

Puntland Post Monthly

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PUNTLAND POST 2019 PERSON OF THE YEAR

Said Abdullahi Dani



Said Abdullahi Dani: President of Puntland State

In 2019 Puntland celebrated its 21st anniversary. The federal member state founded as an autonomous administration in August 1998 chose a middle path between secession proclaimed in Burao in 1991 and the perpetual strife Southern parts of Somalia were undergoing during the 1990s. This policy choice reflects how Puntland articulated a vision of a new Somalia based on federalism. President Said Abdullahi Dani is the sixth President of Puntland State.

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Puntland Post 2019 Person of the Year

(from page 1)

In January 2019 when he won Puntland Presidency against an incumbent, Dr Abdiweli Mohamed Ali, Deni had no illusions about the enormity of challenges his administration is facing partly because of the outmoded system of governance Puntland has been utilising since 1998. Pragmatism is the path Deni has taken to show the mettle to face myriad challenges ranging from a politically hostile, Mogadishu-based Federal Government, a threat of war from Somaliland administration insisting on the sanctity of colonial borders to threats of ISIS and Al-shabaab in mountainous areas in Puntland.

President Deni adopted a policy different from his predecessors’.

He extended an olive branch to Somaliland Administration by not questioning the right of Somaliland Ministers to visit their district of origin in Sool. Deni understands better that Somaliland’s sovereignty claim

does not amount to a break-up of Somalia. Since Somalia is still one country in the eyes of the United Nations President, President Deni’s policy has the potential to become a conflict resolution example to be followed by other Somali political actors.

President Deni has reiterated he is committed to rectifying governance flaws without blaming his predecessors. He took upon himself the responsibility to conduct a pilot local elections in Puntland. This gradualist approach is in sharp contrast with the policy to introduce political parties in a society where clan identity, rather than ideas, matters. If locals have the right to elect their representatives, they will be able hold their representatives at state and federal levels accountable for not honouring their campaign promises. The second advantage local elections will have lies in reducing the powers of the executive. In essence, President Deni seeks to cede more powers for the sake of accountability at all levels in Puntland.

The Federal Government of Somalia spent a lot of political

capital to undermine Puntland by denying the Federal Member State its share in training for the army despite President Deni heading a new administration that has committed itself to security reforms to address common security challenges posed by transnational terrorists and their allies.

As a former Minister of the Federal Ministry of Planning under President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, President Deni is aware that collaboration between Federal Member States and the Federal Government is a key aspect of maintaining the progress made towards reconstituting the Somali state. His focus on genuine accountability and conflict resolution are bedrocks of the strategy that his administration seeks to operationalise in bid to revitalise Puntland State of Somalia. Deni has praised Somalis from the Southwest State for their entrepreneurship and active citizenship to contribute to the economy of Puntland. Our choice for 2019 Person of the Year falls on President Said Abdullahi Deni of Puntland State of Somalia.

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Somali Think Tanks: Purveyors of Clannish Palaver

By Ali Dahir Gedow

In December 2019 issue of *Puntland Post Monthly*, the essay by Samiya Lerew has probably touched a raw nerve of purveyors of clannish supremacy that violently replaced a belonging based on citizenship after the collapse of the state in 1991. Her essay and the work of Professor Mohamed Abdulkadir Enow fill a vacuum created by armed clans' retreat into clan fiefdoms. The political marginalisation of Somalis known as *Others* has taken a new form: think tanks deepening the narratives of dispossession have made their presence felt in the marketplace of clannish palaver.

The efflorescence of think tanks in Somalia gives the impression that the trend portends a switch to a culture of deliberations and critical thinking within the intelligentsia. The new type of Somali think tanks differ from research organisations that emerged under the wing of the

former War-torn society Project. Puntland Development and Research Centre, Academy for Peace and Development in Hargeysa and Center for Research and Dialogue in Mogadishu have pioneered research into governance, peace-making and the role of traditional leaders in post-1991 Somalia. With the establishment of Heritage Institute for Policy Studies (HIPS) the pace of narrative wars has quickened. Other think tanks have followed in the footsteps of HIPS. Somali Agenda, Somali Institute for Development Research and Analysis (SIDRA), Hiraal Institute, Odoros Center, Horizon Institute and Center for Policy are some of the new think tanks. What those think tanks have in common is a tendency to turn a blind eye to political and economic inequalities suffered by Somalia's marginalised clans.

“Conformity with the outlook of the politically dominant group is not only the weakness of Somali think tanks”

Somali think tanks do not disclose sources of funding. Some think tanks publish

unsubstantiated reports. Hiraal Institute argued in a report that Al-shabaab transported heavy arms to Northern Somalia. The founder of Hiraal Institute, Hussein Sheikh-Ali was a National Security Advisor for the Federal Government. He was privy to unclassified intelligence although Federal Government does not share intelligence with Federal Member States. In a country that has not fully recovered from state collapse and subsequent civil war, the role think tanks play in Somalia is akin to the role of a clan's mouthpiece. Conformity with the outlook of the politically dominant group is not only the weakness of Somali think tanks, but it also devalues the commitment to objectivity and free inquiry expected of researchers. Some questions that think tanks have yet to address are: the economic marginalisation of Somalis classified as minorities; unfair competition; livelihood challenges facing internally displaced peoples; comparative study on property rights in Somalia

Parallel Justice System of Al-shabaab Seeks to Undermine the Federal Judiciary

It is not secret that Al-shabaab telephones litigants to adjudicate property disputes in Mogadishu. Al-shabaab used edicts to return many properties in Mogadishu to rightful owners between 2009 and 2011, when it controlled a two-third of the capital city. The proscribed group lost ground to the Somali government forces and AMISOM but the perceived reliability of its judges to deal with property disputes swiftly has not waned.



General Yusuf: Feels wronged

A compliant goes to an Al-shabaab base to open a property dispute case file. Al-shabaab courts telephone or text the litigant in question.

The Banadir regional court administration improved its operations despite backlog of cases dating back to 2013. Recently General Yusuf M. Siad (Indha'adde), the former Defence Chief of the Union of Islamic Courts, seemed to have lent credence to Al-shabaab justice system when he had argued that he preferred an Al-shabaab court to the Federal Government courts "[if Al-shabaab will spare my life](#)". General Indha'adde has questioned the court's process to start a property dispute case against him. He has a sound reason to avoid approaching Al-shabaab court system.



Dhoreh: Al-shabaab levies tax

Al-shabaab was behind the assassination of two of his associates – General Goobaale and Yusuf Mire Seraar in Mogadishu and Dhuusamareeb respectively. Al-shabaab is believed to levy tax on many businesses in Mogadishu. The Chairman of the Somali Chamber of Commerce, Abdi Abshir Dhoreh, told the VOA Somali Service that “there is evidence about Al-shabaab tax levies upon imports at Mogadishu Port”. The Federal Ministry of Finance has not commented on Dhoreh's claim.

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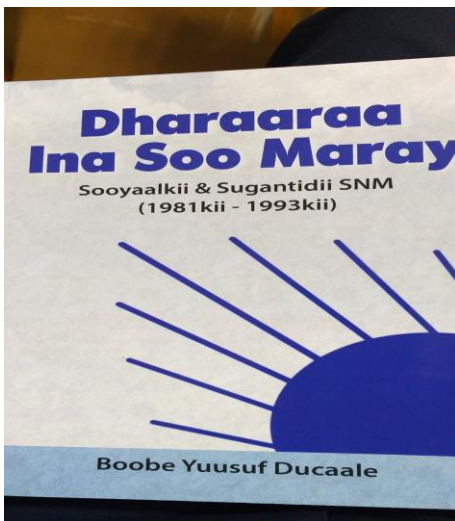
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Memoirs of an

SNM Veteran

The long-awaited memoirs of the literary historian and SNM veteran, Boobe Yuusuf Du'aleh, was launched at Maansoor Hotel in Hargeysa.



The book chronicles the tribulations of citizens and armed encounters between SNM fighters and the Somali Army under the former military regime. Boobe joined SNM early 1980s following a journalistic career as a member of the former Somalia Revolutionary Socialist Party to whose organ, *Halgan*, he contributed and co-edited.

Boobe urged people not to take offence at the initiative to publish the book about SNM. Entitled *Dharaaraa Ina Soo Maray*

(Days to Remember), it is the first book by a former SNM member to reconstruct key stages of the second armed opposition against the military dictatorship.



Boobe: "This books contains lessons about what we have been through".

The fourth President of Somaliland, Ahmed Mohamad Mohamud, appointed Boobe as Information Minister in 2010. He lost his cabinet portfolio after a minor reshuffle. Boobe is remembered for serialising in Somali websites his experience in government. He was the director of the Somaliland Academy of Peace and Development. Boobe published a collection of essays, and co-edited the anthology of the poems of the patriotic Somali poet, Abdullahi Suldan Tima'adde.

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Somali Parliament Passes the Electoral Bill

The Somali Parliament passed the electoral bill that will be the basis for one person, one vote elections to be held in Somalia in 2021. Political parties will participate in the poll 50 years after a military junta overthrew a democratically elected government in October 1969.

The passing of the electoral bill comes in the wake of a joint statement of Somalia's international partners in which they cautioned against term extension for the incumbent government. Article six of the electoral bill states the winning party with 51% of votes cast will nominate the President. Given the number of political parties, if result is based on the number of constituencies a party wins or the number of the total votes it garners, a coalition government may emerge. How a departure from the ineffectual 4.5 power-sharing could enhance governance in Somalia while the same political class dominates the political scene is difficult to foresee. The poll will not take place in areas under the control of Somaliland Administration, which does not recognise the Federal Government of Somalia.

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Lasanod: A City Reaping Benefits

of Reconstruction

The collapse of governmental system in Somalia in 1991 has given opportunities for self-reliance-based reconstruction to major cities such as Lasanod, the administrative capital of Sool region. The sprawling district has a unique history in the post-colonial state that emerged after the former Italian Somaliland and the British Protectorate united to form the Republic of Somalia.

The military regime subsumed Lasanod under the regional jurisdiction of Nugaal, with Garowe as its administrative capital – the seat of the governor. During 1980s the regime reversed this policy to make Lasanod into the administrative capital of a new region, Sool.

People wonder why Sool is the region in which Nugaal University is located. It is not trivial to state Lasanod gains a lot from its ties exemplified by Nugaal valley in the ex-British Somaliland and its one-time

regional association with Garowe. The military regime leaders resolved to help Garowe retain name of Nugaal to create a new region, Sool, with four districts: Lasanod, Taleh, Aynaba and Huddun.

Lasanod is among cities that have gone through demographic and economic changes because of the internally displaced people whom the civil war in Southern Somalia uprooted.

The disputed territory designation has not dented the confidence of investors. Puntland and Somaliland claim Sool on different grounds but the Hargeisa-based administration controls most districts in Sool. The Somaliland Government invested in infrastructure, educational and health projects in Lasanod. Thanks to Somaliland Development Fund allocations for a region that has not yet seen Somaliland governments turn a legislation to increase the regional

budget by 2% into reality.

Start-up businesses are on the rise. Lasanod hosts diverse business communities that show commitment to start businesses outside their region of origin. Business owners from the Southwest State of Somalia have started many businesses in Lasanod. One of the markets in Lasanod is popularly known as RRA Market, named after the organisation that liberated Bay and Bakool in 1999.



East-West Transport Company has sponsored sport competitions in Lasanod

A stroll along the main Lasanod market will let your eyes grab different types

of goods in the market, mostly imports such as electrical goods, mobile phones and accessories, clothes, footwear, jewellery and milk powder. People can shop until midnight due to the peaceful atmosphere there.

Other discernible progress in Lasanod are residential development projects. Diaspora communities originating from Sool invested in the lucrative real estate sector, a reason why the land price has soared.

Local transport, taxis and the auto rickshaw known locally as bajaj, operate in Lasanod. Somaliland Government has built several roads in Lasanod to boost the local economy. Lasanod boasts two universities and one health institute and many private schools. Like other parts of Somalia, educational inequality is a problem that has not been fully addressed by authorities. In December last year the first Book Fair organised by Somaliland Government was held in Lasanod, a city

that has weathered political storms caused by claims and counter-claims of Puntland and Somaliland Administrations.

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NECSOM is a Somali utility company founded in 2003. It supplies Garowe, the administrative capital of Puntland round-the-clock electricity. NESCOm has partnered with utility companies in Kismayo, Bosaso and other towns in Somalia.

Several years ago, NESCOm began to utilise solar and wind energy to diversify its sources of energy.

NECSOM plays a key role in contributing to economic infrastructures in Puntland. Maintaining security, and

gentrifying the capital city of

Puntland, Garowe.

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Hassan Garayd: A shining light in

Somali Performance Arts

Hassan Sabriye better known as Hassan Garayd was born in Hiiraan during 1940s. The present-day Somali young generation might not know his contribution to countless Somali songs they enjoy listening to or watching on TV. Hassan is what Somalis calls *laxamiiste* – the person who teaches the singer how to sing the song once the composer hands over lyrics to Hassan. The popular Somali TV interviewer, Xasan Serbiya, interviewed Hassan Garayd nearly two years ago. Hassan Garayd put a tune to a song first in 1968. It is a song co-sung by Mohamed Ahmed Kuluc and Halima Khalif Magool (both deceased). Mohamed Mohamud Yasin (aka Dheeg), now a member of Somaliland Council of Elders (Guurti) wrote the song of which the following lines are part:

Sida canabka beeraha
Ama kayn caleenliyo
Dhul cagaarku siman yahay
Caad iyo Garloogubay
Cosobkii ku yaalloo
Cawshu gaardiaysoo

Cidi daaqin baad tee
Cawo waxaa leh
Ama ciil bixi lahaa
Calaf nimuu ku siiyoo
Cunto ku la wadaagood
Gogol ku la cawaysaa

A rough translation of the lines from the song:

*"Like the grapes of farms
Or evergreen jungle
A vegetation-enveloped land
Like Caad and Garloogubey*
Covered in lush
Over which a gazelle romp
That none has browsed you are
Lucky is the one
Who would throw resentment
With whom destiny united you
To share food
And bedspread with you"*



Hassan Gareed playing his lute

Hassan Garayd elucidated his approach to deciding how a singer or vocalist will sing a song. "I take into account emotion of the song-writer before deciding how the song will be sung by a singer. I should know the context" said Hassan Garayd said.

In 1967 Hassan joined Radio Mogadishu Troupe. In 1969 the military regime rebranded Radio Mogadishu Troupe as *Waaberi (Dawn)*. " The late Mohamed Ali Kaariye came up with name *Waaberi " Dawn"*) Hassan added.

***Caad & Garloogubey are towns in the Somali region of Ethiopia**

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People in Puntland's Easternmost Districts Address Infrastructure Disadvantages Through a Self-help Scheme

Muudiye is a settlement in Gardafui. It is 300 KM to

Bosaso, the commercial city of Puntland. It takes 10 hours to travel between Muudiye and Boosaso due to the layout of the unpaved road without uphill. The road from Alula to the countryside ends at Hursalle. The terrain between Hursalle and Muudiye is classified as plateau with three uphill. Hursalle residents have begun a self-help scheme at a nearby uphill. Muudiye residents have added 25 KM to the gravel road.



No obstacle is too insurmountable

They aim to work on the remaining 20 KM to make easy for drivers to travel on the gravel road. The main barrier that make travelling between Alula and Bosaso a difficult journey are two uphill over which cars and lorries cannot drive. Once those two uphill get flattened or made less risky for drivers, travelling to Alula will be enjoyable and unlock economic

opportunities for Bari region. Such an initiative will have positive impact Habbo, Mur'anyo and associated hamlets.

By Dr. Ahmed Maskax

Adeegga Kayd ee shirkadda Golis

Macmiil,

Haddii aad iska diiwaangalisey adeegga Kayd, Numbarradaadii ma kaydsatay?

Fadlan si laguugu kaydiyo nambarradaada aadna hadhow, haddii moobaylku kaa lumo, dib ugu heli kartid nambarradaadii, fadlan marka hore ku wareeji SIM card aad leedah kaaga numberada kuugu jira qolofkaaga(mobaylkaaga) ku wareeji SIM card-ka aad leedahay oo raac tallaabooyinkan:

1. Tag calaamadda contacts ee saaran shaashadda
2. Kaddib soo fur dhibcaha saddexda ah ee is kor saaran kana muuqda dhanka ku beegan midigtaada ama saddexda xariijimmo ee ku beegan bidixdaada, oo dusha sare saaran.
3. Kaddibna dooro **Manage contacts**
4. kaddib dooro **Import/export contacts**
5. kaddib dooro **Export**.
6. Kaddib dooro kaarka **SIM 1** ama **SIM 2**.
7. Kaddib gal **Adeegga Kayd** oo dheh Kaydi kaddibna OK dooro si nambarradu u kaydsamaan.



Shirkadda Korontada NECSOM ee Garoowe

A Garowe-based Electricity Company

Shirkadda tamarta Soomaaliyeed ee NECSOM waxaa la asaasay 2003dii, waxayna koronto 24-ka saac ah siisaa magaalada Garoowe, caasimadda Puntland. Waa shirkadda kaliya ee Soomaaliya oo bixisa adeeg koronto isku si u shaqaysa habeen iyo maalin.

NECSOM oo bahwadaag la ah shirkadaha korontada Kismaayo, Boosaaso iyo magaalooyin kale, waxay sanadihii u dambeeyay billowday isticmaalka cadceedda iyo dabaysha.

Shirkadda NECSOM waxay kaalin mug leh ka qaadataa kaabayaasha dhaqaalaha dalka, sugidda amniga iyo kor u qaadista bilicda magaalada caasimada u ah Puntland, Garowe.

NECSOM waxay macaamiisheeda u sameysay

qiime-dhimis si bulshadu uga
faa'iideysto.

NECSOM waxaa kuugu diyaar
ah maamul iyo shaqaale loo
carbiyay shaqadooda.

**Wixii macluumaad ah oo intaas
dheer kala xiriir .**

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Somali Proverbs in translation

*One drinks water to his satisfaction
only with his/her hands.*

*It is better to keep remainder of spilt
milk.*

*A younger came follows in the
footsteps of the older camel.*

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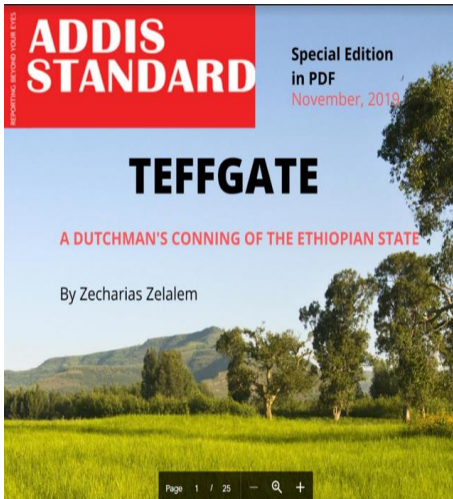
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Why Türkiye Scholarships?

An Interview with Zecharias Zelalem on the Ethiopian Media Landscape

**Zecharias Zelalem is a
journalist with Addis**

Standard, “a monthly social, economic and political news magazine published and distributed by Jakenn Publishing Plc”.



A cover story written by Zecharias Zelalem

Puntland Post Monthly: A peaceful transfer of power took place in Ethiopia in 2018. How has the liberalisation of PM Dr Abiy Ahmed affected the media landscape in Ethiopia?

Zecharias: One of the things we must accredit the current government with is the changes permitted in the media landscape. Prior to 2018, media outlets were clamped down upon and Ethiopia was one of the world's top jailer of journalists. So many writers and bloggers were given sentences ranging from 6 or ten years, to even life in prison for charges

such as terrorism and treason. Today, this is no longer the case. My own outlet, Addis Standard was forced to shut down its magazine production in 2016 when the government appointed command post threatened to take action against any outlets publishing news critical of the government. The likes of OMN and ESAT were banned and anyone caught giving information to these outlets would be arrested. Today this is no longer the case. These outlets and many more are allowed to operate openly in the country. This was a very encouraging initiative when ushered in.

Puntland Post Monthly: The Ethiopian Parliament has passed a law about dissemination of hatred. How can the Ethiopian Government prevent the use of this legislation as a tool to stifle debate?

Zecharias: The Ethiopian government is in the process of passing the law via the parliament but it hasn't been officially written into law yet. How will this be prevented from being used to stifle debate? This is very much in the hands of the government. Ethiopia has had such a dark history of

governments using loosely interpreted litigation to muzzle internal dissent. The most infamous example of this is the 2009 Anti Terror Proclamation. This proclamation was on paper designed to punish those who preach hate and terrorism. But in the end, the 2009 Anti Terror Proclamation was used to arrest activists, journalists and plenty of outspoken scholars who criticized the government. This is what we are accustomed to in Ethiopia. Hopefully, with the new government promising to be one that implements true reform and calls for accountability even at the state level...we will see a change in attitude among the country's leaders. As I said, it is in the hands of the government and of this I am cautiously optimistic.

Puntland Post Monthly: There are several diaspora-owned media outlets such as Zehabesha, Borkena, Oromia Media Network and Tigray Online. They wield much influence partly because their messages are aimed at specific nationalities. How can the Ethiopia-based media houses offset polarising messages without unwittingly becoming a mouthpiece of the Ethiopian Government?

Zecharias: About the media outlets, there needs to be

increased professionalism in the domain. The four media outlets you listed are known for spreading propaganda and for their biased reports. They are mouthpieces for various sides of the Ethiopian partisan political sector. They aren't outlets that follow the norms of journalism. They have large followings among those who believe in and espouse their political ideologies. Media outlets must be able to respect the norms of journalism to avoid being either government mouthpieces or political propaganda bullhorns. Right now, many Ethiopian so called media portals are having trouble respecting this and today, a select few are considered credible. This I believe is due primarily to the government's restrictions on free speech and media freedoms over the past three decades. Hopefully, over the next few years, the credible outlets will be filtered out and rise to increased relevance and those who spread inflammatory messages and pander to divisive politics will be identified by Ethiopians as being lower level tabloid media outlets.

Puntland Post Monthly: As far you know are there local newspapers in local languages other than Amharic?

Zecharias: About the newspapers, I know of some newspapers in languages other than Amharic, but they are very few. There aren't enough papers in Afaan Oromo, Somali, Tigrigna and other languages, especially in Addis Ababa. For much of the last 50 years, initiatives to see papers in languages other than Amharic thrive were quashed by the Ethiopian state. The Imperial era Ethiopian government for instance, frowned upon any sort of sincere effort to see an increased availability of literature in languages other than Amharic. In some parts of the country today, such as Tigray, it is still impossible to start independent media outlets, as the regional government continued to prohibit locals from engaging in any sort of journalism that is unaffiliated with the region's controlled outlets. But elsewhere in the country, there are greater freedoms and hopefully we will see changes in this regard. One aspect we must take into account is the fact that the print media production is being slowed due to the widespread availability of online alternatives. This is the challenge newspapers are facing around the world of course. The increase in costs and the difficulty of luring readers away

from their phones for a brief read make the task at hand much more difficult. But at least today, greater freedoms for journalists and media outlets have been won thanks to the change in administration and above all, thanks to the countless youths who protested and died between 2015-2017 to bring an end to authoritarianism. I do hope with these newly gained freedoms we will see an increase of Oromo, Somali, Tigrigna newspapers and magazines who uphold the values of ethical journalism.

Puntland Post Monthly: How easier is it for an investor to launch a media enterprise or buy shares of newspapers or TV stations in Ethiopia?

Zecharias: I don't have detailed knowledge to provide you with in depth answers to these questions. But I do know that its quite difficult and costly to simply establish such outlets. When Abiy Ahmed came to power last year and announced that there would be reform allowing media freedoms, many diaspora based media heads announced their intentions to return to Ethiopia and start up their own networks. But most of

those I know who planned on operating television outlets have instead transitioned to basing their televised content on YouTube channels. Among those who returned home and planned on opening TV channels but were forced to settle for YouTube, Abbay Media. There are a number of newspapers and magazines who halted production after merely months. Such endeavours require extensive research and finances. Something that most weren't prepared for when they made the move to Ethiopia. I am unaware of how much it might cost to buy shares in media, but it is quite evident that for certain outlets with larger followings, it would cost hundreds of thousands, perhaps even millions of Ethiopian birr. What was widely reported in Ethiopian circles is that renowned activist Jawar Mohammed purchased local television outlet LTV for something like 75 -80 million Ethiopian birr, which is around 2.5 million \$US. LTV has a large following. But other than this, my information as to how much the transaction of shares of specific media companies might cost is quite minute.

Puntland Post Monthly: What are challenges facing local media houses?

Zecharias: The problems and challenges are many, but above all Ethiopia lacks a media culture. Due to decades of authoritarianism and an embedded cultural inability among Ethiopians to tolerate criticism, we have yet to really see the surge of hard hitting, unbiased, professional journalism that a country like our's really needs. This is something that I hope will change as the years go by. Right now, most so called media outlets are really fronts for political propaganda. This needs to change but I'm optimistic about what I notice. Other than that, most media outlets are based in Addis Ababa and rarely do they send correspondents to rural areas of Ethiopia. The country is an extremely diverse one with diverse mindsets, mentalities and points of view. Too many Ethiopian media representatives report on stories from Addis Ababa without making a sincere effort to reach and communicate with the people affected. This in itself is a form of erasure. There is so much in terms of understanding and context that one can gain by travelling to affected areas and communicating with locals, but

this is all too often lost when a city dweller in a cafe in Addis Ababa writes a story and then adds a picture he/she found on Facebook to it. Often this is done to suit a narrative and not to air the views and opinions, desires and aspirations of the subject in the story. Because of this, we rarely get a glimpse of what people in areas like Dessie, Deghabour, Moyale feel, hear and aspire to see, as rarely is the effort to include them in a story made, beyond the bare minimum. For me, these are the greatest challenges news media face. They are challenges brought upon by our upbringing, culture and attitude but also our common history.

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