that PPT methods are conceptually blurred and morally indiscriminate, as it suggests that any kind of tourism (including sex tourism) that shows growth in tourism incomes of the poor would qualify as PPT (Hall, 2007; Harrison, 2008). As far as PPT is concerned, it is not claimed to be a theory or approach for development. But it sets the framework in which locals, the private sector, government, and NGOs have a medium for development and poverty reduction. The movement of PPT can also be linked to other niches of tourism, such as Dark Tourism.

2.2.5 Dark Tourism

Dark tourism is a well-recognized phenomenon, researched under several terms such as dark tourism, thana-tourism, black spot tourism, atrocity heritage tourism and morbid tourism (Kang 2011). Dark tourism is the commercial development of tourist attractions or sites in which a celebrity or large number of people have met with sudden and violent death (Rojek 1993). Similarly, Robinson and Dale (2008) define dark tourism as the consumption of tourism related to the macabre and horrific. With higher disposable incomes and growth in travel and tourism provisions more people can now visit sites associated with atrocities. Ethical questions are often asked about the morality or otherwise of commodifying death, disaster and atrocity (Lennon and Foley, 2000; Kang 2011). Other ethical questions asked in this field include whether it is acceptable or not to market tragic events and to what extent. Before the construction of the memorial observatory building in Ground Zero (New York), significant debate surrounded the construction of the viewing site. For example, those opposed to the construction argued that casual visitors and voyeurs would be standing alongside those mourning their families and loved ones (Sharply 2009). Greenwood argues that treating cultures as a natural resource or commodity over which tourists have rights is simply perverse, it is a violation of people's cultural rights (Greenwood 1999). By packaging culture and heritage in tourism, we make it an explicit and paid performance. This commodification of cultures may rob people of the very meaning by which they organize their lives (Cloke 1999).

2.2.6 Tourism in Post-conflict Destinations

In terms of tourism developments in post conflict destinations, countries such as Cambodia, Vietnam and the former Yugoslavia offer Somaliland great inspiration and lessons on how to build a thriving tourism industry in the face of similar circumstances. These developing countries have utilised tourism as an impetus to stimulate economic growth, rehabilitate core infrastructure such as roads, rail, airports, hotels, hospitals and to create jobs.

2.2.7 Cambodia

Given that this research focuses on heritage in a post-conflict context, Cambodia provides sufficient examples of how a country and its nation can rebuild its economy following the conflict, similar to what Somaliland experienced during the dictatorship regime (Chapters 3, 5 and 6). In 1975, the Khmer Rouge, a communist party, overthrew Cambodia government and seized power, massacring 1.7 million people over four years (Menzel, 2007, De Walque, 2004). This led to devastating loss of life and destruction of infrastructure. Since the fall of the Khmer Rouge in 1989, Cambodia has reopened its market to the world and the globalisation has had a positive impact on the country (Brickell 2008). The designation of Angkor (1992) and the Temple of Preah Vihear (2008) as World Heritage sites has brought this destination to the international attention and has transformed Cambodia's region of Siem Reap into a tourism destination (Brickell 2008). The government has placed emphasis on the formation of economic policies with the objectives to attract foreign investment and

assistance. This has led to large-scale foreign investment in the construction of hotels, restaurants and entertainment facilities: A remarkable turnaround for a country that once tortured its people for associating with foreign investments and capitalism. The rise in the service and manufacturing constructions has stimulated growth in the tourism industry, which now forms a vital part of Cambodia's development strategy (Ballard, 2003). Consequently, tourism has become an impetus for economic growth in regions such as Siem Reap Phnom Penh and the coastal regions.

The increase in international tourists reflects the development of the country's infrastructure and carrying capacity, with the development of regional airports and seaports. Also, promoting heritage tourism in the Siem Reap region proves to be the catalyst for tourism growth in Cambodia (Brickell 2008). In terms of employment, new prospects have emerged for women in this industry. This has led to women working more than men in the service sector, ranking Cambodia's female labour participation among the highest (70%) in the Southeast Asian region (Bank, 2024). In the case of Somaliland, the government adopted a free-market economy policy similar to that of Cambodia in 1998 (Bradbury, 2003). Somaliland's government's major priorities during this period were the reconstruction of water supply, seaports, airports, schools and hotels. With the success of Cambodia's Angkor site, Somaliland's heritage department applied for UNESCO World Heritage status for the Las Geel Rock Arts site. The application was declined, as Somaliland is not recognised by the UN and Somalia had not ratified the 1972 World Heritage Convention at the time (Mire, 2011).

2.2.8 Vietnam

Following the conclusion of the Vietnam War in 1975, American aircraft bombardments destroyed Vietnam's economy and infrastructure (Dayley, 2013). The whole nation was reduced to rubble, the country was listed among the poorest in the world, and the economy took 15 years to recover (Dayley, 2013). In an attempt to accelerate economic and social growth, the government of Vietnam (followed by Cambodia) implemented the 'Doi Moi' (innovation) economic strategy in 1986. The goal of this economic strategy was to replace agricultural collectivisation with private ownership. Since then, the nation has seen positive development in the tourist and coffee industries that were previously non-existent. Vietnam saw significant tourism development as a consequence of its flexible economic policies between 1995 and 2019 (pre-Covid19). Tourism represents a significant prospect for the country's service exports. Despite still being in its infancy, the sector now generates around $11.8 billion to the national GDP of $134 billion and accounts for 66% of all service industry exports (Dixon, 2014). As tourism develops in Vietnam, there are growing fears that it will not benefit everyone, especially poorer people in urban areas (Giampiccoli and Mtapuri, 2021). Furthermore, the negative effects of tourism have been extensively documented, leading to the development of complementary tourism niches (Giampiccoli and Mtapuri, 2021, Miller et al., 2017, Liu and Yen, 2010, Hall, 2008, Swarbrooke, 1999). Other nations which emerged from the dissolution of the former USSR and Yugoslavia have explored tourism development as a strategy for their post-conflict economic reconstruction.

2.2.9 Former Soviet regions

The independence wars and ethnic conflicts that followed the breakup of the former Soviet Balkans and Yugoslavia devastated the whole area in 1992 (Lukic and Lynch, 1996, Duncan, 2019). It required patience and time to convince visitors and developers that the former Soviet Union and Balkan states remain secure after post-conflict reconstruction. Regional marketing departments successfully promoted the region, with Croatia adopting the slogan "The Mediterranean as it Once Was" and Slovenia adopting the slogan "The Sunny Side of the Alps" (Hall, 1999, Volcic, 2008) (Brezovec, 2011). Slovenia's repositioning in the tourist sector and selling Slovenia's image were difficult jobs (Brezovec, 2011). This was due to Slovenia's location inside the authoritarian Yugoslavia, and everything linked with Yugoslavia had a bad connotation. In the twenty years since its independence, the nation has undergone a restructuring from socialism to privatised policies (Brezovec, 2011). These steps transformed Slovenia into a tourist hotspot and influenced Slovenia's current tourism image. The Slovenian Tourism Board's post-independence advertising activities have resulted in increased foreign visitors, overnight stays, and visitor spending (Konecnik and Go, 2008) (Kelly 2013). The tourist board created a graphic identity to be utilised in marketing materials, PR campaigns, and international press advertising.

2.2.10 Belize

Belize shares similar characteristics with Somaliland, in the sense that it was once a former British colony and shares ongoing territorial disputes with neighbouring Guatemala. The country has used its distinct colonial heritage to avoid association

with Guatemala and has adopted the British political system. However, despite the country's political stability, there are severe social issues with high rate of criminal activity (UKFCO travel advice). Yet despite the social factors, tourism sector contributes 40% the country's GDP. Due to its reliance on tourism economy, the government has launched the National Sustainable Tourism Master Plan (NSTM) 2012-2030 (Nuenninghoff et al., 2015). The adaptation of this strategy demonstrates that the country is keen to develop its tourism industry through launching different types of sustainable tourism niches such as eco-tourism, adventure tourism and community tourism. However, the NSTM contradicts its sustainable principles as it is aggressively economic driven in the sense that the country's infrastructure development is taking more of a priority than preserving the country's unique heritage and historical sites. It could, therefore, be argued that the lack of political strategy in Belize led to the destruction of one of South America's heritage sites. For instance, the destruction of the Mayan Nohmul Pyramid, which is one of Belize's oldest Mayan pyramids, was destroyed by bulldozers for road construction (Snodgrass, 2013). This happened due to the lack of strategy and appropriate legal protection or enforcement from the political level, caused by authorities lacking expertise and knowledge in cultural heritage preservations or the political determination to prioritise cultural heritage.

2.2.11 Diaspora tourism

According to UN (2020), more than 281 million people reside outside of their ancestral countries, and these individuals are known as the diaspora. Diaspora tourism contributes significantly to social and economic development. Diaspora members travel to their home countries for various reasons, including family visits, heritage (roots) tourism, medical tourism, business travel, and birthright tours (Dumas, 2012). Diaspora groups also have wide-reaching economic implications for their countries of origin through means other than tourism; e.g., they are estimated to send $630 billion to their kin worldwide(Bank, 2022). Tourism studies have, however, tended to ignore the useful role that diaspora may play in the long-term development of their former homelands (Nowosielski, 2023, Hall, 2005). According to Coles, until recently, tourism and migration were difficult partners (2004). Diaspora as ethnic minority groups with migratory roots who live in host countries while preserving strong emotional and material ties to their home country (Sheffer, 2013, Cohen, 2022, Cohen and Fischer, 2018, Safran, 2005). According to McEwan (2001), diaspora identities are important because they are both local and global and based on transnational identification encompassing both 'imagined' and 'encountered' communities.

Delpino (2011) argue that diaspora tourism is a complex phenomenon contested by many scholars. For example, diasporas that wish to reconnect with their 'roots' argue that their authentic and sacred experiences is exploited for the purposes of tourism development. There are fears that the use of historical events such as the Transatlantic Slave Trade in roots tourism could undermine the historical facts and the meanings associated with the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Participants in roots tourism

perceive the experience as a pilgrimage rather than tourism and branding them as 'tourists' seems to demean their journey (Reed, 2005). Scholars such as Nyberg-Sorenson (2002) and Brubaker (2017) support the link between diaspora and development, as diaspora can drive development in the country they have left. The diaspora claim affinity with purported national homelands and communities because of a common sense of ancestry, ethnicity or identification (Lynn-Ee Ho, 2014).

2.2.12 Homeland and Birth Right Tourism

Homeland tours are travel packages for groups that take individuals to destinations that they believe is their land of origin (Powers 2011). Homeland tours are a successful form of tourism that reconnects e.g. the Israeli diaspora to learn more about their heritage and roots. Organizations such as 'Birthright Israel (Taglit) offer a 10 day trip to young members of the Jewish (aged 18-26) diaspora's across the world. Since its inception in 1999 the organization has brought over a quarter of million young Jewish visitors to Israel. However, Beinart argues that birthright tourism is 'intellectually insulting and dishonest', as it does not introduce participants from the Palestinian point of view. Similarly, Kelner (2010) argues that one of the most contentious aspects of the Birthright is the potential and actual political nature and its representation of the Arab Israeli conflicts. Furthermore, critics of birthright tourism are suspicious of its funding mechanism, as it receives donations from advocates and philanthropist of nationalistic views (Sason, 2014). However, Anderson's (1992) theory of long-distance nationalism dismisses Sason's (2014) suggestions, as birthright tourism can be promoted without nationalist attitudes associated with right-wing political views.

Homeland tourism provides insight for the diaspora communities to retain their ethnic heritage and yet remain loyal to their adopted nations. The trip to their homeland helps to them to narrate identities. There is a growing trend of diaspora tourism, where travellers seek to trace their roots and restore fractured identity (Otoo et al., 2021, Li et al., 2020). For example, African Americans visited slave forts and dungeons in Africa to learn more about their roots and explore the torturous journeys of their ancestors (Roseman 2004). Ghana and Senegal were active participants in the Transatlantic Slave Trade (1620 to 1807), which saw 10 million Africans forcefully moved to America (Mensah 2015). These historic events have led to commemorative tourism activities in Ghana, such as the 2019 Year of Return campaign (Nartey, 2022, Adu-Ampong and Mensah, 2023). However, despite the well-intentioned campaign, it has faced criticism for allegedly commodifying the tragic historical past (Adu-Ampong and Mensah, 2023). This highlights the complexity of heritage tourism development in Africa. Development initiatives are necessary, but they can also lead to additional challenges and tensions when the diaspora visits their ancestral lands and encounters local communities (Adu-Ampong and Mensah, 2023, Schramm, 2016).

2.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has analysed and reviewed a wide range of existing heritage discourses on the role of heritage in heritage management, nation-building, and tourism development. In doing so, examples were selected from the global north and the global south, particularly from those of the post-conflict reconstruction context. It has explored the challenges between stakeholders and the reasoning of their

stances. Furthermore, this chapter has elaborated on the existing literature within the context of Sub-Saharan African countries and how AHD is prioritised over traditional heritage management practices. Overall, this chapter has elaborated on the theoretical framework which forms the basis of this research. The following chapter explores Somaliland's heritage and extends to the formation of Somaliland's diaspora and the current heritage management set up by the Ministry of Tourism.

CHAPTER

THREE

Demystifying Somaliland's Heritage and its Development

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has elaborated on the role of heritage from the lens of critical heritage studies (CHS), particularly focusing on development, national identity, nationalism, and diaspora. This chapter expands on the above by focusing on Somaliland's heritage and development. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first part starts with a brief overview of the country. The second section demystifies the heritage of Somaliland and the widely held misconception about its association with Somalia. It chronologically focuses on the area's distinct history and heritage, starting from pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, and post-liberation periods. The third part explores the stakeholders to consider when dealing with development in national reconstruction. This section begins by shedding light on the formation of the diaspora, the role of the Guurti (clan elders/chiefs), the wider clan systems, youth and women and the international community. The final section explores the current heritage management approaches by the Ministry of Tourism.

3.2 Background of Somaliland

Somaliland is a sub-Saharan country geographically located in the north-eastern edge of Africa, with Djibouti to the west, Ethiopia to the south, and Somalia to the east

(Figure 3.1). The country has 850 km of coastline along the Gulf of Aden, making it an important maritime corridor for international trade (Institute, 2021, Weber, 2017, González Ruibal, 2023). The population is approximately 5.7 million, with 70% under the age of 30 and with a high unemployment rate of 65% (SLMOF, 2023). This high level of unemployment poses many challenges for internal and external stakeholders, particularly given the complex challenges surrounding the region (further discussed in sections 3.3 and 5).

The people in Somaliland (including in the diaspora) are referred as Somalilanders (Kaplan, 2008, Hansen, 2008, Prunier, 2021). The official language is Somali; however, English and Arabic are widely spoken and written. The most densely populated areas are the major cities of Hargeisa (the capital), Borama, Berbera, Burco, Erigavo, Las Anod, Wajalae and Zeila (Figure 3.2). One of the contributing factors to the increase in population in the cities is the migration from rural to urban settings, which poses further challenges in social dynamics. The social demography of the area is predominately composed of four clans (Figure 3.7), the Dir, Isaaq, Gaboye and Darood, with the Isaaq clan being the majority by population (Tahir, 2023, Ali, 2022, Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021). Each clan is composed of subsets of sub-clans and with its own unique cultural heritage practices.

Figure 3.1, Map of Somaliland and the Horn of Africa (Rosseau et al., 2021).
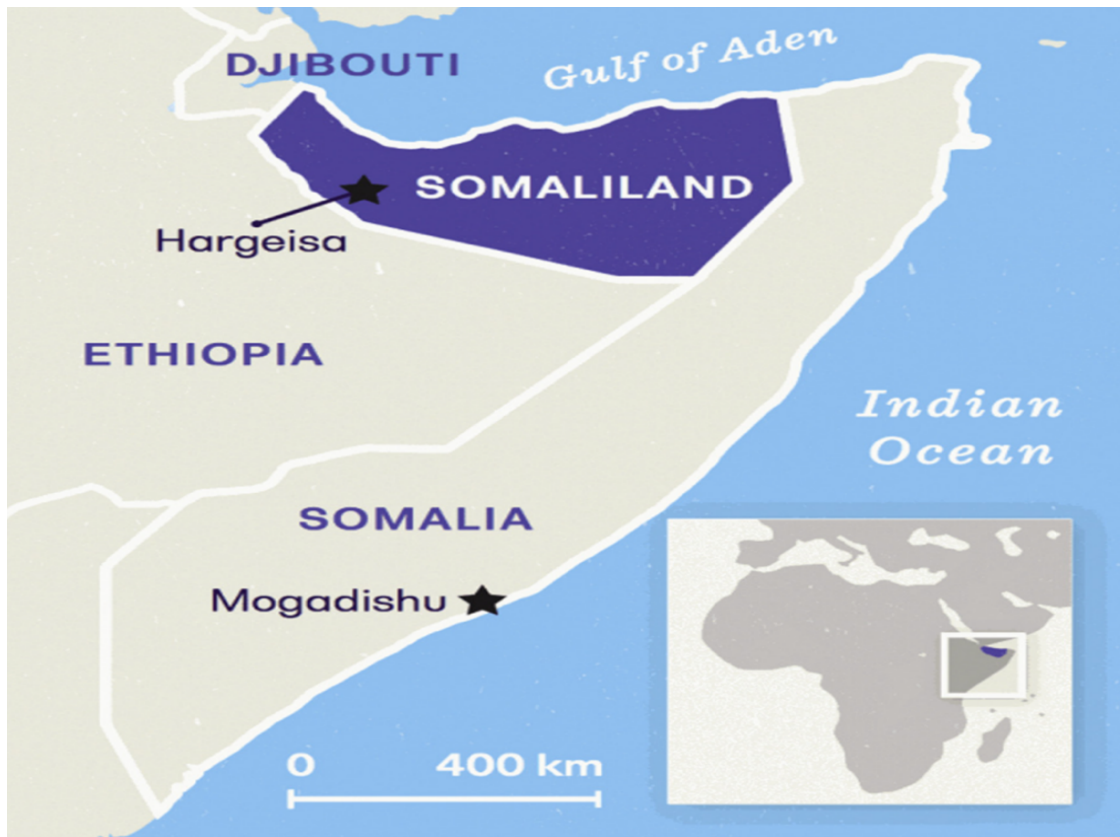
Figure 3.2 Map of Somaliland and major cities source
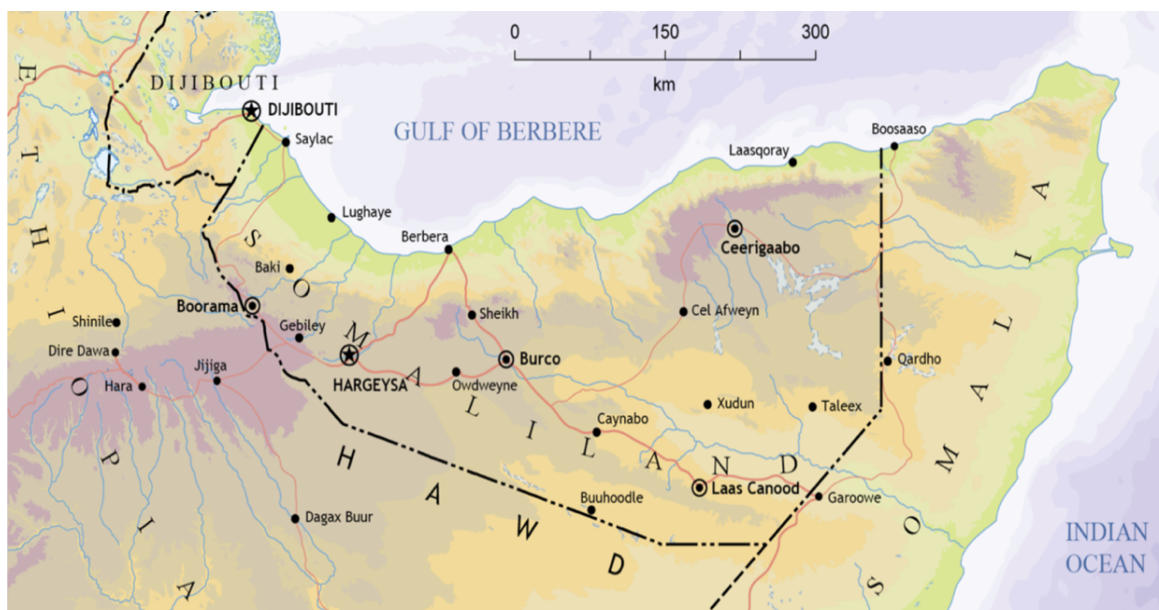
To elaborate on the formation of Somaliland's identity and to challenge the widely held perception that Somaliland's history and heritage are the same as Somalia's, the following section addresses Somaliland's history chronologically from pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, and post-liberation wars.

3.2.1 Demystifying Somaliland's history and heritage

The region in which Somaliland is situated is often referenced as the source of the evolution of mankind (Cleuziou and Tosi, 2021, Shea, 2020, Timbrell et al., 2022, González Ruibal, 2023). The first palaeolithic Stone Age tools discovery in Africa was made in Somaliland in 1880 by G Revollie, followed by the flint tools discovery by H.W. Seton-Karr in 1898 (Mussi, 2023, BBC, 2014). Although this was not pursued further during the colonial period and post-colonial period, there is growing archaeological and heritage interest emerging from the region following Somaliland's re-assertion of independence from Somalia in 1991 (de Torres, 2022, Gómez et al., 2022, Gutiérrez de León Juberías, 2022, Mire, 2007, Mire, 2015b). This renewed interest following a prolonged peaceful period in Somaliland demonstrates the potential to provide further answers and insight into the idea of missing link in the evolution of mankind.

The people residing in Somaliland are descended from a stock of Cushitic peoples, related to the Afar, Oromo, Saho and Beja peoples in the Horn of Africa (Abdullahi, 2017, Lewis, 2019). They began migrating from an area on the present-day Ethiopia-Kenya border into the peninsula around the fifth century BC. The people that inhabited the region were referred to as Macrobians by the ancient Greek historian Herodotus

and were noted for their significance in the region (Miller, 2010, Abdullahi, 2017, Briggs, 2012, Hall and Hall, 2021).

Figure 3.3 Rock art of Las Geel. Photo by the author 2020

The links of earlier civilisations in Somaliland are validated by the preserved rock arts of cattle and herdsmen in the Las Geel caves in Somaliland, which approximately date to 3500-2500 BC (Mire, 2015a). Figure 3.3 depicts Las Geel's rock art paintings. The paintings depict the religious worship of cattle throughout the rocks of Las Geel paintings. Although under-researched, several sites across the country indicate different cultural and religious practices, which can be traced to oaths, stones and their reverence for cairns, holy trees and water (Mire, 2015a, Gómez et al., 2022). This provides insight into the way their ancestors lived in the region prior to the arrival of Islam. Furthermore, this emphasises the significance of Dr. Sada Mire's archaeological research in shedding light on the region's heritage and the need for more research in the area. Although locals knew about Las Geel before French researchers re-discovered it in 2002, locals avoided visiting the site due to ghost myths and stories.

This mythology protected the area for centuries until its re-discovery, which places it at risk presently. Las Geel raises queries surrounding Somaliland's cultural heritage approaches and traditional safeguarding methods.

Another interesting observation about Somaliland is its heritage and historical links with ancient Egypt. In particular, the 1500 B.C. Pharos expedition referred to the geographical region of Somaliland as Ta Netjer (land of the Punt), which translates to land of the gods (Briggs, 2012, Yildirim, 2020, Hussein, 2023, Samatar, 1996, Mahfouz, 2023, Fattovich, 2018). The expedition was commissioned during the reign of Queen Hatshepsut, who ruled ancient Egypt from 1473-1458 BCE (Tyson, 2009, Shackell-Smith, 2012). The area's difficult history and lack of interest from authorities during the colonial and precolonial periods resulted to the area's ancient heritage. However, this changed when Dr Sada Mire, Somaliland's only known archaeologist, began publishing about the country's distinct heritage sites and cultural practices. Among the interesting heritage practices to observe are the links between Somaliland and the ancient civilisations of present-day Egypt, particularly with reference to the material heritage that is to be found in Somaliland (Torres Rodriguez et al., 2018). The association of Somaliland with ancient Egypt is often references by locals and the diaspora, who compare the Naaso Hablood, two natural hills that resemble the Great Pyramid of Giza (Mire, 2015b). Other connection between the area and the Pharonic Egyptian Empire include the similar cultural practices of Queen Arawela, who rules the region in 15AD, in present day Somaliland (Bradbury, 2008, Mire, 2015b). Queen Arawela was a renowned ruler who worked to bring about gender equality in the area, practised pharaonic practices, and exerted power by castrating men who would challenge her rule in the area.

3.2.2 Islam arrived in Somaliland before Somalia.

Zeila, along with the coastal town of Berbera, was an important trading route from the tenth century that linked the area with the Phoenicians, Romans, Tan dynasty and Western African empires (Walls, 2014, Mukhtar, 2016). Its strategic significance is as important now as it was centuries before. The geographic area of Somaliland has been a centre of trade for centuries, connecting ancient civilisations. Trade in commodities such as frankincense and myrrh, which were highly valued for ceremonies and burial rituals, highlight the region's significance to the religious groups of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. Furthermore, trade enabled social and political interaction between the area and its closest Arab neighbours.

Figure 3.4 Masjid Qiblatayn, Zeila (facing Jerusalem and Mecca) Source: (Bradbury, 2008)

Figure 3.4 illustrates the *Masjid Qiblatayn* in the port city of Zeila, which translates to a mosque with two *qiblas (direction to pray)*, with earlier Muslims praying towards Jerusalem and later towards Mecca (Mire, 2015b). This corroborates the idea that Islam reached these shores during Prophet Mohammed's lifetime, making this one of the first regions Islam reached. It is estimated that Islam first came to Somaliland before Somalia the start of the Hijra (Muslim Calendar) in the first century of Islam in 622-722 (Abdullahi, 2017, Hghnavaz, 2014, Hussein, 2023, Mukhtar, 2016, Mire, 2015b). This creates another line of exploration about the first migration of the prophet's 12 companions (Sa'haba) and his relatives, on whether they sought passage through Zeila while on hijra (migration) to seek refuge in the Christian Aksum empire. Islam reached Somalia between 700-800 AD (Abdullahi, 2017, Abdullahi, 2015).

Before the arrival of Islam, Pagan rituals, Judaism and Christianity had already established their presence in the highlands and middle region of the Horn of Africa (Briggs, 2012, de Torres, 2022, Mire, 2015a, Vitturini, 2023, Novati, 2008). However, the spread and growth of Islam in Somaliland during this period are poorly understood (de Torres, 2022). More documentation and information arose following the 9th century as new sultanates, kingdoms and political fiefdoms were established (Abbas et al., 2021). The social interaction enabled language, and cultural exchange thus resulted in the transition to newer cultural heritage practices, such as Islam. The region's interaction with Islamic can also be traced to the physical structures of architecture and rituals still practised in the country (Briggs, 2012, de Torres, 2022, Gómez et al., 2022, Gutiérrez de León Juberías, 2022, Mire, 2015a).

3.2.3 Somaliland's Medieval period differs from Somalia's.

Although the current territories of Somaliland, Somalia and Djibouti are modern European and particularly British political constructs, they have existed under different names in the form of sultanates, kingdoms, and clan fiefdoms for centuries. In Somaliland, the influence of Islam resulted in the establishment of small principalities in the region, until the dominant principality of Ifat unified all the other principalities to counter the Middle Kingdom Christianity in the highlands of Ethiopia in 1285 (de Torres, 2022, Walls, 2014). As small Muslim principalities grew, Ifat established a larger constituents, which evolved into the Ifat Empire to counter threats from its neighbouring Christian Middle Kingdom.

The Ifat Sultanates (Figure 3.5) dominated the region from 1285 until it was defeated by the Christian Kingdom of the highlands of Ethiopia in 1415 (de Torres, 2022). The defeat enabled the neighbouring Adal Sultanates to retake the territory. Adal was formed during the late ninth and early tenth centuries and coincided with the history of Islam's introduction to the region (Mukhtar, 2016). The Adal sultanates' rule extended and formed multiple alliances with external powers on the region's periphery, such as Egypt and the Ottoman Empire, which enabled Adal's influence to spread deeper into the Horn of Africa. However, to oppose this coalition, the Portuguese confronted the Adal Sultanates in 1543 to aid Ethiopia (de Torres, 2022; Mukhtar, 2016; Walls, 2014). Trade declined, and new European empires rose to power during the subsequent periods, coinciding with the decline of the Adal Sultanate and its influence in the area.

Figure 3.5 Map of Ifat and Adal Sultanates. Source: (de Torres, 2022)

Figure 3.5 illustrates the Ifat and Adal empires, which ruled present-day Somaliland.

The Adal empire continued its reign in the area and expanded to Lake Tana in Ethiopia, the Portuguese thwarted its expansion in aid of the Ethiopians in 1543 (de Torres, 2022). From the 16th century, the Adal sultanate declined due to the increased influence of the Portuguese economic blockade in the region; clan fiefdoms emerged until the French and British arrived in 1884 (de Torres, 2022). The southeast borders of the Adal empire lie in present-day Somalia, which also had well-established empires. At the time, Somalia constituted several sultanates, including Ajuuraan, Hobyo, Gobroon, Geledi and Majerteniya Sultanates (Panchmatia, 2017, Hghnavaz, 2014, Walls, 2014).

Figure 3.6 Map of Ajuran, Hobyo

Adal Sultanates

Majerteniya Sultanates

Ajuran Sultanates

Hobyo Sultanates

Geledi Sultanates
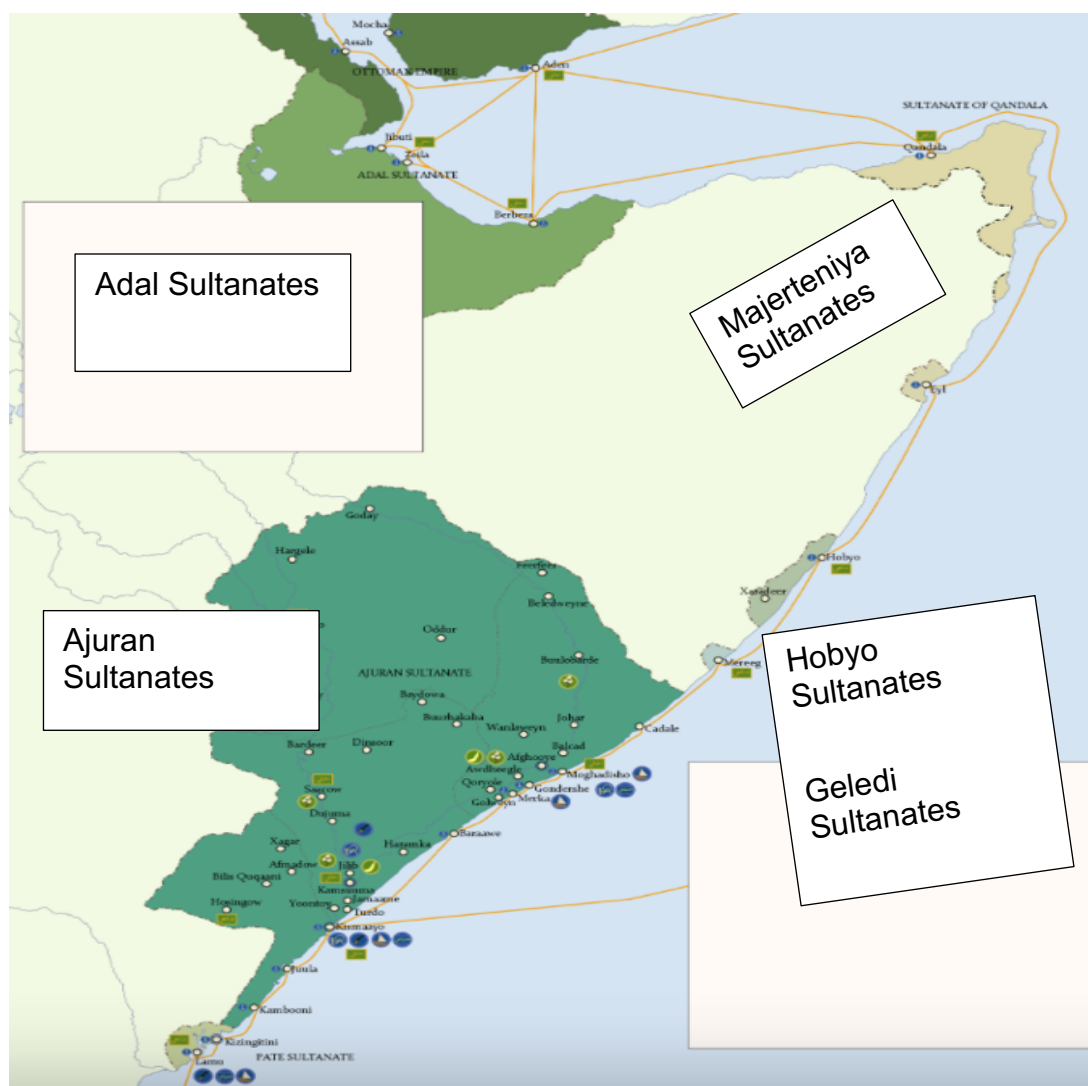
3.2.4 Different Colonial Histories

Even though Somaliland and Somalia have distinct ancient and mediaeval histories, the international community see little distinction between the two areas. Following the Berlin conference in 1884, during the Scramble of Africa, the Adal Sultanate was renamed British Somaliland and French Somaliland (Djibouti). The Sultanates of

Ajuran, Hobyo Kingdom, and Majerteniya, which were located in the southern and eastern territories, were renamed Italian Somaliland (Bradbury, 2008, de Torres, 2022, Gutiérrez de León Juberías, 2022, Kaplan, 2008, Kaariye, 2017). Figure 3.7 illustrates the demarcation of the new territories to reflect the French and British powers in the region in the 19th century, resulting in the former names of the area being renamed.

Figure 3.7 Map of new colonial borders. Source: (Bartholomew, 1949)
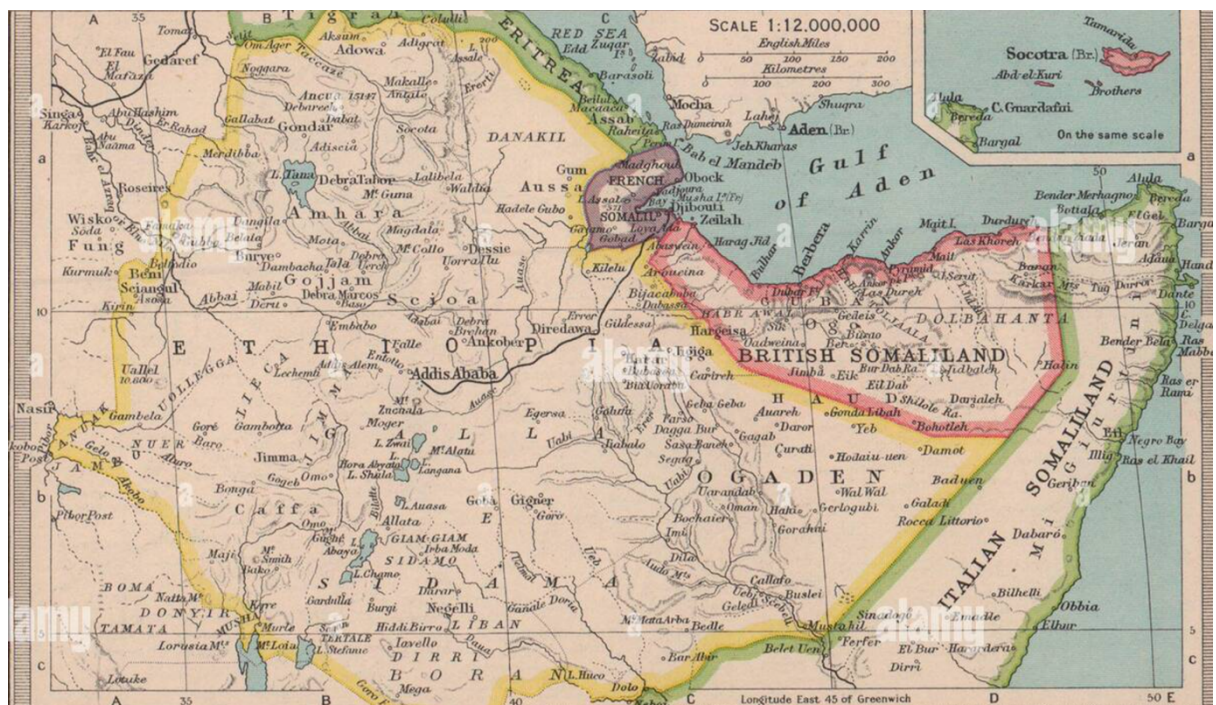
The British ruled Somaliland for 75 years before granting its independence on 26th June 1960 and had less influence in the internal governance of Somaliland (Ali, 2022, Bradbury, 2008, Briggs, 2012, Jhazbhay, 2003, Kaplan, 2008, McPherson-Smith, 2021). This soft-power approach enabled the coexistence between traditional governance and the British system, which would later enable Somaliland to serve

Somaliland for the better in its state-building efforts following the liberation from Somalia in 1991. Furthermore, it resulted in the development of job opportunities in the area as residents of Somaliland gained employment in Yemen for the British and later settled in Britain (Alpers, 1986). This made Britain the preferred place for subsequent diaspora (further discussed in section 3.3). Moreover, it also meant that Britain gained thousands of Somaliland forces to serve British interests in the First and Second World Wars (Mohamed, 2002, Mohamed, 2000, Torres Rodriguez et al., 2018).

While Britain had limited interference in Somaliland's affairs, Somalia was under complete Italian control (Marion, 2009). Under Italian rule, from the 1920s, Somalia underwent systematic cultural changes; schools made the Italian language mandatory (Scalvedi, 2020). During this period, cathedrals were constructed in Somalia, and urban infrastructure was modified to reflect the Italian architectural style; more than sixty thousand Italians resettled there (Mohamed, 2023, Klobucka et al., 2008). Following the end of World War II, the UN removed Italy from any authority in Somalia due to its alliance with the Nazis. Somalia was renamed from Italian Somaliland to United Nations Trusteeship, which meant that the United Nations ruled Somalia until its independence in 1960. Meanwhile, demands for independence from Great Britain increased in Somaliland, in part because of the realisation by the country's elites that a portion of the country had been covertly ceded to Ethiopia by Britain (Jhazbhay, 2003, Mohamed, 2002, Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021).

3.2.5 Somali Nationalism Constructed in Haste

While there was never an established Somali state before colonialism, the idea of establishing a Somali political state rose to prominence in 1955. The Anglo-Ethiopia Treaty of 1897 resulted in Britain's covert ceding of a portion of Somaliland (Hawd and Reserve Area) to Ethiopia, which initiated the formation of the Somali national movement. Predating and superseding the Anglo-Ethiopia Treaty, the 1885 Anglo-Somaliland Treaty guaranteed the non-secession of Somaliland's lands (Mohamed, 2002). This fuelled distrust of British rule and drove clan elders in Somaliland to support the move to establish a pan-Somali state, a state which failed to materialise and an idea that the people of Somaliland have come to regret from its inception (Bradbury, 2008, Jani, 2014, Jhazbhay, 2003, Kaplan, 2008, McPherson-Smith, 2021, Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021, Schwartz, 2021). The concept of pan-Somali nationalism first evolved from Somaliland, resulting in a rushed unification process. Further, this nationalism was primarily driven by ethnic identity and did not consider the historical background and colonial differences between Somalia and Somaliland.

3.2.6 Post-Colonial Period

Menkhaus (2006) assessed the postcolonial Somali state as a castle constructed on sand, implying flaws in the basis upon which the state was based. This validates the argument that Somalia disregarded the pre-agreed-upon unification criteria previously agreed to merge the two states on equal terms. The split appeared when the Somaliland constitution was ignored, and Somalia enacted a new constitution without Somaliland's agreement. As a result of this unbalanced power sharing, Somaliland

received 33 seats in parliament, in contrast to Somalia, which received 90 seats (Ali, 2022, Jani, 2014, Jhazbhay, 2003, Prunier, 2021). This unequal power-sharing undermined the union's intention, and subsequent protests ensued across Somaliland, resulting in anti-Somali national sentiments ((Ali, 2022, Bet, 2023, Bradbury, 2008, Jani, 2014, Jhazbhay, 2003, McPherson-Smith, 2021). This unequal power-sharing remained from 1960 to 1969, when the Cold War proxies reached the Horn of Africa, resulting in the overthrow of Somalia's government by a military coup led by Siad Barre.

In the following 20 years, without resolving the legal unification issues between Somalia and Somaliland, the Siad Barre regime waged war on Ethiopia to capture all Somali territories under the rule of Ethiopia, including the Hawd and Reserve region (Lockyer, 2018, Tareke, 2000). Although Somalilanders and Somalis in Somalia saw recapturing formerly lost territory as a positive step and strategy to sustain the Somali nationalism movement, this was short-lived. With Cuban and Soviet support, Ethiopian forces managed to defeat the Somali forces withdrew from Ethiopia (Tareke, 2000). Thus, with Somali nationalism temporally halted, Siad Barre turned on the Isaaq Clan as he perceived them to threaten his rule. The dictatorship regime began targeting the Isaaq clan through subjugation and coercion by controlling access to medicine, food, and social curfews. It wasn't until 1982 that the regime was challenged by local resistance groups named Uffo (which translates as 'wind before the storm'), constituted of businessmen and academics who began financing the public sector (Bakonyi, 2009).

3.2.7 Resistance Movements

The first resistance movement against the dictatorship regime, Uffo, began supplying the underfunded Hargeisa hospital with bedding, and linen (Walls, 2017). Furthermore, this inspired the mobilisation of other resistance movements, most notably the Somali National Movement (SNM), which was founded in 1981 by the Somaliland diaspora (further discussed in in the UK and in Saudi Arabia (Bakonyi, 2009, Ingiriis, 2016b, Jhazbhay, 2003, Kaplan, 2008, McPherson-Smith, 2021, Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021, Nte, 2022).

As the resistance movement within Somaliland grew, Somalia's regime intensified with arrest violence on Isaaq civilians without impunity; the dictatorship maintained its hard grip of rule in the area. However, when Somalia's regime arrested students and teachers from a Hargeisa school and sentenced them to death by execution in 1984, it led an uprising throughout Somaliland's cities. Two teachers from the school where the students had been captured put together a plan to rescue them on the eve of their execution. A Somali Airlines aeroplane was hijacked by two teachers and one Isaaq soldier (Joog, 2023). Among the passengers, the plane carried 22 elite Somali officials, which constituted five cabinet members and a police general, and the hijackers demanded the release of the Isaaq political prisoners (Nytimes, 1984). Their demands were subsequently met after international pressure on Siad Barre (Joog, 2023). This event and the revolt against Somalia's authority heightened tensions. Many middle-class and economically well-off Isaaq communities fled from Somalia and Somaliland to surrounding African and Middle Eastern nations (Cotter, 2023). Isaaq students

studying abroad in North America and Europe remained in their places of study and claimed asylum there (Danso, 2002, De Montclos, 2003).

In the years that followed, Somalia's government committed the Isaaq genocide imposing economic blockades and destroying infrastructure (Ingiriis, 2016b, Ali, 2022, Gutiérrez de León Juberías, 2022, Jani, 2014, Kaplan, 2008, Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021, Nte, 2022, Prunier, 2021, Schwartz, 2021, Cotter, 2023). Consequently, many sought safety in Ethiopia, the Middle East, North America and Europe. Due to their colonial association with Britain, an established Somaliland diaspora had already settled in the UK, mainly working on merchant ships and docklands. This also facilitated a more favourable asylum process for Isaaq clans escaping Somalia's persecution compared to other Western nations, and it was also easier for them to settle in the UK as English was taught in Somaliland's schools during the colonial period. (Das et al., 2020, De Montclos, 2003). The combination of the former and new diaspora enabled resistance movements, as well as the mobilisation of aid relief and creating awareness of the atrocities committed by the Somalia's regime (Renders, 2012, Balthasar, 2013, Ali, 2022). The diasporic resistance movements have contributed to overthrowing Somalia's rule in Somaliland. However, the devastation from post-liberation conflicts has had a lasting impact on infrastructure and societies (Hammond, 2015, Jhazbhay, 2003, McPherson-Smith, 2021). Somaliland's re-assertion of independence in 1991 signified the end of the dream of a united Somali state within Somaliland. Hargeisa became known as "the Dresden of Africa" due to the carpet bombing by the Somali Air Force (Mahmoud, 2023). Without international recognition, rebuilding had to rely on its diaspora once more (Farah, 2009, Hammond, 2015).

3.3 Diaspora in State-building and National Re-construction

Throughout Somaliland's history, the diaspora has held an important role. Since regaining independence from Somalia in 1991, their significant contributions have mainly been credited to the realms of economic reconstruction and social development (Abdile and Pirkkalainen, 2011, Farah, 2009, Gelb et al., 2021, Tellander and Horst, 2019). In addition, the diaspora plays an important part in advocating for Somaliland's foreign policy towards Western nations and swaying the country's stance in favour of pro-Western countries, given its large diaspora who have resettled there since the war (Ylönen, 2022). The global Somali diaspora population is approximately an estimated two million (Urbach et al., 2023). The actual number for Somaliland's diaspora is unknown and is often confused with Somalia's statistics. However, despite recognising the contribution of contemporary diasporas, the earlier Somaliland diaspora is overlooked and under-researched. The earlier diaspora predates the post-liberation conflicts with Somalia and traces its roots to its commercial relations with ancient civilisations and empires (Alpers, 1986). In the context of recent empires, the first Somaliland diaspora played an important part in assisting Britain in gaining access to the Horn of Africa (Godsall, 2001). Isaaq tribesmen (Somaliland's largest population) who worked in Yemen during the British rule in Aden helped facilitate Sir Richard Burton's 1854 expedition in East Africa, making him the first known Westerner to enter the region (Godsall, 2001).

The term "diaspora" is frequently defined as the movement of a people group away from their country of origin (Brubaker, 2017, Palmer, 2018). Following this concept,

significant numbers of Somalilanders from the Adal and Ifat empires may have lived outside further distances from their territorial boundaries for an extended period. However, the proximity (140 miles) between Berbera and Yemen had fostered diasporic, commercial, religious and cultural interactions between the Somaliland and Yemen (Alpers, 1986, Harre, 2017). Earlier diaspora had settled there, integrated with the Yemeni communities, and worked there, much as Yemenis settled in Somaliland's coastal regions. Furthermore, Yemen served as an important stopover for British commerce and trading to and from India, while Somaliland exported livestock to supply the British regiment (Ingrams and Pankhurst, 2008). It also enabled many Somaliland diaspora in Yemen to acquire jobs and serve as workers aboard British ships, and they later settled in the docklands of London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Cardiff (Abdile and Pirkkalainen, 2011, Farah, 2009, Gelb et al., 2021, Hammond, 2015, Hassan, 2023, Tellander and Horst, 2019). Furthermore, the already-settled diaspora in the UK played an important part in assisting the new diaspora in resettling in the UK, creating stronger resistance and defeating Somalia's regime (see section 3.2.6). This demonstrates that in times of adversity, clan heritage identity unites against a shared common threat; however, when there is a lack of a common perceived threat, challenges emerge—particularly challenges surrounding power and resource sharing in times of peace. In times of crisis, traditional clan chiefs emerge as peacemakers, however their efforts are undermined by their sub-clans, who may feel underrepresented and excluded from the benefits of resources on their clan territories.

3.3.1 Clan Elders (Guurti) and Clans in National Reconstruction

Following the re-declaration of independence in 1991, the 'Guurti' (clan elders/chiefs) were established to demobilise and ensure equitable power sharing among all clan stakeholders (Ali, 2022, Jhazbhay, 2003, Mahmoud, 2023, McPherson-Smith, 2021, Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021, Nte, 2022, Gatimu, 2014). Furthermore, the Guurti was established to demobilise guerrilla fighters into civil roles and to reintegrate them into the new national army. However, while unanimous agreement was reached on how to govern the new country, it became difficult to implement in practice and to gain agreement with the wider stakeholders (sub-clans and youth groups). The newly established government tried to take over control of national assets such as airports and sea ports; however, this resulted in internal conflict within the Isaaq sub-clans within Isaaq, who felt unrepresented by the decision of the clan elders and subsequently assumed claim to assets and resources within their tribal lands (Walls, 2009, Mahmoud, 2023, McPherson-Smith, 2021, Nte, 2022, Renders, 2012). This resulted in a reactive conflict and once again resulted in the displacement of newly returned refugees, who fled again between 1994 and 1997. This highlights the complexity of clan systems for national reconstruction and development among clan stakeholders.

The clan structure played an important role in enabling stability during the Somaliland state-building stages (1991 to 2001), but it also became a source of constraints against development (Richards, 2020). Figure 3.8 illustrates the four major clans with their sub-clans in Somaliland. With some internal differentiation due to their population size and historical, religious, and economic significance to the area. The Gaboye are also

part of the clan ecosystem, although underrepresented and marginalised by the dominant clan groups due to their association with what is perceived in Somaliland as undesirable vocations, such as leathermaking, blacksmiths, shoemakers and cleaning services (Vitturini, 2023, Ekman, 2021). It is also interesting to note that these groups are stigmatised by the majority of Isaaq clans, considering that the Isaaq themselves were stigmatised and experienced acts of genocide by the Darood-ruled regime in Somalia from 1981-1991 (discussed in 3.2.5 to 3.2.6). This differentiation establishes that clan identity is more important than Somali identity despite the shared language, ethnicity, religion, certain cultural practices and geographical location. However, this is not always the case. In Somaliland, the Isaaq are labelled secessionists by pro-unionists and are considered anti-Somali states; this is ironic even though the majority Isaaq clan conceived the formation of the idea of a Somali national state. This illustrates the complexity of clan and ethnonational identities in post-colonial society. Furthermore, it suggests that the clan and ethno-nationals are malleable, contingent upon whose interests are involved.

Figure 3.8 clan structure source: author
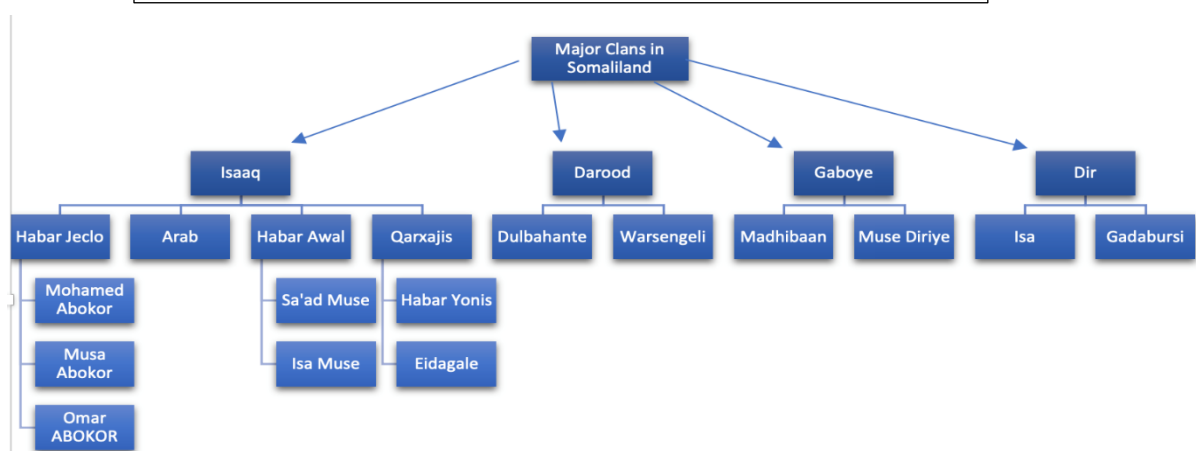
From 1997 to 2001, a new constitution was implemented to determine the allocation of power among clans through democratic elections, with three political parties competing in national elections (Bryden, 2004, Bradbury, 2008, Gatimu, 2014, Kaplan, 2008). Furthermore, a nationwide referendum was held to determine the formal status of Somaliland's restoration as a country separate from Somalia under the observation of international observers. International observers declared the referendum free and fair, with 97% of the voting favouring independence from Somalia (Bradbury, 2008, McPherson-Smith, 2021, Walls, 2009). From 2001 to 2017, there were five presidential elections, all of which were deemed by international observers as free and fair (Walls, 2009, Mahmoud, 2023, McPherson-Smith, 2021). In 2005, the African Union initiated a fact-finding mission that determined that Somaliland satisfied the requirements for statehood and should be officially recognised as a sovereign nation (Crawford, 2007, Nte, 2022, Schwartz, 2021, Hoch and Rudincová, 2015). The AU recommendation re-affirmed the legitimacy of Somaliland's restoration of independence. This verdict ensured that clans made an effort to maintain peace. However, this was tested in the 2010 national election when 83 votes separated the incumbent and the opposition political party (Hoch and Rudincová, 2015, McPherson-Smith, 2021, Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021, Schwartz, 2021). This was one of the most closely contested elections in Africa, in which the losing party did not protest the results. These results also show that traditional clan leaders can help establish democracy in Somaliland and the wider region, which is important for national and state reconstruction. Moreover this demonstrates the potential of establishing hybrid electoral systems in which modern and traditional democratic principles can coexist (Kaariye, 2021)

Despite these democratic gains, the 2017 national elections demonstrate that there appears to be pressure on the Guurti's role as they receive government funding, which has questioned their impartiality and democratic credentials. Particularly, they have remained unelected since their formation in 1991 among opposition parties and youth groups who feel underrepresented by clan elites. This coupled with the AU and IC ignoring the recommendations of the AU fact-findings mission for over 33 years, threatens Somaliland's post-conflict economic reconstruction. The stakeholders most impacted by this are the youth and women.

3.3.2 Youth and Women in National Reconstruction

Traditions in which clan chiefs have the final word tend to overlook the interest of youths (Dini, 2010, Warsame, 2002, Chonka, 2023, Kapteijns, 2004). Ignoring this group, which is most influenced by male-dominated decision-makers and clan elders, makes it difficult for youth and women to emerge independently, especially given the country's high poverty levels. Also, ignoring the fact that the initial uprising was led by excluded youths rising up to totalitarian leadership underscores the re-independence of Somaliland if their interests are not served. Despite these challenges, this stakeholder appears to emerge partly due to collaboration with other diaspora communities and government institutions, particularly in the cultural heritage sector.

3.4 Formation of the Ministry of Tourism

Somaliland's Ministry of Tourism was established in 1995 and functioned as a symbolic department until 2001, following the rediscovery of Las Geel and increased its functions following the collaboration with diaspora returnees such as Dr Sada Mire and Dr Jama Musa Jama. Since the re-discovery of Las Geel, the ministry has been tasked to prioritise diversifying the economy as its current reliance on livestock is unsustainable (further discussed in section 3.4.2)

During this period, Dr. Jama Musa Jama established the Red Sea Cultural Foundation and the Hargeisa Cultural Centre. This event brought together all stakeholders in one location for the first time in the country's history to raise awareness of Somaliland cultural heritage. The Hargeisa Book Fair, which draws worldwide audiences and dignitaries, is one of the noted events that are featured on the cultural centre. (Chonka, 2019). Equally, Dr Sada Mire has played a significant role in reviving the country's heritage and archaeology through her publications and international media engagements (Chonka, 2019). Arguably, the works of Jama Musa Jama and Dr Sada Mire have raised the country's profile and heritage tourism potential.

3.4.1 Heritage Studies during colonial and post-colonial

Before the involvement of Dr Jama Musa Jama and Dr Sada Mire, Somaliland's heritage, history, and archaeology were linked with Richar Burton (3.3.), Revoli, and Seton-Karr (see section 3.2); during this period, locals acted as facilitators and rarely

engaged with the work of the colonial researchers. However, one noted scholar who stands out is I. M. Lewis, an anthropologist who devoted his professional life to Somaliland's history from the 19th century until 1964 (Haakonsen, 2014, Prunier, 2021). During the end of colonialism, I.M. Lewis was banned by Somalia's dictatorship since his research challenged the regime's concept of constructed nationalism, which also irritated many Somali unionists (Haakonsen, 2014). Thus, heritage and archaeology of the area were not pursued until Somaliland's re-declaration of independence and the national reconciliation process was finalised in 2001. This also coincides with French archaeologists' re-discovery of Las Geel in 2002 (discussed in section 3.2).

3.4.2 Economic Diversification Through Heritage and Tourism

Livestock is the largest employer, with 70% of the population employed in this sector, contributing 30% to the country's GDP and representing 85% of the foreign export earnings (Wanyoike et al., 2023, MOTT, 2019). The biggest market for Somaliland livestock export is the Saudi Market, which represents 82%, with the remaining in the Oman and Yemen (Wanyoike et al., 2023, Muhumed and Yonis, 2018). However, Somaliland's over-reliance on this market and livestock made it vulnerable to foreign influence, particularly as Somalia has weaponised it to influence Saudi exports and encourage Saudi Arabia to threaten Somaliland if it does not follow Saudi and Somalia's policies in the area (Muhumed and Yonis, 2018, Niu, 2023). Thus, based on this backdrop, the Ministry of Tourism has since 2017 been mandated to prioritise economic reconstruction through tourism development (MOTT, 2019).

Somaliland is an economically poor country with significant social, environmental, and humanitarian challenges, surrounded by countries with protracted conflicts, further complicated by the lack of access to international development systems (Ali, 2022, Balthasar, 2013, Chonka, 2023, Gutiérrez de León Juberías, 2022). Therefore, the government prioritises its security and humanitarian development over heritage tourism sites and archaeology (Mire, 2011). This suggests that heritage tourism and archaeology are not regarded as directly beneficial to the economy and are therefore devalued. Consequently, the protection of archaeological sites and heritage tourism is susceptible to three difficulties: firstly, the central government's disregard for their significance; secondly, the international community's inability to assist in post-conflict reconstruction; and thirdly, the exclusion from membership in UNESCO and other international organisations for knowledge transfer and best practices (Jani, 2014, Mire, 2011, Balthasar, 2013, Gutiérrez de León Juberías, 2022, McPherson-Smith, 2021). Other countries in the Horn of Africa, such as Eritrea, Djibouti, and Ethiopia, have heritage departments with dedicated funding and heritage research departments, which is not the case in Somaliland (de Torres, 2022).

Despite the challenges, there are intermittent informal heritage development approaches in rural regions. For instance, the Ministry of Tourism has, in 2011, as part of its Vision 2030 plan, begun development initiatives with the local communities in Sanaaq. The Department of Antiquity, which the Ministry of Tourism administers, has employed women in Sanaag to teach local people about their cultural heritage in schools, displaying cultural artefacts indigenous to the area and promoting intangible cultural heritage practices through stories and songs (Mire, 2011). This demonstrates

the commitment to tourism development in the country's peripheral regions, such as Sanaaq.

3.4.3 Vision 2030: Call for Multi-stakeholder Development Approach

In 2011, Somaliland's government set up Vision 2030, calling for a multi-stakeholder approach to development (MNPD, 2011). Since 2011, the Somaliland government has called on the diaspora, foreign investors, and local communities to invest, visit and help in the economic reconstruction of the country's heritage tourism potential (Abdile and Pirkkalainen, 2011, Hammond, 2015, Chonka, 2019, Chonka, 2023). Significant investments have been made by diaspora and foreign investors, particularly in real estate (Kessy and Shayo, 2022, Musa and Horst, 2019). The effects of urbanisation on heritage tourism sites, including Naaso Hablood, and the local and nomadic communities residing near Hargeisa's outskirts are unknown. As such, this study aims to address whether the Somaliland Ministry has a strategy for heritage tourism development.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed Somaliland's heritage through pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, and post-conflict reconstruction phases. Despite the widely held belief that Somaliland and Somalia share a common history and heritage, this section has addressed Somaliland's evolution by examining its distinct history from Somalia. This section also went into detail on the formation of the Somaliland diaspora, the significant role of clan tradition systems, and their important economic, social, and political impact on Somaliland's national and post-conflict reconstruction. The third section addressed Somaliland's Tourism Ministry and its role for post-national economic reconstruction through tourism development. The discussions in this chapter set the basis for developing the overall research question: whether Somaliland's tourism ministry has a strategy for heritage tourism development. The following chapter examines the theoretical and practical application of the research methodology, thus answering the main inquiry. The research methodologies address the research philosophy, theory, and methods applied to this study in detail.

CHAPTER

FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

It would not have been possible to carry out my PhD project had it not been for the initial findings in my MA Research, which was carried out in 2016. The findings of the pilot study were the prelude to expanding this PhD project. With the pilot study being limited to UK-based diaspora and featuring survey and interview methodologies, I decided to expand the research further by capturing data based on fieldwork in Somaliland. As the pilot study provided a perspective of the UK-based diaspora, I wanted to compare whether the findings were similar to the perspectives of people based in Somaliland and to add an analysis of cultural practice in Somaliland's heritage and tourism sector to the data on perceptions derived from interviews and surveys. The initial findings of the pilot study indicated that members of the UK-based Somaliland diaspora were among the primary agents in the development and contributors to the economy and society of Somaliland. This led to further explorations in expanding the pilot study findings by exploring the diasporas and local people's perceptions and practices in cultural heritage and tourism development in Somaliland. I was interested in enquiring about the role of cultural heritage and tourism in the development of Somaliland as a post-conflict country. In part, this was motivated by a desire for exploring whether there was more to the country than the current

humanitarian approach, aid/donor mindset and whether cultural heritage and tourism development could be part of sustainable solution.

4.2 Research Context

Due to the PhD project developing out of the MA by Research, I had to expand the research further by travelling and carrying out fieldwork in Somaliland. From the inception of this research, my aim was to gather insight into the factors that impact heritage tourism development in Somaliland. To achieve this, I needed to capture as much data as possible, as this was the country's first study of its kind. I began with one main research question (MRQ) and two sub-questions (RQ2, RQ3). The aim of the MRQ was to assess whether Somaliland's Ministry of Tourism and Trade (MTT) had a strategy for heritage tourism development. The first sub-question (RQ2) examined the factors impacting cultural heritage and tourism, and the final sub-question (RQ3) was centred on exploring the role of heritage in the construction and reconstruction of Somaliland's national identity. To address this set of questions and to gain further understanding of the process in this PhD project, I had to develop a methodological approach, and this will be discussed in this chapter.

The methodology chapter outlines the methodological approaches applied throughout the planning, data collection and data analysis to address the research questions. The basis of the research philosophy is underpinned by the research questions, and this chapter will provide an overview of the philosophical principles employed. For these

reasons, I will discuss philosophical principles such as ontological and epistemological considerations applied in my study, reflecting on the tensions between positivism and interpretivism. Furthermore, the chapter provides an understanding of the reasons for using specific research philosophies, along with the ensuing principles of analysis and limitations. The chapter will also reflect on specific techniques adapted from grounded theory, techniques such as interviews, focus groups, surveys, participant observations and analysis from social media. In addition to discussing the rationale behind the research design, the chapter will discuss issues of positioning and ethics and in the research process. This includes clarifying the process undertaken prior to fieldwork, how research participants were selected, and how participant consent was obtained.

4. 3 Research Philosophy and Paradigms

The philosophical assumptions behind this study are based on ontological and epistemological principles, which will be discussed in this section. It is worth noting that all academic research starts with the philosophical assumptions about the research matter, and these philosophical assumptions provide a perspective in terms of how our views can impact on our research design and how research data can be interpreted (Pugsley, 2020). There are different research categories and they each stem from distinctive methods of knowing also acknowledged as 'ontology' (Ejnavarzala, 2019). Ontology deals with questions such as the nature of the topic that is to be researched, and what is already known about the topic. Epistemology on the other hand deals with the origins of our knowledge and findings, the claims of the findings and whether we want to build an important justification of the social world

(DeRose, 2005). Thus, to gather the best understanding of the social world of this study, I have applied mixed research methods. I wanted to investigate subjective experiences but also discover wider trends. This is the reason I have deployed surveys and observations to provide further scope. I wanted to triangulate data to show their validity in gathering social realities. As a result of this, my data from the surveys and observations provided an objective interpretation of the facts, whereas the interviews, focus groups, and social media represented in-depth explanations from my interlocutors that are not readily apparent in the observations and surveys of this study. It addresses questions such as whether the social world should be understood as objective or subjective and what, in turn, counts as facts/data.

The ontological aspect in this study addresses all the research questions, which concern social and cultural relations, perceptions, and strategies and this calls for an approach that factors in subjectivity. Therefore, this study focusses more on the interpretive/constructivist/phenomenological frameworks rather than objectivism and positivism. A positivist approach would have better suited the research if this study was purely focussed on statistics concerning visitor numbers, demographics and their financial expenditures in Somaliland, but this would provide an extremely limited understanding of heritage and tourism development in Somaliland as a social and cultural reality developed in interaction between multiple and differently positioned stakeholders which each have significant experiences and concerns. Therefore interpretivist, constructivist and phenomenologist approaches are better suited and were preferred to gather understanding of the perceptions of members of the diaspora, local residents, business and government stakeholders in cultural heritage and tourism

as well as exploring the extent to which it may be said that there is a strategy in cultural heritage and tourism development in the country.

Beyond these approaches, a research philosophy enables researchers to form a clearer understanding and perspective on how to pursue knowledge development (Pranas Žukauskas, 2018). Research philosophies provide the basis of research beliefs and also permit an understanding of how relevant data is collected and analysed. According to Silverman there are two focal philosophical principles. The first consists of a positivist approach and the second a phenomenological approach derived from the methodological approaches of research within the social sciences. Each methodological aspect involves entirely distinct sets of underlying assumptions about the nature, scope, and aim of social inquiry. The scientific study of the social world is known as positivism, and its objective is to come up with abstract and universal principles that govern the social universe's operating dynamics (Baltes, 2001). From this analysis a rule is declared in terms of how these forces in the world interact and from these findings laws and patterns are evaluated against gathered facts. Positivism is a school of thought in social science that includes support for both empiricism and direct experience of the social environment (Lampard, 2002).

According to Leedy and Ormrod positivist approaches consist of a deductive research approach, which uses a representative sample of a population to prove a theory based on priori assumptions. Contrary to this strategy, my inductive approach required a smaller sample within a particular context to develop theory, uncover, and explore new ideas. Positivist research is reductionistic in the sense that the goal is to reduce concepts into a limited, defined set of variables to evaluate, along with set hypotheses

and research inquiries. Positivists use research methods such as quantitative approaches, for instance questionnaires, surveys or statistics that pursue exact quantitative measures, and repeating research is the best way for a positivist to investigate a social reality (Neuman, 2007).

The primary focus for selecting specific research methodologies and approaches for this study was to address perceptions and factors that impact on cultural heritage and tourism development. Hence, I have decided to use interpretivist, constructivist and phenomenologist approaches to address the deeper meaning of my queries. This focus on qualitative and experience-near data is, however, not exclusive, and to identify wider trends in my data I decided to incorporate aspects of a more quantitative approach to complement the qualitative data. As the Somaliland diaspora is globally dispersed and with the absence of data in domestic (locals and permanently settled diaspora in Somaliland) tourism, I decided to use surveys to generate a wider set of more standardised data about tourist behaviour, such as frequency of visits, alongside the basics behind diaspora perceptions and understandings of Somaliland's cultural heritage and its tourism potential, such as whether cultural heritage sites should be protected (refer to the analysis chapter).

The decision of using surveys was to gather the missing perspective on diaspora, locals and international tourist's perceptions and understanding of cultural heritage. This approach enabled me to gather data which could be analysed in a statistical format. However, the limitation of such a more quantitative approach was that while it provided breadth it did not go in-depth with the motivations and experiences of the research participants. Therefore, it was equally clear that I had to apply more

phenomenologically based research perspectives to gain a deeper perspective on my study participants. Phenomenology is focussed on the lived experiences of people and thus takes into account the subjective/positioned perspective and relations of all cultural and social practice (Holloway, 1997).

According to Holloway researchers who employ phenomenology are hesitant to propose fixed research methods. This notion is supported by Hycner (1985), who argues that imposing a technique on a phenomenon without flexibility to pursue what appears salient in the real-life context is impossible as it would be a grave disservice to the phenomenon's integrity. As this study is the first of its kind in the country and in the spirit of gathering data from a grounded perspective, I had to adopt a phenomenological approach. This meant that I had to be flexible with my research approach and document and reflect on the experiences of study participants in Somaliland, both political stakeholders, residents and members of Somaliland's diaspora. Indeed, it also meant that I needed to reflect on my own encounters with these interlocutors and the impacts of my own position as a member of Somaliland's diaspora, and I will discuss these experiences further in my sections on research positioning and ethics.

4. 4 Research Design

As one of my primary objectives was to better understand the factors which may impact on Somaliland's cultural heritage and tourism, I decided it was best to capture data which illustrated quantitative as well as qualitative perspectives. In addition to the discussed approaches, this chapter will provide further insight in how qualitative methodologies such as structured and semi-structured interviews, expert interviews, focus groups, and observations were carried out with research participants. In addition to these methods, I have used surveys as way of creating a baseline of knowledge for preparing more in-depth qualitative data collection described later in the chapter.

For this study, quantitative data was captured through questionnaires using Qualtrics Software. This method was favoured for this study as there is currently lack of basic statistical data about cultural heritage and tourism in Somaliland. The primary aim of the surveys was to capture responses from tourists, diaspora, local Somalilanders and business owners (Refer to analysis chapter). This approach was well-suited for providing basic information on tourist behaviour with gain deeper understanding of their interaction with cultural heritage sites. I was also interested in gaining further understanding of their perspectives on what constitutes cultural heritage and whether it should be preserved/protected. Although quantitative data offered important statical insights on factors that impact on cultural heritage and tourism development, it could not serve as a standalone method as it is rather limited in offering insight on other meaningful questions such as the reason behind the impacts and the complexity of social reasoning.

4. 4.1 Questionnaires/Surveys

During my MA by Research pilot findings, I was able to capture quantitative data by employing surveys/questionnaires. The purpose of the pilot study was to gather insight on the perceptions of members of the UK-based Somaliland diaspora. However, for the PhD fieldwork, I had to expand my data collection by ensuring that participants based in Somaliland could provide their perceptions of cultural heritage and tourism development. In comparing pilot study data and the PhD questionnaire/survey findings, I examined and contrasted UK-based diaspora feedback with that of participants based in Somaliland. In doing so, I was able to analyse the findings and address whether UK-based participants or Somaliland-based participants had similar views on protecting and preserving cultural heritage sites in Somaliland. By comparing these findings, I would ascertain whether there is a case to preserve cultural heritage and, moreover, provide a further understanding of whether all stakeholders value cultural heritage similarly (See analysis chapter).

To gather quantitative data for the PhD research, I designed and distributed questionnaires using Qualtrics Software. A total of 128 questionnaire respondents were collected during the PhD fieldwork. I had initially adopted Survey Monkey for my pilot study but switched to Qualtrics, which the university recommended, since it offered participants better data protection. Furthermore, it allowed sharing on social media groups linked with Somaliland. After designing and translating my questionnaires and surveys, I shared it on social media.

Figure 4.1 illustrates survey link shared on Twitter

Brand Somaliland @BrandSomaliland · Dec 23, 2020 ...
Survey on #Somaliland

What are the main factors that impact on development in Somaliland?(Rank order of importance 1=high)

birminghamcoaal.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_cY...

💬   ↻ 3   ♡ 6   ⬆   ılı

Figure 4.2 illustrates survey link shared on my Facebook page

Abdi Rahman shared a link.   ...
December 27, 2020 · 😊

i

BIRMINGHAMCOAAL.EU.QUALTRICS.COM
Online Survey Software | Qualtrics Survey Solutions
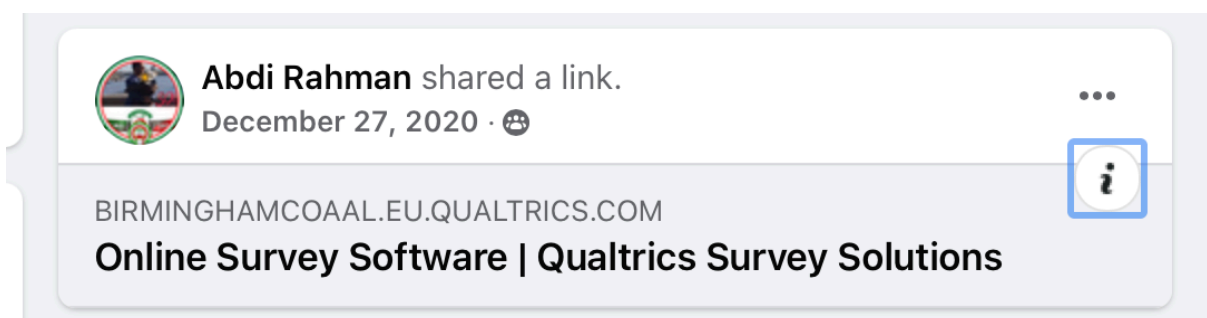
Figure 4.3 Participants recruitment through recruitment
LinkedIn

Abdi Rahman posted in **Somaliland Advocacy Group**

Abdi Rahman
PhD Candidate at University of Birmingham. Lecturer at University of Wales ...
2yr ·

Will be carrying out research on Business, Tourism, Cultural Heritage and the role our Somalilanders play in Championing Somaliland. Will you join me this August and September in Hargeisa? Special thanks to Ambassador Ayan Mahamoud and the University of Birmingham who made it possible.
hashtag#culturalheritage hashtag#tourism hashtag#business

👍 2

Like   Comment

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate the advanced recruitment of participants on social media prior to my field trip to Hargeisa. In addition to these approaches, I recruited participants during the fieldwork. I was mindful that not all relevant survey participants in Somaliland have access to the internet or literate to read and fill out surveys. As a result, I handed out paper-based versions of the survey questionnaire in person in the city centre and at tourism sites (including hotels and restaurants). Furthermore, I had to translate questionnaires from English to Somali for local participants due to language barriers. For those who could not read, I read out the questions and recorded their answers in writing. It would have been difficult to gather a fair representation of views if these methods had not been adopted (See appendix C).

As Somaliland is not a recognised country, it is considered as part of Somalia by the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO). Thus, due to security reasons in Somalia, the UK FCDO advises against all travel to Somalia (red colour), including Somaliland, except for Berbera and Hargeisa. The FCDO advises against all but essential travel to the cities of Berbera and Hargeisa (amber colour). Thus, due to travel restrictions imposed by the UK FCDO and to comply with the University of Birmingham risk assessment protocol, my fieldwork research was confined to Hargeisa (the capital city). As my in-person survey data collection was limited to Hargeisa, I had to adopt online survey methods in addition to my in-person surveys. With the online surveys, I was able to attract participants from a wider geographical basis. The objective of my surveys was to provide further insight and to gain an understanding of the impact of tourism development in Somaliland. During my field research in Somaliland in 2019 (June to September) and in 2020 (February to March), I distributed questionnaires electronically and handed them out physically to potential participants (tourists, locals, and diaspora). The electronic and on-site approach of questionnaire/survey distribution have helped reach a wider group of participants and data captured is reflected in the analysis chapter. The data findings from the questionnaires have provided information about the level of service delivery, travel duration, and motivation for visits to cultural heritage and tourism sites in Hargeisa (See appendix B).

From the data of the surveys, I was able to conduct the first study on heritage tourism in the country. As heritage and tourism are in their infancy in the country, this research has provided comprehensive insight into the factors to consider for heritage tourism development. Additionally, the study has highlighted the perceptions of the local

community, diaspora, government, business community and other stakeholders in Somaliland. Survey participants were able to use their own mobile devices as well as access to my iPad to complete the survey. Furthermore, to ensure that participants were able to complete the surveys, I provided free Wi-Fi hotspot for my survey participants. In addition to the above approach, there was wider participation from closed and open Somaliland groups. For instance, groups such as Somaliland professionals, Somaliland diaspora groups and Local Somaliland groups from social media platforms such as Twitter, LinkedIn, and Facebook. In addition to these approaches, I created #Hashtags on Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook to promote and attract a wider participation base.

Although there are quantitative elements in this study, it is imperative to note that the research philosophy adopted for this study is not primarily a positivist approach. A positivist paradigm is not appropriate for this study because of its emphasis on independent reality, objectivity, and methodological preference of the traditional empiricist approach. Therefore, this research philosophy goes beyond positivist philosophy in the sense that it tries to go beyond by gathering the subjective social experience of people in Somaliland's cultural heritage and tourism development. The more interpretivist and phenomenological lines of analysis are focussed on the subjective and positioned knowledge and social experiences that would go well beyond positivist approaches.

4. 5 Phenomenology, Interpretive and Qualitative Methods

As one of my primary aims was to gather insight into the perceptions of Somaliland's diaspora, locals and foreign visitors on cultural heritage and tourism, I used phenomenological and interpretivist research approaches. These methods were decided based on my interest in seeking out subjective social experience, and these approaches were more suitable for this research than positivist approaches. According to PolkingHorn 1988, developing a narrative is primarily a process of organising and writing human experiences into useful stories. The "raw material" for the narrative is collected from life situations and mental visuals that are not visible on the surface. The narrative is then written and interpreted into specific narratives that developed from the observations and interpretations. Thus, for this study, I have used Murray's narrative framework (Murray, 2008). The narrative research technique is based on lived experiences that seeks to acquire insight into the meanings of events. Narrative methods argues that the narratives that people recount are valuable; they need more consideration, both for how they indicate crucial events in people's lives and how they portray and perpetuate societal identities (Breheny, 2018). For instance, to provide insight in how nomads, clans and tribes interacted with cultural heritage compared to those in the urban areas of the country, I held focus groups and interviews to gather insight on their encounters and interaction with locals and diaspora. Furthermore, as the study aimed to acquire knowledge of the experience of members of the diaspora, tourists and locals in Somaliland's cultural heritage sites, it was deemed necessary to use an interpretive framework. This approach was effective in capturing data from the perspective of tourists, locals and diaspora and it helped cultivate data which provided a deeper meaning of the research questions.

To implement this approach, I have interviewed local people and carried out focus groups. In doing so my questions centred around how participants engaged with heritage. The phenomenological idea that experiences become a part of consciousness through people's accounts forms the foundation of this experience-centred narrative research. The narrative framework focusses on research experience from four different perspectives: personal, interpersonal, positional and ideological (Murray, 2008). This method was combined with participant observations/ethnographic fieldwork. Empirical research is concerned with the planned and systematic process of conducting observations to obtain knowledge (Galvan, 2019). Thus, in order to gather data on whether Somaliland has scope for cultural heritage and tourism development and to gather insight on the perception of cultural heritage and tourism development between diaspora and local people, I had to use specific elements of grounded theory research. Beyond that, by incorporating elements of the grounded theory approach, I was able to better explore the overarching analytical outline with the aid of ethnographic observations, expert interviews, focus groups, content analysis (social media and documentary evidence), and surveys. This is outlined below, and I will discuss it in more in detail through the discussions of my ethnographic approach and observations.

4.6 Components of Grounded Theory

From the inception of this study, I identified that there was a need to gather as much data as possible from research participants in Somaliland and its diaspora and international tourists. Due to the absence of prior data, it was deemed that elements

of the grounded theory methods would increase my ability to gather a wider range of data to help draw a theory from the findings.

The elements selected for this study from the grounded theory approach are the identification of emergent patterns in data, which enables the creation of a hypothesis from evidence (Glaser and Strauss, 2017). Grounded theory was first proposed in 1960 by Glaser and Straus through a succession of publications. However, their methods have been developed further since, for instance, in the change towards social constructionism, which underlines the role of the researcher in knowledge construction, including the variety of possible perceptions of the world (Glaser and Strauss, 2017). According to Annells (1997), grounded theory provides a qualitative method that is based on ontological critical realism and epistemological rationality (see also Levers 2013). Grounded theory offered multiple data collection approaches, such as semi-structured interviews, observations, and social media archives. Through this approach, I could capture varied sets of qualitative data. With the purpose of the fieldwork focused on gathering data for answering the main research question and two sub-questions, it was best suited to use qualitative methods to probe what is known about the country's national strategy on heritage tourism development, factors impacting tourism development and the role of heritage in national identity-making.

4.6.1 Ethnographical Research

Ethnography is a type of qualitative research that focuses on learning about people via blending in with native communities (Smith, 2017). Traditionally, ethnography has been defined by close observation of groups of people while considering the historical and cultural factors that impact social interactions. Ethnographic research leads to empathetic understanding of the area of research and removes over time the presumptions that the researcher may have prior to research (May, 2011). Thus, to better understand the behaviour of members of the diaspora, tourists and local people at cultural heritage and tourism sites in Somaliland, ethnographic research methods were used. This approach also adds further insight in addressing the factors which impact Somaliland's tourism competitiveness.

Even though this study was concentrated in the capital city, the findings of the ethnographic observations offered a glimpse of the need to develop cultural heritage tourism in throughout the country. The findings of this study provide scope for future studies and offer a basis of value for the tourist economy and host-guest relationships in Somaliland. The observations in Hargeisa have given further insights into the need to provide adequate tourism facilities such as parking, toilet facilities, signage, first aid, and accessibility for disabled visitors (refer to analysis chapter). Beyond that, observation methods have also provided a better understanding of how international tourists, diaspora and locals interact with each other. Indeed, it was through this approach that I could observe and take photographs of the facilities on offer at cultural heritage sites. In capturing photographs, I was able to gather insight into factors which

impact cultural heritage tourism sites and to follow up on the views expressed by the focus group and interview participants.

Throughout the focus groups and interviews, research participants had expressed that there was lack of facilities at tourism and cultural heritage sites. Thus, by deploying these methods, I was able to compare the views held by research participants and assess the state of facilities available at cultural heritage and tourism sites. Furthermore, I was able to gather findings through this method on the experiences of visitors at tourism sites and what captured their interest, such as whether visitors would take photos, dress like the locals, or participate with local traditions. The behaviour of tourists was also observed during my guided tour in Las Geel caves and sites in Hargeisa. Observations were recorded by taking photographs, fieldnotes and audio recordings at cultural heritage and tourism sites. Without employing ethnographic observations, it would not have been possible to develop an understanding of the dynamics of tourists, diaspora and host country.

4.7 Research Design

The research consisted of mixed methods, and data was collected from the diaspora, local, tourist, and government officials, online surveys, as well as observation records from tourism sites. The field trip was carried out in two separate phases. The first phase was during the summer peak season of 2019, and the second trip was during the winter lower peak season from January to March 2020. Before my arrival for the

field research in Somaliland, I have been in regular communication by email and telephone with the Somaliland embassy in London. The Ambassador, Ayan Mohamoud MBE, was supportive of my research and provided a supporting letter to assist me to carry out the research in Somaliland. The letter was particularly helpful during the field work observations in Hargeisa centre and assisted with gaining clearance from the police in the city centre to conduct my observations and complete my surveys. This research consists of data from expert interviews with Somaliland's government officials, interviews with locals, business owners and focus groups with diaspora/locals. Additionally, the research consisted of online surveys and observations made in tourist sites.

4. 7.1 Mixed Research

For this research I have identified that mixed research methods are ideal as it enables a single study to combine both quantitative and qualitative methods. Furthermore, this approach is advantageous in employing multi-methods which enables me to carry out triangulation of data. Triangulations refer to the use of different data collection methods within one study to verify data and ensure an in-depth understanding through cross-referencing different sources of data (Saunder 2003). The added advantage of applying these mixed methods, is that it helps to combine research findings and increases the validity of the quantitative/qualitative data.

The table in Figure 4.7 shows two frameworks. The first is a list of five broad reasons

for mixing methods, as stated by Green et al. (1989). The second framework provides

a detailed list of three reasons based on mixed research practices (Bryman 2006).

Table 4.7 Two Mixed Research Frameworks

Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989)	Bryman (2006)
• **Triangulation:** is the process of seeking validation and consistency of data from many approaches. **Complementarity:** is the goal of comparing the findings of one approach to the results of another to explicate, improve, exemplify, and clarify them. **Development:** seeks to apply the results of one method to help create or guide the improvement other approaches to implementation, and or assessment on decisions. **Initiation:** is focused in exploring paradoxes and contradictions, new ways of framing perspectives, and redefining inquiries or results from one method with queries or findings from another. **Expansion** aims to broaden and expand the scope of inquiry by employing various approaches for various question techniques	**Triangulation:** also known as higher validity, is the traditional method of integrating quantitative and qualitative research to triangulate findings so that they may be mutually corroborated. **Offset:** The word "offset" refers to the concept that both qualitative and qualitative approaches have their own advantages and weaknesses, and that combining them assists researcher to overcome for their weaknesses by leveraging both. **Completeness:** refers to the idea that a researcher may develop a more comprehensive picture of the topic of inquiry in which he or she is working by combining quantitative and qualitative research.

The mixed method adopted for this study has proven to be effective in tackling the

research questions and it has provided meaningful insight which is discussed in the

analysis chapter. Particularly from the perspective of diaspora, locals and government

authorities/officials on the role of cultural heritage in tourism development. Although Dr Sada Mire was the inspiration behind this study, her study is focussed more on nomadic heritage, archaeological and this study goes beyond as it implements mixed methods to gather insight on the perception of diaspora, locals, and tourists in cultural heritage and tourism development. Thu, this study is the first academic research on the perception of cultural heritage and tourism development in Somaliland. Furthermore, in using mixed methods for this study, I addressed the role of heritage tourism and the factors that impact it.

4.8 In the Fieldwork

In this segment of the thesis, I discuss the actions I took during my field research and the research methodology I chose.

In essence, this research aimed to address whether Somaliland's Ministry of Tourism had a strategy for heritage tourism development. As such, I assessed the heritage and tourism policy on the ministry's website and files and documents at the ministry and in public forums. Furthermore, I conducted field observations alongside the desk research at popular heritage tourism sites in Hargeisa and its environs, such as the Las Geel rock art sites. In addition, expert interviews were conducted to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of whether the ministry possesses a heritage tourism strategy and the factors that should be taken into account when addressing heritage tourism. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to gather information

from government ministers and heritage professionals. The expert interviews included representatives from the Somaliland Tourism Ministry, Ministry for Environment, Foreign Ministry and Diaspora Department. By combining the responses from expert interviews, focus groups, and local and diaspora interviews, I could establish whether the Ministry of Tourism had a strategy for heritage tourism.

During the initial planning stages, I planned to recruit study participants for the focus groups and interviews using social media; however, I found this approach ineffective due to a lack of replies. As such, I decided to recruit research participants in person during my field research in Hargeisa.

4.8.1 Stages of research

Table 4.8, timeline of fieldwork

Task		Jun 2019	Jul 2019	Aug 2019	Sept 2019	Oct 2019	Nov 2019	Dec 2019	Jan 2020	Feb 2020	Mar 2020	Apr 2020	May 2020	Jun 2020-2022
Online Survey		▮red	▮red	▮red	▮red	▮red	▮red	▮red	▮red	▮red	▮red	▮red	▮red	▮red
Expert interviews with Government officials and head of local cultural institutions		▮green	▮green	▮green						▮green	▮green			
Observation at Hargeisa attractions			▮purple	▮purple										
Focus groups with diaspora				▮yellow						▮yellow				
Focus groups with locals				▮yellow						▮yellow				
Interviews with locals			▮darkgreen	▮darkgreen						▮darkgreen				
Online content analysis												▮blue	▮blue	▮blue
Las Geel observations			▮purple							▮purple				
Naaso Hablood observations		▮purple												

4.8.2 Data Collection and analysis

This section is divided into two sections: the first covers data gathering methods, and the second examines the methods used to analyse the study findings.

4.8.3 Observation

I obtained approval from the management of the Hargeisa Cultural Centre, the Ministry of Tourism and Somaliland's consulates in London to carry out my research, including observations in well-known sites throughout Hargeisa. My observations aimed to study visitor conduct at cultural heritage tourism attractions in Hargeisa and the surrounding region. I observed tourists purchasing souvenirs during guided tours and interacting with locals, the languages they spoke, whether they took photos, dressed like locals, participated in local dance traditions, ate local traditional food offerings, and discussed their experience. The observations provided a better understanding of the interactions between visitors and the host country. The observation findings have strengthened the framework for understanding Somaliland's cultural heritage tourism development. My observations have also provided further possibilities for future research and a basis of significance for Somaliland's tourist sector and host-guest relations.

4.8.4 Focus Groups

Focus groups were a valuable method for this study as they addressed the factors impacting cultural heritage tourism and perceptions between diaspora and locals (See analysis chapter). Overall, three focus groups were carried out. The first group consisted of diaspora members (10 people), the second group consisted of business owners (10 people), and the third group consisted of residents of Hargeisa (10 people).

Focus group participants were recruited during my field trip in Hargeisa, as I was unsuccessful in recruiting them in advance. Nonetheless, I was successful in recruiting them during the fieldwork. This was primarily due that face to face encounters eliminated barriers such as trust, and they could identify with me and my research assistants (See positionality). Through building trust and identifying with focus group participants, I was able to gather insightful information. In turn, this led to my decision to categorise my analysis into several themes which addressed my research question.

Participants who were recruited through this method would eagerly encourage their friends participate interviews and complete the surveys. Overall, my positionality reduced restrictions and helped me in gaining access, build trust with research participants that otherwise I would not have access to.

4.8.5 Interviews and Expert interviews

From the onset of this study, it was clear that interviews and expert interview approaches would be necessary for this study. The rationale for applying this method was driven by the need to examine Somaliland's complex cultural heritage and tourism dynamism. To address whether there was a strategy for cultural heritage and tourism development, I held ten discussions with government ministers, director generals and other business leaders in the country's cultural heritage and tourism industry. Thus, by noting their views and explanation of the country's strategy, I was able to address my research aims. Expert interviewees for my study were the Minister of Investment, Environment Minister, Vice Foreign Minister, Former Minister of Tourism, Director General of the Tourism Industry, Director of the Diaspora and the Dean of New Generation University. Heads of local cultural institutions were also part of the expert interviews, and they offered distinct perspectives, as discussed in the analysis chapter. For this study, I have opted for semi-structured interview methods to help facilitate and adopt to the dynamic situations while interviewing government ministers and officials.

Table 4.8 List of expert interviewees

Name	Role/Title	Questions answered (See analysis chapter)
Mohamed Awad	Minister of Investment	Offred insight of the factors impacting Cultural heritage and tourism development. Offered insight on the lack of strategy (see analysis chapter).
Shukri Bandere	Minister of Environment	Explained the factors impact on the country's cultural heritage and tourism development and the lack of cooperation between government, council and local stakeholders
Stuart Brown	Head of UK & Commonwealth Office	Highlighted the potential there is in terms of heritage and tourism. Discussed the human damage on Las Geel and the role diaspora can play.
Abdirahman Jama	Vice Foreign Minister	Discussed the lack of capacity across the government and the country's public and private sector.
Jama Musa Jama	Director of Hargeisa Cultural Centre	Explained that both tangible and intangible is under threat and spoke about the need have a coordinated strategy.
Abdulahi Shabelle	Former Director General of Tourism	Provided insight of how the diaspora can play a role in development. Also discussed the need to

		educate stakeholders about the role of heritage in creating tourism jobs.
Mohamed Hasan	Government Advisor	Highlighted that lack of capacity is impacting development and the lack of international recognition
Ayan Mohamoud	SL UK Ambassador	

The interview process consisted of three stages; the first stage was the pilot interviews with the UK-based diaspora, and this provided the basis for widening the interview participants to participants based in Somaliland. The second stage of the interviews consisted of expert interviews with government officials and cultural heritage experts based in Somaliland. The objective of the expert interview was to offer insight in whether there is strategy for cultural heritage tourism and the findings are discussed in the analysis chapter. The third stage consisted of interviews with local participants based in Hargeisa. It was deemed that semi-structured interviews were the most suitable approach for this study as it enabled scope for flexibility for interview participants and I was able to capture further insight of their thoughts. Semi-structured interview approach has helped in answering what the locals and diaspora thought of each other. Moreover, this method has provided further insight on the perception of both groups in terms of cultural heritage and tourism.

4.8. 6 Social Media (non-geographic restrictions)

The risk assessment from the University and FCO travel advice, limited the fieldwork observations, focus groups and interviews for this study in the capital. While these factors posed negatively in gathering large data from the whole country, I decided to counter the limitations with use of social media. Through this approach, I was able to search through Facebook and Twitter archive discussions about topics related to heritage and tourism. Once I had identified the relevant discussions, I took screenshots and added to the relevant research in the analysis chapter. This method of using social media archives, is known as netnography and it is a new branch of qualitative research. Netnography is a qualitative research technique for online communities and groups and has been defined as existing within a wider conceptual case of digital or virtual ethnography, which encompasses ways for undertaking ethnographic investigations of virtual communities (Leesa Costello, 2017).

The use of social media proved to be advantageous, as it captured the views of participants expressed from a wider geographic base. Through this approach, it was possible to widen research scope. Comments observed from Twitter and Facebook provided further insight of the perceptions of cultural heritage in Somaliland and level of exchange of views between diaspora and locals (See appendix C). Observations made on social media platforms suggest that there are wide discussions taking place between diaspora and locals. The discussions are centred on the need to preserve, protect and commercialise cultural heritage sites. Furthermore, the analysis also points out that there is lack of cooperation between country's stakeholders as well as contestation of heritage management approaches.

4.8.7 Research positionality

In qualitative research, there are a lot of debates about the role of researchers regarding their position in data collection from the field research (Dwyer, 2009). Since this study consists of mainly qualitative methods, it is worth to point the positionality of the researcher. Therefore, I will be explaining how the insider and outsider viewpoint influenced the choices I made throughout the research process (Hayfield and Huxley, 2015).

Regarding positionality, this section of the thesis explores how my identity was impacted during fieldwork in Hargeisa. Undeniably my positionality played an important role in ascertaining data for this study. I could relate with all the research participants from the perspective of language, ethnicity, religion, clan affiliations and as a Somalilander. In addition to my positionality, it's worth noting the positionality of my research assistants throughout the field research. From an identity perspective, their age, linguistics, ethnicity, gender, and clan affiliation had a positive impact on my fieldwork in the engagement with participants and the capture of data. Both research assistants reassured, explained the purpose of my study and encouraged participants to participate in interviews, focus groups complete questionnaires. The fact they communicated better Somali language helped with the translations and interpretation of questions from English to Somali. Their positionality for this study was significant as they helped to recruit research participants that I otherwise would not be able to recruit or have access to. The male assistant was a family relative and assisted with the recruitment, facilitation of focus groups and expert interviews.

Although my Somali linguistics skills are near native levels, I deemed it was essential to have native Somali speaking research assistants for my interviews and focus groups in Hargeisa. Diaspora returnees and Diaspora Tourists are often ridiculed for their lack of Somali language skills and the locals are often critical of them, openly ridicule them in public of having lost their language and traditions (see analysis chapter of perception). Considering these factors and living outside of Somaliland for over 30 years, I anticipated communication barriers and therefore required research assistants.

In addition to the above identities for myself and research assistants' positionality, I have incorporated my linguistics, age, gender and diaspora identities to attract a wider participant base. While these approaches added value to my data collection, I have experienced their limitations during the observation trip to Naaso Hablood Park (suburbs of Hargeisa). Along with my research assistant, we were approached by two residents (middle aged men), and they questioned the purpose of our visit to the area. Following our explanations, they demanded us to leave the area and not to come back. This experience was noted in the analysis chapter and reflects how the locals perceive diaspora and their suspicions to outsiders. Aside from the above experience, the rest of the fieldtrip was positive and realised the longer that I stayed the more became accustomed to the local dynamics. In referring myself as a Somalilander to all research participants, I encouraged them to partake throughout this study. Through this positionality, research participants have exceeded my expectations provided me with further access to other government ministers and a meeting with the Vice President of the country at his villa (see figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4 Picture taken with the Vice President of Somaliland at his villa in Hargeisa.

My positionality as an insider Somalilander, researcher and member of diaspora has perhaps influenced the government advisor (expert interviewee) facilitate my meeting with the Vice President of the country. Somalilander refers to those that are native of Somaliland and/or have national residency. As I was also born in Hargeisa, reinforced my positionality and added further dimension to my positionality in building trust with my research participants. Thus, it was advantageous to have a dual geographical (city and country) positionality. Through this approach, I was able to engage conversations

with likely research participants at cultural heritage sites and start with statements such as, 'how can we as Somalilanders address these issues. This approach proved be effective throughout the daily encounters with locals in the streets, shops and restaurants of Hargeisa. Furthermore, through this approach I was able to relate with elders sharing memories of the bombardment of Hargeisa and how the city has since transformed from the destruction of Siad Barre's military regime. Evoking these memories enabled me to gather deeper insights from Expert interviewees, general interviewees and focus groups throughout the fieldwork. For instance, participants would add further information which was not asked for and explain how they interacted with the environment, diaspora (society) and how the technology and remittance impacted their lives.

In sharing lived experiences, speaking the Somali language and being a male, I was able to build trust with men. However, my experience in gaining access to female research participants was challenging. To overcome this, I leveraged my research assistant's positionality, which helped recruit participants that I otherwise would not have had access to. Furthermore, their support enabled me to ask insightful follow-up questions.

My clearance and letter of endorsement from the Somaliland's representative in the UK to carry out my fieldwork study in Somaliland was granted rapidly without questions or restrictions. This was primarily due to my history of volunteering services for the Somaliland diaspora in the UK and close working relationship with the country's representative. Diaspora are an integral role in the development of Somaliland, and this is reflected in the context chapter. The use of the term 'diaspora' in Somaliland

has evolved in recent years. In the past, everything that was associated with the diaspora was positive, but this has rather changed since 2001 as many members have returned to Somaliland. This is likely connected to the aftermath of September11, 2001, as many Musilims families faced backlash following the terrorist attacks on the Twin towers. This is reflected in the social-cultural and economic impact and disparity impact (discussed in the analyses chapter).

As previously noted, research assistant played significant role in the data gathering for the interviews, expert interviews and focus groups. The planning of recruitment of research assistants was planned prior to my travel to Hargeisa. Though it was less challenging in recruiting male research assistant in advance, it was rather difficult in recruiting female research assistant. This difficulty was mainly due to the traditions and customs of the country, as it is a Muslim country ruled by Sharia law. I was therefore apprehensive of being arrested and questioned by local police if I was seen talking with women.

Nonetheless, despite my preconceived perceptions of the local customs, I have observed that the country has relaxed rules and regulations of Sharia Law. Typically, countries that apply the strictest form of Sharia Law do not allow the interaction, or sharing of close space between males and females who are not family or not married. Any study which intends to gather insight into a population sample in any place and does not include the views of women underscores its own research intentions. Therefore, it was imperative that I consider the views of Somali women in my data collection for this study. As I could not recruit a female research assistant prior to my arrival in Hargeisa, I decided to contact (telephone) local universities during my first

week in the city. Ultimately, in the absence of confirmation from the universities, I decided to find alternative solutions in recruiting female assistants. Eventually, the Hargeisa Cultural Centre was the ideal place to turn for support. After spending four days familiarising myself with the venue and networking with staff and visitors, I received a Facebook message from a potential research assistant. Eventually, this person became the ideal candidate, as she was interested in studying postgraduate courses (Master) and wanted experience in field research.

Throughout the fieldwork, both research assistants proved to be essential in gathering data for this study. Equally contributed to minimising the communication barriers I had experienced with locals and expert interviewees. For instance, their support helped me better explain the purpose and questioning of my research questions in Somali during the focus groups, interviews and expert interviews and encounters I had with local police and nomads on the outskirts of Hargeisa.

4.8.8 Analysis

Data analysis plays essential role in effective decision-making for researchers, businesses, governments and other organisations (Swetha and Parakh, 2022). It does this by offering opportunities for predictions, identification and establishing guidelines for measuring validity and objectivity (Bihani and Patil, 2014). Furthermore, data analysis is contingent on the type of research carried out and can be categorised whether it is quantitative or qualitative in its approach. As discussed in the above

sections, grounded theory (qualitative) was well suited for this study, and I have incorporated elements of it. My research initially employed a mixed-methods approach, including positivism approaches using quantitative research methods (surveys), which limited me from fully implementing all aspects of ground theory from the beginning. Additionally, I combined elements of grounded theory with narrative analysis to generate a deeper contextualisation of insights.

This study was predominantly qualitative, focusing on participants' perspectives on Somaliland's heritage tourism development. It involved focus groups, expert interviews, general interviews with diaspora and local people, and observations on social media sites. During my field trip, I collected raw data through interviews, focus groups, and observations at heritage sites (Appendix F, G, H, J and K). Throughout my data collection, I predominantly communicated in Somali language with local research participants and occasionally with the diaspora. This approach enabled me to put participants at ease and provided a foundation for gaining deeper understanding of their perspectives and interpretations of heritage tourism development. In line with Easterby-Smith et al. (2012), this approach presented better insights into the phenomena that shape their reality. Furthermore, I applied unstructured approach throughout my interactions with research participants, aligning with qualitative methods of grounded theory. This process further helped gather richer insights for my narrative analysis.

The challenges associated with conducting qualitative research, particularly with the unstructured interviews and focus groups, involved the significant patience and time

required to gather, code, interpret and analyse raw data. This made the transcription process complex as I had to translate the audio recordings into English while writing it up. Written transcriptions have been generated from audio recordings obtained during my interviews and focus groups with research participants for further analysis. This approach seemed an effective way to familiarise myself with the data gathered, and it also enabled me to identify common themes that arose from the questions posed. One of the tactics I created was to colour code key ideas and responses that were related, and through narrative analysis, it served as the foundation for my research question. This process enabled me to deepen my understanding of the topic by developing emerging themes, thereby contextualising the key findings of the study.

4.8.9 Systematic Analysis

I applied thematic analysis to gather the meaning, perceptions, and interpretations of my findings. Thematic analysis is one of the main methods for analysing qualitative data, and given the qualitative nature of my research, it was a natural choice. Thematic analysis assists in identifying data patterns, allowing for the interpretation of relevant words used by research participants, which can then be grouped and contextualised (Braun and Clarke, 2006, Naeem et al., 2023). In my analysis, I used Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step framework to analyse my data systematically. The steps included:

1. Transcript and getting familiar with data.
2. Identifying interesting points to code.

3. Organising the codes into themes.

4. Double-checking and mapping out themes.

5. Consolidating themes.

6. Synthesising and contextualising themes into the report.

Research method	1) Transcript	2) Identifying codes	3) Codes into themes	4) Mapping themes	5) Consolidating themes	6 Writing up
Focus groups (locals and Somaliland diaspora)

Interviews (expert interviews)

Observations (Social media) | Writing transcription and getting familiar with information | Identified list of issues which are categorized into challenges. | Challenges were categorised into external and internal factors | Both external and internal challenges were mapped out into capacity of government, role diaspora, international community and local community. | Consolidated the themes into competing interests between stakeholders. | Conceptualisation of findings |

4.10 Ethical Considerations

It is imperative to have ethical considerations, particularly when people are involved in the study. It is equally important to reinforce the research integrity by establishing rules

to govern the research process. Researchers have an ethical obligation to develop safeguarding methods for a study participant irrespective of their level of literacy or physical or cognitive capabilities, to participate in research in an informed and ethical manner (DePoy, 2016).

As this study deals with people, I had to meet all the required ethical procedures. Without the approval from the University of Birmingham Ethics Committee, I would not have completed my studies in the UK before the upgrade to the PhD project. While the ethical process for my UK field research was easier, field research in Somaliland was rather complex. Before carrying out the field research in Hargeisa, an ethical consent form had to be completed, and a risk assessment had to be completed and approved by the University of Birmingham. The process of obtaining ethical clearance and risk assessment was not without complications, and extraordinary measures were put in place for the fieldwork in Somaliland in cooperation with the University of Birmingham Health and Safety Department. Restrictions on what was possible during fieldwork were put into place due to travel restrictions applied by the British Foreign Office, and the perceived risk associated with the Horn of Africa meant that my movement was also restricted.

Although there is no law granting or restricting permission to conduct research in Somaliland, it is advisable to notify the government and seek their approval. Particularly as Somaliland is situated in a volatile region with conflicts taking place in Ethiopia, Yemen and Somalia, the government is suspicious of foreign agents. The project was, however, blessed with the highest level of approval from Somaliland's authorities, which facilitated the project in many ways. Somaliland's ambassador to

the UK provided a letter of support for my research in the country and also assisted me in gaining access to expert interviews with government ministers. A further purpose of the letter was to use it in the event of any officers in Somaliland's security and police enquiring into the purpose of my research. In addition to the letter of support from the Somaliland government to do this study, I provided informed consent forms and information sheets to my research participants. The informed consent and information sheets were translated into Somali and English (Appendix).

4.11 Rationale

A theme which frequently emerged in my pilot study was the need to preserve cultural heritage sites in Somaliland, particularly the country's iconic site (Las Geel). As visitor numbers to Las Geel have increased, so too has the publicity coverage on Somaliland and damage to the site. Increase of visitor numbers resulted in the demand in the provision of tourism development and if not managed accordingly, it could completely damage the country's fragile cultural heritage sites due to human impact. Furthermore, with the absence of any form academic research on Somaliland's cultural heritage and tourism development, there is lack of data in how local Somalilanders (non-diaspora) perceive diaspora tourists, returnees, and the local perspective on cultural heritage sites. Thus, a significant contribution in this PhD project lies in the investigation of relations between diaspora, non-diaspora and state in the context of post-conflict tourism development as a little-explored field.

4.12 Limitations

Prior to my field research, I initially planned to use a mixed-method approach, combining qualitative and quantitative research methods. However, as I gained a deeper understanding of the complex community dynamics in Somaliland, it became clear that a qualitative approach would be more effective for several reasons. First, participants were more comfortable sharing their perspective through conversations rather than first filling out surveys. Secondly, this approach allowed me to better understand participants' perceptions and the factors they considered to be important in heritage tourism development. Additionally qualitative methods such as focus groups and interviews allowed me to establish rapport with participants, facilitating the recruitment of expert interviewees from the government and increasing the number of focus group participants. While I had gathered comprehensive quantitative data through my surveys, I ultimately preferred the qualitative approach as it provided richer and more detailed information for my analysis.

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the research methodologies and processes used to determine whether the Somaliland Tourism Ministry has a heritage tourism development strategy. It demonstrated how qualitative research methodologies were mostly used through expert interviews, interviews, and observations (including online). The final section of this chapter discussed how challenges faced before and during the field research were resolved. Furthermore, the chapter refers to the Appendices

pages for data sample interviews, observations, surveys, and focus groups. The following two chapters address the research findings discussed in this chapter. The two chapters are 'Chapter 5: Competing Interest, Disagreements and the Need for Compromise' and 'Chapter 6: Role of Heritage in nation building'.

CHAPTER
FIVE

COMPETING INTERESTS, DISAGREEMENTS, NEED FOR COMPROMISE

5.1. Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 2, heritage tourism has gained special status globally due to its economic, political and social significance (McKercher and du cros, 2002, Ashworth, 2014, Ashworth, 2009, Lowenthal, 1998, Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015). In the context of Somaliland, 32 years after its independence from Somalia's authoritarian regime in 1991, competing stakeholders are beginning to influence and contend the approach to how heritage is managed. According to Abdullahi Shabelle (former Tourism Director General), Somaliland first attracted international exposure for its heritage tourism potential in 2002, when French archaeologists rediscovered the Las Geel cave paintings. These well-preserved cave paintings, which depict Somaliland's 10,000-year-old ancient civilisation, have evolved into a national symbol of economic, political, and social significance since their re-discovery (further discussed in this chapter). The site has been a focal point for marketing Somaliland's tourist potential, and diaspora returnees such as Dr Sada Mire and Dr Jama Musa Jama have been significant contributors to Las Geel's increase in significance importance (Mire, 2007, Mire, 2015a).

Considering the above context, I began by enquiring about one main research question (MRQ) with two sub-questions (RQ2 and RQ3). MRQ focused on determining

whether Somaliland's government has strategy for developing and promoting heritage tourism development in the country. RQ2 focused on identifying factors to consider while dealing with heritage tourism in Somaliland. RQ3 examined how heritage is utilised to shape Somaliland's national identity.

This chapter examines the first and second RQs and analyses the findings of fieldwork conducted in Hargeisa and its surrounding areas. The chapter examines the themes that emerged from the data gathered in Hargeisa and incorporates observations made on social media concerning Somaliland's heritage. Following on from this thematic analysis, this chapter is divided into four sections. As will be discussed in the following sections, a recurring theme that arose from all interactions with study participants was the perception of a lack of capacity in Somaliland's heritage management. To address this from a national perspective, the first section (5.2) offers an overview of how heritage is governed at the national level in Somaliland. The second section (5.3) builds on the first section by examining how, in the absence of government capacity in the country, the International Community (IC) is perceived as politicising through heritage safeguarding approaches in Somaliland. The focus will be placed on how the IC goes beyond its security and humanitarian mandate to stabilise problems in Somalia into extending its powers to integrate Somaliland's heritage with Somalia without considering the complex differences and tense history between the two countries. As will be discussed, this becomes problematic for developing and promoting Somaliland's heritage.

The persistent lack in distinction from the IC between Somaliland and Somalia poses risks and undermines Somaliland's heritage tourism development. Further, in light of

the fact that the two countries have different pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial histories, this leads to a misconception and underestimation of local safeguarding approaches in Somaliland. The third part of the chapter (5.4) expands on how the issues addressed in the first and second sections lead to contestation between the diaspora, government, and local people in Somaliland. The final fourth part (5.5) explores how the absence of authority and capacity leads to lack of strategy. The next section addresses MRQ and begins with an overview of how heritage tourism is administered at the government level in Somaliland.

5.2 Administrative challenges within the Ministry of Trade and Tourism (MRQ)

As displayed on the ministry's website (Figures 5 and 5.1), the Ministry of Trade and Tourism (MTT) is responsible for tourism-related policies, legal frameworks, and the economic recovery of Somaliland. Figures 5 and 5.1 demonstrate that the ministry is more determined on establishing the tourism economic policy and disregards the role of heritage in economic recovery. This economic push for tourism development without the inclusion of heritage policies undermines heritage tourism. Further, as will be discussed in the subsequent sections, this over prioritisation of economic development, while excluding heritage safeguarding commitments, can lead to significant political and social implications for Somaliland's heritage and its stakeholders. Also, as shown on the website of the MTT "About Us" section, the ministry lists its departments: Public Relations, ICT, Planning, Trade, Tourism, Admin and Finance, Archaeology, Regions (representatives of 6 regions), HR, Internal Audit,

and the Legal Unit, each with its own functions. The list of departments, except for the Archaeology department, could have been effectively merged under the Administrative Department as opposed to having distinct departments for each area of the MTT. The departments in the format shown in Figure 5 cause confusion since it depicts different administrative functions instead of the actual department responsible for heritage, tourism and archaeology. Further, it detracts from the MTT's proposed responsibilities in Figure 5. It is also worth noting that, despite the MTT's primary objective and functions being mostly commercial in nature (as illustrated in Figure 5), Figure 5 shows that concerns for heritage are placed at the lower level of the strategic priority of archaeological sites, under which heritage falls.

Figure 5 illustrates the objectives and function of the Ministry of Tourism

Ministry of Trade and Tourism(MOTT)
Republic of Somaliland

About Us ∨   Services ∨   Trade ∨   Tourism ∨   Publication

Objectives

The objective of the ministry is to unsure effective trade facilitation and improved tourism sector for enhanced economic growth

Mandates And Core Functions

The Ministry of Trade, Industry and Tourism is mandated to formulate economic sector legal and regulatory framework, create business enabling environment, establish a system that enables to ascertain that import and goods are sold at the appropriate price and make follow ups, develop and implement business demarcation strategy, integrate Somaliland into the regional and international economy, undertake price studies relating to basic commodities and services that have to be under price control and control the qualities of export and import of goods that do not conform with the required standards in collaboration with the concerned government sectors including the Quality Control Commission.

- To formulate and harmonize policies that will ensure implementation of trade, industrial and Tourism policies both at national and global levels
- Promoting and facilitating Somaliland's internal and export trade with emphasis on diversification, business classification and value-addition
- Improve entrepreneurial skills, technological capabilities and accessibility to credit and markets
- To develop programs and activities for institutional capacity building to meet the challenges of the national and global markets
- To facilitate the development of the production base and Expansion of cross-border trade.
- To collect, collate process, store and disseminate timely and accurate information for stakeholders.
- To facilitate private sector access to capital.
- To ensure that private sector development programs are complementary and cover broad range of needs.
- To encourage and facilitate the provision of public service by the private sector.

Economically focused. No mention of heritage.

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Figure 5.1 illustrates the role and responsibilities of the Department of Archaeology.

Ministry of Trade and Tourism(MOTT)
Republic of Somaliland

About Us ∨   Services ∨   Trade ∨   Tourism ∨   Publications

Department Of Archaeology

The following are the functions of the Department of Archaeology Protection and Indigenous Arts Promotion: -

- Development and implementation of policies about the protection of archaeology and promotion of indigenous arts industries
- Researching and revising Somaliland's legislation on protection of archaeology promotion and promotion of indigenous arts industries
- Plan, offer, and promote incentives programs including the awards, subsidies, and financial assistance to Somaliland's archaeology protection and indigenous arts industries promotion
- Promote development and management of archives and archaeological sites in Somaliland
- Promote the preservation, protection, and promotion of folk culture, tangible and intangible heritage for cultural enrichment, development, and national identity
- Promoting the inclusion of Somaliland's folklore and intangible cultural heritage into the mainstream of personal, community, and national development
- Harnessing the investment potential in arts and arts creative industries
- Ensuring the production and marketing of arts and cultural products including crafts, visual art, and folklore products through exhibitions, festivals, theatre houses, community centers, etc.
- Coordination of donor funding to support the cultural programs in Somaliland
- Promote, preserve and support the handicraft, cultural sites, museums, and the Somaliland language.
- Plan, guide, reward, and promote Somaliland's music industry, visual and performing arts industries.
- Supporting the crafts development and skills acquisition centers to promote culture in Somaliland
- Support use of locally available materials and resources to promote diversity of Somaliland culture and local industries
- Ensure protection of local talents in culture and local industries in Somaliland to enhance the economic livelihood of the inventors
- Establishment and management of crafts development and skills acquisition sites to support local talents
- Preparation and implementation of the five (5) year strategic plan and budget for the department.

Heritage listed as 5th priority within the Archaeology Department.

5.2.1 Need for a Defined Heritage Development Policy (MRQ)

Despite including heritage as a stated priority (Figure 5), the Department of Archaeology still needs to present a clearly defined policy and strategy to safeguard heritage specifically. Placing heritage as the fifth priority function within the archaeology department might be perceived by Somaliland heritage stakeholders that heritage is less significant compared to other concerns. Furthermore, this shows that there is a lack of departmental structure when it comes to locating the responsibility for heritage, particularly given how important heritage sites such as Las Geel cave paintings, the Camel Market, memorial sites, and more intangible practices such as nomadic culture are as major elements in the country's tourism attractions. The apparent low level of strategic priority and cross-departmental integration of responsibilities for heritage could be perceived as not being considered important by the ministry. However, this is not the case (as explored further in the following sections); rather the lack of coherency in dealing with heritage is due to a lack of administrative capacity. Figure 5.2. shows the launch of the Archaeology Protection, Research and Education project, which includes a National Heritage Law (not initially developed) by Dr Sada Mire.

Figure 5.2 shows the launch of the Archaeology Protection Law (Source:

As illustrated in Figure 5.2, the MTT depends on ad-hoc advocacy from the diaspora because of a lack of expertise and financial resources to recruit qualified full-time professionals owing to an absence of post-conflict reconstruction assistance from international organisations. Overdependence on diaspora elites, as outlined in this section and Section 5.4.2, unintentionally creates the wrong impression that certain well-positioned diaspora elites, such as Dr Sada Mire, prioritise their interest and IC strategies over the needs of all other stakeholders in the country (Section 5.4.2). This is however not the case, as Dr Sada Mire has advocated the need for more inclusive, bottom-up heritage development approaches which incorporates local Somalilanders (Mire, 2007, Mire, 2011).

Figure 5.2 illustrates that Dr. Sada Mire, a diaspora returnee and Somaliland's first and only recognised archaeologist, established Horn Heritage. This non-profit organisation supports the MTT with expertise and technical support for the preservation of archaeological sites around the country. This partnership establishes that diaspora members can contribute more than just remittances and reaffirms Gevorkyan's (2022) and Gelb et al.'s (2021) research, which argues that diasporas provide governments with essential human capital. However, Somaliland stakeholders perceive over-dependency on ad-hoc expertise negatively. This can result in animosity between stakeholders and conflict between clan and tribal rivalries with unresolved disputes (discussed further in this chapter). As illustrated in Figure 5.2, Dr. Mire was responsible for drafting the archaeological law, which also includes the National Heritage Laws. However, despite this, heritage approaches are excluded from the MTT's tourism economic re-construction plans, and heritage remains 5th of the archaeological department's responsibilities.

5.2.2 Internal Challenges Within the Tourism Ministry (MRQ and RQ2)

Expert interview, Vice Foreign Minister, Abdulqadir Omar Jama:

> *'The government is limited in terms of capacity in understanding heritage development in Somaliland, the Foreign Ministry lacks the expertise and international partners.*

As stated by Vice Foreign Minister Abdulqadir Omar Jama (above), the Ministry of Trade and Tourism is internally constrained due to lack of heritage tourism specialists working within the ministry. Thus, the MTT relies on the expertise of Dr. Sada Mire.

However, this approach results in conflict of interest. As a result, as described in Section 5.2.1, archaeology takes precedence over heritage. Further, despite its efforts, the archaeological department is unable to develop suitable approaches to developing and promoting heritage. Internally, the ministry lacks the capacity to combine heritage with tourism and economic reconstruction and this is attributed by external political factors. Internal limitations manifest in a weak heritage development plan, furthermore tourism development strategy at large is weak. This was best described by the statement by Abdulqadir Omar Jama, who explained that 'the MTT lacks qualified personnel to carry out its administrative duties'. Looking beyond government perspectives, all research participants concur that the lack of administrative capacity limits the Ministry of Tourism's capacity. For instance, the view emerged in a focus group with diaspora and an expert interviewee that:

> *The Insufficient understanding of tourism in Somaliland as well as how local and national governments promote the nation is holding us back (*Ayan, diaspora returnee in Hargeisa).

> *We have aging personnel who cannot read or write across our ministerial departments, let alone [have] capacity for tourism management. I have invited them to enrol in basic skills professional development courses and they shy away from enrolling* (Mustafa, Vice Dean of New Generation University).

As highlighted above, internal challenges are due to the lack of heritage and tourism expertise. This is a broader issue throughout Somaliland, impacting across all sectors of the country. Despite institutions offering basic education to develop skills, ministerial staff are reluctant to utilize it (as quoted above). This reluctance can be explained by people's general attitude towards adult education and their lack of interest in

professional development skills at work (beyond the scope of this study). Existing ministry personnel lack the incentive to pursue additional education; the government would do well to create incentives by establishing professional development training. If not mandatory, the government could align certain training programmes with advancements in careers, incentives, and pay increases to address the current skills gap.

Further, this research has also observed that there is lack of local education institutions that include heritage and tourism related studies in their curriculum. Also, weak administrative skills and resources undermine and expose the country's heritage and tourism offerings to exploitation by both internal and external players (See sections 5.3. and 5.4). Further, as stated by the deputy foreign minister, the IC does not engage directly with the tourism ministry, except instead through Somalia. The IC approach further devalues MTT's capabilities and undermines the role of the ministry. First, it limits the MTT's prospects for meaningful capacity building, particularly administrative capacity. Second, Somalia weaponizes international development assistance intended for capacity building (further discussed in the subsequent sections).

5.2.3 External Challenges Within the Ministry of Tourism (MRQ and RQ2)

As previously noted in Chapter 2, heritage is an important component of tourism development. My research, however, shows that Somaliland's situation does not appear to support the application of this otherwise globally recognised viewpoint, even

though MTT includes a tourism-based economic reconstruction strategy (See section 5.2). Despite studies advocating for a multinational strategy to economic reconstruction through tourism (Hall and Williams, 2008, Dieke, 2000, Dieke, 2003, Ashley and Roe, 2001, Chen and Ravallion, 2010, Croes, 2014) the findings of this study suggest that not all countries are equally represented when confronting poverty and post-conflict recovery through international cooperation. Given that Somaliland, as a state, is unrecognised by the UN, it is excluded from international heritage and tourism development initiatives as part of its post-conflict economic reconstruction strategy. This limits MTT's opportunities for receiving adequate training in heritage tourism development (See section 5.2.4). Consequently, the MTT as well as the entire government has become dependent on its diaspora to fill the gap left by the IC. As previously discussed in section 5.2.1, the MTT has bestowed Dr. Sada Mire with a unique position in developing the country's heritage conservation law. However, this over-reliance on members of the diaspora results in additional contestation and power conflicts among the country's stakeholders (see section 5.4)

5.2.4 Post-conflict Reconstruction Without External IC Support (MRQ and RQ2)

Conflict-affected countries, for instance in the Balkans, Vietnam, Cambodia, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan and Ethiopia (section 2.4.5) generally have access to international post-conflict reconstruction aid packages aimed at strengthening government institutions. However, since Somaliland is not an officially recognised country, it has received limited assistance from the International Community since its re-proclamation of independence from Somalia in 1991. The

limited assistance was primarily devoted to humanitarian projects rather than economic recovery. Conflicts and wars have devastating effects on countries and people, and thus it requires international cooperation to rebuild post-conflict countries. Development programmes such as the Sustainable Tourism Initiatives and Millennium Development Goals provide UN member states access to post-conflict reconstruction support (UNESCO, 2017). However, due to Somaliland's lack of international recognition, post-conflict development and rebuilding programmes through the International Community are restricted.

During an interview with Shukri Bandere (Somaliland's Environment Minister), explained how Somalia's regime destroyed all government structures and departments from 1988 to 1991. During the same period, the country's tangible heritage was damaged by aerial bombardments, artillery, street warfare, and lootings. This was similarly recounted by Abdullahi Shabelle (the former director of tourism), who described the systematic approach taken by Somalia's regime to destroy Somaliland's tangible and intangible heritage through the mass execution of members of the Isaaq clan, which is the predominant tribe in Somaliland (see figure 5.3 ,5.4, 5.5, 5.6 and further discussed in Chapter 3). Tribes were marginalised, displaced, and restricted from gathering in public spaces. Correspondingly, Dr. Jama Musa Jama emphasised in an interview how the city of Hargeisa was carpet-bombed, levelled, and assigned the nickname "the Dresden of Africa" (Figures 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6). In fact, UNESCO was created as a reaction to the cultural devastation caused by World War II (Elfert and Ydesen, 2020), so it is contradictory that Somaliland, in the aftermath of the conflict, has no access to the United Nations and UNESCO.

These testimonials are reinforced by studies carried out by Ingiriis (2016a) and Shinn (2002), who investigated Somalia's genocidal campaign against Somaliland's majority Isaaq tribe. Ingiriis (2016), a scholar from Somalia has become one of the few to reflect on the crimes committed by the state of Somalia in Somaliland, highlighting that the Isaaq genocide constitutes a forgotten atrocity. Ingiriis claims that 100,000 people were massacred in Somaliland; however, this does not correlate with the official UN figures of 200,000 (UNPO, 2018b). Similarly, figures 5.3 demonstrate the high disparities between estimates circulating in Somaliland and official UN statistics.

Figure 5.3 shows an estimation of figures from a diaspora perspective, which differs from the UN's estimation. (Source: Guled Daud 2022)

the G.
@Guleddaud2

The Isaaq genocide, or Hargeisa holocaust was b/w 1978-1989,the number of civilian deaths in this massacre is estimated to be between 800,000-950,000 according to various sources, whilst local reports estimate the total civilian deaths to be upwards of 1 Million Isaaq civilians.

1:41 PM · Feb 3, 2022

Figure 5.4 shows reported landmines scattered in populated areas, predominantly inhabited by Isaaq tribes of Somaliland.
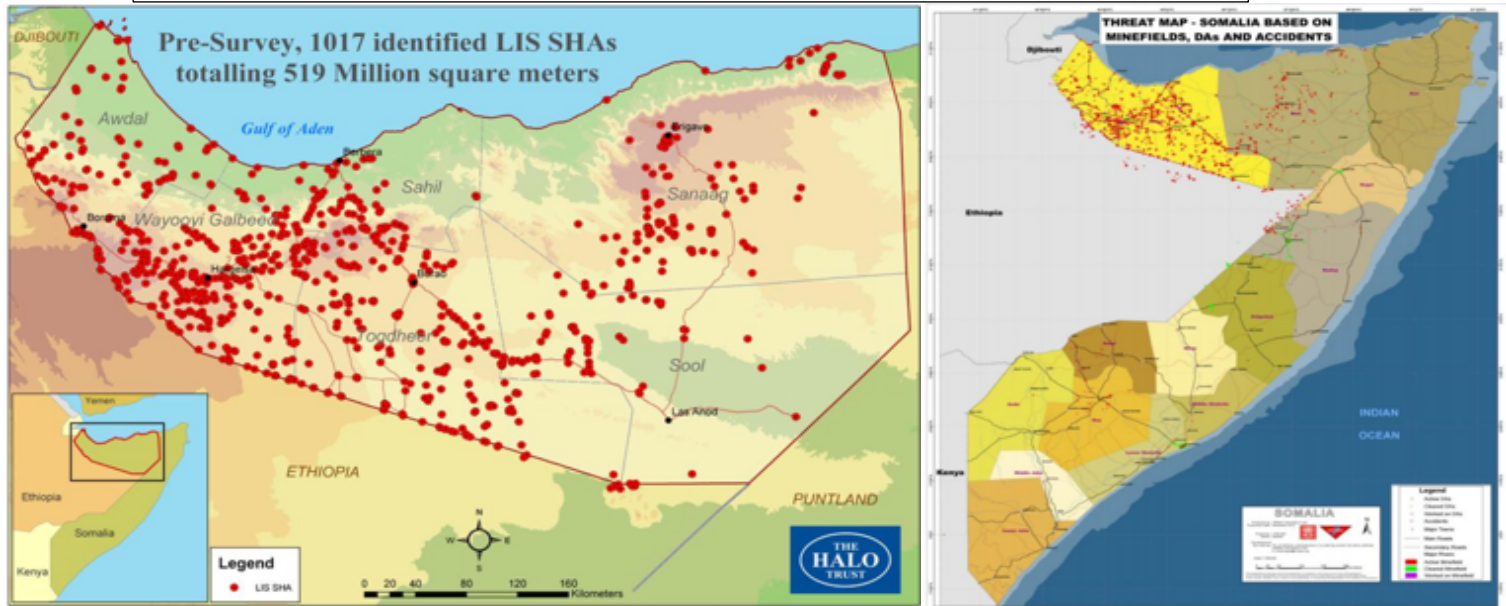
(Source: Halo Trust 2021)

The red dots on the map (Figure 5.4), identified by The Halo Trust, represent the landmines that have claimed the lives or maimed people across Somaliland. The map on the right provides a visual representation of the intention to destroy Somaliland's infrastructure and communities, as it depicts greater concentrations of landmines in Somaliland than in Somalia. Residents returned in 1991 to found mass graves in dry riverbanks on Hargeisa's outskirts, which were often shallow and exposed due to flash floods. Locals refer to it as 'the Valley of Death'. A recent study (Einashe, 2018) asserts that there are over 200 mass graves in the Valley of Death near Hargeisa which have not yet been accounted for in official statistics, supporting the research participants' statements urging UN to update its official estimates. Furthermore, the official figures

exclude those who died because of landmines (Figure 5.4) and those who died

enroute to safety as a result of malnutrition, yellow fever, and other diseases.

Figure 5.5 shows a woman walking past a destroyed property in Hargeisa Source UNHCR UK, 2002)

Returning to ruins in Hargeisa, but Somali returnees hope to rebuild their country with international assistance. © © UNHCR/W.Stone

Figure 5.6 shows the destruction of Hargeisa from 1988-1991 by Somalia's regime

As discussed in Chapter 2 the international community (IC), particularly the United Nations (UN), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), Individual Donor Countries (IDC), and the European Union (EU), play an important role in restoring governance, political institutions, and economic recovery to avoid recurring conflicts. However, despite Somaliland's fulfilment of all post-conflict state reconstruction procedures and conditions, the International Community has bypassed Somaliland by channelling aid meant for Somaliland through Somalia. The limited aid that Somaliland

receives comes with political conditions, which leads to politization of aid to re-unify Somaliland with Somalia (discussed in section 5.3).

As shown in Section 5.2, the MTT demonstrates that it wants to revitalise the economy through tourism development, however it is restricted by its lack of governance capacity. Assistance from diaspora elites alone cannot support the ministry's functions, thus a multinational approach is essential. Lack of IC participation impacts on the MTT's ability to adopt a national heritage development approach. Somaliland's post-conflict economic reconstruction is stalled due to IC maintaining the status quo and not engaging directly with Somaliland's government. This approach of avoiding direct engagement with Somaliland's government conflicts with the findings of Freer and Kherfi (2020), who in their study emphasised the necessity to involve all stakeholders in the process of heritage tourism development. Further, as outlined in the following sections, the IC poses difficulties to the post-conflict economic reconstruction of Somaliland, particularly when IC interests do not align with Somaliland's stakeholders.

5.2.5 Re-discovery of Las Geel Sparks Engagement Between MTT and IC (MRQ and RQ2)

As discussed in Section 5.2.4, post-conflict economic reconstruction requires IC partners. Somaliland's exclusion from directly engaging in post-conflict economic reconstruction programmes limits MTT's efforts to develop its own administrative

capacities and thus results in the absence of adequate strategies for HTD. However, this has shifted since the re-discovery of Las Geel in 2002. Previously, there had been no direct contact between the IC and the MTT.

At the Las Geel conference in March 2020, the Ambassador of EU to Somalia (EUSOM) signed a memorandum of understanding with Somaliland to provide goodwill funding and support in preserving the heritage sites. Much in keeping with the message from UNESCO (Jones and Smith, 2017), the EU Ambassador, Nicholas Berlanga, stated at the conference that '*heritage and culture is a window to foster understanding between people and communities'* (Dalson Radio, 2020*).* Nicholas Berlanga also emphasised that culture is a source of income and strategy to reach out to the youth to preserve their history. EUSOM, in partnership with Hargeisa Cultural Centre, initiated a 12-month series of cultural heritage events targeting capacity building for site management, fence building and constructing pathways in the country's iconic Laas Geel site .

The involvement of EUSOM in developing cultural heritage in the Horn of Africa is significant. It introduces the influence of Somalia through the back door and challenges the narratives of unity that appear to threaten Somaliland's identity (discussed in Chapter 6). Study participants had a common agreement, stating that they needed external financial support and expertise in cultural heritage to support the development of cultural heritage and tourism in the country. While this remains unstated in the messages focusing on the power of culture to shape economic development and peace, international stakeholders such as the EUSOM also have logical strategic motivations to attempt shaping developments in Somaliland. It can be noted that the

government of Somaliland lacks the capacity to invest in income-generating projects, which is resulting in the rise of Somali youth migration from the Mediterranean to Europe (Expert interview with Minister of Investment Mohamed Awad). Therefore, the active involvement of the EU in Somaliland's cultural heritage and tourism development could be seen as a tactic to prevent further Somali migration.

Heritage protection measures between IC and MTT were rarely considered before the re-discovery of Las Geel in 2002 (discussed in sections 5.3.1.2 and 5.3.2). However, this changed since the re-discovery of the site. Diaspora elites as well as local and international interests have emerged, each claiming to be the custodians of Somaliland's heritage, with divergent interests. This section (5.3) focuses on how the IC emphasises how HTD is implemented in Somaliland and how it causes tension among multiple stakeholders: diaspora, local communities, and local elites. The following parts (5.3, 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6) expand on the disagreement and contestation among stakeholders, as well as how, in the absence of authority, capacity, and resources, the government is unable to enforce strategic development and protection of national heritage from above.

5.3. Heritage Approaches by IC: As Perceived by Somalilanders (RQ2).

Figure 5.7 depicts a screenshot of the EU Envoy to Somalia's (referred to as EUSOM from here onwards) statement in Las Geel on March 8, 2020. During the visit, EUSOM emphasised a 12-month plan for safeguarding Somaliland's HTD using EUSOM heritage funding initially designated for Somalia development. This development aid

consisted of short training workshops, awareness campaigns, a website, and the resurfacing of the dirt road connecting the site to the main road (see section 5.6). Figure 5.7 also shows Tourism Minister Mohamoud Hassan Sa'ad and EU Ambassador to Somalia Nicholas Berlanga shaking hands to initiate the campaign. Interestingly, the photograph includes the Vice President of Somaliland and the Director of the Hargeisa Cultural Centre and Jama Musa Jama. This places heritage elites and authorities in a difficult position, choosing whether to accept or ignore EUSOM's financial support for Somaliland's heritage development (section 5.3.3.1). From the international community's viewpoint, receiving this level of support from top-level authorities in Somaliland signifies an endorsement of EUSOM's heritage development approach in the region.

Figure 5.7 Statement from EU in Somalia. Source: EU Delegation in Somalia, 2020

Vice-President of Somaliland

Somaliland's Minister of Tourism (Mohamoud Hassan Sa'ad) and EU ambassador

EU Del in Somalia ✔
@EU_in_Somalia

#EU Ambassador @NBerlangaEU today visited the Laasgeel cave paintings in #Somaliland. The caves contain some of the earliest known paintings in East Africa. The Ambassador announced a 12-month project to protect & preserve one of the most important heritage sites in the region.

3:54 PM · Mar 8, 2020 · Twitter Web App

5.3.1 Politicization of Heritage through 'One Somalia' Policy (RQ2)

The EU Ambassador to Somalia (EUSOM) Nicholas Berlanga stated in an interview with the Washington Post:

> *"The idea of restoring Las Geel and promoting it is to get Somaliland and Somalia to work together. We must find discrete windows for collaboration like this. The final goal for everyone is recognition by UNESCO, it could be a great success"* (Bearak, 2021).

The statement from the EUSOM ambassador indicates that they are restricted in dealing directly with Somaliland and thus align with the policies of their international organisations (EU), preventing them from directly advocating for Somaliland. Furthermore, their actions demonstrate efforts to channel funds towards protecting Las Geel and show goodwill within their constraints. However, despite their goodwill approach, there are reservations from local people and the diaspora regarding the EU's involvement in the development of Somaliland's heritage (further discussed 5.3.2). Their approach is seen as a more to-down and politically driven process rather than a commitment to support heritage development in Somaliland (AHD discussed in section 5.3.2). This position undermines the role of heritage development in the country's tourism economic reconstruction in different ways. As mentioned above, the EUSOM approach indicates that it is in a difficult position, as it cannot directly support Somaliland's independence and can only collaborate through a partnership with Somalia. This approach presupposes how Somaliland's heritage should be managed and empowering Somalia, considering that both countries have unresolved political, legal and social issues. Furthermore, the EU's approach presumes responsibility for

Somaliland's heritage without first consulting wider stakeholders within the country and the Somaliland's diaspora. Further, Nicholas Berlanga asserts that everyone wants Las Geel to be recognised (implicitly as a World Heritage Site) by UNESCO (further discussed in sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). To his credit, all of the participants in this research have made clear their willingness to work with UNESCO, but, crucially, not at the expense of ceding responsibility for their cultural heritage to Somalia. Furthermore, while UNESCO's statements align with its parent organisation (UN), they cannot make unilateral declarations supporting Somaliland's independence. Similarly, as discussed in sections 5.3.2, 5.3.3 and 5.3.4, the EU is also restricted from making unilateral statements advocating for Somaliland's independence, posing challenges to Somaliland's heritage development.

As previously discussed, EUSOM is restricted by the policies of its parent organisation (EU), limiting its ability to engage directly with Somaliland. EUSOM can only interact with Somaliland through the 'One Somalia' policy to channel goodwill funds for heritage development. The insistence of the EU policy, aligns with the EU's external relations policy, which focuses on maintaining a Single European Act (SEA) as stipulated under Article 30.2 of the Maastricht Treaty (Gauttier, 2004, Carbone, 2008). This policy emphasises preserving continuity in the EU's external economic, development, and security policies with third parties (Carbone, 2008). However, insisting on a unified approach without reconciliation between Somalia and Somaliland is counterproductive. Insisting on this course encapsulates that in the eyes of the international community, Somalia is the authorised government representative of all aspects of Somalia's and Somaliland's heritage. Evidently, this approach fails to fully

comprehend the historical context and the initial formation and dissolution of the union with Somalia (see Chapter 3).

A unified Somalia risks reigniting the pan-Somali irredentist movement, which was the catalyst for the 1960 unification of British Somaliland and UN Trust Somalia (Chonka and Healy, 2021). Subsequently, the coup of 1969 legitimised Siad Barre's Pan-Somali irredentism by invading neighbouring Ethiopia to reclaim the Somali-inhabited territories (Prunier, 2021). However, the Somali expansionist movement was delayed when Cuban forces defeated Somali forces in 1978 to aid the weakened Ethiopian forces (Lockyer, 2018). In that same period, Siad Barre turned to the Isaaq clan, whom he perceived to be a problem to his campaign for Somali irredentism, particularly since Somaliland's conditions for unity were not met in 1960. As discussed in Section 5.2.4, this was the precursor to the Isaaq clan genocide.

EUSOM continues to uphold the 'One Somalia' approach without fully grasping its potential consequences: this stance could ignite renewed self-determination movements in Somali regions within Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti, potentially sparking new conflicts in an already volatile region. Moreover, the EU's strategy significantly affects Somaliland's social, economic, post-conflict reconstruction, and political development. Due to time and study constraints, it is not feasible to address all the implications. Therefore, the following part will only examine how the EU's policy affects Somaliland's self-determination and heritage.

5.3.1.1 EUSOM Approach to Somaliland's Lack of Recognition (RQ2).

Tensions have risen among Somaliland's heritage stakeholders due to EUSOM's limited capacity to work directly with Somaliland's government. Also, the recent re-discovery of Las Geel and its significance to Somaliland's heritage has intensified due to lack of trust in collaborating with Somalia, which in turn has led to scepticism about EUSOM's goodwill intentions towards the country's heritage development. Study participants find it difficult for EUSOM to dismiss Somalia's acts of genocide violations in Somaliland (Section 5.2.4). Insisting on the current approach will lead to the politicisation of heritage development. Furthermore, research participants perceive that the current approach undermines the EU's credibility as an impartial peace mediator and genuine partner for meaningful reconstruction (Section 5.4). Similarly, one could perceive the EU's strategy of politicizing heritage as threat to Somaliland's 33-year peacebuilding efforts.

The EU's position could be compared to what Jopela (2011) has identified in his research in South Africa. In South Africa, IC organisations have frequently disregarded the significance of traditional heritage approaches (during the colonial period and post-apartheid in 1994), instead favouring former imperialist safeguarding approaches (discussed in section 5.3.3). There are apparent parallels in the case of Somaliland and South Africa, where external organisations influence how heritage is managed. In Somaliland, although EUSOM is restricted engaging directly with Somaliland, it indirectly engages through Somalia as it is internationally considered to be part of the same country. However, both in the diaspora and in Somaliland it is perceived differently. Despite the EUSOM goodwill gesture to preserve Somaliland's heritage,

research participants believe that collaborating with EUSOM in Somalia compromises Somaliland national identity. It inadvertently conveys the message that disregarding Somalia's aggression in Somaliland is acceptable while rewarding it with the responsibility of overseeing Somaliland's heritage development Section 5.3.1.2). Furthermore, this approach effectively halts Somaliland's 32-year attempt to create a sense of national identity and eliminates the prospect of continuing self-determination and re-recognition movements (discussed in Chapter 6).

Statements from representatives from EUSOM, such as "discrete windows of collaboration between Somalia and Somaliland, include and exclude certain groups (Bearak, 2021). This reinforces what Smith (2006) has termed the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), an approach which asserts that those engaged with heritage policymaking usually exclude a majority of stakeholders since their decision-making is restricted to designated elites who often think from a Eurocentric perspective. Furthermore, this approach emphasizes in-groups and out-groups and thus is comparable to the colonial divide-and-rule strategy used in Africa in the past, which paves the way for possible future disputes and conflicts between the nation's stakeholders (discussed in Section 5.3.3 and Chapter 6). Second, the EUSOM's methods are contentious as they violate their own rules by applying different rules to Somaliland and other states comparable to Somaliland (discussed in Section 5.3.4). Furthermore, the EU's policy enrages both residents and the diaspora, raising the risk factor in the nation.

The preceding discussion focused on EUSOM's heritage development approach, particularly its goodwill approach to providing financial support for Somaliland's

heritage development. The following section examines the impact of this approach on Somaliland's heritage development.

5.3.1.2 The Impact of 'One Somalia' Policy on Somaliland's Heritage (RQ2).

Figure 5.8 depicts the library stairwell of the Hargeisa Cultural Centre (HCC), displayed on the EUSOM website. The first step of the stairs has the word "freedom" imprinted on it; this represents the inauguration theme at the cultural centre. The following steps reflect the topics of the subsequent years (from 2008 to 2021), and the artwork depicts 13 steps, symbolising the 13 years of themes celebrated at HCC. The remaining steps are obscured due to the angle of the photograph. The above represents Somaliland's distinct approaches to blending art with locally driven reconciliation processes, and it also illustrates Lemay-Hébert and Kappler (2016) inquiry into the important part that communities (both diaspora and locals) can play in taking ownership of their difficult past with conflicts.

Figure 5.8 illustrates Hargeisa Cultural Centre (HCC) as shown on the webpage of the EU Embassy in Somalia (Source: EU, 2018).

Somalia faces the daunting prospect of rebuilding peace and security, strengthening human rights and starting to mend the fractures caused by over twenty five years of civil war.

The power that art and culture can have over people is often underestimated, have enormous symbolic value and by its very nature represent the country's history, tradition and identity, attributes often lost in times of chaos. Culture, or DAQAN in Somali, is a fundamental pillar for the reconstruction of the Somali social fabric. It can effectively contribute to the revival of the Somali identity, recognition of diversity, socialization and pride - roles that are vital in times of conflict and rapid social change; and be a development opportunity for future generations. However, after more than twenty years of conflict and civil

Displaying the HCC on the EUSOM website creates the perception that the site falls under Somalia's jurisdiction and thus disregards the 13 years it took for the heritage centre to establish itself as Somaliland's primary cultural centre. Furthermore, the decision for the EUSOM to take this approach emphasises Lemay-Hébert and Kappler (2016) contention that international peacebuilding institutions fail to accomplish their purpose as they exclude broad communities, particularly those that have not yet reconciled, of which Somalia and Somaliland are evidence.

EUSOM's goodwill approach sends the message that its influence presupposes that Somaliland's Ministry of Tourism is incapable of managing its own heritage development. Even if the ministry lacks heritage tourism management skills, there is room for training, given the EU's commitments to Somaliland's maritime security, which helped to prevent piracy along its coast (EEAS, 2023). Somaliland's history is misrepresented on the homepage, misleading visitors. In their homepage, the EUSOM asserts that Somaliland's conflict was a civil war that lasted 25 years. This is historically not accurate (Einashe, 2018, Ingiriis, 2016a, Jani, 2014, Mire, 2015b, Torres Rodriguez et al., 2018, UNPO, 2018b). Somaliland was not subject to a 25-year civil war but rather a 10-year Somalia-sanctioned genocide and destruction of infrastructure (discussed in section 5.2.4).

In essence, it could be perceived that EUSOM's approach is an attempt to rewrite Somaliland's historical timeline by connecting it with the ongoing civil conflict (ongoing from 1991 to the time of writing the thesis) between tribal groups and terrorist groups in Somalia (Bradbury, 2008, Felbab-Brown, 2023, Nyadera et al., 2023). This

approach could imply that it is selective in prioritising Somalia's version of history over Somaliland, claiming that Somalia's account of history is worth remembering while Somaliland's should be ignored. This standpoint corresponds with Mälksoo (2021) the assertion of 'narratives of rightful remembrance' (discussed in 5.3.3 and Chapter 6), which advocates that certain narratives are shared by those who yield power and they suppress certain narratives. This is how the EUSOM's approach is perceived, despite its goodwill intentions and it also highlights the complexity of heritage development in Somaliland. This study demonstrates that on the one hand, there are those (EUSOM and UNESCO) who engage goodwill aid using international systems such as EUSOM, which Somaliland does not have direct access to otherwise. On the other hand, this approach can be seen as counterproductive due to the misrepresentation of Somaliland's heritage through the lens of Somalia. Furthermore, this has created contention among Somaliland stakeholders and undermines the goodwill intentions of the IC (EUSOM) approach. The diaspora is particularly frustrated, with many opposing against the goodwill gesture, perceiving it as a take-it-or-leave-it approach imposed by EUSOM (discussed in section 5.3.2.4).

The diaspora is more active on social media compared to the local community and more engaged and aware of perspective in how the country's heritage is represented to the rest of the world. Consequently, they are more vocal about how their heritage is represented, particularly when it is misrepresented and associated with Somalia. This issue is exemplified by the EU-funded Hargeisa Cultural Centre, which is displayed on EUSOM's website, symbolically transferring custody of HCC to Somalia (see figure 5.9). While Somaliland appears to be progressing towards the ascribed stages of Rostovian linear development (2.1.7), it appears that the IC is forcing it to comply with

set demands. However, Gnanguênon (2020) reasons that external strategies imposed on other nations without the support of national stakeholders result in ineffective outcomes (further discussed section 5.4). EUSOM's current (at the time of writing) approach undermines the wider EU development initiative initiatives in a post-conflict context, especially when aggressor states are favoured over persecuted states without a reconciliation process and has severe repercussions for the EU's reputation as it lacks neutrality. Even if Somaliland's stakeholders accept this policy, EUSOM overestimates Somalia's capacity to maintain its heritage owing to a lack of security caused by ongoing clan warfare and persistent terrorism threats.

The only secure zone in Somalia is the green zone, which consists of the presidential palace, IC diplomats' residences, and the airport as the core, followed by the semi-periphery and periphery (Chonka et al., 2023). In addition, the country's security is managed by external powers from the African Union (AU perspective discussed in Section 5.3.2), the United Nations, and other members of the International Community. Since Somalia cannot provide basic safety in its capital and the rest of the country, IC should not rush to incorporate it with Somaliland's heritage. Furthermore, it should explore the complex history between both countries. Additionally, Somalia should explore and implement its own ideas and strategies for economic reconstruction, rather than relying on Somaliland's heritage through the goodwill gesture of the EUSOM. It is also important to note that the IC approaches have not succeeded, considering that it has spent 32 years addressing Somalia's problems without fully satisfying the Somalis in Somalia and in the diaspora.

The results and discussions above demonstrate that, despite the goodwill intention to develop heritage in Somaliland through the One Somalia policy, it sends conflicting signals to heritage stakeholders in Somaliland and Somalia. First it could be interpreted that heritage development is implemented from a Eurocentric perspective and thus assumes neither Somaliland nor Somalia can manage their heritage sites. Secondly, while Somalia remains unprepared due to 33 years of ongoing conflict, Somaliland has shown through its distinctive approaches that it is well-equipped in many respects to manage its own heritage (Section 5.4). Even though EUSOM is restricted from dealing directly with Somaliland due to the lack of recognition, its current goodwill approach is not well received amongst stakeholders in the country. This creates the impression that it validates Strother (2019) the assertion that Eurocentrism influences how African heritage is understood and managed. Furthermore, the EU's approach in Somaliland heritage development appears to propagate a European perspective through the EUSOM, which leverages post-conflict reconstruction aid to merge Somaliland's heritage with Somalia heritage. Essentially, the IC approach through EUSOM could be seen as disregarding Somaliland autonomy by positioning Somalia as the guardian of Somaliland's heritage. This approach negatively impacts the development of Somaliland's heritage management approach.

As discussed in the preceding sections (5.3 to 5.3.1.2), EUSOM is limited in engaging directly with Somaliland due to the country's lack of international recognition and can only provide goodwill financial support through Somalia. This imposes EUSOM to comply with the One Somalia policy, which considers Somalia and Somaliland as one country. However, this does not reflect the empirical reality on the ground and consequently leads to contention among heritage stakeholders in Somaliland,

resulting in disagreements and endangering the country's heritage. The following section provides a review of how UNESCO engages with Somaliland's heritage development.

5.3.2 UNESCO Limited to Engage With Somaliland's Heritage Development (RQ2)

Abdulqadir Omar Jama (Expert interview Vice Foreign Minister):

> *We have formally requested to be a member of UN, UNESCO and other IC institutions, and each time, we are told to talk with Somalia or the African Union.*

Abdulahi Shabele (Former Director of Tourism 2010-2019):

> *We have approached and requested direct membership with international organisations such as the United Nations and UNESCO but were redirected to Somalia and the African Union.*

The responders above, who have significant clout in Somaliland's government, have approached UNESCO, but their attempts were ineffective. The re-direction of the officials to instead engage with Somalia and the African Union (AU) indicates UNESCO's difficult position to deal directly with Somaliland. Such a move puts the authorities in a challenging situation; on the one hand, there is the need to rebuild the economy (section 5.2), but on the other hand, it faces political repercussions if it agrees to engage with UNESCO through Somalia's membership. Politically, accepting UNESCO's recommendations would hinder Somaliland's bid for independence. Secondly, locals and the diaspora would not support the idea (Section 5.4). Thirdly, if

the current approach persists, it emboldens and legitimises Somalia's ability to manage Somaliland's heritage, despite UNESCO's restriction on engaging directly with Somaliland's heritage development (Sections 2.1.1 and 5.3.3). It is also interesting to observe that when Somaliland authorities engage with Somalia, Somalia undermines any cooperation agreements by negating it (discussed further in Section 5.3.2.1). Even though the AU's fact-finding mission identified that Somaliland constitutes an independent country, the AU did not follow it up (Mahmoud, 2023, Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021, Schwartz, 2021, McPherson-Smith, 2021). The African Union's decision to recognise Somaliland can act as a reference point for the IC to engage directly with Somaliland; however, it appears that this opportunity is missed by the IC, as well as by Somaliland's government and other countries supportive to Somaliland's cause.

Expert interview with Dr. Jama Musa Jam (Director of Hargeisa Cultural Centre):

> *In 2016 [a] UNESCO team visited Laas Geel and acknowledged the significance of the site and subsequently released a press release on their website with depictions of Las Geel and referencing Somaliland as the site's location, however Somalia protested it, and UNESCO removed it and reinstated it as Somalia's heritage.*

Upon its initial visit to Las Geel, UNESCO reaffirmed the site's significance by first publishing it on their website, however this was later de-published from its website due to oppositions from Somalia. UNESCO recognised from the outset the political obstacles confronting the heritage site. The first issue is that Somalia is a recognised state and an official member of UNESCO; therefore, for UNESCO getting involved in the internal political affairs of its member states issues does not settle well with them,

and it may set a precedent for other states within UNESCO member states with aspirations of self-determination. However, despite this stance, UNESCO does make special considerations for 17 other territories thus similar to Somaliland (Section 5.3.2.1).

Although multinational organisations such as UNESCO and EUSOM wield considerable political and financial power in the development of heritage, their approach negates both the empirical reality observed in this study as well as Somaliland's historical context (Chapter 3). Despite the willingness of Somaliland to establish a direct cooperation with UNESCO, the United Nations and its affiliated organizations classify Somaliland as an integral part of Somalia. This has implications for Somaliland's HTD strategies, as the IC approach is predetermined and persists in imposing a union between two nations with different political, social, and colonial histories (discussed in Chapter 3).

Despite UNESCO emphasising the need for African countries to safeguard their own heritage management (Chapter 2.1.2), discussions in sections 5.3, 5.3.1, 5.3.1.1, and 5.3.1.2 establish that IC is limited in dealing directly with Somaliland's HTD. The IC, represented by EUSOM and UNESCO, is in a difficult position to provide direct assistance in Somaliland heritage development. Due to Somaliland's lack of international recognition, IC efforts are limited and cannot by pas Somalia, considering it is considered part of Somalia. The current approach, despites its well intentions, it undermines Somaliland heritage development on several front. Firstly, Somalilanders perceive this approach as a forced heritage integration between Somaliland and Somalia, aimed at reviving Somalia and its heritage. Secondly, this approach could be

perceived as a top-down strategy from the IC, which disregards historical, colonial, and political differences, as well as unresolved grievances. Thirdly, this approach hinders and undermines Somaliland's traditional safeguarding approaches and also overlooks the outcome of the 2001 referendum in which 97% of Somalilanders voted for independence from Somalia (Jhazbhay, 2009, Bradbury, 2008, Prunier, 2021). Furthermore, this approach contests UNESCO's own recommendations of empowering African states, mainly since it restricts the autonomy of marginalised people (the Isaaq of Somaliland) and weakening indigenous heritage development practises in Africa (Taylor, 2010).

Prior to the re-discovery of Las Geel, neither EUSOM or UNESCO had dealt directly with Somaliland's heritage advocates and MTT (Section in 5.2.5). However, as highlighted in previous sections, elite diaspora returnees such as Dr. Sada Mire and Dr. Jama Musa Jama, played an important part in linking the country's heritage with IC institutions, particularly attracting UNESCO (the Kenya office) to survey the significance of Las Geel. Interestingly, the timing of this development coincided with EUSOM's approach to initiate the revival of Somalia's heritage, and Las Geel has since become the focal point of heritage contestation. This is what prompted this study in the first place: to determine whether Somaliland's government had strategy for the development of heritage, including Las Geel, and to identify other factors to consider when addressing heritage tourism in the country. Furthermore, the majority of research participants expressed that Las Geel should be added to UNESCO's international protection list of World Heritage Sites, and given its significance, influential elites are open to leveraging the idea through Somalia's UNESCO membership. In essence, registering Las Geel on the World Heritage List through Somalia's membership.

However, many participants from both the diaspora and the local community have opposed such a proposal, highlighting how it is resulting in disagreements between stakeholders (see section 5.4). While the study has been able to explore perspectives on this in Hargeisa, it is unclear how this is perceived in other regions of the country due to travel restrictions (discussed further in Section 4.7).

As discussed in Section 5.3.1, the EUSOM ambassador has outlined a strategy for heritage development in Somaliland through UNESCO. On the surface, this approach seems to appease Somalilanders, who expressed the need to safeguard Las Geel due to its international significance and potential to be recognised as a site of outstanding universal value and listed as a World Heritage site (UNESCO 2021). However, despite the goodwill intentions of this approach from the IC, study participants perceive it as legitimising Somalia while delegitimising Somaliland (further discussed in Section 5.3.3). Somalia does not have any listed World Heritage sites, nor any sites on a tentative list of candidacies. This situation highlights the complex interplay between heritage and politics in two countries with unresolved political issues, given Las Geel's significance. As discussed in Section 5.3.2.1, UNESCO inadvertently legitimises Somalia's heritage by strengthening Somalia's heritage functions and department through its UNESCO membership, while consolidating Somaliland's heritage under Somalia's authority (above section 5.3.1.2). As a result, MTT has few options for safeguarding Somaliland's heritage. MTT faces pressure to comply with the EUSOM's goodwill approach if it seeks priority for development and participation in the World Heritage Convention, along with the international recognition of having a site listed as World Heritage. This approach is limited, as it does not advocate for Somaliland's independence. This creates the impression that the

EUSOM is pushing Somaliland closer to Somalia as one unified country, achieved through goodwill support (financial aid) for heritage development. Additionally, gaining the endorsement of respected institution such as UNESCO would legitimise EUSOM's perceived AHD approach in Somaliland (Section 5.3.3).

As discussed in the preceding sections, UNESCO's direct involvement with Somaliland is limited. Therefore, EUSOM, which is responsible for direct engagement with Somalia, can facilitate indirect goodwill and financial support for the heritage development of the Somaliland Ministry of Tourism and Trade (MTT). However, despite this goodwill intentions, there are disagreements among heritage stakeholders in the country. Somalilanders (locals and diaspora) perceive the goodwill approach from the IC as a strategy to undermine the country's heritage through economic and political control. Considering the MTT economic reconstruction plan through HTD (discussed further in Section 5.3.2.4), MTT is constrained in its decision-making due to a lack of capacity, infrastructure, and financial resources and is therefore compelled to adopt the IC development strategy. However, doing so excludes the country's stakeholders, and applying IC proposals without consulting them causes problems among the diaspora, locals and authorities (further discussed in section 5.4). Despite UNESCO's advocacy and stance against acts of violence and launching initiatives such as the Department of Holocaust and Genocide Education (UNESCO, 2023), UNESCO would negate its own advocacy if it enables Somalia to represent Somaliland's heritage. Particularly considering that there are unresolved issues between the two countries (discussed in section 5.2.4). This implies that UNESCO is either uninformed or dismissing the fact that Somalia and Somaliland are no longer a single entity and have separated and have existed apart for a longer period than they were united (see

Chapter 3). By avoiding direct engagement with MTT or other ministerial departments, UNESCO authenticates EUSOM's strategy of coercing heritage development in exchange for its political interest. Despite the IC unilateral approach, it is not supported by all of Somaliland's stakeholders. Considering that Somalia and Somaliland have not officially resolved their differences, Somalia's cooperation is not taken seriously in Somaliland. The current mistrust stems from Somalia's failure to agree on the terms of their union in 1960, the attempted genocide, and the 12 years of failed parley attempts that Somalia has withdrawn from its commitments of cooperation (Williamson, 2022).

5.3.2.1 The IC Politically Limited to Engage With Somaliland (RQ2).

Focus group (local community, Hargeisa 7/09/2019):

> *We have given them benefit of doubt and met 13 times since 2012 and they [Somalia] have broken all the agreements made.*

Interview with coffee shop owner in the Goljano Area 2/09/2019:

> *We have been talking with Somalia since 1960, we started the unity and it backfired, once bitten twice shy.*

Focus group with diaspora community in Hargeisa 6/09/2919:

> *We are told to be democratic by holding elections, educate boys and girls and pay taxes and we even held a referendum in 2001, while Somalia is rewarded for their bad behaviour as well as access to all the international memberships.*

As quoted above and based on the statements from EUSOM (Section 5.3.1), the IC assumes that reconciliation has taken place between both nations. Taking this laissez-faire approach without confirmations from Somaliland representatives empowers Somalia to gain control and place Somaliland's heritage in danger of destruction or appropriation. Smith (2006), Graham and Howard (2016) also confirm that a frequent political use of heritage is to include and exclude different groups and construct and legitimate particular identities; thus, given the unresolved historical issues, Somalia will be in an advantageous position if the EUSOM policy is followed through since there has been no accountability for Somalia's human rights violations, and allotting them to represent Somaliland might perpetuate and renew conflicts.

Despite the fact that Somalia and Somaliland have not reached a settlement on their political positions, the IC pushes for heritage integration between the two nations. This strategy impacts on MTT's heritage tourism development, particularly concerning the question of who has authority over heritage governance. Furthermore, the IC is endangering Somaliland's heritage by overlooking the acts of human rights violation committed by Somalia and empowering it to oversee Somaliland heritage development without reaching reconciliation on their historical problems. Since the IC mandated Somalia and Somaliland talks at the 2012 London Somalia conference, thirteen reconciliation conferences have taken place. However, since Somalia breached the agreements, none of the commitments were met (McPherson-Smith, 2021). Somalia and Somaliland agreed to share airspace and regain control from the United Nations agency International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) at the Istanbul conference; however, Somalia once again reneged on this agreement. Moreover,

Somalia accumulated COVID-19 vaccinations supplied by IC to share with Somaliland, and it retained them at Mogadishu Airport, releasing them closer to their expiration date (Williamson, 2022). These cases demonstrate the lengths to which Somalia is willing to go to exert power over Somaliland, as well as the lack of intention in reconciling. Independent IC nations and organisations such as the UN and EU, refer the unresolved Somalia and Somaliland case to the Africa union. This approach attempts to mitigate African issues through African led systems to avoid European and Western political influence given the complex colonial legacy between Africa and Europe.

Despite the African Union's 2005 fact-finding mission, recommending that the IC should reconsider Somalia and Somaliland as separate entities (Latimer, 2018), the AU's proposals have been dismissed by the UN, EUSOM, UNESCO, as well as the AU itself. This demonstrates the IC's intent to disregard its own recommendations as well as other stakeholders (diaspora and locals) in Somaliland. Most research participants concur with the above statement since Somalia has repeatedly violated its promises since 1960 (described above and in Chapter 3). Consequently, this obstructs the pace at which heritage is developed and links to the current ineffective economic recovery strategy (discussed section 5.2.4). Furthermore, the idea of getting it listed as a World Heritage Site via Somalia presents the MTT with few alternatives for developing its tourism potential, thereby impacting its economic recovery strategy. As a result, UNESCO's goodwill approach backfires, with MTT handing over heritage management duties to Somalia without establishing reconciliation and gaining consensus from Somaliland's stakeholders. Since UNESCO membership enables

greater priority to Somalia as a responsible state party, it can claim Somaliland's tangible and intangible heritage.

Despite the attempts of Somaliland's officials to reach out to UNESCO and other multilateral organizations, their appeals remain ignored (discussed above). This implies that the IC and its systems are limited to 'One Somalia' policy and it also demonstrates that it cannot directly engage with Somaliland. However, the diaspora and locals in Somaliland perceive this differently, viewing it as an enforced top-down strategy from the IC. In essence, this approach is perceived to instruct UNESCO to officially initiate heritage management practises by siding with Somalia and without taking into consideration the existing underlying problems. As outlined in Section 5.3.1, EUSOM plays an important role in helping Somalia's government leverage membership with the IC. This is best demonstrated by joining the WHC in July 2020 (UNESCO, 2020). UNESCO and WHC membership facilitate advantages for strategic planning for cultural heritage and tourist development in the member countries, particularly from the Global South (Hanafiah et al., 2021, Carmen, 2013, Chirikure et al., 2021).

Although Somalia is no exception and needs development of its own heritage for post-conflict reconstruction it should not come at the cost of its neighbour, with which it has unsolved conflicts (see Chapter 3 and Section 5.2.4). Research participants perceive that UNESCO's support of EUSOM's approach legitimises the exchange of Somaliland's heritage with Somalia. Furthermore, this leads to the impression that UNESCO overlooks the discord between the two nations and incentivises aggressor regimes without considering whether a reconciliation process has occurred. This

sends an unfortunate signal by implicitly legitimising former, current and future oppressor states to commit crimes against humanity and be rewarded for representing the same people they previously oppressed. This process is consistent with Janusch (2016) study, which asserts that to embrace an emerging concept, one must use the normative approach, which pushes for universal acceptance of the soft power strategy. However, this is not always seen positively since it is viewed as imperialistic within IC politics. In the context of this research, the findings demonstrate that EUSOM has assumed the role of protector of Somalia's heritage (Sections 5.3, 5.3.2 and 5.3.2). While this approach is advantageous for Somalia, it is disadvantageous for Somaliland. This is inherently due to Somaliland's lack of international recognition, limiting EUSOM's ability to advocate for Somaliland's heritage development. Thus, the only option for heritage development proposed by the IC through EUSOM is this soft power strategy given Somaliland international status. Although this strategy is welcomed by some stakeholders in Somaliland it is not welcomed by others. Therefore, pressing need for heritage development at Somaliland's Las Geel sites puts Somaliland stakeholders at odds with each other. Particularly between heritage advocates, government, local communities, diaspora and those who want distance themselves from association with Somalia to avoid undermining their bid for international re-recognition.

The IC's approach to Somaliland's heritage development can be interpreted as a goodwill gesture. However, despite these good intentions, the Somaliland diaspora and locals do not support the inclusion of Somaliland's heritage alongside Somalia on the IC websites and other publications sources. They perceive it as empowering Somalia at Somaliland's expense, thus undermining the IC's goodwill intentions.

Additionally, this approach inadvertently benefits Somalia's ruling elite clans. This further reinforces the ethnically driven Somali irredentist ideology which excludes non-Somali ethnic communities such as the Bantu and Mirifle. The Bantu and Mirifle reside in Somalia, experience social and economic discrimination and have limited access to resources and opportunities (Webersik, 2004, Eno et al., 2022). Therefore, it is important for the IC and its supporting organisations to understand Somalia's complex social and politic dynamics before engaging directly with its ruling clans. Research participants perceive the current goodwill approach as ignoring the genocide and human rights violations committed by Somalia's former regime (5.2.4). If the current IC's approach persists, it sends negative signals to Somaliland's heritage stakeholders. This situation highlights the multiple challenges Somaliland faces: the IC is unable to engage directly with Somaliland and advocate for its independence. Meanwhile, Somalia remains Somaliland's only option for accessing international aid. However, the Somaliland diaspora and locals oppose this option, believing it will empower Somalia, their former aggressor state. Therefore, to initiate the process of inscription of Las Geel into the WHC, UNESCO necessitate to have UN membership. However, UNESCO's is not always consistent its guidance since non-UN members are protected by UNESCO (discussion in subsequent section).

As demonstrated in Section 5.4 and in discussions with informants, there is a lack of support for UNESCO's perceived goodwill approach, which advocates the inscription of Las Geel using Somalia's status as a state party which ratified the WHC in 2018 (Section 5.3.2). Despite Somaliland's insistence on obtaining UNESCO membership, UNESCO is unable to engage directly with Somaliland and therefore views it as part of Somalia, in line with its parent organisation, the UN (Peterson, 2017). While direct

UNESCO membership is not on the horizon anytime soon, residents, diaspora, and heritage officials are forging their own means to promote and enhance Somaliland's heritage in the absence of international assistance (See section 5.6.1 and Chapter 6). This approach lends credibility to the Sonn and Fisher (1998) study, which asserts that oppressed communities often do not surrender or conform to oppressive structures. Instead, they have found resilient approaches to maintaining their cultures and identities through faith groups, sports clubs, kinship, family and other organisations. These heritage approaches provide opportunities for people to create, reproduce, and modify cultural heritage practices. Furthermore, this isolation from international institutions fosters the impression that the UN is international and very nearly global in reach - although of course historically different countries and different parts of the world have joined at different rates, and some complaints of Eurocentricity aimed at UNESCO remain (further discussed in Section 2.1.2 and 5.3.3). While UNESCO maintains its current soft-power approach, it thereby contradicts its own core values. This has an effect on the development of heritage in Somaliland; in a sense, it forces the authorities to cede control of heritage to Somalia. Second, it undermines local communities by not getting them involved in the heritage development process. In this regard, the MTT and Somaliland's authorities should explore different methods to engage with the IC without jeopardising their strategic objectives.

Non-United Nations member states can petition for membership in UNESCO through a recommendation from the Executive Board, which requires at least two-thirds of votes to be admitted (UNESCO, 2022a). Thus, Somaliland has the possibility of applying for associate member status to join UNESCO, although this has not yet been explored. If non-member states such as Western Sahara and 17 other states have IC

membership through UNESCO (UN, 2022), then there are possibilities for Somaliland heritage development without the association with Somalia, which could thus minimise the likelihood of contestation among Somaliland heritage stakeholders (discussed in section 5.4). UNESCO (2021) insist that their decision to accept Somalia has a positive impact on East Africa and the Somali-inhabited regions to promote peace through shared cultural heritage. However, this approach inadvertently revives the Somali irredentism and re-ignites pan Somali movement and could destabilise the region even further against other ethnic groups in the Horn of Africa. Additionally, it leads to continued clashes between pro-unionists and anti-unionists between the borders of Somalia and Somaliland (Rubin, 2023).

5.3.3 Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD)

The discussions in Sections 5.3.1, 5.3.2 and 5.3.2.1 highlights that EUSOM and UNESCO cannot support Somaliland independence, which puts them in a challenging situation when directing goodwill support (financial aid) towards heritage development. Therefore, the diaspora and locals in Somaliland perceive the IC's approaches as a strategy to promote top-down heritage development. The IC's public relations channels (websites, publications, and social media) fuel this perception by essentially merging Somaliland heritage with Somalia's. The IC also implements its decisions by engaging only a few elites rather than most of Somaliland's stakeholders. This approach often leads contentions among stakeholders, as discussed further in Section 5.4. Furthermore, Somalilanders perceive the IC'S goodwill approach as a transfer of Somaliland's heritage to Somalia's government without establishing a transitional

justice and reconciliation process. Despite the IC's restrictions on direct engagement with Somaliland, research participants perceive the IC's approach as unbalanced. Therefore, creating the impression that heritage is administered from a top-down, western-centric perspective. This reaffirms previous studies (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Harrison, 2012; Smith, 2006; Lowenthal, 1998), emphasising that heritage is defined from the present by those who wield power, often from a Eurocentric vantage point. Furthermore, while the IC recognises the genocide committed by Somalia in the territory of Somaliland, the IC rewards the aggressor state with authority and legitimacy to administer the heritage of the people it once massacred (Jhazbhay, 2009, Ingiriis, 2016a, Recchia, 2018).

In the absence of a permanent political solution, conflicts have intensified between the borders of both countries, particularly in the Darood-populated region of Puntland, which leverages the Darood tribes residing in Somaliland as proxy groups to maintain the unionist movement. With the International Community's help, Somalia's government has been emboldened without accountability, particularly when it comes to easing the arms embargo. This has not only emboldened the government of Somalia but has also extended to tribal lines to implement the same strategies that emboldened the former dictatorship. Tribally motivated politicians are pushing their vision of a single-ethnic state, which Somaliland is reluctant to join. This resulted in the deployment of IC-sponsored Somalia trained troops and IC-paid weaponry to destabilise Somaliland (Rubin, 2023), further discussed in Chapter 6. Insisting on the current IC's goodwill approach, limited by Somaliland's lack of recognition, creates the impression of legitimising Somalia and delegitimising Somaliland. Therefore, the

combination of these factors' places MTT in a precarious position, constraining it to accept or reject whatever support the IC offers.

5.3.3.1 MTT's Dilemma in Leveraging IC Aid via Somalia

Given that MTT is responsible for developing Somaliland economic recovery strategy, and considering Somaliland's lack of international recognition limits its access to financial support, the ministry faces a difficult challenge. It must balance the implementation of its development strategies with the expectations of Somaliland stakeholders, while also navigating the complexities of access aid through Somalia (see section 5.2). Further, as MTT lacks the financial resources and the skilled workforce to develop heritage tourism sites across the country, it is looking towards leveraging funds from EUSOM. However, this is problematic since it comes with conditions that necessitate a balance in the expectations of the diaspora and locals about a partnership with Somalia. The MTT is challenged to revive the economy on one hand, and on the other, it has inherited a failing infrastructure (including roads, access to water and electricity) throughout the country, as well as neglected amenities in and around Las Geel.

Although this study was focused on Hargeisa and its surrounding areas, it also draws perspectives from other areas of the country. For instance, the city of Berbera in Somaliland, which has a significant heritage site, is also a focal point for development projects led by the IC. EUSOM is engaged in urban development projects using

Somalia's funds, and here it is interesting to note that the perceptions of diaspora and locals vary in regard to heritage development.

Figure 5.9 illustrates EUSOM's Streetlight project. Source EUSOM 2020

"Following the installation of the lights, we are now free to walk in the evenings with our families and friends and even have dinner at the beach. As a woman, I now feel safe to walk around in the evenings," said Amal Qodal, a Berbera resident.

Figure 5.9 illustrates EUSOM's funded 200 streetlights installation in 2022 at the coastal city of Berbera. The initial phase of the road's construction was funded by the Berbera council; however, due to financial constraints, the council was unable to instal the streetlights, so EUSOM contributed towards the costs.

Figure 5.10 illustrates EUSOM's funded Hargeisa Water Development project. Source EUSOM 2022

As shown in Figure 5.10, the EU is the largest contributor to the Hargeisa Urban Water System Upgrade Project (HUWSUP). Secondly, followed by Somaliland Development Fund (SDF), which is multinational fund used by the UK, Denmark, and Norway for financing Somaliland developments instead of using Somalia's funding mechanism. The SDF is preferred by MTT, locals, and the diaspora because it circumvents the need for direct engagement with Somalia. This strategy serves as a deterrent against corruption, given that aid was previously channelled through a nation that has been ranked as the most corrupt in the world for 32 years. The SDF provides confidence for meaningful development in the country, particularly backed by the individual IC members to utilise the SFD. The water initiatives included the installation of 23 kilometres of new water pipelines and the connection of 800,000 residents in Hargeisa and the surrounding areas (UNPO, 2018a). In addition to the development in Hargeisa, EUSOM assisted with the development of water wells and reservoirs in rural areas. This was an initiative that was positively perceived by research respondents, particularly since the country's has experienced recurring extreme drought.

Extreme climate change, coupled with a lack of water infrastructure in rural communities, often leads to inter-clan conflicts in the nomadic regions. As stated in an interview by Mohamed:

> *'In 2007, there was conflict over watering-well between two neighbouring families from the Cidagale tribe (Garxajis, Isaaq Sub-clan) and Habar Yunis (Garxajis, Isaaq Sub-clan), which resulted in conflicts between subclans and spilled over to the urban areas as well as diaspora communities siding with their subclans and resulting to deaths of 300 people.*

Mohamed's response is best described by the headings of Figure 5.10, which states that "without water, there is no life." Furthermore, this is the most accurate description of the difficulties authorities have to decide between their political ambitions and the needs of local communities.

Expert interview, Vice Foreign Minister, Abdulqadir Omar Jama:

> *Our principal priority is to reduce poverty, construct basic infrastructure such as roads, access to water.*

Interview with local resident in Hargeisa:

> *We need to make our city look like other big cities, so we need better roads, paved roads, access to safe water and sewage systems. We welcome any assistance from the international community.*

Figures 5.9, 5.10 and the above respondents illustrate the level of appreciation shown the EUSOM development, particularly from the perspective of modernisation of their cities. Consequently, the perspectives of authorities and the local community are comparable to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. This indicates that basic human needs such as access to water and infrastructure (roads, hospitals, electricity, and ICT) are more essential to the residents and authorities. In contrast, the diaspora is less likely to embrace the IC approach. However, this is not a balanced perspective, given that the diaspora has all of their fundamental requirements met in their adopted countries, whilst Somaliland's locals and authorities struggle to gain the necessary infrastructure. Thus, until fundamental infrastructure is in place, there will be substantial

disagreement among all parties regarding whether to approve or suspend EUSOM's approaches.

There is a consensus among stakeholders that these developments will benefit the country's economy, despite their opposing viewpoints. Modernisation of infrastructures, facilities and services are indeed key contributors to economic reconstruction (Dieke, 2020, Hall, 2007). As such Berbera and Hargeisa have attracted IC investment (See Chapter 3). Further, EUSOM is positioning itself in a favourable position for the residents of Berbera and the MTT by assisting with infrastructure issues.

5.4 The IC Goodwill Approaches Cause Disagreements Among Locals, Diaspora and Government (RQ2)

The IC's goodwill approach to Somaliland heritage development has persuaded the MTT to accept any available development aid to address its challenges, even if it means discretely collaborating with Somalia in exchange for heritage development aid (discussed further in Section 5.3.1 and illustrated in Figure 5.10). The lack of opposition to the streetlights project in Berbera and the EU-funded Hargeisa water project further reinforces this. This sends conflicting messages among the country's stakeholders. Accepting support from EUSOM also validates the perceived threat by the diaspora and locals of EUSOM's approach to merging Somalia and Somaliland's heritage, implying that Somaliland authorities are also complicit in this process. However, based on observations and discussions with research participants, there is less hesitation to use Somalia assistance for infrastructure development, while there

is clear resistance to accepting it for heritage development at sites like Las Geel. This implies that heritage considered sacred for the country's bid for re-recognition and is, therefore non-negotiable. This is particularly significant given the conventional practice of states claiming legitimacy through ancient heritage in the history of their nation-building processes (further discussed in Section 2.2).

5.4.1 Local Community Safeguarding Approaches: Las Geel (RQ2)

Locals avoided Laas Geel for centuries as they believed ghosts and jinn haunted it. However, the myth was dispelled when European researchers and Dr. Sada Mire rediscovered the site and revealed it to a wider audience. Discussions with diaspora, locals, and expert interviewees concur that the site is in danger due to increased numbers of visitors touching the paintings and breaking off pieces of the rocks to take as souvenirs, as well as littering. The site's integrity and unique appeal may be jeopardised if these challenges and ambiguities remain unresolved.

Interview with Stuart Brown (Head of UK Foreign Office Somaliland):

> *'Laas Geel was rediscovered in 2002 and has experienced more degradation in 17 years than it did [in] 5,000 years'.*

The above statement was expressed during an interview with Stuart Brown, and his concerns are similar to those of all the expert interviewees. Particularly, this was expressed by former director of Tourism Abdullahi Shabelle who stated:

'Although the place [Laas Geel] had been known to locals for centuries, residents did not visit it due to fear of ghosts possessing individuals who visited the site. However, this has all changed when the place was exposed by outsiders'.

Both comments demonstrate how the growing status of Laas Geel is threatening the site's survival and has created tensions between insider groups (local communities) and external groups (domestic visitors, tourists, and the diaspora). In addition, considering that both Stuart Brown and Abdullahi Shabelle are members of the privileged and have legal authority through leading government positions, their efforts to defend cultural heritage are strengthened by their job titles and access privileges. This idea supports Bigambo (2020) claim that elites and authorities employ alarmist strategies to advocate for legislation to control and cede authority over heritage resources. Indeed, this viewpoint supports Smith's concept of AHD which asserts that heritage is projected from the vantage point of power, often with a top-down Eurocentric approach (see section 5.3.3.)

5.4.2 Local Community Blames Elite Diaspora

Figure 5.11 shows considerable opposition towards the diaspora elites and the IC heritage development approaches (Sections 5.3, 5.3.1, 5.3.1.1, and 5.3.1.2). Further, it is interesting to note the level of resentment directed towards elite diaspora who are involved in the heritage development process.

Figure 5.11. illustrates reactions from locals and diaspora reactions to the statement from EUSOM and UNESCO heritage approaches.

Yusuf Gabobe @yGabobe · Feb 1

In a **Washington post** interview EU's @NBerlangaEU confesses that EU assistance to the Laas Geel cave paintings through @HargeysaCC is linked to **Somaliland** integration into Somalia.Crissis Group's Omar Mahmoud also gives dishonest views on 80s genocide & SL's quest for recognition.

💬 20   ↻ 28   ♡ 66

Ali Omer @Somalilandfirst · Feb 1

Replying to @yGabobe @NBerlangaEU and @HargeysaCC

SL will not allow its heritage & treasures to be registered as Somalia's properties by UNESCO or any others. We are aware Mr. Berlanga of the UN doing his best to rob those artifacts for Somalia.@Cagadable_ @SRaage @Zahra01034367

💬 2   ↻ 2   ♡ 7

Unapologetic Somalilander @Zahra_Lander · Feb 1

I have previously raised this concerns with Dr Jama (which he acknowledged) that Dr Sada Mire must refrain from advocating for anything to linking laasgeel and Somalia under UNESCO as she explicitly mentioned her intentions on one video. Sada Mire blocked me for challenging her!

💬 2   ↻   ♡ 5

In discussions with informants, it was further emphasised that certain diaspora elites are also complicit in facilitating heritage exploitation, which indicates that they should not be entrusted with the management of the nation's heritage. This perception is misplaced and does not align with the empirical reality. The individuals and organisations mentioned above have significantly contributed to raising awareness about the importance of Somaliland's cultural heritage and the need for all stakeholders to be included in the heritage management process.

Expert interview with Dr. Jama Musa Director of Hargeisa Cultural Centre:

> *When Las Geel was first re-discovered in 2002, local communities in the Las Geel area protested and armed themselves with AK47.*

Expert Interview with Abdullahi Shabelle Former Director of Tourism:

> *The community in the Las Geel area halted the diaspora elites [Dr Sada Mire, Dr Jama], government officials, foreign researchers and demanded that locals should receive economic support and be kept informed of any development in the area.*

The above responses demonstrate the elite diaspora's negative interactions with locals when the site's interest and prominence increased following national and international coverage. The local tribe rejected Dr Jama, the local authorities, and non-governmental organisations for conducting research without sharing the economic benefits or meeting the locals' needs. During my interview with Abdullahi Shabelle, he explained that he convened with local communities (in the capacity of government official) in the Las Geel district to ensure that they would build a school, a health clinic, water facilities, provide generators, and only employ locals to oversee the heritage site. During the initial phases of researching the significance of Las Geel, the locals laid down their weaponry. They participated in the heritage development process due to traditional mediation approaches.

The context above suggests a similarity between clan systems and the perceived heritage development of the IC in Somaliland, as both stakeholders significantly shape how heritage is managed and negotiated. The dominant clan can have heavily influence heritage management due to the perceived economic potential of the areas

with significant heritages (i.e., Las Geel or elsewhere in the country). Clans may also apply a variety of strategies (including their clan diaspora) to explore opportunities for their clans and sub-clans that may not align with the national interest. Therefore, it can be implied that clan-based heritage approaches prioritise their local clan interest over regional and national heritage development. This perspective is comparable to the perceived IC's heritage development approach, which ignores the wider stakeholders in Somaliland to achieve their broader political strategy to bring Somalia and Somaliland together.

Former General Director of Tourism Abdulahi Shabelle also emphasised how some clans use traditional safeguarding measures. Measures such as ghost stories or haunted storytelling, discouraged people from visiting the site and, as a result, caused less harm to the site. This measure reaffirms the traditional safeguarding measures suggested by local customs and folklore, which would have served as the site's gatekeepers. This validates De Jesus Jopela's (2011) assertion that communities have historically played a role in preserving heritage through their distinctive traditional systems. The Director of Tourism (Abdulahi Shabelle) further confirmed the validity of traditional safeguarding measures by explaining that locals concealed and buried valuables in the grounds of Las Geel during Somalia's rule and returned to retrieve them after the war ended. This demonstrates the effectiveness of the jinn and ghost folklore in preventing unauthorised people from visiting the area. However, the effect of these traditions is no longer apparent, and as a result its future is endangered by a lack of strategy from the government and elites, who have ignored local preservation measures.

Religiously conservative groups have voiced their disapproval of current cultural heritage practises in Hargeisa in light of the growing popularity of cultural heritage venues with larger capacities than in previous years (BBC, 2019). Dr Jama, the Director of Hargeisa Cultural Centre stated that *'there are calls for us to shut down and religious leaders attack us in their Friday sermons in the mosques'* (BBC, 2019). However, despite demands from conservative opposition groups, the government has not intervened and has frequently disregarded their requests. This is partially since the country is turning to Las Geel in the hopes that the IC will take further notice. Moreover, Dr Jama has already demonstrated his achievements with the Hargeisa Book Festival, thus serving as a more reliable partner on the international stage. Since the religious groups are not in line with government interests, they are ignored. Despite the fact that Somaliland is surrounded by Muslim countries that adhere to strict Sharia law, its HT practises have not changed. There is an increasing tendency for hotels to host weekly music, traditional and cultural events. This demonstrates Somaliland's openness and tolerance of western traditions, such as public performances of music, which are prohibited in Somalia and numerous Middle Eastern nations with which it conducts business. With high levels of employment, the service sectors employ the most people in the area, e.g. in restaurants, taxis, and hotels, and having these soft strategies to have less restrictions on society is seen as a productive way to attract more visitors to return and fuel economic development, as well as an avenue to collect more taxes. However, although this approach is gaining shape, it also means that traditional culture that was previously lost owing to the conflict is revived.

5.4.3 Diaspora Reviving Intangible Cultural Heritage Practises

Hargeisa was once known as the capital of culture and arts in the Somali speaking regions of East Africa before 1960 (Bulhan, 2008). However, the effect of conflict has destroyed the majority of tangible heritage in the Hargeisa (see section 5.2.4). While most of the diaspora were focused on the reconstruction of the city, a small number of elite diasporas took up the responsibility to reconstruct the country's cultural heritage and have indeed played a significant role in the revival of Hargeisa's once-famous cultural heritage. Arguably the catalysis of this was the launch of the Hargeisa Book festival in 2008, which began focusing on restoring and reconstructing Somaliland cultural heritage. Cultural heritage venues such as Hargeisa Cultural Centre, Hido Dhowr and hotels have led to the resurrection of Somaliland's music and traditional dance festivals (intangible heritage) such as the *Danto* and the *Sailici* (regional traditional dances). However, although there is no evidence of documented complaints in the first two decades, there has been an increase in complaints against elites who were once revered as the protectors of Somaliland's heritage.

Since Somaliland is unable to join international organisations such as UNESCO and UNWTO, it relies on expertise and advice from its diaspora elites (See section 5.3). In the absence of IC partners, the country has developed its own HTD with the assistance of the diaspora, taking on this function in areas where the government lacks capacity. However, overreliance on elite diaspora over 20 years has led the local population and non-elite diaspora to challenge the favours elite diaspora has received from the government and other IC entities. Given the discrepancy in power relations, the elite diaspora maintains a stronger effect on how heritage is handled, which is becoming

increasingly unpopular with both local and non-elite diaspora communities. Thus, from this standpoint, heritage is defined by those who have power (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, Harrison, 2012, Smith, 2006, Lowenthal, 1998). Although the format in which elite diaspora represents heritage might seem at odds with the local community, the government is rather keen to appeal to a western audience as a way to advance its own interests. These include international recognition of the need to distinguish itself from Somalia and promote its tourism industry to help rebuild its economy (see section 5.2).

During my visit in Hargeisa, I have observed a trend with majority of hotels, restaurants, and entertainment venues exhibiting a nomadic theme with a modern western twist. In essence, a cultural blend between the nomadic tradition and modernity.

5.4.4 Cultural Heritage Re-imagined by Diaspora

Figure 5.12 shows Sahra Halgan (a popular Somaliland vocalist) and Joss Stone (a popular British performer) performing at Hido Dhowr Heritage Centre (which translates to "protect heritage") in Hargeisa, which was one of the demonstrated sites. The stage is decorated with images of nomadic settings depicting camels and traditional clothing, and the performers are using traditional musical instruments. This signifies the important function that nomadic lifestyles play in the day-to-day and reinforces the connection between people and nature. What is also interesting to observe in Figure 5.12 is how an international artist such Joss Stone who is a British Grammy Award-

winning artist adapts to Somaliland's traditions and includes it in her music with Sahra Halgan. Given the strict restrictions imposed by IC organisations such as EUSOM and UNESCO on Somaliland's heritage, the collaboration between Sahra and Joss Stone resists the IC's preconceived notions of integrating Somaliland's heritage with Somalia (See sections 5.3 to 5.3.3.1). Moreover, the collaboration between the two artists not only challenges IC strategies, but also revitalises and promotes the nation's heritage to a broader IC audience. This demonstrates the role music plays in transcending borders and religions while connecting with a wide range of local and international demographics.

Figure 5.12 shows Joss Stone performing at Sahra Halgan's music venue in Hargeisa. Source: Joss Stone (2020)

Figure 5.13 shows Hido Dhowr Music Hall, built from traditional materials. Source: (Hido Dhowr 2021)

Sahra Halgan contributes to the development of the country's HTD by constructing the country's first music venue in 2015 (Figure 5.13). Her heritage development ideas are interesting since they use traditional construction materials (wood, animal skin, and hay) to replicate authentic experiences by means of the incorporation of nomadic and traditional cultural activities. This strategy encourages appreciation for nomadic tradition and preserves traditions despite urbanisation and modern western building development (see section 5.4.5). "My ambition was to build a space where my people could come together, play, sing, laugh, and be happy," Sahra Halgan said (Fazio, 2020). Further, her songs act as reminder of Somaliland's struggles for liberation from Somalia. Particularly, the publication of her album 'Waa Dardaaran,' which translates

to 'be warned' and serves as a warning against Somalia's genocide on the Isaaq community (see section 5.2.4). The album by Sahra addresses conflict, and the history of Somaliland.

Before seeking asylum in France, Sahra Halgan was a former freedom fighter who participated in the liberation of Somaliland. She traded in her AK-47 for a microphone in order to continue defending the nation by advocating for the preservation of cultural heritage. Her approach to use music and songs revives intangible heritage practices and thus aligns with Johannot-Gradis (2015) who in essence argues that intangible heritage comes to life through its realization by its bearers and interpreters. In this case Sahra Halgan becomes the bearer and the interpreter and through collaborating with international artists such as Joss Stone, extends the nation's heritage to wider audiences who in turn amplify the awareness of/recognition of the struggles of Somaliland.

Blending music with freedom movement is comparable to the struggles of the Tuareg and Tuvu communities, who, similar to Somaliland, seek sovereignty from their member states. In the case of the Tuareg community, its local music band, Tinariwen, travels internationally to educate international audiences and its diaspora about their struggle for freedom through music. Tinariwen, like Sahra Halgan, have also traded their weapons for music as a means to express their reimagined nationalism in the international arena (Bates, 2019). This is also comparable to the Tuvu community, which utilises music to emphasise their community's struggles as well as their re-imagining of their heritage, by means of their own music bands such as Huun Tuur Tu.

This also consistent with Smith's (2013) assertion that nationalism can be conveyed through cultural events such as music (see Chapter 6)

Figure 5.14 Guluf Air Hotel and music garden Source : author

The development of Hido Dhowr has influenced other venues such as Ali Jirdeh Hotel and Gulff Hotel (Figure 5.14) to host live music, theatre, and poetry performances. The intangible cultural heritage of Somaliland, which includes plays, music, songs, fashion, and traditions, is an integral part of their (local and diaspora) identity (See chapter 6).

This further strengthens the revitalization of the country's heritage in the context of post-conflict reconstruction (see section 5.2) and enables the MTT to rethink its strategy for heritage development and incorporate heritage into economic reconstruction (5.2.4). As described in the previous section, Sahra contributes to the development of tangible and intangible heritage. Sahra has emphasised the necessity of embracing the material culture of nomadic heritage and utilising music and lyrics to remain aware of the persistent threat posed by Somali unionists to Somalilanders' sovereignty. This demonstrates the constructive influence that the diaspora contributes in the absence of competent cultural development governance.

Several heritage studies (Arizpe, 2004, Eichler, 2021, Petrillo, 2019, Akagawa and Smith, 2018, Stenning, 2015) have argued the importance of prioritising the preservation of the intangible aspects of heritage. Indeed, this study expands on these assessments and goes one step further in advocating the need to utilize diaspora as agents of development and heritage guardians. As this was what was observed in the context of Sahra Halgan contribution Somaliland's HTD.

The above cultural heritage venues were built by individual diaspora unlike Hargeisa Cultural Centre (HCC) which was financed through EUSOM (5.3.1.2). This provides a sense of pride and ownership through the establishment of a bottom-up approach that avoids IC-led strategies with embedded conditions while inducing the politicisation of heritage by combining Somaliland and Somalia's heritages (see section 5.3.11, 5.3.2.1 and 5.3.3.1). However, the contribution of HCC cannot be underestimated, considering particularly the role HCC had in the early stages of establishing the country's heritage development. HCC played an important role in the post-conflict reconstruction of the

country, as well as enabling participation of youth and women in heritage making. However, the association of HCC with EUSOM has undermined its positive contribution. Further, the fact that Jama Musa Jama is one of the few elites at the forefront of heritage has prompted local heritage practitioners to express dissatisfaction with Jama's work to promote heritage in the country, particularly those who perceive themselves as marginalised due to their inability to compete with heritage's elites. The combination of the factors and the rise in diaspora returnees to the country, who have become more visible than in previous years, have contributed to local people resenting diaspora communities and to heightened distrust among stakeholders (see subsequent sections). Pressure from overdevelopment as a result of rising demand from the diaspora and general population growth results in an increase in environmental degradation (see section 5.4.5).

5.4.5 Increased Development Impacting Natural Heritage Landscapes (RQ2 RQ3)

There is an increasing demand for land on the outskirts of Hargeisa. This however leads to the urbanisation of rural areas where nomadic communities reside. Furthermore, this overdevelopment encroaches significant landmarks such Naaso Hablood (see Figure 5.15). As observed during my visit to the Naaso Hablood area, private landowners are demolishing historical sites for construction of new residential and commercial properties due to the growing demands of diaspora returnees.

Figure 5.15 shows Naaso Hablood (translates as Virgin's breasts) outskirt of Hargeisa. Source: Author

Figure 5.15 shows the twin peaks of Naaso Hablood from 5 km distance. The 1,420-meter-high twin peaks of Naaso Hablood are a natural landmark (Visithornafrica, n.d.). There is currently lack of research available about Naaso Hablood. However, quite apart from the distinctive pyramid shape of Naaso Hablood, as shown in Figure 5.16 research participants have highlighted that this site is important to the tourism development.

Naaso Hablood (Twin peaks in Hargeisa) should be protected/preserved. 68 ⓘ
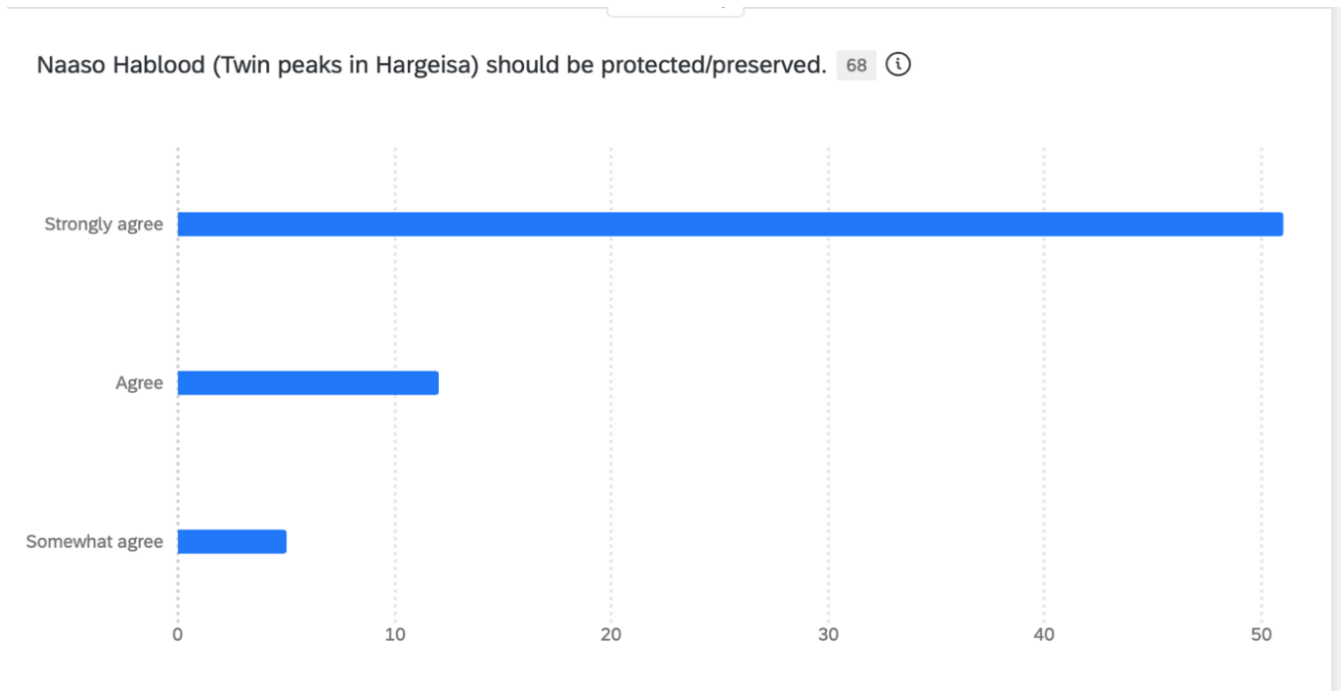
Figure 5.16 represents respondents from Hargeisa (locals and diaspora) to the study's online survey. It is interesting to observe that all responders strongly favour the preservation of Naaso Hablood. This is not unusual to see, given that many respondents consider the site to have significant meaning and associate the site to have inspired ancient Egypt (See section 3). This viewpoint is validated by the artefacts and antiquities discovered at the Naaso Hablood site and exhibited at the MTT museum. Furthermore, talks with the responders indicate that there is consensus that this area's unique physical characteristics should be preserved. However, in spite of this appreciation for the site, the area has become a landfill site and a source of construction materials (Figures 5.17 and 5.18). During the fieldtrip there were constant signs observed of local developers, diaspora and local council working against

conservation efforts. Less than one mile from Naaso Hablood, three quarries were

identified to facilitate the city's growing needs for building materials.

Figure 5.17 shows illegal dumping site located close to the Naaso Hablood. Source: Author.

Figure 5.18: A truck carrying rocks quarried from the Naaso Hablood area. (Photo by author)

Figure 5.18 was captured at Naaso Hablood and depicts a truck transporting rocks extracted from one of the three quarries identified in this location. The rocks will be used as building materials, and the quarrying operation will continue to expand. The consequences of the damage caused by these activities will be irreversible if the site is not protected. Residents of this area have also complained that the noise and traffic of vehicles have a negative impact on their livestock, thus impacting their nomadic way of life and cultural heritage. According to local interviewees, construction sites are frequently unlicensed, with contractors travelling from Hargeisa's wealthy neighbourhoods to serve the diaspora. While the majority of research participants

acknowledged the positive contributions (remittances, donations during crises) of the diaspora, there is an increasing sense of resentment in Hargeisa towards the diaspora.

As observed during interviews and focus groups, local people in Hargeisa have expressed their concerns on the impact of increased numbers of diaspora relocating to Hargeisa. It is noted that land acquisitions by diaspora and their demand for building materials could further intensify tension between residents and diaspora returnees. Thus, if lack of strategy of land management persists from the government and local authorities, conflict over land and properties may occur. For instance, the similar 1994 clan conflict in Somaliland which divided the country among clan lines over land and properties (Bulhan, 2008). If the continuous expansion of residential development persist, it will impact negatively on local nomadic communities on the outskirts of Hargeisa.

5.4.6 Increased Development Displacing Nomadic Communities (RQ2)

Discussion with a camel herder by the Masaa Laha area of Hargeisa:

> *We have been pushed out of our ancestral lands by*
> *diaspora elites of all clans for land acquisition.*

The Minister for Environment (interview with Shukri Bandere) stated that:

> *'nomads are forced out of their grazing land because*
> *of expansion in urbanization in Hargeisa and with*
> *diaspora buying land in the outskirt of the city'.*

As mentioned in the above respondents, displacement of local nomads is on the rise and leads them to relocate in the city. Nomads who traditionally relied on the economy and sustenance of their livestock grazing in the outskirts of Hargeisa are forced to exchange their ancient traditional nomadic heritage to urban life. This threatens an occupation often considered to be an integral part of the Somaliland's intangible heritage among research participants (See sections 5.4.3 and 5.4.4). This also reflects the symbolic imagery of livestock used on the bank notes, which show how ancient tradition of nomadic cattle trading is interwoven to the country identity (see chapter six).

Local nomads interviewed in South Hargeisa stated that their livestock is their economic lifeline and without it, they would not survive. The local nomads relied on selling their livestock and milk to make a living in a country that remains stricken with poverty. This may lead to conflicts between economically marginalised pastoral communities and ignite clan conflicts similar to the 2007 clan conflict that began over a water reservoir.

Interview with diaspora returnee Nimco:

> *There is growing demand in housing and commercial properties particularly between June and September [summer holidays] when diaspora visitor numbers are at their peak level and these visitors often search for land to build their second homes.*

According to the above respondents, the intensity of residential development appears to be haphazardly planned without regard for the impact it has on the local population. In addition, as disclosed by the Minister of Investment, the government lacks the

capacity and resources to address town planning strategies and address population

displacement.

Figure 5.19 shows self-contained apartments between Hargeisa and the village of Arabsiyo. Source (Ray, 2023)

Figure 5.20 shows a newly gated residential development on the Masaa Laha district (outskirt of the Hargeisa)

The Environment Minister (Shukri Bandere) explained in an interview, the increase in diaspora returnees has created demand in the construction sector, and as a result, local builders use any available materials from nature as well as from unprotected ancient historical sites, Ottoman sites, and British colonial sites. It is ironic that the needs and wealth of the diaspora, which seeks to preserve historical sites, induce local agents to demolish them. In response to these consequences, rural

communities have relocated to urban areas, adding to the irony by further threatening intangible heritage practices which are simultaneously celebrated in the city's heritage venues.

5.4.7 Nomadic Migration from Rural to Urban Dwellings

Nomadic settlers relocated their families and livestock to Hargeisa as city growth has expanded. As a result, nomads transitioned their traditional understanding of the rural areas and adapt to urban life, resulting in an erosion of their intangible heritage. There is common consensus among research respondents that this is a widespread problem in Somaliland, as many newcomers bring their livestock (camels, goats, calves, and sheep) to the city. Such actions intensify the dispute between nomads and urban residents. For instance, this is caused by camels roaming freely in the city, causing traffic congestion, or consuming landscaping plants (See Figure 5.21). Displaced nomads in the city have resorted to inventive means for tension reduction and income generation by writing their mobile phone numbers on their livestock so they can be notified of incidents and selling camel milk to traders and the public. Therefore, these strategies demonstrate the adaptability of migrants to urban life as entrepreneurs. When tourists arrive in Somaliland, they are typically notified of the tradition of consuming camel milk through hotel lobbies, posters, and locals. Camel milk's prominence brings nomads and tourists closer together.

Figure 5.21 Illustrates camels roaming the street of Hargeisa and (Source: the author)

According to the World Bank (2015), 64% of Somaliland's population resides in urban areas. As noted and supported by the above findings, the proportion is anticipated to increase if the present expansion into rural areas on the city's outskirts continues.

5.5 Lack of Consensus Among Diaspora and Locals

Considering the IC's lack of genuine support for Somaliland's post-conflict restoration over the past 25 years, the MTT has little choice other than to accept and depend on its diaspora (discussed in Section 5.2.4). However, this has become problematic when diaspora elites are favoured by the ministry as well as NGOs above local heritage practitioners' experience. Particularly when local practitioners and communities are excluded from the consultation and execution of heritage development. As evidenced by the above respondents, the local community distrusts diaspora and other outside influences on the preservation of their heritage. This supports the view of Abdile and Pirkkalainen (2011) research which examined how the Somali diaspora is rejected accepted by their community. In the case of this study, the findings assert that local communities initially value diaspora contributions, but then encounter transitional shifts after a period time and shift towards disapproving them. This also validates the case study conducted by Menkhaus (2018), which contends that the Somaliland local community resents the diaspora. In his study, Menkhaus examined the privileged bargaining power of Somalia and Somaliland's diaspora communities. Menkhaus emphasises that the diaspora is considered as the "brain trust" since it provides access to professionals who have educational credentials and are further less restricted in their ability to travel as a result of having multiple international residency cards.

5.6 Lack of Capacity and Resources: Difficult to Impose A National Strategy

The president of Somaliland has in 2020 (Nov) invited Somaliland's first archaeologist Dr Sada Mire to help coordinate legal framework and development strategies for cultural heritage sites (Figure 5.22).

Figure 5.22 shows Dr Sada Mire campaigning for the protection of the site

Dr Sada Mire (news)
@SomaliHeritage
· · ·

We have been celebrating #Somaliland's 30th anniversary from the top of #NaasoHablood – sacred mountains of thousands of years and a beloved #Hargeisa landmark. We are saving its #heritage so that the road development adds to its protection and accessibility for local communities

0:18 | 6.6K views

However, mapping Somaliland's HT sites comes with considerable problems in practice as existing policies are disregarded. Despite these efforts, there is significant lack of coordination between government departments, local and regional councils. According to the Minister of Environment, there is need for local council in Hargeisa and the government to better work together to link their policies and regulations. Currently there are different policies in place and both the government and city councils have adopted their own version. The Minister of Environment (expert interview Shukri Bandere) has stated that the local council has on occasions subcontracted private firms who have dumped commercial waste in areas of significant importance. Moreover, the local council have no regard to government legislations on protected sites as they excavate the earth and mine rocks to build houses in the city of Hargeisa. This is causing flash floods as these rocks and mountains used to protect the city from flooding during the rainy season: 'in the absence of these barriers we now have more floods' said the Minister of Environment.

These factors also suggest that there is a lack of legal framework on heritage and cooperation between the government and local councils. Therefore, a framework for heritage protection is required, which is currently not in place in Somaliland. This is despite attempts previously made by Dr Sada Mire, Sahra Halgan and Dr Jama Musa Jama who are the country's leading cultural heritage experts. While there is an absence of policy or coherent frameworks to protect cultural heritage sites, there is an increase in urbanization throughout Hargeisa, Berbera, and other cities which poses a threat to cultural heritage through both construction works and sociocultural changes. Even though earlier statements reflect access to heritage as an economic resource, there are intense debates about re-imagining and interpreting Somaliland's

identity through heritage, particularly since the aftermath of the conflict (discussed in Chapter 6).

Workshops and cultural heritage initiatives require continuous financial support from Somaliland's government, private donors and international partners to sustain them (expert interview with former director of Tourism). They require strategy to be financially sustainable as a long-term initiative. Lessons could be learned from international partners on how they have financially sustained their cultural heritage education programmes. According to Dr Jama Musa Jama (Director of the Hargeisa Cultural Centre), cultural and heritage sites are under threat owing to lack of capacity and understanding its relevance. In an interview he stated that:

> 'if we don't make [a] real program to protect and preserve our heritage with participation from the government level, civil society and international partners we will lose it'.

Lack of strategy in cultural heritage and tourism development is not exclusive to Somaliland but can be found throughout the Global South and in particular in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to Mabulla (2000) Africa is equally advantaged and disadvantaged in terms of cultural heritage. Advantaged in the sense that it is a warehouse of cultural heritage assets and disadvantaged in the sense that is deprived in terms of the means to preserve and protect their cultural heritage resources. Chirikure (2013) argues that despite cultural heritage being priceless in Africa, it is frequently valued less as a priority by governments. It can therefore be contended that with a lack of political strategy to prioritize cultural heritage development, Global South are susceptible to further challenges that may result in harm that cannot be reversed.

5.6.1 Haphazard Commercialisation of Laas Geel Cave paintings

The popularity of Las Geel is threatening its existence. Since its rediscovery, Las Geel has become an iconic national symbol. Laas Geel is noteworthy for being one of Africa's finest preserved and earliest rock art sites, portraying how ancient civilizations lived and worshipped towards the end of Stone Age (Neolithic era). Despite its importance, problems like how it should be conserved, administered, and who has custodianship have emerged as recurring themes in this research. For instance, traditional preservation methods or AHD (refer to section 5.2.5).

Despite claims that there are government restrictions on Las Geel, both diaspora and locals have unrestricted access without official permits, which exacerbates the lack of coordination strategies between frontline staff and ministry levels and raises deeper questions regarding abuse of power between local tribal security personnel and the government.

Interview with diaspora, Nimco

> *Despite the restriction in Las Geel, we managed to visit the site for free*

The observations and focus made in Las Geel contradict the studies (Sa'di, 2012, Marschall, 2016, Merode et al., 2004) that have claimed that formerly colonised countries continue to enforce colonial rule by limiting local people's access to resources in favour of western nations. However, it is unclear if this assumption holds

true in Somaliland. The Ministry of Tourism has, in principle, restricted visitors to Las Geel. Despite the Ministry of Tourism's claims, it was observed in this study that diaspora as well locals had access to the site. This is despite local and international cultural heritage specialists like Sada Mire, Jama Musa, and Abdullahi Shabelle, who recognised the site's fragility, advocating for limiting access to the site.

In spite of the fact that breaking the norms and restrictions of accessing Laas Geel encourages liberal accessibility, it diminishes the sites' ability to contribute to the socio-economic potential in the area through the creation of employment through tourist guides, souvenir shops, restaurants, and hotels for the local community. If there is lack of effective heritage management system in place, it could lead to a culture of extortion in which gatekeepers demand illegitimate fees for access. In fact, this was witnessed during my study at the checkpoints along the journey to Laas Geel.

The limitations on site visits provide an opportunity for the authorities to generate revenue, since they are aware of the site's popularity which may thus create funds to maintain the site. Visits to Las Geel officially requires permits, which according to existing rules and regulations may be acquired solely from the Ministry of Tourism (though in practice this was proved otherwise when speaking to those who have visited the site). A site visit permit costs $25 (150,000 SL Shillings), which is possible to pay for international tourists but unaffordable for locals. The price and the preference for the U.S. dollar are other signs of the type of tourist the Tourism Ministry wants to see at the country's only landmark. The average daily income of a local person is approximately $2 per day (ISIR, 2019), which in principle results in lack of access for locals to cultural heritage and tourism sites. However, this is not de facto the case as

visitors have access if they pressure the guards and pay them directly. Furthermore, excluding local visitors creates a sense of alienation from the site, which leads to locals vandalising cultural heritage sites and antagonising visitors because they are barred from visiting these sites, supporting Merode et al.'s (2004) argument that political and legal policies have mandated the restriction of local communities while providing elite access in SAA countries. Furthermore, it could lead to further tensions between diaspora and local domestic visitors in terms of power and accessibility of cultural heritage. Diaspora focus group participants also stated that the cost of the permit is rather high and that they would think twice before visiting this heritage site.

Additionally, aa car is required to navigate the rugged terrain for the 12km off the main road. Car rental costs can range from$50 $100 per day, further increasing expenses. Further restriction exists in the accessibility of permits, as arrangements of permits would need to be secured prior to travel to Las Geel. While it is positive that these safeguards are being taken, they are restricting potential international visitors who are often on shorter stay. When the ministry is closed on Fridays and Saturdays (weekends in the country), it delays tourist plans and itineraries and discourages tourists accessing Las Geel. This has negative impact on the MTT'S strategy for economic reconstruction through heritage tourism development.

Regulations and visitor restrictions are important, but it is also vital to be aware that increased red tape may hinder growth. The recent commitment to lay new road surface (tarmac) from the EU representative to Somalia may increase the number of visitors to the site and therefore could cause further human damage to Las Geel (Dalsan, 2020). For Las Geel to be sustainable, new strategies for managing visitor numbers

to the area are required, such as strategies that do not restrict locals to the point where they antagonise visitors or vandalise the site in the same way that (link with lit review case)

Figure 5.23 illustrates the location of the caves of Las Geel and showing 10km distance from the main road. Source: Google Maps 2020
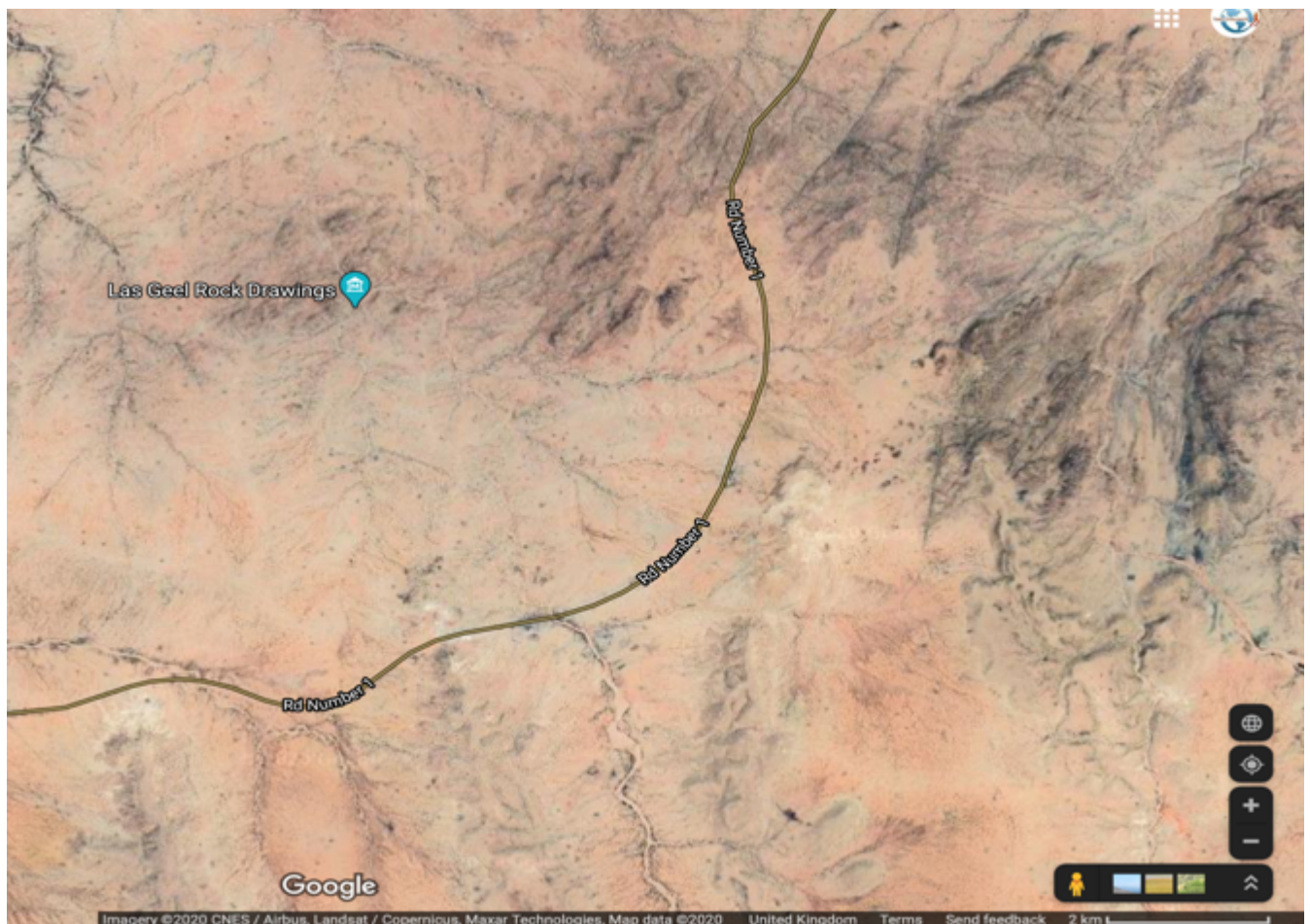
There is currently only a dirt track from the main road to the caves of Las Geel. There is no direct public transport to the site and only buses heading to or from Hargeisa stop near the dirt track which leads to the site. The distance from the main road to caves are marked in in the map.

Overall, all the above raises important questions in regard to who are (and should be) the stakeholders in defining policy and practice, and why, plus what the nature of their mutual relationship and relative powers and motivations are which would need further exploration.

Expert interviews with government officials were candid enough from outset of the fieldwork to verify that there is a lack of strategy and capacity for heritage development in the country. To take just two examples:

> Expert interview, Vice Foreign Minister, Abdulqadir Omar Jama:
>
> *'The government is limited in terms of capacity in understanding heritage development in Somaliland, the Foreign Ministry lacks the expertise and international partners. Our principal priority is to reduce poverty, construct basic infrastructure such as roads, access to water, and build capacity in their government departments'.*
>
> Expert interview Minister for Investment and Industrial Development Mohamed Awad:
>
> *We need decision makers and policy makers to work together and understand the industry first. We need to understand the significance first, then we can plan for it. This is the first time I have been asked this question and I have never thought about this.*

The statements provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (MFAIC) and the Ministry of Investment and Industrial Development (MIID) imply that heritage development is not a primary concern. However, despite their assertions, this study contradicts their claims. First, their perspectives are

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confronted by the noticeable construction of the nation's first national museum in Hargeisa, as well as the development of new public square parks and the renovations to the Fighter Jet Monument (see chapter 6) in 2021. Second, the government's active engagement and control by installing a 3-meter wire fence and a military police checkpoint at Laas Geel demonstrates that heritage is valued and that there is a plan for HTD (further discussed in section 5.2.3.1). Furthermore, the observations made during the field research suggest that that there are monuments and public spaces dedicated to heritage, such as the Commonwealth memorial site, SNM (Somali National Movement) liberation monuments, Hargeisa Cultural Centre, Hido Dhowr (translates as protect culture), and Sarayn Museum (privately owned by diaspora returnee).

Figure 5.24 Is a picture of the proposed design of the Somaliland National Museum in Hargeisa. Source: (Somaliland News Update,

Figure 5.25 shows the museum construction in progress. Source: Abdirisaq Elmi 2021.
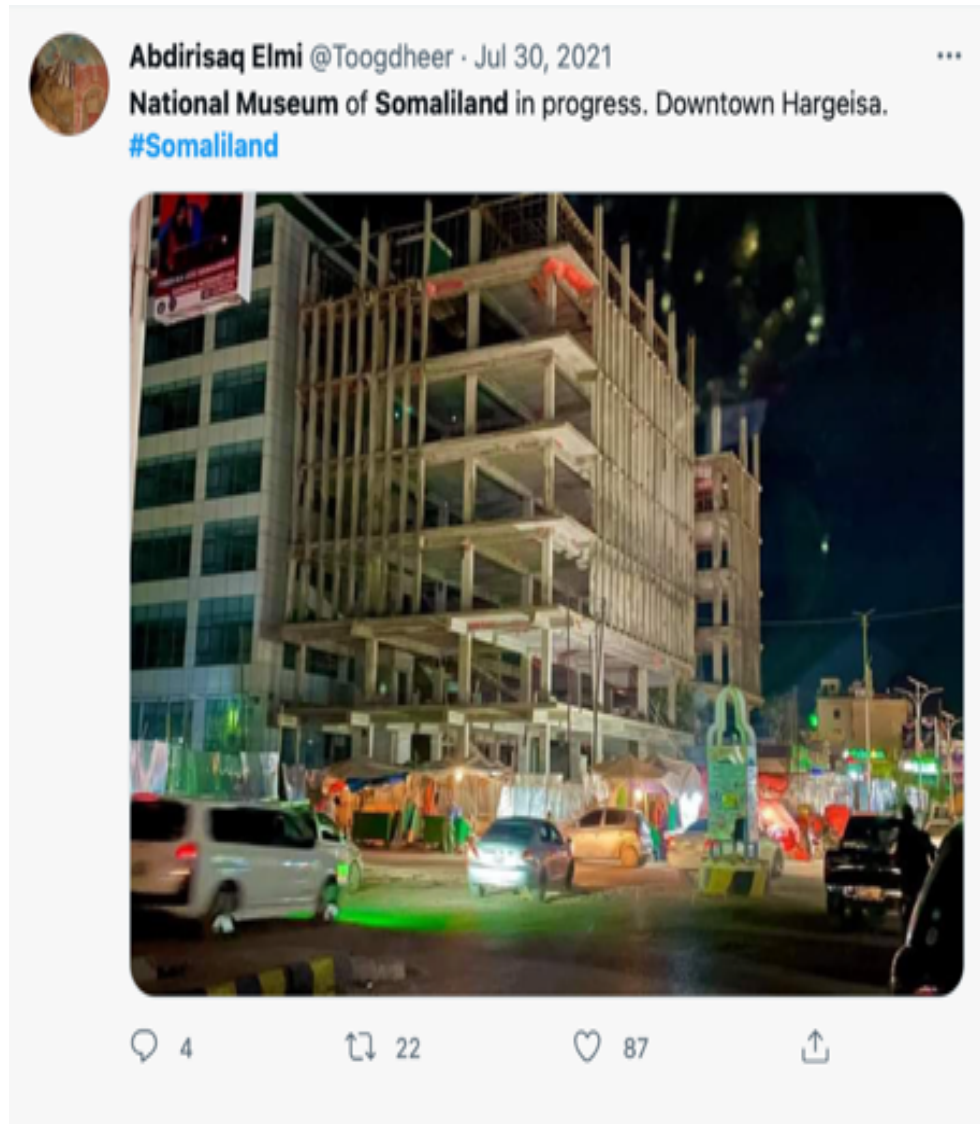
Figure 5.26 is the construction of Khariya Park. Source: Mohamed

Based on the evidence presented in this research, there appears to be a strategy for heritage tourism development, however it lacks coordination and communication across government agencies. If the current government does not mitigate this issue, it may lead to further difficulties, leading locals and diaspora to disregard regulations and hence not comply with future HTD initiatives. If the government is unwilling to

communicate its plan with its own ministries, it is highly unlikely that they would share it with the general public.

5.6.2 Lack of Coordination Among Government Ministries

From an outsider's perspective, it could appear that the government is doing so explicitly to exert control over its HTD strategies. Moreover, it would imply that Somaliland current approach aligns with Levin's (2010) previous study on communication and heritage in South Africa (Refer to section 2.1.2) which claims that open communications are seen as a weakness and a danger to the authorities in South Africa. Thus, based on Levin's study on South Africa, there are similarities. Firstly, both countries were governed by autocratic regimes (apartheid in South Africa from 1948 to 1994 and in Somaliland by Somalia's dictatorship regime from 1969 to 1991) which makes it difficult both for Somaliland and South Africa to dissociate their legacy of authoritarian practices from their institutions.

It is important to note that although both South Africa and Somaliland experienced authoritarian regimes and historical links with imperialism, both countries have distinctive HTD practices. Post-apartheid South Africa inherited extensive HTD systems and safeguarding practices from its previous rulers, which were designed to favour white Europeans. Additionally, South Africa had easier access to partnerships with IC organisations such as the UN, UNWTO, WTO and UNESCO to further develop its HTD. Somaliland, on the other hand, was not, despite being a former member of the United Nations (See Chapter 3 and section 5.3.4). Membership in the

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aforementioned organisation could have assisted Somaliland to develop its capacity for HTD comparable to post-apartheid South Africa.

It is important to consider whether the lack of communication in Somaliland is intentional or unintentional on the part of the government, and if is intentional, it may lead to further distrust among HTD stakeholders as well as other sectors. However, since South Africa outperforms Somaliland in terms of economics, education, technology, and access to international organisations such as UNESCO and the UN World Tourism Organization, South Africa is more likely to upper hand in deploying different strategies in their communication strategies. The lack of open communication across Somaliland's government departments is unintentional, disjointed, and strongly linked to the country's education and skills gap (further discussed in 5.2.4.3). Indeed, this underlines Richard Bigambo study which explored how infective administration structures can have significant impediment for good heritage management.

However, it is interesting to note that the Office of the Presidency engages directly with the public via social media, television, and radio despite the absence of contact across government agencies (see figure 5.3 and 5.4). This may imply that the government is not united HTD in strategies and that the Office of the Presidency operates all development initiatives including HTD. This implies that the government's HTD policies are not inclusive and may therefore be subject to poor awareness and coordination with other stakeholders, even in the government apparatus. Based on this understanding, HTD is implemented through a top-down management approach. Furthermore, the Presidency expresses consideration for public opinion by communicating directly with the people rather than engaging with its own government

agencies directly. Furthermore, with elections due in November 2022, it might be interpreted as a presidential campaign to enhance the governing party's public opinion under the guise of HTD's development initiatives to modernise the capital city.

From the above context, it is interesting to reflect on Petropoulos (2022) study, in which she claims that governing authorities cannot resist weaponizing heritage in order to legitimise their powers and control over their territory. It is therefore essential to point out that the Office of the Presidency is adopting a centralised system in which the Presidency leads the county's HTD initiatives, possibly owing to a lack of capacity from other departments, or as a way for the Presidency to impose direct control in the top-down approach. In addition to the above, it is essential to understand the regional context in which Somaliland is located. It is located in an unstable region bordered by nations that are embroiled in internal conflict, including Yemen (north), Ethiopia (south), and Somalia (west). Thus, having direct interaction with the public through the Presidency Office may be a practical and give the impression to the public that they transparent and thus to avoid possible internal conflicts. However, given their lack of transparency with their own institutions may prove difficlut for the

This study finds that the country is transitioning towards policy, but it is not yet consolidated across all relevant stakeholders, rather it is contested and therefore full of ambiguities and tensions, which would need further inquiry as this has important implications. Additionally, when the government states that there is policy in place such as Las Geel Safeguarding measure, empirical reality shows that there are inconsistencies as discussed below.

Aside from the capital city, it seems that there is a lack of communication between the Ministry of Environment and regional administrations, which leads to further man-made damage of cultural sites that might have been averted with better communication. Figure 5.27 illustrates three young people who were arrested for photographing themselves on the edges of Daalo mountain range's popular tree (BulshoTV, 2020). As a method to prevent further youths from climbing on to the cliff tree, local security officials have decided to cut the ancient tree (Figures 5.28 and 5.29) without consultation with the heritage or environment department. The lack of communication and coordination within the authorities of Somaliland, enables individuals to take actions without considering the implications of their actions. Therefore, access to cultural heritage will be obstructed because of lack of capacity and subject specialism. The Ministry of Environment and Tourism does not have the capacity to manage the protection and preservation of Somaliland's natural heritage attractions. As it was evident in an interview with Shukri Bandere (Minister for environment) with Bulsho TV, where the minister was invited to inform the public on why orders were given to the military to cut an ancient tree on the cliffs of Daalo mountain ranges (Bulsho TV, 2020). The Minister of Environment stated, "I have not given any orders and my department has not made the decision to cut the tree, we are saddened by the actions taken by one member of the army, and we will investigate it further''.

Figure 5.27 illustrates 3 young men on the edges of Daalo Mountain tree. Source: (Bulsho TV,

Figure 5.28 illustrates a security personnel throwing a rock onto the ancient tree of Daalo.

Figure 5.29 illustrates the cut tree

Throughout my field work I have observed environmental challenges which impacts nomadic heritage traditions as well as natural environment itself due to overconsumption of natural resources.

5.6.3 Environmental Challenges

During my observations in the streets of Hargeisa, I noted that residents use coal to cook their meals. Deliveries of trucks laden with coals were spotted stopping door to door. Furthermore, as the country has the least affordable electricity in the world (DFID, 2016) and with local people living below $2 dollars a day, they have no other

option but to use traditional means of either coal or wood to cook their meals. Resulting to issues such as air pollution, deforestation and climate change. Since the 1st of March 2005, the use of plastic bags in Somaliland has been banned and yet in 2020, the city of Hargeisa is littered with plastic bags and bottles. The plastic litter of Hargeisa has received a nickname from the locals, 'the plastic flowers of Hargeisa'. The government cannot implement its policy, and the locals (focus group) have stated that it has other priorities. Thus, the locals expect the government to provide alternative provisions such as waste management strategies and the availability of bins. The extent of Hargeisa's plastic litter waste is exposed during the rainy season (Gu) between April and June when the floods flush out plastic waste on the streets and rivers.

Expert interview statement by Shukri Bandere, Minister of Environment (10th Sep 2019):

'Diaspora can help us in creating awareness in sustainability and protecting the environment, presently there is an epidemic in plastic waste and there is lack of recycling plants, rubbish collection and there is a lot of plastic contamination and littering in Somaliland'.

Diaspora focus group (12th Sept 2019):

'The people in this country including the leaders are not taking pollution and plastic waste serious enough and this will discourage tourists and diaspora to visit the country'.

The analysis from this research indicates that if sustainability and management of plastic waste policy is not implemented, the country would lose its attraction and visitors would be deterred from visiting Somaliland (interview and focus groups). Thus, if lack of actions persists from the public and private sector, it could cause further displacement of nomads and loss of cultural heritage. Indeed, plastic waste causes

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further impacts on the livelihood of nomads, as their livestock consume washed or blown away plastic waste from the city and resulting to increased diseases. (Expert interview, Shukri Bandere). It was observed that plastic waste is brought by winds and flooding to farmers and nomads' grazing land and currently there is inadequate provision of waste management to meet the demand of the growing urban population in the country. During the field research, it was observed that there is lack of drainage system in the country and there is scarcity of potable water. With population rise coming from diaspora returnees, tourists, domestic tourists, displaced nomads and the rise of migration from Ethiopia and Somalia, and refugees from Yemen (expert interview Abdirahman Abdullahi, Vice Foreign Minister). Furthermore, Hargeisa has 10 camps which accommodates over 150,000 people who have been displaced by severe droughts in the countryside (Perham-Marchant, n.d.).

Figure 30 illustrates drought in the countryside Source: (Oxfam)

Despite these issues' environmental factors, Somaliland had made strategic partnerships with countries such as UAE, Germany, UK, Denmark and the Netherlands to tackle climate challenge.

5. 7 Conclusion

This chapter explored the main research question (MRQ) to establish whether Somaliland's Ministry of Tourism has a heritage tourism development strategy as part of its post-conflict economic reconstruction strategy. Furthermore, the chapter addressed the factors to consider (RQ2) whilst dealing with the country's heritage tourism development. Both RQs were addressed by the research methodology used in Chapter 4. The research data was gathered from expert interviews (government and heritage tourism officials), focus groups with local and diaspora participants, and a review of the Ministry of Tourism's website and policies. The research findings indicate that while the Tourism Ministry has aspirations for developing heritage tourism, its strategic plan does not address this objective. Furthermore, the ministry is constrained by internal and external factors. The lack of expertise of heritage tourism professionals within the ministry and the country has contributed to a lack of a defined strategy and development for heritage tourism. The lack of expertise within the country is not limited to the tourist ministry but is also affected by other government ministry departments. The lack of international recognition also significantly impacts the Ministry of Tourism's establishment of official associations with UNESCO, UNWTO, and other international heritage and tourism organisations for best practices in heritage tourism management and financial assistance. Furthermore, the ministry faces constraints due to a lack of

post-conflict reconstruction, further compounded by the country's lack of international recognition. As such, the central governments prioritise security and providing basic human needs (access to water, health and food) over developing heritage tourism. The last section of this chapter addressed the challenges Somaliland heritage tourism development faces from competing stakeholders within the country, particularly how heritage development is perceived by the diaspora and locals and impacted due to the rise in urbanisation. Externally, Somalia poses challenges to Somaliland's heritage sites and management approaches, particularly as the IC legitimises Somalia and de-legitimises Somaliland as it is not recognised internationally. Heritage tourism development remains contested and claimed by internal and external stakeholders, which vie for influence, and the Tourism Ministry is limited in its capacity to develop a heritage development strategy from above. The following chapter explores the role of heritage in nation-building. Chapter Six explores how heritage plays an important role in Somaliland's reconstruction following its liberation war (See section 3.2.6, 3.3 to 3.4.1) with Somalia in the reclamation of independence in 1991.

CHAPTER
SIX

Role of Heritage in Nation-building (RQ3)

6.1 Introduction

Chapters two, three, and five demonstrated the complexities of heritage development among practitioners, administrations, and non-governmental organisations. Chapter Five provided a comprehensive overview of Somaliland, the challenges in getting stakeholders to agree on heritage tourism development, and the need for compromise. Both chapters (Two and Five) have demonstrated the complexities of how power dynamics impact the formation of national identities. Furthermore, Chapter Five demonstrated how the absence of a national heritage strategy leads to disagreement among stakeholders in Somaliland. This disagreement creates confusion about Somaliland's national identity, particularly since multiple stakeholders are actively engaged in the heritage process. Despite Chapter Five exposing the government's challenges in implementing the heritage development strategy from above, Chapter Six shows this was not the case during the early stage of the nation's reconstruction. Heritage played an important role in the reconstruction of the new nation. However, Chapter Six demonstrates that as the nation transitions towards economic reconstruction, it faces several challenges.

Despite the fact that the Ministry of Tourism and Trade (MTT) is responsible for the administration of heritage (5.2 to 5.2.4), this study reveals that numerous agencies are presently involved in the heritage-making process. Multiple entities, including the MTT,

the Somaliland Authorities (SLA), the Hargeisa Municipal Council (HMC), and diaspora elites. During the early phases of independence from Somalia, the MTT department did not exist, and SLA was responsible for heritage-related development. In this context, the following section examines how the SLA has shaped Somaliland's national identity in response to RQ3.

The qualitative analysis for RQ3 is based on observations made in Hargeisa, interactions with respondents, and data from social media. It provides an increased understanding of how heritage influences the creation of national identity. This section begins with an outline of how the SLA incorporated heritage practices during the initial phases of national reconstruction. The second section investigates the role of heritage practises in re-shaping national identity in post-national reconstruction. The final section explores the role of heritage practises in reshaping Somaliland's national identity with the UK based Somaliland diaspora.

6.2 Re-imagined nation and the role of flags and symbols

Following Somaliland's liberation from Somalia in 1991, the country began rebuilding from the ground up, re-imagining itself as a new nation emerging from the struggle against Somalia's occupation of Somaliland from 1960 to 1991. Expert interview held with Zamzam Abdi Aden, Former Minister of Finance on 1st Sept 2019:

> With the Government of Somalia doing everything possible to reclaim Somaliland [Isaaq genocide], since 1991 our newly formed government supported campaigns to create unity and support for the new nation.

As demonstrated by the above respondent and in section 5.3, there are no limits to the extent to which Somalia's government is willing to coerce control over Somaliland. Equally, Somaliland's government has maintained its position in re-asserting its independence since its inception in 1991. Re-establishing a nation following a conflict involves considerably more than restoring ruined structures and public services. As such, Somaliland's authorities (SLA) have begun constructing new monuments, symbols, and traditions to distinguish themselves from Somalia (Sections 6.2.2, 6.3, 6.3.1). The majority of the population supported this approach since Somalia's acts of genocide directly impacted everyone. As such, this further empowered the SLA without resistance since they are hailed as heroes of the land since they had liberated the Isaaq tribe genocide and the entire country from the dictatorship regime. This legitimised and empowered SLA to influence heritage development in the early stages without resistance from the public. Figure 6.1 depicts the Somaliland flag decorated on public buildings in Hargeisa, a sight that is also common throughout the city's streets and squares, as well as in other cities. These street installations serve as a medium for portraying and performing the re-imagination of the new Somaliland.

Figure 6.1 shows the colours of the country's new flag decorated on public installations. Source:

Beyond the physical infrastructures, expressions of re-imagined nation are displayed through art installations and on bank notes.

Figure 6. 2 illustrates Somaliland Bank notes 1000 Shillings and 5000 Shillings Source: author

Figure 6.2 illustrates two of the most commonly used bank notes, the 1,000 and 5,000 shillings (1 pound = 1,000 shillings). The depiction of camels, goats, and sheep on both banknotes demonstrates the significance of livestock to the economy and nomadic heritage. The community views livestock as a symbol of wealth and higher

status, and it plays a significant part during ceremonies and difficult times (See section 3). The depiction of livestock on the banknotes conveys a nostalgic longing for the peaceful periods preceding the conflict. Thus, the SLA strategy of depicting livestock in the early phases of state reconstruction appeals to the majority of citizens and serves as a nostalgic strategy for persuading them to support the SLA reconstruction strategy. The government has become the beneficiary of nostalgia through constant branding of livestock, which also empowers communities to engage in informal livestock trade, with livestock accounting for 85 percent of foreign exchange revenues and 60 percent of the country's gross domestic product (Brouwer and Yusuf, 2023). Livestock plays a significant role in the nation's identity and is not only reflected in the nation's currency but was also depicted on Las Geel caves (dating to over 5000 years), used by the public and private sectors, political party insignia, and heritage venues (See section 5.4.3). Through discussions with respondents and observations, common themes that was observed the modernist expressions towards democracy, access to mobile technology as well as the longing for nomadic heritage traditions. This observation aligns with studies (Fox, 2013, Connerton, 2009, Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012) which affirmed the important role that symbols convey to both modernist and traditionalist viewpoints on national traditions.

Somaliland appears seven times on banknotes in English, Somali, and Arabic, which is noteworthy. This is too repetitious and shows the SLA's intent to sell its narrative to locals and international visitors of the reality of the state by repeating it seven times via material culture. Material culture, particularly banknotes, plays an important influence on how a country views itself, often relating pictures of its past to the identity of its state (Galloy, 2000). Supporting the picture are also the inscriptions in English

and Arabic (further discussed) written on both banknotes. The inclusion of English could imply that SLA is utilising its historical links with Britain, and it also emphasises that Somaliland's history is distinct from that of Somalia, which had connections to Italian colonialism. Inscribing English language may also mean as SLA's appeal to Britain, particularly given that Britain is the UN penholder for Somalia and Somaliland (Bet, 2023).

The depiction of Arabic inscriptions on the banknotes could be perceived as a strategy for reaching out to Arab nations. In terms of geographic location, SLA is aware of its strategic location (formerly known as the Gulf of Berbera, presently known as the Gulf of Aden) as well as its shared cultural and historical ties. Culturally, Arabic is widely spoken in Somaliland and there is also shared religion of Islam. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 3, Somaliland (under Somalia) was member of the Arab League in 1974. Thus, the inscription of Arabic on the bank notes, could be a political ploy to entice Arab countries to trade and collaborate with Somaliland. From this perspective, the recent UAE investment in Berbera port represents Somaliland's largest investment in its history, thus illustrating how soft-power strategies through cultural ties can facilitate economic development (See section 3).

From the above diagrams (6.1 and 6.2) and discussions, it is evident that the government's objectives to re-imagine a new national identity were effective from the early stages of national reconstruction. However, as the country transitioned from post-conflict reconstruction to economic reconstruction, banknotes have decreased, with a shift towards adapting technological advancement in mobile payments (Reppas

and Muschert, 2021). This means that the government's ability to use banknotes to promote its national identity becoming increasingly limited. However, to compensate for this limitation, the government has focused on constructing and reconstructing new material heritage sites (such as Khaaria, Fighter Jett, Hand and Map Monuments) and consolidating different commemorative events into single heritage sites (section 6.2.2). However, this approach is becoming problematic as both the diaspora and locals express their disagreements with the SLA and MTT. They accuse the government of endangering Somaliland's identity, particularly by creating a perception that appeases Somalia through heritage integration and reinterpretation (Section 6.3).

Symbols and flags played an essential part in establishing unity and assisting in the process of state-building reconciliation in Somaliland. This observation corroborates Hobsbawm and Ranger's (2012) assertion that traditions that utilise national symbols, such as flags and anthems, have an important function in establishing distinct beliefs and behaviours from the standpoint of nation-building. National identity is an essential aspect of the process of state development (Yearwood, 2018). Furthermore, SLA's approach is comparable to other states which historically used heritage in some capacity to underpin and legitimise their power (Logan, 2012, Harrison, 2010, Silverman, 2005, Verdery, 1999). Similarly, national identity manifestations fit within the constructivist notion of national identity of the 'Self and Other' (Cahan, 2019). In this context, the self being Somaliland and 'other' being Somalia. In essence, this stalemate between the two states leads to contestation claims over who has the legitimacy control over heritage development in Somaliland. Furthermore, the lack of clarity has an adverse effect on heritage development initiatives (See sections 5.2.3, 5.3.1, and 5.3.3.1). While these issues remain unresolved, heritage development will

continue to be impacted negatively, unless there is alternative perspective to assess

stalemate between both states. The following will review the issue through the scope

of international law and the role of heritage symbols and practices that are applied.

6.2.1 Legitimised Through The Lens of International Law of Statehood

As discussed in the previous section, SLA is utilising its pre-colonial and colonial and

post-conflict history to re-construct its national identity. Apart from the historical facts,

SLA is justifying its national identity through the interpretation of international law.

Interview with Shukri Bandere (Minister for Environment):

> *From an international point of view, we are visible, self-sufficient and consistently shown this over the last 28 years.*

Interview with Diaspora Director

> *The union did not happen legally and legitimately, and we have lost the opportunity to keep the sovereignly of our country since gaining independence from Britain.*

Focus group Ayan (Diaspora resident in Hargeisa):

> *We need to recognise ourselves first, by learning from our past and then the rest of the world will recognise us.*

Interview with Zakaria (local resident in Hargeisa):

> *The union with Somalia was not signed into to law and we have never sworn allegiance to Somalia but to Britain only.*

The above respondents, hold the view that Somaliland fulfils the requirements for international recognition. Moreover, the referendum results of 2001 (See section 3.4) is also strengthening the SLA to it legitimise it to continue with its national identity re-construction strategy.

Considering that it meets the international law on statehood, Somaliland meets the re-recognition criteria. First, Somaliland complies with uti possidetis juris (UPJ), which states that former colonial borders shall be recognised as independent countries upon achieving independence from colonial control, thereby ensuring that the IC must recognise their colonial borders (Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021). Somaliland meets the UPJ criteria since it was a British colony for 75 years prior to its abortive union with Somalia; therefore, it is eligible for IC membership. Second, as discussed previously (See sections 3.3 and 5.2.2), Somalia's state sponsored genocide in Somaliland means that Somaliland meets Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, which prohibits a state from invading another by force. Furthermore, Somaliland complies with the four principles of the 1933 Montevideo Convention on Statehood. It demonstrates this by having a government, a permanent population, a defined territory, and the ability to engage in international relations. This is despite, Somaliland meeting three different principles of the international law for statehood recognition (Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021).

Despite Somaliland's compliance with the IC's own legal frameworks, it is paradoxical that the IC insists on Somali unity (sections 5.3 to 5.3.1.1). Somaliland's voluntary union with Somalia is comparable to those of Senegal/Gambia, Egypt/Syria, Indonesia/East Timor, and Ethiopia/Eritrea, in which the IC acted as a neutral mediator,

unlike in Somaliland's case (See section 2.1.8). Given that Somaliland meets the criteria for statehood from its inception and had its own reconciliation process without foreign intervention, unlike Somalia (Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021, Bet, 2023, Bradbury, 2008), it was less difficult for Somaliland to re-establish itself using cultural heritage practises such as monuments and symbols. The following section examines the significance of Independence Day celebrations as a means of establishing rituals that reinforce the nation's reimagined identity.

6.2.2 National Independence Day celebrations Strengthening National Identity

This section builds on the previous studies (Willems, 2013, Dimitrova-Grajzl et al., 2016, Hutchings and Rulyova, 2008) of the significance role that Independence Day celebrations play in nation building. The authorities have adopted cultural heritage practises to achieve their re-independence objectives, corresponding to the previous discussion (Section 6.2). As with the construction of monuments and banknote symbols during the early phases of state reconstruction, there was limited public opposition to the organisation of Independence Day celebrations.

Since 1991, Somalilanders have annually observed the 18th of May as Somaliland's national Independence Day parade. It features traditional cultural heritage practices from the country's regions and a military parade. It is comparable to that of India. This implies that exhibiting traditional cultures have become a cultural heritage vehicle for the Somaliland government to reinforce the new Somalilander identity. Even though it is the largest official event of the year on the state calendar, several research

participants believe that it is not inclusive and excludes tribes that were not involved in Somalia and Somaliland's previous conflicts. In fact, this corroborates the conclusion of Sabine Marschall (Marschall, 2016), who argues that post-colonial nation-building frequently does include some groups while excluding others (see section 2.1.10). In line with this view, Somaliland officials demonstrated the incorporation of minority clans in Somaliland's heritage, but they committed an oversight when they merged two distinct commemorative events into one memorial site without consulting the broader community. This resulted in discontent and disagreements among heritage stakeholders (discussed further).

Figure 6.3 demonstrates support for the renovation of memorial sites

bhlub @thebhlub · Dec 1, 2020

Great step on renovating the **Hargeisa** memorial, but please also take care when removing the current memorial, its an important part of our **heritage** too!

It can be part of the permanent collection of the new **Hargeisa** museum.

Also, we need a proper genocide memorial.
#Somaliland

involvement in heritage and cultural development has increased within local elites and the diaspora.

6.3 Heritage in Post-national Re-construction and Towards Economic Development.

Figure 6.4 illustrates the before-and-after of the monument's renovation and shows two contrasting perspectives. Although the transformation of this site has attracted positive reactions from the locals and diaspora, painting the original colour of the hand into the national flag might be a step too far as it reduces the site's authenticity.

Figure 6.4 Shows before and after renovation of the Hand and Map monument.

Before

After (**re-imagined** towards economic reconstruction)

Figure 6.5 Announcement from the Director General regarding the re-imagined monument construction.

Figure 6.5 demonstrates SLA approach to re-imagine the country's heritage sites and confirms that the government is reacting to the concerns of the diaspora and the local communities (local elites). Focus groups and interview participants expressed that the site perimeter of the fighter jet monument should be enlarged, paved and to ban parking on the site to cater for more visitors. Whilst the renovation idea is a positive step for the fighter jet monument, diaspora and locals were not in agreement with the planning process.

The fighter jet memorial site represents the struggle for independence and those who lost their lives in it from 1988 to 1991. The proposed new upgrade would combine on

the same site, the struggles of independence of the Darawish army against British rule, and many Somalilanders opposed it. Within moments of the Director General announcing the statement on Twitter, people expressed their anger on his tweet. All the comments argued that commemorating their liberation struggle against Somalia should be kept separate and distinct from that of British colonial history. Indeed, the latter may now be taken as part of the history that motivates keeping Somalia and Somaliland apart as different countries to distinguish Somaliland's unique history and traditions. Thus, similar to the case of Hong Kong currently insisting on its separate British colonial heritage to argue their distinct difference from China.

Figure 6.6 Twitter comment (locals and diaspora) which opposes the upgrade of the Fighter Jet Monument at the National Square. Source: Bhlub.2020

bhlub @thebhlub · Dec 10, 2020
Replying to @thebhlub
This is a very sad day for #Somaliland. Truly.

History will remember @BilemohamedAli as the man who destroyed an iconic symbol of our history on a whim, for no good reason, to serve personal agenda and pad out a false record of 'achievements'.

  4   4   19

Mohamed Dualeh @EngDualeh · Dec 11, 2020   ···
Replying to @BilemohamedAli
Why take off the original Airplane that bombed Hargeisa and replace it with a plane model !!.

Figure 6.7 illustrates the fighter jet monument murals, which commemorates the atrocities during the fight for independence from Somalia which began in 1988 and ended 18th May 1991. The murals depict the events which took place. People have expressed wishes to preserve the murals and have suggested to store it in museums. However, developers and planners have ignored people's request and have demolished the murals, as evident in figure 6.7.

Figure 6.7 illustrates evidence of the destroyed fighter jet murals. The public (diaspora and locals) had requested the murals be stored in museums; however, they were ignored and consequently destroyed (red arrow shows the destroyed murrals).

Figure 6.7 illustrates evidence of the destroyed murals of the fighter jet.

6.3.1 Heritage relevant to Local Community

Figure 6.8 shows a group of local people sitting in rows watching the murals monument, with one observer holding his hands on his head and a child viewing the murals up close. Around the site, people sit on provided benches, and a metal fence surrounds the perimeter. This highlights the significance of the murals and the interpretation of the site, symbolising Somaliland's resistance to Somalia's oppression.

Figure 6.8 depicts local people sitting in front of the murals beneath the fighter jet before the renovations began. Source: Wataka (2018)

Interview with Mustafa, local resident in Hargeisa:

> *The murals are a must-visit place, and we take our family there when they visit us from abroad.*

Focus group with local people in Hargeisa stated:

> *We used to sit in the evenings by the monument (murals) and drink tea and camel milk, eat traditional food, and catch up with our friends.*

Figure 6.8, the above interview statement and focus group accounts demonstrate how important heritage sites and symbols such as murals are to local people. Local people (as well as the diaspora) perceive the murals as a significant part of Somaliland's history and national reconstruction symbol. This demonstrates how local people engage with and interpret heritage sites, showing that tangible sites provide a platform for gathering and creating intangible heritage experiences through their discussions and interactions. In Somaliland, intangible (oral) heritage is valued more than tangible heritage, with exception of the murals and monuments symbolizing resistance against oppression. The intangible traditions are not confined to the local population but also extend beyond borders, particularly within the diaspora, who use their unique identity to distinguish themselves from Somalia.

6.4 Somaliland's re-imagined national identity within the UK diaspora

Identity refers to the fundamentals distinguishing heritage, language, religion, ethnicity, nationalism, and shared interpretations of the past, which are used to create narratives of inclusion and exclusion of groups of people that can be specified or differentiated (Howard, 2008). Indeed, Somaliland and Somalia share same language and religion, but their perceptions of the past diverge because both countries had distinct kingdoms and fiefdoms prior to Italian, French, and British occupation. In addition, research demonstrates that individuals of the diaspora and locals identify as Somalilanders, in the sense that they see "Somalis" as "them" and not "us." This concept was further supported by the online UK Census of 2021, which allows individuals of the diaspora to identify themselves as Somalilanders and not Somali.

Figure 6.9 Census 2021 list of African ethnic and backgrounds.
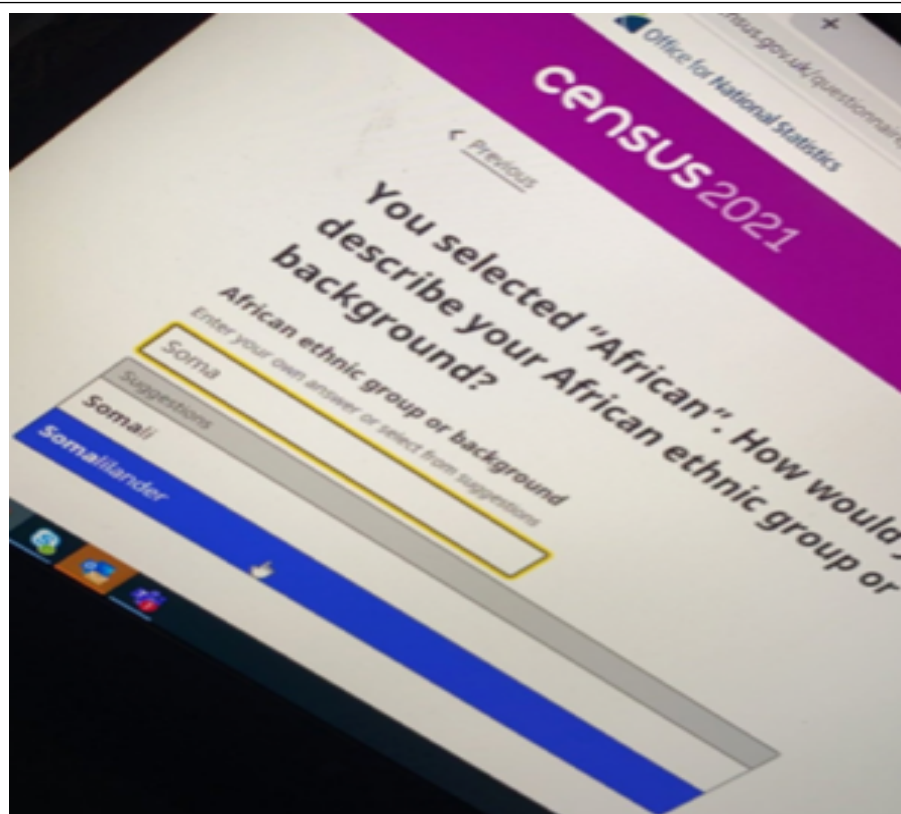
The change in self-identification options for ethnicity or national identity on the UK 2021 Census was driven by demands from the UK diaspora, and this narrative will reinforce Somaliland's bid to disassociate (re-imagined) itself from Somalia's national identity and narrative and create its own narrative about a distinct Somaliland national identity, image, and international position. This identity divide may be attributed to the aftermath of Somalia's bombing of Hargeisa and the effort to eliminate the dominant tribes in Somaliland during the war between 1980 and 1991. While ethnic conflicts are not new, their presence explains the establishment of new nation-states based on perceived ethnic identity and with the goal of establishing long-term peace (Banks, 1996). As a result, the Somaliland administration, and the majority of Somalilanders do not wish to be associated with a formerly shared identity with Somalia. Somaliland's intelligentsia and politicians devised a new, united national identity that would unite clans for a single objective and distinguish Somaliland's national identity from that of Somalia (Expert interview with Mohamed Awad Mohamed, Minister of Investment).

6.5 Nationalism Theories: Context of Somaliland

According to constructivist theory, nation states used to be defined by their rulers and not by their populace. Nationalism evolved between 1860 and 1899 as a consequence of deliberate manufacture by European ruling elites (Cahan, 2019). According to Smith (2013) outside of Europe throughout the colonial era, two types of nationhood emerged: dominating ethnie and recreating identity via common values. The primary ethnic group constitutes the basis on which national identity is established in the case of dominant ethnicity. This research study demonstrates that both dominant ethnicity

and reconstruction occurred in Somaliland during and after the colonial era. The ethnic unity appeal was inspired by the fact that the inhabitants of former British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland shared similar religion, ethnicity, language, and customs, on which their leaders would build a country using the prevailing ethnie model. According to Zamzam (expert interview with former finance minister), unification was not driven by politicians or elites; rather, the people demanded that their leaders establish a union with Italian Somaliland or face the repercussions of being ousted if they failed their goal. This was not legally fulfilled, however, since the union between Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland (present-day Somaliland) was not ratified into law by both nations (Contini, 1969). Thus, the Somali people's imagined togetherness crumbled and evolved into a conflict between 1982 and 1991. As a consequence, traditional elders and clans decide to secede independently from Somalia and create Somaliland in 1991 (with the consent of their tribes or clans). This resulted in the reconstruction of a new national identity, allowing the envisioned nation state of Somaliland to be recreated.

This research adds to prior studies on primordialism (Kohn, 1950; Kucich, 2017; Leerssen, 2013), which assert that romanticism flowed into European state-making independence movement. As such it could be argued that primordal theory has failed to deliver on its promise of unifying the Somali people or that the politicians failed to deliver on the constructivist promise of unifying the nation from the top down after it had been cobbled together as a supposed unit. This is despite Somalia and its foreign donors' repeated efforts to pressure Somaliland to re-join Somalia through its One Somalia policy (see section 5.3 to 5.3.3.1).

Indeed, the absence of political integration between tribes in Somaliland and Somalia has resulted in the current defragmentation of tribes, clans, and regions, undermining any future hopes to unite the people of Somaliland and Somalia. However, since reclaiming independence from Somalia, Somaliland has developed a strong sense of nationalism, which may exclude individuals from the Darood clans. Particularly by minority tribes (Daroods) that live on Somaliland's territory and are complicit in the 'Isaag genocide' (majority of Somaliland's population) during their quest for re-independence between 1980 and 1991.

6.5.1 Rise of Somali Nationalism To Resurrect Somalia's Unity

Those who are excluded from Somaliland's identity because of their own conduct or a lack of affiliation with Somaliland's concept of identity protest in the streets wearing the clothes of Somalia's national football team, which is deemed blasphemy. Local police and residents, for example, dealt with a young guy waving the Somalia flag in public in 2021 and another young man dressed in Somalia football outfit in 2020. (2019, Somaliland Standard) Upon his release from prison, the guy travelled to Somalia at the invitation of the Somalia's president, where he appeared for photographs to illustrate those underrepresented in Somaliland had support in Somalia. Indeed, this is linked to Somalia's strategy of destabilising Somaliland's unification through supporting youths and anti-Somaliland organisations to forcefully integrate Somaliland's identity with that of Somalia. In response, Somaliland's

president highlighted the case as an example of a persistent threat to the country, to

the point that Somaliland's youth have turned against it. This highlights the persistent

relevance of the two states' disagreement and attempts to restore Somaliland's unity.

Focus group with diaspora in Somaliland 28th Jul 2019:

 '*Since the people of Somaliland experienced massacre on a commercial scale from the Somalia regime, anything associating with the Somalia flag could get you harmed or arrested in Somaliland*'

Figure 16. Person wearing Somalia's national football team outfit

(Somalilandstandard, 2019)

6.5.2 Heritage To Remember And Heritage to Forget

As reviewed in Chapter 2, heritage consists of both tangible and intangible elements, which involves a complex process of deciding what to prioritise and what to de-prioritise to obtain a desired representation of a place or culture. Sørensen and Viejo-Rose (2015) claim that the process of determining what heritage to remember and what heritage to forget leads to, in some cases, conflicts in post-war communities (see section 2.1.10). Sørensen and Viejo-Rose's claims are limited on their studies in the Balkan region and not in Africa. Second, the Balkan wars are the outcome of unresolved historical grievances over territorial and ethnic issues dating back to the Balkan wars in 1912 and 1913 and the Yugoslavia War from 1991 to 1999. Conversely, historically Somaliland was less problematic in contrast to the Balkan region. Contributing factors such as shared territorial, religious (Islam), and tribal systems enabled long-lasting alliances that resulted in the establishment of the Ifat and Adal Sultanates (discussed in chapter 3.2), and it is through this shared history that Somaliland avoided a prolonged internal conflict. Furthermore, this has become widely referenced in contemporary national narrative.

While the country has avoided long-term conflicts, there have been brief episodes of tribal conflicts. The 1994 internal clan violence, which occurred three years after independence from Somalia, and was based on control of the new country's resources and assets among clans. Furthermore, unlike Somaliland, the Balkan conflicts included opposing forces such as NATO members, Serbia's military (and its allies), which contributed to the reasons that Sørensen and Viejo-Rose have concluded.

Further, unlike the Balkans, internal conflicts were resolved in Somaliland through traditional mediation approaches led by clan elders, particularly the success of this approach was owing to explicitly rejecting external influence from United Nations and external governments through a nationwide conference in cities in Somaliland such as Burao (Eastern Somaliland) and Borama (Western Somaliland). In essence, the risk of conflicts in Somaliland is prevented using these bottom-up traditional mediation practices (refer to section role of elders and chapter 3.3).

Based on the observations and discussions held with informants in Hargeisa, locals seem to be more engaged in day-to-day routines of going to work, hustling, praying, and driving around the city to meet up with friends and family at coffeeshops than sightseeing and photographing heritage sites. Local community were less hostile to the restoration of Hargeisa's fighter aircraft memorial, and to the destruction of the murals of the fighter jet monument (see figure 5.8 and 5.9).Discussions with locals in Hargeisa confirmed that they were mostly unconcerned about man-made heritage sites, instead preferring to value natural heritage sites such as Golis Mountain, Ga'an Libax, Naaso Hablood (twin hills), and Daalo Forest, as well as intangible elements of heritage such as their nomadic traditions, language, and traditional dances such as the Saylici, Daanto and Jaandheer. Unlike the diaspora, essentially locals were more concerned the erosion of their intangible practices and natural heritage spaces. Interestingly, by comparison people from the diaspora were more concerned about man-made heritage sites, including the restoration of colonial and Ottoman heritage sites.

As evidenced by the previous remarks, the government is taking up further control of the bottom-up approach and bottom-up strategy. This confirms that the local community prefers collaborative efforts over foreign aid and foreign influence (See section 5.2.3.2). Secondly, this indicates a widespread lack of trust (discussed more in section 5.4) in the government if it gets further authority over the management of development projects, including HTD.

The president of Somaliland, Musa Bihi was involved in commissioning and deploying military personnel to help build new heritage projects in Hargeisa, such as the National Museum (See figures 5.3 and 5.4). This observation corresponds with the findings of Pinkerton (2011) and Basu (2008), who contended that often when new political entities are established, they glorify and remember their past, as well as reconcile their prior grievances through the constructions of new monuments. Indeed this is a common theme both in postcolonial theory and nationalism theory, as discussed by Marschall (2016). Furthermore, Clark (2016) research on Srebrenica contends that memorials are crucial in helping communities cope with atrocities such human right violations, and indeed the findings of this study support this viewpoint. However, while the public in Somaliland might appreciate the creation of memorial sites for their recent history, the efforts of building these memorials is underscored by more particular bids for legitimacy and power because of the president's background as a former freedom fighter who liberated Somaliland from Somalia's dictatorship. It could be surmised that this sudden drive to construct memorial sites in the capital city is politically motivated to taunt the current leaders of Somaliland's opposition political parties, who were not on the frontlines during the liberation movement. Therefore, the creation of memorial

and historical monuments might be seen as a political effort to boost Bihi's re-election in the forthcoming election in November 2022. However, this surge in construction of monuments and national heritage institutions like the national museum has been met with criticism. Figures 5.5, 5.6, and 5.7 and diaspora focus groups revealed concerns about how the government chooses the national narrative (further discussed in section 5.3 of this chapter).

Research participants in focus groups and interviews as well as reviews of social media have disclosed that there is a lack of trust and transparency on the planning process of heritage development among stakeholders in Somaliland. The Director General's (of the Presidency) decision to demolish the fighter jet monuments and it's murals irritated people online and attracted criticism towards the Director General of the Presidency.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter addressed the role of heritage in reconstructing Somaliland's national identity following the country's re-independence from Somalia in 1991. The chapter demonstrated how heritage monuments and symbols such as memorials, flags, and national independence parades were the basis for the nation's reconstruction. The chapter also highlighted that the diaspora and locals feel unrepresented as the country reinvents and reimagines itself in post-conflict economic development. The government, which has the authority over heritage management, lacks the coordination and strategies for bringing stakeholders to agree on a vision for Somaliland's economic reconstruction. The final section addressed how a lack of

consensus among Somaliland stakeholders enables Somali unionists to undermine Somaliland from within and coerce Somalilanders to reunite with Somalia. The following chapter (7) analyses the themes which arose from this research, the contribution to heritage and diaspora studies in post-conflict settings, limitations, and recommendations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This thesis began by enquiring whether there is a strategy for heritage tourism development in Somaliland. I have answered this question by establishing one main research question (MRQ) and two sub-questions (RQs) addressed in chapters 5 and 6. The focus of the MRQ was to assess whether Somaliland's Ministry of Tourism and Trade (MTT) had a strategy for developing heritage tourism in the country. The first sub-question (RQ2) assessed the factors to consider in managing the development of Somaliland's heritage tourism. The second sub-question (RQ3) identified the role of heritage in the construction and re-construction of national identity.

This chapter concludes by establishing four concluding sections. The first section of the conclusion discusses the themes that emerged from this analysis. The second section discusses the study's contribution to the broader heritage field in a post-conflict context and other key areas, including diaspora relations and post-colonial societies. The third section discusses the limitations of the study. The final section addresses the closing remarks, addresses the recommendations, and highlights the answers to my overarching aims of the thesis question.

7.3 Summary of Research Findings

As discussed in Chapter 4, the results of MRQ, RQ2, and RQ3 relied on research methods in the form of interviews, government policy information, focus groups, observations, social media discussions, and surveys. The subsequent discussions in the following sections address the themes that emerged through the lens of each of the RQs and this diversity of data from multiple stakeholders.

7.3.1   Administrative Challenges (MRQ)

Considering that the research aim was to establish whether there was heritage tourism strategy development, it was essential to start from the government level as it is mandated to take on responsibility of the country. Thus, I focussed on the participation of the departments which deal directly and indirectly with heritage tourism development. This provides a sense of understanding of whether policy exists for heritage tourism as part of the economic development aspiration of the country. I focused on the Ministry of Tourism, which is directly tasked with developing heritage and tourism policy. Additionally, I gathered further insights from other ministerial departments, such as the Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of Investment, and the diaspora department, which indirectly deals with heritage tourism. Through the combination of data from these institutions, I was able to develop clearer insights into whether there is a comprehensive heritage tourism strategy as part of the government's post-conflict and economic strategy.

The findings related to MRQ indicate that internal and external challenges impact the MTT. Combining these two factors results in a limited heritage tourism development management strategy. Internally, the ministry cannot incorporate heritage tourism into its post-economic development strategy despite the MTT's aspirations. The findings in sections 5.2 to 5.2.2 suggest that some of the limitations result from administrative obstacles within the MTT. The internal administrative limitations result from the lack of skilled personnel with heritage management expertise, a problem for the MTT and other government ministries due to the country's lack of a skilled labour force. The ministry's capability to implement a top-down strategy is limited. The MTT relies on Dr Sada Mire, the only known archaeologist in the country, for its heritage tourism development strategy due to the absence of internal capacity. Although the diaspora provides vital human capital, relying on their ad hoc services presents challenges, as demonstrated by the findings regarding MRQ. Externally, the MTT has attracted external challenges since the re-discovery of las Geel in 2001 (discussed in sections 5.2.5, 7.2.2 and 7.2.3). Furthermore, the dependency on diaspora elites has increased the contestation of heritage sites such as the rock art of Las Geel,thus destabilising local heritage conservation practices (as discussed in section 5.4.1).

7.3.2 External Factors To Consider (RQ2)

The results of RQ2 demonstrate the factors to consider when managing the development of Somaliland's heritage. The themes from this question included MTT limitations due to internal and external challenges. The findings for external factors and challenges reveal the role of the international community (IC) in insisting on its own heritage development strategy through the explicit political coercion between

Somaliland and Somalia's heritage. The IC's approach undermines Somaliland's heritage by assuming that it is similar to Somalia's, however as discussed in Chapter 3 and evidenced in Chapters 5 and 6, this is not the case. Moreover, the IC approach has intensified tensions between heritage stakeholders and considering the complexity of the region of the Horn of Africa, a prone conflict region, it can re-ignite new conflicts if the IC persists it's own approaches without fully understanding the unresolved political, legal and restorative justice between both countries. In addition to the IC, the findings establish that the diaspora, which is also internal at the same time, also external, poses challenges to heritage development. The increase in urban development in Hargeisa and its outskirts leads to further contestation between the local community and the diaspora stakeholders on access to land. Together, these stakeholders play a significant role in developing heritage in Somaliland.

7.3.3 MTT Impacted by External Challenges (RQ2)

As discussed in section 5.2.4, the aftermath of Somalia's dictatorship regime left behind a legacy of significant destruction of essential facilities such as roads, water supply and buildings as well as millions of mines, which are not fully cleared. With 90% of the city infrastructure flattened and with hundreds of thousands of displaced residents, it has taken ten years (1991-2001) for Somaliland's authorities to stabilise the country. Through the deployment of traditional and commemorative heritage sites, government policy has resulted in the creation of national unity (see section 7.4), and this has enabled the return of thousands of members of Somaliland's diaspora and thus increased international interest, which resulted in the re-discovery of Las Geel in 2001 by from a group of international academics through the assistance of Dr Sada

Mire. Following the re-discovery of Las Geel in the next ten years, momentum began to build for MTT and diaspora members to promote Somaliland through heritage. This period signified the time for Somaliland to evolve from post-conflict nation-building to post-conflict economic reconstruction through heritage tourism. Mainly, the objective has been attracting the diaspora through establishing consulates and embassies to attract them to visit Somaliland and invest in real estate, hotels, and restaurants. The quest for appealing to the diaspora to support Somaliland highlights that this is the most accessible source of assistance to start with in a challenging context. Before the re-discovery of Las Geel, Somaliland's authorities received intermittent aid channelled through Somalia. International relations have remained challenging, as all assistance has been conducted through the internationally recognised state of Somalia, which continues to weaponize aid to coerce political control and enforce unity. This is despite the IC acknowledging that the union between Somalia and Somaliland was not legally fulfilled (as discussed in section 5.3.2.1).

7.3.4 Ministry Without Post-conflict Reconstruction Aid (RQ2)

The findings demonstrate that the MTT could be more extensive in several aspects of its work due to Somaliland's need for external political recognition from the IC. Due to Somaliland's complex international position, the ministry cannot receive direct external aid in the form of international post-conflict reconstruction assistance. Since Somaliland's re-assertion of independence in 1991, the IC has been absent from Somaliland's post-conflict reconstruction. Thus, the diaspora has stepped in as the lifeline with government and local business groups to provide financial assistance and expertise for basic human needs such as security and stability and tackle poverty

without direct aid from the World Bank, the United Nations and individual donor countries. The IC's reluctance to acknowledge the pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, and post-liberation political and historical differences between Somalia and Somaliland prevents the MTT from accessing bilateral aid. They have thus been deprived of a resource that could have developed basic civil infrastructure, such as education institutions, to produce a skilled workforce.

Since the MTT is limited in its ability to recruit a skilled workforce, the ministry relies on professional members of the diaspora; however, retaining them is also a challenge since the ministry lacks the financial capabilities to employ them full-time. Thus, the ministry relies on local people who need more training and education and better infrastructure, which limits the ministry in establishing an adequate heritage tourism strategy. As described in section 7.2.3, any aid that reaches the ministry is routed through Somalia, which either withholds it or exerts political pressure to assert control over Somaliland's development. In addition, a lack of power and resources means that when international researchers rediscovered Las Geel, the MTT's ability to establish tourism policy, strategy, and adequate infrastructure could have been improved.

As will be elaborated below, one of the significant findings of this study is also the existence and impact of external pressure imposed by the IC through the representatives of the European Union in Somalia (EUSOM) to persuade the MTT and heritage specialists in Somaliland to comply with the IC 'One Somalia' policy (see section 5.3I).

7.3.5 The IC Heritage Approach: Perceived as Top-Down Approach by Somalilanders (RQ2).

As shown in figures 5.9, 5.10 and 5.10, EUSOM has provided the MTT and Hargeisa Cultural Centre (HCC) with funds to support the development of heritage tourism sites (as discussed in sections 5.3, 5.3.1 and 5.3.3.1). However, this approach implies that EUSOM coerces political integration through heritage development funds. Thus, for Somaliland's heritage to receive international aid for its heritage development, the MTT and HCC must comply with the EUSOM's top-down development strategy. This is a strategy which benefits the EUSOM's agenda of stabilising Somalia at the cost of Somaliland to relinquish its distinct heritage to conform with the image of one Somali heritage and identity. This approach negates the fact this has been tried once before by Somaliland, who conceived the idea of forming one Somali identity during its unification with Somalia in 1960. Insisting on this approach, the process failed from its inception and in the subsequent years it was followed by the Isaaq genocide and the destruction of Somaliland's infrastructure. The findings presented in sections 5.3.2 to 5.3.3.1 demonstrate that the IC (EUSOM and UNESCO) approach disregards the historical, political, and cultural differences between Somalia and Somaliland. The IC also dismisses Somalia's acts of genocide without transitional justice and insists on transferring Somaliland's heritage to Somalia, particularly in the implicit statement made by the EUSON website to include the Hargeisa Cultural Centre and Las Geel as a token to integrate Somalia and Somaliland through heritage. This approach is simplistic and does not consider the area's underlying issues or history. This approach

assumes that neither Somalis nor Somalilanders can define their heritage practices and thus justifies the AHD discussion in section 5.3 (Eurocentric perspective).

As discussed in section 5.3.1, EUSOM intends to inscribe Las Geel as a World Heritage Site through Somalia under UNESCO's World Heritage Convention. Based on existing evidence and debate, Las Geel is the only site currently considered to have potential for the World Heritage List. What is done with other heritage sites is another issue, at least regarding the World Heritage Convention. However, EUSOM's approach contradicts UNESCO's 'Five C' principles centred on credibility, conservation, capacity-building and community as strategic objectives for the World Heritage Convention by legitimising Somalia and delegitimising Somaliland (see section 1, 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). This position undermines the MTT and poses an authoritarian strategy that amounts to a 'take it or leave it' approach to stakeholders in Somaliland (discussed in section 5.3.3.1). As a result, the MTT's capacity to devise a strategy from above is constrained, leading to disagreements between the diaspora and locals regarding how heritage should be managed.

7.3.6 Whose Heritage: Tensions Between Diaspora, Locals and Authorities

When addressing the development of Somaliland's heritage, it is essential to consider the complicated relationships between locals, diaspora (returnees and tourists), and authorities. Due to increased awareness of the economic value of heritage, tensions between the local community, the diaspora elites, and MTT have increased. As

demonstrated in Sections 5.4, 5.4.1, and 5.4.2, the findings reveal that if locals are not included in the heritage planning and economic and social integration of their local heritage sites, they can adopt radical strategies such as taking up arms to protect heritage sites from the government, diaspora, and international community. Even though competing heritage stakeholders in Somaliland disagree on how heritage should be managed, there is consensus on the critical role of heritage in promoting Somaliland internationally, particularly in the context of political recognition and distinguishing Somaliland from Somalia. Research participants also commonly understood the role of heritage in supporting economic reconstruction, as shown by the increase in the country's service sector. During my fieldwork, I have observed newly established hotels and restaurants offering live cultural performances, which add further value to the country's economic reconstruction (5.4.3 to 5.4.5).

Although heritage tourism is at its exploration stage in Somaliland, the last 20 years have shown an increase in development for hotels and real estate owned by the diaspora, which has motivated families from the diaspora to relocate to Hargeisa and other cities. This has increased urbanisation in Hargeisa, and with it also pollution and land acquisition, leading to a growing displacement of nomads on the capital's outskirts (5.4.5 and 5.4.6). Due to displacement, nomadic communities have let their herds of camels roam around residential and communal gardens within the city (see Figure 5.25). The increased urbanisation and displacement of nomadic people have resulted in the government applying a reactive regulation, which communities ignore since it consistently lacks the resources to enforce it. Furthermore, as discussed in the concluding sections of sections 5.6 and 5.6.1, the MTT and other government ministries lack the capacity, resources, and financial means to implement a

development strategy. These factors demonstrate that Somaliland's local councils and ministerial departments responsible for heritage tourism, the environment, and national planning cannot coordinate strategy.

7.3.7 Four Groups of Stakeholders: Competing Interest on Heritage Development

The findings of this research map out four competing stakeholder groups: the IC, MTT/Government, diaspora and locals. Furthermore, as highlighted in the above sections (7.2 4 to 7.2.6) and extensively discussed in chapters 5 and 6, these groups have conflicting strategies from the IC's perspective, which is mandated to help Somalia's problems; however, without fully understanding the complex history and political stalemate between Somalia and Somaliland. This complicates and undermines Somaliland's heritage development. It is also interesting to observe how competing interest within the IC is coercing its development approach. This research shows that EUSOM is leading in pressurising heritage integration between Somalia and Somaliland through financial aid development: A persuasive proposition which instigates conflict of power dynamics between Somaliland stakeholders and undermines national identity. This has already initiated conflict in the eastern regions of Somaliland between pro-unionists and pro-Somaliland groups. If it persists, it could reignite further conflict, destabilise the area and have wider ramifications in dragging diaspora communities within and outside their diaspora-adopted nations. It is also significant to note that the diaspora is more concerned with heritage development than the local communities, who are indifferent to heritage tourism development as they

perceive that they lack basic needs such as access to water, housing, education and employment. Thus, heritage tourism development is a rich issue. This perspective changes when economic gains are mentioned, particularly in the Las Geel re-discovery, when local clans demanded to be included in the consultation process to have schools and health clinics built and to employ local people as part of the development initiatives of Las Geel. This demonstrated that, in reality, subsets within each of these stakeholders have competing interests, further complicating heritage tourism development.

7.3.8 Role of Heritage: Re-imagining A New Nation (RQ3)

The final research question addressed in Chapter 6 examined the role of heritage following Somaliland's re-independence in 1991 and the transition towards economic reconstruction. Data for this question was gathered through interviews, focus groups, observations and social media discussions. The results demonstrate that rebuilding a nation following a conflict necessitates more than constructing new infrastructure and have illustrated how national unity was achieved by local and government stakeholders through the strategic use of tangible and intangible heritage practices to underpin identity building. Heritage symbols such as flags, display of nomadic heritage traditions on banknotes, and the construction of heritage monuments to symbolise the new nation and ground it in the past have played a significant role in building and maintaining imagined nationhood, establishing a sense of belonging and a case to legitimise Somaliland's bid for international re-recognition and thus establish sovereignty (6.2 to 6.2.2). The display of the shutdown fighter Jett monument and the

mural depicting the Isaaq genocide took centre stage in Hargeisa's centre from 1993 to 2020. Considering that heritage extends beyond borders, section 6.4 discusses the role of Somaliland's British diaspora in reconstructing and redefining their national identity. In particular, it demonstrates that the United Kingdom Census distinguishes Somalilanders from the Somali ethnicity previously acknowledged on its record.

The final section of this chapter discusses nationalism theories in the context of Somaliland and how the International Community coerces the 'One Somalia' policy. An approach which inadvertently emphasises Somali nationalism without considering its implications could endorse a primordialist nationalist approach.

7.4 Contribution to Heritage Tourism Studies, Diaspora Studies, and Nationalism

This thesis aims to contribute to developing heritage literature within the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, which is on the rise; despite this growth, there needs to be more inclusion from the regional perspective of the Horn of Africa. As such, the findings of this study contribute to the existing body of knowledge by incorporating Somaliland's heritage. The scope extends beyond the current heritage scholarship, primarily concentrating on western, northern, and southern African countries. Furthermore, this study makes a theoretical and practical contribution to the understudied heritage of Somaliland. One of the main contributions has been to map out what heritage means to different groups, and it has also demonstrated their differences. This indicates that

heritage remains contested and illustrates its relevance to contemporary political conflict.

7.4.1 Contribution To De-mystifying The Perception of Somaliland

Somaliland's country name and geographical location tend to be obscure to audiences outside and within Africa. To the broader public, in Africa and internationally, little is known about the country's profile; the closest similarity is when it is frequently confused with Somalia. Given that both start with the word "Somali," the conflation is easy to understand. However, empirical reality demonstrates the differences between both countries.

As shown in sections 5.3, 5.2.4, 5.3.1.1, and 6.2, the distinction between Somaliland and Somalia has historical, legal, and moral dimensions. Before European colonialism, the territory of Somaliland was known as the Adal Sultanate, and for 600 years, it was under the Ottoman Empire; before that, it was known as Ifat and Macrobia (see section 3.2). The territory known as Somalia was composed of numerous sultanates, including the Ajuraan, Hobyo kingdom, and Majertinia Sultanates, and this historical context indicates that there was no formal unity between Somalia and Somaliland in the past. The term 'Somali' as the designation of an ethnic or national group and a corresponding territory did not exist before the colonial era; it was formally conceived at the 1884 Berlin Conference. Although several theories exist, the term

Somali was not used to refer to the territory before the colonial era and emerged afterwards.

The 'Somali' territories annexed at the 1884 Berlin Conference were known as British Somaliland (current-day Somaliland), Italian Somaliland (current-day Somalia), and French Somaliland (current-day Djibouti). The issue of Somaliland being conflated with Somalia could have been mitigated if the founding members of Somaliland, following the re-declaration of independence in 1991, had adopted the names of Macrobia, the Adal Sultanates or Ifat to link with its historical characters rather than Somaliland, which makes it difficult to distinguish itself from the perception of Somalia.

As discussed in section 3.3, Somaliland's political wrangling with Somalia was first initiated by its citizens in 1960. Upon gaining independence from Britain in 1960, local Somaliland communities pressured its leaders to establish unity with Somalia (a former Italian colony). This was a hasty unification attempt, driven by distrust of British rulers who had before independence secretly annexed part of Somaliland (Hawd and Reserve Area) to Ethiopia, despite signing earlier treaties not to secede any of Somaliland's territories. Thus, Somali nationalism, first conceived out of fear of Somaliland losing further territories, paradoxically caused more damage. Furthermore, this problem of its own making presently halts heritage development strategies within the Ministry of Tourism and the nation's sovereignty. Despite numerous academic and political sciences studies, as well as the African Union Fact-finding mission of 2005, there is little progress in recognising the reality of Somaliland.

Furthermore, the findings of this study indicate that the IC (UN, EU, AU and veto power nations) underestimate the empirical reality of the distinction between Somalia and Somaliland and should employ strategies similar to those used to resolve the complex issues in other regions which have been subject to conflict, such as the Balkans, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Indonesia, and East Timor. The insistence of the IC on sustaining the status quo prevents the resolution of historic problems and hinders Somaliland's plans to develop heritage tourism as part of its post-conflict and economic reconstruction strategy (as discussed in sections 5.3 and 5.3.1I). However, the findings demonstrate that heritage gives Somaliland a point of difference from Somalia. This is important as it defines a historical reality that supports a separate heritage that, in turn, offers a different political identity. This is one of the core roots of conflicts over heritage that is outlined in the findings of Chapters 5 and 6I.

7.4.2 Contribution To Understanding The Role of Heritage Tourism In National Re-construction.

This section discusses the study's contribution to critical heritage studies and heritage tourism development. It does this by addressing the themes which emerged from the analysis in Chapters 5 and 6. The findings extend the theoretical concepts and frameworks presented in Chapter 2.

As highlighted in sections 2.1 to 2.10, heritage is a dynamic process and multifaceted topic: It encompasses tangible and intangible values as well as aspects of politics, economic and social development (Ashworth, 2014, Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015, Lowenthal, 1998). These forces influence both heritage development and heritage destruction (Khalaf, 2017, Kong and Yeoh, 1997, Paulus and Pilsworth, 2020), as observed in chapters 5 and 6. The findings in Chapter 6 reaffirm Smith (2022) assertion that heritage contributes to legitimising new, current and future (political) power formation where the application of heritage differentiations can unite or divide competing stakeholders. This research shows how what is the same heritage in physical terms can be subjected to everything from indifference to attempts at underpinning state legitimacy and international technocratic interests, which are themselves highly political.

Following the unilateral reassertion of Somaliland's independence from Somalia in 1991, the authorities built new heritage installations such as monuments, murals and symbols to separate themselves from Somalia (see section 6.2). These findings reinforce Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012) assertion of heritage's vital role in constructing distinct behaviours and beliefs in establishing national identity. The deployment of monuments, murals, national anthems, symbols, emblems, national independence celebrations, and bank notes assisted Somaliland's authorities in visually representing the nation's identity. This visual representation enabled collective memory through tangible and intangible means to imagine Somaliland's resurrection. These observations extend to the studies of (Willems, 2013, Dimitrova-Grajzl et al., 2016, Hutchings and Rulyova, 2008), which have argued the significance of heritage, particularly in the context of formerly colonised nations.

In the case of Somaliland, Somalia's lawmakers dismissed the pre-agreed-upon conditions in the new constitution five days after independence from Britain; consequently, the unification process was not ratified. In the thirty years that followed, Somaliland was ruled by dictatorial approaches, including genocide and an economic blockade (see section 5.2.4), which Somaliland had not experienced during the British rule. As a result, Somaliland is one of the few nations that celebrates its association with the British Empire; essentially, it is this association which legitimises Somaliland's differentiation from Somalia and provides an argument for international recognition. A parallel to Hong Kong versus China, which has similar complication of intra-regional colonialism. Despite differences in pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, and post-liberation conflicts, the IC stance of insisting on unification between Somalia and Somaliland creates difficulties in developing a Somaliland-led heritage development initiative.

Although heritage plays a vital role in legitimising Somaliland's political reclamation of independence from Somalia (6.2 to 6.2.2), there are limitations. As evidenced in section 6.3, it becomes problematic for Somaliland authorities to transition from national reconstruction to deploying heritage for economic reconstruction, which complicates the insights arising from studies which advocate the role of heritage in a development context (Willems, 2013, Dimitrova-Grajzl et al., 2016, Hutchings and Rulyova, 2008). Further challenges stem from the government's need for consultation with Somaliland's broader heritage stakeholders and, thus, authorities making unilateral decisions. This approach reinforces patterns of AHD in which Somaliland's

heritage development is managed from a top-down approach to defining heritage and its development in a national context.

7.4.3 Contribution to Heritage Tourism Development in Post-conflict and Economic Re-construction

Although scholarly articles about Somaliland are increasing, the majority have focused on studying Somaliland's nation-building and democratic development in the absence of international aid (Ali, 2022, Jhazbhay, 2003, Schwartz, 2021, Lewis, 1967, Bradbury, 2008, Bulhan, 2004, Ingiriis, 2016, Kaplan, 2008). This study has identified and grouped scholarly articles that explore Somaliland's heritage tourism potential (Bradbury, 2008, Chonka, 2019, de Torres, 2022, Gómez et al., 2022, Hammond, 2015, Hansen, 2008, Jeffrey, 2015, Mire, 2007, Mire, 2015b, Mire, 2011, Woolner, 2023). Although the field is in its infancy, these articles provide a foundation for future research into Somaliland's heritage tourism development.

From a development perspective, section 2.1.10 shows that heritage development is essential for governments in their economic development strategy (Salemink, 2016, Ashworth, 2014, Croes, 2014, Csapo, 2012, Hampton, 2005). The findings in section 5.2 demonstrated that although the MTT aspires to apply heritage development within its post-economic reconstruction, it cannot implement a strategy focusing on heritage development. This is despite Las Geel taking centre stage across MTT's heritage tourism economic plans, as it cannot enforce heritage strategy due to a lack of experts

in the field of heritage to integrate its economic reconstruction plans through heritage tourism development.

Tourism development through the diaspora plays a crucial role in economic development in Africa (West Africa), particularly by leveraging tragic historical events (slave trade, civil war) to create, recreate, modify and destroy commemorative heritage activities and sites (Basu & Abu Sam, 2016, Basu, 2013, Adu-Ampong and Mensah, 2023, Ashley, 2016, Moeschberger and Phillips DeZalia, 2014). Western African nations, such as Ghana, Benin have targeted African American and African Caribbean tourists with ancestral ties to Africa and descendants of slave trade through campaigns like Roots Tourism and the 2019 Year of Return. These initiatives have encouraged the development and renovations of heritage sites (West Africa), making them focal points for heritage experience. In contrast, Somaliland did not experience the transatlantic slave trade and therefore lacks the historical ties to the Americas. Therefore, Somaliland cannot leverage heritage tourism development (Roots Tourism) in the same ways as Western African countries. Instead, Somaliland shares the similar historical ties in the sense of post-colonial liberation conflicts as Sierra Leone. However, while the conflicts in Sierra Leone was an internal civil war, the conflict in Somaliland stemmed from the unratified union between two formerly independent countries (see section 7.4.5). Additionally, Somaliland faces challenges in heritage tourism development due to its lack of international recognition (section 7.4.7). In contrast to Western African countries, which have benefited from international support due to their political recognition, Somaliland dies not have direct international support.

Both Somaliland and other African nations recognise the significant role that the diaspora contributes to their economic development (Abdile and Pirkkalainen, 2011, Basu, 2011, Cross, 2022, Kafle, 2010, Otoo et al., 2021, Sinatti and Horst, 2015). However, leveraging the diaspora can lead to tensions when they return to their ancestral lands, participate in the development process and engage with the local community (Adu-Ampong and Mensah, 2023, Cohen and Fischer, 2018, Farah, 2009, Hammond, 2015, Mariani et al., 2018). These issues are supported by the discussions presented in sections 5.4 to 5.6.

Furthermore, the evidence presented in this study demonstrates that heritage does not feature in the contemporary research on Somaliland's politics and statehood, although clearly it is an important component in understanding the differences between Somalia and Somaliland.

7.4.4 Contribution to Conceptualising Heritage and AHD

One of the essential contributions to Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) is the crucial insight developed based on observing Somaliland's and European (Western) heritage management processes. The analysis presented in this study contributes to, expands on, and challenges AHD (Smith, 2015). Sections 5.2 and 5.3 establish top-down elements of AHD practices in Somaliland's heritage development process, thereby contributing to and expanding Smith's AHD theory. Furthermore, this research expands on this by highlighting that although African post-col generally adhere to the

AHD (Chirikure et al., 2010, Chirikure et al., 2016, Ndoro et al., 2017, Bigambo, 2020), Somaliland presents a unique perspective where multiple stakeholders compete and contest how heritage is administered. This is observed in sections 5.4 and 5.5 which explore the contention between the Somaliland diaspora and local community over approaches of heritage development. This supports Silverman's (2011) work, which contends that heritage is a complex process with various stakeholders having competing interests, leading to contestation over how heritage is owned, managed, represented and interpreted. As established in sections 5.2, 5.2.1, and 5.2.2, in the absence of capacity, the government relies on Western-educated diaspora professionals who contribute towards the country's heritage development from national and international level. Dr Sada Mire, in particular, advocates for cultural heritage approaches in Somaliland that align with Somaliland's stakeholders' values and heritage conceptualisation. Including and incorporating local heritage stakeholders' challenges Smith's AHD. Through her publications (Mire, 2007, Mire, 2015b, Mire, 2011) and strategic role within Somaliland's government, Dr Sada Mire has advocated for the inclusion of traditional heritage safeguarding, which would have been overlooked under the AHD. Section 5.4.1 explored how essential it is to respect local safeguarding strategies. As emphasised by Stuart Brown (section 5.4.1), Las Geel has experienced more damage in the last 17 years than in the previous 5000 years. This is despite the government deploying fences, police officers, and permit entry procedures.

One of the significant findings of this study is also the limited direct engagements of the international community (IC) has with Somaliland, as well as how Somalilanders perceive the IC's goodwill approach to heritage development in the country.

Participants in the research perceive that the EU representative in Somalia (EUSOM) imposes AHD through top-down. However, EUSOM and UNESCO cannot advocate directly for Somaliland's independence; thus, they are imposed by the policies of their parent bodies (UN and EU). Despite the constraints of the IC's advocacy for Somaliland independence, they indirectly channel goodwill aid to support Somaliland heritage development (see sections 5.3 to 5.3.3). However, this creates the impression among Somalilanders that EUSOM and UNESCO dismiss the historical, political, and social differences between Somalia and Somaliland. This approach aligns with the findings of previous studies (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Harrison, 2012; Smith, 2006; Lowenthal, 1998), which contends that heritage is often overseen from the top down and usually from a Eurocentric perspective. This has additional implications for Somaliland's attempt for an international re-recognition bid, as it undermines it. In addition, the EU's approach directly and indirectly supports Somali nationalist movements, which have reignited new conflicts in the eastern region of Somaliland bordering Somalia (see section 6.5.1).

7.4.5 Contribution To Nationalism Theories

The findings of this study demonstrated that the nationalism movement in the early years before Somaliland's independence from Britain was similar to the primordialist approaches widespread during the romanticism of the late 18th and early 19th centuries in Europe (Kohn, 1950, Kucich, 2017, Leerssen, 2013, Cahan, 2019). Similar in the sense that there were grievances between bottom-up power dynamics (civilian revolutions) and top-down power dynamics (monotheistic, dynastic leadership). In the

case of Somaliland, the discussion in section Chapter 3 (3.2.3 to 3.2.4) indicates that the Somali nationalism movement began in 1954 when the Hawd and Reserve regions had been covertly annexed to Ethiopia by the British in 1944. This fuelled local communities' resentment towards British rule and thus motivated clan elders in Somaliland to initiate primordialist strategies with Somalia's elders to initiate a pan-Somali nationalism movement to establish an independent Somali republic. This supports Smith (2013) the assertion that nationhood evolved with a dominant ethnicity under colonialism (section 6.5). However, the attempt to unite all the Somali territories failed since Somalia's representatives adopted a different constitution from the one initially agreed upon. The lack of integration between the nations stems from different colonial and pre-colonial histories despite having a common Somali language, religion, and traditions (Contini, 1969, Bradbury, 2008, Jhazbhay, 2003, Mutuma and Ogechi, 2021, Schwartz, 2021, Contini, 1967). Thus, the lack of historical ties and the unresolved political issues between Somaliland and Somalia's unratified 1960 unification constitution embodies this lack of integration.

Although primordial nationalism was the driving force behind the attempted formation of the Somali Republic in 1960, unity failed to materialise. Despite this, the regime of Siad Barre, which came to power in 1969 through a coup d'état, pursued the concept. Though there were indications of the concept's potential through the deployment of new heritage practices such as parades, flags, and public square parties, ethno-nationalism was short-lived, as Somalia was defeated in 1978 by Cuban forces (see section 3.2). Following the defeat, a weakened Siad Barre perceived the Isaaq clan as threatening his nationalist movement. Thus, he began to exclude them from the

political and economic space and started his extermination campaign (see section 5.2.4).

As explained in section 2.1.7.1, heritage is a significant agent for uniting and dividing communities. The subjugation and targeting of the Isaaq clans resulted in the formation of resistance forces in Somaliland and the diaspora, ultimately defeating Somalia's regime. As discussed in section 6.2, Somaliland's new authorities employed heritage practises to rewrite everything associated with Somalia and thus began to re-invent Somaliland's identity using constructivist strategies (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015, Smith, 2006, Smith, 2015).

7.4.6 Contribution to MTT and its Heritage Policy

This study contributes valuable insights to the Ministry of Tourism and Trade by addressing the main research question (MRQ): whether the Somaliland government has a strategy for heritage tourism development as part of its post-conflict economic reconstruction. The findings of the study also provide the Ministry of Tourism with comprehensive insight into the effectiveness of its current heritage tourism approaches. Furthermore, it presents the ministry and interrelated departments, ministries, and non-governmental agencies with insight into the factors to consider when dealing with heritage tourism development strategies. This also gives the government an understanding of competing stakeholders' complexity and dynamic relationships. As such, Somaliland's government and public administration can be

better prepared when dealing with future development initiatives. The findings of this study present secondary research and primary data, which provides an appraisal of Somaliland's heritage development. The results reflect the current practices and the challenges that limit the Ministry of Tourism and Trade internally and externally. Heritage and tourism professionals are also presented with information which can help them better prepare and consider the broader perspective of Somaliland's heritage and tourism scope.

7.4.7 Contribution To Research on Unrecognised States and Countries

The results of this research make an important contribution to the study of relations between nations that are recognised and those that are not by the formal international framework constituted by the United Nations. This research showed a contradiction in the international law of statehood regarding the differential treatment of different states. In particular, nations which voluntarily merged following the end of colonialism and subsequently dissolved their unions. A good example of this can be seen in how the unions were formed and dissolved by Senegal and Gambia, Egypt and Syria, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Sudan and South Sudan, and Indonesia and East Timor. Furthermore, the dissolution of the former USSR facilitated the establishment of fifteen new nations. In the context of this study, Somaliland encountered significant challenges in 1960, notwithstanding its recognition by the United Nations and 34 other countries, some of which possessed veto power. Despite receiving recognition from the United Nations and 34 different countries, including veto-power nations, and meeting similar conditions as the above nations, Somaliland is not recognised. This

contradiction limits heritage tourism development and thus limits its potential to attract international investments and tourists to visit the area due to perceived risk and association with Somalia.

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7.5 Limitations Of The Study

With any study, there are varied degrees of limitations, such as time and budget constraints, and difficulties surrounding the broader involvement of study participants, and this study is no exception. However, what distinguishes this study is the difficulty encountered before field research in obtaining approval in terms of the university's risk assessment due to the perceived security risks associated with Somaliland, as it is considered a part of Somalia. Section 4.9 describes the difficulties encountered in obtaining the university's ethical clearance due to travel restrictions imposed by official UK foreign travel recommendations. After several months of anticipation and face-to-face discussions with the university's risk assessment staff, it was decided that Hargeisa and Berbera were the only locations where I could visit and conduct my primary research due to current official perceptions or risk. However, this was further complicated by the 120-mile distance between Hargeisa and Berbera and the fact that the territory in between has travel restrictions imposed by the UK FCO red colour warning. To resolve this problem, I looked for alternative solutions, such as searching for direct flights; however, this was impractical as there was a lack of existing connecting flights. Ultimately, I settled on conducting research in Hargeisa and its surrounding areas. Despite these restrictions, the city was a suitable setting for my research; locating my study participants, including government officials, diaspora,

locals, and tourists, was more accessible. Given the restrictions on travel, Hargeisa provided a suitable setting as it represented a microcosm of the national population.

In addition to the above limitation, I encountered a challenge getting Dr. Sada Mire and Sahra Halgan to participate in my study. As discussed in chapter 5 (5.4.4), along with Dr Jama Musa Jama, Halgan and Mire are regarded as references to the rise in international popularity of Somaliland's heritage, and it was important to me to get all of them to participate in my study. All three contribute to the development of Somaliland's heritage. Thus, I considered it essential to include them in my research. Before my field trip, I established communication with Sada Mire through email, and Sada Mire provided me with a supporting letter for my field trip to comply with the university's ethical approval process. During both field trips, Sada Mire and Sahrah Halgan were away from Somaliland, so visiting them at their offices was not possible. Several weeks later, when I returned to the UK in March 2020 from my field research, I managed to have a telephone conversation with Sada Mire, and our planned interview was postponed due to COVID-19 measures, which interrupted our ability to meet face-to-face or virtually.

Similarly, I communicated with Dr. Jama Musa Jama regarding my intention to involve him in an expert interview. I have also taken extra measures to establish rapport by attending his events (Somali Week Festival) in October 2019 during Black History Month. Meeting him face-to-face and discussing field research and Somaliland's heritage helped me develop rapport to get him involved in my research. Although I had fewer challenges in getting local people within the city to participate in my research, it

took a lot of work to get participants on the outskirts of Hargeisa to participate in my interviews. I encountered unwilling participants as the local nomads were suspicious of my research and the fact that I entered their grazing lands. As the conflict over land acquisition rises, the local nomads are uneasy about the diaspora. Thus, to establish some trust with locals, particularly those on the city's outskirts, I developed a strategy to build their trust first by disclosing my clan and sharing the last memories of Hargeisa during the height of the conflict in 1990 and 1991. This approach helped me gain their trust to participate in my study. Furthermore, I was granted permission to observe their camel ranches and nomadic setting, which attracts local traders and diaspora tourists for fresh camel milk. Another method I experimented with was wearing traditional clothes (discussed in section 3), which enabled me to avoid standing out. However, people could tell I was an outsider when I tried to speak Somali. This approach, which did not require participant interaction, was most effective during my observations.

One of the significant challenges I faced was securing participation from IC organisations such as UN, UNESCO and the EU, for my research. This proved to be a difficult task, as such I strategized to attend different public events where EU and UN representatives might attend. At a public event held at the Hargeisa Cultural Centre, I was able to initiate a conversation and exchange contact information with a representative from EUSOM. This initial contact allowed me to arrange a future discussion at their preferred location, providing an opportunity gather insight of their perspective. However, the participant chose not to participate in the study, opting to remain anonymous and unrecorded in any data collection process. This experience

highlights the difficulties EUSOM staff have in regard to Somaliland's case, as their parent organisation (EU) imposes restrictions on them.

Another challenge I confronted was securing the involvement of the Minister of Tourism in my research, considering the connection between this study and the Somaliland tourism industry. As discussed above, I informed the ministry of my study through their web portal. However, I was not given a reply; as a result, I addressed this challenge by personally visiting the ministry. Initially, this approach proved effective; I would see the ministries and make requests to meet with their senior staff members. Whenever I disclosed that I was conducting research as part of my PhD and that I travelled from the UK, the staff seemed more helpful and connected me to senior ministry personnel, including the Director General (DG) and, to my surprise, the heads of ministries. This approach revealed that any research concerning Somaliland from the outside by diaspora or foreign visitors is considered seriously, and it enabled me to acquire first-hand perspectives from individuals occupying senior positions. Consequently, I interviewed the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Environment, and the Minister of Investment and Industrial Development. However, this approach did not work to gain support from the Ministry of Tourism. Senior management and staff were routinely inaccessible during my visits to the office to participate in my research. Despite this, I met with the former DG of Tourism (Abdullahi Shabelle), who represented the ministry on its behalf, given that his department is under the authority of the Ministry of Tourism within the same ministry building. The new DG of Tourism was a part of my study at the end of my field research. During an interview with the former DG of Tourism (Abdullahi Shabelle), the new DG of Tourism visited Abdullahi Shabelle, handed me his business card, and mentioned that he would

participate in my study. However, after several attempts to contact the DG through his business card number, an interview could not be arranged. I could also not extend my ticket because my departure was less than a week away; I could not return to Hargeisa due to COVID-19 and lockdown measures.

7.5 Recommendations

While this thesis aimed to assess whether the government of Somaliland had a heritage tourism development strategy as part of its economic reconstruction, interesting themes emerged, particularly concerning the dynamic relationships between the diaspora and local communities. Further studies can be conducted about how the diaspora and local communities perceive each other. The results of this study indicate a growing mistrust among the local communities towards diaspora communities that have returned to the country. This is even though the locals view the diaspora positively regarding their contribution to economic development, as evidenced by the employment creation in the construction and service sectors and the improvements in the education and service sectors. Local participants raised concerns that the diaspora has brought foreign customs and values, such as drug and alcohol consumption, against local traditions. Although the consumption of alcohol and drugs in Somaliland is not a new phenomenon, it has existed before, albeit discreetly. However, the extent of this issue is not clear; thus, further research could give more insight. Additionally, local participants have argued that the diaspora have advantages over local people, particularly in employment with the public and private sectors, and easier acceptance of marriage proposals due to their social mobility (education, international travel) and potential to providing economic security. More research is

needed to unpack the perceptions that exists between diaspora and locals, particularly how these stakeholders perceive each other in the context Somaliland post-conflict economic reconstruction and perceived national identity.

Secondly, this research was government-focused in terms of its heritage tourism strategy. However, heritage tourism development is not limited to the government. Therefore, other research could be conducted within the private and voluntary sectors. Furthermore, the study assessed factors to consider when dealing with heritage tourism in Somaliland. It required further time and scope to gather additional insights into the emerging themes to climate change's impacts on heritage sites and cultural practices.

7.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the overall aim of this dissertation was to gather insight into whether the Somaliland government had a strategy for heritage tourism development as part of their economic reconstruction strategy. In so doing, two sub-questions were devised to answer the main research question (MRQ). The findings for MRQ have demonstrated that the Ministry of Tourism has intentions and aspirations to implement heritage tourism strategy as part of their economic reconstruction; however, they are limited in their abilities to impose an effective strategy from above due to a lack of capacity in heritage and tourism specialism. A challenge stems from the country's lack of access to post-conflict reconstruction support, connected to the unresolved political situation between Somalia and Somaliland. As such, the IC and its organisations are

reluctant to intervene in the unresolved political problem and can only support Somaliland through Somalia; however, as addressed in RQ2, this approach poses further risk as one of the main factors that have impeded Somaliland's heritage tourism strategy. This dilemma enables competing stakeholders such as the diaspora, elite, and authorities, as well as Somalia, to claim ownership of Somaliland's heritage development and decision making surrounding it. This creates contestations among competing stakeholders and leads to conflict over the interpretation of heritage and, thus, the delegitimization of other stakeholders.

As addressed in RQ3, heritage development has played a significant role from 1991 to 2019 in establishing Somaliland's national identity. Mainly, the creation of monuments and national celebrations has restored the maintenance of peace through identity-based narratives of collective suffering and resistance against Somalia. This distinction established a new, imagined national identity. As the nation transitions towards economic reconstruction, the previously held national identity based on collective suffering and resistance against dictatorship is now reconstructed into a new national identity based on economic integration, and this invites Somali unionists and self-interest-driven individuals to capitalise on it without considering the implications it has on Somaliland's distinct national identity. If Somaliland's heritage development problems are not addressed, it can reawaken Somali nationalist movement, destabilise the region based on primordialism nationalism, and lead to ethnic and religious conflict, further destabilising the region and disrupting international shipping lanes and thus impact international commerce.

APPENDICES

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Appendix A Letter of support from Somaliland's Consulates

Appendix B Recruitment Advertisement

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Appendix I Qualtrics Survey

Appendix J Focus groups in Hargeisa

Appendix K Expert interviews

Appendix A

Letter of support from Somaliland's Consulates in London, UK.

REPUBLIC OF SOMALILAND
UK MISSION
Tel: 020-34412631
234-236 Whitechapel Rd
London E1 1BJ
www.somaliland-mission.com
Email: contact@somaliland-mission.com

JAMHUURIYADDA SOMALILAND
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Email: contact@somaliland-mission.com

11th February 2019

The Research Ethics Committee

University of Birmingham
Research Support Group
C Block Dome
Aston Webb Building
Edgbaston B15 2TT

I am writing to you to support Abdirahman Nuur Mahamed's field research regarding the future of Cultural Heritage and Tourism in Somaliland. I would firstly like to thank Abdirahman for his consideration to research Cultural Heritage Tourism and visit Somaliland; it is essential to strengthen the historical ties between Somaliland and the UK institutions, considering the sizeable population of Somalilanders in the midlands and the wider UK.

It is of great importance to the Somaliland Government to attract developmental institutions particularly with regards to education, training, research, exchange programmes, as well as scholarships for our students, and professionals. Over the years, we have attracted hundreds of diverse institutions, and NGO'S both from the UK and other countries.

I understand your concern to travel to Somaliland. However, as Somaliland representative to the UK and commonwealth, I would like to formally inform you, that we have at least average of 50 people with non-Somaliland background travelling every month from the UK that pass through our mission for a visa. Those individuals go to Somaliland to invest, teach, research, tourism and development workers. Therefore, I can guarantee that Somaliland is one of the safest countries in the region and on behalf of the Somaliland government; we would like to reassure Abdirahman and your team that Somaliland is safe and secure. We take full responsibility for the safety and security of the people who work in our country. It's extremely important to us and its necessary that researchers are able to visit our country, as that is the only way we can inform outside people about the potentials, issues, and needs of our country.

Additionally, I am happy to share with you some of the institutions similar to your institution, who regularly visit Somaliland and who you might like to get in touch with;

1) UCL: The Head of Development Planning Unit
Michael Walls

2) SOAS; Prof Laura Hammond, who has on going research but also has been travelling to Somaliland for several years. **Laura Hammond**

3) Kings College: Train and educate medical students in Somaliland and have been doing so for 19 years; programme manager **Cathy Read**

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Email: contact@somaliland-mission.com

As the Somaliland Mission to the UK here in London, we look forward to increased cooperation in pursuit of these worthwhile goals.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if there is any way I can provide further assistance

Yours Sincerely,

Ayan Mahamoud, MBE
Head of Mission
Somaliland Mission to the UK and the Commonwealth

Appendix B Recruitment Advertisement (focus group email)

Dear Sir/Madame

My name is Abdi Rahman and I am a PhD student from the University of Birmingham. I am writing to invite you to participate in my research focus group on cultural heritage and tourism in post-conflict Somaliland.

The purpose of the focus group is to analyse the perception of Somalilanders (including diaspora) on cultural heritage and tourism in Somaliland. I am looking for participants aged 18+ who are any one of the following: Somaliland diaspora, Somaliland business groups or non-Somali natives who have a stake in Somaliland. I would be very grateful if you would be willing to participate in my study. The focus group will consist of 10 participants. The venue would be in Hargeisa or Berbera. If you are interested, please contact me at the address below. The research will be conducted in English and Somali language. There will also be a Somali interpreter to assist the participants.

Participation is completely voluntary and if you have any questions about the study, please feel free to contact me on the below:

Researcher

Mr Abdi Rahman

If you wish to check my credentials you can contact my supervisor:

Dr John Carman
Dr Helle Jørgenson

Appendix C Participant information sheet

Dear Sir/Madame,

My name is Abdi Rahman and I am a PhD student at the University of Birmingham. I am currently working on a research project on cultural heritage tourism in post-conflict Somaliland. I am talking to a number of people who are in Somaliland, with the hope that they will participate in my research so that I can analyse their cultural heritage tourism experience in Somaliland. I contact you because I believe that your participation may unlock new knowledge on Somaliland's tourism development.

What will I have to do if I take part?

If you agree to take part, I will ask you to answer some questions. There aren't any right or wrong answers – I just want to hear about your opinions. I would be grateful if you could participate in one or more of my questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups.

Do I have to take part?

No, **taking part is voluntary**. If you don't want to take part, you do not have to give a reason and no pressure will be on you to try and change your mind. You can withdraw from the research at anytime until three weeks after providing information for a questionnaire, focus group or interview.

If I agree to take part what happens?

All the information you give me will be confidential and used for the purposes of this study only. The data will be collected and stored in accordance with the University of Birmingham Code of Practice for Research, which can be found here:

(http://www.as.bham.ac.uk/legislation/docs/COP_Research.pdf) and will be disposed of in a secure manner. The information will be used in a way that will not allow you to be identified individually.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me.

Mr Abdi Rahman

If you wish to check my credentials you can contact my supervisor:

Dr John Carman
Dr Helle Jørgenson

Appendix D INFORMED CONSENT FORM

My name is Abdi Rahman and I am a PhD student at the University of Birmingham, investigating the challenges of cultural heritage tourism in Somaliland. I am therefore asking if you would agree to participate in my research (select one or both):

- Questionnaire (approximately 10 minutes or more). ☐

- Focus Group (approximately 1 hour or more). ☐

- Interview (approximately 1 hour or more). ☐

You do not have to participate. Research participants can withdraw from the study up to three weeks after participating, without having to explain their reasons. You also do not have to answer individual questions you don't want to answer. Your name will not be attached to the information you provide and I will ensure that your participation remains confidential. This consent form will be kept separate from the questionnaire as well as the transcribed interviews and focus group discussions for all participants.

Your response may be included in the dissertation and any research articles based on it. I will however cite your responses anonymously so that nobody could connect your responses with you as an individual.

By participating in this study, you will be contributing towards the world's first research project about cultural heritage tourism in Somaliland.

Please tick the box to confirm your participation.

☐

To participate please sign here:

_____   _____

Participant signature   Date

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me:

Mr Abdi Rahman

If you wish to check my credentials you can contact my Supervisor:

Dr John Carman
Dr Helle Jørgenson

Appendix E Questionnaire (For visitors to Somaliland)

The Perception of Cultural Heritage Tourism in Somaliland

How old are you?**………………………………….**

Male ☐ Female ☐ Do not wish to answer ☐

How do you feel about the following statements?	Strongly agree	Mildly agree	Neither agree or disagree	Mildly disagree	Strongly disagree
Former British sites/buildings in Berbera (Light house) and Hargeisa (Victorian buildings) should be protected/listed.					
Former Ottoman sites/buildings in Zeila (Mosque, Towers and Castles) and Berbera (Houses, Markets and Baths) should be protected/listed.					
Naaso Hablood (Twin peaks in Hargeisa) should be protected and preserved.					
Daalo Mountains should be protected/listed as an area of natural beauty.					
Sites such as mass graves, concentration camps should be protected/listed as memorial sites					
I have a good understanding of what tourism attraction Somaliland has					
Somaliland has a lot of tourism potential					
The staff at tourist destinations always put guests first.					
Cultural heritage tourism can reduce poverty and create jobs					
Most people have a positive opinion about Somaliland as tourist destination					
Outside of Somaliland, the country is identified with Somalia					

Further comments:

Please indicate how important each holiday criteria is to you. Rate 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest)

Tourist Destination Criteria	Not important		Very important			I don't know
Personal safety and security in Somaliland	1	2	3	4	5	
Destinations can be easily reached by air	1	2	3	4	5	
Destinations can be easily reached by land	1	2	3	4	5	
Destinations can be easily reached by sea	1	2	3	4	5	
Unspoiled nature	1	2	3	4	5	
Quality of nightlife and entertainment	1	2	3	4	5	
Quality of accommodations	1	2	3	4	5	
Cultural heritage	1	2	3	4	5	
Access to internet and WIFI	1	2	3	4	5	
Friendliness of locals	1	2	3	4	5	

Further comments:

How often do you visit the Republic of Somaliland ?

Once a year ☐ Twice a year ☐   Three or more a year ☐ Other☐ please specify below

Further comments:………………………………………….

How long is your average stay?
……………………………………

What is your motivation/purpose of travel?

………………………………………………………………….

If you are interested in receiving a PDF copy of the dissertation via email, please include your email to receive a digital copy when dissertation has been successfully completed

…………………………………………………………………..

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my research. Please feel free to contact me (Mon-Sat 9am to 8pm) should you have questions or need assistance with the questionnaire.

Mr Abdi Rahman
Mobile:

If you wish to check my credentials you can contact my supervisor:

Dr John Carman
Dr Helle Jørgenson

Introduction

Thank you for participating, it is a great pleasure and honour to have you participate in my research on 'cultural heritage and tourism in postconflict Somaliland'

My name is Abdi Rahman, I am a PhD student from the University of Birmingham. As a member of the Somaliland diaspora and an aspiring academic, I wish to investigate Somaliland's cultural heritage and tourism potential.

Purpose

I wish to present you this opportunity to contribute to my research and shed further light on Somaliland's cultural heritage and tourism development strategy.

Motivation

I hope to use this research to help Somalilanders, NGOs, academics and prospective investors become better aware of Somaliland's cultural heritage and tourism potential. I also hope to inspire future researchers to carry out further research on Somaliland.

Time Line

The interview should take about 30 minutes.

Let me begin by asking your permission to record our interview for the purpose of analysis, so that I can record the details from our discussion.

Interview

- How do you promote Somaliland to international audiences, including the diaspora?

- How do you believe the wider world regards Somaliland's cultural heritage and tourism?

- What is your strategy for heritage and tourism promotions?

- How do you measure the outcome of this strategy?

What are the challenges you face in promoting cultural heritage and tourism in Somaliland?

- Could you expand on the point of: creating awareness on Cultural Heritage sites? International perception? Stakeholder relationship, resource etc.

Are there special focus areas for cultural heritage and tourism development?

- Which areas and sites in Somaliland are of most importance to heritage and tourism development? (Can you give examples?)

- Who are the visitors? And who do you want to come and why?

- What role do the locals play?

- Is Somaliland's cultural heritage and tourism sustainable?

- What is Somaliland's relationship with UNESCO?

- How do you envision the future development on heritage and tourism in Somaliland?

- What is Somaliland's Government relationship with the private tourism sector?

- Do you have copies of any policy documents or reports that may further assist my study? And may I take it with me?

- Do you have recommendations for any other person that it would be useful for me to talk to?

Well, it has been a pleasure finding out more about your views. I appreciate the time you took for this interview. Is there anything else you think would be helpful for me to know so that I can add it to my research? **Can I contact you if I have a follow up question?**

Thank you once again!

Appendix G Focus group for the local people

Thank you for participating in my study, my name is Abdi Rahman and I am a PhD student from the University of Birmingham. I am currently carrying out a research on Cultural Heritage and Tourism on Somaliland. It is the first of its kind to be done in this country and your contribution may help me unlock new knowledge in this field.

What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of Somaliland?

Is Somaliland a tourist destination?

Which aspects of Somaliland culture are important for tourists to experience?

What are the must see cultural heritage sites in Somaliland?

Have you visited these sites before?

Are these sites easily accessible by transport?

Should Somaliland's cultural heritage sites be protected?

Do you think that these sites are effectively promoted?

Do local people benefit from tourism?

Do local people have the same level of access to cultural heritage and tourism sites?

Is there space for local people to engage in heritage and tourism development?

What impact do you think cultural heritage and tourism have on employment levels in Somaliland?

What sort of changes would you like to see in cultural heritage tourism development?

Interviews with Tourists

Thank you for participating in my study, my name is Abdi Rahman and I am a PhD student from the University of Birmingham. I am currently carrying out a research on Cultural Heritage and Tourism on Somaliland. It is the first of its kind to be done in this country and your contribution may help me unlock new knowledge in this field.

What motivated you travel to Somaliland?

Have you travelled to Somaliland before or is this your first visit?

How long is your stay?

What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of Somaliland?

Are local Somalilanders friendly to tourists?

Do you feel safe when you are out and about in Somaliland?

What are the must see cultural heritage sites in Somaliland?

Have you visited these sites?

Are these sites easily accessible by transport?

Should Somaliland's cultural heritage sites be protected?

Do you think that these sites are effectively promoted?

Do you feel that tourists have the same level of access as local people

What is your view on development in cultural heritage and tourism in Somaliland?

Appendix H Observations visit for cultural heritage and tourism sites in Hargeisa

Questions	If yes, how, and why If no, how and why
Are there transport links to the destination? **Parking facilities**	
How many tourists are on site? **Peak times/seasonality/times/days of the week.**	
How many locals are on site?	
What are the major parts of the site?	
Where do visitors tend to concentrate?	
Are there any amenities on site? **(WC, cashpoints, Wi-Fi, shops)**	
Is there site interpretation?	
Are there signs/info on display? **If yes, what language is it in?**	
Are the signs/info clear?	

Is there a difference between the locals and visitors? **How if at all do they interact?** **Do/can they communicate?**	331
Do visitors appear to feel safe?	

Appendix I Qualtrics Survey

XM ≡ Projects

Projects and Programs

Create project

☆ Starred 1

Shared with me 0

Your folders

Projects and Programs 3

All project types ∨ | All statuses ∨ | 🔍 Search...

	Project name ↓ᴬᶻ	Status	Responses	Type	Owner	Last modified	⚙
★ 📄	The Perception of Cultural Heritage Tourism in Som...	Active	71	Survey	Me	Feb 10, 2021	•••
☆ 📄	Somaliland Development on Cultural Heritage and T...	Active	22	Survey	Me	Mar 6, 2021	•••
☆ 📄	Factors impacting heritage and tourism developmen...	Active	35	Survey	Me	Jan 1, 2021	•••

‹ 1 of 1 ›

↑ Back to top

How often do you visit the Republic of Somaliland in a year? 69 ⓘ

Former British sites/buildings in Berbera (Light house) and Hargeisa (Victorian buildings) should be protected/... 70 ⓘ •••

Strongly agree	(bar to ~51)
Agree	(bar to ~13)
Neither agree nor disagree	(bar to ~5)
Somewhat disagree	(bar to ~0.5)
Disagree	(bar to ~0.5)
Strongly disagree	(bar to ~1.5)

0 10 20 30 40 50

Former Ottoman sites/buildings in Zeila (Mosque, Towers,Castles) Berbera (Houses, Markets Baths) should b... 70 ⓘ
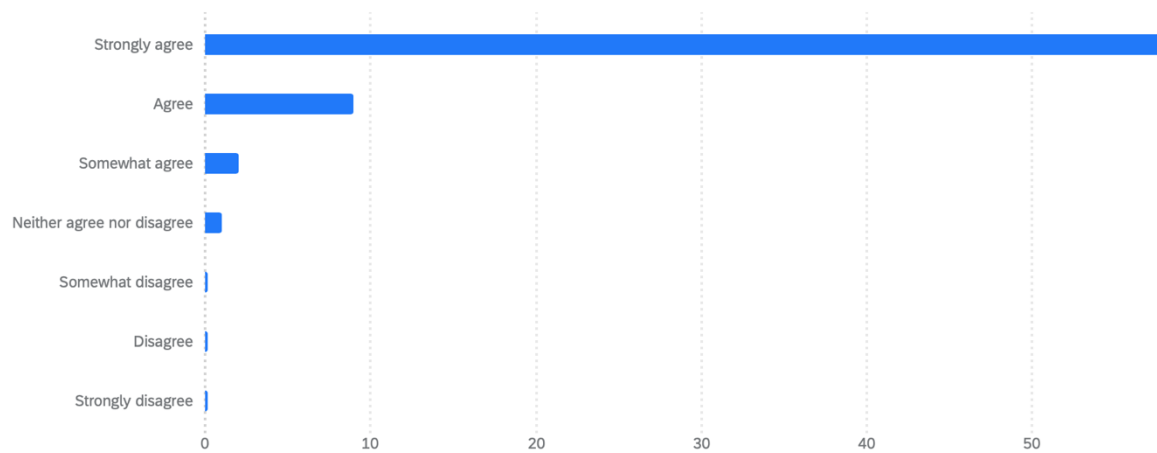
Strongly agree	(bar to ~57)
Agree	(bar to ~9)
Somewhat agree	(bar to ~3)
Neither agree nor disagree	(bar to ~2)
Somewhat disagree	(bar to ~0.5)
Disagree	(bar to ~0.5)
Strongly disagree	(bar to ~0.5)

0 10 20 30 40 50

Naaso Hablood (Twin peaks in Hargeisa) should be protected/preserved. 68 ⓘ

Strongly agree	(bar to ~51)
Agree	(bar to ~12)
Somewhat agree	(bar to ~5)

0 10 20 30 40 50

333
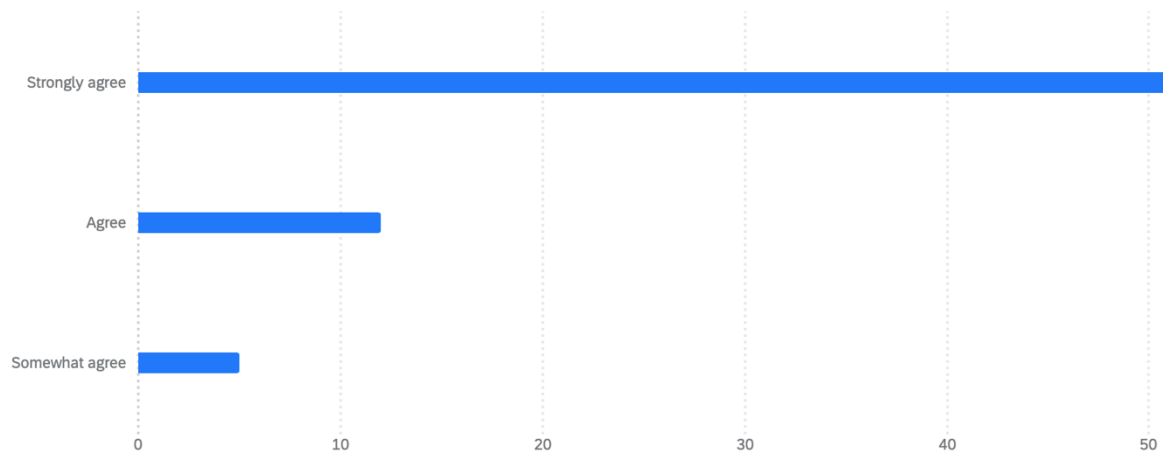
Daalo Mountains should be protected/listed as an area of natural beauty 70 ⓘ
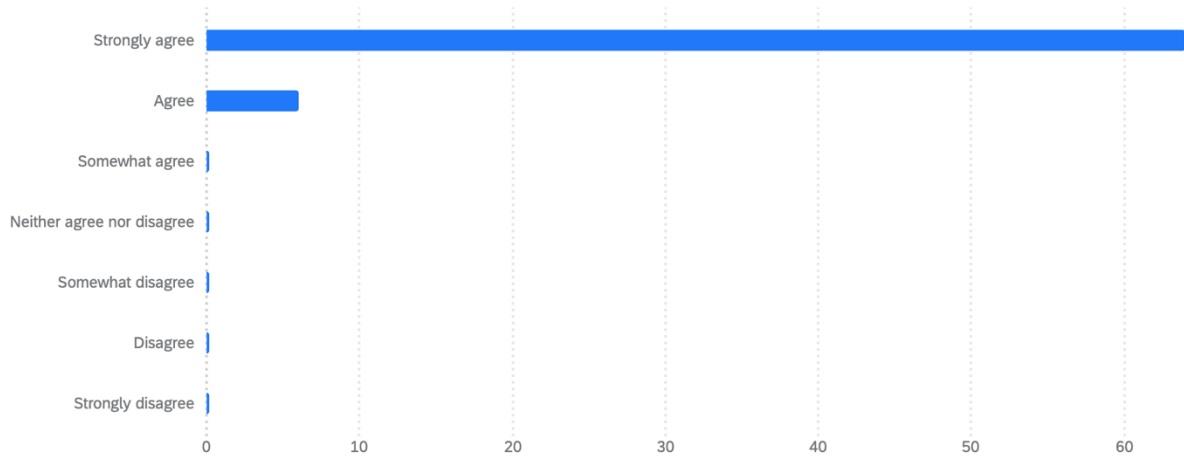
Sacadadiin Island should be protected/listed as an area of natural beauty 70 ⓘ
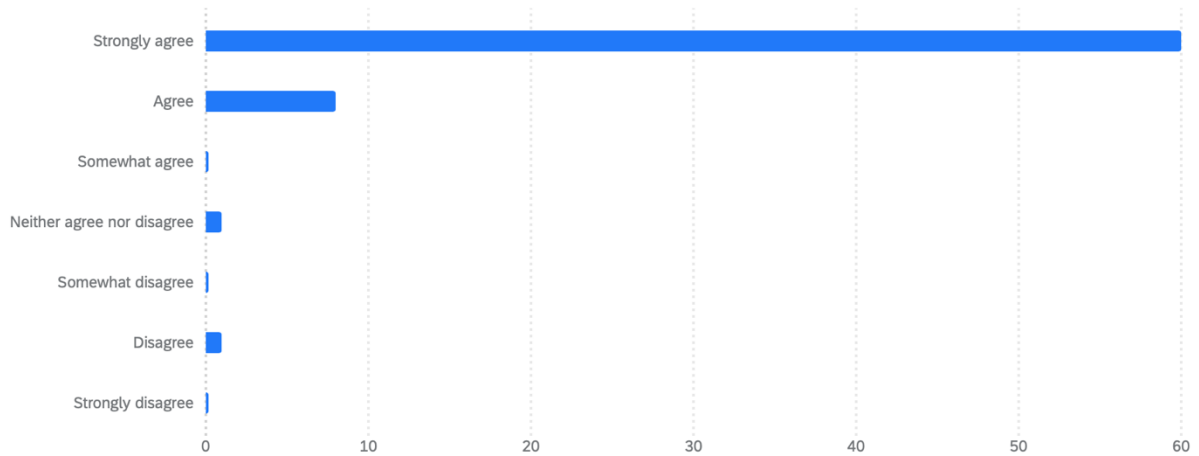
Sites such as mass graves, concentration camps should be protected/listed as memorial sites 69 ⓘ
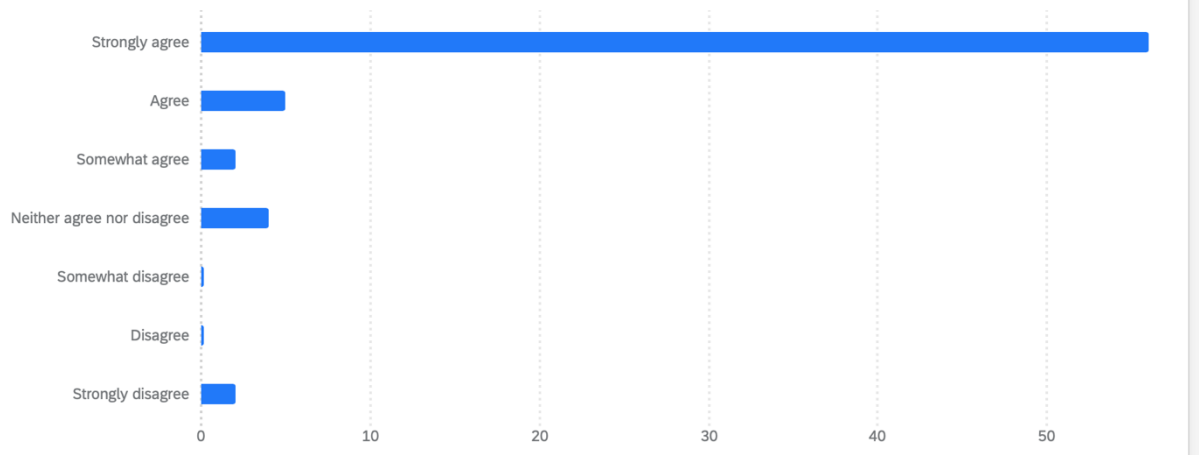
I have a good understanding of what tourism attraction Somaliland has 70 ⓘ   •••
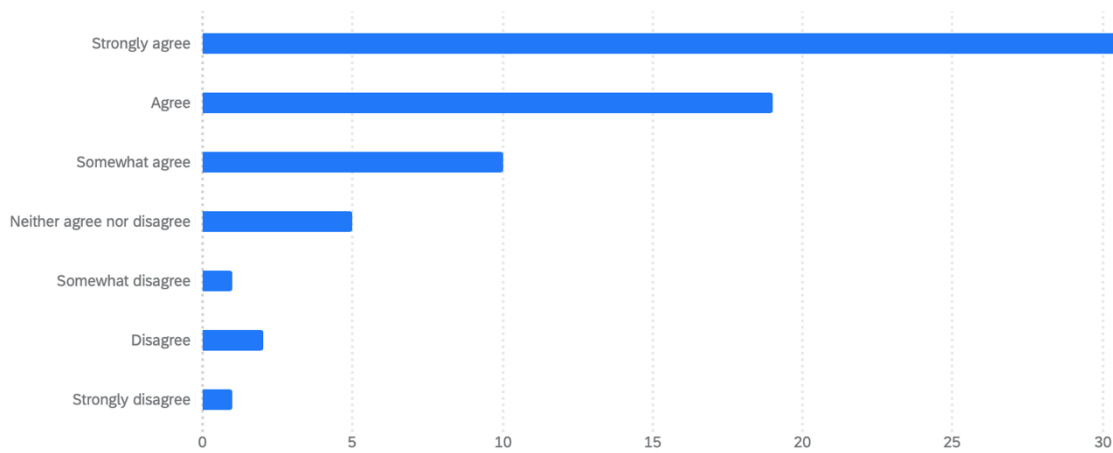
Strongly agree
Agree
Somewhat agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Somewhat disagree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

(bar chart, x-axis: 0, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30)

Somaliland has a lot of tourism potential 70 ⓘ

Strongly agree
Agree
Somewhat agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Somewhat disagree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

(bar chart, x-axis: 0, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35)
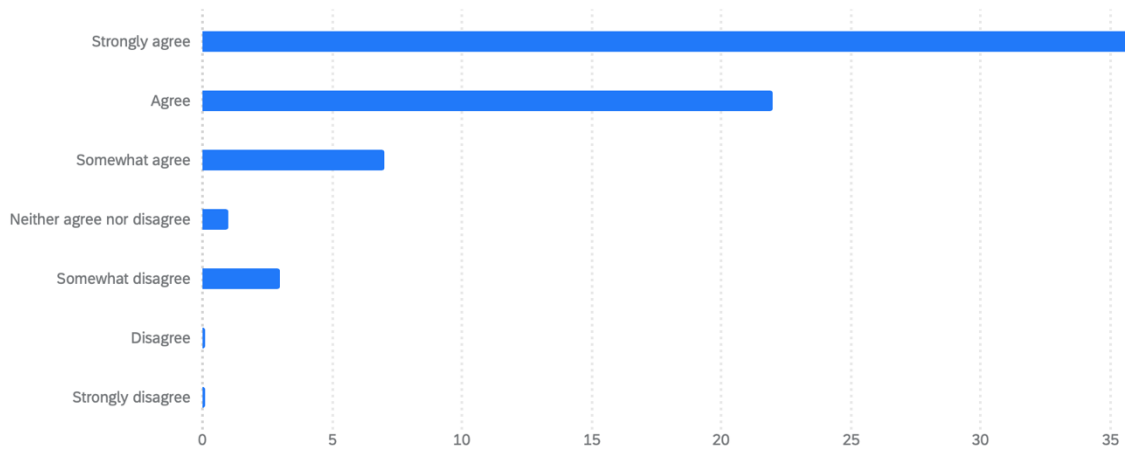
Cultural heritage tourism can reduce poverty/create jobs 70 ⓘ   •••
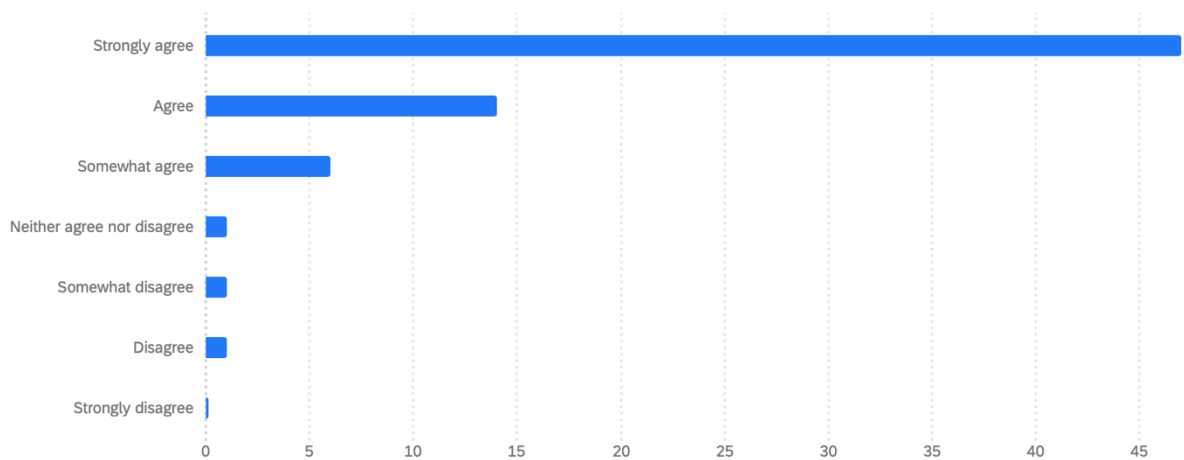
Strongly agree
Agree
Somewhat agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Somewhat disagree
Disagree
Strongly disagree

(bar chart, x-axis: 0, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45)

Most people have a positive opinion about Somaliland as tourist destination 70 ⓘ

Response	Value
Strongly Agree	21
Agree	18
Somewhat agree	14
Neither agree nor disagree	7
Somewhat disagree	5
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	1

Outside of Somaliland, the country is identified with Somalia 70 ⓘ

Response	Value
Strongly agree	17
Agree	18
Somewhat agree	16
Neither agree nor disagree	8
Somewhat disagree	5
Disagree	2
Strongly disagree	4
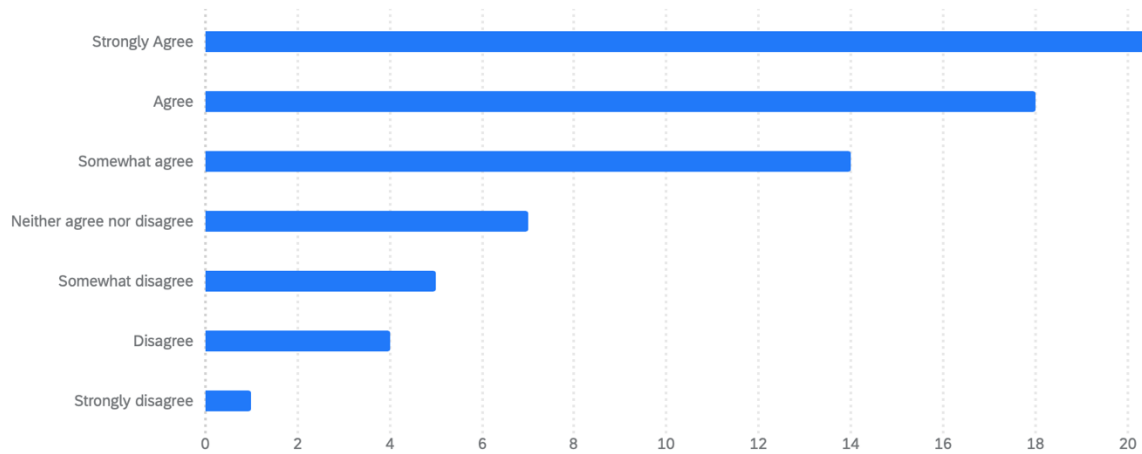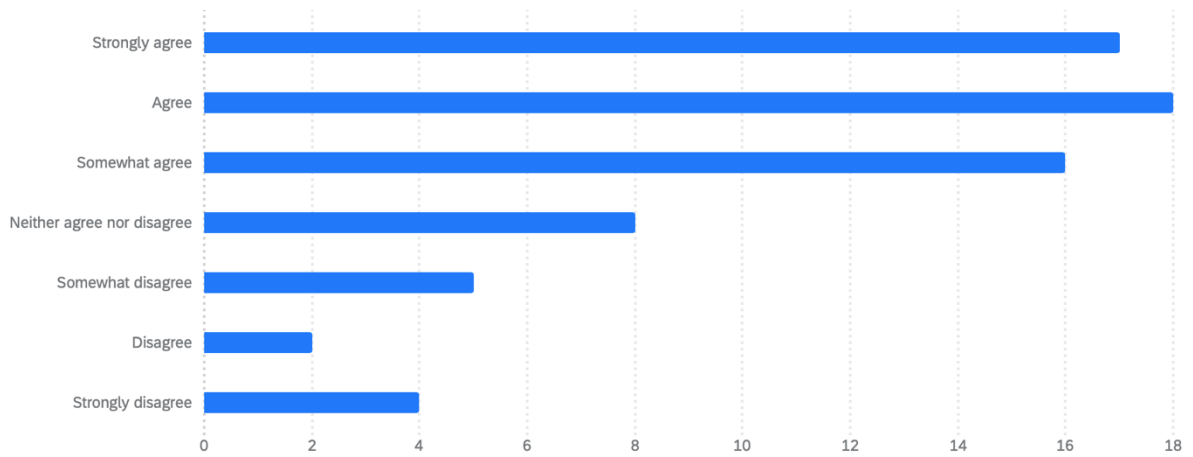
Personal safety/security in Somaliland 1= Not important 5= Very important 70 ⓘ

Response	Value
1	11
2	3
3	7
4	14
5	35

336
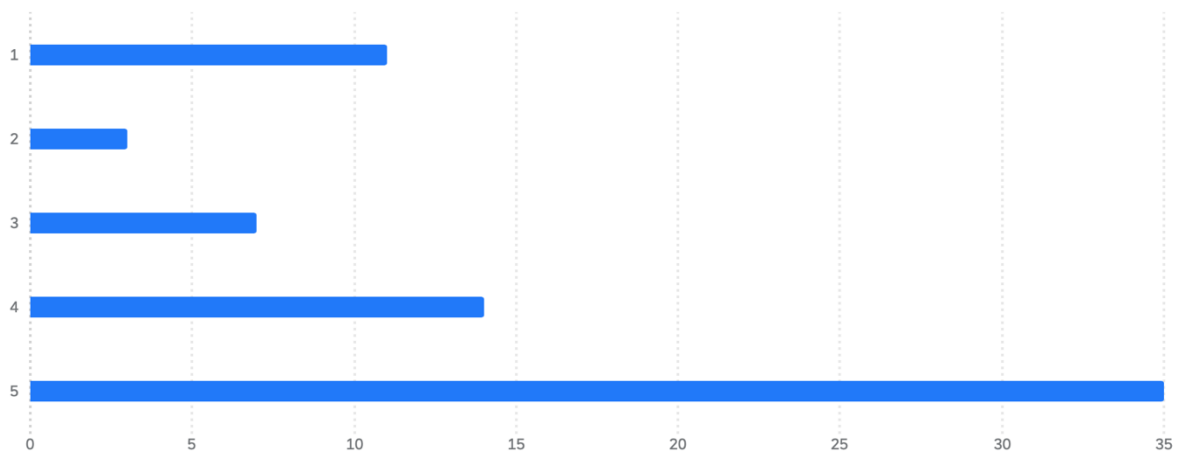
Appendix J Focus groups in Hargeisa Theme 4: **Is Somaliland a tourist destination?**

Kamaal	Sarah	Hannah	Hassan	Jusef	Abdi	Majid	Jama	Adam	Ahmed
Yes. All we have to do is refurbish some of the heritage buildings and rebrand the destination as historical seaside resorts, using historical links with the ancient empires such as the pharaohs, Persians, ottomans and to the British Empire	Yes, Somaliland is a tourism destination. The country has attracted publications in the Lonely Planet Guide, The Guardian, CNN, BBC, Aljazeera and many foreign tour operators are here.	No, I wouldn't go too quick in promoting tourism because I have a feeling that we are not ready, I fear that tourism might corrupt our young people in terms of culture and religion as many are connected on social media	Yes. Somaliland has amazing coastal areas, but we only concentrate on one area (Berbera). We need people that have tourism industry experience. Repatriate the lost wildlife during the wars with Somalia.	Yes, Somaliland has attracting many visors since the discovery of Las Geel Rock Arts. Especially as it has featured many international publications.	Yes, Somaliland has the potential to be successful tourism destination. The country's tourism board needs to brand and market the destination first.	Yes. Key potential market is Ethiopia, with a growing middle class and economic powerhouse in the region. Tourism receipt of 150 thousand visitors would enable Somaliland capture direct/indirect financial gains.	Yes Somaliland is a tourist destination as we have thousands of diaspora members across the world returning every summer holiday back to Somaliland	Yes it is a tourist destination. Those that seek unspoiled tourism that links to ancient history there are hieroglyphics stones and rocks in Somaliland. If you wanted beach holiday Berbera city offers white sandy beaches.	Somaliland is not yet a tourist destination globally as is yet not recognized, but once it does it will certainly be in contender in the as Red Sea tourism destination.

Theme 5: What are the must see cultural heritage sites in Somaliland?									
Kamaal	**Sarah**	**Hannah**	**Hassan**	**Jusef**	**Abdi**	**Majid**	**Jama**	**Adam**	**Ahmed**
Seilac the Gablatin Mosk as it was the hub for Islam 700 ad	Las Anood and its beautiful countryside	Borama city and its lush green surrounding.	Berbera scuba diving	Sheigh town and mountain ranges.	Las Geel, challenging terrain to drive. There is no specialist tour operator at these sites.	The city and town of Sheikh. Location is a stunning mountainous region. The city of Berbera is also another place littered with historical sites and buildings that connects Somaliland to ancient civilizations.	Twin hills of Nasoo Hablood also know as 'girls bosoms'. These hills attract a lot of hikers during the weekends holidays. A nomadic heritage tour is a booming sector. Diaspora members and people from the city are now engaging more with nomadic heritage experience	We have also many mountains that are like chains and end in the Indian Ocean. There are also many farmlands where there are thousands of hectares of farm fields where mango, papaya and melons grow attracting visitors.	The city and town of Sheikh. Location is a stunning mountainous region. The city of Berbera is also another place littered with historical sites and buildings that connects Somaliland to ancient civilizations.

Theme 6: Have you visited these before?

Kamaal	Sarah	Hannah	Hassan	Jusef	Abdi	Majid	Jama	Adam	Ahmed

Kamaal	Sarah	Hannah	Hassan	Jusef	Deejay	Majid	Jama	Adam	Ahmed
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes. Having a collection box at these sites may also raise much needed support for the operations of these sites.	Yes, the local people don't understand the significance of these inherited but artifacts people do not understand the value	Yes	Yes	Yes I have seen some of these sites and more needs to done to market them	Yes I have visited these places. As Ahmed suggested access to many sites are not safe or are in desperate need for rehabilitation of infrastructure. As many roads, bridges and road safety have been destroyed by the Somalia government	Yes I have visited these sites and it access to them is a challenge. Currently there are no speed limits on the roads of Somaliland and there are no road markings or safety barriers on the mountainous terrains.

Theme 7: Should Somaliland's cultural heritage sites be protected?

Kamaal	Sarah	Hannah	Hassan	Jusef	Deejay	Majid	Jama	Adam	Ahmed

Yes, they should be protected, it is like a natural resource. It is the identity of Somaliland and creates a sense of pride.	Yes	Yes we should protect these heritage sites to inspire the young about their diverse history and also to tackle tribalism issues that sometimes arise. These sites may enable some of the youths to look beyond the contemporary past of civil wars.	Yes we should protect it! We should also raise funding via voluntary means so that it could fund the management of the historical sites.	Yes,	These are significant sites. Some people use religion to try to destroy these sites but they are insecure people. Besides these sites were protected during the height of Islam in Somaliland.	We need to protect these sites, like they do it in neighbouring countries. This may be used to diversify Somaliland's economy and foster strong identity for Somalilanders.	I agree also, they should be protected and preserved for the future generations. Locals should also to protect them, as many people don't understand the significance of these sites and artifacts.	Yes these sites should be protected. If these sites were based in the UK it would have already been listed and protected for future generations. The twin peaks for example, they have become and icon of the country.	I also agree, they should be protected. Many Arab countries are promoting desert and Bedouin tourism and Somaliland can do the same too. Some marry modernity with nomadic heritage, while sipping a cup of Somali tea

Appendix K Expert interviews

Expert interviews	Issues in building a strategy on cultural heritage and tourism development
Former director of Tourism (Mr Abdulahi Shabelle)	*'There is lack of know-how and those that come to help stay short term and return to their comfortable lifestyles in Europe or the Americas'*
Director of Hargeisa Cultural Centre (Dr Jama Musa)	*'Both tangible and intangible heritage of Somaliland is under threat due to lack of capacity and understanding'*
Vice Foreign Minister (Mr Abdirahman Abdulahi)	*'Frankly the government is still limited in terms of capacity in understanding cultural heritage development in Somaliland. Foreign ministry lacks the expertise and international partners'*
Head of UK & Commonwealth Office (Mr Stuart Brown)	*'Las Geel was rediscovered in 2002 and has experienced more degradation in 17 years than it did [in] 4,000 years. This is a real issue that needs to be considered and if Somaliland wants to succeed as a serious tourist destination it needs to be investing in this heritage.'*
Minister of Environment (Mrs Shukri Bandere)	*We need to create laws to protect cultural heritage and tourism sites and adding conditions that there should be no development in a radius of 3km to 5km. We should have robust deterrents for people and companies who break these protection laws.*
Minister of Investment (Mr Mohamed Mohamed Awad)	*We need decision makers and policy makers to work together and understand the industry first. we need understand the significance first, then we can plan for it. This is the first time I have been asked this question and I have never thought about this.*

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