



# DROUGHT, DISPLACEMENT AND LIVELIHOODS IN SOMALIA

Time for gender-sensitive and protection-focused approaches

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*‘The drought destroyed our house, and by that I mean we lost all we had.’*

Farhia,<sup>1</sup> Daynile district, Banadir region

Thousands of Somali families were displaced to urban centres by the 2017 drought. Research by a consortium of non-government organizations indicates that they do not intend to return home anytime soon. It also shows how precarious and limited are the livelihood opportunities for displaced people in Somalia; how far people’s options are affected by gender; and how changing gender dynamics present further protection threats to both men and women. Comparing the findings for Somaliland with those for the rest of the country, the research underscores the importance of local dynamics for people’s opportunities and protection. Gaps were highlighted in the provision of basic services for women particularly. Local, state and federal authorities, donors, and humanitarian and development actors need to improve displaced people’s immediate access to safe, gender-sensitive basic services – and to develop plans for more durable solutions to displacement. As floods in April to June 2018 have forced more people to leave their homes, an immediate step up in the response is essential.

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For further information on the issues raised in this paper please email [advocacy@oxfaminternational.org](mailto:advocacy@oxfaminternational.org)

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Cover photo: A woman carries the basic materials to construct her house again at a new location. Pastoralists are resettling in the Garadag district after a 60km journey on a truck with their animals. Somaliland, March 2017. Photo: Petterik Wiggers/Oxfam

# 1 INTRODUCTION

Across Somalia, people have lost much of their livestock since the drought started in 2015. Poor families, who have the least resources and ability to adapt, have lost 40–60% of their herds in Somaliland and 20–40% in the rest of the country.<sup>2</sup> The drought has also devastated crops, forcing more than 1.15 million people to leave their homes between January 2016 and May 2018,<sup>3</sup> often only once they had become malnourished and weak. Beyond familiar social and economic support networks, people's survival has become precarious, and their efforts to survive have often put them in yet more danger.

Research was conducted in January and February 2018 by seven international and one national non-government organizations (NGOs)<sup>4</sup> in 28 sites for internally displaced persons (IDPs) across 10 regions in Somalia and Somaliland. It shows that drought-related displacement must be viewed as a protection crisis which impacts women, men, boys and girls differently, and has disrupted gender roles and identities. The research underlines how survival strategies are gender- and age-specific, and how resulting dynamics often make individuals more vulnerable to (other) protection threats. Finally, the research shows how individuals' experiences are heavily influenced by where they are geographically, and how much they move.<sup>5</sup> (See Box 1 for details of the research methods used.)

The research targeted areas where high numbers of internally displaced people had recently arrived. In Somaliland, 85% of households interviewed said they had left their homes due to drought, and 72% said they had arrived in the displacement site in 2017. Of the households interviewed in the rest of the country, 52% said the drought had driven them from their homes, and 51% reported leaving home in 2017. Figures from UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency, indicate that 69% of displacement since January 2016 has been due to drought – 84% in Somaliland and 66% in the rest of the country.<sup>6</sup> In focus group discussions (FGDs), people repeatedly drew attention to their loss of livestock and crops.

This report breaks down trends between Somaliland and the rest of the country. It starts with a review of the context, and concludes with recommendations for policy makers and practitioners, arguing that humanitarian and development policy and practice needs to be more gender-sensitive and to prioritize safe programming better.

*'As women, the drought has affected us most, because we are the ones who manage the household.'*

Fatuma, Kahxda district, Banadir region

*'I was a pastoralist who depended on livestock for a living. I have suffered a huge loss of my herds. Before, I could look after myself. Now I am reduced to surviving on handouts from people in towns.'*

Mahmoud, Afgoye district, Lower Shabelle region

### Box 1: Methodology

This paper is based on a report by REACH, which presents research findings from REACH, Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Concern, the Danish Refugee Council (DRC), the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), Plan International and Oxfam, supported by Save Somali Women and Children (SSWC), in January and February 2018. Partners identified 28 sites across 14 districts where IDPs were staying, based on their areas of intervention, and included sites of different sizes (some less than 100 people, some more than 100 people), in areas classed as formal (4) and informal (24), urban and peri-urban.

In total, 5,577 households were interviewed and researchers conducted 12 focus group discussions (FGDs) of 6–8 participants in each site: 6 adult groups (3 male, 3 female) and 6 adolescent groups (3 male, 3 female) (defined as between the ages of 12 and 18). Two key informant interviews with camp and/or community leaders were conducted in each site, where possible with one man and one woman. Finally, a site observation was conducted by the enumerator.

A series of joint analysis workshops were held in Mogadishu, Nairobi and Hargeisa to discuss the findings. Learning from these events also informed the report.

While the information collected is site-specific and therefore not statistically representative at the district, regional or national levels, it is indicative of broader trends. All quotations cited are from FGDs.

## 2 CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

Much of Somalia has suffered years of instability and conflict, with Somaliland being relatively stable since its self-declared independence in 1991. Recently, security has improved in cities, leading to a boom in the construction sector. However, armed groups still control much of the countryside. Years of conflict have weakened government authority, and the federal and state governments are not always able to guarantee people's security and rights. While the state is more present in Somaliland than elsewhere in Somalia, essential service delivery has been weak due to a struggling economy, and clan elders continue to play a strong role, particularly beyond Hargeisa. An ongoing border dispute with Puntland and localized intercommunal tensions are sources of sporadic violent conflict.

Power is often held by non-state actors, including clan elders. NGOs or the private sector deliver essential services, largely in urban centres, meaning that they are often too expensive or far away for many people, and that the relationship between state and citizens is further undermined.<sup>7</sup> Most of the population (70%) is under the age of 30, and there is very high youth unemployment and underemployment.<sup>8</sup>

Most Somalis (60%) are still largely dependent on livestock,<sup>9</sup> and 23% are subsistence farmers, one of the poorest groups. Three consecutive years of poor rain have led to the loss of over 6.4 million of the total livestock population, valued at more than \$350m, and have cost the agricultural sector more than \$310m.<sup>10</sup>

*'I have 3 children, 2 of them went to Hargeisa to go to school, while my 15-year-old boy was left behind to keep the 20 young goats that remained of my livestock. Really it is dangerous work to send a 15-year-old, but it is also important to keep safe the remaining livestock because that is all my family own. One day, however, I will send him to school.'*

Abdilal, Ainabo district, Sool region

## 3 DISPLACEMENT IN SOMALIA

Successive waves of displacement are contributing to Somalia's rapid urbanization, and creating a disenfranchised urban underclass.<sup>11</sup> Before January 2016, more than 1.1 million people were already living in protracted displacement, largely in the south and centre of the country.<sup>12</sup> This includes large numbers of people who left their homes during the 2011 drought and did not return.<sup>13</sup> Since January 2016, a further 1.6 million people have left their homes primarily due to drought, peaking in March 2017.<sup>14</sup>

The settlements people move to are largely spontaneous (79%), rather than formally managed.<sup>15</sup> Most were rapidly set up or extended in response to new inflows of people: many are overcrowded, on the edge of towns and, in several cases, insecure. As arrivals peaked in 2017, there were high rates of malnutrition, acute watery diarrhoea and cholera. Government and humanitarian actors struggled to respond.<sup>16</sup>

Once they become displaced, people are vulnerable to a range of protection threats. Sexual violence is very common, and displaced women and girls are disproportionately vulnerable to it – in 2016 they made up 73% of reported cases.<sup>17</sup> 'Gatekeepers' often control people's access to humanitarian aid – in the worst cases using them to attract it before taxing it heavily.<sup>18</sup> One in every 13 displaced people was forcibly evicted in 2017, as private owners sought to reclaim land,<sup>19</sup> causing secondary displacement and wiping out the stability people had painstakingly gained.

In a patriarchal culture where gender relations have been further strained by the impact of drought and conflict, women are particularly vulnerable not only to these protection threats but to other forms of violence, coercion and deliberate deprivation. However, people's experiences are not only influenced by their gender, but by wealth, clan and ethnicity, and the resources and support they can mobilize to cope with loss of their homes and livelihoods.<sup>20</sup>

### 3.1 POLICIES AND PRACTICES FOR PROTECTION IN DISPLACEMENT

While the federal and state governments have shown willingness to take responsibility for the plight of IDPs<sup>21</sup> and some legislation has been passed to improve their protection, there are significant gaps. For example, while Somaliland and Puntland have policies for internal displacement, the federal policy is still under development.<sup>22</sup> While the African Union's Kampala Convention has been signed but not ratified, this national policy is an opportunity to implement the agreement. Puntland and Somaliland have recently criminalized rape, but there is no law at the federal level. There is also no federal law on land tenure, which could help prevent sudden evictions of IDPs from privately owned land.

There are multiple initiatives for solutions to displacement, including the federal government's Recovery and Resilience Framework (RRF), which is

*'Before the drought girls were safe in their rural area, but now after the drought they are displaced and facing difficulties, including physical abuse and sexual abuse.'*

Fatuma, Kahxda district, Banadir region

*'I had 800 livestock and above 100 camels. My family was one of the richest in the area. People respected and honoured us. Since the drought, no one respects us anymore. When aid agencies come to this camp, they only talk to women.'*

Abdiaziz, Ainabo district, Sool region

aligned to the 2017–2019 National Development Plan (NDP) and the Durable Solutions Initiative (DSI).<sup>23</sup> There are positive examples of solutions being implemented, such as the community action plans developed by authorities, IDPs and host communities in Baidoa, which grant land tenure to displaced people.<sup>24</sup>

However, there is also a long way to go before all IDPs have access to safe, dignified and sustainable solutions to their loss of homes and livelihoods. Government authorities at different levels often view return as the primary durable solution to displacement, despite many displaced people saying they wish to remain in their new location.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, despite the small number of planned sites, local authorities in some areas are unwilling to authorize the building of semi-permanent or permanent structures in spontaneous sites, limiting what humanitarian organizations are able to do. Meanwhile, forced evictions are increasing significantly, and people's livelihoods in displacement are very precarious, with minimal access to protection or recourse.

*'The people in the camp are supportive, help each other like a family – we share the food and other forms of aid when it comes to some of us.'*

Amina, Burao district, Toghdeer region

## 3.2 THE NEED FOR LONG-TERM APPROACHES

With livelihoods decimated by drought and large areas of the country controlled by armed groups, it is unlikely that people who have fled to Somalia's urban centres will leave any time soon. People are continuing to settle on the margins and to survive however they can.

Despite the humiliations and dangers people described experiencing since being displaced, 93% of households interviewed said they intended to settle in their current location. In 13 out of 20 settlements surveyed in South Central and Puntland regions, and 7 out of 8 of those surveyed in Somaliland, over 90% said they would remain where they are. Given the precarious and insecure conditions people endure in displacement, further research should be undertaken to understand why households choose to remain in these sites, to better tailor longer term responses.

There is an urgent need for coherent laws, policies and practices around durable solutions. While humanitarian actors who try to engage on longer-term solutions are frequently pulled back into new crises, there remain very few development actors in the country,<sup>26</sup> and the systematic engagement of the private sector is nascent. All initiatives need to involve affected people, and build from what they are already doing.

## Box 2: Longer term development aid and debt cancellation

As the Somali Federal Government rebuilds its core functions, ensures public service delivery, initiates public investment and responds to the effects of drought and conflict, it remains limited by insufficient domestic revenues, which represented just 2% of gross domestic product (GDP) in 2017. Somalia remains heavily dependent on official development assistance (ODA) and remittances.

Reported aid to Somalia reached a record high in 2017 of \$1.75bn.<sup>27</sup> The majority of this was short-term humanitarian funding. Since 2011, approximately \$4.5bn has been spent on emergency response. Beyond this life saving support, there is a need for long-term, predictable financing, which among other things should support the capacity of the state to raise revenues and taxes and thus strengthen state legitimacy and lessen reliance on humanitarian aid.

Somalia has a debt of \$5.1bn, which includes \$1.46bn to multilateral creditors and \$3.68bn to bilateral creditors. The arrears that Somalia owes to the multilateral creditors, mainly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), mean that the country is missing out on significant long-term funding. The way Somalia's external debt is being treated by donors means it is potentially a barrier to accessing new grants and loans from the World Bank and African Development Bank, and new loans from various institutions, including the IMF and Arab Monetary Fund.

## 4 FEELING SAFE<sup>28</sup>

With a few exceptions, displaced people in Somaliland interviewed as part of this research consistently reported less insecurity in the three months prior to the research than households in the rest of the country.<sup>29</sup> While armed groups and local militias were identified as the most common perpetrators of insecurity in the rest of the country, they were barely mentioned in Somaliland, where 'criminals' were more commonly referred to, closely followed by members of the family (reported by 4% and 3% of households respectively: see also section 5.2).

Almost half the sites surveyed had some security features – most often, some form of community security personnel. There was no clear correlation between sites where people reported recent insecurity in the surrounding area and humanitarian aid causing conflict. On average, 15% of all assessed households indicated that delivery of humanitarian assistance had caused conflict or violence in the community, most commonly during food distributions. But these reports of aid causing conflict range widely across the country.<sup>30</sup> This may indicate that the more decisive factor is the approach to safe programming that different aid organizations adopt (see Box 3)

### Box 3: Safe programming

Safe programming is fundamental to all good-quality humanitarian work. It requires humanitarian actors to take proactive measures to ensure that they do not put affected populations in further danger, do not create or exacerbate conflict and, where possible, enhance civilian safety, including mitigating the risks of gender-based violence. It focuses on implementing existing humanitarian programmes well, and in line with the relevant standards and humanitarian principles. It recognizes the vulnerability and capacity of people going through life-changing and distressing experiences, and the importance of treating them with dignity.

Below we explore some of the marked differences in reporting by area and by gender, which suggest that different social norms and protections operate for men, women, boys and girls in different areas.

## Women and girls unsafe in and around the camps across the country, excluding Somaliland

With the exception of Somaliland, female respondents across the country reported being unsafe in locations inside and directly around the camp, citing sexual violence and robbery as the greatest threats. Many households (63%) reported that women and girls were unsafe using latrines, rising to 86% and 91% in two sites in Kahxda and Dayniile district, Banadir region. Half of all households in these regions (51%) reported that water points were dangerous for women and girls, rising to 76% in one site in Baidoa district, Bay region. One in five households reported that the distance to their nearest water point had increased over the past six months, reflecting the ongoing impact of the drought. Just over a third (35%) of households reported that women and girls felt unsafe at aid distributions, and 26% said they felt unsafe in bathing areas. Almost half of households (47%) reported that women and girls do not feel safe in shelters.

On the other hand, only 23% of households said that women and girls were unsafe outside the site, and only 14% said they felt unsafe in the market. However, in focus group discussions, men and women alike stressed the risk of sexual violence to women and girls leaving the site, particularly when collecting firewood and during journeys to and from places of work, and where latrines and water points were located beyond the site.

In contrast, 43% of households in these regions reported that men felt insecure outside the site. This could be linked to the presence of militia and armed groups reported around several settlements, or it may relate to the concentration of clans and ethnic groups in many areas, the different networks men and women belong to, and the different risks and safeguards associated with gender – issues explored in other research.<sup>31</sup> This feeling of insecurity is likely to have an impact on freedom of movement and access to livelihoods, making it more likely that women search for work outside the site (see below for the impact this may have on household dynamics).

*'This community is mostly safe except when there is food distribution or registration of cash service from the camp.'*

Saaed, Kahxda district, Banadir region

*'We fear thieves at night since our shelters do not have doors.'*

Muna, Dayniile district, Banadir region

*'Some girls go to further villages to work for families and they face abuses and robbery during their way back and forth.'*

Seynes, Dayniile district, Banadir region

*'Men may be attacked when there is conflict between clans.'*

Ridwan, Baidoa district, Bay region



## **Somaliland: women and girls unsafe outside the camps**

In contrast, in Somaliland, 28% of households reported that men felt unsafe outside camps. This may reflect the smaller number of armed groups and clans present, and fewer inter-clan or inter-ethnic tensions, compared with the rest of the country.

Half of households interviewed in Somaliland reported that women and girls felt unsafe outside the camps, rising sharply to 88% in Hargeisa. Focus groups described high levels of sexual violence against women and girls, particularly when they were collecting firewood and water outside the site. A quarter (26%) of households reported that women and girls felt unsafe in the market. Meanwhile, only 15% of households reported that women and girls felt unsafe at water points, and 12% reported that they felt unsafe at latrines; almost none identified distribution points as unsafe for them.

### **Schools: unsafe for boys**

Households across Somalia described schools as unsafe places for boys, but did not specify the threats. At 39% in Somaliland and 28% in the rest of the country, this was a far higher figure than for girls – 3% and 15% respectively – although this is likely to reflect the far smaller numbers of girls going to school. Given that violence – on the way to school or in school – was not a significant reason for dropping out, this is an issue that should be researched further. Programmatic anecdotes that imply that schools are potential targets for forced recruitment to armed groups need to be further explored.

*'How could men be unsafe? Of course, they are safe because they are men and have power.'*

Rahma, Ainabo district, Sool region

*'The problems that girls face when collecting firewood are the hyena and fear from unknown men. The place is very far from the camp and can take 2 hours to get to.'*

Nasra, Garadag district, Sanaag region

## **5 THE IMPACT OF DROUGHT AND DISPLACEMENT ON LIVELIHOODS AND FAMILY DYNAMICS**

Throughout the research, respondents described how they have attempted to adapt to their loss of livelihoods and displacement. While there is some potential for positive long-term outcomes around women's empowerment – as increasing numbers of women turn to income-generating activities outside the household – in the immediate term, the coping strategies described by most people served to further weaken individual and family security. The impact this has had on gender relations was particularly stark.

## 5.1 SHIFTING WORK PATTERNS FOR MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN

People described how men have struggled to find work. Only a few have been able to find daily labour. Respondents explained that where men have been able to find work, it is on construction sites, digging, breaking stones, shining shoes, or selling *khat*. Most activities are very physically demanding and often dangerous. In Somaliland, some groups of young men described joining the army as a means of employment, while forced recruitment by militia or armed groups – and the impact fear of this has on men and boys – was mentioned in FDGs in few sites in the centre and south of Somalia.

Men also described long journeys to work, and migration to urban areas to look for work, leaving their families behind. In Somaliland, some men described trying to migrate to Europe. Family separation as a survival strategy leaves more women-headed and child-headed households in displacement sites, which then become more vulnerable to other threats.

Across all sites, men complained of exploitation and underpayment. They talked about their frustration at being ‘idle’ and having ‘nothing to do’, and explained that their agro-pastoral skills are not useful in the urban setting. In one site, a man was said to have killed himself as a result; in another, youth unable to find employment were described as turning to drugs. Some men described the shift from self-reliance to dependency as humiliating, something highlighted by other research that underlines the impact that working for someone else, rather than for themselves, has on men’s sense of self.<sup>32</sup> Restrictions on free movement due to feelings of insecurity are also likely to impact livelihood opportunities for men.

One coping strategy employed by some households was for women to find work: 48% of households in Somaliland and 43% in South Central and Puntland regions reported that women had become the main breadwinner.

Women and girls found jobs as maids, cleaners, doing laundry, street hawkers, cooking, tailoring, garbage collecting and working on construction sites – all roles that take them beyond the domestic sphere traditionally occupied by women in Somali society. Respondents in one site reported the prevalence of forced prostitution, and cases of trafficking were mentioned in five regions.

Work outside the home puts women and girls at high risk of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). Men and women alike reported that sexual violence is common on the way to and from work and, in some instances, is perpetrated by their host community employer.

Men and women talked of the anger and humiliation women face in working outside the home, particularly when they are employed by members of the host community. At the same time, women are still responsible for domestic work. A small number of households reported that women’s freedom to work outside the home was a logical and necessary response to drought-related income loss and welcomed the change; but most people in focus group discussions were not positive about it.

*‘Before the drought we used to work near our families. Now we have to leave them to find work.’*

Abdulkarim, Kahxda district, Banadir region

*‘Some men have gone mad after losing their livestock.’*

Muktar, Burao district, Sool region

*‘Yes, these days women are the breadwinners of the family more than men, because they have more opportunities than men.’*

Zuhur, Hargeisa district, Woolqoi-Galbeed region

*‘The community are not happy the mothers are working outside their home because the children are neglected.’*

Deqa, Hargeisa district, Woolqoi-Galbeed region

Across all sites, child labour was reported by less than 15% of households. This rose to 20% among families not getting enough food in Somalia, but was 3% for the same category of households in Somaliland. However, focus group discussions in almost every site indicated that children and adolescents are increasingly working outside the home. People underlined that the work children do in construction or transportation of goods is often dangerous and exploitative. Moreover, as women increasingly take on paid work, children (particularly girls) are likely to be taking on more work within the household, and to be left on their own more often, putting them at increased risk of attack or assault.

Households in all sites described taking children out of school to work, and also a growing inability to pay school fees. In one site in Hargeisa district, the school dropout rate was 33% in the past 6 months. In sites in Togdheer and Mudug regions, only 9% and 8% of households respectively reported sending their children to school.

*'These kids do anything that they can to get money however dangerous it may be.'*  
*Gowraca.'*

Mohamed, Bossaso district, Bari region

*'Men nowadays look after the kids as the mothers find ways of survival for the families.'*

Khalid, Doolow district, Gedo region

## 5.2 CHANGING GENDER ROLES AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

With the loss of livelihoods caused by drought and displacement, men have found themselves unable to provide for their households or fulfil their role in society.<sup>33</sup> Participants in FDGs described how the frustration and humiliation some men feel, combined with their perceived emasculation as women increasingly take on the role of providing for the household, contributed to increased rates of domestic violence. While no women identified themselves as victims, domestic violence was repeatedly mentioned in focus groups by men and women alike.

The prevalence of domestic violence within households in Somalia and Somaliland has been highlighted by other research.<sup>34</sup> Shelters were identified as the primary location of insecurity for women and girls in 6 of the 28 sites of this research; and in one site in Baidoa district, Bay region, 74% of households reported that women and girls felt unsafe in their shelters, while only 17% of households said men and boys felt unsafe there.<sup>35</sup> Across the country a small proportion (3%) of women and girls described family members as sources of insecurity.

*'Men beat women who try to work outside, even though they need an extra hand to support the family.'*

Abdinasir, Ainabo district, Sool region

*'Many men beat their wives because they [the men] are unemployed.'*

Umulkhayr, Garadag district, Sanaag region

## 5.3 SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

Although only 10% of households in Somaliland and 3% in the rest of the country reported a separation in the family in the past three months,<sup>36</sup> repeated mentions of such separations in focus groups suggest that it is more widespread. Migration to find work is a long-term strategy of Somali youth, and focus groups confirmed that people turn to this strategy frequently, and take high risks in doing so.

Of those who said they had experienced family separation within the past three months, there were notable differences between Somaliland and the rest of the country. In Somaliland, 76% of people reported that children had

*'I counsel my children not to risk their life in the Mediterranean Sea and to go to Europe to look for better life. Instead, let them stay in the country, study and be patient.'*

Shuaib, Hodan district, Banadir region

been sent to join extended family, and 7% said children had been sent to institutional care. In the rest of the country, 22% reported that children had gone to join extended family, while 28% had been sent to institutional care.<sup>37</sup> It thus appears that social networks are more available to people in Somaliland – something that is further evidenced by the greater proportion of families sending children to eat with neighbours (54% as opposed to 28% in the rest of the country) and the smaller numbers of people reporting child labour. Better social cohesion inside and around the camps is also potentially indicated by only 6% of households in Somaliland reporting theft from their shelters in the three months ahead of the research, as opposed to 21% in the rest of the country.

An increase in child marriage was also mentioned in focus group discussions. While dowries were mentioned as an income stream, participants in FGDs explained how marriage can also reduce the burden on the family and secure a child's (and their family's) future, particularly in cases where the potential spouse's family are better off. Adolescents reported some young couples living together in child-headed households struggling to make ends meet.

Other survival strategies mentioned by respondents included leaving children in displacement sites while adults looked after livestock or sought work – less common in Somaliland (reported by 15% of households not getting enough to eat) than the rest of the country (29% of households of the same category); begging (27% in Somaliland, 24% in the rest of the country); and eating less (13% and 10% respectively).

*'The severe drought forced parents and children to separate.'*

Sadia, Afgoye district, Lower Shabelle region

*'Some of the girls got married because of the drought and the family's survival.'*

Suad, Kahxda district, Banadir region

## 6 SUPPORT TO WOMEN AND GIRLS

Women and girls in displacement sites are doubly excluded from the services provided. First, they lack access to services specifically designed to meet women's needs – largely because such services do not exist. In cases of gender-based violence, difficulty accessing services is compounded by social stigma and a customary legal system that favours men. Second, women and girls are more likely than men to face difficulties accessing humanitarian aid – although intersecting vulnerabilities are also important.

*'No, there are no services for GBV.'*

Hafsa, Kahxda district, Banadir region

### 6.1 SERVICES SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED TO SUPPORT WOMEN AND GIRLS

Across all sites, there were very few services to meet women's specific needs – a situation possibly compounded by the low proportions of female staff employed by humanitarian agencies.<sup>38</sup> Other services, such as formalized legal services, were largely reported to be out of women's reach.

*'Women cannot access justice because men discuss all the issues affecting the women.'*

Houda, Burao district, Togdheer region

In the 28 sites surveyed:

- 8 had no women- or child-specific services, including all sites assessed in Nugal and Gedo regions;
- 10 had services where women could access dignity kits;
- 8 had services for survivors of SGBV;
- 7 had services for survivors of domestic violence;
- 5 had mental health services;
- 4 had women-friendly spaces;
- 6 had child-friendly spaces;
- 5 had lighting at night;
- 5 had gender segregated latrines, and 93% of households reported that latrines were not separated by gender;
- 5 sites did not have lockable doors on latrines.

While the operational context is complex, even in areas with relative security, gender-sensitive services and services for women and children were not observed. For example, most of Somaliland is relatively secure, yet latrines were only separated for males and females in 3 of the 8 sites, had no locks in 2 sites, and were available for disabled people only in 2 sites. Key informants reported that there were no services for GBV survivors in any of the sites assessed in these regions, and dignity kits were available in only 4 of the 8 sites. Planned sites assessed had no better safety features and were no better adapted to women's needs than spontaneous ones (see Box 4).

#### **Box 4: Displacement and sanitation in Somaliland**

In Somaliland, one in two respondents said that they did not have access to latrines – compared with 3.5% without access in the rest of the country. In one site in Hargeisa district all respondents reported that they had no access. This also needs to be understood in terms of the cultural practices and preferences of pastoralist communities particularly, and restrictions to building structures due to land and property issues.

Men and women across all 28 sites explained that community or camp leaders usually resolve disputes, including those related to SGBV. Women reported that this system, served through customary law (or *Xeer*), seems to prioritize maintaining relations within and between clans rather than justice for the individual survivors.<sup>39</sup> Women reported having little access to community decision makers. In several sites, they suggested that a women's committee be set up within the site, or within community government structures, and that these forums should give voice to women and issues traditionally seen as 'female', such as SGBV.

In focus group discussions, women insisted that increasing their representation and voice in the site's governance structures would have a positive impact on their lives.

*'Women are the majority of the community but we don't have representatives to advocate for our needs. We want a women's committee to listen to our problems and do something about them.'*

Huda, Garadag district, Sanaag region

*'We have a camp committee that consists of 12 men.'*

Ayaan, Burao district, Togdheer region

### Box 5: Planned sites vs spontaneous sites

While local authorities encourage the provision of aid in planned sites over spontaneous ones, across the country, services were no safer or more gender-sensitive in planned sites assessed in this research than in spontaneous ones. None of the planned sites assessed had perimeter walls, while 11 spontaneous ones did. One of the 4 planned sites had lighting, including in latrines (while 4 spontaneous sites had lighting). This was the only planned site where latrines were gender-segregated. Four spontaneous sites had lighting and 4 had gender-segregated latrines (of which one had both). Women had access to dignity kits in 1 planned site (compared with 9 spontaneous), and GBV and domestic violence support services in 1 different one (compared with 8 spontaneous sites with GBV services). One planned site had a woman-friendly space and another one had a child-friendly space (compared with 2 and 5 respectively in unplanned camps).

## 6.2 AID AND EXCLUSION – GENDER AND VULNERABILITIES

Who is able to access aid appears to vary between Somaliland and the rest of the country. In Somaliland, women and men with mental health problems (identified by 39% and 37% of households respectively), followed by elderly women and men (identified by 33% and 26% respectively), were reported as most likely to struggle to reach basic services. Only 1% of households reported that distributions were places where women and girls felt unsafe.

Gender was a more important determinant of individuals' ability to access basic services in the rest of the country, in combination with other vulnerabilities. One-third of households reported that physically disabled women and widows were likely to be excluded from distributions, and 28% reported that elderly women were. Physically disabled men and elderly men were less likely to be excluded (25% and 22% respectively).

By contrast, it appears that there is some effective targeting of better known vulnerable groups. For example, the exclusion of female-headed households from distributions, though still very high, was reported as less common than the exclusion of other women or people with vulnerabilities, both in Somaliland (19%) and the rest of the country (14%). Child-headed households were reported as being even less likely to be excluded (6% and 9% respectively).

Feelings of safety during distributions varied widely across sites. While in Somaliland, and in Mudug, Gedo and Nugal regions, very few people felt insecure during distributions, elsewhere far more households reported that women and girls felt unsafe than men and boys. In Kahxda and Dayniile districts in Banadir region, over 70% of households in the 4 sites assessed reported that women and girls felt insecure during distributions. The percentage of households reporting that men and boys felt unsafe in these sites was 42%, 12%, 3% and none, implying that gender plays a large role in feelings of insecurity.<sup>40</sup>

*'When an aid organization does a distribution, these vulnerable people [women, children, disabled and elder people] are not treated differently to others.'*

Khadir, Dayniile district, Banadir region

Overall, however, the data suggests that programming is not sensitive to women's needs, that not enough is being done to identify and reach more vulnerable individuals, and in many areas safe programming during distributions needs to be significantly improved. Intra-household dynamics and other vulnerabilities also need to be better understood, and services that meet a range of women-specific needs should be implemented. Measures to better target assistance and services should be developed with community leaders, with dedicated space for women's voices to be included.

## 7 CONCLUSION

### **The impact of drought-induced vulnerabilities is compounded by new gender roles and local contexts**

This research shows how vulnerabilities in Somaliland and Somalia due to drought are crucially compounded by gender, and displaced people's survival strategies are influenced by gender identities. Some of these strategies transform gender roles, and at best may create new opportunities for more gender-just relationships. However, they also often generate new tensions and protection threats. Men and women's specific experiences, and how these interact, need to be at the centre of the humanitarian and longer term responses.

The research also implies that localized context, social norms and opportunities in a specific area, have a large impact on survival strategies and experiences of protection. Responses need to show an understanding of, adapt to, and build on local dynamics.

Finally, the research shows how assistance is not consistently safe for everyone: it is usually not sufficiently sensitive to the needs of women and children, and more needs to be done to better understand and respond to other vulnerabilities and ensure that aid does not put people in greater danger, for example through distributions that contribute to insecurity, or latrines that increase the risk of sexual violence. The range of experiences across the different sites where displaced people live implies that aid organizations approach safe programming differently, and that access to services often depends largely on which organizations are operational in a given area.

### **Safe and gender-sensitive programming**

All programmes should be safer and more sensitive to gender-based and other vulnerabilities. Humanitarian organizations and local authorities have a responsibility to make aid safe, adapted to the needs of women and girls, and accessible for all vulnerable groups. Services that meet the specific needs of women and children, such as dignity kits, SGBV services and

women- and child- friendly spaces, as well as gender-segregated latrines and easily accessible water points, should be part of the essential humanitarian response package. Local authorities should encourage the provision of these services. While limited and sporadic access and the enormous ongoing need are very real constraints, prioritizing women's and children's needs can save lives.

This emphasis on safe programming and gender-sensitive approaches for people whose livelihoods have been destroyed by drought should not be seen as an optional extra: it is fundamental to people's survival. Yet in 2017, the protection sector received only 20% of the funding requested by the Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP) for Somalia,<sup>41</sup> and by May 2018 had received only 3% of the required annual funding (while the HRP had received 27% overall).<sup>42</sup> The importance placed on protection in the HRP and the Humanitarian Country Team's (HCT's) Centrality of Protection in Humanitarian Action strategy needs to be reflected by funding and programmatic approaches, with the protection cluster stepping up and demanding better quality responses. At the same time, all humanitarian actors must be responsible for ensuring that their programmes are safe and gender-sensitive.

## **Long-term and government-led responses to protracted displacement**

Because many respondents said that they did not intend to return to their homes – and experience after the 2011 drought suggests that many will not – these issues need to be addressed in the longer term, as well as through the immediate humanitarian response. Donors should increase and improve their investment in government-led policies and medium- to long-term programmes so that drought and displacement are not responded to only as short-term humanitarian crises.

Responses to protracted displacement should be led by federal and state governments, working closely with local and municipal authorities. They should respect people's wishes for the future, and should address the root causes of injustice and vulnerability. They also need to ensure that access to land is secured for displaced populations; not least so that structures such as latrines are safely accessible for everyone. Where people wish to build a life in their displacement location, or another location in the country, this should include promoting social cohesion and ensuring that integration benefits both displaced and host communities. Better access to essential services and to justice is critical, as well as building a stronger, more accountable relationship between citizens, the state and non-state authorities, including through systematic opportunities for displaced people and host communities to participate in public affairs, and with guarantees of land rights.<sup>43</sup>



## 8 RECOMMENDATIONS

**All humanitarian actors**, including local state authorities, need to coordinate closely to ensure that the response is safer for everyone: minimizing opportunities for people to be harmed as a result of aid interventions, and adapting these to meet the specific gender needs of women and men and taking into account other vulnerabilities such as age and disability. They should:

- Systematically consult men, women, boys and girls in displaced and host communities on all programme interventions;
- Undertake a thorough gender and protection analysis and ensure that Sphere standards and the Core Humanitarian Standard on Quality and Accountability are adhered to;
- Use this analysis to: improve site security, particularly around latrines and water points; significantly improve targeting of vulnerable individuals; reduce the risk of doing harm and increasing conflict during distributions; provide more services for women and children (including better access to formal and informal justice); and improve access to safe and dignified livelihoods support for women and men. What are considered to be dignified and relevant livelihood options should be carefully planned and designed with men and women;
- Ensure that everyone within households can access assistance, and improve the understanding and mitigation of the impact of assistance on intra-household dynamics and within the community;
- Employ more female staff and make greater efforts to work with women's rights or women-led organizations;
- Engage with men in community dialogue to understand and respond to the difficulties they face, including support to combat frustration and depression. This dialogue should inform other work to strengthen men's role in preventing and responding to all forms of gender-based violence;
- Establish women's committees, encouraging existing camp management structures to ensure women's representation, participation and leadership in traditional and formal decision making fora. These women's committees should also be supported to identify risks of gender-based violence, to respond to it through safely orienting survivors to access appropriate services, and to prevent violence through developing communal mitigation measures;
- Strengthen programmatic responses to gender-based violence and child protection issues, including through service mapping, awareness-raising, safe referral practices, better quality services and more services available;
- Allocate more time, budget and resources to ensure that assistance is safe and gender-sensitive;
- Provide direct funding for protection activities, according to the amounts budgeted in the Humanitarian Response Plan;

- Be held accountable for delivering safe and gender-sensitive programmes by state authorities, cluster leads and the HCT.

**State and federal governments**, with the support of humanitarian and development actors, should ensure that Durable Solutions Initiatives build on people's existing strategies and wishes, and that the right policies are in place to allow them to pursue these safely. This means:

- Ensuring that displaced communities in formal and informal sites, and their hosts, participate in the planning and implementation of projects aimed at durable solutions, as has begun through Community Action Plans in Baidoa and Mogadishu, and that they have access to permanent and semi-permanent structures, such as latrines, that are essential for their wellbeing;
- Supporting people's long-term intentions, ensuring that people understand that local integration is an option and providing adequate support for this;
- Developing a federal policy for internal displacement aligned with international standards, through an inclusive and participatory process;
- Enacting and amending land laws, including adopting the UN Guidelines on Forced Evictions, in close consultation with displaced affected populations, relevant line ministries and the international community, and in accordance with the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement;
- Implementing Somaliland's and Puntland's Sexual Offences Bill, strengthening formal judicial systems, popularizing the new legislation, and passing and implementing the draft Federal Sexual Offences Bill;
- Including formal and informal settlement sites in urban and development planning, benefiting host and displaced communities;
- Identifying and implementing ways to make livelihood strategies safer through consulting with men and women in host and displaced communities.

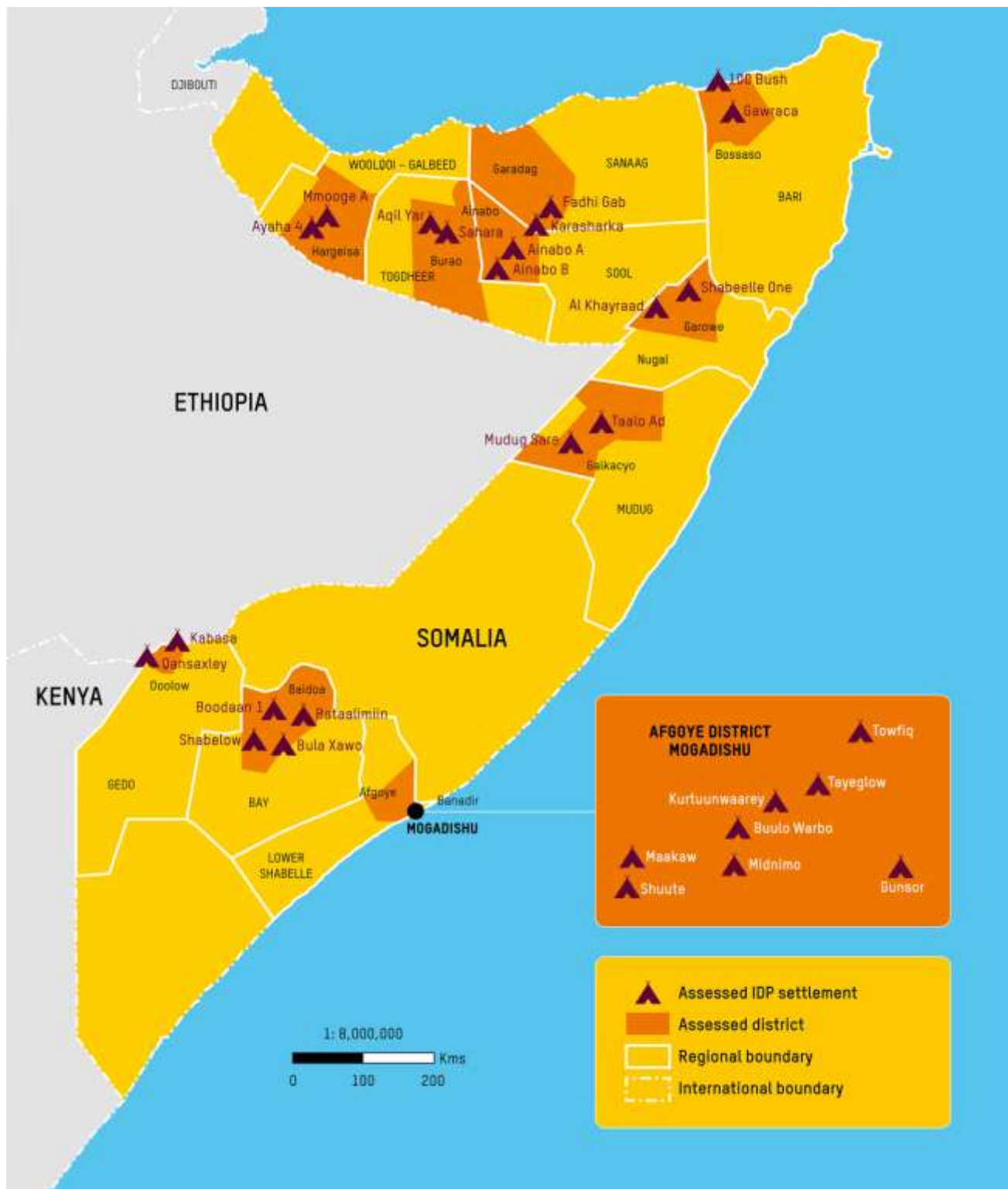
**State and federal governments, donors and other actors implementing the Recovery and Resilience Framework, National Development Plan and Durable Solutions Initiative** should emphasize building safe, inclusive and gender-sensitive systems to deliver essential services and make sure they are funded sustainably. This means:

- Improving safe and gender-equitable access to education, essential services and formal justice;
- Strengthening the capacity of the federal Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development and counterparts at state level to coordinate all gender-based violence interventions across line ministries, and mainstreaming gender-sensitive approaches in all government actions;
- Strengthening the accountability of local and customary authorities through helping them and their communities to increase their understanding of legal frameworks and how formal, religious and customary laws interrelate; and through increasing their systematized interaction with community groups, including displaced people;
- Encouraging the private sector to be more accountable and inclusive, and working with it to develop long-term plans;

- Providing appropriate multi-year and flexible funding;
- Cancelling Somalia's debt and enabling the government to access long-term loans and grants from the World Bank, IMF, African Development Bank and Arab Monetary Fund.

# ANNEX: LOCATION OF THE IDP SITES SURVEYED

Map: Assessed IDP sites in Somalia



Source: REACH – a joint initiative of INGOs ACTED and IMPACT Initiatives and the UN Operational Satellite Applications Programme (UNOSAT).

## List of IDP sites surveyed

State	Region	District	Site
Somaliland	<b>Sool</b>	Ainabo	Ainabo A
	<b>Sool</b>	Ainabo	Ainabo B
	<b>Togdheer</b>	Burao	Sahara
	<b>Togdheer</b>	Burao	Aqil Yar
	<b>Sanaag</b>	Gar-adag	Karasharka
	<b>Sanaag</b>	Gar-adag	Fadhi-gab
	<b>Woolqoi-Galbeed</b>	Hargeisa	Ayaha 4
	<b>Woolqoi-Galbeed</b>	Hargeisa	M.mooge A
Somalia	<b>Banadir</b>	Kahxda	Maakaw
	<b>Banadir</b>	Kahxda	Shuute
	<b>Banadir</b>	Dayniile	Buulo-Warbo
	<b>Banadir</b>	Dayniile	Kurtuunwaarey
	<b>Banadir</b>	Hodan	Gunsor
	<b>Banadir</b>	Hodan	Midnimo
	<b>Bari</b>	Bossaso	100 Bush
	<b>Bari</b>	Bossaso	Gawraca IDP
	<b>Lower Shabelle</b>	Afgoye	Tofiq
	<b>Lower Shabelle</b>	Afgoye	Tayeglow
	<b>Bay</b>	Baidoa	Shabelow
	<b>Bay</b>	Baidoa	Bula Xawo
	<b>Bay</b>	Baidoa	Boodaan 1
	<b>Bay</b>	Baidoa	Bataalimiin
	<b>Mudug</b>	Galkacyo	Taalo-ad
	<b>Mudug</b>	Galkacyo	Mudug-sare
	<b>Nugal</b>	Garowe	Al Khayraad IDP
	<b>Nugal</b>	Garowe	Shabeelle one
	<b>Gedo</b>	Doolow	Kabasa
	<b>Gedo</b>	Doolow	Qansaxley

## NOTES

- 1 All names have been changed
- 2 Federal Government of Somalia. (2018). Somalia Drought Impact & Needs Assessment (DINA) Volume 1 Synthesis Report; Recovery & Resilience Framework, <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/901031516986381462/pdf/122991-v1-GSURR-Somalia-DINA-Report-Volume-I-180116-Digital.pdf>
- 3 UNHCR. Somalia Internal displacement. Retrieved 21 May, 2018, from <https://unhcr.github.io/dataviz-somalia-prmn/index.html#reason=&month=&preigion=&preigionmap=&pdistrictmap=&cregion=&cregionmap=&cdistrictmap=> Prior to the current drought, more than 1.1 million people were already internally displaced, and 1 million Somali refugees lived in neighbouring countries.
- 4 REACH, CRS, Concern, DRC, NRC, Plan International and Oxfam, with Save Somali Women and Children (SSWC) (2018). The research aimed to fill an identified knowledge and data gap within the humanitarian sector about protection within the context of drought-driven displacement. Limitations of the research include a potential bias in site selection due to security and the sensitivity of some of the subjects discussed. Social relationships and the impact of clan and ethnic ties on protection was beyond the scope of this study.
- 5 The social capital an individual or family has access to is evidently also critical but was beyond the scope of this research. See, for example, D. Maxwell, N. Majid, J.J. Kim, G. Adan and K. Abdirahman Feinstein Centre. (2015). Facing Famine, Somali Experiences in the Famine of 2011. Somerville: Feinstein International Center. Retrieved 30 May 2018, from <http://fic.tufts.edu/publication-item/facing-famine/>
- 6 UNHCR. Somalia Internal displacement. Retrieved 5 May, 2018, from <https://unhcr.github.io/dataviz-somalia-prmn/index.html#reason=&month=&preigion=&preigionmap=&pdistrictmap=&cregion=&cregionmap=&cdistrictmap=> 1,260,000 drought related displacements as opposed to 449,000 people displaced by conflict. 892,000/ 1,343,000 people displaced due to drought in South Central and Puntland, and 221,000/264,000 in Somaliland.
- 7 Regional Durable Solutions Secretariat (ReDSS). (2018). Analysis of Solutions Planning and Programming in Urban Contexts. Retrieved 30 May 2018, from <http://regionaldss.org/index.php/2018/04/13/analysis-solutions-programming-urban-contexts/>
- 8 DINA 2018 estimates youth un-/ under-employment at 48% with youth defined as between the ages of 15 and 24. On the other hand, the Somali National Development Plan 2017–2019 estimates that two-thirds of youth are underemployed or unemployed (<http://extwprlegs1.fao.org/docs/pdf/som169866.pdf>), and research from the International Organization for Migration in 2016 in the urban areas of Mogadishu, Kismayo and Baidoa indicated that only 33.4% of youth reported that they had a job, Altai Consulting for IOM Somalia. (2016). Youth, Employment and Migration in Mogadishu, Kismayo and Baidoa. Retrieved 30 May 2018, from <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/IOM-Youth-Employment-Migration-9Feb2016.pdf>
- 9 DINA, 2018
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 UNHCR Horn of Africa Somalia Situation, Refugees Operational Data Portal. Retrieved 30 May, 2018, from <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/horn/location/192>
- 13 ReDSS, (2018). Op. cit.
- 14 UNHCR Somalia Internal displacement. Op. cit.
- 15 Data captured by REACH in the Detailed Site Assessment, covering a total of 1,890 sites across Somalia, Camp Coordination and Camp Management (CCCM). Detailed Site Assessment (DSA), Master List, 2018.
- 16 Refugees International. (2017). On the Edge of Disaster: Somalis Forced to Flee Drought and Near-Famine Conditions. Retrieved 31 May, 2018, from [www.refugeesinternational.org/reports/somaliadroughtandfaminereport](http://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports/somaliadroughtandfaminereport)
- 17 Somalia Protection Cluster Annual Report 2016, [https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/somalia\\_protection\\_cluster\\_annual\\_report\\_2016.pdf](https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/somalia_protection_cluster_annual_report_2016.pdf)

- 18 See, for example, E. Bryld, C. Kamau, S.K. Møller and M.A. Mohamoud. (2017). Engaging the Gatekeepers: Using Informal Governance Resources in Mogadishu. Tana Copenhagen. Retrieved 31 May, 2018, from <http://tanacopenhagen.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Gatekeeper-paper.pdf>
- 19 Figure calculated from NRC reported figures of over 200,297 evictions in 2017, which, with an estimated 2.7 million displaced across the country, means that 1 in 13 people was evicted. Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). (2018). Back to Square One. Retrieved 31 May, 2018, from [www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/assessments/back\\_to\\_square\\_one\\_post-eviction\\_assessment\\_in\\_somalia\\_v2.pdf](http://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/assessments/back_to_square_one_post-eviction_assessment_in_somalia_v2.pdf). Forced evictions have been steadily rising for years as construction has boomed in urban centres. The lack of secure land tenure has a devastating impact on people's livelihoods, with gains painstakingly built up over many years destroyed when settlements are cleared to make way for building developments. In 2017, the NRC reported that over 11,000 people a month were evicted in Mogadishu alone, and over 200,000 people were evicted from their homes across the country.
- 20 Maxwell et al. (2015). Facing Famine. Op. cit.
- 21 W. Kaelin. (2016). Mission to Nairobi and Somalia 27 January – 11 February 2016'. Somalia IDP Solutions Initiative. Retrieved 31 May 2018, from [www.regionaldss.org/sites/default/files/2016Feb29\\_Kaelin\\_second%20mission\\_%20report%20FINAL.pdf](http://www.regionaldss.org/sites/default/files/2016Feb29_Kaelin_second%20mission_%20report%20FINAL.pdf)
- 22 A draft Federal policy was passed by Parliament in 2014 but subsequently abandoned due to a reconfiguration within the government. In August 2017, the National Commission for Refugees and IDPs (NCRI) presented a new draft 'National Policy for Refugee-Returnees and IDPs'.
- 23 Protection is also central to the humanitarian response. The Humanitarian Country Team have a clear policy on the centrality of protection, and this is a key principle of the 2018 Humanitarian Response Plan.
- 24 'Community Action Plan (CAP) is meant to establish a bottom-up participatory framework that aligns the local level priorities with the State and NDPs and should provide guidance on this absorption challenge. As such, city planning becomes a central concern within solutions-oriented programming, with NGOs being encouraged to align their activities with the CAP.' ReDSS. (2018). Analysis of Solutions Planning and Programming in Urban Contexts: Case studies from Nairobi-Kenya and Mogadishu and Baidoa-Somalia. Retrieved 31 May 2018, from <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/analysis-solutions-planning-and-programming-urban-contexts-case-studies-nairobi-kenya>
- 25 ReDSS (2018), Analysis of Solutions Planning and Programming in Urban Contexts - Case studies from Nairobi, Kenya and Mogadishu and Baidoa, Somalia, <http://regionaldss.org/index.php/2018/04/13/analysis-solutions-programming-urban-contexts/>
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ministry of Planning (2018), Aid Flows in Somalia, March 2018. Available from: <https://s3.eu-central-1.amazonaws.com/somalia-aid-flows.so/Aid+Flows+in+Somalia++2018FINAL.pdf>
- 28 As part of the survey people were asked where women and girls, men and boys felt unsafe. Locations in and outside the camp were mentioned. While other questions such as 'have you experienced violence at any point in the last 3 months?' were asked, survey findings did not indicate any clear patterns.
- 29 There were significant regional variations: 65% of households in one site in Bossasso district, Bari region, and 43% in another, reported insecurity in the 3 months prior to the assessment. Sites in Doolow, Gedo region, where there has been very little violent conflict recently, reported the lowest levels of insecurity, while sites in Sool and Togdheer, where there has been recent inter-clan fighting, reported relatively high levels.
- 30 Insecurity and violence caused by humanitarian assistance was consistently and moderately reported across all sites in Somaliland. In the rest of the country, the highest proportion of households were in 5 sites from 4 of the 7 regions; the 9 sites where households reported the lowest levels of incidents also came from 4 regions.
- 31 See, for example, Life & Peace Institute. (2018). Learning from Kismayo. Retrieved 31 May 2018, from <http://life-peace.org/resource/learning-from-kismayo/>
- 32 This loss of identity is described by J. El-Bushra and Gardner. (2018). The Impact of War on Somali Men: Feminist Analysis of Masculinities and Gender Relations in a Fragile Context. *Gender & Development*. 24(3)
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Oxfam. (2017). Rapid Gender Analysis for Oxfam Drought Response in Somaliland, Oxfam, June 2017

- 35 FGDs in this site also repeatedly raised the issue of domestic violence. In some other sites where very high numbers of households reported women and girls felt unsafe in their shelters, men and boys were also reported to be very unsafe there, implying that other factors, potentially external actors, are a central threat.
- 36 Most of the separations were reported as voluntary, particularly in Somaliland. However, 39% of households in the rest of the country reported this was accidental, of whom 36% reported it was as a result of displacement – with a possible correlation with forced evictions, given how long the people interviewed had been living in the sites.
- 37 This correlates with the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)'s Joint Multi Cluster Needs Assessment (July–October 2017) on higher levels of separated children in Somaliland. Retrieved 31 May 2018, from [www.reachresourcecentre.info/system/files/resource-documents/reach\\_som\\_report\\_joint\\_multi\\_cluster\\_needs\\_assessment\\_october\\_2017.pdf](http://www.reachresourcecentre.info/system/files/resource-documents/reach_som_report_joint_multi_cluster_needs_assessment_october_2017.pdf)
- 38 Raised by a participant in the Hargeisa workshop. See also S. Ruparel, C. Bleasdale and K. O'Brien. (2017). How can Humanitarian Organisations Encourage More Women in Surge? ActionAid and CARE International. Retrieved 31 May 2018, from [www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/action\\_aid\\_aw\\_v4\\_-\\_final.pdf](http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/action_aid_aw_v4_-_final.pdf)
- 39 The shortcomings of customary law in the protection of women are well reported in other research, which suggests that traditional tools for managing sexual violence, such as Xeer, are ill-equipped to deal with the more indiscriminate nature of sexual abuse in urban areas. See, for example, Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa (SIHA). (2015). The Other War: Gang Rape in Somaliland. Retrieved 31 May 2018, from <http://sihanet.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/The-Other-War-Gangrape-in-Somaliland-SIHA-Network.pdf>. A lack of independent finances and education often make it more difficult for women to access justice. See Oxfam and Saferworld. (2015). 'Scoping Study on Access to Justice in Somaliland'. Unpublished
- 40 In one site in Lower Shabelle 78% of households reported women and girls were unsafe during distributions, but 50% reported men and boys were unsafe: in this site one in three people reported that they had lost belongings in the past 3 months, of which 80% reported they been forced to give away, or had them stolen.
- 41 \$25.3m out of \$122.9m. OCHA Financial Tracking Service (FTS). (2017). Somalia 2017 (Humanitarian Response Plan). Retrieved 31 May 2018, from <https://fts.unocha.org/appeals/528/summary>
- 42 Ibid, retrieved 2 June 2018 from <https://fts.unocha.org/appeals/644/summary>
- 43 ReDSS Solution Framework. Retrieved 31 May 2018, from <http://regionaldss.org/index.php/research-and-knowledge-management/solutions-framework/>