

**The Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
(CEWARN)**

in the

Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
Region

CEWARN Baseline Report

Dikhil Region, DJIBOUTI

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1. Executive Summary

« The pastoral societies are the ones organized around the rationalization of the meager resources available in their environment. This shortage management explains some of the characteristics that are generally attributed to the pastoralists such as their exceptional survival and adaptation capacity, the austerity of their way of life and their sophisticated system of solidarity with a view to compensate for the hostility of the environment and the economic precariousness.

Practicing nomadism, more or less spread out according to their area of transhumance, the pastoralists are, due to this, brought often to encounter situations of conflict with the other rival groups enticed by the same resources: water and pastures. This is one of the reasons why pastoral societies are generally warriors who overvalue the use of war and prepare to the arts of fighting. However, contrary to the generally accepted idea, warrior societies are not necessarily societies of violence neither are they anarchic ones. The cliché of the hordes with neither faith nor law is a sad fabrication of the ethnological literature to justify the deeds of the colonizer obsessed by the institution of colonial order and incapable of understanding a society structured differently from his. On the contrary, warrior societies are among societies who have developed more methods of prevention and resolution of conflicts. This paradox can be explained by the same psychology of dissuasion that had pushed the nations with nuclear capacity to establish systems of mediation and negotiation with a view to avoid total wars. This is thus the awareness of the gravity of the drifts to which war could lead, that brought the warrior people to develop mechanisms of conflicts regulation and a philosophy of peace culture that is often remarkable. »¹.

Nevertheless, the consequence of the nomadic way of life, the wars and interethnic conflicts that are regular if not permanent, but also natural disasters (drought, flood, epidemics), the social and economic situation of the pastoral communities of the Horn of Africa are currently the most worrying problem in terms of human development and it represents a major challenge to the 7 member countries of IGAD and the community of development partners.

This is why, the wars and conflicts among tribes and pastoral communities are currently one of the priority problems facing countries of the Horn of Africa. Even though they are classified as low intensity conflicts, they create a situation of insecurity so much that the sustainability and impact on the basic infrastructures (education, health, water), but also and mostly the programs and projects of agro-pastoral development initiated by the governments of the concerned countries with the help of donors and international organizations, are often doomed to failure.

This alarming situation in which the pastoral or nomadic populations are living in the Horn of Africa makes today, the CEWARN a timely and appropriate mechanism of IGAD to address this type of conflict.

This report is produced within the framework of the establishment of IGAD'S Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) for prevention and settlement of pastoral conflicts in the Republic of Djibouti. This is an initial report (starting situation) on the **Dikhil Region**, an experimental pilot region of the CEWARN program in Djibouti, which provides information and basic socio-economic data that affect (explain) the pastoral conflicts in the region lying between the Afars and the Issas, who are the main tribes living in the Dikhil region. It gives details of the major causes of these conflicts and the aggravating factors and it suggests key recommendations to reduce their impacts in the short, medium and long term.

¹ [Ali Moussa Iyeh](#), « PAIX ET LAIT ! » : DOMESTICATION OF CONFLICT AMONG SOMALIS PASTORALISTS.

The main difficulty encountered was the rarity of reference materials (documentation) on the pilot region and on the conditions and ways of life of pastoralists, and especially on the problem of pastoral conflicts in the area.

However, this can serve as a base for beginning data gathering activities, prevention and settlement of cross-border and intra-border pastoral conflicts of the CEWARN program in the **Dikhil Region**.

Located in the South-West of the Republic of Djibouti, with a surface area of **7200 km² and a population estimated to 70.000 inhabitants** (according to the last National Report of the population census conducted in 1993) the Dikhil Region is the widest and most populated area of the country.

Administration-wise, the Region is divided into four districts:

- The Dikhil county town and its peripheries,
- The Administrative post of Yoboki,
- The Administrative post of As-Eyla,
- The Administrative post of Mouloud.

It is a Region characterized by divers relief, formed essentially by low plateaus interspersed with depressions that favor nomadism, and it represents a mosaic of reliefs that are more or less tabular (Plateau of Gamare, Yaguer, Dakka) organized around a « V » shape formed by the two big plains namely Hanle and Gobaad .

Following the country's climate, the Dikhil Region is characterized by a dry tropical climate marked by two seasons: a cold and a hot one.

- **Cold Season:** Goes from October to April with average temperatures from 20 to 30° C, with generally a fierce wind in the evening.
- **Hot Season:** Extends from June to September with high temperatures (between 35 and 42°C).

The distinctive feature of the Dikhil Region is that it brings together the two main constituents of the national population, the Afars and the Issas. Moreover, it has a great border with the two regions namely Somali and Afar from Ethiopia and the nomadic populations circulate without any restriction from one side of the border to the other.

Having the same kind of life style, the Afars and the Issas (Somalis tribes) are in majority nomadic breeders who move around with their cattle according to the climate conditions, on both sides of the border lying between Ethiopia and Djibouti, and according to the situations of conflicts or peace existing between them in the region. Since the mists of time, they frequently indulge themselves in conflicts that are often very bloody interrupted by periods of reconciliation and peace.

It is the GOOBAAD, border area extending from the South-East of the District up to the Lake Abbeh, and especially, at the level of the entry and exit points of the borders of **Bondara, Sankal, Bakeireh, Moulouhleh, Daba-Bour and Kalan-Kaleyti**, that reside the pastoral intra and inter community conflicts.

The problems emanating from this area reverberate and consequently affect the cohabitation of the Afars and the Issas in the other parts of the district but also in the country itself. In addition to the competition over the few resources in pastures and water, in most of the cases, it is the acts of cattle rustling or a crime committed from the Ethiopian side of the border by an individual thief (Afars or Issas) that brings about counter reactions of revenge in the Djiboutian territory thereby going up to jeopardizing peace negotiations.

Due to their mobility from one side to the other of the border, they hardly benefit from basic social infrastructures, services and supports of the government administrations.

Just like elsewhere in the Horn of Africa, the main causes of conflicts between the Afars and the Issas pastoralists are among others:

- Competition over pastures and water resources bringing about generally the first frictions or hostilities;
- Cattle rustling to reconstitute a cattle loss through theft or attack or death due to draught;
- Cattle rustling to provide a dowry;
- Availability of firearms (light Kalashnikov) and of ammunitions is also an aggravating factor.
- Low impact of the policies and development programs of the governments of the two concerned countries to change the situation and conditions of the people's life of this zone.

The main recommendations of this report are:

- Development and establishment of an integrated wide-scale program in the zone by the authorities of the two countries, to reinforce and diversify income generating activities of the pastoralists living in this area;
- Extension and improvement of the access, the quality and the coverage of the basic social infrastructures;
- Creation and set up of a Traditional Local Committee for cross-border Peace (recognized by the authorities of both countries) representing the Afars and the Issas pastoralists of this area. The government authorities and the CEWARN program will have to support and encourage this Committee in using the traditional crisis and conflicts prevention and settlement mechanism arising among the pastoralists of this area.

2. Purpose & Scope

(Including geographical coverage, and other secondary and structural data, such as climate, population, livestock number, clans etc...) If possible include a map of the area)

This report is produced within the framework of the establishment of IGAD'S **CEWARN** Mechanism in the Republic of Djibouti. It is an initial report (starting point) on the Dikhil Region which is a pilot region of the **CEWARN** program in Djibouti. This will serve as a baseline for starting data collection activities, for the prevention and the settlement of pastoral cross-border and intra-border conflicts of this Early Warning and Response Mechanism.

The Dikhil Region, located in the South-East, represents the biggest border of Djibouti with Ethiopia. It is crossed by the main highway supplying Ethiopia presently, and it has always accommodated the most important land cross-border trade exchange flows between Djibouti and Ethiopia.

This report provides information and basic socio-economic data that affect (explain) the pastoral conflicts in the region between the Afars and the Issas, who are the main tribes living in the Dikhil region. It gives details of the major causes of these conflicts and the aggravating factors and it suggests recommendations to reduce their impacts in the short, medium and long term.

a) GEOGRAPHY

Located in the South Western part of the Republic of Djibouti, the Dikhil Region covers the widest area of the country (with a surface area of **7200 km²** before the creation of the Arta Region)

Administration-wise, it is divided into four districts:

- The Dikhil county town and its peripheries,
- The Administrative post of Yoboki,
- The Administrative post of As-Eyla,
- The Administrative post of Mouloud

The population of the Dikhil district is estimated to 70.000 inhabitants, according to the last National Report of the population census conducted in 1993.

The Region is characterized by a varied relief, formed essentially by low plateaus interspersed with depressions that favor nomadism, and it represents a mosaic of reliefs that are more or less tabular (Plateau of Gamare, Yaguer, Dakka) organized around a « V » shape formed by the two big plains namely Hanle and Gobaad .

The plains consist of series of parallel depressions separated by the tabular plateaux. This consists of alluvial depressions that are the bases of old lakes that have disappeared. These caved-in basins originate from the tectonics. The Hanle plain is the widest one that is all in all 35 km² long and 20 km² wide, and the plains of the Dikhil district are crossed by the wadis that supply them.

b) CLIMATE AND PLUVIOMETRY

In the image of the country's climate, the Dikhil Region is characterized by a dry tropical season marked by two seasons: a cold and a hot one.

- **Cold Season:** Goes from October to April with average temperatures that go from 20 to 30° C, with generally a fierce wind in the evening.
- **Hot Season:** Extends from June to September with high temperatures (between 35 and 42°C).

In summer, the heat is more scorching in the plains and the depression zones and it is accompanied by a dry and dusty wind.

In general, contrary to the Capital and the northern part of the country, it rains more in the summer than in the winter. The district receives an average of **140 mm of rainfall per year**. However, the precipitations are in general low and mostly very irregular. Thus, sometimes, it does not rain at all or it only rains a bit during several consecutive years and this rainfall deficiency brings about a mobility of the nomadic populations who move around in search of pasture.

Thirst and draught are the daily fates of the nomadic populations, even if the drinking water supply for the rural population as well as their livestock has always been a major concern of the different governments of the country.

Inventory of traditional drilling and wells located in the Dikhil District

| Town | Drilling | Cemented Well | Total |
|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------|
| Bondara | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Kontali | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Gabla galan | 1 (broken down) | 1 | 2 |
| Gourabous | 1 (broken down) | 0 | 1 |

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|
| Yoboki | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Daoudaouya | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 11 (2 are broken down) | 5 | 16 |

Source : District of Dikhil

c) THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS

At the commercial level, the district benefits from its geostrategic position which presents a considerable asset for the economic and commercial development of the region.

This situation however gives rise to smuggling which has particularly taken significant importance during the year 2006, despite the untiring struggle undertaken by different armed forces against it from both sides of the border.

In other respects, the convoy of smuggled goods forms the subject of ambushes, attacks and thefts of goods and animals on behalf of the tribes of the crossed zones on either side of the border. And this gives rise to inter-ethnic pastoral conflicts.

This practice which is detrimental to the national economy is reverberated in a disastrous way among the legal khat traders.

d) THE AGRICULTURE

For the time being, things do not seem to go for the better, in the agricultural domain. In fact, the agricultural practice is subjected to several constraints out of which the main one consists in problems of water and high production cost that result from the fact that most of the farmers use motor-pumps to extract water from wells and thereby supply their farms. However, the use of this tool comes up to an exorbitant price (fuel price, maintenance and spare parts...)

However, the agricultural activity remains in use by the farmers who are generally organized into cooperatives. The two wide-scale projects that are ongoing in the district are a project of date palms plantation and another project concerning forage plantation to the benefit of the livestock.

THE EXISTING COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS IN THE DIKHIL DISTRICT

| ORGANISATIONS/ COOPERATIVES | DATE OF CREATION | AGRICULTURAL AREA | TOTAL NUMBER OF FARMS | INACTIVE FARMING |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Agricultural Cooperative Association of GOBAAD | 1981 | 50ha | 258 | 108 |
| Agricultural Cooperative Association of HANLE | 1985 | 25 ha | 280 | 130 |
| Agricultural Cooperative Association of DIKHIL-MOULOUD | 1987 | 36 ha | 34 | 7 |
| Agricultural Cooperative Association of ABAYTOU | 1988 | 3 ha | 12 | 2 |
| Agricultural Cooperative Association of DADAHALOU et ARWO | 1997 | 4.5 ha | 5 | 0 |
| TOTAL | | 118.5ha | 489 | 249 |

Source : District of Dikhil

e) DIKHIL LIVESTOCK INVENTORY

Evaluation and distribution of the livestock number in the region.

1. COUNTY TOWN AND ITS PERIPHERIES

| Sector | Small ruminants | Cattle | Camel | Donkey |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| Bondara | 856 | 43 | 02 | 08 |
| Tewao | 2900 | 68 | ----- | 14 |
| Suera | 1424 | | | 13 |
| Harrou | 1450 | 30 | 23 | 21 |
| Kileita | 458 | | 18 | 11 |
| Balambalay | 339 | | 15 | 14 |
| Chekheyti | 696 | | 58 | 126 |
| Kontali | 368 | 05 | 47 | 38 |
| Galamo | 428 | 37 | 647 | 326 |
| Abaïtou | 542 | 03 | 241 | 216 |
| Gami | 206 | 06 | 45 | 12 |
| Dikhil ville | 1647 | 100 | 50 | 20 |
| Quatier TP | 126 | | ----- | 02 |
| Cheick Mandaytou | 413 | 15 | | 04. |
| Total | 185 3 | 307 | 1.146 | 825 |

Source : Dikhil District

2. ADMINISTRATIVE POST OF AS-EYLA

| Sectors | Goat | Ovine | Cattle | Camel | Donkey |
|--|--------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| As-Eyla | 3065 | 92 | 25 | | 08 |
| Katoumbati Hawa-Dala | 803 | 1242 | | 120 | 15 |
| Sissalou | 1160 | 58 | 15 | 40 | 04 |
| Ado-Bouyi Garli- Dala | 320 | 53 | 28 | 32 | 58 |
| Garsalé Daba Hamad Arbahim | 3000 | 350 | 12 | 350 | 120 |
| Sankal Daimo Ali Souli | 6300 | 1900 | ----- | 250 | 90 |
| Bonta - Nabad | 1610 | 79 | 05 | 68 | 16 |
| Tamiro (Adkabara) Kada-dala -Einguela | 1035 | 70 | 18 | 85 | 83 |
| Barougali | 888 | 218 | 17 | 101 | 48 |
| Oudoukia | 1080 | 272 | 03 | 39 | 39 |
| Badlé-Ela | 260 | 33 | 06 | 33 | 10 |
| Kalaatole-Ela | 670 | 90 | 13 | 82 | 16 |
| Afahtou | 830 | 350 | 03 | 25 | 17 |
| Sadli | 2310 | 345 | 95 | 255 | 49 |
| Koutabouya | 5400 | 540 | 110 | 1250 | 520 |
| Lac-Abhé | 4860 | 350 | 40 | 150 | 135 |
| Leado | 1150 | 7700 | | 154 | 109 |
| Total | 34741 | 13742 | 384 | 3034 | 1337 |

Source : District of Dikhil

3. ADMINISTRATIF POST OF YOBOKI

| Sector | Goat | Cattle | Camel | Donkey |
|----------------|--------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| Yoboki | 5395 | 135 | 465 | 60 |
| Tewao | 3420 | 20 | 715 | 121 |
| Hanlé 2 | 4810 | 10 | 450 | 60 |
| Hanlé 1 | 3700 | 20 | 315 | 4() |
| Dakka | 10055 | | 287 | 125 |
| Garabais | 2703 | 08 | 694 | 111 |
| Dokonyo | 1348 | 10 | 144 | 70 |
| Gourabous | 849 | | 55 | 60 |
| As-Bahari | 2827 | 11 | 167 | 87 |
| Sabir | 862 | | 84 | 51 |
| Kori | 9277 | ----- | 385 | 218 |
| Gidoli | 1 330 | ----- | 78 | 32 |
| Gourabous-Daka | 2170 | 03 | 120 | 59 |
| Lafolili | 387 | ----- | 50 | 19 |
| Daguirou | 8070 | 46 | 360 | _____ |
| Galafi | 1183 | 27 | 180 | 68 |
| Moutrous | 3261 | | 733 | 111 |
| Mokoyta | 3270 | 55 | 71(i | 101 |
| Gahar | 1260 | | 621 | 54 |
| Allouli | 5445 | | 405 | 76 |
| Daoudaouya | 5800 | ----- | 346 | 56 |
| Habsou | 3155 | 20 | 336 | 24 |
| Boukboukto | 3840 | ----- | 700 | 76 |
| Abaa | 2463 | 60 | 419 | 71 |
| Ourguini | 5800 | 14 | 813 | 16 |
| Agna | 6404 | 12 | 1035 | 53 |
| Total | 98163 | 451 | 10673 | 1819 |

Source : Dikhil District

4. ADMINISTRATIVE POST OF MOULLOUD

| Sector | Small ruminants | Cattle | Camel | Donkey |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| Mouloud village | 3586 | 24 | 50 | 47 |
| Dadahalou | 2199 | 0 | 84 | 39 |
| Goblalou | 1305 | 11 | 124 | 32 |
| Arwo | 1136 | 12 | 145 | 31 |
| Kileyta | 716 | 0 | 131 | 29 |
| Balambaley | 972 | 0 | 26 | 28 |
| Laadou | 1258 | 0 | 213 | 42 |
| Alchaitou | 553 | 0 | 87 | 21 |
| Biya-Ad | 412 | 0 | 16 | 12 |
| Irah | 1870 | 0 | 153 | 38 |
| Dawano | 1207 | 0 | 104 | 19 |
| TOTAL | 15214 | 47 | 1133 | 338 |

Source : Dikhil District

3. Background, Actors and Historical Context

3.1. Introduction

Region mainly populated by two ethnic groups having the same way of life: the Afars and the Issas (Somalis tribes). The majority are nomadic stockbreeders who move around with their cattle depending on the climatic conditions, on either side of the border that lies between Ethiopia and Djibouti, and depending on the existing conflict or peace situations among them, in the region. From time immemorial, they engage in regular conflicts that are often very deadly, interrupted by periods of reconciliation and peace.

Due to their mobility from one side to the other of the border, they hardly benefit from basic social infrastructures, services and supports of the government administrations.

The history, the cultural traditions and the ways of life as well as the relationships between these two communities, are recounted in the following two documents (box 1 and 2).

BOX 1 :

Djibouti, South-North: A common itinerary between Issa and Afar.

Saturday 11 November 2006, by [Alain Laurent](#)

The Afars and the Issas form the majority of the population of the Republic of Djibouti, independent since 1977. Their ancestors, described as early as the beginning of Egyptian antiquity by the scribes of the Queen Hatchepsoutin in the beginning of the XVth century BC, used to live in the « Punt » country, later called « Kusch » country. From « Barbares », « Puntites », « Zendjis » in « Cushitic » people today one estimates that the present cultural and linguistic differentiations had been built gradually over long migrations from the South of the present Ethiopia towards the West, the North and the Est. In the North and in the West, the Afar, travelling pastoralists, became progressively sedentary, familial owners, based on clans or tribes of their lands, that they also share with the Sultans of Tadjoura, of Goba'ad, of Aoussa or of Raheita from Ethiopia.

The Adailou region is the birth place of the Adals, the place where the legend (or history?) states that the Afars tribes were created and the traditional laws elaborated. Few kilometers from the village of Adailou, the Mont Diir is the symbolical place of a previous ancient religion that had once coexisted with Islam that is the only religion today. Probably introduced in Dankalie in the Xth century by preachers who came from Arabia, Islam had in fact to impose itself to a much more ancient religion, that was 1 500 years old, built around Diir (or Waq), the God of the night. Through incantations, prayers and offering of livestock, the believers appealed to Diir, maker of miracles, to obtain what they came looking for. This veneration, very much practiced by the people of the Horn of Africa, continued until the 70ies.

In the South, the Issas, one of the six tribal confederations of the mosaic of Somali, are transhumant pastoralists who share out their space with the Guban, coastal regions with a torrid climate and Galbeed, regions with a milder climate and with a less poor pasture beyond the axe of lake Abbe - Dire Dawa in Ethiopia. The practice and the area exploitation have linked, in a vital complementarities, these two ecological units. The Issas divide their country according to the type of vegetation, the luminosity and the color of the rocks: Galool-Joog (« joog » signifies «being there») and the area of the coastal acacia « galool » in the North-Est and the Binin-Joogis the zone of « binin », a small shrub turning green after the rains, Cassaa-Joog refers to the red and ochre reliefs of the region found between Ali-Sabieh and the village of Assamo and Qorax-Joog covers the most arid zones where the sun is intense. These expressions refer also to the different Issas tribal clans who travel around these spaces. These are finally cultural zones of inter mariages.

The Issas are the promoters of Xeer, a very structured customary social contract which establishes the rights and duties of the community and the individual at the same time bounding and protecting those who join in. The Xeer is at the same time a right that defines the offences and the sanctions, a political constitution that

organizes around the Ugaas (The politico-spiritual King of the Issas) the inter-clans relationships and a group of moral and philosophic references. The Somali-Issas are today a highly settled down population.

BOX 2 :

Ali Moussa Iyeh, « PAIX ET LAIT ! » : DOMESTICATION OF CONFLICT AMONG THE SOMALIS PASTORALISTS.

The Issas pastoralists (Somalis), who are the subject of this study, have, for instance, settled down regulations of war that is of a surprising modernity. Regulations that identify some groups of the population called « Birmageydo » (those who should not be touched by any kind of arms) and protects them in case of war. This category comprises especially women, children, old people but also the wise, men of sciences and of religion, guests and all those who are foreign to the conflict. The dignity and some rights of the wounded and the war prisoners are also respected in this convention of Geneva. The Somalis belong to these pastoral people of whom it seemed to us interesting to study the mechanisms of regulation of violence and the preservation of peace. Mechanisms of which the civil war that keeps going in Somalia has, definitely, shown the limits when they are manipulated and cut off from their political philosophy but also their effectiveness when they are used advisedly. In fact, it turned out to be that most of the peace agreements made between Somali factions and/or communities concluded according to the traditional method have given results that are much more probing and sustainable than the treaties concluded during multiple conferences of reconciliation sponsored by the international community that often stir up the conflict.

3.2. Historical Context

The expansion of the Dikhil District results from the process of the French colonial penetration in the hinterland of Djibouti.

In the very beginning of the 20th century the Horn of Africa was marked by the Italian presence. The French had a difficult contact with the Sultan of Gobaad. The necessity to keep the evolution of the pastoral world so as to fix the borders brought the colonial administration led by the Governor **Chapon Baissac** to establish the county town of Dikhil, in **1928**.

This post is at first administered by the commander **Rossat**, but it is especially under the leadership of **Alphonse Luppman** that the city experienced an important demographic growth with the implantation of a military contingent, the attraction of traders and the settlement of nomads. The beginnings of the colonial administration are marked by several conflicts that lead to bloodshed:

The end of the 20ies and the beginning of the 30ies were crucial periods with the implantation of the French administration in a zone up to then administered by exclusively a traditional manner by a local chef systems. The colonial policy of fixation of borders led very early in the limitation and control of the pastoralists' movements.

In 1930 upheavals burst out provoked by the Sultan of Gobaad, **Loita Houmed**. The latter was deported along with his vizier **Hadji Ali** to Madagascar.

On the 18th of January 1935 the militia had to face an attack of the Assaheymara warriors at Morahtou, not far from the Lake Abbe and the Administrator **Bernard**, one of the pioneers of the construction of Dikhil died with his 17 militias.

Finally in **1936**, the Italian Army entered the territory. It then set itself against the militia in the plain of Hanle.

The Goobaad basin thus remains one of the most ancient zones of the pastoral population. Due to its position of crossroads, Goobaad had always been a contact zone among the different tribes of the Afars and the Issas and the main channel of communication taken by caravan tracks.

3.3. Influence of the governmental border policies.

Consecutive to probably the local traditions of the cross-border traders and to the nomadic pastoralists, the assets of the local population are also, **the constant predisposition to mobility**, between the living environment (rural zones), the urban centers or up to the Capital.

The movement of the people and the goods aimed at commercialization is very intense despite, however, a substantial consecutive decrease of the economic crisis that resulted from the civil war that happened from 1991 to 1994 between the FRUD (Afar gorilla) and the regular armed forces of Djibouti.

The auxiliary villages and the urban centers of second degree (administrative Posts) make up nodal points related among themselves by a network implemented by axes of transhumances and by ways of communication and they are the places of predilection for the economic and commercial exchanges.

This mobility related to the economic exchanges is emphasized by the dependence vis-à-vis the urbanized sites, a dependence that is relative to the presence of collective equipments (Hospital centers, District, primary Inspection) and the availability of more economies of scale (or agglomeration).

The main axis are the national road 1 (Dikhil/Galafi) and the RN6 (Dikhil/As-Eyla) through which transit people and goods with transportation means (bus, bush taxis, trucks).

The other axes of least dimensions (rural tracks, pedestrian roads) serve for the movements of cattle and caravans inside the region or beyond the border (Ethiopia).

The communities are organized around social leaders (OKALS) and they live by important practices and social codes that are materialized in the form of solidarity between the individual and the ethnic group to which he belongs and that are respected with observance and discipline.

The fundamental base of the social ethics and its regulations are passed down to each generation and they form the foundation of social cohesion and inter community stability.

In practice, there is a sharing out of tasks between men and women and between the different age groups even if this division and hierarchy are united by a convergence of community interest.

The daily life of women is dedicated, primarily, to the household duties and looking after the children. Women also have economic occupations that are related to the craft industry and the small trades (vegetables, meat, business (boutiques, Khat) and catering)

When it comes to integration in the social and economic life, women's condition improved in general following the example of the rest of the country. One notes that they are more and more present in all the existing educational, sanitary and socio-economic sectors at the level of the Region. They go to school without any constraint despite the absence of structures for necessary professional and technical re-orientation in case of school failure.

3.4. The customary matters: Traditional way of managing the space.

The district of Dikhil has the particular characteristic of regrouping together the two main constituents of the national population: the Afars and the Issas. Moreover, the district possesses a

wide border with the two Somali regions and the Afar from Ethiopia and the nomadic people move around without any restriction from one side to the other of the border.

The Afars and Issas nomadic pastoralists of the Goobaad practice an open management of the pastures contrary to the Northern part of the country where the lands, the pastures and the water points are meticulously shared out among the different clans.

Therefore, this cohabitation in the Goobaad and the circulation from one part to the other of the border, does not go without bringing about several pastoral conflicts over the meager resources in water and in pasture, that are expressed through theft of cattle, rape and kidnapping of women, accusation of a community by another one, defamatory actions through the use of gestures, poems and songs.

Such situations often end up in confrontations of the different ethnical groups, a thing which automatically reverberates upon the communities living inside the country.

It is the GOOBAAD, border zone extending from the South-East of the District up to the Lake Abbeh, and especially, at the level of the entry and exit points of the borders of **Bondara, Sankal, Bakeireh, Moulouhleh, Daba-Bour and Kalan-Kaleyti**, that are located the pastoral intra and inter community conflicts hot points.

The GOOBAAD zone is the most important axis of cross-border transhumance and at the same time the main channel of cross-border trade.

The problems that arise in this area reverberate and affect consequently the cohabitation of the Afars and the Issas in the other parts of the district but also of the country. In many cases, it is the acts of cattle theft or crimes committed from the Ethiopian side of the border by an individual thief (Afars or Issas) that lead to actions of revenge in the Djiboutian territory and that also jeopardizes peace negotiations.

In order to avoid any risk of escalating conflicts in these zones, the administrative authorities of the Region organize periodically meetings with the notables and the customary chiefs of the different tribes, with a view to keep in a sustainable way, peace and security in this region. These leaders of the Afars and Issas tribes are known for their authority and are members of a committee of pastoral conflicts resolution. There is also need of a cross-border communication and conflict prevention mechanism to prevent acts of isolated individuals triggering more serious conflicts between the Afars and Issas tribes.

The traditional hierarchy in the Afar society is composed of a Sultan assisted by a board of the main notables belonging to the different clans, having the supreme authority. The Sultanate is based on a precise jurisdiction and covers a well defined territory.

Apart from the most serious problems (bloodshed crimes, open conflict,...) the notables' board (Makaban) can meet and take decisions in the absence of the Sultan on all that is a question of common interest (management of pastures and water issues, settlement of familial dispute).

During Peace negotiation meetings between the Issas and the Afars, the Afars do not participate to the meeting if the Chief of the « Harla » tribe does not lead the Issa delegation. And the same goes for the Issas if the Chief of the « Harkamela » tribe does not lead the Afar delegation.

The Authorities know and accept these rules and traditional principles if it does not prevent the occurrence of the meeting. But the Authorities resort to the use of power (Police, Gendarmerie and Army) when necessary.

3.5. Causes and factors of conflicts between the Afar and the Issa.

Apart from the rivalry over water and pasture, theft and cattle raids constitute the factors at hand in the conflicts between the Afars and the Issas in the area.

Cattle rustling often take place in winter, after the rain or during a drought period. The Afars steal cattle often during the long dry seasons, whereas the Issas steal during winter, after the rain. The stolen livestock consists generally of camels, zebu and donkeys, but also of small ruminants (goats).

The kidnapping, raping of women are less frequent nowadays, but they represent revenge or humiliating practices performed against the adversary quite commonly in the context of the pastoral conflicts between the Afars and the Issas communities. There are also cases in which young girls flee to join the adverse tribe so as to escape from a forced marriage.

The Afars have a conception and a specific practice when it comes to the use and management of land. Each tribal and ethnic entity, possesses and has at its disposal delimited zones or territories that are well determined that they share with nobody else who is not from the same tribe. The other nomadic tribes, Afars or Issas must obtain an agreement to cross or to remain there, to use whatever needed for their cattle, by paying fees (taxes).

And this traditional law is for them well above the national laws of the States on land and public domain.

The Issas have a totally different concept and practice: the land and its natural resources belong to all men (to each and everyone). Water and pasture should be shared. And everyone is free to bring along his cattle where there is water and pasture without paying to anyone any fee or tax for either the right of passage or use.

Lately, a meeting was held in the locality of As-Eyla, in January 2006, so as to look for reliable solutions to put an end to these pastoral conflicts between the Afar and Issa tribes. In this occasion, a widened committee comprising representatives of the concerned tribes as a whole had been put in place for the prevention and settlement of inter-ethnic conflicts.

The members of this committee undertake mediation missions at times, in the sectors located beyond the border to speak with the leader of the relevant tribes, thus looking for a peaceful solution to the disputes that oppose the tribes of these communities living on either side of the border. The area is mostly populated by the Issas tribes and two Afar tribes, namely the DEBNEH and the ASSAHEYMARA.

a) The triggering causes and factors of the conflicts.

The causes and factors that generate tensions and conflicts between Issa and Afar tribes, are mainly:

- *Organized or one-off theft of cattle, be it from the Issa or the Afar side, sow hatred and a spirit of vengeance between these two tribes,*
- *The non-sharing of water resources,*
- *The non-sharing of pastures (territorial delimitation),*
- *Grudges due to previous cattle theft, kidnapping or raping of girls and women, prevents harmonious cohabitation between the two communities.*
- *Often, an act committed by a thief has its consequences over the whole of his/her community who is considered as responsible for this action and this leads to retaliations upon the innocent who are subjected to the consequences.*

b) The social and economic consequences

- *Retaliation through vengeance,*
- *Permanent instability of the social and economic relationships between the communities,*
- *Decrease of the mobility and the freedom of movement of goods and people between the border zones,*
- *Increase of crimes/banditry committed with impunity in the border zone.*

Following the example of other regions of the country, there is an emergence of active associative fabrics in the different sectors related to the regional development.

However, the activities of these actors of the civil society stumble over the absence of integrated capacity building programs (trainings – support to the realization of their projects) and they are seldom involved in pastoral conflict affairs or issues.

Also, the youth that is predominant in number does not still have structures (centers) that could provide them with value enhancing training that is necessary to a better integration in the employment market. Most of the time, those who do not go to school vegetate in idleness despite their wish and aspiration to change their living environment.

To state the reality, youngsters and women belonging to the associations of the Region represent a considerable potential that has not been exploited to this date and that the CEWARN program could train, equip and supervise in creating awareness and advocating for prevention of crisis and conflicts between the Afar and Issa pastoralists.

List of Associations of the Dikhil District.

| Associations | Field of Intervention | Chairpersons | Addresses |
|---|--|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ADHUPE (Association for sustainable human development and for the preservation of the environment) | -Environment -Orphanage - Girls' literacy | Abdoulkader Hassan Main | 42.00.90 87.18.80 84.58.10 |
| Charity association AL-RA.HMA | Charity Environment Orphanage Literacy | HAMOUD ELMI | DIKHIL TEL : 82.33.79/83.22.36 |
| A.S.O (Sport association of Okar and Regional committee for sport) | Promoting Regional Sport | Hassan Mahamoud Robleh | Dikhil Tel : 86.56.16/8179.12 |
| RENAISSANCE | Mutual aid and Charity | ABDALLAH ALI | Dikhil Tel : 83.11.19 |
| AJOD (Association of Okarois youngsters for development) | -environment - Struggle against AIDS | HALIMA HOUMED | DIKHIL TEL : 86.35.47 |
| YAYSI | - Sport and Sanitary Development | Mohamed Witti Moussa | Dikhil Tel : 420010/841656 |
| A.S.C.Y (Yoboki) (Sport and Cultural Association of Yoboki) | - Sport development | Abdallah Mohamed | Yoboki Tel : 84.01.90 |
| Cultural association Hodagar | - Well-being of Women - Interfamilial Assistance and Mutual Help | Bilisso Kawerah | Dikhil Tel : 83.77.57 |

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|--|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| A.C.A.E.H. (Hanle) (Cooperative Association of Agro-breeding, in Hanle) | -Agriculture and breeding | Barkad Abdallah Adou | Dikhil Tel 83.22.36 |
| U.F.D (Women's Association of Dikhil) | - Promoting the role Of Women in the Society | Aicha Mohamed Itho | Dikhil Tel : 82 22 62 |
| A.D.E.B | Charity and Development | Youssef Houssein | Dikhil Tel:86.27.22 |
| A.D.C.A (Association for the development of harmony in As-Eyla) | Improvement of living environment | Ismaël | As-eyla |
| C.D.V.A (Committee of As-Eya village development) | Health promotion of mothers And children | Mohamed Moussa Ali | As-Eyla Tel : 84.59.12 |
| A.F.A (Association of As-Eyla Women) | -Promotion of women and social well being | Madina Loita | As-Eyla 82.22.91 |
| OUBAH (Women Association of Mouloud) | - Promoting social role of women | Hawa Ahmed Bileh | Mouloud Tel : 84.50.30 |
| Association Gar-Gaar | -Educational, sanitary, cultural and sport development | Mohamed Sougueh Barreh | Mouloud Tel : 86.22.08 |
| Kelissa Association of YOBOKI | -Charity -Environment | Ab do Robleh | YOBOKI 83.90.70 |
| A.D.I.D (Development Action of the Dikhil District) | -Development -Environment | Hassan Houmed Ibrahim | Dikhil Tel : 84.33.95 86.66.57 |
| Kontali Women's charity Association. | - Familial assistance and mutual aid | Aicha Moussa Hassan | Kontali 87.24.42 |
| A.D.S.C.E.M (Association for sport and culture development and for environmental safeguarding) | -Orphanage -Environment -Sanitary and educational Development | Ahmed Darar Egueh | Mouloud Tel:83.10.17 42.00.90 |
| A.D.E.C.H (Association for environmental and cultural development of Harrou) | -Environment - Culture and Sport development | Houssein Hassan Elabeh | Dikhil Tel : 82 39 76 |
| A.J.H Association of youngsters Of Harrou | Charity | Ismail Mahamoud | Dikhil Tel : 84.88.73 |

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|--|
| Association of students' parents | Education | Iman ibrahim abar | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|--|

4. Analysis and Vulnerability Assessment

Conflict aggravating factors: (see the attached reports of FewNet)

- The scarcity of rain and the periods of drought frequently bring about:
 - The decrease in pastures and water sources that bring about movement of men and their cattle from both communities towards the same zones, and thus bringing a conflict-provoking competition over water and pastures,
 - The loss of cattle due to drought automatically triggers the increase in the level of cattle rustling in the other community,
- The decrease of food or financial aid from relatives in town due to the soaring up of the cost of living (increase of basic food expenses, increase of the price of electricity and fuel, etc.),
- The indifference of government Authorities, specially those of Ethiopia:
 - The low coverage of basic infrastructures (education, health, water),
 - The rarity and inefficiency of the agro-pastoral development projects targeting these nomadic populations,
 - The low external humanitarian assistance,
 - The increase of identity and territorial claims due to instigations of certain community leaders and politicians opposed to the central governments.
- Development of small arms movement owing to the multiplication of conflict sites and zones in the region (Somali; Ethiopia-Eritrea),
- Possibility of creating or reinforcing gorilla groups or fronts when diplomatic relationships and cooperation between the two countries deteriorate (example: FRUD, OLF or IGLF).

Conflict mitigating factors:

- A negotiation for returning the stolen cattle is presently going on between the Afars and the Issas, with the help and arbitration of the representative of the Region. But divergences upon the number of head of cattle stolen by one another are difficult to establish and get over with so much that this blocks further discussions.
- The rise and arrival of religious organizations preaching peace, tolerance and mutual support, according to the precepts of Islam, and also bringing food aid and financial support for cemented wells and rain water basins. These organizations that are very well accepted by the two communities will be very useful and should be supported by the authorities and the **CEWARN** program;
- Political decision makers and government authorities should support more and institutionalize the traditional pastoral conflict prevention and resolution processes and mechanisms (the Issa Xeer and the respect of the authority and abiding by decisions of the Sultan among the Afars),
- The implementation of the decisions and commitments taken by the cross-border mixed representatives, in terms of peace, security and movement of the nomadic populations, by the governments of the two countries, is an important factor in the prevention and settlement of crisis and conflicts among Afar and the Issa pastoralists of this border zone.

Interventions

- The surveillance and the gathering of data for an early warning for the **CEWARN** program should start as soon as possible;
- The **CEWARN** program through its early warning fund could play a crucial role towards a happy end of the already initiated negotiation concerning the return of the stolen cattle which conditions peace and security in the area for the coming years.
- The new strategies and assistance policies and the settlement of the nomadic populations on either side of the border should also continue and be strengthened:
 - extension of the coverage of the provision of basic social services (education and health),
 - Initiating pilot agro-pastoral projects in the Goobaad and Chekheyti zones (agricultural area for date palms) foreseen since 2006.

The two attached reports of FewNet, illustrate the situation and the living conditions of the Afar and the Issa pastoralists in the Dikhil Region regarding food security during the course of the year 2007.

5. Diagnoses and Response Options

(Needs, relevant actors, specific action objectives, recommended responses)

Pastoral communities face the continued threat of being marginalized in an economy that is classified as being in the developing stages. There is a need to recognize pastoral conflicts as emanating from a persistent experience of a state of insecurity more than anything else. Insecurity in this definition is an experience of more than just conflicts. It involves an experience of unpredictability, hostility and misery given all the factors facing these communities. This constant state leads to the use of whatever means - even violence - to safeguard one's survival.

Some of the key recommendations include developing policies on resource sharing, policies that would direct the use of range management, alternative livelihoods and strengthening of traditional institutions for conflict management.

Policies that enable the community to share the limited resources should be a short-term priority of the government currently. Given that the resources are often limited, the exercise of negotiating for water and pasture should not be left to the communities alone.

To assist in the same use of resources, government should strengthen its capacity to educate the communities on range management. Currently the communities are often left to manage the resources as they see fit and considering that these resources are limited conflict is often inevitable. Range management solutions should also include the marketing of livestock for the pastoralist in internal and external markets.

Although Pastoralism is a way of life this does not negate the possibility of incorporating other means to diversify livelihood of these communities. There are several opportunities to use available resources in these regions in ways that generates income for the benefit of the communities.

Dikhil Region has great potential of developing eco-tourism just as an example. Activities such as bee-keeping game hunting, micro enterprises, and production of medicinal plants and mineral excavation are some of the other examples. In other words, these areas have great potential for greater productivity if only a systematic framework by government and other stakeholders is laid out. Such decisions demand greater political will than is currently manifested.

Afar and Issa communities still have effective traditional and customary conflict management institutions using the elders. This is a great asset in an environment that demands constant negotiation. These should continue to be used and recognized by the government. The As-Eyla Peace meeting is a useful example to show how the community can deal with conflict using internal mechanisms.

Whatever position will be held by the Djiboutian government, it must recognize the shared identities of the communities living along Djibouti and Ethiopia border but at the same time ensure that it does not antagonize its relation with Ethiopia.

Ways and means to make and preserve a sustainable peace

The following measures recommended and accepted by the Afar and Issa delegations during the last Peace Meeting held at As-Eyla in January 2006 can be implemented to preserve and keep sustainable peace.

1. Collaboration :

Peace should be considered as a community good of which every individual should be watchful.

2. Harmonious Cohabitation

The permanent contacts undertaken between the different communities should favor a harmonious cohabitation, and the instauration of brotherhood and a climate of mutual trust.

3. Enforcement of the previous traditional Laws

For the mode of conflict settlement, it is necessary to restore enforcement of the traditional laws applied to settle conflicts and achieve peace between the two communities, Afars and Issas.

For instance:

- Any offenses were punishable by 15 camels
- A theft, from 12 to 15 sheep led to a confiscation of the weapon of the guilty person.

When a group wished to take peace up again with its enemies, it used to send to them women carrying a blade of grass as a sign of peace. The latter ones would either welcome the women to accept the proposition or they would send them away to turn the offer down. Finally, during reconciliations, the parties in conflict would kill a sheep and eat it together to show their sincerity and mutual trust.

4. Individual responsibility for the act.

A mentality change is necessary so that a community or a tribe is not anymore considered as being responsible of the damages caused by one of its members. Only the person who is responsible for the deed will have to be held responsible and thus be subjected to the sanctions provided for by the Law. This could in fact hold wrong doers in failure thereby persuading them not to pursue their activities.

5. Inter ethnic Commission

Necessity to set up a commission composed of representatives of each tribe residing in the region and that will be responsible in ensuring the observance of the prescribed regulations. This interethnic commission will be responsible for the permanent follow up of the process and sustainability of peace.

The commission should allow establishing a link between the theoretical statement and the practical achievements.

Finally, as soon as a conflict arises, the victim party should inform the members of this commission who henceforth will be required to, in case of theft, on the one hand to return the stolen goods and on the other hand to hand over the guilty person(s) to the nearest administration.

6. Respect of the Islam precepts

Necessity to conform to the precepts of Islam which dictates abstention from all acts susceptible to harm one's fellow man.

6. Scenarios and Implications

Status Quo (Most Likely)

In the absence of any changes the situation should continue with low intensity violence and occasional large-scale conflicts, which will gravely affect the communities. One immediate impact is that the environmental factors will further diminish the fragile livelihoods of the people of this region. What is most disconcerting is that the attitudes of the two governments as well as the rest of the Djiboutian and Ethiopian communities will not change towards pastoralists and the danger in this would be continued marginalization of this area.

Recommended change scenario (best Case Scenario)

The likely scenario is that once pastoral way of life is supported by long-term policies and attempts at dealing with conflict are undertaken, conflicts will subside in the short run. In the long term, the communities in this region can play a part in national development hence the experience of exclusion will no longer exist. Even though cases of violence will still be evident they will not be to the extent of the current situation. There will be some level of maturity in governance where politicians will not easily incite the community. Further still, the differences found around demarcation of administrative and political boundaries will reduce since communities will have learnt how to resolve conflicts. With further investment in these areas the diversified livelihood will see the improvements in incomes of families further ensuring an improvement in development.

Customary institutions will work side by side with the government in a region that is culturally cohesive with communities sharing a similar identity. These customary institutions will assist government in the short run to deal with issues of conflicts as the formal legal framework is slowly integrated.

For this, the following should be achieved:

- Financial and political support to the initiative of returning the stolen cattle and the initiative of reconciliation that is ongoing in the Region;
- A local, traditional committee of pastoral conflict prevention and settlement, inspired by the traditional conflict management and resolution mechanisms for this type of conflicts between the Afars and the Issas, is established and operates in the Region;
- The cooperation relationships between the Regional Administrative Authorities from both sides of the border are reinforced;
- The coverage of basic infrastructures (education, health, water) in the transhumance zones of these populations on either sides of the border, is developed and extended by the government of both countries;
- Integrated agro-pastoral projects are developed and implemented by the two countries to increase and facilitate the access to water and pasture by the Afar and Issa pastoralists of the area and their cattle;
- This will allow to settle the biggest number of these pastoralists, to diversify and develop their agricultural and animal production, to educate and to train the younger ones without taking them away from their environment and without changing their way of life;
- Settled and supported in such a way to produce more for personal use and for export, these Afar and Issa pastoralists will have lesser occasions and lesser reasons for confrontation. They will even be able to establish and develop healthy and modern commercial relations. Once they become producers of wealth, they will no longer depend on financial and food aid from urban relatives and supplies of provisions from the two governments and international

organizations, but they will rather contribute to the Gross National Product of the two countries.

Worst case scenario

If the ongoing reconciliation and return initiative of the stolen cattle between the Afars and the Issas is not successful, the outbreak of hostility and conflicts is inevitable. With the unfavorable climatic situation (not much of a rain) of the year 2007, which brought about an alarming food insecurity since last September (reports of FewsNet) in this area, movement of the nomadic populations along with their cattle in search of water and pasture are impending. And the risks of deadly conflicts, of organized attacks to steal cattle are foreseeable.

This will lead to the increase of insecurity in the region, on the border, but also on either side of the border at such a level that even the slightest governmental efforts in terms of basic social infrastructures will be wiped out. And no donor or international agency supporting development will risk financing an agro-pastoral project in the area.

This situation could give rise and develop a feeling of being left on their own or of being excluded, among the pastoralists of this area, and facilitate the emergence of groups of Afar or Issa guerillas who are anti-governmental (example of FRUD between 1991 and 1994). And the commercial and political cooperation relationships between the two countries could bear consequences and could be deteriorated more or less seriously.

Response Recommendations

| ACTORS | SHORT-TERM | MEDIUM-TERM |
|---|---|--|
| Government Authorities (CEWERU) | Supporting the on-going peace initiative and returning stolen cattle together with the regional and local authorities in the context of conflict prevention, Launching cross-border peace initiatives with the CEWERU of Ethiopia to put an end to the impunity of the individual thieves on either side of the border. | Reinforce the coordination and the institutional mechanism relating the governmental bodies of the central government and the regional and local administrative authorities and the civil society to prevent and trigger the best responses to crisis and conflicts. |
| Regional and Local Community Authorities | Reinforce and give more support to the traditional Committee of dispute and conflict prevention and of settlement between the tribes. | Follow up and maintain the peace activities (cross-border/national) by making elders, youth and women etc...participate. |
| Civil Society | Reinforce the coordination and the establishment of networks with a view to reduce conflicts. | Strengthen and if possible extend development initiatives by making the stockbreeders participate themselves. |
| International NGOs | Supporting the peace activities by local NGOs, especially the ones with a cross-border nature. | Provide resources and «the expertise» to development and peace initiatives. |

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