



Rapid Appraisal of Resilience to Internal Displacement in Benadir Region, Somalia

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Horn of Africa Resilience Innovation Lab

**Prepared by the Horn of Africa Resilience Innovation Lab (HoA RILab),
Benadir University, Somalia**

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
IDP	Internally displaced person
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
RAN	ResilientAfrica Network
SIPR	Somali Institute for Peace Research
SomRep	Somalia Resilience Program
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
USAID	United States Agency for International Development



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SUMMARY

Somalia continues to be affected by numerous challenges, among them chronic internal displacement. Over the years, the country's agro-pastoralist and pastoralist communities have been continually displaced because of environmental challenges such as cyclical droughts and floods, along with conflict resulting from sociocultural, political and economic factors. In Somalia, internal displacement is an adaptation medium. Benadir Region is the nucleus of internal displacement in the country, largely by virtue of its location. Its long coastal area provides the displaced people opportunities for fishing as an alternative livelihood strategy. The region hosts the capital city, Mogadishu, the country's business center and home to humanitarian agencies and civil society. Population growth has put pressure on land and other resources, which has exacerbated conflict. In 2013, Benadir Region had 376 camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs). This report examines the shock of chronic internal displacement, its causes, effects vulnerability factors and adaptation mechanisms in Benadir region.

OBJECTIVE

This study was conducted by the Horn of Africa Resilience Innovation Lab (HoA RILab) as part of a Resilient Africa Network (RAN) project to identify, develop and scale up innovative solutions to strengthen the resilience of African communities affected by natural and human-made shocks and stresses. The aim of the study was to assess the factors that affect the resilience of communities in Benadir Region to chronic internal displacement in order to develop resilience dimensions and metrics and identify possible innovations and interventions to improve resilience.

METHODS

A rapid assessment was conducted in 2013 in Hamarweyne, Hodan, and Wadajir districts of Benadir Region. A grounded theory approach was used to guide the development of a theory of change and for understanding of resilience dimensions. Data were collected through focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs). In each district, two FGDs were conducted. Additionally, 27 key informant interviews (KIIs) were also carried out with political leaders, donors and IDP gatekeepers. Transcription and translation were done verbatim. ATLAS.ti 7.1 was used for data management and analysis. The data analysis involved identifying initial codes, forming code families/categories to develop resilience dimensions and refining those dimensions. The RAN resilience framework was used to identify the causes of chronic internal displacement, the factors underlying these causes, their primary and secondary effects and the capacities of the communities to adapt to the shock of internal displacement.





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RESULTS

The main shocks and stresses resulting from internal displacements in Benadir Region are conflict, food insecurity, asset depletion, psychosocial instability and unemployment, increasing poverty and deteriorating human capital. The dimensions of resilience identified in the Benadir study include *Natural Resources/ Environment, Governance, Wealth, Health, Security/ Protection/Advocacy, Human Capital, Psychosocial Wellbeing, Social Capital/ Community Networks* and *Infrastructure*. Each dimension was defined and described in terms of adaptive strategies, coping strategies, vulnerability factors and causes and effects. Based on the findings, the research team then developed a context-specific resilience framework for chronic internal displacement. The framework helped conceptualize the linkages (cause/effect chain) among the dimensions and identify entry point dimensions for interventions that would have a positive effect on overall resilience.



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CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION

The Resilient Africa Network (RAN) is one of eight university-based Development Labs that make up the Higher Education Solutions Network (HESN) established by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). In Africa, RAN brings together 20 universities in 16 countries, with a secretariat at Makerere University in Uganda. RAN is structured around four Resilience Innovation Labs (RILabs). The Horn of Africa RILab (HoA RILab) is based in Ethiopia and hosted by Jimma University. By applying science, technology, innovation and partnerships and using evidence-based approaches, RAN seeks to identify, develop and scale up innovative solutions to strengthen the resilience of African communities afflicted by natural and human-made shocks and stresses.

“Somalis are resilient people as they have endured more than two decades of civil strife and collapse of government institutions. RAN offers Benadir University an opportunity to study the factors affecting the resilience capacity of the IDPs and to come up with appropriate and sustainable innovative solutions to overcome their challenges”

Prof. Abdi Dalmar MD MSc MPH PhD

Principal Investigator, RAN HoA RILab – Somalia & Rector and Professor of Public Health and Ophthalmology, Benadir University, Mogadishu, SOMALIA

Over the past few decades, the burden of disasters has been on the increase (ECHO, 2013). The profile of disasters includes 1) natural disasters, which are the result of natural and unpredicted variability in the environment, 2) technological disasters, which are the result of human activities and 3) hybrid disasters, which have a mix of natural and technological causes (Boyarsky & Shneiderman., 2002; Kelman, 2010). Increasingly, human factors underlie most disaster situations, contributing to either their causes or effects. Disasters often result in sudden shocks that disrupt the livelihoods of communities, infrastructure and institutions (UNISDR, 2009).

But shocks are only a part of the events that disrupt communities. Even without sudden events, communities face slow-onset and persistent stresses that affect their wellbeing. The effects of climate change are such a phenomenon, especially affecting economic production. For instance, increasing temperatures intensify the hydrologic cycle, causing dry regions to become drier and wet regions to become wetter. Furthermore, in seasonally dry and tropical regions, crop productivity is projected to decrease as a result of local temperature increases of between 1 °C and 2 °C (UNFCCC, 2012). This and other slow-onset events are taking a significant toll on the resilience of communities.

Until recently, the global approach to adverse events, shocks and stresses focused on response, but it has become increasingly clear that the priority should be risk reduction. There is therefore



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an increasing focus on disaster prevention, mitigation and preparedness (USAID/OFDA, 2013; UNISDR, 2009; UNESCO, 2013). However, despite these efforts, adverse events, shocks and stresses continue to increase in frequency and scale (ACF International, 2013). Risk reduction programs therefore need to include a strong component of resilience building to help communities overcome their vulnerabilities and cope with shocks and stresses in a way that enhances their wellbeing (World Bank/GFDRR, 2009).

1.1. Challenges to Resilience in Benadir Region, Somalia

Benadir Region in southern Somalia faces numerous challenges, the most serious of which is internal displacement resulting from drought and conflict. The escalation of these challenges is reflected in a growing number of internally displaced persons (IDPs). In 2013, Somalia had approximately 1.1 million IDPs, most of them in Benadir (USAID 2013). Between January and May 2013, 9,510 people were internally displaced because of floods (6,730), forced evictions (1,236), lack of livelihood opportunities (1,131), insecurity (405) and incidents of fire (8) (UNHCR, 2013). In 2014, the number of IDPs increased after military offensives were launched to push armed insurgents out of the major cities in south-central Somalia. Between January and August 2014, more than 23,000 people were forcibly evicted in Mogadishu (UNHCR, 2014).

The underlying causes of cyclical drought and floods in Benadir Region are both natural and human-made, including climate variability, overdependence on climate-sensitive livelihood activities and weak governance in the region and country at large. Drastic environmental and climatic changes, especially prolonged dry spells and floods, are precursors of famine and civil wars over inadequate resource distribution, exacerbated by clan-based ideological differences.

Climatic changes (prolonged drought, extreme floods and their associated resource-sharing pressures) exacerbate conflict and escalate internal displacement (O’Loughlin et al., 2012). Blattman and Miguel (2010), attribute civil conflicts and their resultant IDP challenges to slow economic growth and low per capita income. The literature portrays the internal displacement problem as a true reflection of the absence of state protection and inability to access the basic rights of citizenship.

1.2. Background of the Rapid Assessment

RAN held a consultative partners’ meeting in April 2013 in Kampala, Uganda, involving representatives of all four RILabs. To further focus their approach to resilience programming, the RILabs were involved in guided group discussions to select priority thematic areas of focus for their regional programming. The regional teams also proposed geographical areas of focus for targeted intervention. For each of these geographical areas, the teams highlighted a preliminary list of vulnerability factors and adaptive capacities for the target populations, as well as possible ways in which RAN can contribute to mitigating the vulnerability factors. The next step in



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RAN's strategy is to develop and validate a framework for understanding, measuring and monitoring resilience in vulnerable communities in sub-Saharan Africa and translating resilience challenges into an innovations agenda. This required a thorough understanding of the dimensions of resilience in the geographical areas of focus.





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CHAPTER TWO. BENADIR REGION, SOMALIA

A summary of the thematic reviews of relevant literature conducted during the initial phase of the situation analysis in May and June 2013 is presented below.

2.1. Somalia

Located in the Horn of Africa, Somalia is home to about 10.5 million people (2014 est., World Bank 2013a), with 61 percent living in rural areas (2014 est., World Bank 2013b). Somalia covers an area of 637,657 square kilometers (246,201 square miles). It is bordered by the Gulf of Aden to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, Kenya and Ethiopia to the west and Djibouti to the northwest (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2013) (figure 1).

Figure 1 Map showing the location of Somalia in the Horn of Africa



Source: CIA, 2002



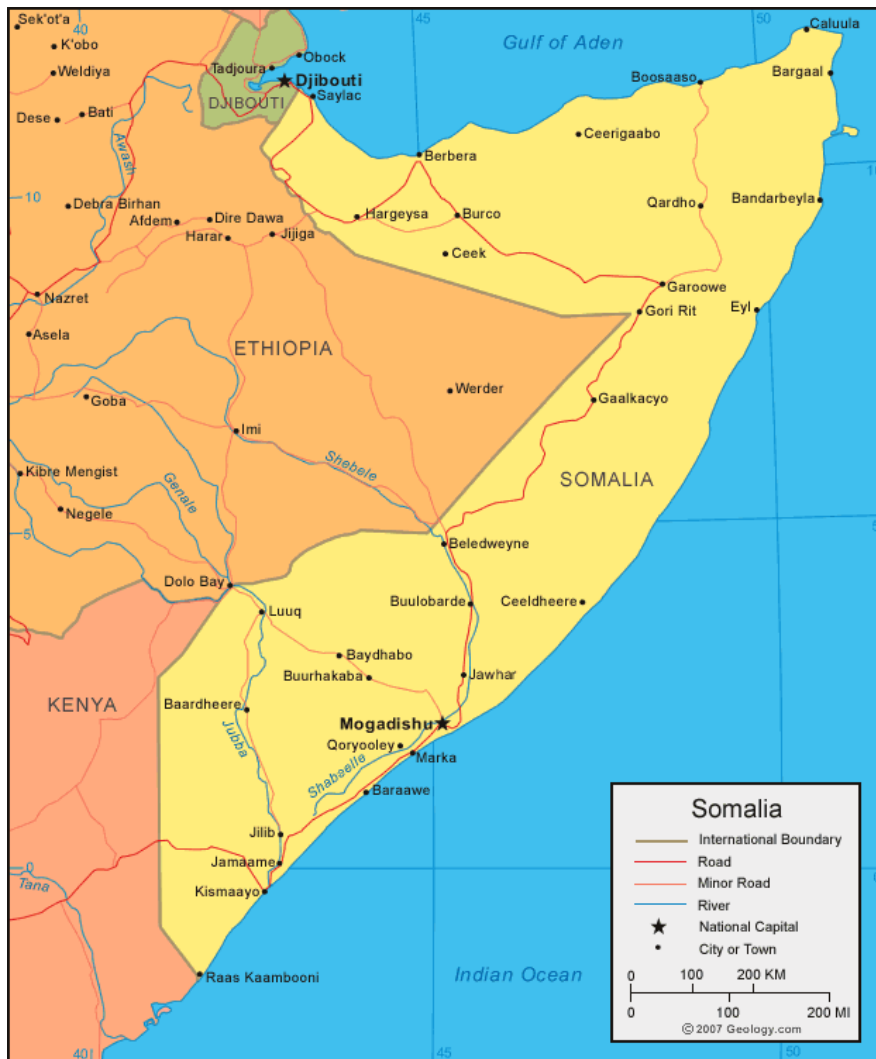
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Source: Geology.com, 2007

Somalia has an informal economy, despite the absence of a functioning central government for close to 2 decades, mainly based on subsistence agriculture, with livestock surpassing crop cultivation (Africa Development Bank, 2013). In 2011, agriculture made up 60.2 percent of the economy, industry 7.4 percent and services 32.5 percent. In the absence of a formal banking sector, money transfers/remittances also contribute significantly to the economy, amounting to US\$1.6 billion annually, along with trade networks controlled by a small group of wealthy businessmen. In 2010, the country's estimated gross domestic product (GDP) was US\$ 2.372 billion, with a real growth rate of 2.6 percent and per capita income of \$600 (CIA, 2014). The economy is challenged by cyclical droughts and floods amid political and governance instability and poor and obsolete infrastructure, which cause chronic internal displacement and significantly deter growth and development.



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2.2. Benadir Region

Benadir Region in Somalia’s South Central Zone is today only a fraction of its former size, as Mogadishu, the country’s capital, has expanded to cover the region. Historically, the Benadir coast covered Mogadishu, Merca, Barawe and the adjacent riverine hinterland. The word “Benadir” comes from the Persian *bandar* (“port”), and the people were named after the region as the people of the coast. The historical Benadir spread from the Warsheik coast in the north to Barawa in the south and the immediate hinterland following the Shebelle River basin and covered most of the Indian Ocean coast to the Juba River. The post-independence government first divided Benadir and its original hinterland into several other administrative regions, and the Siad Barre regime established the current size of the administrative district. The people and their activities, however, were never affected by such administrative demarcations (Jama, 1996).

Benadir has attracted ethnically diverse cultures comprising Somalis, Benadiris, Arabs, Bantus and Baravans. Population pressures on land and other resources have exacerbated conflict. The past glory of the region makes Benadir important not only to the local inhabitants but also to the hinterland and beyond, providing enormous opportunities for business and other social and economic benefits, which can be supported by humanitarian assistance. These opportunities explain the fact that the region has the highest concentration of IDPs in the country (UNHCR, 2013). Of the approximately 1.1 million IDPs in Somalia in 2012, 96 percent were concentrated in South Central Zone, mainly in the 16 districts of Benadir Region (Majid and McDowell, 2012) (table 1).

Table 1 Concentration of IDP camps/sites in Benadir Region, by district

No.	District	No. of IDP sites, 2011	No. of IDP sites, 2012	No. of IDP sites, 2013
1.	Abdi-Aziz	5	18	11
2.	Bondhere	13	28	14
3.	Deyninle + (Gupta neighborhoods)	2	15	28
4.	Dharkeynley	31	13	12
5.	Hamar Jab-Jab	18	21	15
6.	Hamar-Weye	11	8	4
7.	Hawl-Wadag	41	54	44
8.	Hodan	82	91	78
9.	Huriwa/Heliwa	9	31	14
10.	Karan	9	57	33





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11.	Shibis	9	26	14
12.	Shingani	8	9	6
13.	Waberi	21	22	25
14.	Wadajir (Medina)	54	37	40
15.	Wardhigley/Warta Nabadda	18	29	25
16.	Yaqshid + (Mahad Alle)	22	54	16
Total		353	513	379

Source: UNITAR/UNOSAT, 2013

2.3. Internal Displacement in Somalia

Internal displacement is one of Somalia’s overarching challenges. The country’s agro-based communities, whose living is based on subsistence farming and raising livestock, have historically migrated as a way to adapt to drought, floods and displacement. IDPs are usually crammed into makeshift shelters under concentration camp conditions. As there is no internationally agreed definition of IDP, this report adopts that of Kälin (2000): “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border.”

The phenomenon of internal displacement is not new. It emerged gradually through the late 1980s and became prominent on the international agenda in the 1990s. The chief reasons for this attention were the growing number of conflicts causing internal displacement after the end of the Cold War and an increasingly strict international migration regime.

Most IDPs live in settlements on private and public land and face a constant threat of eviction from private landowners or the government. The Somali Government initiated a relocation plan, but this was never implemented because of the tenuous security situation. Instead, forced evictions increased against the vulnerable IDPs in Mogadishu who lived in long-term protracted displacement and mostly relying on humanitarian assistance. Eventually, most of the evicted people settled in spontaneous IDP settlements between km7 and km13 along the Mogadishu along the Mogadishu–Afgooye corridor (ICRC, 2012)

The literature attributes internal displacement to two main causes: Environmental factors and conflict.



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2.3.1. Environmentally Induced Internal Displacement

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has cautiously defined environmentally displaced persons as those “*who are displaced from or who feel obliged to leave their usual place of residence, because their lives, livelihoods and welfare have been placed at serious risk as a result of adverse environmental, ecological or climatic processes and events*” (Gorlick, 2007). Critics have argued that “*although environmental degradation and catastrophe may be important factors in the decision to migrate (be displaced), and issues of concern in their own right, their conceptualization as a primary cause of forced displacement is unhelpful and unsound intellectually, and unnecessary in practical terms ... the linkages between environmental change, conflict and displacement remain to be proven ... rather, migration/displacement is... perhaps better seen as a customary coping strategy*” Black (2001).

The underlying causes of environmentally induced internal displacement have been further categorized into **natural factors** (climatic variability, fragmented and degraded ecological base, proximity to areas prone to natural hazards such as floods and cyclical drought) and **human factors** (overdependence on climate-sensitive livelihood strategies, lack of early warning and forecasting mechanisms such as weather stations, flimsy social cultural bonds, weak governance systems and social and income inequalities).

2.3.2. Conflict-Induced Internal Displacement

Most conflict-induced internal displacement is attributed to a combination of internal fighting and direct foreign military intervention, most often linked to civil war (IDMC, 2005). Conflict can be fuelled by deep structural problems, often rooted in acute racial, ethnic and religious and/or cultural cleavages, as well as gross inequities within a country (Brun & Birkeland, 2003). Other underlying causes include state collapse, economic decline, resource control disputes, unemployment, and availability of arms, illiteracy, inadequate mediation and inappropriate humanitarian assistance. All these factors are present in Somalia.

2.4. Effects of the Shock of Internal Displacement

This section explores the effects of internal displacement on communities in Benadir Region. Mogadishu has more than 300,000 “protracted” IDPs (about 50,000 households) spread over 379 settlements (UNITAR/UNOSAT, 2013). They generally live under squalid conditions of murder, rape and disease.

2.4.1. Primary Effects of Internal Displacement

Loss of assets. Displacement forces people to abandon farms, crops, livestock and other property. According to the Somali Institute for Peace Research (SIPR), 83 percent of the IDP households in Benadir camps had land before they were displaced, and each household lost an



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average of 3–4 hectares of fertile land after displacement (Mohamed, 2013). Most of the IDPs are unable to return to their land for long periods of time, if at all. Poor or no shelter is a common effect of displacement. IDPs frequently seek shelter in abandoned buildings or in impoverished, makeshift camps.

Emotional and social stress. Displacement has an emotional impact on people who have to abandon their way of life, assets, customs and culture. They often have to endure host communities’ discrimination and abuse and may experience sadness, depression, fear and despair. Some IDPs live in Mogadishu’s outlying districts, which are beset by crime, gangs and other problems. Displaced adults, especially those with a low level of education, find it difficult to cope with everyday activities. IDP children who are refused access to school may be left with the only option of supplying domestic labor. The elderly may be forced to beg if they lack the strength to engage in productive work. Women are often exposed to open hostility, sexual violence, labor exploitation and threats, even inside the camps (UN Security Council, 2013).

Unemployment. Most IDPs, especially in Benadir Region, were formally rural dwellers whose livelihood depended on subsistence agro-farming. Their farming skills are not easily transferable to the urban labor market. Host clans are given preference for jobs, and it is common to see women, children and the elderly begging for money on the street and outside the *suukh* (markets). This situation undermines human dignity and self-esteem.

Food insecurity. Human-made famine, the destruction of farms and food stocks by floods and manipulation of access to aid agencies mean that food becomes a weapon and a tool for generating displacement. The outcome is a large and vulnerable population of dispossessed people with diminished rights. They become easy prey for manipulation and recruitment into armed conflict in exchange for security and food rations. The riverine areas of Somalia are chronically food insecure, and IDP are generally vulnerable to malnutrition, with few livelihood options and lack of information and knowledge about nutrition.

Extortion. IDPs depend on aid in the form of vouchers and food. Particularly in Mogadishu, they often fall victim to people who rob them outright or force them to hand over an extortionate amount of the aid they receive as payment for security and transportation of supplies (SIPR, 2013).

2.4.2. Secondary Effects of Internal Displacement

Marginalization. Internal displacement can be a recipe for conflict, as host communities and zonal governments resent the IDPs. This limits their access to local amenities such as schools and medical facilities. Even within the camps, IDPs may experience abuse by “gatekeepers,” at times in the form of rape of women and children, as well as the forceful withdrawal of humanitarian relief supplies such as food (SIPR, 2013).





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Poor access to basic services. Many IDPs have largely been left to survive on their own and have little access to basic services, not to mention information about how to mitigate the challenges they face. Benadir Region has a high prevalence of illness, mainly diarrheal diseases and malaria, and limited access to information on its prevention. Water is unsafe to drink, and sanitation is poor, with a corresponding increase in acute watery diarrhea (AWD). Cholera has been reported after flood conditions.

High incidence of malnutrition. Internally displaced populations often survive in large part on humanitarian assistance, which sometimes does not arrive on time. Once it arrives, stocks of rations may be limited. While humanitarian food support is intended to provide displaced people with a balance of nutrients, this is not always successful, and children in the camp often suffer from malnutrition.

Social crises. Chronic displacement has led to family disintegration, separation and divorce. There are a large number of widowed or divorced women, and the number of female-headed households has increased dramatically (HARO, 2013). Displacement also has psychological and cultural consequences when IDPs disown their traditional values, which weakens their coping mechanisms and gives them a fragmented sense of identity in their new makeshift settlements.

Psychological stress. Displacement-related stress has a negative impact on the psychological wellbeing of all IDPs but especially affects children. Although displaced children show resilience, traumatic experiences have great impact on their wellbeing and can put them at high risk of later psychological difficulties (SOCPD, TPO & CRIN, 2013).

Other identified secondary effects of internal displacement include behavioral change, e.g. (nightmares, aggressive behavior, children's defiance or misbehavior etc.), human rights abuses, insecurity and slums. Crime is a worrying trend, particularly in Mogadishu. IDPs' lives are often in danger, access to livelihoods is limited and they are at risk of violent crimes such as, gender-based violence (GBV), rape and murder. They are also at times exposed to forced early marriages, domestic violence, child labor and forced conscription of minors (UNOCHA, 2012).

2.5. Vulnerability of IDPs in Benadir Region

Numerous factors make the IDPs in Benadir Region vulnerable to being displaced.

2.5.1. Vulnerability Factors

Economic factors. Predominantly high levels of unemployment and poverty in Benadir make the people more vulnerable to internal displacement. Somalia's unemployment is one of the





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highest in the world, and across all 16 districts of Benadir, IDPs face poverty and lack of a stable income (U.S. Department of State, Bureau of African Affairs, 2011). Unemployment, especially of youth, is rampant across the whole of Mogadishu. Lack of employment opportunities for youth is reported as the greatest threat to security. This makes young people vulnerable to recruitment by radical groups, clan militias or other armed groups (UNDP, 2012). Youth may also attempt to make a living through petty crime, including stealing from other IDPs and waylaying humanitarian food aid. Given that the IDP population relies heavily on humanitarian assistance, any disruption in access to these services escalates the chronic challenges of poor childcare and feeding, inadequate sanitation and lack of safe drinking water.

Social factors. Conflict is a commonly documented reason for displacement in Africa. It is on record that violence makes people flee their homes as a result of fearing for their lives or being threatened (UNOCHA, 2013). They end up as IDPs in areas where they are caught in crossfire and have the least protection. UNHCR (2013) reports that in most conflicts, armed groups, rather than confronting one another, settle their scores by tactically attacking or killing innocent civilians or force communities to flee from their homes. At times people flee to avoid being inducted forcefully into insurgent groups.

Political factors. The absence of a stable government in Somalia and Benadir Region for almost 2 decades has meant that there is no planning machinery at national and regional levels to address the primary causes of internal displacement. Without strong and stable political leadership, even the judicial system cannot be sustained, and protecting human rights becomes an illusion.

Environmental factors: Extensive drought and resultant famine, floods and other natural calamities, especially those resulting from climate change, increase the vulnerability of IDPs. Somalia registered an increase in the IDP flow into the internal displacement camps in Benadir Region in 2011 following floods and extensive drought. Communities whose main sources of livelihood were crop cultivation and herding experienced a significant reduction in production.

2.5.2. Issues Underlying Vulnerability Factors

Political instability. After the fall of Siad Barre in 1991, Somalia systematically derailed into the epitome of a failed state, characterized by lack of unitary national leadership, failed public service delivery (education, security, water and health) and a collapsed labor market that could not meet growing population demands. This institutional breakdown created a leadership vacuum that was partially filled by criminal elements such as Al Shabab and the highly exclusive clan-based system. Some clans are classed as noble, sharing a “pure” Somali ancestry, others are considered lower class because of their mixed ancestry, and the occupational clans are sometimes treated as ritually unclean outcasts. The clans are further divided into many sub-clans.





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This stratification has fuelled conflict, and along with terrorism, warlordism and piracy, results in lack of individual and communal safety. Under such circumstances, IDP camps may provide the only safety.

Poor infrastructure. Armed conflict has made roads inaccessible because of roadblocks and ambushes. Markets have been destroyed by militias who turned them into their bases. The Mogadishu airport and coastal port were taken over by criminal elements hostile to the international community, blocking aid to vulnerable IDPs. Deteriorated infrastructure reduces productivity and production because it disrupts services and limits access to supply centers and markets.

Poor and unreliable service delivery. Without passable roads, humanitarian agencies cannot easily deliver health and water services. The quality of education and other services continues to suffer because medical personnel and teachers have been displaced (either as refugees or as IDPs) by armed conflict. This human capital gap makes IDP communities even more vulnerable because service delivery is left in the hands of relatively more costly expatriates from humanitarian agencies and local clan leaders whose lack of transparency and questionable ethics have drawn much criticism from the communities.

Environmental degradation. Poorly managed and unprotected soils, water, grasslands, forests and fisheries contribute to the vulnerability of the internally displaced communities. Somalia is a semiarid and desert country. Unsustainable animal and farming practices such as overgrazing and land reclamation, especially in the swampy and riverine areas, have severely degraded land and water resources. Overfishing and indiscriminate ocean fishing methods have deprived fishermen and traders of their livelihoods. Frankenberg et al. (2012) write that degradation of the environment is a recipe for worse environmental challenges such as prolonged drought, famine and fish depletion.

2.6. Capacity to Adapt to Chronic Internal Displacement

People affected by chronic internal displacement pass through two phases of adaptation, before and after displacement. (FAO, WFP & UNICEF, 2012).

2.6.1. Mechanisms to Adapt to Stress and Shock

In the pre-displacement phase, people apply anticipatory displacement adaptive measures, including community attachment and social cohesion, restriction of household expenditure, purchase of property in secure zones, shock-resilient and diversified livelihood activities, physical activity, prioritization of basic needs and savings and credit activities.



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In the post-shock phase, adaptation is reactive. Some activities are similar to those in the pre-shock phase (e.g., community attachment and social cohesion, change and diversification of livelihood options, prioritization of basic needs and modest household expenditure). Others include migration, innovation, flexibility, assimilation, and risk taking. These mechanisms can be categorized into 1) problem-focused adaptation mechanisms, 2) psychological adaptive mechanisms and 3) collective adaptive mechanisms (e.g., reliance on social capital) (Caldwell & Boyd, 2009).

Problem-focused adaptive mechanisms. These include migration, expansion, diversification and planning for the future. Communities tend to expand in advance of a crisis to different parts of the country and elsewhere to maintain stability, earn adequate income and acquire more land to move to in case they have to flee from their homes.

Psychological adaptive mechanisms. Optimism is a key adaptive mechanism for families to cope with a shock or stress. Caldwell & Boyd (2009) write that comparing one's situation with that of people who are worse off has a positive effect on the ability to adapt to a shock. Realizing that others are experiencing the same hardships and financial pressures allows people to feel less stressed and more supported. Cognitive dissonance and denial are less adaptive strategies adopted to minimize the distraction of shock. Keeping positive friends and excluding those perceived to be negative has been a strategy for some stress-affected communities.

Leipert and Reutter (2005) found that personality attributes such as positivism and seeking social support contribute to more adaptive individual coping, while external resources such as friends and extended family are vital in improving family adaptation. Harvey & Pauwels (2004) cite personal characteristics such as modesty, humility, honesty and psychological strength as determinants of a person's ability to adapt to shocks. Caldwell & Boyd (2009) add that in isolated situations, positivism, self-reliance, developing locally available resources and education increase adaptive capacity.

Collective adaptive mechanisms. Community attachment and social cohesion are key resources for adapting to disruptive situations. Cohesion provides people with a shared environment in which members of society develop a sense of belonging to a larger group, decreasing their sense of isolation and increasing their ability to adapt (Caldwell & Boyd, 2009). Support from partners and children and a strong marital relationship are considered to be important contributors to the adaptive capacity of family members in the face of shock and hardship. People who have grown up in an area affected by disaster have strong community attachment and cohesion, which increase the support they can reclaim from networks available to them and their capacity to adapt.



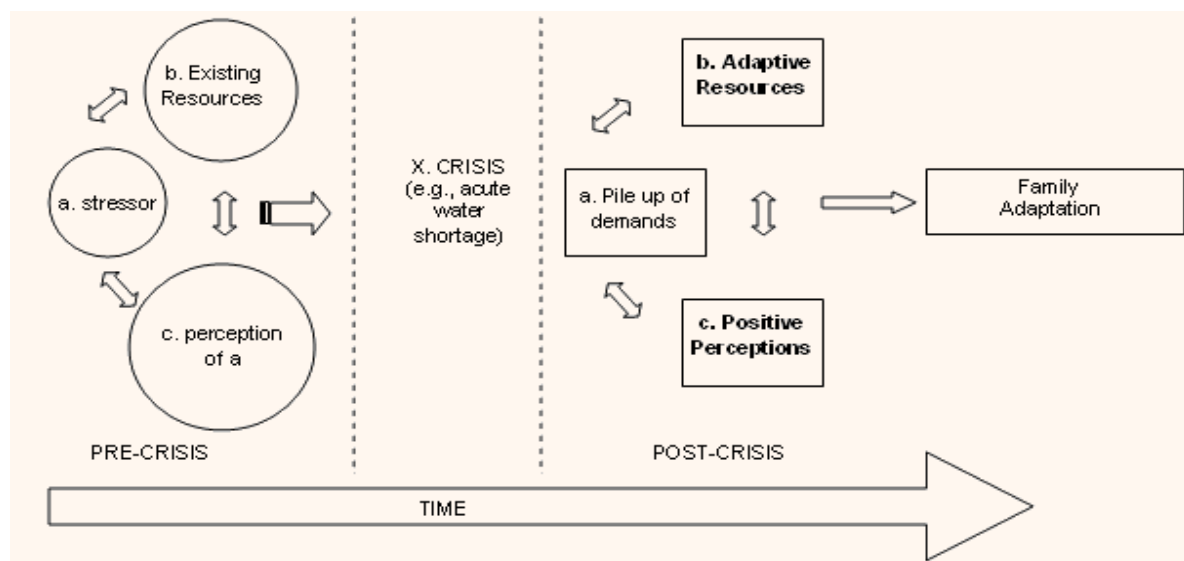
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In McCubbin's and Patterson's (1983) Double ABCX Model of family crisis (figure 2), the ability of a family/community to cope with a stressor relates to the type and quantity of stress as well as the resources available. Coping with/adapting to the stress or shock is then influenced by the appraisal of the stressing event and the demands placed on the family/community (Shin & Crittenden, 2003). Adequate resources and optimistic appraisal of the shock lead to adaptation of behavior and increased coping mechanisms. However, if resources are inadequate and the appraisal of the shock is pessimistic, then the community will not be able to cope with demands created by the shock (Winton, 1990).

Figure 2. Double ABCX Model of family crisis



Source: Adapted from McCubbin & Patterson (1983).

2.6.2. Factors Underlying Adaptive Capacity

There is considerable agreement in the literature that adaptive capacity is positively related to the resources available to a community. Burnside (2007) and Nelson et al. (2005) both classify these resources as various forms of capital—human, natural, social and financial.

Human capital. Human capital is described as “the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants” of a place (Smith and Skinner, 1982:69). People’s knowledge, skills, competencies and attributes help create personal, social and economic wellbeing as well as motivation, behavior, physical and emotional attributes and mental health (OECD, 2001; Sen,1997). A high level of education, for example, increases livelihood options and hence adaptive capacity. A higher incidence of human capital is likely to make communities more productive.



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Social capital. In pursuing different livelihood strategies, people, groups, communities and families draw from the resources available to them through their association with others, clubs, networks and affiliations. Adaptation is a social process that requires collective action. Social capital provides such an opportunity (Adger, 2003). It enables a society to interact effectively with other capital assets and appropriate institutions (e.g., the state, civil society and financial institutions) that can help formulate livelihood strategies that enhance the ability to cope with extreme weather conditions (Bebbington, 1999; Adger, 2003). Through association and relationships, communities learn from each other and review past and present strategies and adaptation processes that can strengthen their resilience.

Natural capital. Natural capital refers to resources such as soil, water, air, fish and forests and environmental services such as the hydrological cycle and pollution sinks, from which people derive resource flows and the services useful for livelihoods (Scoones, 1998). A high percentage of rural dwellers rely on natural resources for their livelihoods. Continued productivity of this natural base even after a climate shock is vital for adaptation.

Physical capital. To be productive, people need physical capital, i.e., assets such as land, other forms of infrastructure, livestock, cash/savings and machinery (Scoones, 1998; Regmi & Adhikari, 2007). A society, family, group or person with limited or no physical capital has little chance of earning a livelihood.

Financial capital. Financial capital plays an important role in determining livelihood options and strategies (Hoff et al., 2005; Hammill, et al., 2008; Dowla, 2006; Green Microfinance, 2008; Islam, 2008). It also pulls together other forms of capital (human, natural and social) needed for a successful livelihood strategy in areas of developing countries at risk of climate-change related shocks. Access to formal financial services from banks and microfinance industry (microcredit, micro insurance and micro savings) improves adaptive capacity and reduces the vulnerability of the poor to climate-induced extreme events (Hoff et al., 2005; Hammill et al., 2008; Dowla, 2006).

2.7. Key Stakeholders Involved in Addressing Vulnerability to Internal Displacement

Stakeholders can be categorized as people or organizations that contribute funds, institutional frameworks or platforms for implementation of activities. Donors that contribute funding for resilience building in the Horn of Africa include the United States, which in the year 2013 issued a call for change in building resilience to foster growth in the region (USAID, 2013), and the African Development Bank, which was poised the same year to invest several million dollars in a 4-year program to strengthen resilience in several regions of Somalia (African Development Bank, 2013). Other donors include the European Union Commission, the UK Department for



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International Development (DFID), the African Union, the World Bank and the Arab Gulf States.

In 2012, the Joint Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Ministerial and High-Level Development Partners Meeting on Drought Resilience in the Horn of Africa established a platform for promoting a common framework for risk, resilience and growth at regional and national levels. The initiative aimed to deliver a coherent and sustainable institutional framework for effectively promoting resilience in the Horn of Africa.

Since its establishment in 2012, the Federal Government of Somalia has been a key stakeholder in promoting communities’ resilience to internal displacement. The government has partnered with other institutions in providing durable solutions for returning IDPs. For example, in 2012, together with the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the Government established the Somalia Solutions Platform to define a strategic solution-oriented strategy to support the safe and sustainable return and re-integration of IDPs. The Platform aimed to contribute to peace building and conflict prevention through local integration initiatives and projects (Africa Development Bank, 2012). The government also recognizes the African Convention for the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons adopted in a Special African Union summit in Kampala, Uganda, (UNOCHA, 2013). In 2014, the government adopted a national policy on internal displacement, an important step toward protecting IDPs. There have been similar policy initiatives in northern parts of the country such as Puntland and Somaliland. Despite such efforts, implementing these policy frameworks will remain particularly challenging due to weak state capacity and scarcity of resources (IDMC, 2015).

International organizations including the UN agencies (UNICEF, WFP, FAO and WHO) and a consortium of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) including the Danish Refugee Council and Norwegian Refugee Council contribute to platforms for implementation of projects in Somalia. The Somalia Resilience Program (SomReP) is a multiyear initiative implemented by consortium of NGOs to build food security and livelihood resistance across 23 districts in Somalia. In 2015, experts in risk and resilience and key decision makers developed a “roadmap for resilience” among pastoral, agro-pastoral and peri-urban communities in Somalia. The meeting was hosted by SomReP and the Building Resilient Communities in Somalia (BRCiS) consortia, with assistance from the OECD and the participation of the Ministries of the Federal Government of Somalia, NGOs, civil society, the Red Cross movement, donors and the United Nations.

In 2011, FAO, UNICEF and the WFP combined efforts to promote a medium-term strategy to enhance local resilience and align their interventions to help at-risk Somalis cope with crises through community initiatives. The strategy recognized that enhanced household and community resilience could be achieved only through multi-year initiatives designed to strengthen asset



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bases; improve access to public, private and communal services; create economic opportunities through livelihood diversification and intensification; deepen human and social capital; and meet basic needs for seasonally at-risk populations. The approach is broken down into three resilience outcomes, to which different stakeholders contribute (FAO, UNICEF and WFP, 2012). The first is strengthened productive sectors to enhance household income by deepening and improving access of working households to physical assets for production, generating increased output with fewer inputs through enhanced technologies, improving access to decent employment opportunities, diversifying production and income sources, and expanding access to and improving function of market systems and market information. The second is enhanced basic services to protect human capital by focusing on increasing the quality of key services and systems, which enhance people’s human capital such as good health, adequate nutrition and education, safety and adequate skills. It also includes basic services (health, nutrition, education, water, sanitation and hygiene, and protection), support services (such as agricultural extension and veterinary services) and information and knowledge management for early warning/planning. The third is promoted predictable safety nets to sustain basic needs of the chronically-at risk/destitute (minimum social protection): This entails moving beyond the current norm of discontinuous cycles of short-term assistance to approaches that build resilience by providing a predictable level of assistance to those suffering from long-term destitution and to households that are seasonally at risk on a recurrent basis. Based on thorough understanding of the diverse and multidimensional risks faced by households and communities, predictable safety nets will be designed to respond to these risks and promote equity. This floor in well-being provided by predictable safety nets enables households to take on prudent risks such as new income generating activities and enables them to maintain and build human capital through access to basic services.

The private sector has also played an active role in strengthening the resilience of the Benadir communities by promoting social entrepreneurship. An example is the Salaam Somali Bank, which has a microfinance project called Kal Kal that targets poor women (Salam Somali Bank 2013).



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CHAPTER THREE. PROBLEM STATEMENT, JUSTIFICATION, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND OBJECTIVES

Development and humanitarian aid have saved lives and met immediate program objectives, but they have not increased the capacity of affected populations to withstand future shocks and stresses. RAN’s resilience-based approach to programming provides a framework for analyzing resilience and strengthening resilience to shocks and stresses. RAN engaged universities in four regions to generate local innovative solutions to specific development challenges in African communities.

3.1. Problem Statement

The ResilientAfrica Network (RAN) aims to develop and operationalize a scientific, data-driven and evidence-based framework for understanding, measuring and monitoring resilience in vulnerable communities in sub-Saharan Africa. This requires a thorough understanding of the dimensions of resilience in the geographical areas of focus.

Each of RAN’s four RILabs proposed priority themes and geographical areas of focus. As part of the Jimma University Horn of Africa RILab, Somalia identified Benadir Region as the geographical area of focus and chronic internal displacement as the study theme. It was important to understand the range of vulnerability factors, underlying drivers of vulnerability and adaptive capacities of the target communities to be able to measure their resilience. It was also important to understand the underlying causes of shocks/stresses and their corresponding diverse effects on the wellbeing of the people affected. This qualitative data was meant to inform the development of quantitative tools to measure resilience in the target communities.

Available information was anecdotal, guided by a preliminary literature review. The RILabs conducted more extensive literature reviews and rapid assessments (community consultation of key informants) to validate their thematic areas of focus and target populations. For an in-depth understanding of the ecology of resilience in each of the target populations, the RILabs studied the severity of shocks and stresses; their primary and latent causes and effects on the target populations; factors that make populations, infrastructure and institutions vulnerable to shocks; and existing adaptive factors.

3.2. Objectives of the Rapid Assessment

The rationale for the rapid assessment of Benadir Region, Somalia was the need for a better understanding of the various factors that contributed to the vulnerability and coping mechanisms of the Benadir communities in the face of chronic internal displacement. The findings would



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inform the process of developing measurement tools that are relevant to the different contexts and stress environments in which RAN’s resilience programming will be implemented.

The specific objectives of the assessment of Benadir Region were:

1. To understand the various effects of internal displacement on communities
2. To understand the factors associated with the vulnerability of people, infrastructure and systems to the negative effects of internal displacement as a basis for developing resilient dimensions and metrics
3. To explore how communities manage, mitigate and adapt to priority shocks and stresses as a basis for developing resilience dimensions and metrics

3.3. Theory of Change

RAN’s theory of change is that the resilience of people and systems in Africa will be strengthened by leveraging knowledge, scholarship and creativity across RAN to incubate, test and scale innovations that target capabilities and reduce vulnerabilities identified by a scientific, data-driven and evidenced-based resilience framework for sub-Saharan Africa. RAN defines resilience as the capacity of people and systems to mitigate, adapt to and recover and learn from shocks and stresses in a way that reduces vulnerability and increases wellbeing (<http://www.ranlab.org>).

3.4. RAN’s Resilience Framework

A resilience framework is a conceptual tool that guides the following:

- Understanding shocks and stress that affect populations and systems and the factors that make them vulnerable to those shocks and stresses
- Understanding what makes people able to live fulfilled lives and systems resilient and protective strategies-how both people and systems mitigate and respond to shocks and stresses
- Identifying resilience dimensions and indicators and assessing system resilience
- Identifying entry points and prioritizing interventions to strengthen capacities and reduce vulnerabilities to build systems’ resilience

RAN’s goal of strengthening resilience is ultimately to improve wellbeing. This requires designing interventions that build on people’s and systems’ capacity to strengthen their resilience. To accomplish this, RAN developed a resilience framework involving a four-step process including 1) analyzing the context, 2) understanding and prioritizing resilience dimensions, 3) developing relevant interventions and 4) evaluating their effectiveness in increasing resilience (figure 3).



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Figure 3. RAN resilience framework



3.4.1. Context Analysis

Step 1 in RAN’s resilience framework is to define *whose* resilience and resilience to *what*. This identifies the priority shocks and stresses for resilience programming, as well as the unit of application for programming (individuals, households, communities or systems). This step requires a thematic literature review and a qualitative rapid assessment involving consultation of the target communities. This step is followed by a process to prioritize challenges and select those to be targeted by RAN.

3.4.2. Resilience Dimensions and Protective Strategies

Step 2 involves collecting primary qualitative data to explore the drivers of resilience in target communities—factors that make them capable or keep them trapped in vulnerability—and their existing adaptive capacities. These factors are then used to develop “dimensions of resilience” for the targeted context. Understanding and analyzing past and future strategies enables researchers to identify which dimensions of resilience are the most influential in strengthening a system’s capacity to mitigate, adapt to, and learn and recover from a certain challenge/stressor. The dimensions prioritized as entry points for interventions will be used to develop indicators, which will be translated into quantitative tools to measure the prevalence of the different resilience factors in the target population.





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3.4.3. Resilience Interventions

After prioritized dimensions and thus entry points for interventions, step 3 is to identify, incubate, test, and scale innovations that target capabilities and reduce vulnerabilities to strengthen a systems’ capacity to address a specific challenge/stressor.

3.4.4. Resilience Pathways and Outcomes

Step 4 assesses the results of interventions to strengthen resilience and the ways improved resilience ultimately improves wellbeing. It answers the question: Did the interventions increase capacities and effectively address the targeted vulnerabilities? An evidence-based management strategy will be developed to assess progress toward achieving the strategic objectives by monitoring outputs and outcomes. In this step, data collection methods will comply with assumptions required for statistical rigor (e.g., random samples for survey methods), and the impact of innovations and online courses will be assessed empirically.



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CHAPTER FOUR. METHODOLOGY

The RILabs received support from Tulane University’s DRLA and RAN’s secretariat for the qualitative data collection and analysis. This support included workshops, field visits, virtual support and guidance notes (table 2). The guidance notes provided the formats and approach by which the RILabs moved from transcripts of qualitative data to intervention entry points.

Table 2. Qualitative resilience assessment guidance notes

Guidance	Scope
General guidance for RAN data collection and analysis: PART I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of frameworks • Products of qualitative research • Examples of coding of transcripts • Key data reporting requirements • Problem set guidance
Qualitative data analysis guidance for RAN data collection PART II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating resilience dimensions • Overview of where the database should be before moving forward • General explorative analysis of dimensions and analysis Framework points • Dimension-specific analysis • Summaries of dimension information
Qualitative data analysis guidance PART III Analysis summary and creation of a context-specific resilience framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data analysis with Atlas Ti • Analysis output (descriptions of the qualitative dataset and in-depth descriptions of each dimension found in the data). • Fully coded datasets in ATLAS Ti • Pulling pertinent coded quotes from databases • Dimension descriptions creation of the context-specific resilience framework • Resilience pathways: Creating a context-specific resilience framework
Qualitative data analysis guidance PART IV (based on results of the Kampala resilience analysis workshop, where RILabs presented their first analyses)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defining dimensions of resilience (Using the RAN Dimension Lexicon for consistency) • Revised resilience dimension characteristics (emphasizing adaptation, coping, vulnerability factors, and causes/effects/ drivers). • Context-specific resilience framework (based on analysis of interactions between dimensions and analysis framework units) • Identification of entry points for innovations/interventions that would have a positive impact on overall resilience (based on the context-



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specific framework)

4.1. Study Setting and Study Populations

This study concentrated on Hamarweyne, Hodan, and Wadajir, districts with the highest concentration of IDP camps in Benadir Region. By the time of the study, the number of IDPs had decreased significantly in Hamarweyne, but the district was still included in the study. The three districts also host the administrative offices of key stakeholders such as the Mogadishu Municipality, regional government and international NGOs. These agencies comprise the secondary study population by virtue of their engagement in resilience and development programming to address chronic internal displacement in the region.

4.2. Study Design

The study was a qualitative rapid assessment employing focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs). A grounded theory approach was used to guide the development of a theory and dimensions for understanding resilience to chronic internal displacement in Benadir Region. According to Barney et al. (2006), grounded theory is the best qualitative research approach to inductively develop theories/dimensions grounded in systematically gathered and analyzed data. It starts with individual experiences and develops progressively more abstract conceptual categories to synthesize, explain, and understand data and to identify patterned relationships within the data.

4.3. Sample Size and Sampling Technique

As this was a qualitative study, the sample size was meant to achieve phenomenological saturation rather than generalizability.

4.3.2. Focus Group Discussions

The assessment teams asked local authorities in the selected administrative sub-unit to organise two FGDs in each of the three identified districts of Benadir Region. Each FGD comprised a minimum of 8 participants. The total FGD participants were 59 (18 female and 41 male), which were drawn from community members, mainly opinion leaders, political leaders, cultural leaders and religious leaders deemed to be knowledgeable about the development challenges of the specific community. The composition of the groups considered gender, age, previous livelihood strategy/employment and academic/education level. The participants were purposively sampled for gender balance, different age groups, education levels and previous livelihood strategies consideration to ensure that farmers, traders and pastoralists were included in each FGD.



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4.3.3. Key Informant Interviews

A minimum of 10 key informants was also sought from each participating district. These were purposively sampled to ensure representation of district political leaders, line ministry officers, international donors, local NGOs and IDP gatekeepers. Thirty key informant interviews were targeted for each of the three districts.

4.4. Data Collection Tools and Procedures

The data collection tool was initially developed through a thorough review of the relevant literature and refined by inputs from participants in a workshop held in Jimma, Ethiopia, in July 2013. The tool was organized under four major themes: 1) Further clarification of chronic internal displacement, 2) vulnerability factors, 3) drivers of vulnerability and 4) adaptive factors.

For the literature review, the study team completed thematic reviews of 33 primary documents that explored resilience to recurrent chronic internal displacement resulting from conflict and climatic variability (drought and floods) in Benadir Region.

Qualitative data were collected to help the RILab team obtain more detailed information and clarify certain issues. The assessment team asked local authorities to accompany them in a transect walk around the IDPs to become familiar with the physical surroundings.

The team members introduced themselves and briefly explained the purpose of the study. After obtaining informed consent, they ensured confidentiality and privacy of the respondents. Specifically, they secured agreement that the discussion would be electronically recorded and notes would be taken, guaranteeing that their personal identifiers would not be required. The facilitators moderated, guided and controlled the discussions with appropriate probes until the maximum possible information was explored.

The assistant facilitator assisted the primary facilitator by posing probe questions (Annex I) as appropriate and arranging and monitoring voice recorder setup. Note takers also took notes and recorded the non-verbal interactions and expressions relevant to the study themes. The observers were also responsible for observing the entire discussion process, helping the facilitators control the sessions and giving feedback during the post-session brief discussions. They also recorded the non-verbal interactions and expressions relevant to the study themes.

4.5. Data Management and Analysis

Data collection, analysis and interpretation were done simultaneously, in keeping with grounded theory methodology (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). After each field day, the researchers translated the recorded FGDs and KIIs into English and manually transcribed them. This provided an opportunity to identify manifest content and analyze the latent content before coding.



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The research team cleaned the data by spot-checking whether participants' words were transcribed correctly and used notes eyeballing, and logic checking to ensure that all possible errors were caught. In spot-checking, the research team checked whether participants' words were transcribed accurately and attributed to the right individuals. In the eyeballing, the research team reviewed the data for errors that may have resulted from a data entry or coding mistake. No such errors were found. Finally, in the logic check, the research team carefully reviewed the data to make sure that the answers to the different questions made sense.

4.6. Ethical Issues

This assessment involved limited inquiry into individual experiences and was therefore not inherently designed to measure attributes of individuals. Issues were discussed with the community as the reference. Questions that were asked of key informants referred to the geographical area and population as a whole, not to individuals, and therefore did not involve any invasiveness of human subjects. The study was an initial appraisal for the purpose of developing a more detailed study protocol. The following ethical issues were considered:

Informed consent. All participants were asked to provide full informed consent at the time of recruitment as FGD participants or key informants. FGD participants consented in unison to participate as a group.

Privacy and confidentiality. To ensure privacy and confidentiality, names were not collected for the FGDs. Instead, anonymous identifiers were used and referred to during the discussions, so that no names were tagged to particular responses. It was not possible to keep key informants anonymous because their status was one of the reasons they were selected.

Possible harm. This assessment was expected to result in minimal harm to the study subjects. Any harm may have resulted from recall of adverse events (e.g., floods, droughts and wars) and blame and guilt perceived by the population. However, as the FGDs involved opinion leaders, these issues were not expected to result in adverse psychological trauma. Some of the issues discussed (e.g., policies related to forced evaluation) may have had political overtones and therefore may have caused discomfort in the target communities. However, this challenge was used as strength to enable clear understanding of the actual problems and challenges that communities face in their day-to-day lives.

Benefits. This assessment empowered communities to look at their own vulnerabilities with a fresh perspective and to think about why their vulnerability persisted. This information will also be used by RAN to identify possible areas for innovations that build resilience of communities to specific shocks and stresses.





CHAPTER FIVE. RESULTS

This chapter discusses the findings of the qualitative resilience assessment conducted by the Somalia Horn of Africa RILab. After the initial analysis, the research team analyzed the FGDs and KIIs to derive dimensions of resilience in order to identify entry points for innovative interventions (the second step of RAN's resilience analytic cycle).

The data analysis identified nine dimensions of resilience for the IDP communities in Benadir Region, Somalia. The dimensions include: *Natural Resources/Environment, Governance, Wealth, Health, Security/Protection/Advocacy, Human Capital, Psychosocial Wellbeing, Social Capital/Community Networks and Infrastructure*. To assess the capacity of communities in Benadir region to adapt to the stresses of chronic internal displacement, the study explored the following areas for each dimension:

1. **Adaptive strategies:** Factors that empower the communities to resist the effects of chronic internal displacement
2. **Coping strategies:** Behaviors to mitigate and absorb the impacts of chronic internal displacement; their effect on individuals, households and communities; and their sustainability
3. **Vulnerability factors:** Characteristics that make individuals, households and communities more susceptible to the negative impacts of chronic internal displacement and groups that are especially vulnerable
4. **Causes and effects** of each stress factor and the interrelationship among dimensions

5.1. Natural Resources/Environment

Natural resources include water, flora and fauna, land and forests and associated services (e.g., erosion protection, rainwater harvesting) on which resource-based activities such as farming and livestock production depend. Management of natural resources is the practice of maintaining and enhancing natural resources through a variety of means, including forest and range management, agro forestry, livestock rearing, water resource management, animal waste management and river bank protection. Natural resource management also includes recognition of the value of natural resources and ecosystems. Prioritizing identification of natural resource concerns and addressing those concerns is critical for ensuring the lives and livelihoods of women, men, and children who depend on them.

In the Benadir context, the dimension of *Natural Resources/Environment* includes information on climate change, weather patterns, drought, flash floods, loss of environmental bio-diversity, deforestation, degradation of grazing pasture, poor rangeland management, and competition over scarce environmental resources (mainly access to water and grazing pasture).





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The context-specific meaning of this dimension can be extracted from quotations of the participants, for example, about the interlinked challenges that emerge during environment-related disasters, mainly drought.

Sincerely, almost equally without making any separation, livestock keepers and farmers are forced to migrate during drought ... areas with populations that depend on livestock as a major food source are more vulnerable to ... livestock losses due to drought ... Not only that, water is life, but it's too scarce at times for simple communities to access it ... Men go long distances with camels or donkey carts to fetch water. Women and children walk an average a long distance to get buckets and jerry cans. We fetch water by using donkey carts or camels, or women carry plastic jerry cans of water on their heads ... Helping pastoralists endure severe drought needs to tackle the issue of water, which is very basic ... Water shortages generate conflict even among the farming population, which faces adversities to sustain their crops ... (FGD 1, Hamarweyne)

I am not sure, but everybody would say that indeed there are also some natural disasters, especially how climate has become hotter, which we can't bear at times. Of course, radios talk about the climate changing to become more difficult, so this may be part of displacement, and most recently, why we are here is partly the 2011–2012 drought and famine, which claimed thousands of lives and displaced millions. So drought is an enemy killing people in large numbers... (KII 19)

We can also bring into our discussion that deforestation is increasing in Somalia, especially in this region between the two rivers, and there are no more national forests, which have experienced a great loss. So I think this deforestation is causing drought. I believe that the issue of deforestation is very clear to all of us; it was even in the news. I am worried whether our people are seeing the value of the forests. I have learned from the radio that forests also bring rain, so no forest, no rain, and no rain means drought. ... (KII 16)

It is wisdom for you to understand that some of these disasters are acts of God which we cannot prevent, and as our friend said, we humans should always focus on reducing the damages that can happen. In fact, this is what communities are now doing amid the lack of a state ... trying to manage their livestock and farms [against] coming drought and to diversify their herds. We know cows cannot bear drought, so they would rather destock to keep cash so that they can buy other cows if any are left in the region. So droughts are triggering other major problems in Somalia, including conflicts, where people fight over water points and rangelands. (FGD 1, Hodan)

So drought, first thing you expect is lack of food to eat for the people and animals, and as we mentioned several times, the communities never had enough food stock or cash to go through



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the hardships of drought, and the animals also never had enough pasture to go through the hardship of drought, as there has not been effective pasture and rangeland management, which is something needed most if communities to be self-sustaining. So one of the key problems is lack of proper management of pasture and rangeland. Some individual members of the communities are commercializing the common rangeland, which usually leads to conflict. (KII 21)

5.1.1. Adaptive Strategies

People migrate with their livestock to areas with water and to different communal grazing areas, depending on the seasonal availability of water and pastures. Agro-pastoral communities along the Shebelle riverbed produce crops including cereals; while pastoralists keep their herds near the homesteads during the wet season and migrate them during the dry season.

Key informants and participants in FGDs said that water comes from surface dams, boreholes and shallow wells and is distributed by donkey carts and trucks to households. Drinking water is retrieved from either surface water sources (rivers, surface dams) or shallow ground wells. Surface water supply is mainly dependent on rainwater from April to June (the *Gu* season) and September to November (the *Deyr* season), although the pattern of the rainy seasons is changing. Some communities harvest and store rainwater in underground ditches or use 20-liter jerry cans and 220 liter barrels to store water in rural areas.

Smallholder farmers mix crops (maize, millet, sorghum). Communities have to rely on their livestock to an ever-greater extent to cope with declining crop yields, frequent crop failures, recurrent drought and prolonged armed conflicts. Communities also depend on small-scale, rain-fed subsistence farming of maize, sorghum and sesame. Recurrent drought has forced some communities to switch from keeping livestock to growing cash crops such as sesame, cowpeas, corn and sorghum, as they cannot afford to restock livestock herds killed by the droughts.

5.1.2. Coping Strategies

What sort of coping behaviors are used (as mentioned in the data) to mitigate and absorb the impacts of the shock/hazard (particularly those that do not necessarily improve resilience and those that may have a negative impact on resilience)?

Communities of nomadic pastoralists and crop farmers have adopted migration over the years to cope with both natural and man-made disasters. When intense drought hits and pastures become too dry to feed livestock, communities cope by selling livestock they stockpile during better years. Livestock prices often fall when a large number of livestock keepers take their herds to the markets. This is a great challenge for families who use the little money earned from the sale of their animals to support their households, because the money may not be able to satisfy their



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basic needs in new, often urban, areas where they are forced to seek refuge. When the money is exhausted, families may not be able to return to their districts and villages of origin.

Another coping strategy is reliance on remittances from relatives in the cities and overseas or food aid from government or NGOs. However, remittances and donor aid have been associated with discouraging people from working hard and creating dependency. Cutting trees for charcoal is a booming business during drought, the period when the natural environment suffers most.

It is most likely during droughts when destitute men who lost their animals turn to the environment, and there are businessmen who come and tell the unemployed youth around to cut the trees in exchange for money. The charcoal made will be taken to the cities. People know the consequences of cutting trees, but you cannot stop them, as they have responsibilities to their families. (KII 17)

How do these coping strategies affect people, households and communities? Can they be used over the long-term?

When a natural disaster occurs, households and communities deploy a variety of coping strategies, regardless of their efficacy. In the short term, migration can be useful to avoid the most dire effects of drought, but it does not contribute to community resilience during larger-scale, cross-regional disasters. Households and communities may use livestock as a form of liquid savings that can be easily turned into cash to help bounce back from a weather disaster. Disposing of productive assets such as livestock and reducing food consumption (daily calorie intake) may be immediate solutions to household challenges, but they cannot be used over the long term. They reduce capacity to engage in future income-generating activities, which increases the likelihood of poverty. Participants were aware that making and selling charcoal, a widely adopted coping mechanism during drought seasons, is self-defeating because cutting trees makes the land even more vulnerable to drought and floods. Somalia's limited access to formal banking system forced IDPs to hide or store cash at home and majority of them generally lack access to formal savings accounts or banking services of any kind. This situation has been considered as negative coping mechanism since it undermined prospects of long-term economic growth.

5.1.3. Vulnerability Factors

In this dimension, what are the characteristics of people/households/communities that make them more susceptible to the negative impacts of the shock/hazard?

Somalia, especially South Central Somalia, experiences a large number of droughts and floods. Recurrent drought and chronic water stress followed by disputes over water and grazing pasture



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lead to armed conflict and internal displacement. Poor access to water, deforestation and changes in climate and weather patterns are underlying causes of environmental natural resource insecurity, as well as conflict and displacement. Many focus groups and KIIs discussed the shortage of functioning rainwater catchment facilities to hold people over during dry seasons. These facilities broke down during conflict and were not been rehabilitated after the state collapse. Participants in both FGDs and KIIs discussed recurrent flash floods in the riverine regions of Lower and Middle Shabelle as causing soil erosion and degradation of grazing and farm lands.

We are vulnerable to water stress because we cannot harvest rainwater. So indeed, [lack of] uniform rainfall is part of the changing climate, and erratic rainfall is really posing a growing threat of more and more droughts. (FGD 1 Wadajir)

Many focus groups and KIIs also discussed the lack of rangeland management as causing growing competition over increasingly scarce pasture, which often leads to conflict and chronic displacement. Several participants described how the lack of early warning systems and a Somali metrological department also increases vulnerability to climatic changes.

Are there any specific vulnerable groups (e.g., geographic, demographic, socioeconomic)?

Groups most vulnerable to recurrent drought, chronic water stress, and disputes over water and grazing pasture are the elderly, women and children from both pastoral and agro-pastoral communities. These groups often depend on relatives, as they cannot engage in the hard work of farming, charcoal production or casual labor. Use of narcotic drugs such as khat contributes to the vulnerability of people who spend a lot of money on the drugs and most of their time intoxicated.

Indeed, it hurts always, but communities of those who are farmers are always vulnerable to water scarcity and drought, which make overall production costs very high ... There is no mitigation these days that can reduce the effects of drought, such as surface water dams or bunds to avoid water scarcity and crop failure ... Small farmers are vulnerable to drought because it destroys their primary livelihoods, which depends on rain. (KII 3)

5.1.4. Causes and Effects

Water and pasture are key lifelines for pastoral and agro-pastoral communities in Somalia. During severe drought, water stress causes crop failure, livestock death and loss of human lives. Long dry spells without rain lead to critical food shortages, malnutrition and loss of income, which eventually forces people to migrate. Tensions over the control of access to water points



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and rangelands are a major reason for chronic internal displacement. Internal displacement also results from armed conflict, violence and human rights abuses.

The *Natural Resources/Environment* dimension is cross cutting because it shares resilience aspects with several other dimensions. In terms of *Wealth*, households whose livelihoods depend on natural resources are vulnerable to external shocks and food insecurity. Very few respondents reported diversifying their income sources, and families barely rose above subsistence even before suffering shocks such as drought and conflicts. Drought and water and pasture stress cause crop failure, erode household stocks of productive assets and prevent households from producing enough from their already subsistence livelihoods. To mitigate the effects of imminent drought, households sell their livestock to support consumption or borrow or beg from social networks. In terms of *Security/Protection/Advocacy*, water and pasture stress ignite conflict over resources. One of the coping strategies adopted by the IDP communities is taking children out of school and sending them to live or work elsewhere. This affects *Human Capital* and the long-term resilience of households. *Health* is also critically affected by extreme environmental conditions and conflicts over scarce natural resources. Reduction in dietary intake worsens the impact of drought, especially among women, children, and the elderly, and leads to high rates of malnutrition in these vulnerable groups.

5.2. Governance

Governance involves 1) activities, processes and frameworks within which political, economic and administrative authority is exercised to manage the affairs of a country or administrative unit, 2) formal and informal mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences, 3) the functioning of relevant groups in society including private sector and civil society organizations, from household and local levels to provincial, national and international levels and 4) issues of accountability, transparency, inclusiveness and responsiveness by governments.

The meaning of this dimension in the Benadir context includes information on state collapse, current state institutions, governance status and incapacity, administrative and leadership effectiveness and efficiency, political instability, corruption, foreign aid dependency, foreign intervention, centralization, dictatorship, conflict resolution and peace building and informal/traditional leadership and governance.

I think the experience of war, even this day is the fact some leaders want to stay in power and can't leave, so people want to see some change, and that causes conflict. While there may be no problem with having one standing leader, they don't consult with the people they are governing. This is what happened to Siad Barre, who chased all the people. (KII 33)



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... There is story about a man ... he realized that certain regions were forgotten and brought two hens and put one in shadow and the other one in a sunny place. He meant to show the high level of marginalization ... I agree that the former government marginalized [people], which caused so many people not to have opportunities, but we see this even with the current NGOs, who also [all] want to go one place ... Yes, I would also agree with the case of marginalization, but want to understand the motives which can. ... Yeah I would also agree the case of marginalization but want to understand to motives, which can make our politics to be always marginalizing the same people of the same nation (KII 30)

Of course, it's the politics of that day, which still exist, which marginalized people and their regions. I mean, I want to say that marginalization was not only done to areas in the country but even certain people were also denied positions of power and leadership in their communities ... This was a cause of the conflict ... And the marginalization was partly caused by tribalism, which is a disease in Somalia, and our politicians are those making it and they are sick of tribalism ... In fact, I want to correct you, as you cannot blame only our leaders; the communities are themselves corrupted and are making tribalism. (FGD 3, Hodan)

We have talked about several issues, but if the country is stable and politicians are not fighting, then some of the problems can be managed. Political confusion is causing all this problem of displacement ... we are really facing political instability, which came from the fact that some tribes suffered marginalization so have to take revenge. (KII 9)

... My husband and I discuss sometimes the politics of Somalia and our future, and ... my whole argument is always that displacement in Somalia will keep occurring as long as political instability is there and we fail to agree who should be in power ... Of course, everyone knows that one person will be the president and Somalia cannot have 10 presidents ... people are not willing to listen to this wisdom. Politicians are always in confusion that will come to affect us. ... and [we will] be killed and displaced. (KII 11)

... There are certain tribes who resolve their conflicts and remain strong. Even if disaster comes, they can get support ... Of course, we have had a longstanding culture of settling disputes, usually led by the elders, for centuries, which helped people live and adapt to conflicts ... if the traditional system had not been strong, people would have all died. (KII 8)

Usually whenever there is a conflict, people try to gather to sort it out before it turns into full-scale war. This is really functioning and reduced the number [of conflicts] that could have otherwise happened. Tribal disputes arise frequently when tribes or even normal



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partners in marriage divorce or in business separate. There is a hierarchy of chiefs and elders and opinion leaders in communities that makes peace and resolves conflicts. (KII 10)
To me, the state is like life—no state, no life--so communities will always remain or the situation will worsen when the state collapses ... Of course, as the state collapses, you find life almost collapses, including development ... weak leadership has its roots in the state collapse 2 decades ago in which most of the politicians forgot the culture of governance ... Because the central government is not strong enough, you find in each district there are these self-appointed district leaders who are not cooperating even with their neighboring districts to share information and support one another, and communities remain as prisoners for every problem, and some of these leaders can stop humanitarian food to reach communities. (KII 3)

The government is not aware of our conditions. There is mismanagement of the assistance we get from donors. Mostly the assistance from donors does not reach us very well; otherwise we could have coped better. There is corruption at all levels, and only the powerful will get most of the assistance. (KII 4)

We don't trust the government, as they are not doing for us what we need. At times we receive a very small support from the government, but there is corruption of even the little we receive. We are not represented, as we want in the government, as politicians are putting their interests first. (KII 24)

Most of the people are vulnerable because of the lack of state institutions that can support the communities. So this aid or assistances is not meaningful if there are no institutions. So we suggest to all the international community to support [us] further to end violence and build strong institutions. The vulnerabilities arise from the absence of government institutions such as district administration, police, hospitals, and courts, which are not there. (KII 23)

5.2.1. Adaptive Strategies

Dependence on informal, traditional, clan-based governance and justice systems has been widely shown to be an alternative solution to the total collapse of Somalia's central government and state institutions. In this legal system, elders serve as judges and mediate and resolve community conflicts without violence. Traditional elders, members of civil society and the private sector provide alternative representation due to lack of elected representatives by the people and also provide protection, support and mediation in the place of the government, which is perceived as unjust, ineffectual and corrupt.

Communities vest huge trust in their traditional clan-based governance. Clan leaders are responsible for all political reconciliation in the case of power or resource competition.



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Traditional systems are seen as a cost-effective alternative to lengthy and corrupt formal systems. In addition to traditional systems, people resort to Islamic laws for justice in the absence of a formal court system.

Communities show allegiance to conflicting parties (warlords and government) to reduce the risk of being targeted. For example, areas not under government control follow the governance imposed by rebels or regional authorities. Despite the lack of a stable government, through time there have arisen local informal polities that have increasingly provided some levels of pseudo governance, public security and even social services. These alternative governance polities have been driven by coalitions of local business groups, traditional and religious authorities and civil society. Communities rely on these local authorities, which fill a vacuum even if they do not execute core functions of government.

5.2.2. Coping Strategies

What sorts of coping behaviors are used (as mentioned in the data) to mitigate and absorb the impacts of the shock/hazard (particularly those that do not necessarily improve resilience and those that may have a negative impact on resilience)?

Communities widely depend on traditional and local polities operating as sub-national governance that cannot perform the functions of conventional state institutions. The data showed that these local polities do not have the capacity to provide basic services such as food, health care, education, safe drinking water, sanitation, shelter, protection and information. The dependency of communities on such sub-national authorities contributes to their susceptibility to shocks. It also limits their ability to build resilience to shocks because authorities cannot assure the security and long-term stability necessary to attract development and investment to create jobs and services. Most of the respondents perceived local, informal systems of governance as short-term mechanisms to cope with crisis and felt that the central state should take on all tasks and services that cannot be performed or provided by local or private sector actors.

How do these coping strategies affect people, households and communities? Can these coping strategies be used over the long term?

Somalia has been without a functioning central government for decades, making it an example of post-colonial state collapse. Unlike in other post-colonial states, Somalia was left in a governance vacuum, which led to the rise of informal systems of adaptation, security and governance driven by business groups, traditional authorities and civic groups to establish some sort of public order and rule of law.



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When state institutions collapsed in 1991, households and communities across Somalia faced the most difficult time in their history in terms of conflict, lawlessness, violence and human rights abuses. All coping strategies they attempted, regardless of their efficacy, came at a cost, and years of resilience and persistence fell into disorder. This study found that key local actors made gradual attempts to revive traditional protection systems in which clans protected individuals. Households and communities lived under such governance at the expense of their lives and welfare. In normal disputes, politically weak clans can be abused by wealthier and more powerful clans. The data indicate that informal governance does not have the capacity to provide basic services including security and its associated administrative, legal and financial efficiencies.

Participants in most FGDs and KIIs referred to informal structures as short-term coping strategies, but these are too weak and inefficient to support long-term community development and resilience. It was widely discussed that tribalism/clannism is primarily responsible for factors associated with weak informal and formal governance. Participation and representation are dominated by the powerful clans, which lead to political violence, bad governance and denial of personal freedoms. Poor governance and lack of accountability were raised, as people rarely question decisions by their clans even if they make mistakes. Most participants argued that underdevelopment, corruption and violence continue because of the lack of formal governance institutions run by legitimate state institutions.

5.2.3. Vulnerability Factors

In this dimension, what are the characteristics of people/households/communities that make them more susceptible to the negative impacts of the shock/hazard?

Governance failure exposes communities to human-made and natural shocks. After the 1991 collapse of the Somali government, the South Central region experienced decades of prolonged armed conflict and lawlessness while weathering recurrent drought and floods. Most of the FGDs and KIIs regarding vulnerability in terms of governance focused on the 2011 famine, which was the most destructive in decades. Participants blamed the lack or failure of governance more than the natural phenomena for the high death rates resulting from the famine.

Lack of governance and political instability constrain pastoralists' and agro-pastoralists' ability to cope with the natural hazards of drought, water insecurity and grazing stresses. Participants in FGDs and KIIs felt that the key to reducing vulnerability to climate changes and pressures was to create political systems capable of protecting, warning and assisting communities when natural hazards occur.



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Are there any specific vulnerable groups (e.g., geographic, demographic, socioeconomic)?

Governance setbacks in Somalia affect all gender and age groups, to varying degrees. The elderly, women, children and the poor are the groups most vulnerable to the effects of governance failure. Youth are victims of bad governance because they have not had access to education, wealth, employment or human development for the past 2 decades. Clannism, nepotism and bad governance have narrowed employment opportunities and led many of Somalia's youth to engage in immoral activities and mass migration overseas. Several interviewees identified youth unemployment as the main result of lack of education and training because of bad governance.

5.2.4. Causes and Effects

Poor governance, tribalism/clannism, and corruption underlie governance and leadership failure and resultant state collapse in Somalia. Dozens of international efforts have attempted to restore state institutions, but the continued poor governance and inadequate skills mentioned in FGDs and KIIs keep the Somali state fragile and lacking public/civil services. Governance can be both a cause and effect of internal displacement shock. For example, Somalia's shifting political landscape has created waves of IDPs because of a lack of protection and services but also because of serious human rights abuses (targeted killings, executions and punishments amounting to torture) in all areas including Mogadishu.

In focus groups and interviews, participants insisted that disasters such as famine are caused not only by drought but also by internal factors including insecurity, weak governance, political instability and restricted humanitarian assistance. They said that displacement is an effect of poor governance and that IDPs often end up in more hostile and abusive environments than those they fled. Security conditions in the unprotected IDP camps can be frightening, with rape and sexual abuse of displaced women and girls committed by unknown militias and at times by government soldiers. The absence of formal governance with responsibility for the lives and wellbeing of IDPs has allowed IDP gatekeepers and militias controlling the camps to divert food aid intended for camp residents.

Participants felt that dependence on foreign aid has negatively affected state plans and programs and weakened government capacity to source its own funding. While donor aid is viewed as critical to run operations and support communities, as long as the aid cow can be milked, the government is perceived to be reluctant to create local means of running operations and supporting communities.

The *Governance* dimension directly relates to and impacts communities' food security, standards of living, peace and security, law and order, judiciary systems and infrastructure. Participants





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discussed that good governance is a management and regulatory basis for natural resource security, access to health and education services, infrastructure and economic development to help communities overcome poverty. In Somalia, stable governance to provide basic security, access to justice and protection of human rights is viewed as a missing link to building communities' resilience.

Participants discussed the context in which governance failure to respond to poverty leaves people vulnerable to food insecurity and stressed that food insecurity and famine are outcomes of poor governance and political failure.

Participants repeatedly referred to Somalia's past stability and good governance. The regime of Siad Barre stored grain reserves to stop price volatility and prevent food shortages during dry seasons. With the state collapse, such governance mechanisms also collapsed. Without these public safety nets, droughts repeatedly destroy prime livelihood assets, further diminishing communities' purchasing power. The underlying governance factors go beyond Somalia's weakness. Donor support increases as shocks become more frequent and fundamentally weakens communities' prospects of developing their own coping capacity. Current governance politics in Somalia lack the capacity to invest in social services and basic infrastructure, while humanitarian and development aid have been slow and inadequate.

5.3. Wealth

RAN defines the *Wealth* dimension as including livelihoods and food security. Aspects of this dimension include both financial (liquidity) and non-financial assets. These can be measured by income, expenditures, forms of consumption, access to credit, access to non-food items necessary for survival (e.g., housing materials, clothing) and activities required to make a living and achieve good quality of life from formal and informal employment and sources of income, as well as activities and choices within the household and local population that provide food, health, income, shelter and other tangible and intangible benefits, such as comfort, safety, respect and fulfillment and food security. *Wealth* includes access (physical or economic) to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet dietary needs and food preferences; systems for food production and distribution (markets, prices, transportation); food availability (harvests/yields, livestock wellbeing, availability of seeds for planting) and food utilization (absorption of nutrients).

In the Benadir context, this dimension describes livelihoods, poverty, financial wealth, debt and credit, employment and assets. The most common assets are livestock, land and shelter. Economic security refers to access to employment, stable income and livelihoods and encompasses crop production, livestock keeping/breeding, agricultural inputs, agricultural technologies, husbandry practices, animal health care, agro produce processing, irrigation, value addition, storage, markets and prices. Economic security also encompasses information on



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famine and human-made and natural shocks and stresses that affect food systems, including crop failure and livestock deaths.

Usually having a large number of camels or cows is considered fulfillment for many of us. A large number of livestock is the ultimate fulfillment, as you can sell them in exchange for every service you need, and its wealth. You can marry more wives and [find wives for] sons. More livestock means you can access other wealth such as property, [have] good health, start some business, and so on. (KII 1)

I try [to have] my wealth always in different types in different places. Some people try to engage in different income activities, such as women who cut grass and firewood and sell [them] in the markets..... People may not try to diversify their income sources because of fear, but that is a must for the survival of families and wealth ... People who have good relatives in other districts or villages are bought plots to stay in case they flee ... You can adapt better when you have fixed assets such as land. You can resell to sort out your problem. (KII 3)

The communities learned of course through time that keeping one type of animal may lead a family to lose power. I need to say something that I share with [you,] my friend. You see, by nature, some animals are not strong for drought, so they can be easily killed. So you need to mix them if possible ... Yes, as elders, this is what we usually recommend, to keep a mix of animals so that in case [the need] to move for water or drought comes, then you can be safe ... This is even the sciences of communities. I mean the way they reduce the risk of having a large stock of the same animals ... which is often dangerous. (KII 31)

We use livestock diversification as a means of food security and increasing family income. The point every [one] made here is very good to keep us strong in the face of all disasters. We have cows, but they are [vulnerable] to water shortage, and so are sheep, not like camels, which Arabs call the ships of the desert ... Most families that keep livestock diversify husbandry to generate income by keeping camels for wealth, goats and sheep for cash and cows for milk to be sold in markets and for family consumption. There is another issue we never mentioned because some people here are pastoralists.... I am trying to say that communities need to also grow different types of crops to reduce risks ... I feel emotional when I see that some may grow the same thing over the whole season. This kind of practice people may really be affected by the simplest disaster, and of course, they are right when you look at the challenges they have because there is no support or investment from the government such as fertilizers, irrigation or seeds. Even the generators they use are not theirs ... they have to pay to get water pumped from the river ... Even business-wise, as people need to sell—look at the demand in the market ... [If] you grow one type of crop and you fail to get a market, what happens [is] you lose and a drought may come before cash [is]





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saved ... I agree [with] the point [of] growing different types of crops, but consider how much it costs. I agree, really, [with your] point, but not all people can do it ... We mainly diversify depending on the availability of rain or irrigation to reduce risks of food shortage for home consumption just in case a season does not pass well. (FGD 1, Hamarweyne)

When we are in rural or urban areas, we are poor all our lives, so we borrow from relatives, friends and neighbors ... We are poor who have no access to formal credit and obtain most credit by borrowing from relative, friends and neighbors ... The only sources we have of loans are our relatives, friends and neighbors ... In fact, the worst thing you said is that these people fail to repay the loans they get, as most of them don't have collateral and only rely on promises from other relatives to get loans, and they will help them repay them, which may not work, or some of them may switch off their phones, so people go begging, which is an easy way to get some money or food, whatever you need, without the risk of having to repay. (FGD 2, Hamarweyne)

Actually, we would appreciate getting loans to start businesses, but that is not possible because our relatives and friends cannot get big money ... I always needed loans but could not get them because of the lack of banks, so I got [loans] from my fellows and relatives. Of course, let me also say that those who happen to have some people they know and expect some money in the future seek loans from clan-mates or friends or at times neighbors to support them during emergencies [and] repay [the loans] when they get some money. This is done, but very few can get such a chance when all people are strangers and so no one trusts them. It is difficult because people may fail to repay the loans and they get harassed by the lenders. (KII 10)

... Low crop yields are usually a disaster, but in our case, where we cannot find anything else for survival, it is the biggest disaster because what is next is famine, which causes people to die. So if the season fails, there is no marketable surplus, and even the food needs of the community cannot be met. Of course, people grow cowpeas, maize and sorghum for their main food, in addition to vegetables to sell it in the market to get some quick cash for buying other materials. For example, in several seasons all these areas around Baidoa down to Lego, Bula Marere and Koryoley, let me say, most of Bay and Lower Shebelle, recurring crop failure may be because of poor and erratic long rains and insecurity, as these areas are controlled by opposition groups and no one can go there, including civilians. (KII 5)

I think whenever we are discussing these issues, I see a lot things possibly happening. Usually crop failure leaves people vulnerable to lack of food and starvation and famine, which are all big disasters in Somalia, and many people died and are still dying, but this can be managed. But because of the insecurity, whereby Al Shabab will not allow any development, communities are further subjected to famine. (KII 3)



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5.3.1. Adaptive Strategies

Adaptation behaviors include diversifying herds to favor more drought-resistant animals and diversifying crops (growing maize along with cowpeas and vegetables to earn quick cash to cover family expenses. Others engage in different types of small jobs/businesses to make ends meet. Despite the fact that there is no provision of loans to small businesses to expand or engage in other productive activities, the primary resources of startup financing are liquidated livestock holdings or crops or remittances from relatives in other villages, cities or countries.

Community members also adapt (depending on their wealth in terms of sale of livestock, crops or firewood, casual labor and petty trade) by earning more income to pay for health, water and other family expenses. People earn income through casual labor or migrate for work in nearby villages and cities as porters, pushers of wheelbarrows and donkey carts and cleaners. Rotating savings groups were mentioned but are mainly practiced by women.

The adaptive strategies adopted by communities under this dimension center on social support in the form of donations, loans and remittances from relatives and friends. Women, children, and the elderly receive income mainly from community support. Other strategies include eating fewer meals a day, borrowing food on credit from other households, resorting to food stores and food donations from relatives, sending household members to eat elsewhere, restricting food consumption of adults to allow children to eat and receiving food baskets from humanitarian organizations.

5.3.2. Coping Strategies

What sorts of coping behaviors are used (as mentioned in the data) to mitigate and absorb the impacts of the shock/hazard (particularly those that do not necessarily improve resilience and those that may have a negative impact on resilience)?

Farmers and livestock keepers who are exposed to drought risk use different combinations of strategies to cope before they are forced to flee to the camps. Many diversify and adjust their crops and herds, although not all have the flexibility and capacity to do this because of lack of financing, fertilizers, seeds and suitable technologies.

In extreme conditions of food insecurity, communities borrow money to buy food or receive food from family members or neighbors. Most of the FGD and KII participants indicated that households resort to cooking whatever food is available at home, including herbs, roots and leaves or reduce their food intake. While these coping strategies may not require money to purchase food, they do not help build resilience but only leave communities more susceptible to exhaustion and malnutrition as shocks persist.



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Reducing food intake is not a long-term solution. As shocks intensify, communities are forced to flee their places of origin to IDP camps. Extensive depletion of assets is a key factor in defeating their coping strategies. For example, FGD and KII participants reported that IDPs do not own valuable animals such as camels and only a few own goats when they flee to IDP camps. However, some agro pastoralist IDPs reported that they owned land.

Some IDPs receive income from casual labor, domestic employment, crop and animal sales and the labor of their children in housecleaning, washing clothes and petty trading. People do not have access to financial institutions and services such as credit and savings, so communities depend on family and friends for credit.

How do these coping strategies affect people, households and communities? Can these coping strategies be used over the long term?

In the Benadir context, target communities are poor and dependent on single-livelihood strategies. They face difficulties supporting their families throughout the year. As a result, they are forced to use a mixture of different coping strategies. These include selling/liquidating animals, borrowing money from family and friends, seeking remittances from relatives, doing casual work, underpricing crops for quick cash, doing small income-generating activities such as collecting and selling firewood and sending children to work.

While different community groups face similar challenges, women, children, and the elderly most often cope with food and livelihood crises by opting to work beside men. Such coping approaches can have a negative impact on their health and wellbeing. Reducing food intake, even for children, often involves cooking only once a day, freeing time to earn extra income in the hot sun. People may have to work harder and longer to earn cash to buy food or buy cheaper food instead of more nutritious items. Women often deprive themselves for the sake of their children and husband and eat whatever leftover food is available. This has a detrimental impact on women breadwinners, who spend time and energy both on household chores and heavy productive tasks.

5.3.3. Vulnerability Factors

In this dimension, what are the characteristics of people/households/communities that make them more susceptible to the negative impacts of the shock/hazard?

The demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of people, households and communities that make them more susceptible to the negative impacts of internal displacement are large household size, having more children both in the family and from relatives, depending on a single livelihood strategy (farming or livestock keeping), living below the poverty line, recurrent food



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insecurity, earning unstable income, fluctuations in prices for agricultural products, bad weather that affects farm and animal production and high levels of illiteracy that limit ability to secure employment to supplement household income.

Are there any specific vulnerable groups (e.g., geographic, demographic, socioeconomic)?

The elderly, women, children and the poor are most vulnerable to the effects of poverty and food and livelihood insecurity. Women use a number of strategies for coping with food insecurity, but they expose them to harsh conditions (e.g., abuse, lack of sleep). Women also face financial challenges to engage in meaningful business activities, as they lack capital to invest.

5.3.4. Causes and Effects

Chronic internal displacement is both a cause and effect of severe poverty combined with livelihood and food insecurity. The factors that challenge livelihood strategies and the rights and wellbeing of communities were discussed in all FGDs and KIIs. After the civil unrest in the early 1990s, coupled with recurrent drought, people's livelihoods dramatically deteriorated, while services such as health, education, water and sanitation and finance, social capital, skills and knowledge became inaccessible for many vulnerable communities. People who were forced to leave their homes abandoned their livelihoods, while conflict and drought relentlessly caused more displacement.

Until today, the main strategies participants discussed centered on solving housing, shelter, water, health and education problems and finding protection from human rights abuses, including rape. Communities represented in the data took a more progressive approach to building sustainable livelihoods than relying on basic life-saving assistance. Participants indicated that they did not want to depend on others for survival and discussed plans to start businesses if they received financial support.

A complex inter-dimensional relationship of factors typically leads to chronic internal displacement. FGDs and KIIs raised effects of chronic displacement on the *Wealth* dimension that cut across other dimensions. For example, depletion of assets (livestock and land) and lack of access to stable employment affect *Security/Protection/Advocacy* if IDPs face violence when they seek food and water. Participants indicated that internally displaced communities suffer multiple displacements. They may flee initially from conflict and insecurity, but drought and food insecurity lead to further displacement, and while they are searching for food and support, their remaining assets may be looted. IDPs keep moving farther away, even to other countries, to seek refuge, income, peace and security. This is not a smooth transition, as participants indicated. Along their journeys, IDPs have no decision making power, protection, stable income or access to health, water and sanitation, or education services, and young girls and women may be at risk



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of gender-based violence in their makeshift camps or when they go out to collect firewood or to earn living for their families.

The multifaceted and interwoven nature of challenges faced by IDPs creates further complications. Some coping mechanisms give communities an illusion of recovery, which progressively weakens their ability to cope. In the IDP camps, people, mostly women, engage in labor-intensive and low-income employment, often in unsafe and unhealthy conditions where they are vulnerable to rape, abduction and forced marriage. Because most IDPs are involved in the informal economy, sustaining household income is a challenge. Former farmers and agro-pastoralists lack the skills needed to generate income in urban areas. Many live under appalling conditions with little protection or shelter and no sanitation. With no ability to save money, they find it difficult to keep children in school and may send them to work at a young age.

5.4. Health

This dimension includes physical health status, quality of health services, physical and financial access to health services, human resources for health, nutrition, water and sanitation services, hygiene, behaviors that drive illness and disease, mortality and morbidity and veterinary services. In the Benadir context, this dimension describes access to human and veterinary health services, malnutrition, diseases related to poverty and poor water and sanitation and traditional healing.

Of course, conflict is a big disaster, and you see that people have a lot of problems including health and malnutrition ... Yes, this is very clear, as there will not be enough food and health clinics get closed ... Most of us depend on livestock for a living, but we cannot get proper health care for them ... We are always vulnerable to loss of livestock because we cannot get medicine for their treatment ... when animals get sick. (KII 19)

Communities cannot access health clinics, so they often face recurrent cholera epidemics and malaria....Young children are much more vulnerable to all forms of malaria. ... Rural and poor populations carry the overwhelming burden of malaria... [they] are also plagued by diseases such as tuberculosis and polio, but always you have a very discouraging governance disaster in Somalia, a lot of corruption, embezzlement, and poor or unfair allocation. (KII 27)

... People end up using traditional means of health care such as herbs, mainly made by local herbalists and traditional healers, which is also a major health challenge because the diagnostic systems are very poor and herbal drug dosages are poorly determined ... (KII 29)





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The outcomes are very complicated in diseases that primarily affect the poor because they deepen poverty and.... contributes to the increase of vulnerability ... and outbreaks are also linked to poor hygiene and poor disposal of other waste. I mean, the complex health problems are very alarming in such displaced communities that happen to have very difficult living conditions. I mean malnutrition ... anemia levels are very high in the women patients coming from the IDP camps. This could mean years of poor living conditions, because some of the women are so underweight, almost skin and bone ... So here all possibilities turn into realities when it comes to health ... mosquito-borne diseases such as malaria, poor shelters, [and] poor water and sanitation conditions. (KII 29)

5.4.1. Adaptive Strategies

Many IDPs rely on traditional knowledge from relatives, traditional healers, religious leaders and elders. With poor or missing health services in the camps, IDPs seek treatment from sheikhs or traditional herbalists and use traditional herbal medicines in place of the often poor-quality or scarce drugs available in pharmacies and hospitals. Communities believe that reciting verses from the Quran, practicing religion and praying to God will keep them healthy and safe from disasters.

Some IDPs seek assistance from private, NGO or UN-supported maternal and child health (MCH) clinics and health centers for health and nutrition services, but attendance is often poor. Water is supplied by a few water installations but more often by donkey carts or fetched by people.

5.4.2. Coping Strategies

What sorts of coping behaviors are used (as mentioned in the data) to mitigate and absorb the impacts of the shock/hazard (particularly those that do not necessarily improve resilience and those that may have a negative impact on resilience)?

Participants described using communal latrines that get filled up quickly. Inadequate latrines lead to sanitation and hygiene problems affecting community health. Participants also described resorting to prayer and traditional cures. Childhood diseases whose cause is not clear to parents are associated with the evil eye. Illnesses are referred to health facilities only when all home therapies and traditional treatments have failed.

How do these coping strategies affect people, households and communities? Can these coping strategies be used over the long term?

IDP community members depend on home therapies and traditional treatments when they are ill. These are “prescribed” by religious leaders and traditional healers, who may misdiagnose



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illnesses. When these sources of treatment are exhausted, people are referred to health facilities. Home and traditional treatment may not be a viable long-term solution because it can increase the risk of failure to recover from illness.

5.4.3. Vulnerability Factors

In this dimension, what are the characteristics of people/households/communities that make them more susceptible to the negative impacts of the shock/hazard?

The health-related demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of IDPs in Benadir Region are poverty, food insecurity, large household size and large numbers of children, both in the nuclear and extended family.

Are there any specific vulnerable groups (e.g., geographic, demographic, socioeconomic,)?

The elderly, women, children and the poor are considered to be the most vulnerable to the health effects of poverty and food and livelihood insecurity. Women use a number of strategies to cope with food insecurity, but their casual and small businesses can expose them to abuse, as they wake up early in the morning to go to the markets.

The most vulnerable are families and children living in the urban IDP camps, especially those under 5 years old, [who] always get malaria, cholera and other diseases because they are weak and in areas with high transmission.... Plus the poor housing conditions result in outbreaks of cholera, tuberculosis and.... [other] diseases. (KII 10)

5.4.4. Causes and Effects

Chronic internal displacement and its causes create critical conditions of vulnerability among communities, including limited access to food, shelter, water, health care and sanitation. IDPs live in makeshift shelters that provide little protection from the climate. Health and nutritional status are poor. Recurrent displacement, conflict and drought have dissolved much of the social support network, depleted household assets and disrupted livelihood systems and sources, perpetuating lack of access to food and wealth.

Chronic internal displacement causes psychological problems, especially for mothers and children who live in fear of armed conflict. Unemployed men are in the IDP camps also face psychological stress from depletion of wealth and livelihood assets. The harsh living condition of families can foster disputes that can escalate to separation or divorce.

High levels of unemployment make it difficult for IDPs to afford health care, as most health services are private and charge fees. Lack of access to public services coupled with the



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destruction of infrastructure increase the incidence of illness and malnutrition. Participants in the FGDs and KIIs said that the years of unrest in Somalia had weakened the health system, quality of services and access to health care, as well as causing health personnel shortages increased rates of diseases such as malaria, diarrhea, parasites, giardia, hepatitis and tuberculosis.

The inter-dimensional relationship between *Health* and other resilience dimensions is complex. For example, women, children and the elderly can go days without food, leading to malnutrition and increased susceptibility to disease. Shelters built by IDPs do not protect them from the scorching sun, rain and wind. Young girls and women travel long distances to fetch water, which is sometimes dangerous for them, especially if they are unaccompanied by men.

5.5. Security/Protection/Advocacy

This dimension includes exposure to crime and violent conflict, as well as perceived personal security. **Protection** includes efforts to uphold human rights and protection civilians' lives, dignity and integrity from the effects of violence, coercion and deprivation in times of conflict or crisis. The following legal frameworks protect and enforce human rights:

- Raising awareness about rights and related laws
- States' fulfillment of their duties to protect communities from disasters either by limiting their exposure to hazards or by addressing the factors that make them vulnerable
- Self-protection to avoid harm or violence that threatens lives, security or livelihoods

Advocacy includes efforts to influence people, policies, structures and systems to bring about positive change; engaging people as active citizens who can achieve their goals; facilitating communication among people; and negotiating, demonstrating good practice and building alliances with other organizations and networks. This includes building relationships with people in authority, starting dialogue to address issues or community needs, increasing awareness of issues, seeking to influence people, suggesting potential solutions, mobilizing the public and working with the media.

In the Benadir context, *Security/Protection/Advocacy* describes threats or abuse related to clan-system discrimination, armed insurgents or government forces, gender-based violence, lack of legal and social protection and lack of political representation.

Of course, as people leave their houses and flee, thugs come and loot whatever is left behind ... But at times insecurity may lead militias to come and loot people's property ... the little assets always lost to looting are not only household items but tools we use for farming and livestock that we cannot buy again because of lack of money. (KII 29)



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Of course your wealth cannot survive, just like your life, if there is no peace and security. Imagine, the simple tools we use and whatever we accumulate get spoiled as others come and loot them. It even happened to me when they looted my harvest of that year, which left me and my family in miserable conditions. (KII 12)

Whenever there is disaster, conflict, or drought, whatever, of course we are forced to leave home and flee to strange areas. There is a lot of fear, in fact you fear for everything ... for yourself, your husband, your daughters, and your property. I mean, there is no peace in the mind, constant fear, not like what you fear, but true fear of something which we know will happen anytime to anyone, including yourself.... so in the camps there are not enough services, even haircuts for men, let alone health and education. Displacement, it's such a thing that can only be felt by those who are displaced ... lack of good latrines, medicine, schools, water, and other necessities ... of course, NGOs provide some services, but they are not enough and are not equitable because some camps get more than others depending on the gatekeepers. (KII 12)

The other pressing issues are these militias, who attack us at night in the camps, and when we complain, no one is responding because no one is responsible for our lives. What I would suggest is that the government build strong police to protect us, but you find some of the militias are putting on government uniforms. (FGD 2, Wadajir)

So the problem here is that most of the camps are not well protected, and these gatekeepers just eat money on our behalf, but in fact they cannot stop these militias who kill and do whatever they want ... Of course these militias assaulting camps are a problem for all residents, not only IDPs, but because IDPs are very vulnerable people who are not from these regions, they hunt us as they fear no consequences. (FGD 2, Hodan)

We had tough times in our lives ... we have all experienced civil wars where violence broke out not once but over and over, which made all of us poor and destitute ... Yes, it's very true that we are vulnerable because of the ongoing civil wars that prevented us for 23 years from breathing and starting our lives again. (KII 13)

Why not vulnerable? We grew up in a stressful life and fear, and we've continued living for 23 years with poverty and diseases and have been denied stability ... Somalia's civil wars have not yet stopped, and for 23 years the wars have become more frequent, deadlier and even longer than the First and Second World Wars ... There have never been enough breaks in wars to enable us to rebuild our lives. The country has moved from conflict to conflict. (FGD 2, Wadajir)





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Conflicts recur because of reactions and revenge that are still there, and every clan wants to get revenge without going back to systems. There must be awareness among people not to seek revenge and to use systems, at least traditional ones, to avoid bigger clashes ... What we call aano qabiil (clan revenge) is destroying the lives of communities and spreading insecurity. (KII 21)

We are vulnerable because we are not settled, and armed groups are relentlessly fighting ... We are not able to build a good life because of the ongoing civil wars ... Wars are reoccurring because there is still no government capable of distributing resources evenly and establishing justice to avoid revenge ... what contributes to the vulnerability of communities is also the frequent conflict that forces international agencies to suspend operations even in the face of a looming drought. (KII 31)

There are so many factors that can cause conflict, but there must be grievances even at individual level that make one want to finish someone off because of a wrongdoing. The same applies to tribes, especially those who always want to go beyond their boundaries ... This is quite sensitive, and we don't want to have a problem ... so the fact that we don't know one another may keep us neutral, ... If a community can resolve its conflicts, then that community can adapt to disaster because it can use its elders to come forward with trust and stop the war ... What is right is that tribal elders use traditional kinship networks to resolve conflicts and build peace among families. For example, adaptation requires people to have a good understanding of conflict resolution, and that is why elders use kinship networks to resolve problems. (FGD 1, Hamarweyne)

5.5.1. Adaptive Strategies

Lack of security is one of the most difficult things for communities to adapt to because it involves direct loss of lives and property. Depending on the conditions and motives behind conflicts, traditional clan leaders can broker peace among fighters. But the most common community response, according to the data, is migration to safer zones and/or IDP camps.

Regarding protection, participants said that traditional elders and civil society could provide representation and human rights protection for IDP communities. Communities have less faith in the protection capabilities of government security systems and agencies, which are perceived to be corrupt and inefficient.

Traditional elders and systems and religious, business, and civil society leaders act as lead agents for the protection of the communities. These informal leaders advocate with politicians and local and international humanitarian communities to respond to conflict and humanitarian crises. The



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communities trust elders and religious leaders to fundraise during crises and to distribute food and non-food items equitably.

Communities in conflict areas live in fear and extreme destitution. They use situational tactics to cope with insecurity, for example, moving to safer areas, IDP camps or neighboring countries as conflicts intensify.

Data from this study showed that conflicts and violence lead to more male than female deaths and disappearances. Therefore, households send girls and women to work to secure food and income. However, women from the IDP communities have few marketable skills and face many social and economic constraints that may prevent improved livelihoods and food security.

5.5.2. Coping Strategies

What sorts of coping behaviors are used (as mentioned in the data) to mitigate and absorb the impacts of the shock/hazard (particularly those that do not necessarily improve resilience and those that may have a negative impact on resilience)?

Children participate in income-generation activities to support female-headed households or to support themselves if their parents have died or been injured, while other children may join armed groups. Resorting to children to generate income has severe negative impact on the long-term welfare of households and children because it reduces children's access to education. Moreover, it is difficult to access affordable education. The few private schools operating in IDP communities set higher fees than most families can afford.

Strategies used to cope with the effects of conflicts often include illegal and informal activities. Some communities survive through voluntary and involuntary support for armed groups by providing information, water or shelter in return for protection and the safety of their families. Some families marry their daughters to rebels to prevent persecution or destruction of their property.

While traditional elder-led peace and protection approaches are used to contain conflict and restore peace and stability, there is no guarantee that peace will be brokered, and hostilities may escalate again and again. Warring parties operate in the IDP areas with no formal authority to contain their operations. There is frequent fighting over resources or power or both. Elders approach the conflicting parties to end hostilities without reaching the root causes of the conflicts. While every effort may be made to contain crises, usually there are no plans to sustain peace.

How do these coping strategies affect people, households and communities? Can these coping strategies be used over the long term?



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Violent conflict affects lives, livelihoods and health. Many people flee their homes to refugee and IDP camps, while others carry on their daily lives in the midst of conflict and violence. The coping strategies discussed above are imposed on communities that may not have chosen them under normal conditions of peace and stability under a formal and efficient government. Most of the coping strategies described are short-term survival tactics to earn money, keep safe and avoid persecution.

More research is needed to determine the impact of individual coping strategies, but available data indicate that none of the IDPs' current coping mechanisms can be used as long-term strategies. Sending children to work can damage their health, deprive them of education and expose them to violence. As mentioned earlier, children's nutritional status is poor because of the shortage of even basic foods and medications. Community members who are forced to join armed groups or government forces face revenge killings, which leaves women and children without support. Armed groups target many women if they sell food or other items to rival groups.

5.5.3. Vulnerability Factors

In this dimension, what are the characteristics of people/households/communities that make them more susceptible to the negative impacts of the shock/hazard?

Poor and conflict-stricken communities have lived in a collapsed state for more than 2 decades and are regularly forced to flee recurrent drought and armed conflict. Most of these communities are poor because they have lost or left behind all their assets. All focus groups and key informants mentioned insecurity, poverty, food insecurity, drought and shortage of safe drinking water. The displaced communities live in a vicious circle of violence, poverty and natural disaster.

Strong clans protect their members, advocate for improvement of their living conditions and raise funds to respond to crises. Minority clans, on the other hand, can end up with no support system in IDP camps.

Are there any specific vulnerable groups (e.g., geographic, demographic, socioeconomic)?

Although entire communities suffer the impacts of armed conflict, women and girls are particularly affected because of their status in society. Several people interviewed reported cases of rape in and outside of the IDP camps. Fighting parties in conflict situations can also target men. Like any other social group, the elderly and children are critically vulnerable to the effects



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of conflict—death, poor health, poverty and food insecurity. Minority clans are among the most vulnerable groups because they do not benefit from social support networks or governance.

5.5.4. Causes and Effects

The state collapse in 1991 left Somalia in a state of chaos and anarchy. Besides war and violence, recurrent drought, severe food insecurity, water stress and the death of livestock forced civilians to flee from their villages to IDP camps. The conflict in Somalia affected all aspects of life, including the social fabric and coping mechanisms. It disrupted family and kinship systems by creating divisions between clans and increasing intra-clan insecurity and hostility, which further led IDPs to fall victim to disease from lack of food and potable water.

With regard to inter-dimensional relationships, conflict has destroyed local and national physical and livelihoods. *Infrastructure*. In addition to the destruction of physical and social infrastructure, conflict has affected human capital. Widespread fear of indiscriminate killing and abduction reduces labor available for productive work, as well as school attendance and economic activities. Growing illiteracy among youth makes many vulnerable to recruiters for the drug trade and armed conflicts.

Data revealed a relationship between the dimensions of *Security/Protection/Advocacy* and *Governance*. Participants indicated that prolonged conflicts destroyed national formal and traditional political systems and institutions and created divisions between communities. Conflicts changed power relations and created political and economic inequalities. Focus groups and key informants discussed the impact of looting and how stealing assets exacerbated conditions of poverty and food insecurity.

Participants mentioned that the primary cause of conflict in Somalia is competition over declining resources, political rights, and power, for example, the dictatorship and over-centralization of power and resources. Environmental degradation and recurrent drought have reduced available land for grazing pasture. Competition over remaining land has intensified instability, insecurity, hostility, and inter-clan fighting.

In the *Wealth* dimension, conflict has destroyed investment and productive economic activities. Both focus groups and key informants said that communities faced the worst type of livelihood asset depletion and destruction as combatants stripped them of all their assets, with no military capacity or protection. Participants also mentioned poverty and wide income inequality as causes of conflict. Poverty limits opportunities for education and employment, which can intensify grievances among clans. As a result of scarce employment opportunities, people tap tribalism/clannism and other preferential treatment to find employment and other opportunities.



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5.6. Human Capital

Aspects of this dimension include skills, knowledge and labor that together enable people to pursue different strategies and achieve their livelihood outcomes such as generating income and meeting their needs. Education level and workforce capacity are some of the indicators for ability to generate income. RAN considers the *Human Capital* dimension as including such indicators of access to quality education as:

- Access to and quality of formal schooling and technical or vocational training
- Mentoring of children and youth by family members and community elders
- Educational infrastructure and materials such as classrooms and textbooks
- The influence of systems such as leadership, community involvement in education and food supply on educational outcomes

In the Benadir IDP context, *Human Capital* includes information on education, awareness, literacy, human resources, behavior, habits, skills, competencies and personality attributes required to sustain a decent living.

We are vulnerable because of low levels of education among parents. So they have to practice manual labor; especially poor women are engaged in very low income-earning activities. I know I can talk about that more, and they say Somalia is a low-income country with its people living below the poverty line. That is a big reason for our vulnerability to drought and conflicts. But for sure, if you look at the levels of skilled people, they are very few. I mean, illiteracy is very high, even among public figures. Simple illiteracy combined with poverty worsened any possibility of making peace ... Low income earning takes people to violence and joining conflicts and terrorism ... Yes, indeed, just to add why the war is not ending in Somalia is because people are not getting income because they are not employable. So whoever gives them some money, they will fight for them. (FGD 1, Hodan)

Very critical, very critical. Access to education is very hard and very expensive. You know, we don't have public schools and universities. Everything is privatized, and parents must pay fees for all services, so who can do that? So you don't expect average citizens of this country, who are poor with large families, [to be educated). See, each single family has a minimum of six children to look after, so that is why female education is poor, because parents will make the best choice for their little money ... and that is to invest in sons and leave daughters to wait for marriage, which is often comes at an early age, and you expect all those female complications and poor health outcomes. We are trying to say that there are limited opportunities to increase and improve one's skills. (KII 20)

Low levels of education and few skills result usually in rural poor people living as subsistence farmers and working in informal employment, but today you find the same even



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among urban people, perpetuating the state of both rural and urban poverty. Here you have a combination of two poverties, rural and urban, which means that the whole nation is in a state of poverty ... Inadequate education [prevents people from] earning income and generating economic opportunities. Education even brings more personal benefits such as health and nutrition, whereby if you are educated, you can feed yourself ... It is not easy to get other jobs ... We cannot get productive employment other than our farming. (KII 19)

The argument is that all these disasters are interlinked ... In fact, NGOs played an important role in building the service sector, especially health and education. If you look at IDPs, it's only NGOs who maintained a presence and opened schools, but a big problem is the funding gap, which needs to be addressed. In fact, they are not getting enough money to support IDP schools, so it is very serious challenge ... You find drought coming again and again beyond our control, leading communities to famine. This was again and again the image of Somalia, where the nation went deep into crisis, getting poorer and poorer over the past 23 years, and the only way out is to seek God's forgiveness, repent, and get the government and Somali state to function and play its role to provide security, infrastructure and services needed by the communities. (KII 18)

5.6.1. Adaptive Strategies

Despite the fact that most IDP communities face the world's worst humanitarian crisis, education is among the neglected and forgotten issues and is forgone for other aspects of securing livelihoods. This does not indicate, however, that parents are not concerned about the cost of giving up education. Parents send children to Koranic schools run by the community. Most of the teachers in these schools do not have formal training and teach only the Koran. Moreover, the infrastructure of the Koranic schools is poor and weak.

While there is no formal education system, some parents send children to charity or NGO-run schools. Generally, most children and adults in IDPs have not received any education, formal or informal. Participants noted that people cope by quickly learning new skills to earn a living in urban settings. Both male and female adults try hard to acquire informal skills to secure jobs as electricians, masons, carpenters, plumbers, cleaners, cooks and waiters. Women play supplementary roles in supporting families to adapt to crises because men are targeted during conflicts.

5.6.2. Coping Strategies

What sorts of coping behaviors are used (as mentioned in the data) to mitigate and absorb the impacts of the shock/hazard (particularly those that do not necessarily improve resilience and those that may have a negative impact on resilience)?



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As there is no formal education in the IDP communities, children participate in income-generation activities to support their families. Resorting to children to generate income for the families has severe negative impacts on the long-term development of children and affects future resilience.

How do these coping strategies affect people, households, and communities? Can these coping strategies be used over the long term?

The data showed that most children in the IDP camps have no access to education, which is therefore considered a luxury. Participants said that financial challenges and lack of awareness are the main reasons children stay home from school. Many families are unable to meet their daily food and livelihood requirements, and school fees are expensive. Sending children to work cannot be a long-term solution or sustainable strategy. Most jobs children do are shoe shining and begging from early in the morning to the end of the day. These activities provide short-term benefits for poor families, especially for those who have a number of children who are capable of working hard in the markets. Some families depend on income from their children because parents may not be able to engage in both working and begging. Children combine a number of strategies to earn a daily income, regardless of the consequences. Participants mentioned cases of illegal activities such as theft, which may endanger the lives of children. Others collect *miraa* (khat) leaves from the markets to sell, although some children end up chewing them as well. Participants indicated that parents also risk their children joining street children when they send them to work in the markets.

5.6.3. Vulnerability Factors

In this dimension, what are the characteristics of people/households/communities that make them more susceptible to the negative impacts of the shock/hazard?

Are there any specific vulnerable groups (e.g., geographic, demographic, socioeconomic.)?

Although entire communities suffer the impact of loss of human capital, children are particularly affected. Adults can cope by looking for jobs, but children are more vulnerable than any other social group to present and future shocks.

5.6.4. Causes and Effects

Data from both the FGDs and KIIs place all the blame for the lack of educational opportunities on the civil conflict and state collapse, which severely disrupted the educational system. Participants indicated that few IDPs have employable skills. Conflicts and natural disasters in Somalia have direct effects on child development. Prolonged displacement and armed conflict



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led to the destruction of school buildings and interruption of children’s schooling. The enrolment rates of IDP children are insignificant, particularly for girls.

The *Human Capital* dimension maintains strong links with all other dimensions. Poverty constrains access to education, as parents are unable to afford tuition. Even if free education is available, communities struggle to pay for incidental expenses such as books and uniforms. Data show direct relationships between the dimensions of *Infrastructure* and *Human Capital*, For example, there are not enough schools in the region, as most public schools were destroyed or used as IDP camps. The data also link *Human Capital* to *Governance* and *Security/Protection/Advocacy*. Lack of safety and security for both children and teachers affects educational achievement. Participants indicated that the government has no capacity to either run schools or provide protection. High dropout rates affected by security (conflicts) and drought (environment) lead to displacement, early marriage of girls (*Social Capital/Community Networks*) and family pressure on children and youth to earn income (*Wealth*).

5.7. Psychosocial Wellbeing

The psychological status and wellbeing of household heads is a dimension of resilience often adversely affected in the short term, and potentially in the long term, depending in part on the nature and effectiveness of humanitarian assistance. Psychological resilience includes the ability to resume a normal life, facilitates participation in one’s convalescence, and prevents the pathological consequences of traumatic events.

In the Benadir IDP context, this dimension describes beliefs, attitudes and perceptions such as the conviction that misfortune is an act of God or destiny; customs; the role of prayer, religion, mosques, and sheikhs in helping people cope with disasters; and the psychosocial conditions resulting from armed conflict, recurrent drought and difficult living conditions.

Indeed, it is really in our religion that is it. When a disaster occurs, people are supposed to be patient and keep faith that He Who made droughts occur can as well make prosperity prevail. This is a deep inner faith that every Muslim is supposed to keep without ever regretting, and saying, “Why me...Why me? Is haraam (forbidden) in Islam? (FGD 1, Hamarweyne)

I thank God whenever I am in difficulties or prosperity. I thank Him for all the gifts He gave to us. I thank Him for His mercy. This is the faith in our hearts; otherwise, you go mad over the simple earthly assets you lost. So we always keep ourselves calm, even at times when life is no longer worth living, but we keep saying that tomorrow may improve. (FGD 1, Hodan)





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... so the recurrent loss of lives and property made communities live in stress ... Indeed, we believe in destiny, but at times we are humans who are attached to what we are losing, which is very painful and depressing ... Conflicts are not easy, as there is a possibility of losing lives, and really everyone here has lost his immediate family or even more. (FGD 2, Wadajir)

So most of the internally displaced people in the camps suffer from anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder ... Fighters use heavy artillery, which creates problems for all of us in such a way that if now a door is closed swiftly, some of us think a rocket landed and we get shocked at any sound ... (KII 2)

Once a women or girl is raped, many girls believe they are tarnished for life, and that gives them a lot of stress and depression ... Major depression is a problem affecting many women, particularly rape victims ... Women are forcibly raped each day ... and many victims may develop major depression Women are the most common sufferers of depression because of traumatic events for women—being raped, physically attacked, or killed by their husbands ... And if you ask, in fact, the majority of IDPs report intense anxiety and depression ... Therefore, it has been clear to many that IDPs have been exposed to traumatic events in their home districts. (KII 8)

Rape is horrifyingly widespread in conflicts in IDP camps ... Women are raped and their families cannot defend them because some of the rapists are armed ... Some women were detained and endured attacks directed against their rights, and they were raped. Too many, I can tell you, but unfortunately, due to under-reporting, it is impossible to know truly how many women are raped every day. (KII 7)

Droughts make families stressed, and you find conflicts increasing ... except those families who have good spouses. Mostly good women can survive from the effects of drought, as they try to multitask and support families; others end up in divorce and conflicts ... Yes, indeed, women are the backbone of our families, but some men abuse them as they are stressed, and divorce occurs ... Having a good spouse and obedient children will always make families cope better and adapt, as you said. (KII 6)

Everyone tries to find a way of reliving stress. Some go and practice religion and pray to get happiness ...but there are other, mostly male, IDPs who make use of khat, which gives them a lot of social, health and economic problems. As these IDP men are not able to purchase [khat], they use the little money for the family to spend on ... khat chewing ... Disputes between couples arise as result of the confusion. Women want to get money to support living, while these men want to chew khat, which leads to domestic violence ... and divorce. (FGD 1, Hamarweyne)



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5.7.1. Adaptive Strategies

Communities use faith/religion as their main source of psychosocial coping. Participants indicated that believing in destiny helps people adapt to disasters and extreme conditions. Communities believe that God Almighty has the power to test their faith and piety by giving people worldly tests, including life and property loss. Most discussants mentioned repentance and joining mass prayers for forgiveness and problem relief. Prayers are used as an instant call for help and relief in hopes that God may turn the attention of those of who have wealth to support them. In addition to prayer, communities encourage each other to abstain from sinful practices and submit completely to God’s will so that their suffering will come to an end.

Keeping a positive mood even during a crisis, with the hope that the current situation will end, is a key coping strategy. Data reveal that communities are deeply convinced that life has ups and downs that cannot be avoided. Persistence and commitment to make life better amid crises is viewed as strength. Therefore, families try to endure the most painful experiences, including death, with the view that things will improve despite present difficulties. IDP communities try hard to forget past hardships, which makes adaptation easier for them.

5.7.2. Coping Strategies

What sorts of coping behaviors are used (as mentioned in the data) to mitigate and absorb the impacts of the shock/hazard (particularly those that do not necessarily improve resilience and those that may have a negative impact on resilience)?

Some strategies do not improve resilience but instead have a negative impact. For example, communities ignore and deny forecasts of extreme conditions and usually don’t like to talk about them lest they bring bad fortune. Reliance on religious and traditional beliefs has led communities to face death and property destruction. For example, some people, especially the elderly, insist on remaining in their houses during conflicts, reasoning that they can never escape their destiny—life or death.

Data showed common use and abuse of khat by men in the IDP communities to feel more alert and less depressed over the hardships they face. Negative social, economic and health effects are associated with khat. Men spend the little daily income they make on the drug, which means their families suffer. The failure of these men take responsibility for their families can lead to breakups, as men fail to assume their responsibilities.

How do these coping strategies affect people, households and communities? Can these coping strategies be used over the long term?



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Chewing khat cannot be used as a long-term coping strategy because, besides bringing feelings of wellbeing, euphoria, excitement and self-esteem, it leads to insomnia and depression. Participants indicated that chewing khat led to decreased economic production and diversion of income. It also causes family problems, as men spend their daily wages on khat instead of vital needs for their families.

5.7.3. Vulnerability Factors

In this dimension, what are the characteristics of people/households/communities that make them more susceptible to the negative impacts of the shock/hazard?

Data showed no exception to the psychosocial effects of chronic internal displacements. Before displacement, communities faced harsh conditions that involved critical losses of lives and assets. During conflicts, both adults and children are traumatized, which increases mental health problems. IDPs face risks to their lives from the ongoing violence and conflict as well as from appalling and undignified living conditions.

Are there any specific vulnerable groups (e.g., geographic, demographic, socioeconomic)?

Women, children and the elderly are most vulnerable to the direct and indirect effects of internal displacement and among the hardest hit by psychosocial problems. Female respondents said that in addition to fear of rape and sexual violence, some women suffer from trauma-induced mental illness because of their financially constrained situation. Participants emphasized that having families in IDP camps is distressing.

5.7.4. Causes and Effects

Chronic internal displacement results from persistent conflict and natural disasters. Participants' accounts of their personal tragedies reflected the devastating lives they lived before and after displacement. In terms of mental health, communities discussed depression, khat abuse, domestic violence and broken relationships.

Parents are under intense pressure to earn income, but there are few employment opportunities and little security. Participants indicated fear of becoming victims of violence. People go to the market every morning, and at times markets are shelled by the different warring parties. Parents are faced with critically difficult choices: Do they stay home and face hunger or go out to earn money and face danger?

There is a strong inter-dimensional relationship between *Psychosocial Wellbeing* and other dimensions. Armed conflict causes fear and stress, and recurrent drought and food shortages



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cause depression and anxiety. The combined trauma of direct attacks, ongoing terror, illness, food deficits, and other hostile acts has caused permanent mental impairment among some IDPs. Other dimensions such as *Wealth, Health, Education, and Social Capital/Community Networks* may contribute to psychosocial problems. Food insecurity can cause extreme stress and anxiety. Stress and anxiety lead to reduced earnings, which leads to depression. Parents' stress also affects children, which coupled with the violent environment they grow up in, can cause aggressive and destructive behavior.

5.8. Social Capital/Community Networks

This dimension includes connections among individuals, households and groups (e.g., community networks and formal and informal institutions). The Benadir-specific meaning of this dimension includes information about cooperation, interdependence, family support, community attachment, informal transfers/remittances, culture, social safety nets and networks.

So we cooperate and depend on one another as other brothers and sisters, as communities, and likewise, people come to us in our villages when we are in good seasons for them to drink fresh milk and breathe our fresh air. This is like exchanging. (KII 15)

Of course, it is in the Koran, the Holy Book of God, that we are supposed to cooperate for the good cause and not to cooperate for the bad cause. So when we face such problems, we support one another and share wealth traditionally by giving some animals to those who lost all their animals to milk for the children or at times collect food to support those who need food urgently. (KII 2)

This is the best strategy, as you said, to use when big disasters such as conflict or droughts occur, as one alone cannot find all the solutions for each particular problems. People adapt to all their challenges through cooperation and interdependency. If you have your child working in towns or abroad like in Saudi Arabia or Europe and America, they still help you and the relatives by sending what they can, sometimes \$50 or \$100, which is good money for someone who does not have a single shilling to buy food ... Not only that, but another way that communities cope with these problems is to send off their children, especially girls, to better-off relatives to live and work for them so that we can reduce the burden of the too many children. (KII 30)

I have so far three children in different areas in the country living with their cousins, as we failed to keep all of them in one house due to lack of enough food ... This is of course painful, as I always liked to live with my children, but when circumstances come, then you are forced to give up and send them to a friend or relative so that they can support those families and they will get food to eat, so many people gave their children to others. People not only send



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children overseas, but they also still send them to work in cities and even camps to make money for the family ... Some of them you find very young, but they still have to work to survive and support the family ... That is why children are born, to support the parents when they are in need. These days children can do a lot of work to get some money by cleaning and car washing and shoe shining that can give them some money to take back home. (FGD 2, Hodan)

My husband has done such work during several previous droughts that occurred, and he was paid for keeping the cattle of some families, which helped the family start again its own livestock lost during the droughts. But as the family size increased, we found it difficult to keep working for others for such a low-paid job. (FGD 1, Hamarweyne)

I wanted to mention again the importance of always having family support in the face all disaster. They can really take us through a crisis, and we need to always give due consideration ... In line with what the honorable said, we also have enough examples in our culture of how some cannot be compared in crisis with those who have their families' support ... I think the fact that we all [are] always promised [help] from our families, but it also depends on the level of crisis you have, which at times [families] may not afford to support, but families always are strong back-up support for all of us, and truly in this question, they are the right answer. (FGD 1, Hodan)

In fact, when it is really very difficult, families are a source of mercy to relieve stress ... Usually whatever happens to us, we first refer to God to help us and our families to reduce the burden of stress. In fact, it very stressful when you may be robbed from work and they take what the family gives to cope better. Indeed, the love and support of family plays an important role in facing disasters strongly ... You are lucky if you have obedient children and a caring spouse ... Families can support you with counseling and getting clear ideas and also working beside you. (KII 23)

5.8.1. Adaptive Strategies

Many different coping strategies were mentioned in FGDs and KIIs, including community attachment, cooperation, interdependence and kinship-based fundraising and contributions. Remittances and kinship support play important roles in social networks and provide income for some households. However, the most vulnerable populations may not have such networks.

Some FGD and KII participants mentioned that some IDPs send their children to live with their wealthier family members in towns and cities, which often stresses the host families. Most indicated that strong family support and a good spouse increases the chances of quickly adapting to crises. Several noted that when IDPs assimilate into their host communities, they enjoy more



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opportunities and protection. Assimilation comes in a number of ways, but usually IDPs assimilate through interaction and intermarriage with host communities.

5.8.2. Coping Strategies

What sorts of coping behaviors are used (as mentioned in the data) to mitigate and absorb the impacts of the shock/hazard (particularly those that do not necessarily improve resilience and those that may have a negative impact on resilience)?

Analysis of the data collected during this study found no clear indication of negative coping strategies under the *Social Capital/Community Networks* dimension. However, negative coping strategies were found at the interaction between *Social Capital/Community Networks* and other dimensions such as *Wealth* and *Health*. An example is the association between dependence on remittances and income fluctuation. Some families face a financial crisis if they fail to receive remittances for 1 or 2 months. Others receive remittances that are too small to help them accumulate the wealth to start a business. Moreover, families may spend remittances on consumption rather than on expensive education and health services.

Social networks, especially among older women, guide young women's decisions, especially about maternal health. Older women discourage the use of modern maternal health services and encourage traditional treatments instead. They advise pregnant women to reduce their diet during pregnancy to avoid large babies, an understandable strategy where assisted delivery may not be available. Traditional social networks encourage early marriage for both girls and boys, with consequences of poor child care practices, an underlying cause of acute malnutrition in children.

5.8.3. Vulnerability Factors

In this dimension, what are the characteristics of people/households/communities that make them more susceptible to the negative impacts of the shock/hazard?

Chronic internal displacement especially affects large and extended families. Armed civil conflict and natural disasters have direct and indirect costs that affect the living conditions of large and extended households on the way to and in the IDP camps. For example, children and the elderly may contract diseases as a result of poor sanitation in the IDP sites. Participants indicated that many children die along the way to the camps and that the elderly may be left behind because they cannot walk long distances.



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Are there any specific vulnerable groups (e.g., geographic, demographic, socioeconomic)?

People with too many mouths to feed cannot provide enough food equally among family members, leading to malnutrition. Poor families, who are dependent on social support, also suffer when shocks disrupt the income sources of their supporters.

5.8.4. Causes and Effects

Chronic internal displacement has multiple impacts on social capital and wellbeing. Conflict destroys environmental, physical, human and social capital. Internal displacement reduces people's ability to earn a decent living. Conflict and drought, the main triggers of chronic internal displacement, result in loss of life, livelihoods and human dignity. Chronic internal displacement limits access to employment and earnings. Droughts decrease trust among clans as they struggle over increasingly scarce resources. In IDP camps, communities may scuffle over humanitarian assistance. Conflict and recurrent drought also affect the ability of individuals and households to build coping strategies. More vulnerable households, which do not have assets or savings, have the most difficulty accessing markets and employment.

5.9. Infrastructure

This dimension includes basic infrastructure and physical, community or societal assets (e.g., roads, railways and telecommunications) that help people function more productively. In the Benadir context, infrastructure includes information about infrastructure such as roads, bridges, electricity, irrigation channels, shelter, health facilities and water and sanitation infrastructure; construction quality; and location of physical and livelihood infrastructure.

The state is weak, the Somali government is not strong, and we are not strong. We are just trying to rebuild the state institutions, so the infrastructure is not adequate, such as roads which became rotten and useless ... Even before the collapse, we had some infrastructure, but it was not enough, so when the collapse occurred, the situation worsened and the number of communities increased and did not have enough roads or schools or hospitals. (KII 32)

There was historical neglect of investing in infrastructure by the former government, and after the collapse it worsened ... Tribes with power can access more services such as health and education than those who are less powerful and less heavily armed ... Not only power, but even income [because] poor families cannot access highly privatized services, and one needs to have cash to pay for everything. This keeps communities vulnerable. (KII 28)

Infrastructure should be critical and at the heart of rebuilding Somalia's future. The issue of infrastructure, if you see the distance to reach services points such as hospitals, which are



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only in the major cities, communities cannot afford transportation and the cost of staying in cities, which is very expensive. This doubles the vulnerability of communities. (KII 6)

Poor living conditions, including lack of sanitation and infrastructure, hinder development of both rural and urban areas, as roads are in terrible condition that could have otherwise increased access to agricultural inputs and markets. Without roads, communities will be cut off from markets in urban areas. Also, poor irrigation systems affect agricultural yields because of the uncertainty of rain for crop production. Before the state collapse, the Somali government collaborated with other countries and invested in irrigation, but that was destroyed during the years of state collapse. Lack of access to markets, whether because of poor infrastructure or low productivity, limited education or insufficient information often results in food insecurity and poverty. (KII 11)

There is no relief these days that can reduce the effects of drought, such as surface water dams or bunds to avoid water scarcity and crop failure ... Small farmers are vulnerable to drought because it destroys their primary sources of food and income, which depend on rain ... Farmers are vulnerable because they don't have access to information on prices, good roads to reach markets or infrastructure to increase productivity and add value to their produce. (KII 26)

5.9.1. Adaptive Strategies

Data showed that communities have difficulty adapting to the challenges imposed by infrastructure failure, deterioration, destruction and negligence. National infrastructure was not maintained for the past two decades and was deliberately destroyed during the civil war. Among the few adaptive strategies communities use are getting water from donkey carts or taps at water points in the camps. In the IDPs' districts of origin in Benadir Region, communities get water from catchments, shallow wells, mechanized deep hand-dug wells and a limited number of boreholes. IDPs who reach the Benadir Region camps have access to water if water installations are available and accessible amid ongoing insecurity, but water supply in the IDP camps can suffer from mechanical or electrical problems.

Telecommunications coverage and access are growing, especially mobile phone coverage. Communities use mobile phones to communicate and to transfer money (mobile money).

5.9.2. Coping Strategies

What sorts of coping behaviors are used (as mentioned in the data) to mitigate and absorb the impacts of the shock/hazard (particularly those that do not necessarily improve resilience and those that may have a negative impact on resilience)?



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This study found that coping strategies under the *Infrastructure* dimension are not very different from adaptive strategies because of poor existing infrastructure and the high cost of introducing alternatives. There has been no maintenance of or investment in infrastructure for the 20 years, and roads, water systems, schools, hospitals and housing are in very poor condition. Participants in KIIs and FGDs mentioned that IDPs live in makeshift tents made of plastic sheets that provide no protection against the elements.

Some of the IDPs' adaptive strategies seriously affect other dimensions of resilience. For example, the interaction between *Water* infrastructure and *Health* has a negative impact on community resilience to health-related shocks. In addition, lack of maintenance of the water *Infrastructure* (boreholes) causes diarrhea and other waterborne diseases, affecting the dimension of *Health*.

5.9.3. Vulnerability Factors

In this dimension, what are the characteristics of people/households/communities that make them more susceptible to the negative impacts of the shock/hazard?

Data show that community coping mechanisms in this dimension are exhausted after prolonged conflicts, recurrent drought and lack of humanitarian assistance to rebuild and sustain livelihoods.

Are there any specific vulnerable groups (e.g., geographic, demographic, socioeconomic)?

Poor, extended pastoralist families are the most vulnerable to depletion of water and grazing pasture, which causes disease and death among livestock, reducing income and assets. The lack of a strong government to protect and support people, combined with climatic variability, environmental degradation, poor human and animal health services and poor road infrastructure makes communities more susceptible to internal displacement.

5.9.4. Causes and Effects

The repercussions of Somalia's state collapse for the political, social and economic fabric of society can best be described as disastrous. The outcomes of the state's collapse were lack of state institutions, security, social services, employment and infrastructure. Over 2 decades, critical national infrastructure either was eliminated or fell into disrepair.

Participant responses indicated that the *Infrastructure* dimension can contribute positively or negatively to other dimensions. For example, access to education is limited because of the destruction of most public schools and education facilities and the use of schools for housing. Koranic education is more widespread than formal schooling. In any case, most IDP families



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have limited resources to send children to schools. Poor water quality and sanitation infrastructure, combined with the lack of public health services, contributes to increased illness, especially AWD and cholera, among IDP communities. *Infrastructure* also affects the *Wealth* dimension. For example, poor roads contribute to the vulnerability of communities who cannot access markets to sell their products.





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CHAPTER SIX. CONTEXT-SPECIFIC RESILIENCE FRAMEWORK

The framework in figure 4 indicates the underlying causes and main and secondary effects of chronic internal displacement, the factors that make communities in Benadir Region vulnerable to internal displacement, and the mechanisms communities have developed to cope with the effects of the shock. The relationships among the dimensions are explored in detail in each of the sections of this chapter.

The context-specific resilience framework illustrates the relationships between dimensions in the context of chronic internal displacement. The circles represent the individual dimensions. The dimensions are grouped and positioned according to underlying causes, immediate causes/effects, outcomes and supporting enabling factors. The arrows show linkages and the cause/effect (driver) pathways between dimensions and dimension groups.

Figure 4. Framework for the shock, causes and effects, vulnerability factors and adaptive mechanisms of communities in Benadir Region

Framework for the causes and effects of displacement, vulnerability factors, and adaptive mechanisms in Benadir region, Somalia

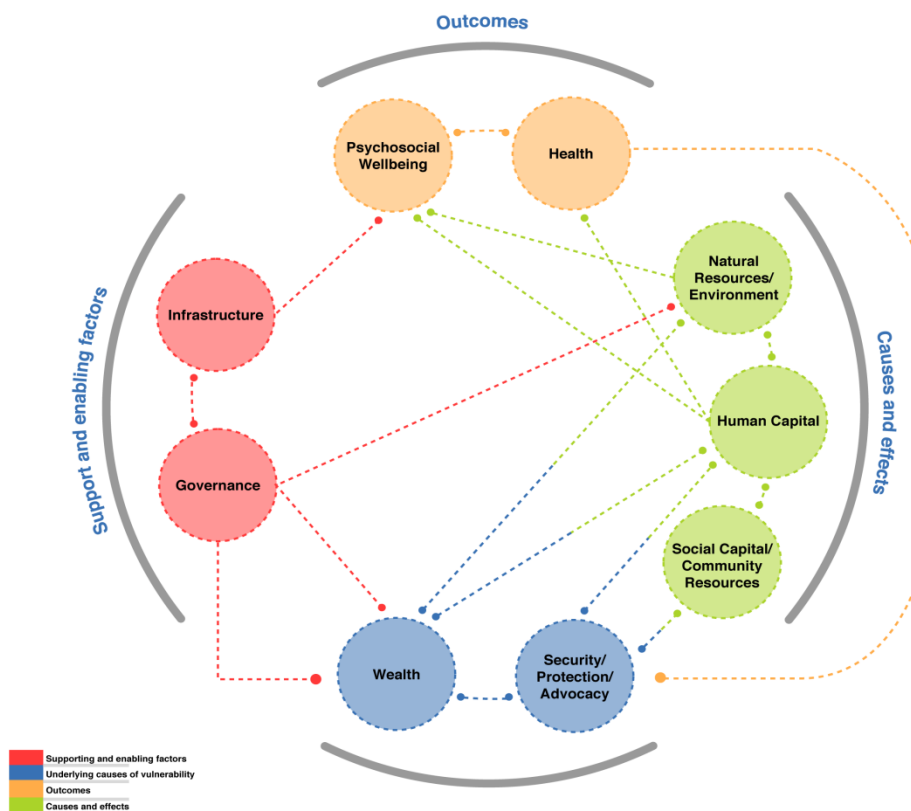


Table 3 below codes the data from the FGD and KII transcripts by dimensions mentioned by participants.

Table 3. Co-occurrence of frequencies of dimension codes

Dimension of resilience	Social Capital/Community Networks	Health	Psychosocial Wellbeing	Wealth	Governance	Natural Resources/Environment	Human Capital	Infrastructure	Security/Protection/Advocacy	TOTAL
Social Capital/Community Networks		28	37	47	37	42	41	19	46	298
Health	28		23	36	29	33	24	20	35	228
Psychosocial Wellbeing	37	23		36	34	41	40	17	45	273
Wealth	47	36	36		46	50	44	23	49	330
Governance	37	29	34	46		49	47	30	56	328
Natural Resources/Environment	42	33	41	50	49		44	28	53	340
Human Capital	41	24	40	44	47	44		24	53	316
Infrastructure	19	20	17	23	30	28	24		29	191
Security/Protection/Advocacy	46	35	45	49	56	53	53	29		365

The table shows the number of quotes from the transcripts coded in each combination of dimensions. Some quotes are coded under more than one dimension. Information related to the dimensions of *Security/ Protection/Advocacy*, *Natural Resources/Environment*, *Wealth* and *Governance* was frequently mentioned simultaneously, yielding the highest code co-occurrence. For example, 49, 53 and 56 of 365 quotes related to *Security/Protection/Advocacy* were also coded under *Wealth*, *Natural Resources/Environment* and *Governance*, respectively; 49, 50 and 53 of the 340 quotes concerning *Natural Resources/Environment* were also coded under



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Governance, Wealth and Security/Protection/Advocacy, respectively; and 46, 49 and 50 of 330 quotes concerning *Wealth* were also coded under *Governance, Security/Protection/Advocacy* and *Natural Resources/Environment*, respectively.

Participants highlighted the dimensions of *Wealth, Security/Protection/Advocacy* and *Natural Resources/Environment* as underlying drivers of vulnerability as well as enablers of adaptation and resilience. In table 4, which shows the co-occurrence of dimensions and analysis framework points, the dimensions of *Security/Protection/Advocacy, Wealth, Governance* and *Natural Resources/Environment* came up simultaneously with the highest code co-occurrences of vulnerabilities and drivers of adaptation. For example, 55 of 210 quotes concerning *Security/Protection/Advocacy*, 54 of 186 quotes concerning *Wealth*, 54 of 186 quotes concerning *Governance* and 54 of 179 quotes concerning *Natural Resources/Environment* are coded as vulnerabilities to the chronic internal displacement shock/stress, while 33 of 210 quotes concerning *Security/Protection/Advocacy*, 26 of 186 quotes concerning *Wealth*, 28 of 186 quotes concerning *Governance* and 24 of 179 quotes concerning *Natural Resources/Environment* are coded as drivers of adaptation to the chronic internal displacement shock/stress. The framework illustrates that the dimensions of *Wealth, Security/Protection/Advocacy* and *Natural Resources/Environment* are thematically related.

Table 4. Code co-occurrence of dimensions and analysis framework points

	Causes	Effects	Fulfilled life	Risks and shocks	Suggested solutions	Vulnerabilities	Vulnerable groups	Adaptation	Drivers	TOTAL
Social Capital/Community Networks	13	21	8	6	6	44	13	15	23	149
Health	23	25	8	10	5	36	7	19	19	153
Psychosocial Wellbeing	12	22	9	7	6	36	13	12	27	143
Wealth	16	26	10	9	8	54	13	24	26	186
Governance	22	27	9	9	10	54	13	13	28	186





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Natural Resources/ Environment	17	32	10	9	7	54	13	13	24	179
Human Capital	16	22	10	7	8	45	13	15	28	164
Infrastructure	11	16	4	15	6	29	5	10	16	112
Security/Protection/ Advocacy	27	28	12	15	9	55	13	19	33	210

Participants highlighted *Wealth*, *Security/Protection/Advocacy* and *Natural Resources/Environment* as underlying drivers of vulnerability as well as enablers of adaptation and resilience. In the dimension by analysis framework points' code co-occurrence table, the dimensions of *Wealth*, *Security/Protection/Advocacy*, *Governance* and *Natural Resources/Environment* came up simultaneously with the highest code co-occurrences of vulnerabilities and drivers of adaptation. For example, 55 of 210, 54 of 186, 54 of 186 and 54 of 179 quotes concerning total analysis framework points of the dimensions peace and security, wealth, governance and natural resources respectively are coded as vulnerabilities to the chronic internal displacement shock/stress while 33 of 210, 26 of 186, 28 of 186 and 24 of 179 quotes concerning total analysis framework points of the dimensions of *Wealth*, *Security/Protection/Advocacy*, *Governance* and *Natural Resources/Environment* are coded as drivers of adaptation to the chronic internal displacement shock/stress.

... as I said previously, it a fact that livestock is lost because of drought, and this reduces pastoral farmers' wealth ... [and makes them] increasingly vulnerable to drought. Water shortages limit the availability of water... which creates a lot of financial stress and bad relationships between neighboring clans as they compete desperately over scanty water or pasture, let alone the fact that most of the clans had skirmishes in the pasts, which can easily take them back to hostilities, so problems nowadays recur. You cannot give that much to others, but... people still share livestock for milking so that a neighbor can only milk but cannot slaughter. (KII 2)

... As drought periods get longer or shorter but always return, you cannot produce enough food to eat three times a day, so you reduce the food for adults and provide it to children ... It has been the custom for people in rural areas to not eat three times a day as they do in cities, but drought can make families further reduce their number of meals. Not many go to school, but children are taken out of school when parents cannot pay the fees anymore ... and [children] also need to contribute to the family and as well save money for the families. (FGD 1, Hamarweyne)





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I think we're not saying anything if we don't say that drought caused the conflict. Especially difficulties in getting water, which led to so many tribes going to war. We all agree that water is a big problem in Somalia, and this where we suggest that universities help people ... Universities don't have money ... Money is nothing but the will of God, thank God, of course as part of the droughts we have been talking about, people flee from drought because of lack of water ... In fact, there are real issues regarding water, which lead to lot of tribal tension over access to a water point. This usually causes open war between the tribes, and entire communities will be displaced due to stress over water. This is something given the least attention, as we know the government is weak and NGOs want only short-term projects. (FGD 2, Hodan)

In fact, God gave us enough water in our country, especially in our Lower Shebelle region, and I witnessed a situation whereby some of the people died in areas where water is just 20 meters down, I don't say water is scarce, but we don't have the capacity of drillers and reservoirs, and thus communities fight over water, which is one of the leading reasons for displacement ...

Ideally there must be peace and security to adapt otherwise you will keep starting from scratch whenever a war breaks out and destroys your wealth. Living or non-living, peace is a condition. At least that is how a normal human being should believe. (KII 3)

Conflict and drought are the main triggers of chronic internal displacement. Water and pasture stress ignite conflicts over resources and food insecurity (crop failure), which cause human and livestock deaths. The data showed that *Governance* was central in the community resilience domain. Participants were discouraged by governance failures and expect both national and international interventions to restore governance, peace and security to reduce the effects of armed conflicts and internal displacement. They stated that communities do not have the means to contribute to governance because of the lack of elections. The lack of a central government for decades has contributed to national vulnerability, and communities do not receive state support.

The role of government is missing to provide us all the necessary emergency support. Nor do we have a way to take our voices to their high tables. You cannot produce enough food to eat three times a day, so you reduce food intake ... we regularly have not been producing enough yield, and our crops could not yield sufficient food to maintain the communities, especially ... Bay and Lower Shebelle communities often suffer starvation due to crop failure and flee to Benadir to secure access to government or NGO support, [but these] can't reach those regions because of armed militias. (FGD 1, Wadajir)

Droughts destroyed pasture, which is essential for our lives ... and because no rangeland management is in place and the government is not able to exercise authority, most of the



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grazing land available for pastures vanished due to lack of rains and management, and people keep fleeing to where they can find pasture. (KII 5)

Drought has affected pasture growth throughout much of Somalia ... severe and sustained drought has stressed grazing pasture ... Lack of rains could stretch the available forage in the pasture if the drought persists. Thus communities face food insecurity and conflicts ... If there is not enough pasture, communities are always in danger of famine and conflicts, as there is no central authority in government and especially in the Ministry of Natural Resources. (KII 2)

Even when it rains, pasture needs time to recover from prolonged drought, and people cannot wait that long. You find the little bit of pasture vanishes in less than a month. When communities are pasture stressed, they are susceptible to competition, conflict and displacement... People are vulnerable when the pasture to graze their animals is reduced by drought, which leads to reduced animal stocks and livelihood opportunities. (KII 10)

Pastoralists are vulnerable to drought because they depend on rain and pasture, which are also vulnerable to drought, exacerbating conflict. Water scarcity has forced people to migrate to where they can find water ... Most of the regions are drought prone, and water scarcity is a key driver of conflict among clans when each family flees its home village in search of water. (FGD 2, Hodan)

The dimensions of *Wealth*, *Human Capital* and *Social Capital/Community Networks* are thematically related because poverty and unemployment weaken social support networks and capital. In the inter-dimensional analysis of the study, 44 of 330 quotes concerning *Wealth* are also coded as *Human Capital*, 47 of 330 quotes concerning *Wealth* are also coded as *Social Capital/Community Networks*, 41 of 316 quotes concerning *Human Capital* are also coded as *Social Capital/Community Networks*, 44 of 316 quotes concerning *Human Capital* are also coded as *Wealth*, 41 of 298 quotes concerning *Social Capital/Community Networks* are also coded as *Human Capital* and 47 of 298 quotes concerning *Social Capital/Community Networks* are also coded as *Wealth*.

I mean, all this will be part of resolving conflicts, and it will even help our leaders in the clans, the government and business, who should learn from the culture how we resolved our problems. Another issue is to support one another, so the wealthy families should support others. Especially those in the diaspora should send money and other things to support these people. You know, getting some money can help a family ... really, daily, everyone has only one meal. (KII 8)





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Most of the people who integrate with host communities through marriage or adoption cope better than those who remain in camps ... Life in camps cannot last. Some people decide to shift to suburbs to get closer to the cities and get employment and then slowly become part of the host communities, so in my experience, usually those parents who took their children to host community schools easily assimilated into society because their children become friends with other children, and as host communities are Muslims, with some faith this helps us to be part of them. (FGD 1, Hamarweyne)

The *Human Capital* dimension is related to shock through high illiteracy and unemployment, which hinders access to stable income, livelihood opportunities and high living standards. Unemployed community members are vulnerable to poverty and food insecurity. Youth are exploited or recruited by warring parties because of their illiteracy and unemployment.

You always need skills that you transfer and use ... carpentry, plumbing and electrical [skills], cooking and driving ... Not only business, but I would argue that you always need skills. Mostly it's only education that can help people make a good living. In fact, we have nowhere to learn skills, but the only way to improve your life and adapt to any situation is education ... We all understand the importance of skills, so we need to teach people skills that can help them build better lives. (FGD 1 Wadajir)

We need to access education to build our capacity to get out of poverty and contribute more to our country ... As our wealth mostly is livestock and farmland, we adapt to shocks like looting or insecurity by keeping them not in one place but in different places. You need networks of people to help you get jobs through who you know and who they know. This is the only way you can adapt in violent places. (FGD 2, Hodan)

The outcome-related, causal-supportive dimensions of *Health, Psychosocial Wellbeing, Natural Resources/ Environment, Social Capital/Community Networks, Human Capital, Governance* and *Infrastructure* are thematically interrelated and indicate vulnerability to poverty and conflict. High food prices force communities to cut both their daily food intake and family expenses, which lowers their human development indicators. For example, most health and education services are offered through the private sector, and participants said communities could not afford the fees. In the cause/effect chain, the dimension of *Natural Resources/Environment* received the highest code co-occurrence, 32 of 179 of the analysis framework points.

Infrastructure showed fewer code co-occurrence points in both the dimension-by-dimension analysis and dimension-by-analysis framework, although when related to the main shock/stress of chronic internal displacement in the analysis framework, it received the highest code co-occurrence (15 of 112 points), followed by *Security/Protection/Advocacy* (15 of 210 points).



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However, *Infrastructure* and *Governance* frequently came up simultaneously with the code co-occurrences (30 of 191 and 30 of 328, respectively) in the dimension-by-dimensions analysis.

The most vulnerable groups are children under 5, pregnant and lactating women, mostly [because of] lack of public health services, poor sanitation and poor access to clean water ... During drought, people, especially children, women and the elderly, face water and food shortages, and this is likely to have a long-term effect on their health and wellbeing and [they will] mostly like face death ... Children and women mainly face poor health status as part of the population before and after disaster. Mostly women and children suffer from iron-deficiency anemia, which increases the risk of child and maternal mortality. ... Definitely, lack of capable, functioning government that could provide the necessary funding for infrastructure development to help communities get services such as water supply and sanitation, health clinics ... the real factors that destroyed Somalia were poor governance and poor resource allocation. Instead of investing in infrastructure and education, we invested in building a military arsenal and purchased unnecessary weaponry during the Cold War, which people used to kill themselves. So why not, education and economic opportunities are according to me the true defense lines of every nation, not the number of weapons ... What we see today is internal displacement, but it was made possible by decades of negligence, which is now finally badly affecting the lives of children and women in particular and all people in general. (KII 26)

In dry seasons, you cannot expect good harvests, as we depend on rain-fed farming. So we need some new support to capture rainwater or get shared boreholes [as] alternative irrigation ... I produce enough during good seasons but don't have the capacity to store or add value ... we need good storage facilities like metallic containers instead of underground pits ... We face a lot of hunger and finally famine ... of course, famine can be stopped if we get support to produce [food] with irrigation. (FGD 1, Hamarweyne)

To make it very clear, this country suffered underdevelopment ... yes, it's true that we had a promising start as a nation, but look at the level of socioeconomic development by the government ... In addition to those years of state collapse, when there was no functioning government that could maintain infrastructure, the infrastructure that I mean is that useful for the people, that can contribute to peace and development, such as roads, schools, hospitals, irrigation channels and so on ... Just look how dire it is ... In some of the districts, including major cities, the road network disappeared during those years of civil unrest. Today some regions are no-go zones just because of poor road networks. You cannot reach our villages because the roads were destroyed during the wars and the rains kept washing them away for 23 years ... Our hospitals and schools have not been renovated since the collapse ... We did not have enough infrastructure in place even before the collapse, and after the collapse it worsened. (KII 27)



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In this study, the dimensions of *Human Capital*, *Natural Resources/Environment*, *Security/Protection/Advocacy* and *Wealth* showed strong code co-occurrence with *Social Capital/Community Networks*. In the dimension-by-dimension analysis, 41 of 298 quotes related to *Human Capital*, 42 of 298 quotes related to *Natural Resources/Environment*, 46 of 298 quotes related to *Security/Protection/Advocacy* and 47 of 298 quotes related to *Wealth* are coded as *Social Capital/Community Networks*. Social networks were identified as a community attachment method to cope with the effects of chronic internal displacement. On a larger scale, communities rely on one another through remittances, gifts, charity and other in-kind assistance during both the pre- and post-displacement phases.

Many people, in particular children, eat leftovers in the camps and streets, which [causes] worries about their health risks, particularly [for] children who live near bad-smelling open sewage...Many children and adults die as a result of a lack of access to food, which is a fact ... that appeared on all TVs .. and I know such stories are painful to ever happen, but truly they were happening and continue to happen, The rate of hunger and malnutrition in female-headed households was always appalling, very painful for those who are in the field with communities [and] know it very well and actually know much better than everyone else. So with the poor health of these communities, especially women tend to fall into poverty and the poor tend to have poor health ... This problem spreads and get worse because the dependents of such women will suffer severely poor living conditions. So what is the outcome? You will see, children are lacking basic necessities such as food, clothing, shelter, safety and parental care because fathers mostly died in the famine or conflicts. They lack health and education needed for normal childhood life ... Children and women are facing food and water insecurity, poverty and a lack of good quality, affordable education ... If you take a deep look at all these complex situations, you will find at times that for Somalia to recover may take decades ... Most of those who are involved in state building are taking a deep look at all the root causes ... Just as a simple example, you have all these children who have either got single parents or no parents and do not have the basic necessities. I mean, we should [not] fool ourselves; in reality, poverty is making people vulnerable, especially children who end up as street children with no education and join violence and terrorism.
(KII 24)

In the dimension-by-analysis framework points, dimensions such as *Security/Protection/Advocacy*, *Wealth*, *Governance*, *Natural Resources/Environment*, *Human Capital*, *Social Capital/Community Networks* and *Psychosocial Wellbeing* come up with similar code co-occurrences as in the framework analysis point of vulnerable groups.

Better adaptation can be possible. You have education, and you are not ignorant, but you can't make good connections with people. Another thing that is crucial is that in the face of



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crisis, you need to be calm and stable. Of course, this depends on our personalities. This is really very important ... Always look at the people who preach to people to keep themselves calm, as we know some of this crisis goes beyond their hands. By the way, this why we [pray to] our God to keep us calm and steady So you should always keep in your mind that God is there to help you, so [there is] no need to panic. (FGD 1, Hodan)

Keeping others' cattle is an alternative way of living for the impoverished men in the villages before they start moving to towns or IDP camps. This is in the case of natural disasters such as drought, but when it's armed conflict, then [there is] no way other than fleeing to the nearest safest place or less dangerous [place], as men are usually a target. (FGD 2, Hamarweyne)

Of course, while cooperation is a must all the time, people have to rely on themselves by working. What I know is that when drought take our livestock and we flee to cities and other areas, women and children can only find small jobs, enough for the day's meal, by cleaning utensils and clothes. We go in groups in the morning and walk around the neighborhood asking people if they need any laundry, mopping or dish cleaning, so it depends on them, if they call you, then they will give you some food while working and some money, like 2 dollars if you work the whole day and do laundry. (FGD 1, Hodan)

As mentioned in our religion, you need to find a cover from disaster and not insist on remaining in the disaster site, as God will always like those who are flexible and patient and do not commit suicide in remaining where there is no prospect of living. So communities usually move to places they find most likely to support them, which are nowadays the IDP sites, to get some food and water, which are very important for the communities, and shelter and protection in case communities are fleeing from armed conflicts. (KII 9)

A big challenge is our agriculture, which is very weak and suffers from lack of water, lack of markets, lack of skills and lack of value addition ... If you produce enough during good seasons but don't have capacity to store or add value, you need good storage facilities such as metal containers instead of underground pits ... The drought decreases our produce, but seeds and fertilizers are also not there. Even the milk we produce abundantly gets spoiled as it is kept in traditional containers. We need better and we need a way of producing more from our milk to earn cash. (FGD 1, Wadajir)





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CHAPTER SEVEN. INTERVENTION ENTRY POINTS

The effects of chronic internal displacement in Benadir Region could be averted by timely and appropriate interventions. This chapter discusses proposed intervention entry points based on the results of the qualitative study. The context-specific analytic framework was used to identify the best dimensions for interventions that would have a positive impact on overall resilience. The process was informed by the dimension descriptions, the levels/locations of the dimensions on the resilience framework and the linkages (cause/effect chain) between the entry point dimension and other dimensions. These findings indicated potential entry points for designing, incubating, testing and scaling up innovations to help build the resilience of communities in Benadir Region to chronic internal displacement.

Entry points that can build resilience to chronic internal displacement are related to *Wealth*, *Natural Resources/Environment* and *Security/Protection/Advocacy*, enabled by interventions in the *Governance* and *Infrastructure* dimensions. Interventions in the *Wealth*, *Natural Resources/Environment*, and *Infrastructure* dimensions will have a positive impact on reducing tribal conflict over resources, create employment and strengthen access to services.

Interventions should take into account the underlying causes of vulnerability to chronic internal displacement in the *Wealth* dimension (poverty, cutting trees to make charcoal to earn a living), in the *Security/Protection/Advocacy* dimension (communities fighting over resources), in the *Natural Resources/Environment* dimension (water and pasture stress) and in the *Human Capital* dimension (lack of knowledge of how to find employment and diversify income sources). Interventions through the entry point of *Wealth* should take into account the support-related dimensions of *Governance*, *Infrastructure*, and *Social Capital/Community Networks*. Improvements in the *Wealth* dimension should then take into account the causal and supportive dimensions to have positive outcomes on the outcome-related dimensions of *Health* and *Wellbeing*.

Wealth. Participants in the FGDs and KIIs in this study discussed the depletion of IDPs' assets and sources of income. The IDPs have little access to stable employment and little or no access to services such as health, education, water and sanitation, loans or microcredit. Poverty is one of the causes of vulnerability to chronic internal displacement. Therefore, interventions in the entry point of *Wealth* should include investment in livelihood assets (physical, human, financial, natural and social), employment generation for vulnerable groups, local food production and access, production of resistant crops and herds, access to cheaper inputs, expansion of inter-trade, microfinance support, particularly for productive sectors (e.g., agriculture) and livestock restocking to aid recovery from severe drought.





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Natural Resources/Environment. This dimension could be an entry point for interventions such as environmental conservation and disaster management to enable communities to harvest water for agriculture and livestock. Livestock feed, seeds and reforestation are possible solutions. Interventions through the entry point of *Natural Resources/Environment* should take into account the support-related dimensions of *Governance* and *Infrastructure*. Improvements would result in positive outcomes in the outcome-related dimensions of *Health* and *Psychosocial Wellbeing* and the vulnerability-related dimensions of *Wealth* and *Security/Protection/Advocacy*.

Security/Protection/Advocacy. Participants identified recurrent and prolonged conflict as a major cause of vulnerability to chronic internal displacement. Investing in community reconciliation, conflict resolution and peace building (security sector development) is a possible solution to strengthen resilience. Interventions should take into account the underlying causes of vulnerability in the dimensions of *Wealth* (youth recruited and exploited by rebels because of their poor living conditions) and *Natural Resources/Environment* (communities fighting over natural resources), as well as the support-related dimension of *Governance* and the causal and supportive dimensions of *Natural Resources/ Environment*, *Social Capital/Community Networks* and *Human Capital*. Interventions would result in positive outcomes in the vulnerability-related dimensions of *Wealth* and *Security/ Protection/Advocacy*.

Infrastructure. Participants described difficulties accessing water and poor health and education as problems that increase vulnerability to chronic internal displacement. Investing in infrastructure would have a positive impact on social services such as education, health, water, sanitation and shelter. Improvements in this dimension should take into account the drivers-related and supportive dimensions (*Governance* and *Security/Protection/Advocacy*) and would result in positive outcomes in the outcome-related dimensions of *Wealth* and *Security/ Protection/Advocacy*. One intervention could be to support value-addition infrastructure for livestock and agriculture production, such as mini-dairy processing facilities. These would save milk in good seasons that goes to waste and empower communities to generate more income.

Governance. Participants identified poor governance, tribalism and corruption as the underlying causes of the governance and leadership failure that resulted in the state collapse in Somalia. State collapse is one of the governance-related causes of vulnerability to chronic internal displacement. Investment in good governance, security and rule of law are possible solutions. Potential interventions to increase resilience to chronic internal displacement under the *Governance* dimension are directly related to supporting state building and building the capacity of informal polities and traditional authorities to be able support the process of creating state institutions in Somalia. Intervention would need to take into account casual factors (*Human Capital* and *Social Capital/Community Networks*) and the drivers-related dimensions of *Wealth* and *Security/Protection/Advocacy* by putting in place policies and structures for resilience and conflict and disaster management when designing an intervention. Improvements in the



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Governance dimension would result in positive outcomes in the outcome-related dimensions of *Health* and *Psychosocial Wellbeing*, the support-related dimension of *Infrastructure* and the drivers-related dimensions of *Wealth* and *Security/Protection/Advocacy*.

Social Capital/Community Networks. Social support remains a key to wealth, livelihoods and food security. Interventions in the dimension of *Social Capital/Community Networks* are needed to guarantee social protection for poor households to give them secure access to food throughout the year through cash transfers, which were widely viewed by both focus groups and key informants as more appropriate than food aid.



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APPENDIX 1. RAN PRIORITY THEMES AND GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS OF FOCUS

The RILabs selected one representative community from each geographical area of focus and within these units, selected key informants from affected communities.

Sub-region: Eastern Africa: Uganda, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Rwanda
Priority theme(s): 1) Acute and chronic conflict and 2) climate and environmental variability

	Study population	Question
1	Eastern DRC (<i>North Kivu and South Kivu</i>)	Recurrent conflict and social unrest resulting in violence, rape, and mineral-related pollution
2	Rwanda: <i>Kigeme refugee camp (Nyamagabe District) and Gihembe refugee camp (Gichumbi District)</i>	Coping with external displacement and strategies for peace
3	Northern Uganda: Acholi Region (<i>Gulu, Pader, Kitgum districts</i>) and Lango Region (<i>Lira, Otuke and Alepto districts</i>)	Comparison of resilience factors in two communities devastated by 20 years of civil war but recovering at different paces
4	Mountain Elgon region in eastern Uganda (<i>Bududa and Manafwa districts</i>)	Landslides as a result of heavy rains
5	Teso Region in Uganda: (<i>Katakwi, Soroti, and Kumi districts</i>)	Extensive floods as a result of heavy rains
6	Northern and Western Rwanda (<i>Nyabihu, Rubavu, and Musanze Districts</i>)	Extensive floods as a result of heavy rains
7	Albertine region in Uganda: (<i>Hoima, Kasese, Arua, and Zombo districts</i>)	Epidemics and floods

Sub-region: West Africa (Ghana, Senegal, Mali, and Niger)

Priority theme(s): 1) Population growth and urbanization and 2) climate and environmental variability



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	Study population	Question
1	Ghana: Volta Region (<i>Ho</i>)	Urban population explosion and its effects
2	Senegal: Pikine Department	Complex urban population
3	Mali: Tiebani	Urbanization challenges worsened by environmental variability and food insecurity
4	Niger: Rural riverine communities (<i>Maraka</i>)	Annual flood disasters

Sub-region: Southern Africa (South Africa and Zimbabwe)

Priority Theme(s): Chronic diseases impacting socio-economic wellbeing

	Study population	Question
1	South Africa: Matabeleland (<i>2 communities</i>)	Persistent HIV epidemic and its effects on all aspects of life
2	Zimbabwe: Specific population to be determined (<i>2 communities</i>)	Persistent HIV epidemic and its effects on all aspects of life

Sub-region: Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Somalia, and South Sudan)

Priority theme: Displacement (internal and external) resulting from environmental variability/climate shocks and conflict

	Study population	Question
1	Southern Ethiopia: (<i>two districts of Borana Zone</i>)	Internally displaced pastoralist communities
2	South West and Central Somalia (<i>Benadir Region</i>)	Internally displaced persons

