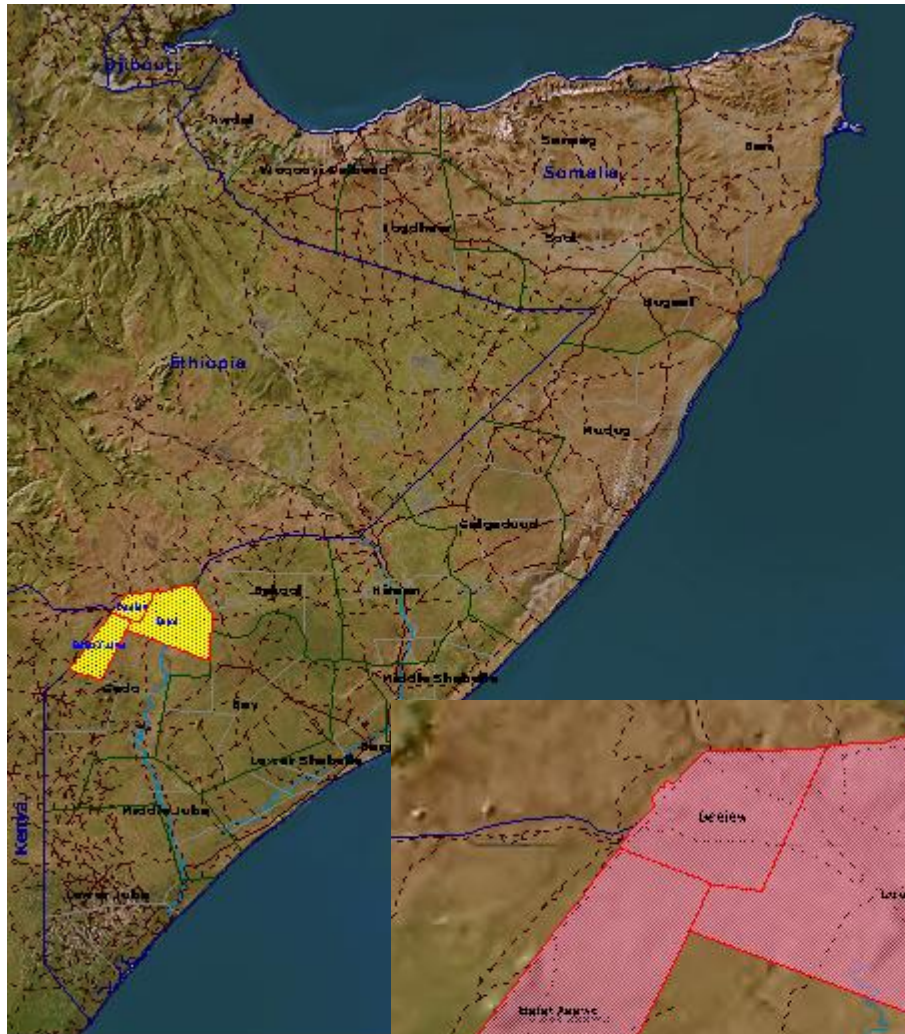


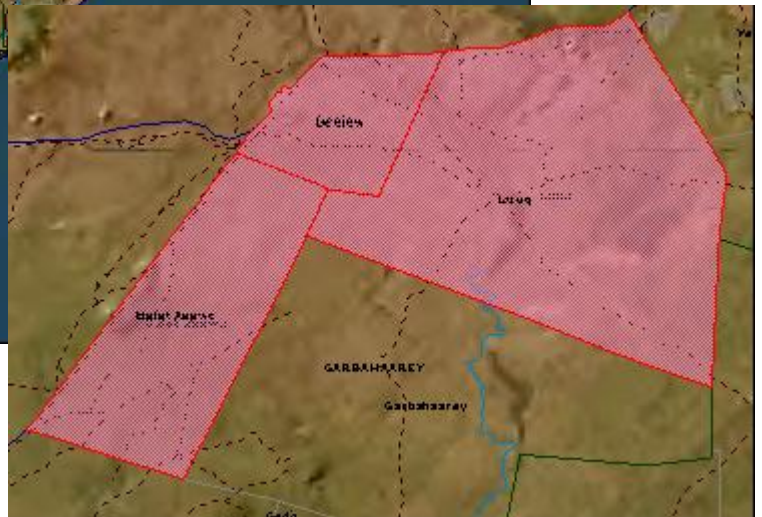


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The Underlying Causes of Food- and Livelihood Insecurity & The Impact of Food Aid



Gedo Region
S. Somalia



CARE SOMALIA *Final Study Report* *(February 2006)*

Report by :

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Abbreviations

AMREF	African Medical Research Foundation
CFW	Cash For Work
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Office
EFFW	Emergency Food For Work
EPAG	Emergency Pastoralist Action Group
EU	European Union
FFD	Free Food Distribution
FFW	Food For Work
FGD	Focussed Group Discussion
FSAU	Food Security Assessment Unit
GHC	Gedo Health Consortium
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
KSH	Kenya Shilling
LNGO	Local Non Government Organisation
NGO	Non Government Organisation
RBA	Right Based Approach
RFSP	Rural Food Security Programme
SSH	Somali Shilling
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
UNCAS	United Nations Common Air Service
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

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Executive Summary

CARE commissioned a combined study on underlying causes of food insecurity and the impact of food aid, which had four main objectives: First, to unveil a root cause analysis of food insecurity in the Gedo region. Second, to assess the extent to which food distribution has had an impact on beneficiary households in terms of people's livelihoods. Third, to review CARE's targeting approach in order to reach vulnerable and marginalized groups. Fourth, based on the outcome, proposing a feasible framework for future programming. A combination of methods and approaches was adopted to ensure that the objectives of the study are met. The study team used literature review, conducted individual interviews with key organisations, trained and oriented facilitators on FGD tools, gathered field data, analysed and presented in formats that can be shared among the cross sections of stakeholders.

Livelihood in Gedo

A strong association exists between occurrences of conflict and natural disasters on the one hand and insecurity of livelihoods on the other. The livelihood situation in Gedo is often described as a 'complex emergency'. An unviable production system and less developed life-styles and practices are greatly contributing to further food- and livelihood insecurity. Food security analysis in itself needs to focus on the production, the access and the availability of food. Livelihood security analysis is (in addition to issues linked to food security) about the ability to invest in natural, physical, human, social and financial capitals so as to fulfil other needs that contribute to a quality of life. Most food economy groups focus on primary production (livestock and / or agricultural based) in an effort to maintain food security. Diversifying assets and production will further strengthen livelihood security. In Gedo the main economy groups consist of: the riverine population, agro-pastoralist and pastoralist groups, and urban population. Pastoralists form the majority.

Causes of Livelihood failure: Immediate, Intermediate and Underlying

It is striking to note that before the era of conflict Somalia – inclusive of the Gedo - region knew a period of relative livelihood stability. Livelihood status was considered fair by those who could remember, due to adequate production and asset status, and fair access to markets. However, many Somalis have started their lives in a hostile multi-dimensional conflict situation and especially the younger generations never have had the opportunity of experiencing a stable livelihood situation during the time of their life. The experience of conflict, and the lack of services and entitlements they have never known or seen have in many cases shaped their future outlook. Among the responses conflict related violence ranked highest as a cause for livelihood decline in an otherwise complex emergency. Drought is generally seen as a second most important contributing factor. Among the population of Gedo the pre-occupation with present-

day problems is high (the immediate and intermediate causes of livelihood insecurity). The underlying causal hierarchy is beyond the control of most respondents. Development workers too, have been pre-occupied with livelihood survival assistance programmes instead of focussing on underlying causes. The programming of CARE is no exception in this regard. So the multi-dimensional conflict is seen to be an immediate cause of poverty in Gedo. Examples of the different phases of conflict are provided in the main text. Added to the list of immediate causes for livelihood failure are compounded natural shocks, including periods of extended drought and periods of extended flooding.

For as far as the intermediate causes of livelihood are concerned, the most common ones that were observed were: (1) A generally low level of productivity among agriculture and livestock based production systems due to continued poverty, vulnerability and existence of threats; (2) No or few opportunities to diversify or generate additional income with no new development investments by individuals and institutions; (3) Low skill levels largely due to an overall collapse of the education system affecting especially young generations; (4) Ability to access food is low as the impact of periods of complex emergencies is still being felt. The Majority of individual household fail to access adequate food levels due to low production, low asset levels, and inadequate markets. (5) Basic service level low: A widespread problem exists in the Gedo region. The service infrastructure has been destroyed and is only partially restored.

Observed underlying causes included:

- Economical: The rural economy is under-developed due to a lack of investments in economic infrastructure. Economic isolation exists as markets have collapsed, and a structural problem in accessing markets
- Political: Continued political disruption resulting in absence of appropriate governance and institutional structures. Politics divided along 'warlord' power dominated interests instead of socio-economic and welfare interests
- Social: Widespread marginalisation of minority clans, economic and political marginalisation of women.
- Environmental: Effective environmental control absent. (Uncontrolled infestation of *Prosopis*, uncontrolled charcoal exports) affecting range- and farmland conditions. Drought management systems absent.

Some of the main conclusions in regard to the study on causes of livelihood insecurity in Gedo were that the CARE Somalia programming has thus far mainly been focussing on addressing effects of immediate causes of livelihood failure (by addressing the needs through food aid transfers). However to a certain extent CARE Somalia programming addressed intermediate causes of livelihood insecurity by upgrading skill levels through capacity building programmes of CARE Somalia and LINGO Staff. But the programming did not have an immediate input in addressing underlying causes of livelihood security. The programme assisted in the stabilisation

of livelihoods in a chronic food deficit scenario, but it did not impact on addressing the main causes of such a scenario so that a status quo remains.

It was recommended that as continued livelihood insecurity remains the main challenge for the people of Gedo, the CARE programme should move towards a more comprehensive programming package that involves responding to immediate, intermediate and underlying causes of food and livelihood insecurity. As major problems remain in terms a chronic food deficit and problems in accessing food for many in Gedo, resource transfers remain to be part of the programming package. However it is encouraged that other more effective resource transfers are introduced (such as cash) that have a wider impact on livelihood outlook of affected households

- There is a need to start programming to address intermediate causes of livelihood insecurity trough:
- Promotion of education (through the support to community based efforts of introducing primary education)
- Skill level training of the young generation (including militia) in entrepreneur ship, artisan skills
- Strengthening production systems through introduction of new farming technology and livestock veterinary support
- Support to build up community assets (shelter, school buildings, road construction) linked to labour intensive programmes, preferably through CFW
- Continued upgrading skills of local institutions, including the NGOs

The recommended course of action to address underlying causes of livelihood insecurity includes:

- At micro / meso level: address main concerns on governance issues with local leaders, support to peace building and reconciliation, develop criteria on good governance as guarantees for programme involvement at intermediate level, provide economic alternatives for individuals involved in militia force. Continue to address gender related issues and involve more women in programming. Address clan based marginalisation issues, such as land access, built inter-clan based programme implementation committees
- At macro level: Increase efforts in lobbying for addressing economic under development issues, political strife and governance issues. Built alliances with other partners active in the region and create a forum to identify ways and means forward. A main issue here is to at least start the process.

Impact of Food Aid

During the years of operation the RFSP aimed to enhance immediate and short - term food security needs of the vulnerable population in South Somalia affected by both natural and man-made disasters, through the provision of free food relief and food for work. This type of food aid was generally valued by the respondents as an important resource transfer in supporting people and households, and especially for those who faced structural deficits. Until 2001 CARE Somalia's food aid ration used to contain only one commodity (Sorghum). Following an escalation of malnutrition during 2001, FSAU recommended a broader food aid package following the findings of a nutritional survey. Since then CARE added lentils and vegetable oil to

the sorghum in order to provide a more balanced food aid basket. Over time food packages have been adjusted to address various levels of vulnerabilities.

The significance of targeting for food aid underscores the fact that the food is a scarce resource, aimed at satisfying the food insecure people to avert an irreversible humanitarian crisis that includes a drastic decline in human health. CARE Somalia ensured that efforts were put in place to make appropriate organisational and institutional arrangements to effectively and efficiently deliver the food aid packages to the targeted beneficiaries. Food aid packages were either delivered through FFD or FFW. For those considered ‘chronically’ vulnerable (including women, disabled, sick, children, elderly) immediate food aid through FFD was delivered. Other vulnerable groups that were otherwise capable in terms of manpower were targeted through FFW. FFW was in Gedo by far less common compared to FFD

Our review of the food flow pathway was only limited to the field operation inside South Somalia. The RFSP had developed a strategy to task the contracting food transporters with a security bond to ensure that the food consignments were delivered to the respective destinations. Under these bonding arrangements, food losses would be charged on the contracted transporters and this made CARE safe from the harassments and risks associated with food transportation. No evidence was observed to show misuses of food or losses in the delivery process. Apart from delays in food deliveries that in most cases was outside the control of CARE, there was overall level of satisfaction on the process of food targeting and distribution among most of the beneficiaries.

Positive Impact and food aid benefits

- All beneficiaries and stakeholders affirm the role of food aid as crucial in saving people’s lives. It emphasised the impact of food aid to the communities at critical moments of repeated shocks.
- Food aid has contributed cereal price stability from a consumers’ perspective
- Sharing food resource with relatives and friends, and in repayment of credit: The benefit and impact of such practices enabled beneficiaries to cope and sustain food gaps at a time when food is not being distributed.
- Offers employment opportunities: A number of examples –some unique ones- that Food Aid distribution had a positive impact on employment.
- Sharing food resource with livestock to provide for family consumption needs: Food aid is frequently given to livestock during extreme droughts as to provide for milk to children.

Negative impact and harms

For the last 7 years (since 1998), food aid became regular in Gedo Region and it has filled a gap in a scenario where structural food deficit and access has been the experience. Dependency levels will remain unless the structural nature of the food gap is addressed.

Main issues:

- Delays in food aid are associated with deteriorating malnutrition¹. Food aid now plays a key role in the food economy of a significant number of households. Delayed delivery translates into signs of immediate stress.
- Food aid has potentially adverse effects on producer crop sales. According to some producer groups grain market price declines have been strongly associated with food aid distributions, while this impact has worked to advantage from a consumer perspective.
- In a society that has a strong tradition of sharing resources selective targeting (geographically and individually) potentially aggravates tensions among the communities. Due to this tradition beneficiaries often opted for sharing the food aid despite the fact that food aid rations aimed at meeting only 40% of a household's nutritional needs. The sharing of food among kinsmen is traditional in Somali culture, and thus the sharing of food is not necessarily, or even probably, done for the purpose of avoiding tensions. For many the challenge remains to raise 60% from other sources.

A claim by one of the LNGOs that food aid fuels conflict through the purchase of weapons by recipients of food or cash (the latter as payments to militia by food aid contractors) could not be supported by the findings of this study as no evidence in this direction was observed.

The major source of food for the population in Gedo region is food aid. It is not only addressing food needs but plays an economic role especially among the vulnerable and marginalized target groups. During the food aid gaps (the periods when food aid is not being distributed) coping mechanisms are ignited. The extent to which the food aid interventions have impacted on the livelihoods of the Gedo people is variable to the extent of a given context and situation. Food aid has had benefits and harms that many of the beneficiaries and communities in Somalia are aware of. The issue of contention though is for how long will food aid need to continue? The answer to this lies in the outlook of paying serious attention to the intermediate and underlying causes of livelihood in the region.

¹ The other factors that play a key role to malnutrition as dissemination workshop participants stressed were the domestic household practices, diseases, lack of education, and practices of childcare.

1 Introduction

During most of the past eight years CARE Somalia has been involved in implementing projects with the aim to safeguard food security in several regions of South Somalia, mainly through its Rural Food Security Programme (RFSP). In one of the regions, Gedo, these interventions have largely been focussing on bringing relief commodities through Free Food Distribution over a period of seven years. CARE Somalia however that continuation of the current approach will not be adequate from a perspective of sustainable food security in the region.

In facing current challenges, CARE Somalia embarked on a study that had the intention to provide experiences and signals from the field on how underlying causes affect the daily lives of the Somali people in Gedo. In fact this study focuses on the range of underlying causes of food- and livelihood insecurity, and how these are interlinked to the intermediate and immediate causes of such insecurity that have been in existence in this part of Somalia for so long.

The CARE's food security programme had three main intervention areas all focussed on assisting food insecure populations in Gedo and other parts of Somalia:

- 1) Emergency Food Distribution (FFD) especially in the Gedo Region, and recently in Galgaduud region
- 2) Emergency Food For Work (EFFW) in four other regions of Bay, Bakool, Middle Shabelle, and Hiran and
- 3) Strengthening Institutional and organisational capacities of local partner NGOs to respond to emergency situations and advocate for peace within their areas of operation.

Based on its long-term service provision to the Somali populations through the food security programme, CARE commissioned the study with an aim to achieve four objectives. First, to unveil a root cause analysis of food insecurity that is still being experienced in the CARE intervention areas despite the efforts of the Rural Food Security Programme. Second, to assess the extent to which food distribution has had an impact on beneficiary households in terms of people's livelihoods. Third, to review CARE's targeting approach to reach the vulnerable and marginalized groups and sections of the community. Fourth, based on all of the outcomes of the above, proposing a feasible framework for future programming.

Despite the fragile socio-political environment that currently still dominates the situation Somalia, the outcome of this study is envisaged to be useful in stimulating longer-term intervention approaches that enhance a shift from relief to development.

This report is structured into five main chapters. Chapter 2 provides an account of the approach taken and the methods used; chapter 3 provides a framework of the analysis while chapter 4 provides a detailed background description. Chapter 5 and 6 describe the main outcome of the study results each focussing on the two main topics and each with its own section of conclusions and recommendations.

Finally, it should be mentioned that this study was conducted in an environment of considerable constraints, mainly linked to the volatile security conditions in the region. The fieldwork had to be postponed on various occasions due to security concerns and could only be done several months after the planned dates. Nevertheless, once security levels became acceptable, the team managed to proceed and to conclude the fieldwork in a satisfactory manner.

2 Methodology and approach of study

A combination of tools and participatory approaches was adopted by the consultants to enable them to achieve the objectives of this study as outlined in the TOR. During the fieldwork process, continuous discussions were held and feedback provided between the consultants and the CARE team², which was part of the mission. Special emphasis was laid on the beneficiary views as well as those of their representatives. In most cases views were freely expressed on the organisation's interventions and on the future direction for programming. Specific activities undertaken in each stage of the study included:

Literature review: An intensive literature review of all programme related documents was undertaken. This included project proposals, reports, manuals, FSAU documents, baseline studies, policy and strategy papers, WFP documents, and other relevant materials. The literature review provided an opportunity for the consultants to develop the tools for the field work, such as the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) checklist that embraced both the Rights Based Approach and Coping Strategy Index tools for analysis, and the strategy/checklist for the individual interviews. All tools were shared and discussed with a cross section of stakeholders to bring in modifications in order to optimise the usefulness and appropriateness of the tool in achieving the desired study objectives.

Interviews with key organisations: A number of organisations, based in Nairobi, were interviewed to create an in-depth understanding of their perceptions on some key issues linked to this study. Most of these organisations had operational programmes in the Gedo Region, and often had accumulated years of first hand experience of working in Gedo and dealing with health and food security issues.

Series of individual interviews: A main part of the fieldwork was focussing on series of interviews of local informants in the Gedo Region. A primary intention was to extract life-testimonies from these local informants and to obtain detailed information on people's own experience of status and changes in their livelihood from the day they could remember and link such experiences to the intermediate, immediate and underlying causes of food and livelihood insecurity. Individuals for these interviews were selected to represent both genders, and the different livelihood and age groups, as well as beneficiary and non relief beneficiary groups and resident and non resident

² The CARE staff participating in this study received prior training in facilitation and participatory research methodologies. As a result they gained appropriate skills and experience which CARE aims at utilising in the future for similar studies.

(IDP) groups. The interviews were semi-structured and open ended (refer to interview strategy in Annexes)

Training and Orientation FGD Orientation workshop: Before the fieldwork started two orientation workshops were conducted to prepare CARE staff for their participation in the study. The main focus during these workshops was on (1) developing a theoretical framework for the study that encompassed issues related to livelihood entitlements, and causes (underlying, intermediate, and immediate) of livelihood insecurity using RBA approach and (2) training on qualitative study methodologies and the development of tools. While the first session focussed on the framework and the individual interview methodology a second series was conducted several weeks later to prepare teams for focus group discussions. This methodology was mainly used to collect information on the impact of food aid in the Gedo region. Focus group discussion facilitators were trained to facilitate FGDs at field level. The orientation workshop was held to equip the FGD team with facilitation skills in managing focus groups and make the tool friendly to the facilitators. The team's orientation workshop included aspects of livelihood analysis and entitlement approaches and their links to RBA. To guard against personal biases and language problems, the FGD facilitation group was organised such that each member could take up tasks (in turns) of handling facilitation, note taking, and of observing.

Information gathering, analysis and presentation

The FGD team sampled and held discussions in villages where CARE Somalia had intervened but made no prior arrangements in order to get independent responses. Once they arrived in the village, the facilitators chose to walk to the nearest homestead to request for assistance in order to mobilise other members to form a quorum of about 7 - 12 people. The discussions then progressed as natural conversation while issues for probing were guided by the checklist. The outcome of the discussions was recorded in transcripts for later analysis.

Furthermore it should be emphasized that this study was divided into two main parts: (1) One part covering the underlying causes of food insecurity, (2) the other part focussing on food aid impact. This separate focus on the two topics was done to avoid a bias from one topic to the other as it was feared that in response to questions during interviews and FGD sessions, people's mind frames would focus primarily on food aid if we would have dealt with the two topics simultaneously.

Selection of study area and sample population

Based on accessibility, security levels and CARE operational focus the northern districts were selected for this study. As mentioned above, the sample population for the individual interviews

and FGDs were selected on the basis of proportional representation in terms of gender, different livelihood and age, beneficiary/ non beneficiary groups of food assistance and resident and non resident (IDP) groups.

Dissemination of information

In an attempt to inform a wide range of stakeholders of the outcome of the study, a dissemination workshop was held on December 13th 2005, at the Silver Springs Hotel, Nairobi. During this workshop representatives from a wide range of organisations attended which included NGOs working in the field, International NGOs and Donor agencies. The results of the study were presented and the outcome debated. The feed back from this audience have been integrated into this report.

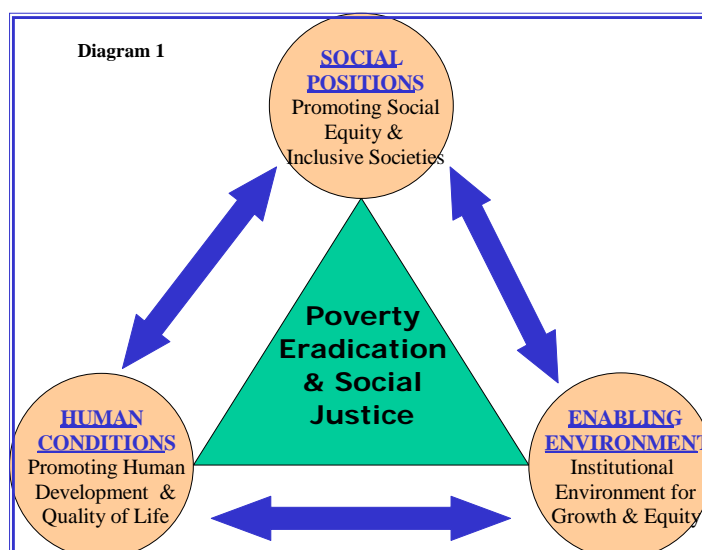
3 *Framework for Analysis*

To analyse the underlying root causes, the point of departure is to tailor the analysis to the framework models that have been adopted in several areas that are characterised by natural disasters and politically unstable environments.

Over the past years CARE has been working towards developing an approach to provide guidance and direction in fighting poverty. A recent development has been the integration of important learning into a development approach that has been summarised in a unifying framework for poverty eradication and social justice. The unifying framework brings together the outcome of several schools of thought, and importantly for this study it links the livelihood security framework (see next chapter) to Rights Based Approaches (RBA). (In fact RBA is incorporated into an overall livelihood security framework)

The Unifying Framework recognises three important categories for analysis and for addressing underlying causes from both needs- and rights-based perspectives. These categories are.

1. **Improving Human Conditions:** Supporting efforts to ensure that people's basic needs are met and that they attain livelihood security with regard to such needs.
2. **Improving Social Positions:** Supporting people's efforts to take control of their lives and fulfil their rights, responsibilities and aspirations. Supporting efforts to end inequality and discrimination.
3. **Creating a Sound Enabling Environment:** Supporting efforts to create a sound enabling environment – public, private, civic and social institutions – that is responsive to and inclusive of constituents and that fosters just and equitable societies.



Source: Summary paper unifying framework and underlying causes of poverty, CARE 2004

The categories are summarised in a slightly different way in Diagram 1 (above) in order to demonstrate the interaction between the categories which are critical to successful efforts in poverty eradication


While the above is important to shed a light into developing insights and approaches for analysis of underlying causes of poverty and livelihood insecurity, development workers generally experience day to day problems faced by their target groups which are mostly linked to intermediate and immediate causes. In order to provide insights into differentials between levels of causation, CARE developed a three-level causal hierarchy as follows:

1. **Immediate Causes of livelihood insecurity** are factors directly related to life and death situations, these can include malnutrition, disease, natural disasters, etc.
2. **Intermediate Causes of livelihood insecurity** *are* linked to what people generally lack (and are therefore needs-based) and focus on: access to basic services, lack of skills, lack of productivity, etc. ***The majority of current development interventions/projects are targeted at this level.***
3. **Underlying Causes** focus on the reasons why intermediate causes exist. This level requires us to ask why some people have access and some do not; why some groups control the majority of resources, etc. The answers to most of the analytical questions that we ask at the ***Underlying Cause Level are related to the systems or rules – structural underpinnings – that govern a society*** (micro, meso, macro, global). These include the economic, political, and social structures that include and exclude certain groups or classes of people; the policies that allow some groups to control and/or monopolize power; the socio-cultural systems and customs around which discrimination and injustice are often legitimised, etc.

To emphasise further on the issue of addressing underlying causes: It is important to place underlying causes at the centrefold and in a context of peoples basic rights (the RBA approach) and question who or what carries responsibility that such causes exist. In addition what responsive measures, individuals, and institutions need to be identified and activated in addressing these underlying causes.

The table below demonstrates three levels of causation and provides examples that in turn demonstrate to differentiate the causal patterns.

Table 1 Causal Hierarchy of Poverty

<u>Hierarchy of Causes of Poverty:</u>		
<u>Immediate Causes</u> (Saving Lives)	These causes directly relate to life and survival: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disease, • Famine, • Environmental disasters, • Conflict 	 Improving Human Conditions & Social Positions
<u>Intermediate Causes</u> (Improving Human Conditions)	These causes affect people's well-being and opportunities for development and livelihood security: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low livelihood (agric or income) productivity; • Limited livelihood opportunities; • Lack of skills; • Inadequate access to food; • Inadequate care for women and children; • Lack of basic services, e.g., health, education, water and sanitation, education 	
<u>Underlying Causes</u> (Improving Social Positions & Human Conditions)	These causes are related to the structural underpinnings of underdevelopment, specifically social systems, and political and economic structures, and environmental issues. They can include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Economic:</u> Inequitable resource distribution (distributive justice); globalisation; terms of trade; structural adjustment • <u>Political:</u> Poor governance and institutional capacity; corruption; violent conflict; domination by regional/global superpowers • <u>Social:</u> Marginalization, inequality, social exclusion (based on gender, class, ethnicity); harmful social customs and cultural practices; over-population • <u>Environmental:</u> carrying capacity, resource-based conflict; environmental disasters; propensity for human disease; propensity for crop and livestock disease 	

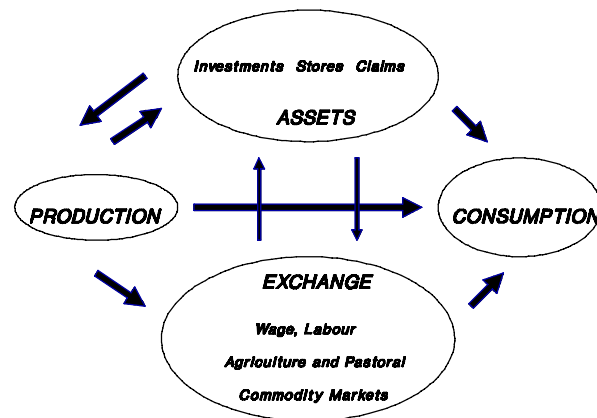
Source: CARE 2004

From a pure food security³ / livelihood security⁴ it is important to observe the modes of asset holding, production and exchange. These largely influence consumption and welfare. The below diagram displays the function and relationship of these modes.

³ In this study the term food security is used as a definition of having the adequate access to appropriate quantities and quality of food towards meeting existing food needs.

Diagram 2

Assets, Production, Exchange in the context of food security⁵



The above displayed relationship between assets, production, and market exchange is important to determine general livelihood security. So it is important to ask ourselves the following questions:

- What do local people own, the type and quantity of assets?
- What and how much do they produce?
- How much of their produce (and asset levels) is used for direct consumption and/or for re-investment?
- How much is used to build up asset levels utilising accessible exchange mechanisms such as markets?
- How secure and diversified are the assets?
- How secure and accessible are the markets?

To look at the inter-relationship and determine its strength, the constraints, weaknesses and potential contributes to a good insight into the outlook of food security and welfare. In our argument of livelihood security, the more diversified the above-described relationship is, the stronger the outlook for livelihood security and general prosperity. This would include that market exchanges form an intrinsic component in livelihood security for pastoral and agro-pastoral production systems. So, also in an (agro) pastoral context, the model underlines the importance of assets, production and exchange mechanisms in building sustainable incomes. The focus is particularly important from a production and exchange perspective. Improved agro-

⁴ The term livelihood security is used to indicate the access to services and commodities that go beyond meeting food security needs and that add further to the quality of life. These include the access to food, water, shelter, health, education and others.

⁵ Source: Swift 1996

pastoral production can lead to improved market potential of rural households and improved assets rates. These in turn can be exchanged for other investment commodities.

Finally while an important part of this study focuses on the specific underlying causes of food and livelihood in the Gedo region, a main intention is to provide insight how underlying causes interlink to intermediate and immediate causes of food and livelihood insecurity that people so often experience in the Gedo Region. A second intention is to help develop a future approach for intervention.

4 *Background*

The following information is a general background of Somalia with a bias to the livelihood context. The information was obtained through the literature review and through interviews with key organisations.

Regional Historical trend

Since the collapse of the Somalia Government in 1991, the common description that ‘the security situation is normal in the Somalia context would literally be understood as being not normal’. One simply could not imagine security situation normalising.

Since the collapse the previously unitary state of Somalia has been divided into three parts namely: Somaliland to the Northwest, Puntland to the Northeast, and south/central Somalia. Unlike the other two parts, south / central Somalia has no stable governance structure and this affects lives and livelihoods both in both in urban and in rural areas. Authorities in the districts exercise ‘loose control’ caused by the existence of warlords and constant changes in the administration. Regular, almost continuous infighting for power by political and power blocks contributes greatly to widespread instability. Somalia is rated as one of the poorest regions in the world, devastated by the effects of war, political instability, and natural disasters.

Civil strife has contributed significantly to the devastation of the livelihood and production systems among the communities and this is especially true for the whole of the Gedo Region, Bay, Bakool and the Juba Regions. There is a strong association between incidences of conflict and food insecurity. The latter greatly undermines the socio-economic activities that would help people sustain their livelihood. There is a strong tradition of people getting displaced, abandoning productive activities, and getting bereaved of their assets, resulting from conflicts and power struggles.

Despite the above scenario, the current move towards establishing Transitional Federal Government (TFG) may restore peace and thus a significantly improved environment for livelihood security. However, this should not be taken as a means to an end because there are concerns that that the transition phases could as well lead to escalated conflicts⁶ as various stakeholders assert their positions and challenge the new authorities.

⁶ Source: FSAU Somalia, 2005., Food Security and Nutrition; February 2005 Monthly Briefs

The livelihood context

The livelihood situation in Gedo is often described as a 'complex emergency'.

A 'complex emergency' is translated into a highly destructive situation as it radically increases demands placed on a fragile, political, economic, environmental and social system, while that same system is simultaneously being destroyed (Lautze, S., 1997). Complex emergencies often have multi causal factors that lead to a rapid decline in humanitarian conditions following the causal path as described above.

It is important to note that issues linked to food insecurity are often associated with vulnerable people who live in areas that are prone to disasters (man-made and natural). Unviable production system and less developed life-styles and practices may contribute further food- and livelihood insecurity.

Food security analysis in itself needs to focus on the production, the access and the availability of food. A critical area in the analyses is focussed on the building of purchasing power. In order to understand the dynamics of food security, one has to analyse from the livelihood perspective. Livelihood security analysis⁷ therefore is (in addition to issues linked to food security) about the ability to invest in natural, physical, human, social and financial capitals so as to fulfil other needs that contribute to a quality of life. So aspects of livelihood security also include: access to social service delivery, investment in health, education, shelter, water and sanitation, access to a diversified asset base, access to kinship relations and safety networks, and stakes in policy making (governance issues).

From the broader livelihood analytical context, the diagram displayed in the previous chapter provides a useful tool for assessing the status of food- and livelihood security levels and the causes of vulnerability.

Most food economy groups focus on primary production (livestock and / or agricultural based) in an effort to stabilise food security. The existence of a significant asset base is crucial in the preparation to survive the impact of shocks that may be caused by disasters. Diversifying assets and production will further strengthen livelihood security. The dynamics of markets and market prices play a vital role in building up reserves and security.

⁷ Source: FSAU Technical Series Report No IV.2

In Gedo Region, the vulnerable people fall within the following key food economy groups by percentage:

Table 2 Key food economy groups Gedo Region

Production system	Characteristic	%age
Urbanites	Have diversified livelihoods and not entirely dependent on crop and livestock production	10
Agro-pastoralists	Have relative dependency on crops and livestock but the level of dependency may vary within this group according to resource access and clan affiliation	25
Riverine (farmers)	Dependent on crop production and undertake pump - irrigated or rain - fed farming	9
Pastoralists	Heavily relying on livestock and its products which are often exchanged to meet other basic needs	56

Source: FSAU, 1998. Focus: Inter-agency Assessment Gedo Region.

Asset Bases

From the livelihood perspective, the asset bases are broad to include: natural, physical, social, human and financial capitals. It is important to observe the interplay between the various livelihood assets which contributes to reduce the vulnerability levels among the communities. In general a weak asset base is a main indicator of vulnerability and poverty, and a contributing cause of food insecurity.

The role of asset holding among the food economy production systems is of crucial importance, both in terms of levels or numbers and in terms of diversity. Among pastoralists and agro-pastoralists, assets are created when adequate production leads to surplus that is beyond immediate consumption requirements. Among the pastoralists livestock investments are achieved during years of good rainfall and good access to grazing. High numbers of livestock create a buffer against the risks and uncertainties of fragile physical environments. Assets are cashed in when households face food crises so as to meet food requirements. With reserves at hand people are able to maintain the purchasing power for a certain period of time. The table below underscores the factors that generally can contribute to food insecurity in fragile environments.

Table 3: Factors contributing to food insecurity in fragile environments

Phenomenon	Root Causes / triggers	Main challenges	Effect and Impact
Limited Asset bases (Natural, Physical, human, etc.) High vulnerability levels among rural people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insecurity due to power struggle • Natural disasters especially prolonged drought • Limited investment opportunities • Poor infrastructure • Lack access to social services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uncontrollable tribal war lords • Shrinking resource base e.g. pastures and water • Numerous road blocks which extort money • Limited income generating options • Indebtedness due to failure of household to repay back loans • Impassable roads causing delays in delivery and increased costs • Limited access to social services (health, water, schools etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of lives and assets • Food insecurity • Poor prices for commodities both farm and livestock • Poverty and destitution looms • Dependency on food aid

Production levels that are highly susceptible to fluctuations

Production levels in many of the production areas *can* be high to very high, but generally fluctuates to a significant degree between low and high levels mainly due to the non-equilibrium environment in which they find themselves and due to other factors. The root cause analysis focused on two major production systems (livestock and crop) as shown below:

Table 4. Root causes and triggers of food insecurity in livestock and crop production systems

Phenomenon	Root Causes / triggers	Main challenges	Effect and Impact
Fluctuating levels of livestock production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insecurity due to power struggle • Natural disasters especially prolonged drought • Outbreaks of livestock diseases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inter-tribal clashes and raids • Limited veterinary services • High mortality rates for shoats and large stock • Limited access to markets outlets that thus determines the price trends • Shrinking resource base e.g. pastures and water 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of lives especially women, children and assets • Poverty and destitution looms • Livestock deaths • Food insecurity • Dependency on food rations
Crop failures and production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural disasters especially prolonged drought (failure of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inadequate start up seed technologies • Limited skills to adopt modern agricultural practices and manage pests and diseases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food insecurity • Poverty and destitution looms • Low yields and on-farm losses.

Phenomenon	Root Causes / triggers	Main challenges	Effect and Impact
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> rain) • Crop diseases and pests (e.g. Quelea birds) • Insecurity due to power struggle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited access to land for agriculture where some are forced to sell off • Shortage of water for irrigation and domestic use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dependency on food rations • Loss of income

Events of disasters occurring (i.e. drought or conflict related) greatly affect the production levels which in turn also affects marketing, especially in terms of stability and price fluctuations. This has immediate impact on consumption and welfare levels. Eventually a sharp downfall in production levels would affect the livelihood security situation, that would have effects and impacts as shown in the above table.

Overall, it is noted that in the study area and beyond food acquisition is quite diversified in the Somalia context. For example, in the Juba Valley and in the Gedo Region (FSAU Technical Series Report No IV.2), both the poor riverine population and agro-pastoralists main food sources comes from their own production, rated to contribute 50 - 60%. This is supplemented by food purchases i.e. cereals, sugar, fresh and skimmed milk by 35 - 45%. About 5% of the food acquired is obtained through gifts. However, a majority of households are considered to have unstable livelihoods crisis, not only due to regular crop failures but also due to their inability to access food at markets.

Market exchange

Market exchange can significantly contribute to the building up of diversified asset packages (including solid assets) and add to the stability of livelihood security and/or contribute to the immediate access of basic needs (such as food access). Generally, the existing animal markets in particular collapse during effects of disaster (including prolonged drought) when pastoralists flood the markets with livestock at a time when few buyers are willing to purchase. Even so, as has been observed frequently in Gedo and beyond, markets become highly unstable during physical unrest. In addition the livestock ban has also depressed market prices.

Table 5 Root causes and triggers of market failure

Phenomenon	Root causes / triggers	Main challenges	Effect and Impact
Poor Markets and highly fluctuating terms of trade	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insecurity due to power struggle • Natural disasters especially prolonged drought • Imposition of trade (livestock) ban • High cost of fees charged by militia • Poor infrastructure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited access to market outlets, that thus determines the price trends • Shrinking resource base e.g. pastures and water • Numerous road blocks which demand money • Impassable roads causing delays in delivery and increased costs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor prices for commodities both farm and livestock • Poverty and destitution looms • Loss of asset bases • Crop loses • Livestock deaths • Loss of lives

In the Somalia context, production areas with inadequate marketing outlets are numerous, and producers cannot easily sell off their products at reasonable prices. Lack of access to basic and secure markets is a serious concern in agro-pastoralist areas in general and especially so in the Gedo region. This affects both livelihood security in the short run as well as in the long run. Where markets do exist, they are highly focused on animal trade. Market trends indicate that slightly more than 2 million shoats⁸ were exported in 2004 from Somalia and a similar number for 2003. The number of livestock exported is noted to be significantly less (by 1 million) compared to the period before a livestock export ban was introduced (1998). The drop in export rates caused by the export ban has a direct bearing to food insecurity as fewer households are able to exchange their productive assets to meet food and other basic livelihood needs. At the moment there are two key functioning export outlets at Bosasso and Berbera.

Cereal prices in the region highly fluctuate due to fluctuations in the availability of some cereals at markets. The general observation is that poor levels of purchasing power among communities in the Gedo Region and beyond prevent household from accessing these commodities. However following the exceptional *Deyr* 2004 / 05 season production, sorghum prices fell while maize prices are increasing due to continued crop failure.

⁸ Source: FSAU, 2005., Food Security and Nutrition, February 2005 Monthly Briefs

Civil conflicts and war

Inter-clan fighting and insecurity are the major causes of food insecurity, especially in the southern regions of Somalia, with a few isolated pockets of peaceful regions where many people are returning to their original life.

The aggravated conflicts and insecurity have adverse impact on affected community causing numerous livelihood related failures. These include loss of assets and asset bases, escalating high prices, decreased production (both agricultural and livestock) and reduced food and non-food aid. A summary is shown below.

Table 6: Root causes and triggers of inter-clan fighting and insecurity

Phenomenon	Root Causes / triggers	Main challenges	Effect and Impact
Inter-clan fighting and insecurity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Greed for power and power struggle• Collapse of socio-cultural structures and norms• Imbalanced resource allocation and investment opportunities• No recognised Government and leadership• Poor infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Unwillingness to talk peace and development• Misguided young generation surviving on rule of gun• Limited access to market outlets that thus determines the price trends• Limited opportunities for investments• Shrinking resource base e.g. pastures and water• Lack of legitimate governance systems (laws, constitution etc.)• Impassable roads causing delays in delivery and increased costs	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Loss of assets• Loss of lives and internal displacement• Poor prices for commodities both farm and livestock• Poverty and destitution looms• Food Insecurity

Over the past decades, Southern Somalia has experienced conflicts, wars and environmental and economic mismanagement that has impacted the communities in several ways as displayed in the table above. Given that there is a direct association between conflict and food security, in most cases conflicts undermine the socio-economic activities severely as people get displaced, abandon productive activities, lose their assets and even lives in such power struggles.

At the time of this study, there was no stable governance structure and authorities in the place to hold systems accountable for their actions. The long protracted war and inter-clan conflicts have resulted in lack of order and control and still causes constant changes in the administration as warlords try to assert and maintain their positions. Considerable hope is now vested in the

establishment and the stabilisation process of the TFG. Many hope that this will significantly contribute to the restoration of peace, stability and thus to improved food and livelihood security for the vulnerable Somali population groups.

Frequent Natural Shocks

Frequent natural shocks such as drought, floods and endemic disease outbreaks, often trigger food insecurity in an already vulnerable population group and in turn aggravate vulnerability levels itself. The combination of these shocks and their frequencies highly predisposes the Somali households to vulnerability to food insecurity.

In Somalia the *Gu* long rains and *Deyr* short rains are expected during the months of April to June and November to December, respectively. The other months August to October and January to March are the *Hagaa* and *Jilaal* dry seasons. Failure of rainfall for two to three consecutive seasons triggers significant stress conditions in most parts of Somalia. As the onset of famine may be triggered by drought the limitation of non-diversified and weak economies causes collapses in food acquisition.

Especially in the (agro) pastoralist context drought is a regular phenomenon. But the effectiveness of systems in place to strategically plan for and manage drought is what is lacking.

Table 7. Root causes of natural disaster impact

Cause	Root Causes	Main challenges	Effect and Impact
Frequent natural disasters - drought and disease outbreaks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Erratic and failure of rainfall • Changing weather conditions • Lack of community coping systems • Shrinking resource bases • No recognised Government and leadership • Poor infrastructure • Ineffective response system - contingency planning • Absence of private service providers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental degradation • Limited diversified economies • Limited opportunities to diversify investments • Shrinking resource base e.g. pastures and water • Instituting Early Warning systems and translate to actions • Impassable roads causing delays in delivery and increase costs • Limited crop and livestock disease control services • No community based contingency plans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of assets and lives • Internal displacement • Poverty and destitution looms • Food Insecurity • Poor prices for both farm and livestock commodities

Summary of Causes and Triggers of Food Insecurity

In the Somali context we consider food and livelihood insecurity the result of a combination of factors which are summarised below.

- Insecurity due to greed for power and power struggle
- Natural disasters especially prolonged drought (failure of rain, erratic and changing weather conditions)
- Imposition of trade (livestock) ban
- High cost of fees charged
- Poor infrastructure
- Outbreaks of livestock and Crop diseases and pests (e.g. Quelea birds)
- Imbalanced resource allocation and limited investment opportunities
- Lack of access to social services
- Lack of community coping systems
- Shrinking resource bases
- No recognised Government and leadership
- Ineffective response system - contingency planning
- Absence of private service providers
- Collapse of socio-cultural structures and norms

Coping strategies

The community coping strategies among the Somali have been developed along social-cultural and religious backgrounds. Below is a summary of coping strategies that are linked to protection of food security

- There is a common system -called '*Zakat*' -supported by the Islamic religion whereby people have the obligation to donate and give some money for the less privileged and the poor. These can include relatives or any member of the Islamic community. This system is highly valued and has been in existence in most communities even throughout periods of stress caused by civil unrest.
- Among livestock owners, community members are also obliged to support needy families with animals for milk. So, households that need support may be given a milk herd to enable them go through periods of hardship e.g. triggered by drought. However, the ownership of such herds is not transferred and remains with the original owner. Any milk production is for the use of the beneficiary household.

- As seen elsewhere among pastoral and agro-pastoral households, the practice of gathering natural produce in Somalia is stepped up during periods of dire need. In the Gedo region people resort to collection wild fruits (gum, myrrh etc), they may harvest honey, produce handcraft materials and hunt for wild animals (including dik dik, gazelle etc). Natural food products can either be used for direct consumption or sold to supplement income and purchase other food commodities.
- The demand for employment as labour increases as stress periods often result in vulnerable groups seeking casual employment wherever they can. The exchange of labour for a pay provides for lost income in support of livelihood needs. With a generally low level of labour on offer in Somalia, many will not succeed in this strategy. It is currently believed that the single most important opportunity for young men and boys to get hold of handouts is to join one of the many militias in Somalia.
- Household members also engage in self-employment activities to supplement income. Income generating activities range from activities such as burning charcoal that is sold to meet the household basic needs to running teashops.
- Begging and borrowing is common practice too.
- Highly popular in Somalia is the credit provision offered by businesspersons. While this is common practice year round, the provision of credit is often the only resource that can be accessed for many. Food and non-food items are usually refunded once the situation normalises or when other sources become available i.e. through food distribution, cash for work / cash for relief.
- Remittances from the relatives and friends overseas have become increasingly available due to increased numbers of diaspora living in Europe and North America. These remittances have created an important income supplement to many and acts as a safeguard to food insecurity. However, compared to other parts of Somalia, diaspora remittances are less common in the Gedo region.

Gender and Food Security

Gender roles were analysed as part of the focus group discussion strategy during this study. Generally gender roles are constructed socially among the Somali people. A summary of the analysis is presented below:

Table 8. Gedo region: Productive and socio / economic roles by gender

Roles	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
Looking after livestock	x	X	x	x
Farming activities - gardening and chasing birds	x		x	
Household chores e.g. cleaning, fencing, fetching water, firewood and cooking		X		x
Taking care of children and household welfare		X		x
Attending Koranic schools			x	x
Building of houses and shelters	x	X	x	x
Collecting wild fruits and products		X		x
Dealing with security issues and disputes	x			
Milking and marketing the milk products		X		
Looking after the transport animals (donkeys and camels)		X		x
Making charcoal, collecting firewood for sale	x			
Operating tea kiosks and small scale businesses		X		
Making of local artifacts e.g. basketry, weaving etc		X		
Digging wells and water catchments	x		x	
Traditional healing	x			

Traditionally, men are the overall decision makers and control most of the resources. FGDs held among both men and women revealed that both genders play significant roles in terms of division of labour for production purposes in an effort to sustain household food security as indicated above. In terms of provision of labour women are over burdened with many more labour intensive daily tasks compared to men. Men usually are involved in the herding of larger animal species while women engage in herding transport and milking stocks, as well as many other forms of agro-pastoral production i.e. crop weeding, gathering of local foods -local fruits, vegetables etc.

Both men and women participate in market exchanges but as men control the main asset base, they also control and decide on animal sales in most cases. Somali communities believe that women should control whatever goes into the house e.g. foodstuff and petty cash for family subsistence. Managing lactating goats and sheep is the responsibility of girls and women. The selling of the animals is the duty of the male head while animal products such as milk, skins and hides are usually marketed by women. In most cases women control the cash coming from those sales.

5 Study results: Underlying causes

While the previous chapter in this document focussed on background information linked to livelihoods in Somalia and in the Gedo region in particular we now present some of the insights obtained during the fieldwork sessions aimed at obtaining information on underlying causes of livelihood insecurity.

During this exercise 70 life testimonies⁹ were extracted during individual interviews (See Matrix in Annexes) and several interviews were held among local leadership representatives. We choose to utilise life testimonies from people living within Gedo, as we felt this would provide us with a current understanding how lives had taken adrift as result of the various problems faced by affected households. After all the people of Gedo had lived through a long tradition of insecurity that had started long before the civil unrest triggered by the downfall of Siad Barre.

The life testimonies were meant to provide information on how people started off in their life. How secure were their livelihoods of the families they lived in at then time when they were born? And how did these develop over time. What were the crucial periods of change for the worse or for the better? What was causing those changes and how did people link these causes to the more fundamental or underlying causal effects?

Thus in the analysis process we tried detecting livelihood trends, and the causal hierarchy of changes through the lives of our informants and linking hierarchies of changes to deeper fundamental issues.

Basic data from interviews

During the interviews the teams tried to obtain a balanced picture by interviewing a cross section of the individuals with different backgrounds, gender, household size and livelihood background. Below tables provide some specifics in this regard.

Table 9 Composition of interviewees by gender

Sex	No. of respondent	% cases
M	36	51
F	30	43
Invalid	2	6
Total	70	

⁹ Out of the 70 life testimonies, 68 qualified for the analysis process

Table 10 Composition of interviewees by age

Age brackets	Respondents	% cases
20-30yrs	23	33
31-40yrs	18	26
41-50yrs	29	41
Total	70	

Table 11. Composition of interviewees in terms of numbers of children per household.

No. of children	No. of hh	% respondent
1-5	25	36
6-10	25	36
11-15	7	10
>15	3	4
Invalid	10	14
Total	70	

NOTE:

- A majority of male interviewees were polygamous married to 2-4 wives
- A majority of the female respondents were married off early by their parents or relatives
- Very few women benefited from formal education. A majority are illiterate, and married off at early age

Below table provides a summary on education trends among those interviewed

Table 12. Trend indication on education

	Educated	Not educated
Respondent tally	43(61%)	27(39%)
Levels attained	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both Koranic schools and primary levels with very few exceptions of secondary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Never attended formal and informal education. • A few learnt how to read Somali transcripts.
Before war and conflicts.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More persons have attempted to attend school. • In addition the national literacy campaign benefited many 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A few who had not attended managed to learn to read Somali transcripts and Islamic prayers.
Presently	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very few are attending schools • Mostly limited to Koranic school only 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A majority are not attending or even missed the opportunity to study

The interviews revealed that before the turmoil a majority had an opportunity at least to receive some form of education, both Koranic and primary, some secondary. Currently a majority of the people have no access to schools as a direct result of the inter-clan conflicts and civil strife. A growing mass of illiterate population causes major concerns to the future development of

Somalia.. It should be emphasized that respondents relate the current instability to lack of education as frequently respondent's statements included the fact that 'ignorant people such as militias have created most of the current instability problems'.

General Observations

If one would visit the present day Somalia, and especially the southern part of the region, and would observe the present day to day life, there are chances that one would conclude that Somalis have adapted to their present day situation of strife, conflict and threat in which they find themselves through merely accepting the situation.

This is not really a surprise as many Somalis have started their lives in a hostile multi-dimensional conflict situation which is extremely difficult to understand for any outsider. While the older generation of Somalis have clear memories of better times in the past, before the period of conflict emerged, younger generations never have had the opportunity of experiencing a stable livelihood situation in which peace and stability prevailed. The younger generation especially have been experiencing lives in which day-to-day survival in marginal economic environments were prevalent due to the threat to conflict and the lack of appropriate services and perspectives.

In this situation it is not easy to conduct a study that aims to unravel the main underlying causes of the present day poverty situation in the region. While many of the interviewees possessed clear analytical minds, their preoccupation with present day problems is high. Rather than focussing on underlying causes, people tempt to accept underlying causes as they are, without sharing a vision or ideas on how to influence strategies to address these underlying causes. Simply the underlying causal hierarchy is beyond the control of most, so why bother about it? Development workers too, have merely been pre-occupied with livelihood survival assistance programmes, in the Gedo region especially through the provision of relief and health services, rather than a pre-occupation of broader based efforts to change social and political systems.

Nevertheless, in our efforts to understand the views of the informants we encouraged them to link day-to-day concerns to underlying causal effects, which up to a degree worked well. Below is a summary of our findings:

Conflict: an immediate cause of poverty

Conflict in Somalia has un-doubtfully created endless of human suffering and it has dented people's hope for the future. The following box provides some facts on how the recent period of political instability led to a conflict without an end.

Conflict in Somalia: some historical facts

The Somali people have a common language and religion, a defined geographical territory and a common culture, history, tradition and racial origin. But none of these common characteristics have proven to be enough to build a nation.

Somalis are largely nomadic or having roots in nomadism. Because of the nomadic way of life, social units tend to be small and self-sufficient. This life style has created "independency in nature and temperament." Over many years there has been a continuous movement of the population from the rural areas to the big urban centres in the south like Mogadishu, where there is a now large permanent urban population, mostly dependant on agriculture.

At the end of nineteenth century, the area was partitioned between the European colonial powers and Ethiopia. The Somali peninsula, one of the most culturally homogeneous regions of Africa, was divided into British Somaliland, French Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, Ethiopian Somaliland (the Ogaden), and what came to be called the Northern Frontier District (NFD) of Kenya. The modern Somali state was eventually formed by the union of the former British and Italian parts in 1960. The issue that dominated post-independence politics was the unification of all areas populated by Somalis into one country--a concept identified as Greater Somalia.

The character of the country's newly formed institutions was shaped by this preoccupation with Greater Somalia which eventually led to the build-up of the military forces and ultimately to the war with Ethiopia in 1964 and the fighting in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya. The turning point in Somali fortunes occurred in 1969 when the civil government was overthrown by a military junta. The coup was followed by the brutal and authoritarian regime of Mohamed Siyad Barre that continued for 21 years. During this time the fabric of the society was slowly and meticulously dismantled. The regime used Somalia's geographically strategic location in the Horn of Africa to attract funds from the superpowers during the cold war and is said to have attracted one of the highest amounts of per capita foreign aid in the world between 1960 and 1990. By the mid-1970s, Somalia had also one of Africa's largest standing armies, and spent from 40% to 50% of its budget on defence and security.

In 1988, aid from the West was frozen following a series of reports of genocide and human rights violations. Within two years the regime collapsed, marking the end of the Somali state. This was followed by a seven-year period of violent warfare and banditry throughout the country. Siyad Barre's manipulation of clans had created an atmosphere of mistrust and hostility that gradually weakened both the traditional and the national institutions. So when the government collapsed in January 1991, the institutions were not solid enough to prevent the whole country from disintegrating. Mogadishu, the nation's capital, was specially affected by the collapse of law and order. The problem was that the nation's assets were overwhelmingly concentrated in the city. It was estimated that over 90% of the national assets, the only functioning government departments, 50-60% of the nation's population, and dozens or even hundreds of well-stocked army barracks with huge ammunition depots were concentrated in Mogadishu alone. In other words, Somalia was a nation with one vital element and when Mogadishu collapsed, Somalia immediately ceased to be a nation.

During the civil war Mogadishu experienced irreparable physical damages. The city was destroyed beyond recognition, and much of its physical beauty is lost forever. All the official records it once housed were also destroyed or lost. The city became a graveyard for thousands of Somalis and home to thousands of others maimed by the violent civil war that raged in the city for 10 years. Mogadishu is also the hub of an area once described by UN General Secretary, Kofi Annan, as "a black hole of anarchy" where gangs call the shots. After the defeat of the government forces in January 1991, the victorious militias turned their guns on the innocent civilian population of Mogadishu and its environs, specifically targeting the non-Hawiye clans. Rampaging militias indiscriminately massacred innocent civilians. An unprecedented level of humanitarian abuse including mass rape, torture and killing was also reported. Thousands lost their lives and hundreds of thousands were forced to flee their homes. Many former residents of Mogadishu have now lost hope of ever returning to their homes and have opted to go back to their 'clan home bases' to rebuild their lives.

Source: Humanitarian Affairs Review 2000

During our fieldwork it was striking to observe that almost without an exception, every individual interviewed had a story to tell of personally experiencing the impact of conflict.

Conflict related impact has been widespread and severe in Gedo and it has had an impact on poverty and livelihoods so rigorous that it probably accounts for most of the detrimental situation many Somali households in the Gedo Region find themselves in. In most cases informants link the occurrence of conflict as the most important cause of household food insecurity.

In Gedo political and clan-related instability had lead to series of movements and relocations of people that started long before the collapse of the Barre regime. A case in point was the Ethiopia – Somalia conflict which forced many to flee across borders, pending their clan affiliation. But movements and misery continued following the several phases of conflict that occurred and continued. Below is an impression given to us by several informants:

Case: male informant

During the civil war we fled to Luuq without any wealth. My wife started a small business and I became a mason for daily bread winning. When Aideed attacked I fled from Luuq to Mandera District of Kenya where I was provided with food items and then repatriated to Luuq. Then clan conflicts again erupted here and I fled to Shatilow and after two years lost again all possessions. I decided to do some manual work and by cutting firewood and building local houses. All my problems come from insecurity. The government collapsed because of hatred among the leaders and lack of commitments from other political parties. The war brought displacement, loss of property and life, migration, breakdown of social services. The government leaders were responsible for the war because they have not made any compromise to save the life of the Somalis. Our future prospective is to have a government that can provide education and security. Those are the greatest assets I have in mind. If that does not happen Somalia will be like a baby without parents and with no relatives that could help it stand on its own feet.

Case: female informant

It started during the same year that I married to a Somali soldier who was based in Malka Riyey. He had no assets but a government income. Life was normal. Then in 1991 the downfall of the government happened and I went to Mandera as a refugee for five months. I have no education, and had nine children. Some NGOs were providing food items, utensils and plastic sheets. Then I returned to Shalilow to restart a normal life but so many inter-clan wars took place that deteriorated the life completely. We received no assistance whatsoever. The civil war was due to the competition over power and resources. There was also tribalism. The government officials were responsible for the war. Our future prospective and hope is to have an effective and justifiable government that will bring security, respect, law and order. The government will need to come through the reconciliation of warlords.

Case: local authority

The root cause of the problem is our government. It collapsed and this brought all the other problem. Europeans policies affected the government interests. After the break down power struggle among the Somalis caused the civil war. But injustice originated from the government. Their dictatorship was opposed by the communities. Poor resource management and distribution was the other factor causing the civil war. Government officials were not trusted as the government spent a lot of money but denied us essential services.

Stress came to our village which caused displacement and insecurity. Many strangers came with guns, law and order were totally lost as well as the system of governance. We all are the real victims of the Somali civil war and many of our people and children died of hunger. Our health and education services have collapsed.

Livelihoods were of course severely affected. Below information on livelihoods is tabulated to provide an overview on their status before and after the conflict.

Table 13 Trends on livelihood in Gedo.

	Before the conflict	After the conflict	Present situation
Source of wealth	A majority of hh depends on livestock keeping but also supplement incomes with rain fed farming	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Assets bases were looted or decimated by droughts that have occurred.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Drastic shift to resort farmingDependency on food AidCollection of natural product (i.e. firewood, palm leaves etc for livelihood)Increased levels of vulnerability and destitution.
Asset base	Ownership of livestock (camels, goats, sheep, donkeys and poultry) and a few water pumps.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Looting occurredLost during displacement or droughtSold some	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Fear to re-invest due to unstable security environmentA few are restockingCannot afford the pumps
Living condition	Generally fair levels of food security	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Displacement to IDP campsMajority becoming medium / long term refugeesDestruction of morals, killings	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Remain very difficultReliant of food AidDependent on collecting firewood, wild fruits etc

General observations on livelihood decline in Gedo

The main calamities that have befallen the people of Gedo, and that had a bearing on the state of livelihoods were linked to:

- Frequent periods of extended drought
- Wars especially between Ethiopia and Somali, and Ethiopia and Al Ittihad
- Collapse of the government
- Inter-clan conflicts

While all these events had taken a major toll on livelihoods it was the violence associated with the conflicts that were ranked highest in terms of causing the acute loss of livelihoods. This violence was characterized by destruction of livestock, the looting of assets and property, killings, raping, and the displacement of people.

Below is a case of one of our female respondents who explains how the regular periods of displacement and looting had an impact on her family.

Case: Female informant

I remember one of the worst events that happened in our family was a bitter drought at a time I was young. It decimated almost all of our livestock. We then fled from where we were living to interior parts in Ethiopia. Here we received a helpful hand from some of our relatives with whom we stayed for six months. They contributed some livestock to allow us to come back to our previous dwellings and to continue rearing livestock. After several months of the Somalia-Ethiopia war, we moved from Goroyale into Luuq. On the way all our goods were looted by the Ethiopian militias. We arrived with very little cash into Luuq, where we became refugees. UNHCR registered us in refugee camps where we were getting some source of living through different organisations. I decided to start a business of buying food from the refugee camps and selling it to the town, to other commercial people. In this way we could again expand our income and I managed to purchase a donkey and a number of small stock. But at a time we regained hope all was destroyed by the civil war in 1991. This time all the livestock were looted by the Somali militia (Ex soldiers). I escaped again with a few amount of cash and we fled from Luuq to Dolo. At Dolo we started a teashop which was a small-scale business. But unfortunately a big fight occurred between Aideed and the Merehan that resulted to the sudden death of two of my children (one boy of 9 yrs and a daughter of 4 years old). We then crossed again to Ethiopia where life was hard and painful and we used to do various activities to generate some income (firewood collection, washing clothes). In 1999 we left to re-settle in Luuq as CARE started its programme and we registered ourselves as IDPs and were able to receive food assistance up to date.

The majority of case studies indicated that household were largely dependent on livestock production while few indicated that incomes were supplemented through rain-fed farming. For those who could remember, it was indicated that for the overall trend before the calamities

occurred people's production systems were providing adequate quality of life and livelihood, and food security conditions were rated as moderately satisfactory.

Once calamities started to occur vulnerability levels of entire communities rapidly and progressively increased. Destitution increased as safety nets and coping mechanisms collapsed. As livelihood systems broke down a majority became reliant on relief food aid. Almost without exception all interviewees indicated their experience of being displaced at least once, while many mentioned that they had to seek refuge several times either in IDP or refugee camps in Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya.

The practice of looting was mostly associated with all of the conflicts. And the word looting has a meaning that many have a first hand experience with in the Somali context. The civil unrest has caused many to take advantage of the situation and take from others whatever they could. During our interviews we met many who were the victims of having lost everything as result of lootings occurring, especially at the time of General Aideed raiding activity in the Gedo Region. The team also spoke with informants who were the inflictors of looting, but for obvious reasons here information was more difficult to extract. It is important to note that looting has -in addition to the physical losses- caused a feeling of uneasiness among the many victims even having caused a degree of psychological damage among some. Most cases of looting have remained unresolved, although some efforts have been undertaken by elders and local authorities to reconcile between the victims and inflictors. Despite this there are many cases that inflictors of looting have been remained unpunished, and most looted assets were never returned. In a case where victims live alongside inflictors of such practice, a breeding ground for future disputes remains due to the building up of bitterness and resentment.

What can be said is that the interviews revealed that the impact of looting has been dramatic from the livelihood perspective. In some cases several relatively well to do informants became completely destitute overnight as result of being the victim of such practice. Looting is a prime example of asset loss and an immediate cause of loss of livelihood.

The type of assets that had been looted ranged from personal household possessions to buildings (mainly buildings were ripped apart to use the materials elsewhere), livestock (often in great numbers) stocks of cereals, merchandise, furniture, and land. The latter has had a major impact for some of the riverine groups, who saw their productive land taken away during the conflicts and often never returned. There is a general feeling that their land is still occupied by some of the larger clans, a situation that has aggravated their poverty and vulnerability as production potential is significantly reduced.

The longer- term impact of looting on a large scale is that households have never been able to regain the strength to sustain food and livelihood security. In a number of cases livestock

producing households reshaped their livelihoods and became increasingly dependent on farming activities. Due to the low potential of agriculture in Gedo as a result of the dry and unpredictable environmental conditions, and the fact that the majority of such people were not engaged in such activities before, the full impact of this change has not yet been satisfactory. Currently the relief inputs provide a stabilising factor according to most of the interviewees as they try to cope with supplementing income through a combination of income generation activities. The table below provides a summary of what respondents indicated to be the main events associated with turning points in livelihoods.

Table 14. Cases studies: Turning points in livelihoods

Events/occurrences	Problems experienced	Proposed future solutions
Man made conflicts		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Somalia- Ethiopia war • Collapse of Siad Barre government • Military campaign Farah Aideed • Ethiopia –Al-iti had fighting • Inter clan conflicts mostly caused by the major clan of Gedo • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displacement of people from their locations and means of production. • Killings, raping and looting of people properties. • Stressy living conditions • Increased vulnerability because of lack of alternatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of central government to maintained law and order • Peace building and reconciliation. • Resettlement/restocking • Education support • Social services health access to IGA and credit water
Natural disasters		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Occurrences of frequent droughts • El-niño floods and seasonal floods of rivers • Diseases outbreaks e.g. cholera, malaria e.t.c 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displacement of people to escape droughts • Loss of livestock and property • Washing of top soils and loss of crops • Loss of lives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resettlement and restocking • Provision of pumps • Farm inputs • Training of farmers

Many interviewees indicated that the main turning points in their lives came during and after occurrences of conflict. Despite the events that have occurred and greatly affected the outlook of people's livelihood, there were strong signals of social/cultural practices of supporting the vulnerable and needy people. To an extent, these practices have survived despite the various phases of turmoil. There is also increased support from the diaspora through a system of regular remittances. Networks of peers and close relatives help to contribute to re-start the lives of those worst affected. Many interviewees also recognize the contributions made by NGOs in supporting them. Examples given in this regard include interventions such as restocking by EPAG, repatriation by UNHCR, food aid by CARE and CRS. (See below table).

Table 15. Inventory of organisations providing recent support in Gedo.

ORGANIZATION.	SUPPORT	REMARKS
WFP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Food aid relief 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Providing food aid
CARE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Food aid, food for work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Still supporting wider Gedo region
UNHCR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Repatriations and services in camps 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provided 50 USD and resettlement packages
EPAG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resettlement and restocking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provided 10 goats and one donkey as restocking package Not now in the area
AMREF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Health services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Operates now under GHC
TROCARE/GHC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Health services outreach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Very active and reaching many areas
CRS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Food aid and relief 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Currently not active in the area

Note that local NGOs are not included in the above list.

The table below provides a summary of how local authorities linked livelihood conditions to a series of events before, during and after the various phases of conflict. It is important to note that among the various interviews with local authorities similar trends were expressed with the most important view being on the future of having a stable government. Only then other solutions become possible, such as the disarmament of militias¹⁰.

Table: 16. Local authority views on changes affecting livelihood conditions

Before the wars	During the wars	After the wars	Way forward
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Majority of communities were well settled in various areas People livelihood were dependent on livestock and some rain fed farming 	Violence resulting from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Ethiopian-Somalia war Collapse of the Barre government Al-Ittihad conflict Inter clan conflicts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inter clan conflicts have continued Vulnerability level has increased Dependency on external aid and support No government in place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dialogue for reconciliation Disarmament of militias Long term livelihood options Established government with leadership

¹⁰ It was striking to note that some of the militia leaders themselves supported the idea of disarmament of their own militias once a stable government was established.

Before the wars	During the wars	After the wars	Way forward
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Households were generally able to sustain food security conditions and other basic needs Educational initiatives were being promoted through the Koranic schools, primary and national illiteracy campaigns. 	<p>All of these caused:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Killing and loss of innocent lives Displacement of people mostly more than once. Looting of property and burning of houses Destruction of infrastructure Establishment of IDP/Refugee camps 	<p>warlords are ruling</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Refugee life/camp life has continued for many Livelihood options have remained limited because of insecurity Food security levels low General fear to invest Clan based retaliations always a threat Collapsed social services health, education. 	<p>qualities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stimulate education and other social services

It should be realised that during the interviews only a few could remember how the conditions were before the onset of the various phases of conflict and war. The younger generation in Gedo have not lived through such times. Most young men and women have had only known a life that was dominated by the impact of conflict.

The lives of many young men have been manipulated through their leaders' interests and thirst for power. The youth serve such interests and form the bulk of the militias. As their minds are manipulated, they use the power of the gun to manipulate others. The militia form a sincere problem that needs to be addressed, and taken into account in a future development perspective.

During the interviews we were challenging to link conditions of livelihood to root causes and triggers and impact/effects. Furthermore we challenged the respondents to think of and provide and solutions to the problems. The below two tables presents the outcome of this exercise.

Table 17. Local authority: views on root causes of livelihood insecurity

Root cause of poverty and livelihood insecurity in Gedo	Immediate / Intermediate causes and triggers	Solutions
Absence of central government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civil stress • Booming poverty • Displacement of people • Lack of social services • Lack of infrastructure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of government • Disarmament of militias • Peace and reconciliation
Lack of education formal/informal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High illiteracy level • Limited job opportunities • No formal and informal Education system • Limited educational facilities and structures • Breakdown of traditional norms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support education, especially the community based initiatives already undertaken • Help out youth to reshape their future by teaching them skills

Some of the local authority and elders complained about the unruliness of the youth, and especially those who formed the militia. (See statement above). It is apparent that a generational problem has emerged. Parents and elderly relatives have little impact on the behaviour of many of the youth. One elder mentioned: 'The sense for respect and religion, which was so common in our generation and upbringing, is totally gone among some of our own children and we have great difficulty controlling them'. The question is how has this apparent disconnect between the generations emerged?

On the one hand the youth is being blamed by the older generation for much of the (militia) inflicted violence. On the other there are clear signals that there are good reasons for this development. Misguided leaders have in the past manipulated the minds of the young, and invited them to join clan-based militias to fight, not only defend clan-based interests, but also to inflict violence not for ideologies one could have a sympathy with but for an ideology of greed.

So masses of young men have been involved in the raiding, looting and a practice of all sorts of violence, and were doing so under the spell of manipulation and often with the consent of their own clan leaders. As a result, violence has been a standing model for years, and local warlords have been the main role-models, a situation that continues to exist even now, as many form or represent the current national leadership.

Clearly the older age group is at least in part to blame for the current crisis between generations. Up to date no programmes of any kind are in place that provide any significant re-orientation or new perspectives for this group.

People tend to consider the condition of their status in terms physical safety central in their own assessment of livelihood status. Wherever we went, people would express the linkage of security to livelihood security. We often heard ‘Our livelihoods have improved as we have had no insecurity for a while’ or ‘you cannot go that area because of tension, and people are starving there’. The notion of the direct association of violence with insecurity of livelihoods has become extremely clear for all Somalis.

Table 18. Case studies (individual interviews): Root causes of livelihood insecurity.

Root cause	Immediate / Intermediate causes and triggers	Effects	Solutions
Lack of central government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power struggle and war lord interest • Inter clan conflicts • External influence/ interest from outside countries • Poor facilitation of peace initiatives • Proliferation of fire arms • Limited employment opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displacement of the populations • Killings, rapes and looting of property • Revenge and retaliations • Food insecurity • Absence of social security and services • Deteriorations of social cultural 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of central government • Initiation of peace building and conflict resolutions initiatives • Support rehabilitation of social services • Food aid
Frequent droughts and disease outbreak.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes in the environmental conditions • Unsustainable exploitation natural resources e.g. charcoal burning e.t.c • Poor mitigation strategies • Insecurity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displacement of the population. • Food insecurity • Loss of livestock and human life • Lack of economic base and purchasing power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversify livelihood options • Strength traditional coping strategies • Timely mitigation and preparedness • Address security issues
Lack of education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wars and conflict in the region • Absence of educational facilities • Absence of support (financial) • Displacement of populations-who often reside in dilapidated in structures • Absence of policy and systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High illiteracy rates • Food insecurity • Incompetent labour force 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re-establish educational systems • Address security issues and peace building

Root cause	Immediate / Intermediate causes and triggers	Effects	Solutions
Lack of social services (health and water)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wars and conflict in the region • Looting of facilities • Displacement of people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weak population for production purposes • Frequent deaths • Food insecurity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rehabilitate health services and water • Address security issues

Causes of Livelihood failure: Immediate, Intermediate and Underlying

From the information provided through the respondents we constructed the diagram below that explains the underlying causal hierarchy, as it exists in the Gedo context.

The multi-stage causal hierarchy for livelihood failure and poverty is explained earlier. The table below indicates the main observed causes under each category for as far as the Gedo situation is concerned.

As the table indicates, many of the causes are interlinked, which in turn, requires a broad vision to develop strategies for improvement. It would neither be feasible nor appropriate to shift drastically from one strategy to another, i.e. by shifting the focus entirely to addressing underlying causes. What was in the mind-frame of respondents was the pre-occupation to overcome day-to-day problems that affected their livelihoods. Resource assistance is a major concern, and it has to continue until the causes for structural food gaps have been adequately addressed. What is required is a strategy that involves all of the causal hierarchy categories. Thus an increased focus on addressing intermediate and underlying causes of livelihood failure in addition to the strategy that is in place now (that has a primary focus on the immediate causes).

Table 19. Causal hierarchy for livelihood insecurity in Gedo Region

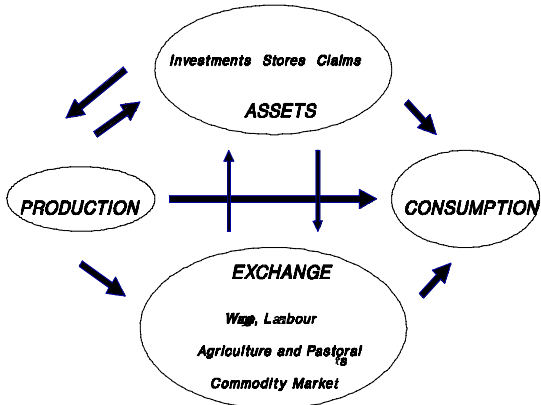
<u>Immediate Causes</u>	Conflict related Somalia- Ethiopia war Collapse of Siad Barre government followed by civil strife Military campaign Farah Aideed Ethiopia –Al-Ittihad fighting Inter clan conflicts (in Gedo mainly caused by the major clan) Militia related strife	Consequences <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displacement of people from their locations and means of production • Killings, raping • Looting of people's properties • Total collapse of economic infrastructure • Increased vulnerability
	Natural Extended drought Extended flooding Widespread diseases of humans/animals	Consequences <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displacement of people • Loss of livestock and property • Loss of top soils, loss of crops • Economic disruption • Loss of lives
<u>Intermediate Causes</u>	Causal factors Low level of productivity among agriculture and livestock based production systems Lack of opportunities to diversify or generate additional income Low skill levels largely due to an overall collapse of the education system affecting especially young generations; Ability to access food is low as the impact of periods of complex emergencies is still being felt Basic service level low: A widespread problem exists in the Gedo region. The service infrastructure has been destroyed and is only partially restored.	Comments Continued vulnerability and poverty a cause and at the same time a consequence Due to the continued poverty, vulnerability and threats; and lack of new development investments by individuals and institutions Foundation for change / improvement lacking Majority of household fail to access adequate food levels due to low production, low asset levels, and inadequate markets Major effects in water provision, health, sanitation etc. undermining people's ability to cope
<u>Underlying Causes</u>	<u>Economic:</u> Low productivity levels of livestock and agricultural based production systems, as the rural economy is under-developed due to a lack of investments in economic infrastructure. Economic isolation exists as markets have collapsed and a structural problems in accessing markets <u>Political:</u> Continued political disruption resulting in absence of appropriate governance and institutional structures. Politics divided along 'warlord' power dominated interests instead of socio-economic and welfare interests <u>Social:</u> Widespread marginalisation of minority clans, economic and political marginalisation of women and a general gender imbalance. Widespread use of arms in solving social disputes. Widespread use of khat affecting social and economic life. <u>Environmental:</u> Effective environmental control absent. (Uncontrolled infestation of <i>Prosopis</i> , uncontrolled charcoal exports, overgrazing) affecting range- and farmland conditions. Drought management systems absent.	

Low productivity of livestock and agricultural based economies: is largely caused by a non-development approach, the lack of investments and inputs etc. Both economies have largely been functioning in isolation due to the lack of significant marketing outlets. Agricultural output is obviously also severely hampered in the Gedo region as result of the unpredictable environmental factors. The successive phases of conflict and recurrent droughts have taken a major toll on livestock and agricultural assets, thus further undermining production levels.

It should be noted that the underlying causes of poverty are highly associated with ill-conceived politics that has now resulted in a very weak governance structure, or a governance structure that is totally lacking in some areas. Where governance structures do exist they – in most cases - are not popularly recognised in terms of their legality.

Finally we take a look on how some of the causes (the mix of immediate, intermediate and underlying causes) affect the main pillars of food and livelihood security. (See figure on next page)

Diagram 3. Factors adversely affecting the processes of Asset building, Production and Exchange, and their implications in terms of Consumption in the context of Gedo

	<p>Loss of human life resulting from conflict related killings and diseases</p> <p>Conflict related looting of Assets: household possessions, buildings, houses, cereal stocks, merchandise, land</p> <p>Conflict related losses of community assets and destruction of infrastructure</p> <p>Conflict related collapse of social service provision and education system</p> <p>Losses of livestock during drought</p> <p>Losses of farmland crops during floods</p> <p>Lack of investments due to continued poverty and security threat levels</p>	
<p>Conflict related displacement of people away from their locations and means of production</p> <p>Loss of productive animals due to drought and conflict</p> <p>Environmental conditions (drought and flooding) affecting livestock and agriculture production</p> <p>Non existence of service provision in support of local production</p> <p>High illiteracy rates and low skill levels</p> <p>Lack of investments due to continued poverty and security threat levels</p>		<p>Structural gap in food access among significant number of households</p> <p>Food aid has become part of household economy</p> <p>Eating less amounts and less frequently</p> <p>Sharing of available food resources</p> <p>Disruptions and / or delays in food aid supply translate into immediate increase in malnutrition levels</p>
	<p>Conflict related market collapses</p> <p>Drought related market disruption affecting terms of trade</p> <p>Local farmers: disrupted terms of trade during food aid distributions</p> <p>Livestock ban middle eastern countries</p> <p>Numerous physical bottlenecks in supply marketing chain such as militia controlled road blocks demanding taxes on merchandise meant for markets</p> <p>Poor road infrastructure to interior production areas</p> <p>High illiteracy rates and low skill levels</p> <p>Marketing infrastructure investments lacking</p>	

Causes of livelihood insecurity in Gedo: Conclusions and Recommendations ¹¹Some of the main conclusions in regard to the study on causes of livelihood insecurity in Gedo were that the CARE Somalia programming thus far has mainly been focussing on addressing effects of immediate causes of livelihood failure (by addressing the needs through food aid transfers).

However to a certain extent CARE Somalia programming addressed intermediate causes of livelihood insecurity by upgrading skill levels through capacity building programmes of CARE Somalia and LINGO Staff. But the programming did not have an immediate input in addressing underlying causes of livelihood security. The programme assisted in the stabilisation of livelihoods in a chronic food deficit scenario, but it did not impact on addressing the main causes of such a scenario so that a status quo remains.

In fact what actually happened is that short term emergency programming (under which food aid assistance falls) methods were applied over a long term period in an effort to maintain the minimal levels of food security. It should be mentioned here that with the means available at hand CARE had no other option. While the aim of the project was to contribute to solving food insecurity problems, the scope of the project fell behind that aim'

Funding other than the one intended for short-term emergency operations has not been forthcoming for an area like Gedo. This is one of the dilemmas faced by CARE and other organisations. Even if one would have the intention to address some of the intermediate or underlying causes, one would fail to attract donor funding, mainly due to the nature of the conflict threat that prohibits donor policies to invest in longer-term commitments.

Another dilemma is the physical security situation. We were informed that for any organisation working in the Gedo region a multitude of counter-productive disincentives exist for doing so, most of which are caused by a level of intrigue and threats of physical nature. Emotions among militia and/or those who are meant to control them can easily flare up and may affect those responsible for implementing programmes. This has happened frequently in the past and for such reason regionally based offices of NGOs had to be closed on more than one occasion. Despite this there are strong arguments in favour of extending programming as suggested below.

¹¹ The consultants have put forward recommendations realising that the operational environment in the Gedo region is not the most conducive. However it is felt that the recommendations contribute to breaking the cycle of food – and physical insecurity. The recommended action can be made realistic when each of these are accompanied by clear agreements with local authorities outlining issues of responsibilities in terms of cooperation and security

However, as explained later, programming should become subject to a strict regime of criteria and guarantees provided by the local authorities and communities.

But it should be clear that the problems in Gedo will not go away through the continuation of CARE's existing approach. The causal hierarchy as explained earlier needs a development oriented approach that will address the main causes of the existing gap.

As there are many limitations that prohibit an active intervention approach at this stage due to the level of uncertainties that have their origin in the fragile political process, there are nevertheless openings that deserve exploration for longer term programming, and that potentially contribute to addressing root causes of food security livelihood and livelihood security.

It is recommended that as continued livelihood insecurity remains the main challenge for the people of Gedo, the CARE programme should move towards a more comprehensive programming package that involves responding to immediate, intermediate and underlying causes of food and livelihood insecurity. This approach should be guided by existing openings and opportunities that currently exist, and the readiness of local communities and their leadership to provide security guarantees for programme implementation.

Immediate intervention level

As major problems remain caused by a chronic food deficit in an area prone to complex emergencies like in Gedo. Problems remain in accessing food for many in Gedo. Therefore resource transfers remain to be part of the programming package for the foreseeable future. However it is encouraged that other more effective resource transfers are introduced (such as cash transfers¹²) that have a much wider impact on livelihood outlook of affected households. Cash transfers would also have less adverse impact on local cereal production and adverse producer price dynamics.

Depending on the situation and opportunity at hand, and the flexibility of markets to deliver livelihood commodities for the beneficiaries one could opt for cash based responses or coupon systems in addition or in combination with food distribution. Below table provide summarised information on each of the advantages and disadvantages of food aid and cash based transfers.

¹² Recently CARE developed a proposal for improvement of agricultural infrastructure through Cash for Work in the GEDO region under EU co-funding, to be implemented during a three-year period. It is believed that such proposals are now required to have a wider impact on livelihoods in the region.

Table 20. Examples of resource transfers

Type of Resource Transfer	Appropriate when?	Main advantage(s)	Main disadvantage(s)	Comments	Desirability and Feasibility
Food Aid	1. In humanitarian crises that have resulted in a severe shortfall in food availability and access or in highly inflated food market prices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provides direct nutritional contribution to affected population 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of choice in livelihood investment Expensive Potentially creating dependency Logistical requirements high especially when implemented at larger scale Usually slow and late delivery of food 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Widely used across Africa despite several controversies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can be funded externally because of US and EU surpluses. Does not require strong financial institutions
Cash Aid	1. In humanitarian crises that have resulted in a severe drop in purchasing power, but where markets continue to operate reasonably and food is adequately available through the retail system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provides a wider set of options in livelihood protection. Thus affected households have the ability to invest in their own prioritised livelihood needs Cost effective Can be implemented within relatively short period of time Logistical requirements low 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Potential misappropriation where beneficiaries are unable to make conscious choices on expenditures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only a modest experience available so-far across Africa in using this option on a wider scale 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of transparent accounting procedures could enable theft. Limited tax base within country to fund cash transfers – would be dependent on external support. Requires strong financial institutions inside country of operation.
Food for Work	1. During pre-crisis mitigation. 2. During recovery phases following humanitarian crises	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If planned well FFW provides both household livelihood protection and social community benefits Self-selective in targeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of choice in livelihood investment Expensive Potentially creating dependency Logistical requirements high especially when implemented at larger scale 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adequate implementation capacity a pre-requisite 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Where food is supplied by external agencies, public works could be feasible. Does not require strong financial institutions or domestic tax base.
Cash for Work	1. During pre-crisis mitigation. 2. During recovery phases following humanitarian crises	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provides a wider set of options in livelihood protection / Investment. In other words affected households have the ability to invest in their own prioritised livelihood needs Cost effective Potentially stimulates local economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Potential misappropriation where beneficiaries are unable to make conscious choices on expenditures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Experiences across Africa so-far encouraging. Adequate implementation capacity a pre-requisite 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Needs tax base to fund large public works activities Needs strong financial institutions
Voucher Systems	1. During pre-crisis, mitigation and recovery phases. 2. When different households are experiencing different phases beneficiaries.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provides options in both protection and investment – Offering choice to households. Potential for misappropriation can be overcome. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Difficult to implement in remote areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some limited experience elsewhere 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Less dependence on financial institutions But requires strong reporting and accounting mechanisms, down to village level.

In the Gedo region, cash transfers could work well to provide sufficient resources for recovery at household level. As seen elsewhere, if one or several able bodied members of a household can get the opportunity to work on a labour intensive cash for work programme, the likelihood is that earnings received at the end of such a working period will at least in part be utilised for longer-term livelihood investments¹³.

Intermediate intervention level¹⁴

There is a need to start programming to address intermediate causes of food- and livelihood insecurity through:

Promotion of education

As this report has exposed the lack of education and appropriate skills is a major handicap that affects day-to-day life and the outlook of livelihood security, it is worthwhile to look into opportunities where efforts in education can be supported. It is probably relatively easy to provide support to community-based initiatives that can be found scattered around the region. Most of these initiatives are focussed on restarting the education process for children at primary school level. Many of these initiatives have remained undetected and require support that could consist of improvement of school structures (i.e. building material support, CFW), teaching materials including schoolbooks, furniture and incentives for the teaching staff.

Skill level training of the young generation

As mentioned earlier, the lack of an economic perspective for the Somali youth (who are now largely uneducated and without skills) forces them to depend on incentives provided through the system of i.e. militia. To provide a future perspective for this group starting of vocational training programmes should be considered. These would to provide them with skills that would enhance their future development perspective (i.e. skills in entrepreneurship, artisan skills, agricultural and livestock training).

Strengthening production systems through introduction of new farming technology and livestock veterinary support¹⁵

¹³ Feedback from the dissemination workshop: provision of various aspects of resource transfers such as cash can also help addressing wider livelihood issues. Baseline data are needed on income patterns and expenditures look like. E.g. how much is spent on various aspects of livelihood at micro level. But cash transfers should never be seen as a long-term solution but as a source of help for shorter periods of time.

¹⁴ It was clear that during the dissemination workshop several NGOs presented their views in support of the findings that more could be done at this level. Suggestions were made to support 1. Education, Support e.g. by providing teaching material; 2. Entrepreneurship Support; 3. More effective resource transfers. 4. Health interventions

As happened elsewhere in South Somalia, the RFSP has been involved in the support of agricultural based systems through training, rehabilitation of schemes and introduction of new farming technology. Farming communities in the Gedo region could benefit from a similar approach in support of their production system. One item that deserves attention is the introduction of crop variation. Currently a major focus is on cereals, i.e. sorghum production. In addition there is potential for growing of citrus, as well as maize for livestock fodder, in riverine areas, which have potential off-take markets.

It should not be forgotten that the majority of people in the Gedo region earn their livelihood through livestock production. Their production system has been able to survive the long period of turmoil, without any form of support. Some very basic service provision to this sector would be highly valued and appropriate. One could think of establishing / supporting community-based initiatives in veterinary service provision and provide improved access to veterinary drugs.

Support to build up Community assets

Community asset support is recommended. This can include the construction or rehabilitation of shelter, school buildings, roads, agriculture infrastructure, water and sanitation systems. Such construction should be linked to labour intensive programs, preferably CFW.

Continued upgrading skills of local institutions

At the intermediate level there is a continued need to upgrade the skills of local institutions including the NGOs that form a partner network with CARE Somalia. To date the main focus of most of these NGOs has not gone beyond food distribution, and it will be necessary to assist them in the preparation of undertaking new roles so that they can get involved as implementing partners in what has been described above.

Intervention approach underlying causes¹⁶

The recommended cause of action to address underlying causes of livelihood insecurity includes:

At micro and meso level:

¹⁵ Feedback from dissemination workshop: Climatic changes affect the production and food availability and household incomes are greatly affected by low production. A current trend is that destitute people leave rural homes for town as rural livelihoods are getting eroded.

¹⁶ In addition to the presentation workshop participants mentioned the need for maintaining a focus on Conflict mitigation at all levels, and a constant interaction between CARE and other agencies with communities. As in the past active conflict had curtailed program activities communities should be kept accountable for the security of the staff and program resources. Two main themes recommended for further study were: Insecurity causes and cross-border issues (impacting the level of insecurity)

Address main concerns on governance issues with local leaders

Currently the issues of governance are not being addressed from national or even regional level. In Gedo district administration structures function to a certain degree but these are not linked to a regional structure. While functioning mostly in isolation the linkage that a district administration usually has may depend on political or clan affiliation. It is believed that such affiliation for many district structures comes across the border, from Ethiopia.

With most of the district administrative structures CARE enjoys good working relationships. This relationship has thus far been focussed on the management of a fair food distribution system and the provision of safety guarantees. Those issues are in fact linked to governance issues. It is recommended that dialogue on governance issues be extended to include equitable service delivery, transparency and accountability of local administration and service providers, democratic and improved control of population that is reflected in policy formulation and implementation of programmes, and finally equitable participation of different groups separated by gender, ethnic background, socio-economic background and age. One way of addressing governance issues is through a series of short-term workshops.

Develop criteria on good governance as guarantees for programme involvement at intermediate level

A direct link to the above described governance issues can be made to the programming at intermediate level by developing criteria on good governance that can act as guarantees for anything undertaken by CARE and its partner network. The development of such criteria should be done fully in participation of local institutions, including local leadership as well as CARE and its partners. The criteria itself can act as an important precaution against risk.

Support to peace building and reconciliation

Peace building and reconciliation were issues brought up many times during interviews with individuals and local authorities, so strong is the belief that this should be a centre point of attention of any future approach. However, here it is more difficult to define what the direction should be. At the moment issues that are being addressed in terms of reconciliation are usually linked to recent events (such as the recurrent flaring up of tensions between militias). This type of reconciliation is usually undertaken between elders of the clans involved. Major issues linked to the past that have never been resolved (such as the looting of assets, including land) have thus far not been addressed by elders in most cases. At some stage this has to be undertaken, preferably under the direction of a stable government. It is important that any development agent

active in the area (including CARE) will pay attention to any opportunity that may arise in support of such a process¹⁷.

Finally, a major issue that requires a future focus in a peace building / reconciliation process is on clan based inflicted marginalisation of other groups and clans. Minority groups have suffered tremendously and in the Gedo region many have lost land access as a result of marginalisation

Provide economic alternatives for individuals involved in militia forces

How this can be done is already been described above. It will be important not to exclude individuals that now form the militia from other economic perspectives. It remains to be seen what a the future process will be by a stable government on this issue. It will be unlikely that all of the militia can be redeployed and integrated into a national army. CARE programming – as mentioned - could include training and reorientation for this group.

Continue to address gender related issues and involve more women in programming

The war and the phases of conflict and associated violence have had a very deep impact on women. Some have lost their husbands, some have lost children, some have lost both and are surviving through incredible difficulty. CARE has already appropriate criteria that focus on resource distribution, putting women at the forefront. This line should be extended to the new intervention packages developed, including cash based responses. Lack of education has affected women in greater numbers compared to men. This is a main concern from a programme management perspective, as due to this situation almost all positions of staff inside CARE programming areas, and at LNGO levels, have been taken up exclusively by men. Nevertheless a positive bias in the selection of women for any future position becoming vacant is strongly recommended, despite problems associated with education, in order to increase participation of women in CARE programme implementation.

Build inter-clan based programme implementation committees

Finally, at the intermediate and immediate intervention level, it is recommended that community based programme implementation be based upon formation from a variety of clan- and sub-clan participation from the particular areas. This would enhance integration of clan based groups with mutual interests and provide a way forward to clan integration at large. Formation of inter-clan based committees for programme implementation could be taken up as one of the criteria for awarding proposals.

¹⁷ Feedback from dissemination workshop: CARE currently has a component of peace building for livelihood security programming that could address issues linked to micro - level local conflicts.

At macro level:

CARE International has already taken up its commitment to move towards an approach that focuses on addressing the underlying causes to food insecurity, livelihood security and poverty issues. This is reflected in most recent policies and strategy papers. It is probably not yet reflected in the active programme interventions. We have seen that CARE Somalia programming thus far has largely been directed to address immediate causes of food insecurity. In similar situations elsewhere this is probably also the case. However, the intention to move towards addressing the root causes of poverty seems highly appropriate. It should nevertheless be a phased approach as suggested above, with a greater and gradual emphasis towards intervening at the intermediate level and the level of the underlying causal hierarchy. CARE's experience in developing such an approach should be shared with similar international NGOs.

Increase efforts in lobbying for addressing economic under development issues, political strife and governance issues.

In the context of the Gedo region, economic under-development as an underlying cause is highly accurate, and it affects many who live from agricultural and livestock based economies.

As the majority of the people of Gedo practice pastoralism, economic underdevelopment in this sector affects pastoralists in particular. Partly this stems from the lack of understanding how pastoral economies work, and few development agents have in the past facilitated appropriate investments here. On a general note, there appears to be sufficient evidence to assume that pastoralism is a viable livelihood option. Despite the sceptical belief of some observers who doubt that there is a future for pastoralism, there is evidence that, especially from the production perspective, pastoralist systems are viable. Indeed having been under recurrent threat and stress, they have always been able to recover and revive themselves. Among others this is indicated by the ability of pastoralists to optimally exploit and preserve natural resources, the adaptation of lifestyles that can deal with difficult environments, the customary practices of (re) investing in productive assets and / or other pastoralist resources, the customary practices of prevention/preparation for disasters, the intimate knowledge of pastoralist techniques on reproduction of animals and animal health, and finally the cultural and social alliances within pastoralist groups that result in protection.

By working with pastoralists in the Gedo region and elsewhere it is recommended that CARE should develop its own pastoralist economic policy framework that will guide the process of future strategic interventions. Among others, an envisioning process seems appropriate that will form a basis of consensus building between partners and stakeholders from the pastoral sector on crucial economic issues affecting pastoralists in Somalia.

Build alliances with other partners active in the region and create a forum to identify ways and means forward to address underlying causes.¹⁸

To achieve progress in addressing underlying causes of poverty in Somalia will be extremely difficult as so much is outside the control of humanitarian agencies and development organisations. A first step will be however to create a consensus on the willingness to start the process of addressing such issues. A common observation in Somalia is that most if not all organisations have largely been preoccupied with intervening at the immediate causal level, the saving of lives and the provision of day-to-day inputs for protecting livelihoods. Alliance building among partner agencies, donors, and Somali institutions seems crucial to identify ways to address the wider economical, political, social and environmental issues.

Finally, during a meeting at Hargeisa, where a presentation was given on the results of this study, a number of desirable options were discussed in addressing food and livelihood security as short-term emergency measures, and from a long-term development perspective. These options are presented the on next page. It is however noted that few options are practically available for CARE Somalia programming. It is generally felt that this is at least in part due to rigid donor policies that prohibit investments in long-term food and livelihood security. While the scenario in southern Somalia may not be entirely conducive for long term development planning, several of the below mentioned options are highly credible and viable, and should be considered for implementation. In this context a shift in donor policy thinking is called for.

Table 21. Desirable interventions versus available intervention packages

Situation	Ideal situation	Desirable interventions	Available Intervention packages (in wider Somalia region)
Emergency: Conflicts, civil wars and natural disasters	Food and livelihood secure communities in Gedo Region.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distribution food and non-food items • CFW • FFW • Cash Relief • Revolving loans • Voucher system • De-stocking • Emergency livestock health • Water tankering 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food and non-food items • CFW • FFW • Cash Relief
Long-term development	Food and livelihood secure communities in Gedo Region.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy and lobbying • Peace and development • Policy changes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building infrastructure • Capacity building

¹⁸ Dissemination workshop feedback: More coordination required at all levels of planning and implementation: Renew coordination in terms of response and processes.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversification of livelihoods • Environment conservation and management • Building infrastructure • Capacity building • Sustainable marketing systems • Rainwater harvesting structures • Access to financial services 	
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6 *Study results: Impact of food Aid*

Understanding Food Aid Distribution

In this study we understand that food aid distribution is meant to be a process of filling in a gap in food access to ensure that people's food needs or entitlements¹⁹ are met at a time these are under threat from shocks.

When command or control over resources is lost – e.g. following a natural or man made shock - when there is a sudden decline in production; exchange and claims- resource transfers such as food aid become crucial to protect entitlements of individuals and households. Any of these processes (decline in assets, production, exchanges and claims) can cause entitlement failure. But mostly there is a relationship between the decline of production and exchange that causes entitlement failure. A serious decline in entitlement can cause famine and thus may warrant food distribution.

So the main aim of distributing food is to protect the control or the command over resources in the short term. Food aid is usually associated with emergency measures to protect people's ability to access the most elementary commodities for survival. Typical examples of other emergency measures –apart from food aid- include:

- Provision of emergency supplies (water, shelter etc)
- Subsidised marketing to guarantee market outlets during an economic crisis
- Subsidising work schemes - FFW and CFW.
- Cash relief

During the years of operation the RFSP under CARE Somalia aimed to enhance immediate and short - term food security needs of the vulnerable population in South Somalia affected by both natural and man-made disasters, through the provision of food relief and food for work.

In Gedo Region, the vulnerable groups can be identified within the following key food economy groups. (See below table):

¹⁹ One's entitlement can be seen as a right that enables men and women control or command over resources. There is a direct relationship of entitlement to purchasing power (Sen 1981). The level of ownership determines ones entitlement. Entitlement is then added through: production, exchange (trading and labour) and claims (inheritance).

Table 22. Composition of economic production groups in Gedo Region

Production system	Characteristic	%age
Urbanites	Have diversified livelihoods and not entirely dependent on crop and livestock production	10
Agro-pastoralists	Have relative dependency on crops and livestock but the level of dependency may vary within this group according to resource access and clan affiliation	25
Riverine (farmers)	Dependent on crop production and undertake pump - irrigated or rain - fed farming	9
Pastoralists	Heavily relying on livestock and its products which are often exchanged to meet other basic needs	56

FSAU, 1998. Focus: Inter-agency Assessment Gedo Region.

Food Aid Packages

Food aid as argued by the many FGD respondents in the Gedo region, is generally seen as a very important resource transfer in supporting people and households, and especially for those who have faced frequent food deficits.

Until 2001 CARE Somalia's food aid ration used to contain only one commodity (Sorghum). Following an escalation of malnutrition during 2001, FSAU recommended a broader food aid package following the findings of a nutritional survey. Since then CARE included lentils and vegetable oil to the sorghum in order to provide a more balanced food aid basket. Over time food packages have been adjusted to address various levels of vulnerabilities with the most vulnerable (women, children). The food ration package²⁰ provided during 2004 under the FFD component included the following monthly ration per household.

- 50 KGs of cereal (mostly sorghum)
- 5 KGs of peas
- 1 litre of vegetable oil

During the same year an individual participating under the FFW component would receive on a daily basis (while working for 26 working days on any community project):

- 6 KGs of Cereal
- 1 KG of lentils or peas

One of the questions that we seek to answer is whether the method used in delivering the food aid at household level is leading to the strengthening of people's livelihood without thus having

²⁰ Source: CARE, 2004., Annual Reports

the desirable impact on adverse consequences. Strengthening people's livelihood for example would be exposed if food rations distributed are influencing market interplay in the area while at the same time provide better choices in the market to meet their needs.

The Targeting Approach and Food Aid Delivery

The issue of targeting is concerned on how, where, when, what and to whom resources²¹ are being transferred to. It therefore involves:

1. Identification geographical areas that are of food insecure²² and specific insecure groups within the communities
2. Defining the target group: identifying the members of the target group and ensuring that the resource is transferred to the target group at the right time and the right place, and the right kind of food and in the appropriate quantities.

The significance of targeting for food aid underscores the fact that the food is a scarce resource, aimed at satisfying the food insecure people to avert an irreversible humanitarian crisis that includes a drastic decline in human health.

We assessed the effectiveness of the targeting approach adopted by CARE Somalia at two basic dimensions namely:

1. The technical aspects involving the CARE programming and the roles played by implementing partner NGOs and
2. Identification on who is vulnerable and the participation of the targeted communities in the programme implementation.

²¹ Resource in this case may be broadened to refers to food and non-food aid items.

²² Geographical food insecure areas will be those areas identified by FSAU food security and nutritional assessment reports

Institutional Arrangements

CARE Somalia ensured that efforts were put in place to make appropriate organisational and institutional arrangements to effectively and efficiently deliver the food aid packages to the targeted beneficiaries. Specific technical aspects had to be handled that included:

- Identifying the local partner NGOs for working in implementing the programme. (In the four districts in Gedo. CARE selected and worked with the following NGOs: ACA, BARRDA, SOMACTION, ASEP, SDA and IDF).
- Building capacity: CARE focussed on the capacity of these local partner NGOs and assisted them to prepare for the implementation process implement and charged them with the responsibility of mobilising the communities based on a developed terms of reference (see below table)

Table 23. Summary of Partnership TOR

Before Distribution (CARE)	In preparation of food delivery	During Distribution
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain and reiterate the emergency free food distribution (EFFD) guidelines in advance • Sensitise the communities on rightful rations per household. • Avoid overcrowding by requesting only the listed beneficiaries to turn up. • Prepare and organise security for staff and food commodities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A beneficiary list has been prepared. • Food is distributed according to the beneficiaries' list. • Both CARE and the NGO staffs have counted all the stacked food. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Call out the first two names of the beneficiary allowing the individual to provide the third identity. • Request the beneficiaries to line up in groups of 10. • Ensure that all beneficiaries are singly escorted to the desk for signature or thumbprint. • Beneficiary signs or thumbprint the registration form to acknowledge receipt. • Avoid re-doubling by rechecking the thumbprints (ink). • Ensure that the beneficiary is escorted to where there is food and issued with correct rations.

Source: CARE, 2004. RFSP Semi Annual Progress Narrative Report

CARE Somalia conducted an elaborate capacity building sessions either through formal or on-the-job training for the local partner NGOs. The course content included the following:

- Community mobilisation
- Commodity accounting and handling procedures
- CARE food programming policies
- FFW norms (as in the above table)

- Monitoring, Evaluation and report writing
- Organisational management
- Benefits and Harms analysis

CARE had put a system in place to appraise NGOs proposals for the possible funding of FFW projects. Prior to the funding CARE Somalia field officers, including technical supervisors and a community liaison officer, appraised proposals that had been submitted by the local partner NGOs to measure against a required set of criteria (see below table).

Table 24. Appraisal Criteria

Community Context	Work standards
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has experienced persistent chronic food insecurity. • Has an under-utilised farming potential. • Has sufficient labour force ready to participate in the project activities. • Is willing to establish security and controls. • Is accessible, including the project sites. • Is a potential viable, feasible and sustainable project? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stated the amount of work an individual is expected to perform in a day. • The amount of food an individual gets in a day.

Source: CARE, 2004., RFSP Programme Annual Report

Target Beneficiaries

Targeting beneficiaries for FFD was restricted to those perceived to be most vulnerable or at risk in order to maximise the benefits and impact while also minimising the costs of operation.

The targeting approach adopted by CARE therefore emphasised on the most vulnerable sections of communities, which included:

- Women (especially single, widowed, pregnant and lactating mothers);
- Children;
- People with disabilities;
- Returnees;
- The elderly, and
- The Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

Depending on the severity of a food deficit in a certain geographical area, one could benefit if found to be in one of the above categories. The instruments to deliver the food aid were either FFD or FFW.

In most cases those considered ‘chronically’ vulnerable (women, disabled, sick, children, elderly) received immediate food aid through FFD. CARE aimed at targeting the ‘relatively’ vulnerable through FFW. This especially happened where communities needed supplementary food intake.

Food aid delivery

CARE Somalia developed a strategy to ensure that food aid was delivered to the targeted distribution areas. Our review of the food flow pathway was only limited to the field operation inside South Somalia. Our main interest was to assess whether the food aid reached the distribution centres. Field findings indicated that the RFSP had developed a strategy by tasking the contracting food transporter with the security bond to ensure that the food consignments were delivered to the respective destinations. Under this bonding arrangement, any food losses would be charged on the contracted transporter, and this kept CARE safe from the harassments and risks associated to food transportation. It was observed that under this arrangement, CARE dispatched food -in most cases- appropriately from its sources to the destinations.

While in transit, food was locally taxed, and it was the responsibility of the transporter to clear such taxes. Thus the transporter met the expenses en-route to the final destination. In case of disagreement on the tax rate or in case of any other problem, the local authority and elders were charged with settling disputes. No evidence was observed to show misuse of food or losses in the delivery process.

Weakness in Targeting

An important issue linked to targeting is focussed on gender and power relations. The statement below emphasises the need to involve an increased level of women participation, not only in the selection and the targeting of beneficiaries, but also in the decision-making and planning process. Especially in matters linked to food security it is crucial to have full female participation in these processes. The currently 30% composition of women in the committees, needs to be extended to at least 50% to enable a fully balanced representation and contributions by both genders.

‘To improve on targeting, CARE should increase the number of women in the selection committees because it is us who know more about food and the vulnerable people in our communities than our men.,

FGD participant, Women Group in Luuq’

There is a potential threat of having high staff turnover, especially at LINGO level which could affect targeting. Departure of experienced staff undermines the efficiency and general functioning of LINGOs in their targeting approach. The high staff turnover demands therefore that CARE has to continuously train their local partners in order to maintain and ensure quality during implementation.

Impact of Targeting food aid

Apart from delays in food deliveries, that in most cases were outside the control of CARE, there is overall level of satisfaction on the process of food targeting and distribution among most of the beneficiaries with 77.2 % and 67.8% under FFW and FFD respectively (CARE, 2004. Program Evaluation, 2002/3). This can be attributed to the well-elaborated criteria developed by CARE and its capacity to orientate the local partners to adhere to the required standards.

The relative success of targeting food aid undertaken by CARE is hinged on the collaborative roles invested on the communities. The communities are involved in the selection of the beneficiaries, defining their priorities and working with local Partner NGOs.

The CARE strategy is to use local structures such as LINGOs and Project Implementation Committees (PIC). The latter are established to facilitate implementation and enhance community capacity to implement agreed proposals. Roles of these committees are clearly defined. The PICs oversee the implementation, identify and select beneficiary workers (in the case of FFW activities), keep daily attendance lists and mobilise beneficiaries during distribution. The PIC system ensures that communities are placed right at the centre of targeting and in addition they are empowered to manage and shape their development direction. Currently the PICs are transformed into Project Maintenance Committees (PMCs) whose role is to further monitor, maintain and sustain any infrastructure developed or done through FFW. The role of the Local Authority²³ and elders is remains crucial in resolving conflicts.

It was observed that CARE's targeting approach not only advocates for community-centred participation but also emphasises on gender participation (despite the social and religious factors). Both genders are up to a significant level represented in the project management and respective community committees.

²³ Local Authority in this context refers to the administrative arm of the incumbent militia groups. These may have various departments linked to social resource generation and allocation, security etc. In some cases, the clan elders are also part of the local authority.

Free Food Distribution

The FFD programme was implemented in four districts of Gedo Region, namely: Luuq, Dolow, Beled Hawa and El Waaq. These were worst affected by the impact of recurrent droughts and inter-clan conflicts. The number of beneficiaries has kept on changing depending on the level of crisis at hand and the availability of food rations. For example, during the funding years 2000 and 2002 the number of beneficiaries increased from 26,150 to 46,632 respectively, while 2003 and 2004 had the number of beneficiaries dropping by 42% to 25,000 people. A total of 14,055 metric tonnes of assorted food aid was distributed between in 2003 / 2004.

Positive Benefits and Impacts

Saving lives of people: As indicated earlier, FFD was confirmed by almost all beneficiaries as an effective way of averting a human crisis arising from severe shortages in food availability and accessibility. All beneficiaries and stakeholders affirm the role of food aid as crucial in saving peoples lives. It helped meeting the nutritional requirements, especially when it was delivered at the right time. See below statement from one of the FGD participants

'The impact of food aid in Dolow saved the lives of the people you are now discussing with. We had no alternative during the time of stress and food deficiency but having received food aid our nutritional status was timely restored and we can now engage in constructive work or projects such as irrigation activities, herding, selling firewood in town, etc. To us this is a good impact for you to see'.

Preservation of Assets: FGDs also revealed that FFD helped the vulnerable people in the community preserve part of their asset bases that would otherwise be traded off for purposes of purchasing food items and meeting basic needs. A saying in Somali '*ceesaamo deys*' means that the goat that would have been sold off was saved by food aid and as such the assets can now multiply to sustain better livelihoods rather than having been lost at that time. The above quote was mentioned in all of the discussions. It emphasised the impact of food aid to the communities at such a critical moment. However, apart from saving some of the assets, the other important factor that may not so easily be realised is the ability to maintain peoples economic production systems and lifestyles to the extent of minimising destitution levels.

Local market economy and stabilisation of prices: Most FGDs indicated that food aid is contributing to the local market economy in terms of providing stability for the consumers. In Somalia the food market prices are highly inflated and uncontrolled. From a consumer perspective, the impact of FFD is felt on the market especially during the distribution. Sorghum market prices stabilise during such times and it has been observed drop to S Sh 50,000/- compared to S Sh 200,000/- per bag at the time when there is no food distribution. So the

argument is that at a time when food aid is needed, the dynamics go beyond to those of who actually receive the food, as food becomes more affordable for the wider public.

Sharing with relatives, friends and neighbours and payment of credits: It has been observed that during the months that food aid was distributed the benefits went beyond the immediate beneficiaries through practices of sharing and borrowing across various sections of communities. When food distribution is being undertaken, a significant number of indirect beneficiaries are also reached, (e.g. those without coupons, including the militia) as the food resource is shared.

It is a common practice for the direct beneficiary to borrow and obtain credit from neighbours, relatives and business persons with a view to pay-back with food aid distributed by CARE Somalia. The benefit and impact of such a practice is in enabling beneficiaries to cope and sustain food gaps at a time when food is not being distributed. Once the food rations are allocated, the resource is at least in part used to repay the debts. In addition, food aid is also acting as a security for the beneficiaries and community at large to access certain basic needs (sugar, clothes, tea, meat, etc) that would otherwise been difficult to obtain. However it should be noted that such barter exchanges could be undervalued from a consumer perspective.

Stimulating private sector: In a way FFD has boosted private sector led initiatives by stimulating and strengthening the small business enterprises through retailing of food commodities. The FGDs revealed that the small business enterprises mostly procured their food items supplies from the rations that beneficiaries sold. It was reported that in many cases beneficiaries sold up to half their rations to enable them meet other livelihood needs (mostly, non-food items -clothes, household utensils - and health care services, etc.). Food aid in such a case empowers a beneficiary household to decide on what to consume and what to sell off for other basic needs. However as noted earlier, the transactions are usually undervalued from a consumer perspective.

Offers employment opportunities: Communities came up with a number of examples –some unique ones- that Food Aid distribution had a positive impact on employment. Most of the FGDs also revealed that the FFD and FFW created more employment opportunities in several ways. First, through recruitment not only by CARE Somalia but also the Local NGOs which help absorb an educated redundant force in the labour market. Thus such opportunities had become more wide spread throughout the 4 districts of Gedo region. Second, it provided an opportunity for transport hire for which the transport owners benefited and in turn were sharing their acquired resources with less privileged relatives and social support networks. Third, at the

local community level, the owners of the donkey-carts got engaged in the transportation of food rations to the interior and again benefits acquired were shared among a broader relatives lineage. Fourth, loaders of food commodities get engaged in employment during the off-loading of food aid trucks and. Finally, although not linked to employment, the local authority and administration collect taxes from the numerous check points mounted on possible routes. Such incomes were reported to be used for assisting desperate cases of the community and overhead costs of the administration.

Relieves coping mechanisms: FFD is also positively viewed in relieving the social support mechanisms that get over-burdened during a complex humanitarian crisis, as regularly seen in the case of Gedo Region. Several examples were given by the FGDs:

- It helps paying back credits or loans accrued,
- Re-unites family rather than separating
- Begging is reduced
- Economic empowerment of the vulnerable through the sale of their rations.

As it is a social and spiritual moral among the Somalis for the richer to help those in need, food aid relieves this pressure. Food aid as claimed by the FGDs contributes to reinstating households into a livelihood system and it helps the vulnerable members of the community to regain their social status and rights.

Shared with livestock to provide for family consumption needs: FFD does not only provide food for humans. As seen elsewhere part of the ration is used to feed livestock. The direct impact in averting food deficiencies through human consumption of the distributed food is further extended by feeding livestock with the same resource. FGDs revealed that the food aid is frequently given to livestock during extreme droughts when there are no pastures available. This in turn has an impact on human consumption as below statement indicates:

'The food rations received are shared with our livestock and especially given to our milk herd. The sheep and goats are given some sorghum to eat and when they are watered well, the livestock ends up giving some little milk for the family, (mostly to be consumed by our children)

FGD participant among Women in Gubadhia and Local NGOs in Beled Hawa.

Reduces tensions between clans: Food aid, if not distributed often enough, takes a socio-economic and political dimensional importance to the extent that it may result in insecurity. This issue of insecurity as being directly or indirectly caused by FFD was difficult for the team to

exhaustively handle it. However, based on field findings with a neutral FGD in Hareri – Hosle, Mandera District, Kenya, it had the following remarks:

'When CARE Somalia has not delivered and distributed food to Somalia, we the neighbouring areas in Kenya often experience insecurity as the militia often cross the border and raid our animals (goats). This causes tension between the various clans and it often culminates to insecurity. For now just continue with food distribution as these also solves our security problems until a lasting solution is got for Somalia'.

The above statement confirms that food aid distribution would provide people in Beled Hawa with alternative food security and no raids occurring. However, there was a contradiction that occurred during the time of this study. There was tension between the Mandera District Administration and Beled Hawa Local Authority that resulted to the temporary closure of the Mandera Border. Either side had counter-accusations of raids occurring on their border side with a claim that 10 and 33 livestock had been stolen from Mandera and Beled Hawa respectively. No such livestock had been recovered yet. The team could not exhaustively ascertain whether the link exists between the current absences of food aid as a cause of insecurity but rather assumed other social-economic and political factors may have come to play.

Used for provision of public good: In Beled Hawa a specific example was quoted on how food from FFD was transformed to meet the needs of the labourers who were engaged in shallow well digging. FGD with local authority and opinion leaders revealed that beneficiaries (who were nomadic) after receiving free food aggregated it as a contribution to address their local water problem. This was noted to have solved the problem of water for a larger population. From this benefit, it is a good indicator among the communities effectively utilising the limited food aid rations to provide for their public good and could be encouraged for long-term livelihood intervention.

Food For Work

The FFW refers to exchange of food resources with labour for a specific public good. As indicated earlier, the FFW package per individual is 6 KGs of Cereal and 1 KG of lentils or peas per day for 26 working days on any community project (CARE, 2004). For Gedo Region, Luuq District in Elbon, a total of 164 metric tonnes was distributed to 886 and 5,314, direct and indirect beneficiaries respectively. A comparison between FFD and FFW showed that the latter was easier to implement and yields more tangible benefits than the former. The food distribution through the FFW programme was rated more successful by the beneficiaries at 77.2% to 67.8% for FFD, which emphasises the fact of preference from short-term to long-term interventions

once the situation becomes favourable. Like FFD, FFW has also helped the affected people improve on their food security, stabilise their livelihood and retain their asset base²⁴.

The FFW distribution has had positive programme benefits and impacts in its pilot areas in the Elbon area of Luuq District, Gedo Region. This is reported to have assisted the area in the main infrastructure development activities that have been undertaken namely: road opening and improvement of the airstrip.

The use of FFW strategy of food distribution had both short-term benefit in terms of providing for urgent food rations while at the same time rehabilitating the infrastructure for long-term food security through increased access to markets and other services. It had a dramatic impact on the improvement of the feeder road networks and communication systems. A good example quoted by FGD in Geliya is between Weley and Eriwar which is 10.7 kms road connecting the two areas. This is reported to have improved access to markets, giving the people and traders better access to goods and services. Business transactions and terms of trade have improved for commodities easily procured in the markets. The impact of improvement of the road networks is noted not only to contribute to stabilising the prices including of the imported goods but also improved effective delivery of other social services e.g. Polio campaigns and vaccinations by WHO and Gedo Health Consortium (GHC).

Linked to the road transport networks, FFW distribution had a positive impact in the rehabilitation of Luuq airstrip (estimated to be 1 1/2 Kms) whereby it is now re-useable and enabled more access to other areas through UNCAS, ECHO and other flights. Given the persistent insecurity problems and dilapidated infrastructures including very poor roads, the only viable means of accessing some areas is by air transport. CARE Somalia provided the FFW for airstrip rehabilitation at the request of GHC. The airstrip has now opened up humanitarian supplies and development support that can be delivered within the shortest time.

The Harms and Negative Impact

Despite the above positive benefits and impacts achieved through food distribution, it is worthy to note that there are some negative and harmful effects of the programme. Such harms revolve around the appropriateness of food aid in addressing the deeper livelihood needs of the communities beyond right for food needs. As also confirmed by the FGDs, the needs of the

²⁴ Sources: Breldan Cons. 2004, Programme Evaluation 2002/2003 and CARE, 2004., Programme Annual Report

vulnerable beneficiaries go beyond the food²⁵ to include: agricultural inputs, access to safe water, health care and education to mention a few. Some of the harms that food aid has caused in Gedo Region are:

Dependency on handouts. Communities confirmed during the FGDs the growing concern of being dependent on FFD.

It is claimed by some that for the last 6 years (since 1998), food aid became regular in Gedo Region and thus created a certain level of dependence by discouraging individuals and households investing in other sources of livelihoods. However it is the view of the consultants that not the food aid itself but the conditions in which the Gedo people live have created a level of dependency. As argued elsewhere the complex emergency scenario that has existed in Gedo for a very long time has, coupled with the lack of opportunities and low levels of production and economic output all added to a structural food deficit and high vulnerability levels. The spiral of dependency on food aid that Gedo communities now face can only be broken by a different approach as explain earlier (see conclusions / recommendations chapter 5).

Nevertheless the historic timeline²⁶ of Gedo Region indicates that it has experienced natural disasters as well as escalated conflicts to the extent that it has had an impact on the vulnerability levels. People's way of living was as such that time and again food relief became necessary to protect entitlements in the region. This has happened over a long period indeed. As shown in the table 4 below, the historical background created the scenario that people became increasingly depend on outside assistance. This scenario included the formation of more or less permanent IDP camps such as in Luuq and Beled Hawa. The settling down of people from other areas to these IDP camps, the relatively safe conditions there, coupled with the regular access to food through the distributions provided the main incentive to stay instead of going back to a relative uncertain situation. There are however also claims that some cases the local populace abandoning their traditional production systems in favour of integration into the camp life and thus contributing to increased levels of vulnerability and destitution.

Delays in food aid result in deteriorating malnutrition. According to FSAU, 2005 nutritional assessment highlights Northern Gedo (mainly in Luuq District) malnutrition is still above the usual range with the risk of the situation degenerating, if delayed food and humanitarian assistance occurs. For areas such as Gedo, where food aid now plays a key role in the food

²⁵ Vulnerable groups (beneficiaries) preferred food package beyond what is offered to include: pasta, sugar, rice etc.)

²⁶ Sources: FSAU, 2002. Gedo: A complex Emergency and FGD held with INGO in Mandera

economy of some households, delayed delivery in food rations is bound to cause more harm; FGDs with INGOs in Mandera, especially the AAH and GHC confirmed and gave testimonies on the regularity of certain clients whose children are continuously being admitted to the centre for the therapeutic feeding programme.

'A case of a women whose child has had re-admission because of acute malnutrition. Due to lack of alternatives sources of livelihood to care for the rest of the other 6 family members (all children), the case child becomes more vulnerable. GHC has had to stop their supplementary feeding programme because the food provided for malnourished children is still shared with the rest of the household members and this makes the malnourished child permanently malnourished. Having this woman admitted with her malnourished child again would guarantee the rest of other children food at the centre as there is no one to look after them.

If this is true for children, there are also reported cases of adult malnutrition. If food rations was distributed in timely, may be such cases would not be arising because food aid would backs the nutritional needs of that family after discharge'.

It is quite common, that in areas like Gedo, where a structural food deficits have become the norm, even slight delays in a regular food delivery scheme are associated with immediate declines in nutrition among human population.

To overcome the above scenario, the groups proposed a multi-sectoral approach among the humanitarian and development agencies to check the deteriorating nutritional status and create stability for the beneficiaries through a co-ordinated regular intervention programme.

Table 25. Historical trends in the Gedo Region

Year	Event	Effects	Support offered
1978 – 1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influx of refugees from Ethiopia following the Somali - Ethiopian Conflict • Deposition of Siad Barre and return of Marehan people from other areas of Somalia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resulted into establishment of 8 big refugee camps in Luuq district • Some of the local people joined the camps because of direct benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Free food distribution
1992 – 1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • USC/SNA attacks in the areas under general Aideed. • SNF and At-Ittihad fighting. • Invasion of the Ethiopian troops • Conflicts in areas of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal and external displacement of people • Left many dead • Facilities looted 	Free food distribution and provision of competitive rations

Year	Event	Effects	Support offered
	Bay & Bakool		
1997- to date	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • El Niño floods & related disease outbreaks • Escalated conflicts • Political Instability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased marginalisation • Illness and deaths • Insecurity and inability to deliver humanitarian assistance 	Free food distribution

Source: FGD with INGO in Mandera

Another example was raised by the riverine farmers during the FGDs that:

'The Riverine Farmers and to lesser extent the agro-pastoralist cultivate maize but sell it off as fodder for livestock. They cannot wait until the crop matures because, CARE will bring the food. Some respondents also claimed that it pays to sell before maturing because it fetches more money than to wait until harvesting of seed'.

The above statement suggests that CARE will always bring food whatever time limit. Despite the claim made there are underlying causes that affect commercial production (such as a disadvantaged crop-sharing system from a producer perspective). Nevertheless, it is fair to say that food distributions have been associated with declines in cereal market prices which turns out to be positive from a consumer's perspective but negative from a producer perception.

Mainly for this reason (the price dimensions associated with relief food distributions) it was claimed that ***Food aid undermines agricultural efforts.***

FGD discussions with riverine farmers revealed that food aid is greatly undermining agricultural (rain fed - irrigation farming) activities in Gedo region. as benefits that farmers would accrue from agricultural production are reduced. The discussion with Farmers Association in Dolow remarked that:

'Food aid makes farmers not even to recover their cost of fuel, labour and inputs used in a production season. Many farmers have collapsed after failing to payback the initial costs and this costed them to mortgage their water pumps for irrigation. Such farmers certainly become destitute immediately'.

According to the farmers, they have had incidences when food aid floods the market after distribution at a time when it coincided with the harvesting seasons. This caused had a drastic drop in the grain market prices. For example, the price of 1 bag of sorghum fell from 200,000 S Sh to 30,000 - 50,000/- S Sh. In Beled Hawa, the bag of sorghum drops from Ksh 700/- to Ksh 200/-. Despite the clear criteria of CARE distribution schedule not to distribute food during the harvesting months (Jan & July), there are certain business practices and demands that come into

play diverting away from those criteria. For example as it was claimed by the farming community the sales by recipients of food aid to businessmen who may hold the commodity and release it at a time when demand is highest. When such time is associated with the farmer's harvesting, this potentially hampers the opportunity for farmers to sell their produce at a favourable price that would give them enough profit to recover their production costs.

However it should be noted that Gedo Region has always imported most of its grain requirements from Bay Region, and grain produced under pump-irrigation has never been able to compete with the abundant rain-fed production of Bay.

Comparison of FFW and FFD. FFW may not be appropriate for the most vulnerable especially those who are chronically vulnerable²⁷ (the sick, children, elders, etc.), who would require immediate food aid through FFD. FFW works best for communities that are marginally vulnerable but would need a supplementary food intake.

Aggravates tensions among the communities. This was reported to occur at two levels. First, at family level, when one family receives the coupon and food the neighbours, who are not benefiting may feel left out. This does not only cause some tension among the families but also weakens the communities' support systems. The beneficiaries are looked at as the 'chosen' and there will be no willingness to support them during the dire needs. To avoid such tensions, the families have often end up sharing the food aid. Where the food rations are not enough, such practices result in increased vulnerability. However, as previously pointed out, sharing is also, and probably primarily, cultural, and not usually done to avoid tension. Secondly, at community level, the militia set-up roadblocks so that they exhort some items for their survival. The FGDs revealed that such tensions escalated when food aid is around, as militia also want direct benefits, or look upon it as a means to generate income. An example quoted was when food aid for the last distribution for Dolow was held in Geed Weyn for 2 days until the contractor had to succumb to the demands at the checkpoint. At times, the tensions are aggravated between the militia at the checkpoints with the transport contractors which is a potential for escalated conflicts at clan basis.

Food Aid Impact: Challenges faced

There are several challenges faced by both CARE and at community level that the study needs to highlight, as follows:

²⁷ The term 'chronic vulnerable' is used here to indicate those who have the incapacity to fully engage in a productive / economical process and are therefore chronically susceptible to food insecurity.

- Whereas it is clear that CARE Somalia will distribute the food for a period of 10 month in a year (excludes months of January and July as harvesting months), often delays occur between the successive years. This is mainly arising from delays of approving funding proposal by the donor, followed by subsequent shipment and delivery of food to Somalia. A case at hand is the food aid gaps of 5 month beginning from March 2005 when last distribution occurred to August 2005 when the next distribution is expected. Such gaps make food distribution irregular with a risk of reverting to deteriorating human conditions.
- Coupled with the above, the food aid rations from CARE for household targeted is aimed at meeting 40% of their nutritional needs. The challenge arising in the field is that it leaves up to 60% of food needs for the vulnerable community to look for under in the difficult and variable environment of Somalia. This 60% food gap need is large enough that the target groups hardly covers at most half. By implication 30% of their food needs will never be met throughout any one year of food aid and this makes Gedo area permanently food insecure. The need is to increase the food rations but with clear time frames and phase-out strategies.
- Aware of the crucial role food aid is playing in helping people defend their current consumption without sacrificing future opportunities and the potential harms that the project is creating, the challenge faced is how to re-stimulate the productive investment in the livelihoods of the people of Gedo Region within the context of Somalia now. Some of which may include local procurement of food items as a way of guaranteeing market and boosting local economy.
- Recognising the role-played by the female gender in society, and given that the communities in Somalia are Muslim, the challenge is how to enhance increased participation and empowerment of women to control their development direction. This is exhibited by the numbers of women available for employment and decision making processes.

It is important to note that during one of the meetings with LINGOs and other organisations allegations were levelled by one LINGO that food aid had been used by recipients to buy firearms. Given the seriousness of the allegation, the LINGO who claimed they had carried out their own research on the issue, was requested to share these study results with the consultants. Unfortunately this has not happened to date. During the two phases of our fieldwork with extensive investigations into possible misappropriation of food aid the consultants did not observe any indication that firearms or ammunition had been purchased with the food resource. It should also be noted that food rations catered only for 40% of food needs of vulnerable households that were appropriately targeted in most of the cases. In such a situation the probability of utilising food rations to purchase arms at a much higher value seems a most unlikely scenario.

Food Aid Impact in Gedo: Conclusions and Recommendations

Basing on the above considerations and field findings, it is without any doubt that food aid is indeed averting humanitarian crises -in social protection, safety nets and protection of productive assets. The major source of food for the population in Gedo region is food aid. It is not only addressing food needs but also playing an economic role, especially among the vulnerable and marginalized target groups. In a way this is creating certain level of harmful dependence as the communities are now beginning to realise. During the food aid gaps (periods when food aid is not being distributed) the communities' coping mechanisms are ignited and the inhabitants get involved in their survival. The following are ways that the communities cope: through selling of livestock, assets, collection of bush products, and by moving to Mandera, Kenya, Dolow, Ethiopia, and internally within the region.

Given the socio-economic and political instability in Somalia, exacerbated by clan conflicts, the communities are faced with a great risk of destitution. This is because they have less time and fewer resources with which to recover. There are also increased chances of the fewer resources being looted by the more powerful, and thus hampering the willingness to reinvest. This makes the issues of food insecurity to be pertinent among the communities and thus warranting more food aid.

The extent to which the food aid intervention has impacted on the livelihoods of the Gedo people is varied to the extent of a given context and situation. Food aid has had benefits and harms that many of the beneficiaries and communities in Somalia are aware of. The issue of contention though is for how long will food aid continues? The challenge though for stakeholders in Somalia is on how to stimulate positive behaviours to set precedence in integrating long-term livelihood investments with food security issues. The pace at which to start may be small, but gradually increased to match with communities' capacities to change.

Recommendations

The scope of this assignment also sought communities' views on how they wanted to be supported. This greatly varied depending on the production economic group. Overall, the FGD with Local Authorities and elders in Geed Weyn had an analogue that '*bitting the eye or the buttocks which one would you prefer*' - *the answer is the buttocks first*. This meant that there are those things CARE can do, but some are beyond their control, for example due to the lack of central Government.

Given the current situation, which is '*caadi*' normal in the Somalia context, the following are proposed as way forward:

- The current situation in Gedo (FSAU, 2005) and outcome of field visits warrant a need to continue with FFD, but use this opportunity to introduce parallel long-term project to the communities. FFW programme was highly recommended by the communities during the FGDs to have public goods and infrastructure rehabilitated and developed. More so, let the food aid distribution be accompanied by community awareness and capacity building on the use of food itself. Other short and long-term project options include: engaging communities on cash for work, food for assets²⁸, food for participation²⁹ etc.
- Coupled with the above, CARE to should adopt a multi-sectoral approach by using food aid to cover rehabilitation and development of other social and sectoral needs such as in water, sanitation, education and infrastructural rehabilitation.
- Agro-pastoralist and riverine communities, preferred to be supported with agricultural production inputs specifically the start-up seeds, implements and water pumps for irrigation. Where agricultural activities can be undertaken, let it be an option but should be limited in its scale to the current practices being done by the communities. The caution though is that there are limited chances for Gedo to derive its food sustainability through agriculture because of its geo environmental limitations and people's background. Alternative options of ensuring that there cereal needs are brought to the region, through stimulating private sector development, which in the long run may be more sustainable.
- The pastoralist communities preferred being supported with the restocking of herds so as to re-integrate them back to their pastoralist way of life. Many discussions indicated that with the right support pastoralist will be able to regain their food security (conditions being conducive) because of their well-developed coping mechanisms and way of life. To determine the packages for either productive groups would require further discussions and taking into account what has been tested elsewhere. But pastoralism is also experiencing external pressures and there is a need to see how they can diversify their production and asset bases if livelihood and food security are to be addressed in the future.
- Because of the varied levels of experiences and life testimonies arising from insecurities and tribal conflicts, which remain a major challenge, peace building and reconciliatory initiatives are highly recommended. Already what seems to exist on the ground, and merges well with the socio-culture norms in Somalia, are the use of elders (opinion leaders) and women groups as entry points for such a programme.
- In order to re-stimulate productive investments, especially given the entrepreneurial abilities among the Somali communities, supporting the youth with income generating activities and

²⁸ This includes food transfers aimed at the building up of community and / or individual household assets.

²⁹ Conditional food transfers that ensure participation of beneficiaries in (mostly) educational related activities (as a condition to receive a food transfer).

micro-credit access is highly recommended. This is yet another important issue that was raised throughout the FGD groups to ensure that people become productive and protect their assets. Small-scale enterprises such as shop keeping and retailing, carpentry, shoe making, and running food kiosks were mentioned among others. It is also an activity that many women were reported to be participating in, and could in the long-term sustain household livelihoods. CARE already has a successful experience with revolving loan schemes in Somaliland, where such schemes record a 96% repayment rate. Unfortunately restrictions at donor level have in the past prohibited such interventions in South Somalia.

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ANNEX *In Depth Interview: Instruction Guide*

In-depth interviews: For informants who underwent livelihood insecurity at any moment in time during the past fifteen years

Aim of the interview

The main aim of the life testimony interview is to extract detailed information on people's own experience of status and changes in their livelihood from the day they can remember. It is important to keep in mind how livelihood security is achieved (refer to livelihood model) and that at the right time the interviewer probes on certain issues linked to this model.

Selection criteria / considerations:

Equal representation from:

- Both genders
- Among livelihood groups: pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, farmers
- Different age groups: 20-30 yrs, 30-40 yrs, 40–50 yrs

Adequate representation from:

- CARE programme beneficiaries and non- beneficiaries
- Direct relief and FFW beneficiaries
- Resident and non resident (IDP) groups

Locations to be selected within the widest geographical spread taking into considerations such matters linked to accessibility, security and equal clan / sub clan participation.

Strategy and approach during the interview:

It is important to explain the reasons behind our objective and to request for the candidate interviewee cooperation. We have decided to approach individual households that either can be recommended by village elders or selected at random. We first go through a process of explaining our motivation to village leadership. We then explain our motivation to the head of household and request that he and his wife can be interviewed. So two teams will be interviewing one household.

- A typical interview will start by asking to explain about a person's status at birth. Does he / she remember what the family's wealth was? Were one of both parents educated? What was the socio – economic position of the family? And from which activities did the family make a living. Probe on issues such as levels of education, leadership issues at that time, asset status of the family.
- A second part of the interview focuses on the period while he / she was growing up within that family. Probe on schooling, day to day tasks of the individual, certain events that may have changed the outlook of the family. The aim here is to identify if a certain turning point in life can be detected during that period that had a bearing on the livelihood of the family during this period of life. If such an event was detected probe further on the reasons/causes behind. Get the details of what exactly happened so that we can link it to the most probable underlying cause later.
- A third part of the interview is focussing on the period after marriage, when he/she had to contribute or was responsible for income earning for his / her

own household. Again try to identify any turning point that had a bearing on livelihood security during this period and probe further. I.e. if there has been an event that brought down the livelihood status what or whom do they keep responsible or should in part share the responsibility? It is important here that the causal effect is probed. Most importantly probe on issues such as asset status, productivity and exchange and details of interferences if any in this process. Ask if necessary detailed questions to establish the level of diversity of the asset base, access to markets, and income from more than one source. What out of these is the most important aspect that gives them livelihood?

- A final part of the interview focuses on the long-term future. How does the respondent view his / her future and specifically what does he / she see as important opportunities for strengthening their outlook for livelihood security. The danger here is that the respondent may focus greatly on the continuation of short term aid such as food relief, so probing will be essential to go beyond this issue and obtain a more constructive vision. What is lacking in their present day life that prevents them from improving and moving towards a better livelihood?

Practical issues:

We need to know of each interviewed person the following details:

- Name
- Location
- Gender
- Main livelihood background at the time of the interview: eg Pastoralist, Agro pastoralist, Farmer
- Details of Marital Status and basic household structure: i.e. in case of male person Married with (1,2,3,4) wives and no of children. In case of wife: Married with no of children.
- Full and detailed transcript of the interview describing the outcome of the various phases of the interview as outlined above

Furthermore:

- You should try to avoid directing specific questions but provide for an environment that the respondent discusses freely in an open way the issues.
- As mentioned before you may have to probe at certain times to get to the detail of a specific livelihood problem, but note probing is NOT suggesting answers!
- You may have to direct the respondent back to the main topic if he / she wanders off.
- One strategy is to let the respondent tell his her life story and don't interfere. Then after he/she finishes lead him / her back to certain parts of the story that you feel important to know more about.
- You can copy certain quotes (exact phrases) that the interviewee may reveal to you, if you find that such quotes describe a certain situation in a illustrative manner.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION CHECKLIST

A. Background Information

1. How are the community structures organised?
 - *Probe on presence of community groups (village elders, women etc.) and leadership structures – highlight on groups with most resources and power, why?.*
2. What are the gender roles?
 - *Probe on Access and control over resources*
 - *Involvement of women, men, boys and girls in terms of food security.*
 - *Decision making.*
3. What are some of the challenges that your community faces?
 - *Probe on their political rights and freedom to Influence local and central Government policies*
 - *Probe on the main forms of conflicts within the community*
 - *Security issues - access to resources, inter-ethnic conflicts*
4. How is the social support mechanisms operate in your community?
 - *Women headed households.*
 - *Probe on coping with hunger gaps*

B: Causes of Food Insecurity

5. What is the main source of livelihood within your community?
 - *Probe on production systems - livestock and agriculture production.*
 - *What else are you doing to diversify their production to secure or sustain food security?*
6. What are the other sources of income?
 - *Probe on production of local inputs, harvesting of natural products, fishing, charcoal burning, eco-tourism, labour exchange, etc.*
7. Can you explain the effects of seasons on production?
 - *Probe on trends in productions over the past years*
 - *Probe on peoples life style*
 - *Gender specific roles in relation to production*
8. What are the production problems experienced and suggest possible solutions?
 - *Probe on the underlying cause (Cluster on cause effect relationship) - Diseases outbreaks (livestock, human and crop) and Security issues*

C: Relief Food Aid and Food for Work

9. Access to food aid (Relief and FFW)
 - *Probe on the access to food, both during normal and emergency situation*
 - *Probe on the targeting procedures or criteria*
10. What role has RFA and FFW played in peoples livelihoods

- *Probe on the significance of Relief Food Aid (RFA)*
 - *Probe on Food for Work (FFW) activities have been undertaken in your village - Establishment of public goods e.g. access roads, market centres etc.*
 - *What has been the significance of the FFW in terms of providing income?*
11. What are the benefits (impacts) and Harms of the food aid and other interventions to the communities?
- *Probe on the benefits and harms of RFA and FFW in your community (indicate tangible results)*
 - *Probe on tangible impacts with examples on how food resources (obtained from RFA and FFW) was used - their ability to build asset bases and changes in household incomes*

D: Exchange and Terms of Trade

12. Explain access to market in relation to the sale of your produce?
- *Probe on commodities sold / bought from the market and its profitability*
 - *Probe on seasonality and frequencies of market days, Availability of the local traders and cartels*
 - *How the markets are organised and management*
13. What are the modes of exchange at the market place?
- *Probe on the means: e.g. barter-trust, cash, lending, and ownership passed to avoid losses*
14. What are the constraints that affect marketing and exchange of your commodities?
- *Probe on market trends, check points, Cess taxes, Infrastructure, over supply and Insecurity*
15. What is required to improve on marketing and exchange of our products?
- *Probe on policy issues, Transport and communication aspects, Market Information and Market infrastructure*

E: Support Services

16. Describe the support services available in your community?
- *Probe on delivery of vet services, agricultural extension and skills training*
 - *Presence of other development actors (NGOs)*
 - *Presence of private service provider*

ANNEX List of People interviewed

Name	Organisation
Lex Kassenberg	CARE I., Somalia
Daw E. Mohamed	CARE I., Somalia
Walter Mwasaa	CARE I., Somalia
John Miskell	CARE I., Somalia
Dan Maxwell	CARE I., RMU
Gary M.	CARE I., South Sudan
Engorok	CARE I., Somalia
Cecilia	CARE I., Somalia
Cindy Hollman	FSAU
Ali-Nur Duale	FSAU
Aw-Dahir M.	FEWS NET
Mohamed M. Yusuf	FSAU / FAO
Philippe Durand	VSF Suisse
Simon Narbeth	UNOCHA
El-Rashid H. Hammad	WFP Somalia
Abdirashid A. Hussein	WFP Somalia
Mukhtar A. Isse	WFP Somalia
Abdinasir Muhamud	ASEP
Irshad H. Osman	GHC
Said Mohamed Lemater	GHC
Abdi Abshir Elmi	GHC
Mores Loolpapit	GHC
Abdiwaha Sh. Mohamed	ASEP
M. Sahal Shurie	EPAG
Julien Iche	AAH
Hasan Shirwa	UNOCHA
Abukar Aden Muhamed	NCA
Abdullahi Mohamed Hersi	NCA
Mohamud H. Adan	NCA
Ahmed Ismail Abdullahi	NGO Consortium

ANNEX FGD Participation List

Date	District	Location / Village	Production group	No. of participants
23 - 25th July 05	Luuq	Yurkut	Pastoralists (2 sessions)	10 Local Authority 10 Women
		Madaway	Riverine	9 Men's Group
		Geliyo	Agro-pastoralist	9 Women Group
		Qoney	Pastoralist	8 Men's Group
		Luuq town	Mixed and urbanites (3 sessions)	10 Local Authorities 7 Elders & Religious leaders 6 Women's Group
		Godobay	Riverine	11 Men's Group
		Elbon	Riverine	11 Men's Group
		Dogob	Pastoralist	8 Men's Group
27 - 28th July 05	Dollow	Dusai	Riverine	9 (mixed group - 5 M & 4 W)
		Babaa	Agro-pastoralists	9 Men's Group
		Gubata	Agro-pastoralists	7 Men Group
		Dollow town	Mixed and urbanites (2 sessions)	10 Local Authorities 8 Members of a farmers Association
29 - 31st	Beled Hawa	Malkariyey	Riverine	9 Mens Group
		Gaddoondhowe	Agro-pastoralists	10 Mens Group
		Shirko	Agro-pastoralists	9 (Mixed group - 5 W & 3 M)
		Gubadiya	Pastoralists (2 Sessions)	7 Womens Group 12 Mens Group
		Mandera	Mixed and NGO (4 Sessions)	7 Local Authorities 8 INGO 14 Mens Group 7 LNGOs
1st Aug 05	Gede Weyne	Garsow bore	Agro-pastoralists	10 Womens Group
		Degreb	Riverine	8 Mens Group
		Gede Weyne	Mixed and urbanites	10 Local Authority

FDG Team Composition

Group one: Abdi Muse, Adan, Hibo, Maalim

Group two: Ahmed, Ali, Bishar, Abdalla

Group three: Ahmed Farah, Adan Abikar, Deka

Group four: Said, Peter, Walter,

Note: The Local NGO Partners joined the various teams in their respective areas of operations

ANNEX *MATRIX: Outcome Life Testimonies*

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family had livestock Like the parents never had education(including koranic school) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Droughts became more frequent that affected our livestock and their caused shift in the family to start practicing rain fed farming 1991-1992 civil war broke out and caused displacement Latter decided to sell off their good herd and convert into money for small scale business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Livelihood currently is on pastoralism Also engaged in small scale business Still depend on food aid 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inter clan conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central government Education Employment opportunities Improvement water sources Health service
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family was of a broker who earn his living that way Attained animals and became pastoralist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drought struck and they lost livestock's Migrated to towns and Mandera Registered as refugees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Engaged in agriculture growing simsim, galay, digir Converts agricultural production to livestock 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crop diseases eg. Kapajean 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved agricultural production e.g water pumps Training farmers School feeding program
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Livelihood entirely depends on livestock Learnt in koranic school Attended koranic school Enrolled in primary/secondary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drought decimated livestock Despite her education she was married off by her father/uncle Husband was a government soldier salaried, life was okey War broke off in 1991 they got displace from Mogadishu to Bardera 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pastoralist Tea shop business from relatives contributions Care food rations Started to purchase livestock again Became refugees in Kenya 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central government Development problems-training on poultry, bee keeping Development of water catchments /shallow wells Livestock health's, pumps, markets e.t.c
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Born to wealthy family in Hangea 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married off 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Live is very hard Husband not 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Empowering women association/civil society

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both husband and wife are educated up to primary level and koranic school 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> contributing anything Engaged in small scale business in plazer market 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Health services Education
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Father was pastoralist and sheikh Also practiced rain fed farming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married off with two wives Drought used to force them to look for better pasture or fodder Affected livestock marketing Progressed after selling 50 bags of grain bought 23 shoats which multiplied 500 shoats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pastoralist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tsetse fly Drought Beasts Lack of central government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family was agro pastoralist Both parents had education background Educated up to primary 5 and koranic school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married to polygamous family of two wives and fifteen children Drought hit in 1974 that destroyed the herd During the Ethiopia-Somali war of 1977, I was trained as auxiliary nurse Civil war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dependent on few cattle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Insecurity No education Lack of donor support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government in place to provide security Reconciliation.
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nomadic livestock who had livestock Some of the family was living in refugee camp in Luuq Attended primary school (p.8) and the koranic school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married with two wives one before the collapse of the government Lost property due to civil war and fled to Luuq then to mandera 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Carpentry and small business for wives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Insecurity causing loss of life, destruction of property and human displacement Lack of social services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government to provide security Education Support orphans
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Born to a nomadic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1964 war occurred 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pastoralist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil war due to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government in place to

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> pastoralist family Also undertook rain fed farming Family dependent on salary Attended school up to p5 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> between Ethiopia and Somalia and we got displaced Drought hit the area but tried to exchange livestock for food items and slaughtered for meat 1974-1977 there was yet another drought and that forced people into IDPs camps in Luuq 1991 government collapsed and we displaced to Mandera as refugees There is no education for my children 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> power struggles and resources Blame is on the government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> bring justice, law and order Reconciliation's initiatives for war lords
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They used to be pastoralist having livestock mostly inherited Father working for Somalia government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Experienced refugee life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Power struggle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government needed Access to credit Provision of inputs Educational support Trained farmers on modern technology
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family was nomadic rearing livestock Grew up as orphan whose mother was not educated Attended school up to P3 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drought occurred and destroyed the livestock Resorted to firewood collection and selling them Registered as refugee in Luuq 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Survived on assistance from relatives Lived on labour oxen and farming on river banks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack government Civil war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government is stabilized Placing education system Health/farm inputs
11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The parents were nomads both were not educated Not been educated as a child 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married to a husband who livestock Livestock perished due drought and civil strife (includes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Farming with water pumps given by Trocare 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of law and order causing tribalism and nepotism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
		looting) the household was forced to change to agriculture (farmers). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> House was burnt down by the marehan sub clans 			
12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Household was an agro pastoralist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married to a polygamous man Drought hit and killed all the livestock Used to survive on cutting trees for firewood Receiving food aid Fled war and houses got burnt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Farming and water, selling firewood to Manderu using donkey carts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drop diseases Lack of government No health services and even trained personnel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Address security issues Access to loans for women IGAs
13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Born to entirely agricultural family and life was better Studied in koranic school up to primary level She got married off 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> War broke out left for Baidoa Later to Ethiopia as refugee Repatriated by UNHCR 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dependent on other farms belonging other relatives. This because there is still being held by Marehan at Maganey 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There are tribal conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Peace and conflicts resolutions investing in education to improve in livelihood Agricultural inputs Health services
14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Household had livestock and also used to practice dry land farming Father was koranic teacher At childhood assisted in looking after the livestock 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drought broke in 1964 and Ethiopian government provided for assistance Started cultivating along the river banks 1977 married off after Ethiopia Somali war 1991 government collapsed and got displaced 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Life is very hard 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formation of government Reconciliation initiatives
15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Possessed few 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil war broke out in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pastoralist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Effective government to

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> number of livestock and seasonal farmer During good season the family would increase on their livestock 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1991 and they were looted Escape to Beledhara Married of to an old man in exchange for livestock 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Receiving food aid through CARE that has enabled as to keep on livestock 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> bring peace Education for children who are 8yrs and above
16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wealthy business family up to 1991 when war broke out Attended school but never progressed after lower primary Mother illiterate but father educated in Arabic and Italiano 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inter clan conflicts started resulting into widespread looting Fled from Luuq to Dollow Ethiopia Started hawking Another boost from remittance by relatives but goods got looted by Militias. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enjoyed in small scale business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishing peaceful environment to foster development Training services Health provision
17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family lived on small rain fed farming to produce mainly sorghum Both parents not educated The father married two wives with 20 children They also relied on firewood collection Generally life was bad 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drought broke in 1980 and kill few livestock Got displaced to Luuq district and survived on collecting firewood Married off to a poor man Got displaced after the collapsed of the government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Struggling with small scale business but able to cover all our needs and life was more worse than before the war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Collapsed of the government cause power congestion Lack of education and knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Having the government Supporting education Other social services
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family used depend on livestock and farming Attended koranic school at age of 5yrs Used to look after animals and participate in farming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1984 drought started and the family left the area for Ethiopia Livestock died 1974 another drought left for Kenya 1977 the Somali Ethiopia war started and caused 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Receiving aid from humanitarian organization (Trocare) Continuing to practice agriculture and livestock rearing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor administration due to misuse of power, corruption, nepotism and illiteracy among the communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Broad based central government Internal aid to support economic recovery Support for education Enhanced development initiatives.

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
		destruction of life and property <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married in 1987 • Civil war erupted in Somalia and became a refugee in kenya 			
19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The family livelihood was derived from nomadism • At childhood I used to look after the animals and domestic chores • Both parents attend koranic school but only learnt prayers (salat) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1954 there was drought known as layaad (meaning white bones- were lying all everywhere in the village) • People moved to urban centers to look for ways to survive • Then inter clan fighting's occurred between garte and marehan clans that resulted to loss of life and property. • Married to a husband who had a few livestock and enjoyed agricultural farming, life was good. • Civil war started and many people were killed by Aideed Militias • More people got displaced 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflicts due to power struggle • People who recognized in Somalia for anarchy are Marehan(government) and hawiya (opposition) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central government • Security /law/order • Education
20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family had livestock 10 camels, 20 cattles, 40-50 shoats but all were located by Boran • People killed and fled 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married off to an uneducated poor man in the camp. • The wives parents supported them buy some livestock while 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taken children to the koranic school in Mandera 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good government • Investing in education • School feeding programs and training teachers • Water rehabilitation order • Provision of health

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future services
	<p>the area</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moved to Luuq camp as refugees where they were fed well 	<p>they return to Ethiopia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil war commenced and got displaced to mandera and two of our sons died Lost relative to mine explosion EPAG restock their household Inter clans fighting among the marehan causes us to be displaced several times 			
21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agro pastoralist farms with about 22 farms Practiced farming in two seasons per year- maize, sorghum, tomatoes etc Used to look after livestock 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The father assisted in marrying the wife Drought affected the family resources and resulted to bush collection mechanism Aideed focus burnt their houses, killed and got displaced All livestock were looted 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crop diseases at that time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government hold peace and agreement Education Health Farm inputs
22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Member of Somali police force Father died in Dollow and forced the family and forced the family to go back to pastoralism, inherited 100 shoats and 120 cattles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drought hit and left the family with 50 shoats Part of the livestock was sold to buy food for the family By 1975-76 livestock improved again Joined the Somalia military force but defected Later arrested 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rearing shoats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of government Lack of education Lack of inputs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initiate and provide education program

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government collapsed and Aideed forces looted Got displaced 			
23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The family owned livestock and practice rain fed farming-source of livelihood Father attended koranic school and married 4 wives He also worked as a soldier Life was good She attended koranic school and primary level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drought occurred that destroyed livestock but managed to escape with a few to Ethiopia Another drought occurred in 1974 which farther devastated the livestock Ethiopian Somali war broke off got displaced Married to wealthy husband with livestock He was educated in koranic school and primary level Civil war broke off, displaced to Mandera lost all our properties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Receiving assistance from humanitarian organizations. Collecting firewood, burning charcoal and farming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Power struggle among various clans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central government Education opportunities Creation of job opportunities
25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family depend agriculture and livestock rearing and income of a salary of a soldier He was married to 4 wives but only attended koranic school Attended primary school and koranic school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1964 all our animals died and family migrated to Ethiopia In 1974 a similar drought occurred destroyed livestock and life even more harder 1991 civil war broke and became refugees All animals were 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Life is very hard Receiving support from agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Power struggles Looting of property and loss of lives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Re establish central government Create job opportunities

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Born to middle class family which had livestock and life was okay I was taken to Mogadishu to assist mother with household chores 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> looted. In 1989 got married and later learnt Somali transcripts and simple writing and calculations Family own vehicle and generated income Civil war broke escaped up to Baidoa with the vehicle In 1996 war between AI-TIHAD and Ethiopian government erupted that destroyed all property Then the husband divorced her left her with two children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sought assistance from relatives and hawking up to date 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of central government Investing into livestock and agriculture
27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Born to a wealthy family but fled from Ethiopia to Somali as refugees Never attended school but tried to educate her son up to secondary level and others to primary level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1991 civil unrest occurred and Farah aideed soldiers looted killed and burnt houses Got displaced to mandera by foot One of the children died In 1993 repatriated by UNHCR 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Depend on charcoal burning, planting at the river banks, collecting firewood and other product Life still very hard 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Effective government Boosting education Health services Digging shallow wells for clean water
28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The family was dependent on livestock and rain fed farming In addition father was a soldier who had a koranic education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both parents are dead Worked with NGOs on extension services on health and water Got jailed before marriage Civil war broke and all 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Working for INGO 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Power struggle Ethiopians wants to divide and rule 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central government Youth rehabilitation program Create job opportunity

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Born to polygamous family with two wives and 13 children Non of the wives had education Both parents died and was taken by relatives to attend school up to secondary level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> properties looted Got married to a woman attend primary level education Got jailed for the second time but fled to Addis Ababa Received my past benefits and came back Dollow 			
29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family depended on livestock and rain fed farming Father married with 2 wives with 17 children's All the parents attended koranic schools Family life was moderate I assisted household to look after the livestock and domestic chores 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1954 prolonged drought occurred that has caused death of livestock and life stable change In 1964 another occurred and crippled the family Got married to a Somali police without livestock to farm only Civil war broke got displaced to Kenya as refugees from Luuq 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Receiving support humanitarian organization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Power competition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government Reconciliation Educations
30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agro pastoralist family Grew up in the care of mother since father divorced her Studied up to p5 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Worked in a farm as co operative Started small business plus farming Married three women Government collapsed and all property looted by marehan clan Displaced from Luuq to Dollow Ethiopia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agro pastoralist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of government Lack of education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish government Support education Rehabilitate infrastructure Disarm militias and create more job opportunities.
31	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Earning from fathers salary as a driver 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government collapsed and he 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exchanging labour for 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pests and diseases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Education

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Had animals 50 cattle that he hired someone to herd Did not attend school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> looted a gun at military garrison Drought occurred and herding became worse Married with 2 children Sold the gun later 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government in place Good governance and demobilization Farming inputs
32	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pastoralist family who supplemented with rain fed farming Both parents were not educated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lost all the livestock during inter clan conflicts Resorted to farming and wearing Drought hit lost all the livestock Fighting caused us to be displaced 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pastoralist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Education Health Government and peace in place
33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Depends on livestock and rain fed farming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drought and livestock diseases devastated livestock 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agro pastoralist Getting food from CARE and dependent on it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of government and power struggle Lack of economic status Lack of education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Good governance Rehabilitate infrastructure Water development Health facilities
34	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family derived livelihood from farming The father had married to 2 wives Father able to read and write Somali scripts Never attended school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Farming was abandoned as fighting started Displaced to waladayo in Ethiopia as refugees Married off to a husband whose income is from labour in farms Husband an illiterate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Labour exchange and from basketry products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Livelihood from farming who supplement their income on collecting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prospered due to farming and purchase a pump Inter clan fighting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Viable government

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wild fruits. Parents were not educated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> started and water pumps were looted by marehan Refugee in Ethiopia 			
36	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Purely farming and had no other assets Father only studied Koran He also studied in koranic and p2 level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Worked in a farm until each of the group member had a water pump Married and immediately the Somali government collapsed and fled to Ethiopia Property looted by marehan clan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Farming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
37	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Farmer possessing farmland and irrigation pumps and quite some livestock Life was okay and enjoyable Father was a koranic teacher 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> War broke out and we fled to Ethiopia The water pumps were looted Conditions hardened in Ethiopia Married The worst was when Luuq militias attacked and looted villages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Offering labour for exchange A farmer (the family is purely farming) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sustainable agriculture Promote education
38	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The family possessed wealth 30 cattle, 35 goats and a farmland that they could hire out and receive food in returns Never attended formal education apart from koranic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married off and together with my husband worked in peoples farm Collected firewood, charcoal burning, building materials Civil war broke and all our animals were looted Fled to Ethiopia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Collecting firewood, grass, wild fruits (fodder for livestock) up to date This family was pure pastoralist but forced to change to re shape their livelihood to collecting firewood, grass 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strongly recommended for restocking

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Born to pastoralist farming with 46 camels. He was middle class Parents were not educated Supported looting of the animals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married to 4 wives Life was good before the war Central government collapsed in 1991, to migrate to mandera as refugee Returned back then started farming Inter clans fighting started then they were displaced 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Get assistance from INGOs like CARE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reconciliation's of communities Improve on agriculture and natural resources management and education
40	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor family depended on small farmland Parents did not have education record Married to 3 wives and 10 children Assist keep up children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drought hit and we fled salcow district Married off to a man with small farm and few animals Civil war broke out and we migrated to owdiwle district Inter clan conflicts restarted 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Casual labour (washing clothes etc) Agriculture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Life is not changing use of civil war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
41	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Livelihood from irrigatable farm Beside the father was a Somali with a formal education Life generally improved Both the mother and her did not attend school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attended illiteracy campaign Drought affected farm production Married off but no children delivered up to now 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Belief that hand pumps would change the livelihood of people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
42	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Depended on livestock Both parents not educated Studied Islam and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drought hit and killed most of the livestock Others were looted and other properties. Fled to Ethiopia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
	became a koranic teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Became a teacher and owned land became agriculturalist • Married off to 3 wives • Before the collapsed of the Somalia government had 3 pumps but got looted 			
43	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wealth was by farming • Salary of a Somali police in Dollow • Studied both formal and koranic but no wife • Used to do handicraft as child 	•	•	•	•
44	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wealth derived from livestock and farming • Both parents did not have any education • Life was good at that time • Studied at Islamic school and became a teacher 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married with 3 wives and 14 children • Drought often affected the livestock and others were looted by militias 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resorted to farming, firewood and grassland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drought 	•
45	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entirely depend on livestock (pastoralist) • Later introduced farming • Parents studied in koranic school • Studied up to p5 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livestock got looted in Ethiopia by Boran clan • 1977 Somali-Ethiopia war moved to Luuq as refugees • Became a community health • Government collapsed looting occurred and got 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relief supported • Few shoats • Small scale business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LMR of government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disarmament • Support farming • Health services • Education

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
		displaced to balaktado.			
46	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership of livestock 50 camels, 20 cattles and 100 shoats • Only the father was educated, Islamic teacher • I never went to school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drought and diseases decimated the livestock and forced the family to migrate to Luuq as refugee • War broke and got displaced to Elbon • Latter the militias looted the livestock and property. • Got displaced to Ethiopia and later to Mendera and became refugees • Moved to Dadaab again as refugee and back to Elbon after repatriation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pastoralism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insecurity • Disarmament 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •
47	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pastoralist-depending on livestock and small scale livestock selling • Parents educated in koranic school (sheikh) • She also learnt Somali transcript 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married a middle class 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establish a central government
48	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livestock was the only source of wealth • Both parents were illiterate • She only attended koranic school • Life became better as her mother enjoyed business venture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government collapsed, her business capital (398 barrels of fuel) was looted • Fled to Mendera as refugees • Came back to restart • Ethiopia –AL-TIHAD war started, forced as 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lack of government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dialogue and reconciliation's • Educate people • Access to credit • Agricultural needs to be addressed

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
49	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Father had koranic education but not the mother Went to school up to p7 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1984 drought occurred Married in Mogadishu Government collapsed, got displaced to wajir, Gof-gadud 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Labourer and farming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
50	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Livelihood was from Agro pastoralist Father married to wives with 16 children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government collapsed and Marehan clan looted property again and again The father got killed by Marehan and family got disintegrated Drought hit and killed ½ of the herd Married 5 yrs ago 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Farming and small business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Insecurity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Good government in place Creation of employment Improve water access
51	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both livestock and farming. Had 9 camels, 100 shoats and 30 cattle My father educated and worked with JVC Studied up to grade 2 and koranic school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agro pastoralist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
52	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Depended on livestock and was better Received koranic education He never received any other education likewise the wives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drought broke and we migrate for 22 yrs Married in Ethiopia to 2 wives and 10 children 1977 Ethiopia Somalia war animals got looted by Ethiopians and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resorting to farming through hand pumps Lack of government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
53	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livestock production 46 camels, cattle and shoats • Both parents were illiterate • Father died and family shifted to Elbon for farming • Attended koranic school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • migrated to Somalia • Married 4 wives with 11 children • Government collapsed shifted to Dollow then became refugee • Inter clan fighting shifted to Baidoa and Luuq. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farming and assistance from CARE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reconciliation's
54	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Depended on farming • Parents did not had any education background except my mother • Married to 3 wives and 10 children's 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drought occurred moved to Bay • Used to eat wild vegetables • Got married to a poor man with rain fed farm and few livestock • Civil war broke out 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food aid for survival • Income from basketry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reconciliation's
55	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agro pastarolist • Educated in koranic school • Married 2 wives 16 children's • I benefited from national illiteracy campaign 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During drought used to depend on firewood collection • Married 3 wives but one died with 13 children • Became a refugee but later repatriated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power struggle • Inter clan fighting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government in place
56	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dependent on livestock • Attended koranic school • Polygamous with 20 wives and 32 children (only 8 at a time) • Koranic teacher who got killed among clan conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household occupation change overtime • 1964 and 1974 witnessed droughts followed by torrential rains • Worked with Somali government • Got displaced during conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reconciliation's and good governance

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All the wives had no children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In total I have 6 wives and 11 children's 			
57	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agro pastoralist He was married with 3 wives and 16 children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil war civil war interrupted the lives where all the animals got looted by Marehan clans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic problems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Create job opportunities Access to credits
58	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Father was a tailor and livelihood depends on livestock Received education as a child up to p7 and koranic school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1989 married off in Mogadishu Got displaced by Marehan clans attack on the IDPs camps 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Labour exchange but before farming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rehabilitation of education centers Create peace
59	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rain fed farming and a few shoats and goats Life was quite good Studied in koranic school and likewise to the mother Assisted parents to look after the livestock and farm work Educated in koranic school and national illiteracy campaign 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married three wives with 13 children Got displaced to Dollow Ethiopia during war Civil war displaced to Manderla registered as a refugee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reconciliatory work
60	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Farming and shop keeping Studied in koranic school Married 2 wives Never went to school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government was overthrown and moved to waladayo-ethiopia AL-TIHAD struggle with life Married to a man with no assets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Farming and basketry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
61	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents illiterate and purely agriculturalist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married in Mogadishu husband died 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re married but hospitalized • War broke out and looting occurred • Aideed troops displaced us again 			
62	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livestock keeping middle class level with 10 children's • Father used to hunt wild game for family • When my father died I never went to school apart from Koranic school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Started charcoal burning • Missed money to pay dowry • 1992 early Aideed militias attacked looted escaped • Arrived in beledhara 2 children's died and it was painful experience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charcoal burning and cutting construction materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institute good administration
63	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pastoralism with livestock • Married 4 wives with 20 children's • Studied in koranic school • I attended up to p3 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livestock got looted by Ethiopian boranas • The livelihood changed to farming • Somalia-Ethiopian conflicts occurred and got displaced to Somalia as refugees • Became CHW with salary • Married but government collapsed • Trained wife as a tailor • Looting occurred lost property ended as refugees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Depend on livestock and CARE food 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reconciliation • Education including training teachers • Infrastructural rehabilitation
64	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From farming but also kept livestock 30 cattle, 9 camels and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drought decimated livestock 1979. got displaced as refugees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reconciliation's • Provision of support in education and health

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 108 shoats Father not educated except koranic school I studied up to p8 and learnt koranic school Father had 3 wives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> in camp. Government collapsed, looting and burning of houses 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> services Disarmament
65	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wealth dependent on livestock and rain fed farming Father had 1 wife, 10 children Not educated parents likewise did me attend school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Livestock were looted Became refugee in mandera Married in 1996 to 1 wife 3 children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
66	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family possessed livestock Practiced rain fed farming Married 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Married at 14yrs Frequent droughts have occurred. That caused livestock Moved back to Luuq as refugees Personal resources were looted by militia-Somali/Ethiopia origin Lost the 2 children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Registered as IDP and receiving food rations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central government Education Better health services Creation of employment and resources
67	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents were Agro pastoralist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Started farming Fled to Mogadishu Government collapsed then inter clan fighting started 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Life depends on firewood collection, wild fruits and offering labour Receiving food rations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision of good governance Assistance for IGAS Returning/resettlement of IDOs with packages(restocking).
68	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agro pastoralist, parents had koranic background 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Several droughts have occurred To escape drought they would split the family Store cooked food especially meat in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Got displaced several times dollow, Ethiopia budaba etc but back to Luuq. Currently collecting firewood, burning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Good government in place Restock with donkey carts Access to credit Farming inputs.

	Childhood	Overtime	Present	Key problems	Recommendation for future
		bowels for feeding until the situation normalized <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married a teacher of koranic school • Collapsed government, looting, killings and fled to Luuq. 	charcoal, grain thread <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reliant on relief from CRS and later care Somalia • Lack of education, nepotism 		