



SAFETY, SECURITY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC WELLBEING IN SOMALILAND

A Study by Laura Hammond, SOAS, University of London · NOVEMBER 2013

*Amni marka la helo, nolol baa la helaa /
When security is found, livelihood is also found*



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CONTENTS

Executive summary	1
Main findings.....	1
Recommendations	3
Complementary activities recommended.....	4
1. Introduction	5
1.1 Danish Demining Group’s work in Somaliland.....	5
2. Methodology	7
2.1 Study personnel	7
2.2 Study design.....	7
2.3 Gender aspects of the survey.....	9
2.4 Quantitative methods	10
2.5 Sampling.....	10
2.6 Challenges and limitations of design and implementation of the study.....	11
3. Demographic and income profiles of respondents	13
3.1 Demographics.....	13
3.2 Sources of income	14
3.3 Remittances and local support from relatives	15
3.3.1 Remittances.....	15
3.3.2 Local support	16
3.4 Expenses	16
4. Perceived changes in safety and security	18
4.1 General perceptions about levels of safety and security in the community	18
4.2 Participation in DDG activities.....	19
4.3 Changes in levels of security threats.....	20
4.4 Reductions in levels of firearm ownership.....	23
4.5 Violence against a woman’s honour.....	24
4.5.1 Mechanisms for addressing rape and sexual violence.....	26
4.5.2 Night-time mobility of women.....	27
4.6 Types of conflicts.....	28
4.6.1 Conflict management – focus on land.....	30
4.6.2 Methods of managing other types of conflict	31
4.7 Additional safety and security problems	33

5. Perceptions of socio-economic wellbeing.....	35
5.1 Perceptions of economic wellbeing	35
5.2 Market activity	37
5.2.1 Factors that prevent improved security from leading to better economic conditions	38
5.3 Savings and savings associations	39
5.3.1 Uses of savings	40
5.4 <i>Diya</i> payments	41
6. Conclusion	43
6.1 Improvements in safety/security	43
6.2 Improvements in economic development	44
6.3 Relations between security and economic development.....	44
6.4 Recommendations	45
6.4.1 Complementary activities recommended	46
Appendix 1 Survey study sites.....	47
Appendix 2 DDG and other NGO involvement in study sites.....	48
Appendix 3 Wealth group ranking for rural study sites	50
Bibliography	57

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides the findings of an extensive research exercise carried out in 12 communities in Somaliland in March 2013. The research aimed to determine:

1. Whether there had been an improvement or deterioration in people's perceived levels of safety and security¹ in their communities since DDG had first engaged with them, and if so, what was the evidence of improvement/deterioration.
2. Whether there had been an improvement or deterioration in people's socio-economic wellbeing² since DDG had first engaged with them, and if so, the evidence for either, and the reasons people associated with it.
3. Whether the trends identified in 1) and 2) above are related. In particular, whether increased safety and security were positively correlated with increased socio-economic wellbeing. We were interested in indicators of correlations as well as in people's perceptions of the relationship between safety and security and socio-economic wellbeing.
4. Based on an analysis of the aforementioned data, we provide recommendations to DDG's Community Safety Programme. These recommendations identify activities with the greatest impact, and they further suggest additional activities to enhance DDG's contributions to improved safety and security, as well as socio-economic conditions.

Fieldwork consisted of collecting both qualitative and quantitative information from urban and rural areas of Somaliland. Three teams of four people each collected this data (see Methodology below).

Main findings

The main findings are presented here with respect to the central themes:

- perceived changes in safety and security following DDG's interventions;
- perceived changes in socio-economic wellbeing; and
- links between the impact of DDG activities and enhanced security and socio-economic development.

Perceived improvements in safety and security following DDG's interventions:

1. People's perceptions are that their safety and security and that of their communities have improved considerably since DDG began working with them. Evidence given of

¹ Safety and security are used with reference to the notion of community safety, which DDG defines as 'the security environment experienced by one or more communities in relation to freedom from the fear of psychological or physical violence'. Safety is 'the personal feeling relating to ...threats [to community safety], while security refers to a more general level of security that the state is responsible for providing' (DDG/Small Arms Survey, 2009. 'Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland').

² Socio-economic wellbeing refers to social and economic indicators at the community level (levels of conflict, membership in community organisations such as savings associations, etc). Indicators of improvements in people's livelihoods (sources and amounts of income, assets, success of their business, etc) are also considered as evidence of change in socio-economic wellbeing.

improvements in safety and security include a perceived reduction in the levels of violent crime, theft, murder and rape. There have also reportedly been fewer accidents involving explosive remnants of war and firearms, fewer interpersonal and inter-clan conflicts, and more effective conflict resolution mechanisms.

2. Women in many areas feel safer walking in public spaces, including at night, than previously (although improved security at night has not always resulted in greater mobility of women, see below).
3. Community members have a high level of awareness of DDG's activities. This is the case within the Safety Committees (which might be expected since they were direct beneficiaries of DDG activities), and also within households in communities where DDG has worked. Respondents said that the work of DDG had helped – directly and indirectly – to increase the safety and security of their communities.
4. Those who participated in DDG's community safety activities perceived these activities as extremely useful, ranging from 89 per cent for Police-Community Dialogue to 99 per cent for firearm safety education. Reported perceptions of usefulness of DDG activities was somewhat higher in rural areas than in urban ones, but the small size of the urban sample precludes drawing definitive conclusions about these different perceptions (see Recommendation 2, below).

Perceived improvements in socio-economic wellbeing following DDG's activities:

5. Respondents said that their socio-economic wellbeing has improved since DDG began working in their communities. Evidence includes:
 - higher incomes;
 - more market activity in the community;
 - better (though still limited) levels of social services;
 - more services provided by non-governmental organisations (NGOs); and
 - more people are involved in savings associations – a sign of economic resilience.
6. Two-thirds of survey respondents cited a reduction in *diya* payments³ following DDG's interventions. Almost a third of those perceiving a decline in *diya* payments attributed this drop to the work of DDG.⁴
7. Reported benefits of DDG's interventions are most evident in rural areas, where ownership of firearms is higher and socio-economic conditions are arguably more tenuous.

Links between DDG's activities, improved security and economic and social development:

8. Given the reportedly high benefits of DDG's activities, it seems that DDG has contributed to a more secure environment, which has led to improved socio-economic conditions in most places. However, improved socio-economic conditions can also be tied to other factors – including the weather (rain-fall and its effect on crops etc), inflation and government capacity. Therefore, although all cases of

³ A *diya* payment is compensation between clans to settle disputes involving murder, rape or causing serious bodily harm.

⁴ Note that 112 people reported that *diya* payments for vehicle accidents had increased, and 77 female respondents said that they did not know about *diya* payments because they were handled by men.

improved economic conditions are not associated with improved security conditions, it is clear that most people perceive DDG as having contributed to improved safety and security. Ninety per cent of the sample said that they believe there is a positive correlation between security and economic development.

Recommendations

- 1. Continue Community Safety Programme (CSP) activities:** Given the study's findings that target communities value all components of DDG's CSP, DDG should continue its general approach with respect to the CSP and expand to other areas that have not yet been able to benefit from this engagement.
- 2. Conduct further research on the impact of DDG activities in urban areas:** There is a need to conduct further research into the impact of DDG's activities in urban areas. The study involved two neighbourhoods in Burco city, but the sample size was not large enough to be able to draw definitive conclusions about the impact of DDG activities on urban livelihoods and about whether trends with respect to safety/security and livelihoods are improving.
- 3. Refine Conflict Management Education (CME) to focus in more depth on land and property-based conflicts:** While there has been a reported decrease in the incidence of violent crime and theft, the rate of disputes over property, land and ownership (at individual, community and clan levels) continues to be high. DDG has already begun to focus on land conflicts in its conflict management education programme, but should further develop and refine these tools to increase effectiveness.
- 4. Include more women as CME trainers and facilitators, and adapt CME activities to better address security concerns of women, including (but not limited to) rape and sexual violence:** There is a need to consider how conflict management techniques can better deal with cases of rape and sexual violence, and how they can be generally more responsive to women's security and safety concerns. CME should seek to provide spaces for discussing and managing the particular needs of women. There is a need to increase the representation of women in the CME teams (and in CSP teams more broadly) so that each team has at least one woman (and preferably more) on it. CME teams should also hold some of their training and discussions with women only, and should recognise that perceptions of security concerns may be quite different for men and women.
- 5. Amend elements of the CME programme to address the possible applications of interpersonal conflict management for conflicts at higher (including inter-clan) levels:** While there is a clear appreciation of DDG's activities with respect to conflict management at the interpersonal and community level, some respondents noted that they still have conflicts at the inter-clan level, both within Somaliland and with clans in Ethiopia. Adjustments to the CME programme can be made to demonstrate the applicability of some of the conflict management tools to relations with people from other clan areas or over issues that involve inter-clan disputes.

6. **Ensure that safe storage devices (SSDs) are made available to poorer community members as well as those who are better off:** There is some indication that the poor, possibly because they lack permanent housing structures, may not have as much access to SSDs as those who live in concrete block houses (where weapons may be fixed to the walls more easily).
7. **Provide community safety training through *hagbad* (savings associations):** The number of people involved in savings associations, or *hagbad*, is increasing. One of the most important principles behind *hagbad* is the trust that members have in each other to work together. Very often *hagbad* are made up of women traders, and it may be possible to engage *hagbad* for other purposes as well, for instance for promoting elements of CME that focus specifically on women's security concerns. Training should be given to *hagbad* members in conflict management in the first instance, possibly expanding to include other aspects of the DDG Community Safety Programme (mine risk education, firearm safety, etc).
8. **Provide more training to community and district safety committees on all aspects of DDG's safety interventions:** The study shows that community and district safety committees are in many cases becoming the *de facto* mechanism for police and community members to address all kinds of security risks as they arise. There is therefore a need to extend training and education of CSCs and DSCs to include all aspects of MRE, firearm safety and CME, as well as considering other capacity building to better equip the Committees to respond to the needs of their constituents.

Complementary activities recommended

In addition to the activities noted above, several possible activities, some of which may fall outside the mandate of DDG but have a bearing on community safety/security and/or livelihoods, were identified. These could be taken up by partner organisations in the communities concerned:

1. **Fence *berkads*:** These man-made ponds and water-storage facilities prevent drowning accidents among children.
2. **The provision of sustainable (solar powered) streetlights** in areas that currently do not have them. This was identified by many of the study communities as important for improving night-time security and for enabling businesses to remain open for longer.
3. **Generate employment:** Unemployment was repeatedly cited as a source of both insecurity and poverty. While DDG's Armed Violence Reduction Framework also clearly identifies unemployment as a root cause of insecurity, provision of vocational training and/or large-scale job creation is beyond DDG's mandate. However, it is important to intensify efforts to generate employment by NGOs and private sector organisations in a position to do so.

1. INTRODUCTION

The objective of the study is to conduct an impact assessment of the Danish Demining Group's (DDG) Community Safety Programme (CSP) in Somaliland to establish:

1. Whether there has been an improvement or deterioration in people's perceived levels of safety and security in their communities since DDG first engaged with them, and if so what the evidence of improvement/deterioration is and what are the reasons people associate with it.
2. Whether there has been an improvement or deterioration in people's livelihoods and economic wellbeing since DDG first engaged with them in their communities, and if so what the evidence for either is, and what reasons people associate with it.
3. Whether the trends identified in 1) and 2) above are related. In particular, whether increased safety/security is positively correlated with increased socio-economic wellbeing. We were interested both in indicators of correlations as well as people's perceptions about whether and how these two things are related
4. Based on the above analysis, the consultant was tasked with making recommendations for improving DDG's CSP, by identifying activities that have the most impact on the livelihoods and socio-economic wellbeing of communities, and based on the evidence, amending other activities to enhance their socio-economic impact.

1.1 Danish Demining Group's work in Somaliland

The DDG began mine clearance operations in Somaliland in 1999. The focus of its activities was 'to reduce the impact of mines and explosive remnants of war (ERW) on affected communities.'⁵ This work was gradually phased out in 2006-2008 as the organisation shifted its focus to the impact of small arms and light weapon (SALW) violence. In 2008 DDG began implementing a CSP to 'facilitate peace and development within the country.' The community safety approach includes the following components:

- Community entry – identifying, through a participatory process, the needs of the community, collecting baseline data and launching advocacy activities.
- Community safety planning – working with each target community to develop its own community safety plan that identifies safety priorities and possible solutions.
- Firearm safety education (FSE), mine risk education (MRE), and conflict management education (CME).
- Provision of safe storage devices – equipment that can be used to lock firearms so that they can be stored. This aims to keep children and other family members safe, to prevent thefts of firearms, and to put in place a physical barrier that reduces the chance of firearms being used for impulse killings.

⁵ The Geneva Centre for International Humanitarian Demining (GICHD) – September 2012. Danish Demining Group Community Safety Programme: Mine Action and Armed Violence Reduction, Somaliland Case Study.

- Community-police partnerships – promoting relations between communities and local police in order to build trust and improve cooperation between them.
- Explosive ordnance disposal, MRE and advocacy – where private stockpiles of explosive ordnance are identified and owners are willing, DDG destroys explosive remnants of war a safe distance from the community but close enough so that participants can see and hear the explosion. This is an important aspect of community advocacy.

The main vehicles for DDG engagement with communities are the district and community safety committees. These committees, selected by the community based on criteria provided by DDG to help ensure representation and diversity, are composed of men and women and include elders and young people, business people, political leaders, teachers and others who play leadership roles within the communities. The community safety committee (CSC) is responsible for implementing a community safety plan, mobilising the community, and sustaining the advocacy and education efforts within the community.

District safety committees (DSCs), the first of which was established in 2011, are intended to be key coordinating bodies for safety and security issues in the district. 'They represent both government institutions and civil society, especially those groups without a voice in traditional Somali society. Through a collaborative process facilitated by DDG, DSCs identify, prioritise and where appropriate, implement activities that positively address the most pressing safety and security issues within the district.'⁶

⁶ The Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining (GCIHD). Sept. 2012. Danish Demining Group Community Safety Programme: Mine Action and Armed Violence Reduction, Somaliland Case Study.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Study personnel

The work was supervised by Dr Laura Hammond (Team Leader) of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London and by Ms Åsa Massleberg (Gender Advisor) of the Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining (GICHD). In the field, supervision was provided by Mr Johannes Fromholt and Ms Ayan M. Handule, Monitoring and Evaluation Advisor and Coordinator (respectively) for the DDG) in Somaliland. Experienced researchers led each team, specifically, Ms Nimo Ilhan-Ali, Mr Khadar Ahmed and Mr Abdullahi Caddaawe. The Somaliland Research and Development Institute (SORADI) provided recruitment support for three data collectors for each team. Each team included one female data collector.

2.2 Study design

Research was conducted using a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods. A survey was conducted among representatives of 378 households (81 per cent of respondents were female – see discussion below).⁷ There were 21 focus group discussions involving 205 individuals (117 men and 88 women) held with traders (men and women separately) and with members of district CSCs in each location. Sites were selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- location;
- size (urban, large rural or small rural community);
- main types of livelihood activities practiced; and
- engagement with DDG – all communities had participated in the CSP and none were still engaged in DDG activities at the time of the study.

DDG began working in two of the research sites in 2010, four in 2011 and six in 2012. Two communities were urban neighbourhoods in Burco (Somaliland's second largest city), two were rural market towns with a mix of trade and agropastoral activities, and the rest were rural villages that do not have markets and where virtually all livelihoods depend upon agropastoral or pastoral activities. Appendix 1 presents the different survey sites, numbers of questionnaires collected in each site, and the respective reference years (identified as the year that DDG began its community safety work in that locality).

Within each community, a wealth-ranking exercise using participatory methodologies in group discussions was done to determine the criteria that defined "very poor", "middle" and "better-off" groups. (See Appendix 3 for a description of wealth ranking procedures.) Locally-defined definitions of wealth were used as wealth criteria differ

⁷ A household is defined as a family unit living within the same physical dwelling. They may monogamous or polygamous, although generally polygamous families live in multiple households with each wife in a different household.

between areas. For example, while cash income is an important indicator in all places, it is the most important factor in urban areas,⁸ whereas in pastoral areas, livestock ownership is also important and in agropastoral areas, livestock ownership and landholdings are also significant indicators of wealth. In rural market towns (generally classified as 'rural' in this study because most people derive their income from agropastoral or pastoral activities), there is more diversity of income due to cash from trading.

The survey questionnaire was then administered to household representatives from each wealth group. Proportions generally followed the estimates given by the focus groups on the definition and representation of wealth groups in that community. The representation of wealth groups in the survey is shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.1 Distribution of wealth groups within the sample

	Rural	Urban	Total	%
Poor	147	25	172	47 %
Middle	102	23	125	34 %
Better-off	53	13	66	18 %
	302	61	363	100 %

Survey households were first identified with the help of members of the CSC and the DSC, but once data collection was underway, the teams approached households without an introduction, using basic estimates of wealth based on visible assets.

The survey data collected included information on:

- household demographics;
- livelihood activities;
- incomes (including earned income, profit from production and remittances) and expenditures;
- food consumption and dietary diversity;
- engagement with, and perceptions of, DDG activities;
- perceptions about levels of safety and security in the community now and prior to DDG engagement;
- perceptions about livelihoods and socio-economic wellbeing now and prior to DDG engagement; and
- continuing safety/security risks and livelihood/socio-economic concerns.

Because of their familiarity with safety and security concerns in the community and their anticipated willingness to be interviewed on this subject, focus group discussions (FGDs) were held with district and community safety committees. Men and women were interviewed at the same time as they work together in the committees. FGDs were also held with groups of male and female market traders (interviewed separately), as they tend to know about the overall economic conditions within their communities.

⁸ Assets such as a vehicle, a large or high-value house, or ownership of a business are also indicators of wealth in urban settings.

The FGDs were aimed at measuring people's perceptions about the levels of safety and security in their communities now and prior to DDG's engagement. FGDs also sought to elicit more expansive responses from participants about the kinds of economic activities going on in the community, including the use of community savings associations and the payment of *diya* (compensation payments). In addition, the FGDs examined people's perceptions of the drivers of changing safety and security levels, as well as their ideas about any relationship between safety/security and socio-economic wellbeing.

2.3 Gender aspects of the survey

At every stage of the study, a deliberate effort was made to ensure that the survey was gender sensitive. This included:

- providing a session on gender issues and methodologies for conducting research with women in team leader training;
- hiring female team leaders;
- ensuring that each team had a female surveyor;
- organising separate focus group discussions with female and male traders; and
- collecting and analysing data in a sex-disaggregated manner.

Eighty-one per cent of the household respondents were women, which may be expected since the interviews were conducted in their homes during daytime, when men are not often at home. There are a number of advantages and disadvantages to the fact that so many of the respondents were women:

Possible advantages:

- The findings reflect a largely female perspective on livelihoods and security (a perspective which is often overlooked in research on household economics).
- Somali women are often the household managers and have a better idea of household expenditure levels than men living in the same household.

Possible disadvantages:

- Somali women may not always have an accurate understanding of their household's total income since men often give them only a portion of their earnings with which they are expected to manage the household. Some expenses that men incur themselves (for instance, for *khat* or for *diya* payments) may not be reflected in the data because women are not aware how much men spend on them.
- Women in Somaliland are often illiterate and lack formal education. Therefore many may find it difficult to estimate average or total amounts of money. While we cannot ascertain whether this occurred at a greater rate among the women respondents than among the men respondents, it could, nonetheless, have resulted in some inaccuracies.
- We were not able to fully explore the gendered differences in perceptions of security. Men and women may have different ideas about threats and risks. It is possible that given the large numbers of women we interviewed the perceptions

of security may represent a particularly female perspective, but we are unable to state with confidence how these findings might have been different had the sample included more men.

2.4 Quantitative methods

The quantitative survey involved sampling of 378 household representatives representing all wealth groups and livelihood types (pastoral, agropastoral, trader, etc). There were 311 samples done in ten rural communities, and 67 in two neighbourhoods of Burco city. All of the sites were communities where DDG has worked, although DDG had started work in some of the sites later than others – see table 3.1 above). All of the communities had already completed DDG’s CSP activities.

Respondents were asked to compare their perceptions of safety and security and their current socio-economic situation with their perceptions of the same, as they recalled them, at the time DDG began working in their community. While there may have been some danger of bias affecting the data if people experienced difficulty in recalling the details of their previous lives, it was considered preferable to working with a control sample of communities in which DDG had never worked.

The CSCs and DSCs were chosen as the main interlocutors within the community. The advantages of this approach were:

- It was expected that they would be willing to work with the teams and would be able to speak with some authority about the conditions prevailing in their communities.
- They might assist in identifying people willing to be interviewed. In the team’s previous experience with surveys in Somali territories, it was important to have a ‘gatekeeper’ to introduce the researcher to the community and to vouch for the validity of the research exercise.

Possible disadvantages of working through the safety committees might include:

- The committees may have a vested interest in portraying their community as more secure, or in overstating the importance of the committees’ work in the community.
- The committees may downplay other factors which have influenced the security environment.
- In identifying suitable households to be included in the quantitative survey, there may have been some selection bias introduced (although attempts were made to minimise this by using additional sampling methods, see below).

2.5 Sampling

As noted above, sampling was purposive – members of the CSCs were enlisted to help identify households from each of the wealth groups identified. Additional households were chosen based on observed assets (in particular housing type).

The sample size was chosen to reflect as large a sample as possible across diverse communities, given available budget and time. Estimates of how long the interviews would take were based on previous fieldwork supervised by the lead consultant.⁹

In rural areas, a distinction was made between rural market towns and villages that have no market. In the latter, the local economy depends entirely on pastoral or agropastoral activities. It is important to make this distinction because in rural market towns there is a more diversified range of livelihood activities than in the towns without markets. In purely pastoral or agropastoral settings, incomes tend to be lower but self-sufficiency, at least in non-drought years, is also greater since people are able to produce more food.

2.6 Challenges and limitations of design and implementation of the study

In addition to the advantages and disadvantages to the sampling noted above, there were several challenges and limitations related to design and implementation of the study that should be mentioned here:

- One of the most significant limitations of the study was that it was conducted while there was a security warning in effect throughout Somaliland. This made it impossible for the Team Leader and Gender Advisor to travel to Somaliland for the study (although the Team Leader did visit DDG project sites in Somaliland in May 2012). Training of team leaders was done in Kampala, Uganda. Team leaders then conducted training of data collectors in Hargeisa with DDG Monitoring and Evaluation Team supervisors present for some of the training. While this was considered to be a reasonable approach, given the limitations placed on movement and travel by the security situation, it also limited the ability of the Team Leader and Gender Advisor to oversee data collection. It also prevented the Team Leader and Gender Advisor from being able to hold more detailed interviews with key informants in Somaliland to supplement the other data being collected, or to interview data collectors directly once the research process was finished.¹⁰
- There were some significant differences between data collected through the household surveys and data collected through the FGDs with the safety committees and trader groups. Focus group interviewees were more expansive about the security improvements in their communities, and in some cases, about the correlation between security and socio-economic wellbeing or about DDG's contributions to these processes. This may be related to the fact that most of the household survey respondents were women, who had detailed knowledge about household budgets and income they earn, but knew less about men's economic transactions such as *diya* payments to settle clan disputes. The safety

⁹ See Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit, 2013. 'Family Ties: Remittances and Livelihoods Support to Puntland and Somaliland,' Nairobi: FSNAU/Food and Agricultural Organisation, www.fsnau.org

¹⁰ An advantage of the team leaders conducting the training was that it was done in Somali, which assisted enumerators in understanding the questionnaires and ultimately being able to translate it into Somali during the interviews.

committees had proportionately more men and this may have influenced their responses. It is also the case the safety committees' level of familiarity with, and positive impression of, DDG activities may have influenced their answers positively (see above). However by selecting households to interview without privileging those who had participated in DDG activities, we aimed to minimise the bias in the survey.

- In most cases participants were happy to be interviewed without being paid, although in the urban communities of Burco people were at first reluctant to take part or were suspicious about the political motives of the team or about their clan backgrounds. These were, for the most part, alleviated through spending time in the community. Sometimes households refused to participate in the survey, in which case the teams moved on to the next willing house in the area.

3. DEMOGRAPHIC AND INCOME PROFILES OF RESPONDENTS

Before exploring in-depth the research questions related to changes in safety and security and economic development, it is useful to provide a snapshot of the respondents in terms of their demographic characteristics, income and expenditure information. This information may be useful in putting into context people's reported ideas about safety and security, as well as of their own economic wellbeing over time.

3.1 Demographics

In each rural community, wealth-ranking exercises were carried out and profiles of each wealth group were constructed based on FGDs with CSCs (see below and Appendix 3 for details of wealth-group descriptions). These were then used to guide the selection of households for the survey. Table 3.1 provides a snapshot of the household demographics within the survey population.

Table 3.1 Household (HH) demographics

Indicator	All	Urban	Rural*
Proportion of female respondents (%)	81	88	79
Female-headed HHs (%)	14	30	11
Of those married, percentage of HH with more than one wife	12	26	10
Average age of respondent	40	44	39
Percentage of respondents who are literate	33	37	32
Average size of HH	7	7	7
Children < 1 (%)	15	20	25
Children < 5 (%)	47	53	60
Children 6 - 18 years (%)	85	87	86
Average number of dependents ¹¹	6	6	6
HH with person(s) with disabilities (%)	20	24	20
Average # members contributing income	1	1	1
Had to withdraw from education for financial reasons	21	28	19
Unable to pay for medical expenses	27	39	25

* Including rural market towns and rural satellite villages – there were not significant differences in the demographics of these two groups so they are presented together.

Levels of education were somewhat higher in urban than in rural areas, although approximately two-thirds of all respondents said that they were illiterate and had never attended school of any kind. This figure is likely to have been higher than that of the

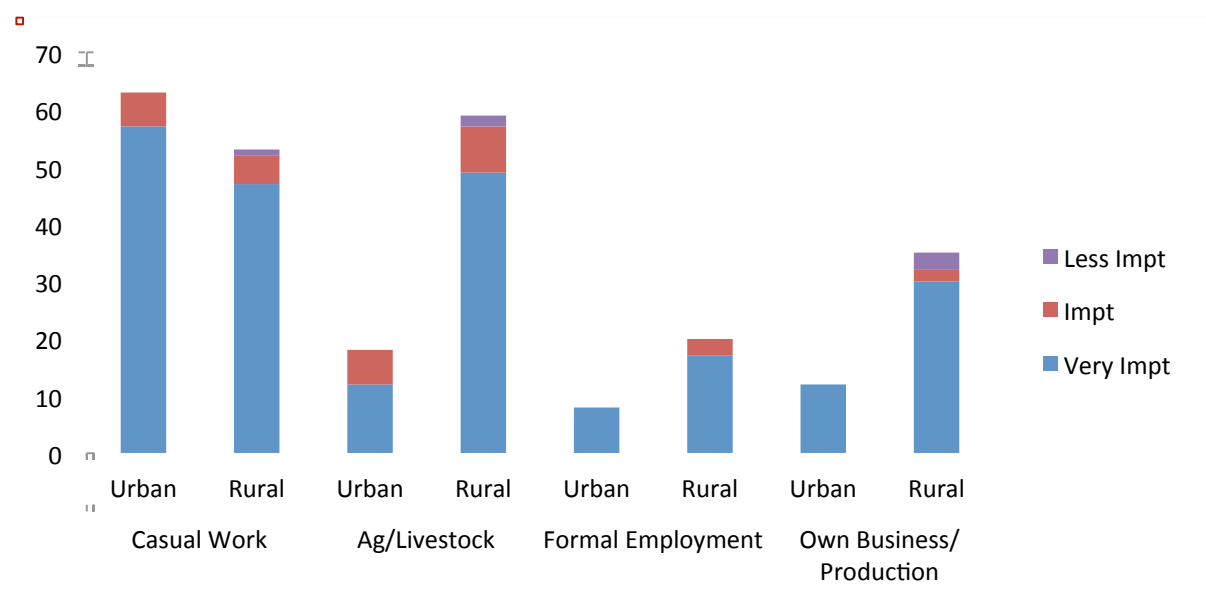
¹¹ A dependent is defined as a person who does not contribute income to the household but who is supported by that household.

general population because of the high number of female respondents who generally have a lower level of education compared to men¹².

3.2 Sources of income

Urban and rural households engage in very different types of livelihood activities. Chart 3.1 shows the sources of income in the two urban neighbourhoods of Burco that were surveyed. While both urban and rural areas rely heavily on casual work (particularly daily waged labour), more people in urban areas are engaged in formal (salaried) employment and/or their own business or production. As might be expected, rural respondents were more heavily involved in agriculture and livestock production.

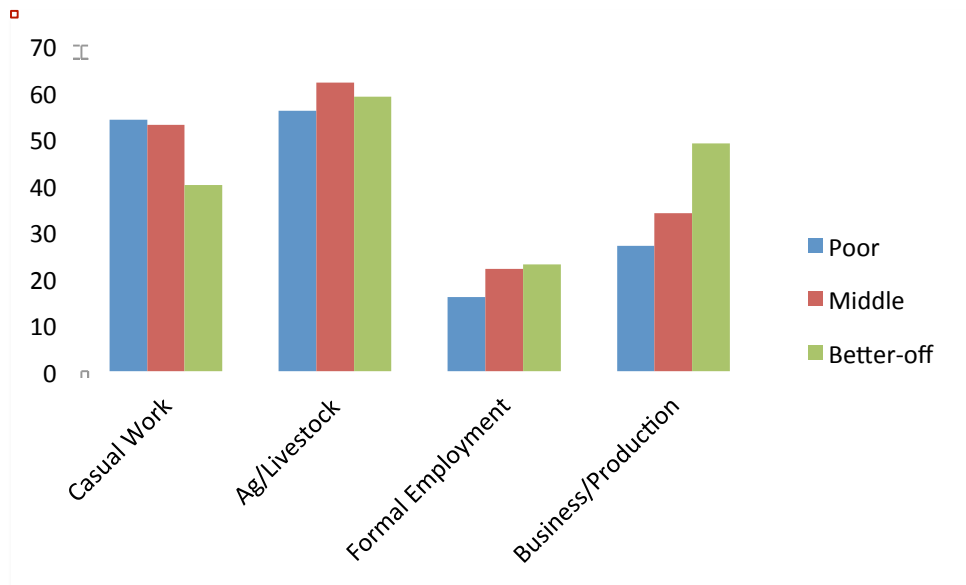
Chart 3.1 Sources of income – urban and rural areas – percentage of respondents



When considering wealth groups (Chart 3.2), the data showed that the poorer group was more heavily involved in casual work and agricultural/livestock production than formal employment or running their own businesses. The better-off had higher levels of business involvement and lower levels of engagement in casual work than the other groups. These findings suggest that the poorest wealth group tended to be more engaged with the informal sector. The vulnerabilities associated with their livelihood systems are related to lack of wage protection, uncertainty of employment and reliance on climate for production and employment. With their higher levels of formal employment and business activities, as well as higher rate of remittance receipts (see below), the better-off are generally less vulnerable.

¹² Educational and other demographic data was only collected from household survey participants and not from focus group participants.

Chart 3.2 Sources of income, by percentage of wealth group



In all areas, focus group respondents discussed the increased involvement of women in economic activities. In Salaxley in the north of the country, female traders estimated that 70 per cent of market activities are run by women. There, as well as in other towns and villages, women are involved in livestock trade, restaurants, milk sales, tea shops, *khat* sales, laundry services, shop keeping, vegetable sales, butchery and household services. In Burco in the northwest, women were starting to become involved in collecting and selling *dhameel*, a type of grass used for animal feed, which is collected in remote rural areas and brought to town for sale.

Men's activities include petty trade, construction, daily agricultural labour, livestock rearing, more formal waged labour and business ownership. The rural areas surveyed included both pastoral and agropastoral areas. In the former, income in satellite rural villages is derived almost solely from sale of livestock and livestock products. In agropastoral areas, income in the most rural villages comes from production and sale of cereals as well as sale of livestock products. For more information on the different livelihood activities in the different areas and how this relates to composition of wealth groups see Appendix 3.

3.3 Remittances and local support from relatives

3.3.1 Remittances

The survey asked households basic questions about whether or not they receive remittances from abroad, and if they do, the amount they receive and how often. This is important in terms of knowing how reliant people are on remittances. Remittances represent both an asset, in terms of the ability of households to supplement their income with support from relatives living abroad, and also a potential vulnerability, since remittance recipients may become dependent on such support. If remittances

were stopped, those accustomed to receiving remittances would be likely to experience difficulty in making ends meet. Overall 18 per cent of the sample said that they receive remittances (25 per cent urban, 17 per cent rural). It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions based on the urban sample, since it is small and drawn from only two districts within a single city. However, the figure of 17 per cent remittance recipients in rural areas is significant since it suggests that remittances reach deep into the rural economy.¹³

The sample reported that urban households receive on average USD 1,899 annually from remittances, while rural households receive USD 1,025. As shown in Table 4.2, households that receive remittances reported a significantly higher monthly income than those who do not receive.

Table 3.2 Monthly incomes of remittance recipients and non-recipients (including remittances)

	Total	Urban	Rural
Remittance recipients	USD 264	USD 249	USD 268
Non-recipients	USD 161	USD 166	USD 160

A somewhat surprising finding was that rural remittance recipients reported having higher incomes than urban remittance recipients. This may be related to the small size of the urban sample. Further investigation of livelihoods in urban areas is needed to check the urban responses.

3.3.2 Local support

In addition to remittance support, the survey teams asked people whether they receive support from better-off relatives living inside Somaliland. Approximately 16 per cent (the same in urban and rural areas) reported that they did receive support. The amounts received tended to be smaller than those received by remittance recipients (at USD 658 per year in urban households and USD 473 in rural households).

The sharing of resources between rural and urban households points to the fact that Somali households are not autonomous units and that resource sharing from those who are better off to those who are very poor is an important source of resilience.

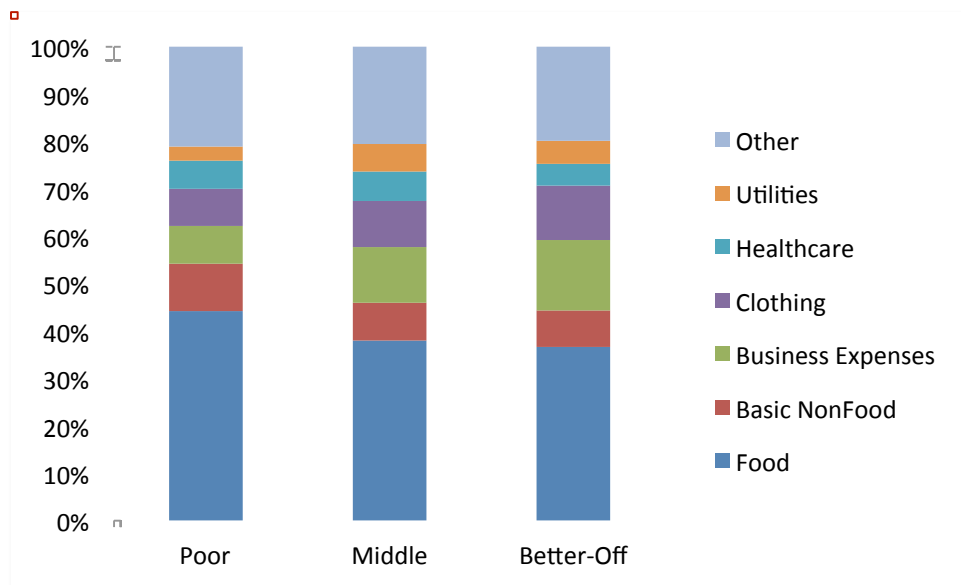
3.4 Expenses

The data depicted in Chart 3.3 below shows that more than one-third of total household expenditures of all three wealth groups is spent on food. As is to be expected, the proportion spent on food is higher among the poor. Business expenses are proportionately higher among the better-off. Spending on healthcare and education

¹³ These figures are somewhat lower than those found in a similar study conducted by the Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit (FSNAU 2013), which in a sample of 130 rural households in Somaliland found that 32 per cent reported receiving remittances. Some of the disparity may be linked to the fact that remittance questions were not a major part of the present study, and thus were under-reported.

(2 per cent in rural areas and 10 per cent in urban areas) is small, probably due to the limited availability of these services in rural areas.

Chart 3.3 Expenditures by wealth group – per cent of total expenditures



As a means of checking for accuracy, data collection teams were trained to verify onsite that incomes and expenditure levels reported to them were close to each other (the assumption being that none of the households was able to save significant amounts of money or was spending greatly beyond its means). Where reported differences occurred, teams asked respondents to explain the differences or to provide supplementary information.

4. PERCEIVED CHANGES IN SAFETY AND SECURITY

4.1 General perceptions about levels of safety and security in the community

As mentioned above, the main objectives of the study were to:

- determine how safe and secure respondents felt that their communities were;
- whether there had been a change in these perceptions since DDG had begun to work in the area;
- the evidence to support perceived improvement or deterioration in levels of safety and security; and
- whether any of the change reported could be attributed to the work of DDG.

One of the most significant findings of the study is that most respondents said they consider their communities to be relatively safe. As much as 96 per cent of households said that they perceive their communities to be either 'very safe' (67 per cent) or 'safe' (29 per cent). This question was asked independently of whether or not respondents felt that the work of DDG had had an effect on their safety and security.

Focus group respondents in most communities agreed that the number of accidents due to unsafe firearms, ERW and escalation of disputes into violent confrontations had decreased dramatically, although only two CSCs (Beer and Toon) said that they are keeping track of incidents. They have records for the past two years, and said that the frequency has decreased in that period¹⁴. Perceptions of improved security were reported not only among the district and CSCs, but by male and female traders as well.

The views of a female CSC member in Odweine exemplify the views of many FGD respondents concerning DDG's role in improving safety and security. She explained that she thought that the work that DDG had done in the community had helped to bring about positive change. She said, 'after DDG started its mission we saw these changes. After the mines were cleared and destroyed, after the CSCs were trained with better techniques of conflict management and resolution, after the firearms were controlled and their accessibility were controlled, we recognised that DDG had done something amazing.'

Female traders in Burco said that although they generally feel safer, there are isolated problems that occur within their community. They cited a recent case in which a man stabbed and killed his ex-wife, who had been working in the market. Another murder involved a man who had been chewing *khat* stabbing his sister, reportedly because she was late in serving him breakfast. The latter incident was offered as an example of how *khat* is a problem in the city. The women reported, 'There's huge problem with men eating *khat*. When these men are high at night, they tend to disturb women.'

¹⁴ The surveyors were not able to review the records however.

Burco was the only site where male traders said that they did not think that DDG had had any impact on the levels of safety and security in the area. They attributed any improvement in security to the general improvement of security in Somaliland more broadly associated with the strengthening of the state. However others in Burco were less categorical and noted that DDG's work had helped to increase the safe storage of firearms (see below) and thereby reduce the incidence of violent conflict and murder. Given the small size of the urban sample, it is difficult to know how representative these views are. It is necessary to examine in more depth the perceptions of people in urban areas about changes in community safety and opinions about DDG's effectiveness before drawing firm conclusions.

4.2 Participation in DDG activities

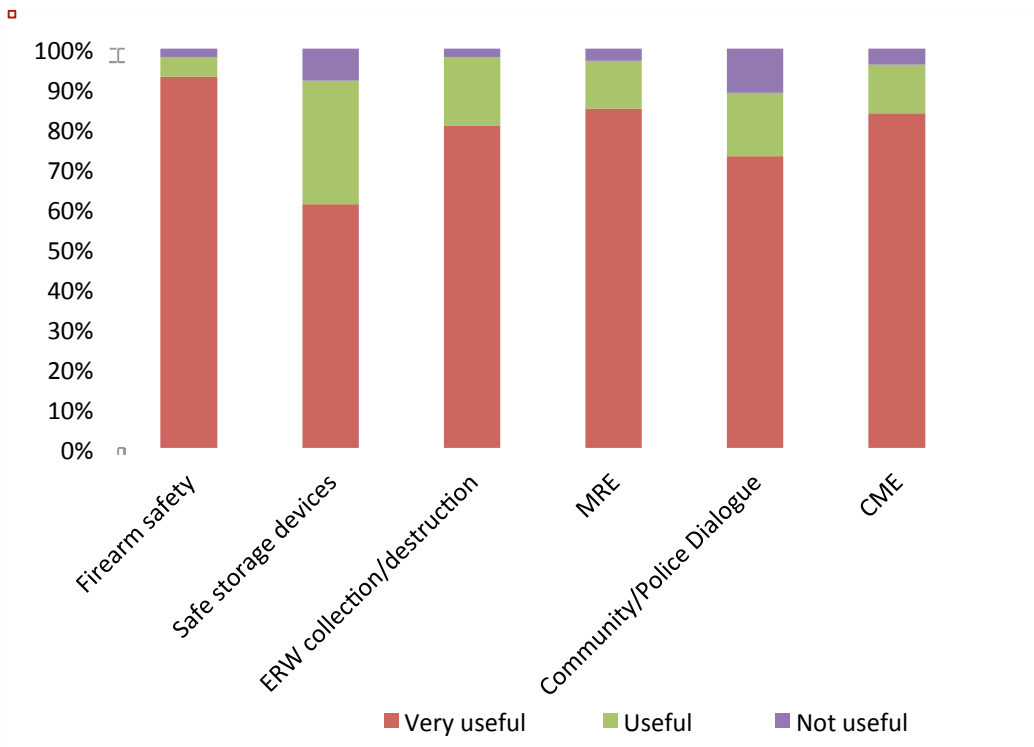
Although all of the communities surveyed had participated in activities implemented by DDG, the survey aimed to determine the extent to which these activities were understood and participated in by our survey sample. People were therefore asked which (if any) activities they were aware of and/or had participated in (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Rate of participation in DDG activities

Activity	Participated %
Firearms safety education	66
Provision of safe storage devices for firearms	56
Collection/destruction of private stockpiles of ERW	65
MRE	70
Community/police dialogue	62
CME	60

People who had participated in the activities were also asked how useful they felt the activities had been. Chart 4.1 shows a generally very high rate of approval for the usefulness of the activities.

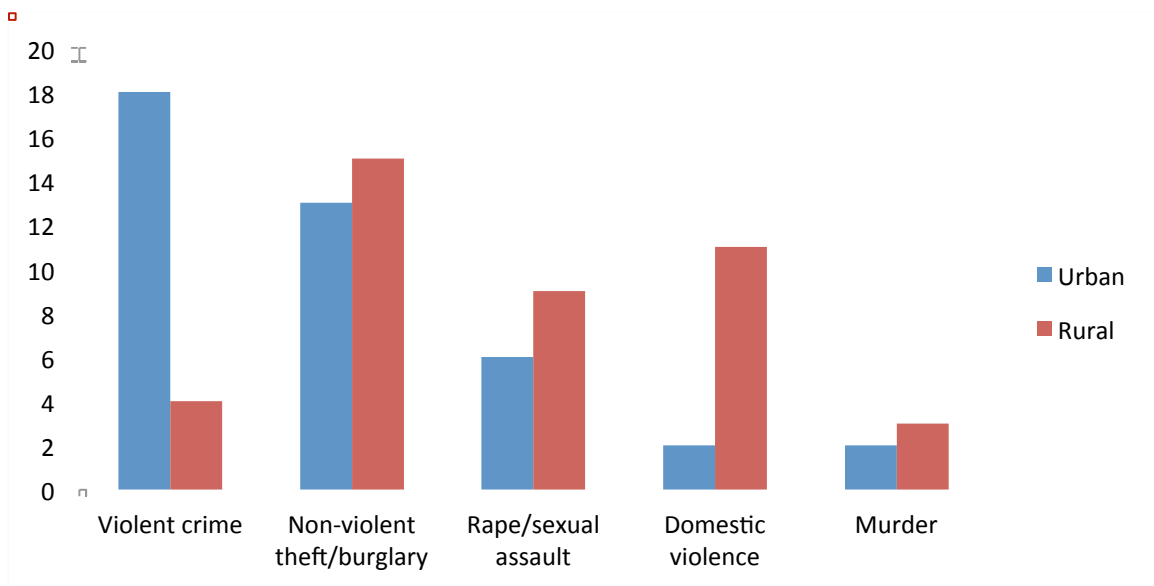
Chart 4.1 How useful was DDG activities? – percentage of respondents



4.3 Changes in levels of security threats

People reported a general perception that their communities are secure. When asked to identify the main problems their community face, violent crime and non-violent theft and burglary rated among the higher threats. However, fewer than one fifth of respondents felt that these risks were serious threats their community (see Chart 4.2).

Chart 4.2 Which kinds of security threats do you have in your community? (Percentage of respondents who believe there is a very significant threat.)



These figures are significant, particularly when compared with DDG's baseline assessments, which show that 29 per cent of people in target communities had a fear of becoming a victim of a violent crime.¹⁵

When asked in FGDs to compare the main security or safety challenges they faced before DDG began its engagement with the current situation, people in Odweine replied that ERW had been a major problem and there had been several accidents in the years before DDG began to work there. Before DDG's interventions they said they also faced problems with uncontrolled firearms and high levels of conflict as a result of ineffective conflict resolution measures. Following DDG's interventions they said that these problems were much less serious. Now, their main concerns are a shortage of police stations (a significant finding in itself that points to improved relations between the community and police after DDG engagement in promoting community police partnerships), and a need to further improve conflict resolution techniques.

In Burco Sufi Cusmaan, CSC members said that they attributed an increase in safety/security to:

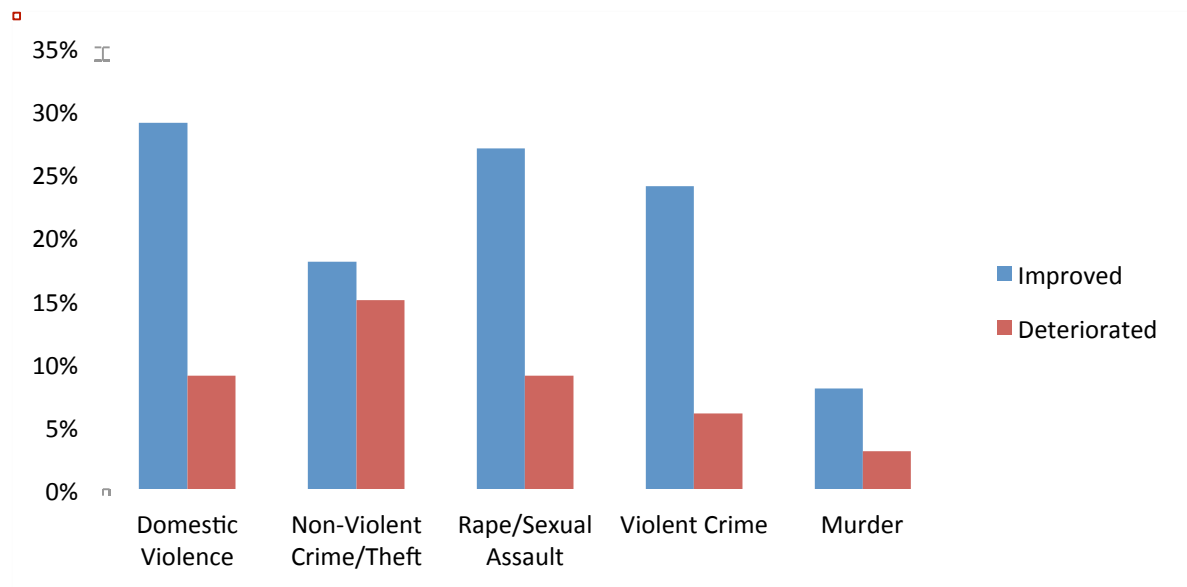
- the effective functioning of the committee;
- improved communication between the Government and community (which had resulted in the recent closure of three establishments selling alcohol – which participants said had also been linked to drug use);
- DDG's work to promote conflict resolution techniques; and
- community awareness programmes that had reduced the number of thefts and violent attacks.

Female traders in Burco Sufi Cusmaan said that there had been improved awareness of security issues in general, and women's security issues in particular, as a result of the NGO's engagement.

These testimonies support the overall survey findings, indicating that security risks had reduced since DDG had begun working with them. Chart 4.3 shows that more people felt security had improved than deteriorated. The most significant reported reductions in insecurity were with regard to domestic violence, rape/sexual assaults and violent crime. (Further analysis of the findings with respect to gender based violence or 'crimes against a woman's honour' are given below.)

¹⁵ Communities surveyed by DDG were in Las'canood, Odweine, and Baligubadle districts between April 2010 and March 2011 (See GICHD 2012).

Chart 4.3 Changes in significance of security risks - percentage of respondents



In FGDs, several examples were given of the role that DDG had placed in improving community safety:

- In the rural satellite village of Beer in the northwest of the country, CSC members reported that DDG played an important part in improving community safety through its training and awareness programmes. ‘For example, the education we received on explosives, how to store our weapons and how to resolve our disputes have helped us significantly. Before, 10 – 16 year old boys used to carry guns but now after training these incidences have decreased,’ said one CSC member.¹⁶
- In the October 2nd area of Burco, people said that the level of safety and security had improved considerably due to closer cooperation between police and the community after DDG’s engagement.
- In Salaxley, FGD participants stressed the importance of education concerning ERW. One participant¹⁷ said: ‘There were cases where children used to play with unexploded remnants of war such as mines. Women in Salaxley used the remnants of explosives as mortar and pestle and as measuring scale (weights). People were taught that these are dangerous materials which can bring death and disability. Many people handed over stockpiles of ERWs and they (were) exploded in front of the people¹⁸ in order to realise the dangers of these materials. There were cases of deaths – both human and livestock due to ERWs before DDG began its work. Now people and livestock are safe from these dangerous materials.’
- Salaxley CSC members also commented on the value of the work of DDG to promote police/community cooperation. One CSC member (sex not recorded) said, ‘We seek the help of police to find the madmen in the forest, accused ones

¹⁶ The sex of the speaker not recorded.

¹⁷ The sex of the speaker not recorded.

¹⁸ All ERWs that are destroyed by DDG are detonated a safe distance from people so as to avoid any risk of injury.

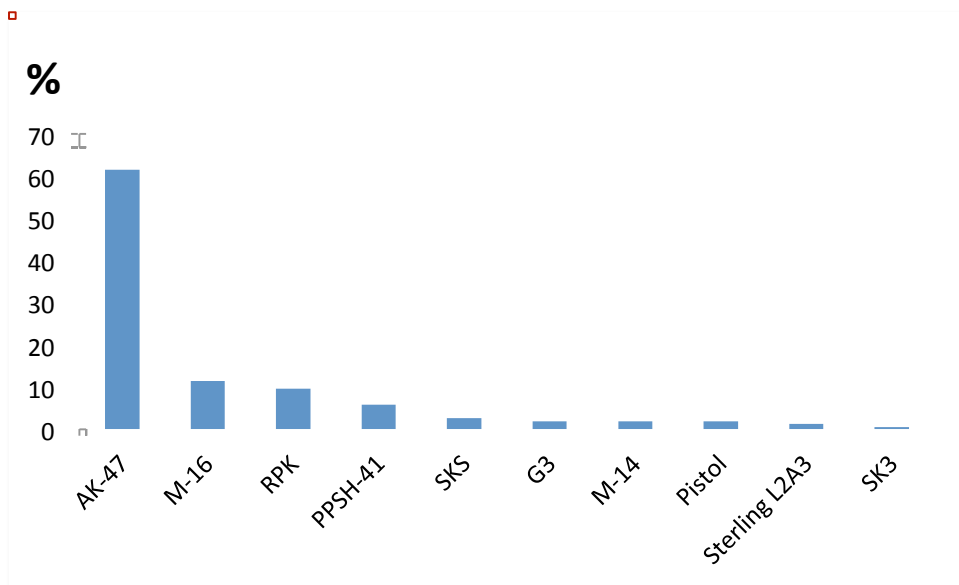
and all sorts of security issues. We fuel the police cars and use (them) to find all these. So there is sense of police/community partnership in place since DDG started working here ... last week we (CSC) were called and told there is a mad person with a knife nearby Salaxley district. We (CSC) and police went together and caught the man and secured the safety of those communities.'

4.4 Reductions in levels of firearm ownership

The survey asked people if they keep firearms in their households, and if so whether they are kept locked or unlocked. Of the overall sample, 41 per cent said that they keep firearms in their house (49 per cent in rural areas). The vast majority of weapons held are automatic and designed for combat, rather than hunting rifles or pistols. Reported firearm possession was a bit higher among the better-off (of whom 59 per cent had such weapons) than among the poor or middle groups, of which 45 per cent and 51 per cent respectively had firearms.

Although these figures are high, they are much lower than the levels recorded in DDG's baseline surveys. It is estimated that in 2009, 74 per cent of households owned firearms.¹⁹ This may indicate a significant reduction in the level of firearm ownership over time, or may reflect differences in the regional distribution of firearm ownership (since the 2009 survey was conducted Somaliland-wide). It is, however, consistent with trends identified in surveys conducted by DDG in Aynabo, Odweine and Salaxley in 2011 and 2012. Further investigation is needed into the question of whether the ownership of firearms is decreasing over time. Although disarmament is not a focus of DDG's activities, it would be useful to investigate further whether community safety activities are influencing the level of firearm ownership in ways not previously anticipated.

Chart 4.4 Private ownership of weapons – type of weapon by percentage of owners



¹⁹ DDG/Small Arms Survey. 2009. 'Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland.'

Most firearm owners (92 per cent overall and 100 per cent of urban households) reportedly only have one firearm. Baseline data by DDG in 2011²⁰ indicates that 43 per cent of firearm owners in these districts kept their weapons locked. The present study found that 75 per cent of those with firearms keep them locked in their homes, and another five per cent keep them unlocked, but in a locked room. This shows a dramatic increase in the numbers of firearm owners who indicate that they are storing their weapons safely. In the present study, the poorer were more likely to have an unlocked firearm (30 per cent) than the other groups (15 per cent of middle and 21 per cent of better-off groups reported keeping firearms unlocked). It is possible that some bias in distributing SSDs may occur if preference is given to providing them to better-off people with cement block houses where it is possible to attach the weapons to a fixed wall. It is important to ensure that the poorest wealth groups (particularly those living in traditional Somali *aqals*) have access to safe storage devices (this is done to some degree but improvements in coverage may be necessary).

Testimonies from FGDs also suggest a reduction in the proliferation of small arms within the communities:

- In Salaxley, male traders said that there had been a dramatic reduction in the proliferation of small arms in the community. They said that prior to their reference year (2010) 'weapons/fire arms were sold in public (marketplaces), but the number of weapons sold in public has reduced and is very small now. You could see weapons sold in the markets, ie, pistols, AK47s, etc in the daylight and every individual/inhabitant wanted firearms for security purposes. Nowadays it is a bit hard [rare] to see firearms/weapons sold in the market because there is an attitudinal change of the communities. [People] believe [that] more of the security of the Salaxley district lies on the shoulders of the police.' The CSC members attributed the changes to improved relations with the local police, and a sense of security, which made people feel that they did not need to own as many weapons. This corresponds to the findings of DDG's 2012 impact study, which showed that in Salaxley there was a significant decrease in the level of reported firearm ownership, from 87 to 38 owners out of 120 respondents.

4.5 Violence against a woman's honour

In the survey, six per cent of urban and nine per cent of rural respondents said that 'violence against a woman's honour' – including rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence – were very significant problems in their community.²¹ Some 25 per cent of respondents said that they felt the incidence of such crimes had decreased since DDG began working in the communities.

The research teams found that this was a difficult subject to broach, and in FGDs participants disagreed about how significant the problem was. Often the differences in

²⁰ Data collected from Aynabo, Salaxley and Odweine by DDG Monitoring and Evaluation Team.

²¹ Because of interviewees' reluctance to discuss rape (as may be seen as bringing dishonour on a family and sometimes on a community), interviewees used the term 'violence against a woman's honour' to refer to all forms of rape, sexual and gender based violence. Some people chose to refer directly to rape in their responses, while others did not. The surveyors were not able to ask people specifically what they meant by rape.

opinion followed gender lines. For example, in two different discussions in Burco, there were disagreements between an older man and younger woman related to the question of how significant a problem sexual violence was. In one case, the man's assertion that rape was not a significant issue was challenged by a woman who said that 'rape happens every day, especially in the rural (remoter) areas of Burco'. Another woman commented that [a] rape had happened very recently in [her] community, not too far from where the focus group discussion [was] taking place. However, she said that compared to two years ago, the incidences of rape have gone down dramatically – from about ten per month to about two per month. The reason for this, she explained, is because 'there has been a lot of community awareness campaigns [she did not say who had been running the campaigns] that have led to an increase in marriages.' She attributed the increase in marriages to the decreased incidence of rape.

In the FGD with the DSC in Odweine (six men, three women), questions on how big a problem violence against women was stimulated great debate. The group finally agreed that there are different levels of safety and security in different communities, for example, pastoral women often do not feel safe enough to go outside their homes at night, but women in agricultural communities feel more secure. In Odweine town, DSC members said that three rapes had happened in February 2013, the month that the survey was conducted, suggesting that rape is still a significant problem there.

In a smaller town, Goloollay, a CSC (of which six men and three women are members) said that they do not have a problem with violence against women. They attributed this to the fact that the town is very small and families have been living together for such a long time that they all know each other and 'there is no place to hide' if a man commits a crime against a woman. In the rural market town of Salaxley, female traders said that the last time they could recall a rape being committed was in 2010.²²

However, female traders in Burco said that rape is a significant problem. 'There is [a problem with rape] and now new tricks are being used – a boy will start talking to a girl until a girl trusts him. Then he will take her somewhere and will call his friends to rape her. This has just recently happened. A boy locked a girl in the room and 19 of his friends raped her.' The group cited another example:

'Also recently a male medical student took a girl with him under the promise that they were eloping. The man took her to his house, raped her and sent her home the next morning. The girl told her family and the medical student was jailed for nine days (this was really for his protection) until the issue was resolved by elders in the community. The equivalent of 50 camels was paid to the girl's family.'

The finding that rape and sexual violence continue to constitute a security problem in Somaliland is supported by other evidence. Baahi-Koob Centre, a sexual assault referral office at Hargeisa General Hospital, reported that between January and August 2013, 180 women who had been raped sought its assistance.²³ A high incidence of rape is

²² The women were referring to Salaxley town. It should be noted that an incidence of rape in Salaxley District was reported to a DDG staff member by a male CSC member in November 2012.

²³ Sabahi Online. 21 Aug. 2013. 'Rape on the rise in Somaliland region as perpetrators receive leniency,' http://sabahionline.com/en_GB/articles/hoa/articles/features/2013/08/21/feature-02

also recorded in other Somali territories, including in Mogadishu centres for internally displaced persons – where Amnesty International has referred to it as an ‘epidemic.’²⁴

4.5.1 Mechanisms for addressing rape and sexual violence

For the most part, respondents – both women and men – said that the most common way of dealing with cases of rape is through customary law – *xeer* – rather than through formal institutions. Male heads of households – but also some women – prefer to settle the matter using community elders at least in part, they said, to protect the reputation of their village. This means that the most common way of settling a dispute is by seeking a *diya* payment (rape is often seen as the equivalent of murder and is punishable by a *diya* payment of 50 camels, but the team recorded lesser payments of 25 camels, and in Inaguuxaa a case was recorded in which only five camels were paid) rather than referring the case to the courts and seeking formal legal punishment. They will go to the police or courts only if a solution cannot be found.

Women in Odweine and Burco expressed some dissatisfaction with the reliance on *xeer*, since the settlements are reached through mediation with clan elders and traditional leaders, all of whom are men, and often disadvantage the victim. Because the perpetrator is not normally held in jail or otherwise punished (beyond the paying of damages), they felt that there was not a strong impetus to prevent similar acts in the future. Furthermore, the *diya* payments that are made may go directly to the male members of the victim’s family and she may not be compensated in any meaningful way.

Female traders in Salaxley said that the community had worked hard to deal with the problem of crimes against women, and that they had been successful. Steps that they said had been taken include:

- **Use of *xeer* and *diya* payments:** One of the female traders in Salaxley explained: ‘We have strong agreement (*xeer*) about rape or sexual violence. The *xeer* is honoured by community leaders, sheikhs, police and the community itself. The *xeer* stipulates that if a rape happens the defendant will pay 50 living camels for compensation. This is very expensive and is meant to reduce the occurrence of rape. In order for the defendant to feel the burden of the compensation, the first step is to confiscate all his properties and the properties of his family. This is a very good reason why rape has been dramatically reduced in recent decades.’
- **Better education:** Salaxley has a very good boarding school which accommodates many youth from Salaxley district. Female traders said that the ‘good culture’ promoted at school is spread throughout Salaxley district.
- **Stronger police-community partnership:** The police and community in Salaxley work together in reducing rape and matters that can lay foundation for more incidences of rape occurring in the district.

²⁴ Amnesty International. 30 Aug. 2013. ‘Somalia: Rape and sexual violence a constant threat for displaced women,’ <http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/somalia-rape-and-sexual-violence-constant-threat-displaced-women-2013-08-30>.

- **Encouragement of marriage** (*Jimacaha Khudbad*) – (Our) ‘Sheikh preaches in the mosques in the Jumcah gathering issues concerning good behaviour and morals of our society.’

4.5.2 Night-time mobility of women

In most rural villages and market towns women said that they did not feel unsafe walking around outside the house at night. However, both women and men said that regardless of whether or not it was safe to go out, it is not considered appropriate for cultural and religious reasons for women to be out late at night. They said that it was more a matter of respectability rather than safety that keeps her inside the house at night. Female traders in Odweine town said that they feel safe moving about the town except late at night, when they go with a male relative if they need to go out. In Qoyta, however, when asked whether women felt safe walking at night one man said ‘walk at night? These women don’t sleep at night! I have trouble falling asleep because they are always outside talking until the early hours of the morning!’ The women present for the discussion laughed in agreement, apparently confirming that they felt safe moving about at night. In Toon, however, CSC members said that there was a significant danger for women walking around at night. One member of the committee (sex unrecorded) said:

‘Women don’t feel safe to move outside of their houses – not just at night time, but even in the day time. Night times are the worst – it is very hard for women to be able to walk free at night. Rape is very common and has already happened in Toon. This scares others and girls don’t feel safe in the night. Girls may move in the main road but slight divergence from the main road to where it is [a] bit dark can be very risk[y] and rape can happen.’

In Salaxley, FGD participants from the CSC said that rape resulting in pregnancy was not considered possible.²⁵ They said that past experiences had shown that there were not any records of rape which resulted in pregnancy, but that usually pregnancy appears with the consent of the female. One person (sex not recorded) explained that ‘In rape the girl is not ready psychologically and hence [there is] less chance of pregnancy occurring ... there can be another situation where pregnancy appears with the girl’s consent [ie, if she consents to having sexual relations with the man], but the man later refuses [to take responsibility for the child]. In this case the man should pay 50 living camels for denial.’ The misconception that rape cannot result in pregnancy and that a woman who becomes pregnant must have done so through consent rather than through rape, is likely to play a role in preventing some cases from being pursued as instances of rape.

In urban communities, night-time mobility is greater due to the presence of streetlights in some areas. However, in Burco in areas without streetlights, night-time crime against women was reported (see below). These findings suggest that the relationship between

²⁵ Sex not recorded.

night-time security and women's mobility varies between communities and should be investigated rather than taken for granted as being related.

The significance of women's security concerns, demonstrated here in the detail and care with which they were highlighted by female respondents, points to an opportunity for DDG to address such risks more directly in its community/police partnership work, as well as in its CME work. This should involve helping to ensure that police have the resources to offer women the chance to speak to specially trained female police officers or community liaison staff who can help address cases of sexual violence. These should be described in general terms as 'gender desks' or another such term so that women are not stigmatised for bringing a case to these bodies. Gender desks could also engage in community outreach to raise awareness about the negative effects of rape.

DDG should also ensure that each of its CME teams has at least one woman on it, and that some elements of the education programme are offered to women and men separately, so that women's own security concerns may be aired in an environment they feel comfortable in. Possibilities for more gender-sensitive conflict management activities should be considered during the planning process.

4.6 Types of conflicts

Different kinds of conflict involve different resolution and justice mechanisms. People may consider these to be more or less successful depending on the effectiveness of the institution involved in the resolution. The survey asked people what were the main sources of conflict within their community and whether they considered the resolution mechanisms effective (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Occurrence and resolution of different types of conflicts

Types of conflicts	% of people who say the conflict type occurs in their community	% of people who say the community effectively resolves such conflicts
Access to crop land	64	98
Access to grazing land	61	98
Boundaries between households	38	98
Charcoal resources	33	98
Boundaries between clan areas	27	97
Ownership documentation	24	91
Crimes against a woman's honour	20	99
Inheritance	14	100
Forest resources	13	98
Boundaries between villages	13	96
Water for animal use	12	98
Conflicts with refugees/IDPs	10	97
Water for household use	9	95

The data presented in Table 4.2 highlights that conflicts over property land and rights – including access to crop land, grazing land, boundaries, natural resources (such as charcoal) and clan territories – are the most significant types of conflict in the community. This finding was echoed in the FGDs in all areas. In most cases people reported these conflicts to have been satisfactorily resolved. However, conflicts related to ownership documentation appear to be the least resolved.

When asked whether there had been any change in the frequency of conflicts that people experience now, as compared to when DDG began working in the community, focus group participants gave several examples of how the incidence of conflict had been reduced as a result of their involvement in DDG activities:

- In Beer, CSC members said that there was presently greater community cooperation compared to before DDG began working with them.
- In Toon CSC members said that there are now more people involved in conflict resolution (elders, CSC members, police etc) and that they are working effectively together to settle disputes. As a result of DDG's work in the community, people said that 'Conflict resolution mechanisms have increased. In previous years there were many repeat conflicts every year. However, there are elders, CSC and police who are working together on conflicts and disputes and this streamlines the means of solving the conflicts and disputes.'

Not all communities felt as unequivocal about improvements in security. In Burco, female focus group respondents said that while there was security in many parts of the city, crimes continue to be committed, particularly against women, in dark areas of town at night. They said that the Gender Desk that had been introduced at the local

police station was not functioning which limited the extent to which such crimes were reported and investigated. These continued concerns about security for women should be examined in more depth by DDG and means of improving the responsiveness to the CSPs to women's security concerns should be developed (see recommendations).

4.6.1 Conflict management – focus on land

Conflicts over land and property continue to be the most significant source of conflict in the study areas (both rural and urban). One focus group participant in Burco remarked, 'Before we used to fight for women and camels but now we fight for land.' People cited the following as reasons for land based conflicts:

- poor farming techniques and inadequate farming tools which result in poor production and competition for those wanting to expand the areas under cultivation;
- increased use of enclosures for grazing land;
- encroachment of clan and community land; and
- influxes of people from Ethiopia, together with increased vigilance along the Ethiopian border making it harder for Somalilanders to enter the country to trade or to graze their animals.

Conflicts that fall under this category include disputes:

- on accessing land for crops and grazing; water and charcoal sources;
- the placement of boundaries between households and clan territories;
- inheritance;
- on ownership documentation; and
- between refugees from Ethiopia or from South-Central Somalia²⁶ or internally displaced persons and local residents.

A 2012 study on land conflicts conducted by UN-Habitat and the GICHD in cooperation with DDG found that the incidence of land-based conflicts was approaching a 'crisis point'. The study found that although there are many institutions that may become involved in mediation or dispute settlement, response is thwarted by:

- a lack of early warning or prevention;
- the weak links between respective institutions;
- inconsistent procedures;
- failure to record and share decisions;
- an uneven capacity across Somaliland; and
- a lack of enforcement of the rules that currently exist.

The report recommended that DDG and DRC train staff on conflict sensitivity and develop a 'systematic and harmonised methodology for conflict analysis.'²⁷

²⁶ Because Somaliland considers itself to be a separate country from Somalia, those displaced from South-Central Somalia

²⁷ Szilard Friczka and Sharmala Naidoo, 2012: 'Land and Conflict in Somaliland: Analysis and Programming Entry-points for Danish Demining Group and Danish Refugee Council, Final report'

DDG has recently been working to incorporate mediation techniques into its ongoing conflict-management education activities. These could be effectively used in conjunction with the Land and Conflict Cycle schema outlined in the UN-Habitat/GICHD report to provide training on understanding and managing land-based conflicts. It is also recommended that some components of the CME training be adapted to conflicts that occur outside the community (with other clans, or over territory or other property resources claimed by other communities). Since many conflicts are rooted in the same kinds of grievances, whether local or between clans, they may usefully be addressed through similar conflict management activities.

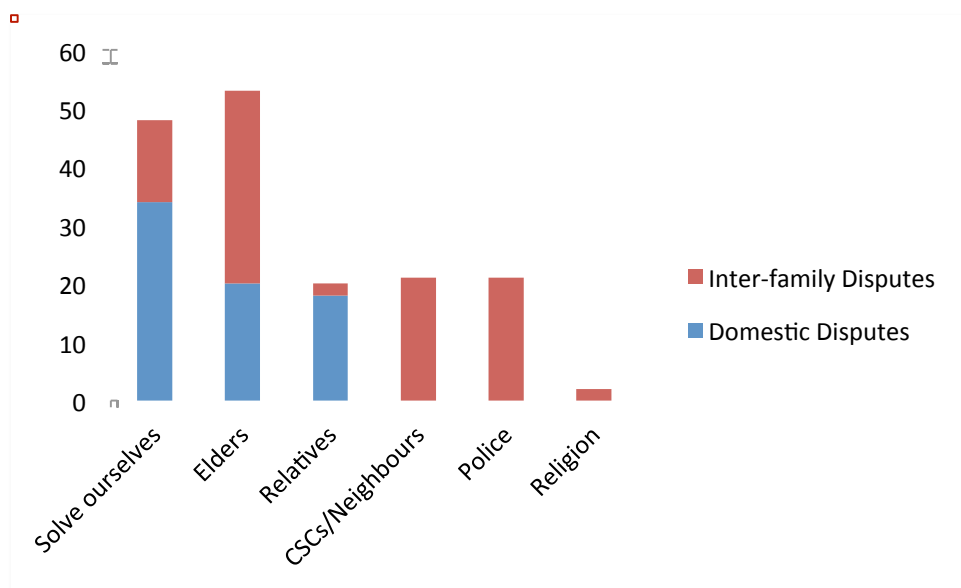
4.6.2 Methods of managing other types of conflict

As noted above, Somalis have a variety of different conflict resolution mechanisms at their disposal, and use them depending on the nature of the dispute and whether or not a solution can be found, using one method before resorting to another. Traditional law, or *xeer*, is used to settle many kinds of disputes, such as rape as has been noted above, and is based on a consideration of historical precedent, or the ways in which similar cases have been settled in the past. Formal police and the court system are used for cases that cannot be solved through traditional mechanisms.

In all of the study sites, DDG has recently been providing CME to the population as well as supporting community safety committees (and in some cases DSCs). The CSCs and DSCs are meant to complement rather than replace traditional forms of conflict resolution. CSCs are made up of local elders as well as younger people. In several sites people mentioned the value of this wider participation in solving disputes.

The survey asked people how they typically settle disputes concerning personal and inter-family matters. The results, shown in Chart 4.5, indicate that elders are referred to for both domestic and inter-family disputes, whereas people tend to try to solve many disputes (particularly domestic disputes) themselves before referring to other mechanisms. The chart also shows that while some resolution mechanisms are used for multiple types of conflicts, others (use of CSCs, referral to police or sheikhs and other religious leaders) are reserved for inter-family or more public disputes. Generally speaking the more public the conflict (in that it involves people outside the immediate family and may involve inter-clan conflicts), the more likely the disputants are to refer the case to formal adjudication.

Chart 4.5 Conflict resolution techniques and institutions used in inter-family and domestic disputes - percentage of respondents



When asked why they chose one form of dispute management over another, some people said that they preferred to keep domestic disputes a private matter by settling them themselves. Acknowledging that there is a move away from customary law (*xeer*) to a use of more formal structures, CSC members in Qoolbuulale said '*Xeer* exists here in Qoolbuulale, but is not welcome these days because it causes the punishment to fall mainly on the clan or family of the defendant rather than on the defendant himself. Currently, we are shifting to put more responsibility on the defendant.' This shift suggests that there may be a change afoot in the ways that responsibility for crime and conflict are conceived of, and may indicate that the idea of individual blame is gaining credence where previously such responsibility was seen to be a collective clan matter.

However, it is important not to see different uses of dispute resolution as being mutually exclusive. In some cases multiple justice institutions may be used. In Burco, focus group discussion participants from the DSC explained the interrelations between the different institutions of justice:

'If someone commits a crime, the police catch the offender and in most cases they turn him/her over to the elders. If the elders are unable to resolve the problem, they refer the case to the government for formal proceedings. For example, some difficult rape cases tend to be referred back to the authorities and the offenders usually go to jail for five to six years.

In most cases, even if a dispute is resolved through the police and courts, it does not usually mean the dispute has also been resolved at the community level. The cases still have to be resolved again by the elders in the community.'

In Burco (Sufi Cusmaan) and Beer, FGD participants said that for disputes involving women, children and neighbours, elderly women are often called upon to mediate and

find a resolution. Only if a solution cannot be found is the matter referred to the community elders or the government authorities.

The survey findings show that CSCs and DSCs are used in approximately 20 per cent of inter-family or public disputes. This finding is significant, particularly as it comes from a sample of people who are not CSC members and do not have a clear benefit to be gained from giving credit to the safety committees. Their efficiency could possibly be enhanced through increased training on dealing with security concerns of women more directly, as well as having greater capacity for helping to mediate and manage land-based conflicts.

4.7 Additional safety and security problems

Several security concerns that likely fall outside of DDG's direct area of focus were raised in the course of the study. They are mentioned here because they may point to complementary activities that DDG's partners could undertake which could enhance the effectiveness of DDG activities. (See recommendations.)

They are concerned with unemployment, the safety of water points and the need for streetlights.

1. In Burco, the DCS members reported that the most important safety/security threats were unemployment, which they said leads young people to commit 'petty crimes.' They observed that 'All other livelihood challenges were caused by lack of employment.'²⁸ Community members in Beer said that 'we have a lot of young people who are graduating from secondary school every year and are just sitting around. There's nothing for them to do and we can't afford to send them to Burco for university education.' Developing vocational training and employment generation activities would help to address these concerns.
2. In FGDs, people mentioned persistent safety/security issues such as unfenced *birkaads* (man-made water ponds) which lead to accidents
3. FGD participants in areas without streetlights also associated dark streets at night with continued crime in the area (including theft and sexual assault). They said that such crime had been a problem both before and after DDG involvement, whereas communities with streetlights in place generally associated this development with improved community security.
4. Respondents reported that there had been a recent increase in road accidents. This is attributed to both the extension of the road networks into previously inaccessible areas (putting more vehicles on the roads) as well as the poor condition of the roads (often causing vehicles to overturn, particularly if they are overloaded with goods and people). In the case of a vehicle accident involving death or serious injury, the driver is held liable for damages and may have to pay *diya* compensation to the victim's clan. While road-safety is beyond the scope of DDG's work, this finding is mentioned here because it relates to people's overall feelings about

²⁸ The converse may be said, that improved security may create a conducive environment for generating employment opportunities.

whether their environment is safe, and may suggest activities to promote awareness of road-safety so as to prevent accidents.

This chapter has examined the extent to which study participants felt that there had been a change in the security of their communities, and if so, what role if any could be attributed to the work of the DDG. The study found that people perceive that there have been significant improvements in their level of security, and that they feel that DDG's work has helped to contribute to this trend. This can be seen in:

- a reduction in violent crime;
- a reduction in firearm ownership; and
- perceived effectiveness of community and DSCs, both in their own right and in partnership with local police.

Several ways of enhancing DDG's ability to address sexual violence (and women's security concerns more broadly) as well as land-based conflicts were noted, as were complementary activities that might be undertaken by DDG's partners.

5. PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC WELLBEING

Having asked people about changes in the security situation, the second objective of the study was to determine whether there had been an appreciable change in the socio-economic conditions in the sampled communities and if so, whether DDG's activities had played any part in those changes.

5.1 Perceptions of economic wellbeing

The household survey asked people to compare their current economic situation to that of the reference year (the year that DDG began to work on community safety and security programmes in their community). Here more than half of respondents said that they thought that their economic wellbeing was the same as, or better than, the reference year. Some 43 per cent said that they thought that they were worse off. This was somewhat at odds with the findings of the focus group discussion, as will be discussed below.

Table 5.1 How do you rate your present overall economic wellbeing as compared to the 2010 reference year?

	Total %	Urban %	Rural %
Better	28	16	32
Same	29	34	26
Worse	43	49	42

There were no significant differences between rural market towns and rural satellite villages with respect to their perceptions of economic wellbeing.

When the survey teams asked people to explain what they thought the reasons were for the change (if any) in their condition, the responses varied considerably. Those who thought that conditions were worse (see Chart 5.1) tended to attribute the change to drought conditions, inflation and a lack of employment opportunities in their area. Those who thought that there was an improvement (see Chart 5.2) linked it to better security, more business opportunities and the expanded ability of government to promote their livelihoods.

Chart 5.1 Perceived reasons for deterioration in economic conditions percentage of respondents

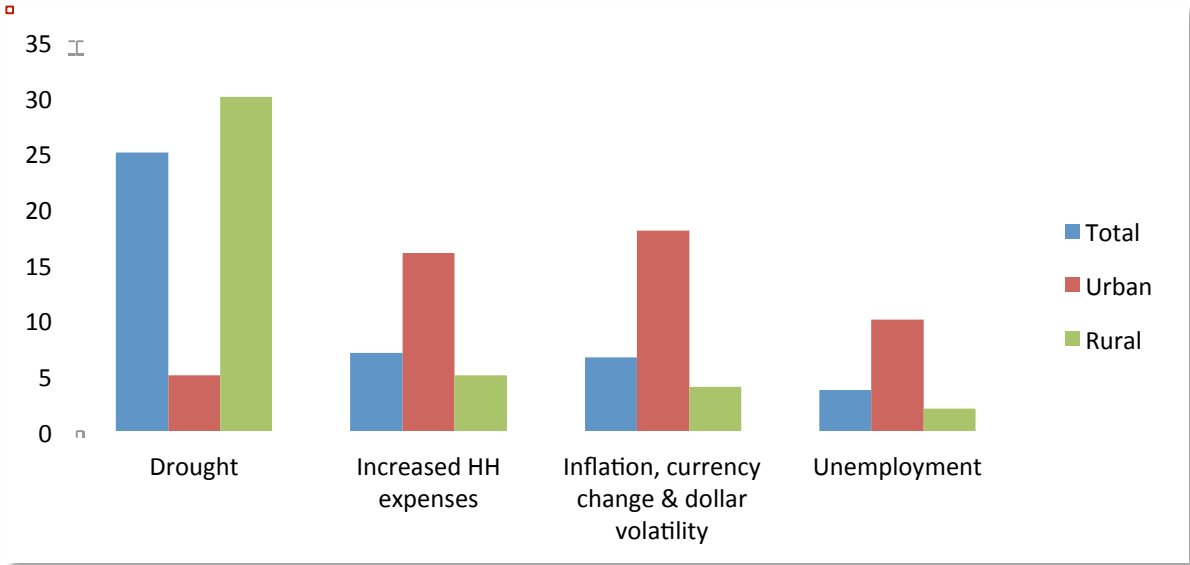
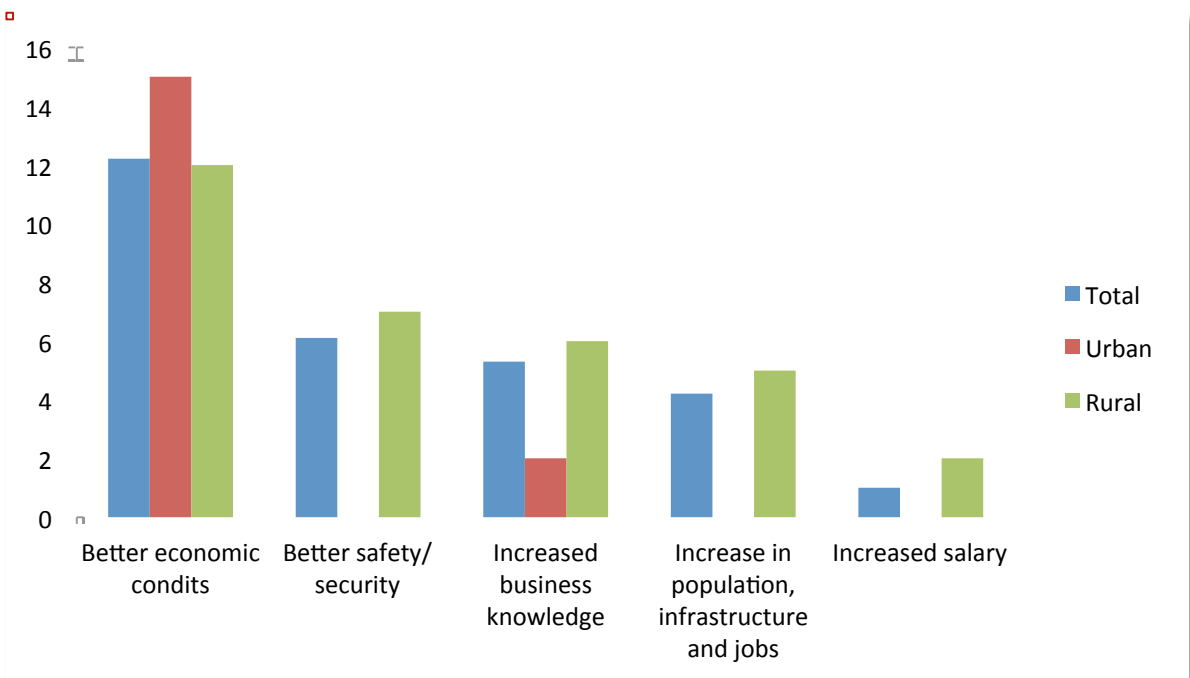


Chart 5.2 Perceived reasons for improvement in economic conditions percentage of respondents



As mentioned above, FGD respondents, particularly those in urban areas, tended to link the socio-economic improvements to DDG’s work more than the household survey respondents. This may be related to the sample interviewed, but may also be related to the study design, which meant respondents were asked to identify as many variables as were applicable rather than verifying whether DDG had been an important factor in improved security. Generally speaking FGD members said that they felt that DDG’s security work had contributed to economic development by creating an enabling

environment for business, bringing other NGOs to engage with the communities, and bringing more people into the towns both to live and do business (such as trading livestock).

The benefits of increased safety and security were in turn either enhanced or reduced by a range of factors, including the performance of the rains and inflation rates. In some cases (as in Salaxley and Burco), traders complained that the benefits of enhanced security had been reduced somewhat by increased competition caused by too many traders entering the market.

To cite an example, community leaders in Odweine said that improved safety and security had led to more market activity, more demand for market products, more competitive prices, and better knowledge about business. As in other places, they observed that women have become more active in the market – as shopkeepers, running teashops and small restaurants, selling animal fodder and small livestock and as butchers. Women also go to the larger cities to buy foodstuffs which they bring back to the local market to sell. Some women said that they had been able to scale-up their business thanks to increased security and better road access to Burco, shifting from being butchers in the local market to becoming small-scale goat traders (which brings more profit).

5.2 Market activity

Male and female traders participating in FGDs were asked to explain why they thought that there had been improvements in the markets. The results from the two main market towns are summarised in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Perceived reasons for economic improvement

Community	Reason for economic improvement
Odweine	Increase in number of traders (particularly women) – women and men
	Expanded Somali telecommunications businesses - men
	New investment in the area – men
	Increased livestock sales – men
	More NGOs operating in the area – men
	Presence of TV stations/reporters in town – men
	Electricity has enabled businesses to stay open later – women
Salaxley	Better security in the community, closer police/community relations – women and men
	More NGOs operating in the area (DDG was one of the first), attracted by better security – men
	More customers in the market as result of more businesses, NGOs – women and men
	Better business skills – women
	Better roads in the area – women
	Inter-clan conflict has been resolved, so many more people have returned to the town – men
	Businesses staying open later (traders rent electricity from private generator) - women

Both male and female traders from Odweine said that there had been a dramatic improvement in market conditions in recent years. One male trader said, 'DDG has helped us to gain this security situation and safety – because they have changed people's minds and perception towards improving our economic wellbeing.' In Salaxley male traders said that DDG had been one of the first NGOs to be present in the community, and that others had come after them.

5.2.1 Factors that prevent improved security from leading to better economic conditions

Salaxley traders noted that the increase in business have also had some negative effects. Traders reported that property prices have risen dramatically. Traders in Salaxley recalled that in 2010 the price of a 24 m x 24 m plot of land was USD 600; the same plot in 2013 is valued at USD 2,500. While this may be a sign of improved economic health of the community, it has also sparked an increase in disputes over land (see Section 4.6.1 on land conflicts).

In rural areas, the positive benefits of increasing safety and security can be minimised by drought conditions. From August 2010 to April/May 2011, the Somaliland area experienced a drought of unusual length and severity, resulting in the widespread and severe loss of livestock (and crops), which had a direct impact on food security, nutrition status, livelihoods and access to water. Since livestock is the main and usually the only source of livelihood and income for rural Somali families, these losses had a severe effect on both their immediate food supply as well as the ability to afford to purchase water or access basic healthcare. Those worst affected were poor families with small livestock herds before the drought. Many were forced to leave their homes in search of food and water in Hargeisa, the capital of Somaliland. This had a negative impact on local markets, as there were fewer customers with cash in their hands.

Factors such as recurrent drought make it difficult to isolate the impact of specific factors such as DDG's effectiveness in promoting economic development through improved safety and security. When there are no environmental and economic crises, the benefits of improved security can be seen more directly. However, these crises have the ability to mask or even erase the positive effects of improved security, particularly if they are prolonged.

In section four, the value of streetlights was noted in terms of improving security and in some cases enabling women to move around outside their homes at night. In rural market towns in particular, traders said that this also enabled them to stay open later and thus to reap more profit. However, this benefit was not recorded in Burco. Unlike traders in the smaller towns, female traders in Burco said that they had not been able to extend their hours of business since DDG began working in the community. 'We have not been able to change the hours of operation. The structure of the sellers and the buyers is set and is not very flexible. For example, the *khat* sellers and buyers start business at 9 am to 12 am, I sit for 15 – 16 hours every day.' A fruit seller agreed:

'We start at 6 am and finish at 6 pm. Everything is structured in this community and you can't just change your hours – customers are only accustomed to coming to the market at specific times.' That urban traders are not able to extend their hours of business is probably related to them already having access to night-time electricity, to many already doing business or other work in the evening, and also probably because the Burco market is larger and therefore likely to be more rule-bound. The significance of this finding is that improved security at night may not necessarily be taken as a meaningful indicator of an economic improvement in the community. In some cases, religious and cultural constraints appear to prevent extension of business hours much after dark (particularly after around 9 pm) more than security or business concerns.

Another factor that may thwart the positive impacts of improved security is inflation. This was particularly cited by male traders in Burco, who said that they had been heavily affected by the switch to use of Somaliland shillings from Somalia shillings in 2010²⁹ as well as by the general rate of inflation, which had driven the cost of living up. They said that most of their customers did not have an increased income, so they were not able to afford the increases. Some price increases, such as for livestock, had benefited local traders, but others had not. Again, this example points to the difficulty of drawing direct correlations between improved security and economic development, since a factor such as inflation can derail or inhibit the benefits derived from improved security.

5.3 Savings and savings associations

As indicators of economic wealth, the institution of savings associations was looked at. The hypothesis was that if a community is better off economically, it is likely that more people will participate in savings associations than before. Indeed, in almost all communities, it was found that this was the case. There were reportedly more associations functioning, and many had more members than in the reference year.

Savings associations can take a variety of forms. Perhaps the most common is the *hagbad*, an association that collects contributions from its members each week or month and then the 'pot' is given to a different member in turn. Members of *hagbad* can be both men and women, although very often it is women who act as the accountants and cashiers for the associations. For a community without access to formal banking, this can be an important way of saving up for an investment, to cover education costs, or to pay for a wedding or other major cost.

In all of the market towns there was a reported increase in the numbers of *hagbad*. Women traders in Odweine said that two years ago there were only two *hagbad* functioning in the town, but now there are 14. They attributed the increased number to the fact that people have higher incomes now, and also to the fact that they trust each other more. In the focus group interviews they clearly associated improved trust in each other with heightened security within the community.

²⁹ Despite the Somaliland Shilling being the official currency of Somaliland, Somalia Shillings were in wide circulation in Burco until 2010-2011 when the government banned their use.

Male traders in Burco said that most of the men who participate in *hagbada* (the plural of *hagbad*) are poorer. They said: 'Usually poor petty traders have to do *hagbada* to sustain their business and as a risk management strategy. But compared to two years ago, the number of people participating has definitely increased. In regards to the value of contributions, it varies a lot. It mainly depends on the particular group. For example, you have groups that contribute daily and the value tends to range from 1000 SLSH/per day for the poor group to up to USD 1 for the slightly better-off group. In regards to the frequency of payment, this also varies a lot from daily to once every ten days to twice a month or monthly. The organisation of it has slightly changed, for example the groups are larger and the cycle can last for a long time. For example, there are 100 people paying/taking daily.'

Respondents in all of the market towns attributed the increased use of *hagbad* to improved economic conditions in their communities. As shown above, these conditions are perceived to have been facilitated by improvements in the security environment, to which DDG has contributed.

5.3.1 Uses of savings

Female traders in Odweine said that they use their profits to expand their business, but that they also save some of their profits. Dahabshiil, the largest remittance company in Somaliland, has recently started to offer savings accounts, and some of the women said that they have been keeping their savings in these accounts for future usage. In Salaxley, one woman said that she had built her house – a two-room, concrete block building of high quality – with funds from her *hagbad*. Other uses of the funds include debt repayment, purchasing land and livestock, educational costs and expansion of or starting up a business.

Not all reported uses of business profits were positive. Male traders in Salaxley said that in addition to these uses, some of them also used their profits to purchase weapons to protect their businesses and their families and to marry early in order to increase their social standing. They explained further that, 'the guns are mainly used for keeping your camels safe when they cross the borders to Ethiopia for pasture. There are usually cases of camel raids between the clan that inhabits the southern part of Somaliland including Salaxley and the clan that inhabits Ethiopia and [southern] Somalia.' This finding points to the continuing significance of inter-clan and territorial conflicts, and the potential for such conflicts to turn violent. It points to the need to consider applications of the conflict management education activities in contexts of inter-clan conflict (see Section 4.6.2).

In Burco, female traders said that there had been a surge in *hagbad*. 'The number of *hagbad* before was a lot but now there's even more. This is because there is a boost in our incomes. Most *hagbada* (the plural form of *hagbad*) run on a monthly basis but the daily ones *yaacay* are also quite popular. The amount varies from USD 5 to USD 100 but the amount that people deposit each month or each day very much depends on their economic conditions.' Women in Burco said that they use funds from *hagbad* to pay for medical expenses for family members, to repay loans, or to expand their

businesses. Men mentioned these expenses as well as paying for *tahreeb* – migration abroad.

Generally speaking the increased use of savings associations points to vibrancy within the business community. It also shows that people are using these institutions to expand their businesses and to increase household spending in essential areas such as healthcare and education.

5.4 *Diya* payments

Another indicator that was investigated to determine whether there had been an economic advantage due to increasing security was whether there had been a change in the frequency or total amount of *diya* payments ('blood money') to settle disputes. *Diya* is payable when conflicts result in the death or serious injury of one clan member by another. Conflicts identified which commonly require *diya* payments include conflicts that stem from land disputes, inheritance disagreements, disputes over livestock ownership and rape cases. Increasingly, however, vehicle accidents are being cited as the main reason for making *diya* payments (see below).

This study's findings about the significance of *diya* varied quite considerably between the survey and the FGDs. This is probably related to the fact that the respondents in the case of the household surveys were for the most part women, who are usually not involved in clan negotiations and therefore may not be fully aware of the payments made by the men in their households. Indeed, 61 per cent of urban female respondents and 11 per cent of rural female respondents said that they did not know whether there had been a change because men and/or clan elders deal with *diya* payments. The FGDs included more men who are more likely to have been involved in *diya* negotiations and payments.

The household survey looked into how often in the past 12 months respondents had been asked to make a contribution to a *diya* payment. Some 60 per cent said that they had contributed between one and three times over the year. The average amount paid in the 12-month period was USD 124.

The most significant reason given for a change in *diya* payments was with respect to an increase in automobile accidents in rural areas. Some 34 per cent of rural respondents said that there had been an increase in *diya* payments due to an increase in injuries and loss of life due to car accidents. When an accident takes place, the driver of the automobile causing the accident is liable for the injuries or deaths caused; and his clan must pay *diya* to the victim's clan. This may be one of the unfortunate side-effects of improved roads, as the expansion and improvement of the transport network has resulted in more people travelling by road and at higher speeds than previously; conversely, poor road conditions was also cited as a cause of increased accidents.

One man in Sufi Cusmaan district of Burco said, 'We are always paying! I actually have money in my pocket now that I need to pay tonight. There are just too many car accidents now. For example, the one I'm paying for now is for nine people who were killed in a car accident recently. We have paid for seven and we still have two to go.'

In FGDs there was more agreement about the declining significance of *diya* payments. In Odweine informants said that they had observed a generally decreasing level of disputes between clans. In Goloolay it was reported that two years before there had been ten *diya* cases requiring payment, and all of these were related to murders or revenge killings, but that now there are only three outstanding cases. In Salaxley CSC members said that whereas in the reference year they were paying *diya* seven or eight times a year, now they are paying only once or twice a year. In Qoolbuulale the number of *diya* disputes was much higher, at 22 in the current year; CSC members said that 95 per cent of those are related to injuries or deaths involving car accidents.

In Odweine, CSC members reported that 'During the reference year, payment of *diya* for the accidents caused by firearms was really very high and all the compensations we usually paid were concerning those issues, because murder crimes were really very numerous. Since there is no record of the accidents that happen we don't have the exact statistics. There were hundreds of pending *diya* payments that time. Currently, all the payments of *diya* we face are related to car accidents in the major towns and even if it is out of our town, for example in Djibouti, we usually pay that *diya* (if our clansmen are responsible).'

Reflecting on whether or not the work of DDG had influenced the occurrence of *diya* cases, an Odweine CSC member said, 'There is a significant difference between the reference year and the current year, because now the DDG activities – particularly conflict management trainings – impact on us and we have fewer cases of *diya* disputes. Also serious murder (has) decreased which usually (used to) create clan disputes on murder cases. This is as a result of the distribution of firearm locks to the community.'

In Burco-October 2nd the distribution and installation of SSDs by DDG was also cited as a factor contributing to a reduction in killings, as when people got angry they could not access their weapons as easily if they were locked.

The reduction in the paying of *diya* to settle violent conflicts appears to be a widespread phenomenon. While *diya* is still paid for compensation for injury or death caused by vehicle accidents, the work that DDG has done in its CME programmes, as well as in distribution SSDs has contributed to a reduction in the incidence of such conflicts. This can be seen both as an indicator of effectiveness of DDG's work, but also as an indicator of improved economic conditions, since frequent *diya* payments can place considerable economic strain on a household.

6. CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate three things:

1. Whether there had been an improvement or deterioration in people's perceived levels of *safety and security* in their communities since DDG had first engaged with them, and if so what the evidence of improvement/deterioration was and what reasons people associated with it.
2. Whether there had been an improvement or deterioration in people's livelihoods and economic wellbeing since DDG had first engaged with them in their communities, and if so what the evidence for either was, and what reasons people associated with it.
3. Whether the trends identified in 1) and 2) above were related. In particular, whether increased safety/security was positively correlated with increased socio-economic wellbeing.

This concluding chapter briefly summarises the main findings and based on these, provides recommendations for improving DDG's CSP by identifying activities that have the most impact. It also suggests other activities to enhance contributions to improved safety and security as well as socio-economic conditions.

6.1 Improvements in safety/security

The results of this survey suggest that there has generally been an improvement in safety and security in the areas under study in Somaliland since DDG began to engage with communities through its CSPs. Awareness of DDG community safety activities on the part of survey respondents (which included both participants and non-participants in those activities) was very high, and all activities were credited with being useful or very useful to the communities. In all rural communities (both satellite villages and rural market towns) there is a perceived improvement in security. In the urban areas improvements in security were less easy to discern – this points to the need for further investigation into how DDG's activities have been received in urban communities and the impact on overall security.

The study recorded significant reductions in the level of firearm ownership and an increase in the percentage of weapons that are stored safely (as compared to DDG baseline data). People also indicated that the incidence and severity of conflict was less now than when DDG began working with them – it is clear that to some extent the communities attribute this to an improved ability to manage conflicts, and that this has been facilitated by DDG. It is also important, however, to put this into context. Other factors, including the increasing capacity of police and state institutions to provide support to conflict management (particularly within the justice system) also plays a role.

6.2 Improvements in economic development

The second objective of the study – to investigate whether there have been improvements in economic development since DDG’s engagement – also yielded positive findings. Rural communities (both market towns and satellite villages) reported that economic conditions were improving. Indicators of this include:

- levels of market activity;
- perceptions of wellbeing;
- engagement in savings associations; and
- the frequency with which compensation payments are required.

In many instances, respondents cited the improved security situation in their communities as being a key driver of economic development.

While overall there was evidence of improvements in economic conditions in rural areas, the picture was less clear in the two urban communities that were sampled. This may be due to the small sample size, particularities of the two neighbourhoods sampled, or to a genuinely different outcome. More research with respect to the research questions and to the impact of DDG activities more generally, is needed in urban areas to be able to draw definitive conclusions. The report will return to this point in the next section.

6.3 Relations between security and economic development

In the survey, 91 per cent of respondents said that they saw a positive relationship between improved security and economic development. Typical responses included statements such as ‘without security there can be no development’ and ‘if security is maintained, economic development will improve.’ As noted above, people credited DDG programmes with having assisted in improving the security environment. Some did make explicit references to the positive economic benefits that this work had wrought in terms of attracting more market activity, enhancing mobility within the community and between the community and other towns, and fostering more trust and less conflict within their communities.

In some cases respondents noted that there had been an improvement in security, but that economic development had been hampered by drought conditions, inflation, competition between traders and unemployment. It is important to highlight that these factors can have a significant impeding influence on the economic health of the community, and can mitigate what benefits might otherwise be derived from an improving security situation.

To give an example, a trader in Salaxley said, “I have witnessed wars in Somalia and Somaliland in 1988 and 1994/1996 respectively. The situation was so bad that many children, men, women and elderly people were dying. No business could take place and there was no supply and demand of goods. Currently, things are good – we have no worries concerning our security and safety. Hence business activities can take place

easily. Currently, there are shops, hotels, restaurants and teashops open even late in the night because of better security in Salaxley district.'

6.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this survey, the study makes the following recommendations:

1. **Continue CSP activities:** Given the study's findings that target communities value all components of DDG's CSP, DDG should continue with its general approach with respect to the CSP and should expand to other areas that have not yet been able to benefit from engagement.
2. **Conduct further research on the impact of DDG activities in urban areas:** There is a need to conduct further research into the impact of DDG's activities in urban areas. This study considered two neighbourhoods in Burco city, but the sample size was not large enough to be able to draw definitive conclusions about the impact of DDG activities on urban livelihoods and about whether trends with respect to safety/security and livelihoods are improving.
3. **Refine CME to focus in more depth on land and property-based conflicts:** While there has been a reported decrease in the incidence of violent crime and theft, the rate of disputes over property, land, and ownership (at individual, community and clan levels) continues to be high. DDG has already begun to focus on land conflicts in its CME, but should further develop and refine these tools to increase effectiveness.
4. **Include more women as CME trainers and facilitators, and adapt CME activities to better address security concerns of women, including (but not limited to) rape and sexual violence:** There is a need to consider how conflict management techniques can better deal with cases of rape and sexual violence, and how they can be generally more responsive to women's security and safety concerns. CME should seek to provide spaces for discussing and managing the particular needs of women. There is a need to increase the representation of women in the CME teams (and in CSP teams more broadly) so that each team has at least one woman (and preferably more) in it. CME teams should also hold some of their training and discussions with women only, and should recognise that perceptions of security concerns may be quite different for men and women.
5. **Amend elements of the CME programme to address the possible applications of interpersonal conflict management for conflicts at higher (including inter-clan) levels:** While there is a clear appreciation of DDG's activities with respect to conflict management at the interpersonal and community level, some respondents noted that they still have conflicts at the inter-clan level, both within Somaliland and with clans in Ethiopia. Adjustments to the CME programme can be made to demonstrate the applicability of some of the conflict management tools to relations with people from other clan areas or over issues that involve inter-clan disputes.
6. **Ensure that SSDs are made available to poorer community members as well as those who are better off:** There is some indication that the poorer, possibly because

they lack permanent housing structures, may not have as much access to SSDs as those who live in concrete block houses (where weapons may be fixed to the walls more easily).

7. **Provide community safety training through *hagbad* (savings associations):** The number of people involved in savings associations, or *hagbad*, is increasing. One of the most important principles behind *hagbad* is the trust that members have in each other to work together. Very often *hagbad* are made up of female traders, and it may be possible to engage *hagbad* for other purposes as well, for instance for promoting elements of CME that focus specifically on women's security concerns. Training should be given to *hagbad* members in conflict management in the first instance, possibly expanding to include other aspects of the DDG CSP (ie MRE, firearm safety etc).
8. **Provide more training to community and DSCs on all aspects of DDG's safety interventions:** The study shows that community and DSCs are, in many cases, becoming the *de facto* mechanism for police and community members to address all kinds of security risks as they arise. There is therefore a need to extend training and education of community and DSCs to include all aspects of MRE, firearm safety, and CME, as well as considering other capacity building to better equip the committees to respond to the needs of their constituents.

6.4.1 Complementary activities recommended

In addition to the activities noted above, several possible activities, some of which may fall outside the mandate of DDG but have a bearing on community safety/security and/or livelihoods, were identified. These could be taken up by partner organisations in the communities and concerned:

- **Fencing off *berkads*** (man-made ponds and water-storage facilities) to prevent drowning accidents among children;
- **Providing sustainable (solar-powered) streetlights** in areas that currently do not have them. This activity was identified by many of the study communities as important for improving night-time security and for enabling businesses to remain open for longer; and
- **Generating employment** – unemployment was repeatedly cited as a source of both insecurity and poverty. While DDG's armed violence reduction framework also clearly identifies unemployment as a root cause of insecurity, provision of vocational training and/or large scale job creation is beyond DDG's mandate. However, it is important to intensify efforts to generate employment by those NGOs and private sector organisations in a position to do so.

APPENDIX 1 SURVEY STUDY SITES

Location	Urban/Rural	No. Questionnaires	FGDs – number of individuals interviewed in each meeting	Year that DDG began to work with the community (taken as reference year)
Sufi Cusmaan (Burco)	Urban	37	2 FGDs: 1 with DSC (8 men, 2 women) & 1 with CSC (3 men, 3 women)	2012
October 2 (Burco)	Urban	30	3 FGD: 1 with CSC (3 men & 6 women); 1 with 11 women traders; 1 FGD with 6 male traders	2012
Salaxley	Rural Market Town Traders	36	3 FGDs: 1 CSC (7 men, 6 women); 1 with 9 women traders; 1 with 12 men traders interviewed separately	2011
Odweine	Rural Market Town	36	4 FGDs: 1 FGD with DSC (6 men, 3 women) & 1 with CSC members (7 men, 4 women); 1 FGD with 7 women traders; 1 FGD with 7 men traders (interviewed separately)	2010
Qoyta	Rural Satellite Village (no market)	30	1 FGD with CSC: 11 men & 7 women traders interviewed separately	2012
Inaguuxaa	Rural Satellite Village (no market)	30	1 FGD with CSC: 9 men & 5 women	2012
Qoolbuulalle	Rural Satellite Village (no market)	30	2 FGDs: 8 men & 5 women traders interviewed separately	2011
Toon	Rural Satellite Village (no market)	30	1 FGD with CSC: 5 men & 5 women traders interviewed separately	2012
Galoolley	Rural Satellite Village (no market)	30	1 FGD with CSC (6 men, 3 women)	2011
Ceel Xume	Rural Satellite Village (no market)	30	1 FGD with CSC (6 men, 4 women)	2010
Beer	Rural Satellite Village (no market)	30	1 FGD with CSC: 5 men & 4 women	2012
Qalloocato	Rural Satellite Village (no market)	30	1 FGD with CSC (8 men, 4 women)	2011
Total		378	21 FGDs total, 205 individuals total (117 men, 88 women)	

APPENDIX 2 DDG AND OTHER NGO INVOLVEMENT IN STUDY SITES

Locality	Date DDG began	Activities	Other NGOs
Odweine District	2011-2012	Sports tournaments; poetry competition; traditional dance for women's organisations; small grants for CSCs; organisational management trainings for DSC; TOT education for teachers in district; CSC/DSC integration workshop; rehabilitation of armoury; police station construction.	Halo Trust (2012); Danish Refugee Council (2002-2010); Swiss Group; Somaliland Red Crescent Society; UNICEF; GAA; Candlelight; World Vision.
Odweine Town	2010	Reconstruction of basketball court/playing field for youth; armoury construction; formation of CSC; Community Police Partnership training; conflict mgmt/resolution training; ERW education; collected/destroyed mines and ERW; firearm safety education; safe storage devices.	DRC; Halo Trust; SRCS; ADO (Local NGO); Save the Children; Candlelight; Handicap International.
Galooley	2011-2012	SSD distribution; firearm safety; conflict management training; mine clearance; ERW and mine risk education; community police partnership.	Candlelight; World Vision; DRC.
Burco (DSC)	2010	Disputes/conflict resolution; community/police partnership; sports competitions; bush clearing; police station construction (Beer).	DRC; Halo Trust; Swiss Group; MSF; Medair; Save the Children; NRC; DRC; DIA (DAI?).
Burco Sufi Cusmaan	2011-12	Disputes/conflict resolution; capacity building (proposal writing); firearm safety, ERW; community police partnership.	CPRS; Medair; NRC.
Burco October 2 nd	2011-12	SSDs; safety/security training for CSCs and community; capacity building (proposal writing); firearm safety, ERW; four committees: explosives, weapon safety, dispute resolution and community/police partnerships.	GAVO; UNDP.
Beer	2011	Removal of ERW; SSD; police/community relationships; construction of police station; ERW education; conflict resolution training.	MIDAIR; NRC; WFP; Caritas; MercyCorps.
Qoyta	2011	Police station construction; community/police relations; CSC creation and office furnishing; SSD; proposal writing manuals (but training hasn't been provided yet); conflict resolution training.	Candlelight; Midair; World Vision.

Toon	2012	CSC formed and trained; conflict resolution training; SSDs; collection/disposal of ERWs; proposal writing; community/police relations.	DRC; AADO; IFAD; WFP; Jimcayaha Nahda Khairah; NRC.
Salaxley	2011	CSC formed and trained; conflict resolution training; SSDs; collection/disposal of ERWs; community/police relations; construction of wall of police station; savings scheme system.	DRC; World Vision; WFP; Partner Aid International; NRC.
Qoolbuulale	2011	CSC formed and trained; conflict resolution training; SSDs; collection/disposal of ERWs; community/police relations (Salaxley).	DRC; WFP; Partner Aid; UNHCR; Halo Trust.
Inaguuxaa	2012	CSC formed and trained; ERW education; conflict resolution training; community/police relations; SSDs.	DRC; UNHCR; NRC; Halo Trust.
Ceel-Xumo	2010	CSC formed and trained; ERW education; collection and disposal; firearm safety education; conflict resolution training; community/police relations; SSDs; football pitch; equipped community guest house.	DRC; Halo Trust; Swiss Group; SRCS; UNICEF; GAA; Candlelight.

APPENDIX 3 WEALTH GROUP RANKING FOR RURAL STUDY SITES

Odweine Town

	Wealth group	% pop	HH size	Livestock assets	Land holdings	Crops grown	Main livelihood activities
Somaliland-Togdheer Agropastoral zone							
ODWEINE	Poor	50 %	7-12 people	Goat: 20 Sheep:20 Cattle: 0 Donkey: 0	1 hectare		Social support; remittances; begging the family and community.
	Middle	35 %	5-8	Goat: 20-40 Sheep: 20-40 Cattle:1 Camel:2 Donkey:1	3 hectares		Livestock sales; petty trade; remittances; labour/work.
	Better-off	15 %	4-6	Goat: 100 + Sheep:100 + Cattle:10 Camel:50-100 Donkey:1	10 hectares		Livestock sales; agricultural labour; business.

Galoolay Village

	Wealth group	% pop	HH size	Livestock assets	Land holdings	Crops grown	Main livelihood activities
Somaliland-Togdheer Agropastoral zone							
GALOOLAY	Poor	70 %	9-11	Goat: 10-20 Sheep: 10-20 Cattle: 1 Donkey: 1 Camel: 0	4-10 Hectare	Sorghum Maize	Social support; Remittances.
	Middle	20 %	5-8	Goat: 30-40 Sheep: 30-40 Cattle: 2 Camel: 5-10 Donkey: 1	20 + Hectare	Sorghum Maize Fruit Vegetables	Agricultural labour; petty trade; social support; remittances; other.
	Better-off	10 %	3-5	Goat: 100 + Sheep: 100 + Cattle: 10 + Camel: 20 + Donkey: 1	50 + Hectare	Sorghum Maize Fruit Vegetables	Livestock sales; agricultural output; business.

Ceel-xumo Village

	Wealth group	% pop	HH size	Livestock assets	Land holdings	Crops grown	Main livelihood activities
Somaliland-TogdheerAgropastoral zone							
CEEL-XUMO	Poor	75 %	10-12	Goat: 20-30 Sheep:20-30 Cattle: 0 Donkey:1	20 hectare	Fodder only	Social support; remittances.
	Middle	20 %	6-10	Goat: 50-70 Sheep: 40-50 Cattle:5-10 Camel:10-20 Donkey:	30 hectare	Fodder Maize	Agricultural labour; petty trade; social support; remittances.
	Better-off	5 %	4-6	Goat: 100-200 Sheep:200 + Cattle:20 + Camel:50 + Donkey:	60 hectare	Fodder Maize Sorghum Fruits Vegetables	Livestock sales; agricultural output; business.

Qoolbuulale Village

	Wealth group	% pop	HH size	Livestock assets	Land holdings	Crops grown	Main livelihood activities	Berkads	No of children	Lorries
Somaliland-Togdheer Agropastoral zone										
QOOLBUULALE VILLAGE	Poor	50 %		Goat: 9 Sheep: 5 Cattle: 0 Donkey: 0	.4 hectares	Sorghum N Maize Y Fruit N Vegetable N Other N	Livestock sales N Agricultural labor N Petty trade Y Social support Y Remittances N Other	No <i>berkads</i>	The CSC draws relationship between the number of children and poverty, though there was no consensus within	No lorries
	Middle	30 %		Goat: 22 Sheep: 18 Cattle: 0 Camel: 2 Donkey: 0	2.5 hectares	Sorghum N Maize Y Fruit N Vegetable N Other Beans (Digir)	Livestock sales Y Agricultural labor N Petty trade Y Social support N Remittances N Other _____	no <i>berkads</i>	CSC. Some CSC members said the more children you have the more poor you are. Others didn't agree and said there are better off	No lorries
	Better-off	20 %		Goat: 60 Sheep: 40 Cattle: 0 Camel: 10 Donkey: 0	5-6 hectares	Sorghum Y Maize Y Fruit N Vegetable N Other y	Livestock sales Y Agricultural labor N Petty trade N Social support N Remittances Y Other _____	May or may not have <i>berkads</i>	families who have more children, but poverty shows the burden of more children usually, so we can't say more poverty means more children.	May or may not have lorries

Toon Village

	Wealth group	% pop	HH size	Livestock assets	Land holdings	Crops grown	Main livelihood activities	<i>Berkads</i>	Lorries
Somaliland-Togdheer Agro pastoral zone									
TOON VILLAGE	Poor	58 %		Goat: 7 Sheep: 4 Cattle: 0 Donkey: 0	.4 hectares	Sorghum N Maize N Fruit N Vegetables N Other N	Livestock sales N Agricultural labour N Petty trade Y Social support Y Remittances N Other	No <i>berkads</i>	No lorries
	Middle	30 %		Goat: 40 Sheep: 30 Cattle: 0 Camel: 5 Donkey: 0	4 hectares	Sorghum Y Maize Y Fruit N Vegetables Y Other Beans (Digir)	Livestock sales Y Agricultural labor N Petty trade Y Social support Y Remittances N Other _____	May or may not have <i>berkads</i>	No lorries
	Better-off	12 %		Goat: 60 Sheep: 40 Cattle: 0 Camel: 15 Donkey: 0	8 hectares	Sorghum Y Maize Y Fruit N Vegetables Y Other Y	Livestock sales Y Agricultural labor N Petty trade N Social support N Remittances Y Other _____	Have <i>berkads</i>	May or may not have lorries

Inaguuxaa Village

	Wealth group	% pop	HH size	Livestock assets	Land holdings	Crops grown	Main livelihood activities	Berkads	Lorries
Somaliland-Togdheer Agro pastoral zone									
INAGUUXAA VILLAGE	Poor	70 %		Goat: 4 Sheep: 3 Cattle: 0 Donkey: 0	.6 hectares	Sorghum N Maize N Fruit N Vegetable N Other N	Livestock sales N Agricultural labor N Petty trade Y Social support Y Remittances N Other	No <i>berkads</i>	No lorries
	Middle	22 %		Goat: 20 Sheep: 25 Cattle: 0 Camel: 6 Donkey: 0	3-4 hectares	Sorghum N Maize Y Fruit N Vegetable N Other Beans (Digir)	Livestock sales Y Agricultural labor N Petty trade Y Social support Y Remittances N Other _____	May or may not have <i>berkads</i>	No lorries
	Better-off	8 %		Goat: 70 Sheep: 50 Cattle: 0 Camel: 20 Donkey: 0	5 hectares	Sorghum N Maize Y Fruit N Vegetable N Other y	Livestock sales Y Agricultural labor N Petty trade N Social support N Remittances Y Other _____	Have <i>berkads</i>	May or may not have lorries

Salaxley Town

	Wealth group	% pop	HH size	Livestock assets	Land holdings	Crops grown	Main livelihood activities	Berkads	Lorries
Somaliland-Togdheer Agro pastoral zone									
SALAXLEY TOWN	Poor	40 %		Goat: 10 Sheep: 14 Cattle: 0 Donkey: 0	1.2 hectares	Sorghum N Maize N Fruit N Vegetable N Other N	Livestock sales N Agricultural labor N Petty trade Y Social support Y Remittances N Other	No <i>berkads</i>	No lorries
	Middle	40 %		Goat: 30 Sheep: 25 Cattle: 0 Camel: 2 Donkey: 0	5 hectares	Sorghum Y Maize Y Fruit N Vegetable Y Other Beans (Digir)	Livestock sales Y Agricultural labor N Petty trade Y Social support Y Remittances Y Other _____	May or may not have <i>berkads</i>	No lorries
	Better-off	20 %		Goat: 60 Sheep: 40 Cattle: 0 Camel: 4 Donkey: 0	6 hectares	Sorghum Y Maize Y Fruit N Vegetable Y Other y	Livestock sales Y Agricultural labor N Petty trade Y Social support N Remittances Y Other _____	Have <i>berkads</i>	May or may not have lorries

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