



GENDER

IN EMERGENCY FOOD SECURITY, LIVELIHOODS AND NUTRITION IN SOMALIA

A compendium of what we know;
and recommendations on what
we need to know for enhanced
Gender Analysis

November 2, 2012
Baseline

**Food Security
and Nutrition
Analysis Unit
Somalia**



Funding Agencies



ABSTRACT

The primary objective of drafting this report is to share the existing recent literature on the traditional and changing gender roles within pastoral, agro-pastoral, riverine, urban and IDP communities in Somaliland, Puntland and South Central. This informs identification of data gaps and recommendations.

FSNAU intends to put this information to use in several ways: to strengthen routine FSNAU data collection tools and analysis from a gender perspective and to give strategic input into a planned FSNAU stand-alone gender study on Somalia. The focus of the stand-alone study is to gather gender information on Somalia food security, nutrition and livelihoods that will complement FSNAU's routine data collection processes. Additionally, the Compendium will provide reference and baseline understanding of the gender trends in Somalia to support the Food Security, Livelihoods and Nutrition Teams of FSNAU in establishing measurable gender indicators and improve approaches for collecting gender-specific information and methodologies, and addressing the existing gender imbalance in enumerators.

In collating the information available, the authors of this report, conducted a desk review of the documented literature in Somalia since 2007. A primary source was FSNAU data which has been supplemented by other available sources. The review revealed that there is a wealth of information on traditional and changing gender roles and responsibilities in food security, livelihood and nutrition but this had not been compiled into a user-friendly central reference. Some of these findings include;

- Both men and women make significant but distinct contributions to the household economy.
- The past and existing nutrition surveys focus almost entirely on children under five years, pregnant and lactating mothers and women of reproductive age. An understanding of the nutritional status of other vulnerable groups such as older men and women, adolescent girls and chronically sick males and females (of all ages) is lacking.
- Somalia men and women are both active in food production: men 54.1 percent and women 45.9 percent (FAO State of Food and Agriculture Report - 2010/2011). Data 2010.
- The synergistic male-female partnership in cropping and protein production is under stress due to competition for grazing, land and water.
- A disproportionate number of men dying in conflict as well as more male migration had contributed to the increased number of female-headed households (FHHs). There have been resulting changes in intra-household livelihood roles.
- Gender-specific security and protection concerns impact internally displaced persons (IDPs) and urban migrants.
- Males predominate in camel/cattle production and sale: females sell and process milk.
- Females predominate in all aspects of sheep and goat (shoat) production with shared male and female roles in marketing as well as butchering.
- There is a gender divide in marketing: men sell for export and women sell for local consumption.
- Cropping involves a mix of gender-specific and shared tasks.
- Local vegetable, milk and cereals markets in many areas are dominated by women.
- Milling, commercial transport, agents and interlocutors are mainly men.
- Women are responsible for erecting and tear-down of shelters, foraging for firewood and fodder.
- Presence of a son gives a woman better access to livestock/assets if her husband dies.
- Inter-clan conflicts deter men from participating in trade and instead open an opportunity for women to undertake more trade, as women are considered peacemakers, with no primary role in inter-clan conflict.
- There are indications that women are increasingly using loans as a coping strategy. In some areas as many women as men are getting loans.
- More men are entering traditionally female areas of petty trading and house assembly.
- An increasing number of women are active in the formal and non-formal sectors and are diversifying how they earn income. Most specifically, women are very active in petty trade and increasingly active as casual workers, leaving less time for good parenting.
- There is evidence that girls are pulled from school to allow women to earn.

In light of the above, the Compendium clearly supports the need for a gender stand-alone survey and encourages immediate action to recruit additional female enumerators to reduce the current gender gap.

ACRONYMS

BMI	Body Mass Index
CHW	Community Health Worker
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN
FSNAU	Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit of FAO
FHH	Female-headed Household
IASC	Inter Agency Standing Committee
IDP	Internally Displace Person
IGA	Immunoglobulin A
IYCF	Infant and Young Child Feeding
MCH	Maternal Child Health
MHH	Male-headed Household
KAPS	Knowledge, Attitudes, Practices Survey
NGO	Non Government Organization
SADD	Sex and Age Disaggregated Data
SOFA	State of Food and Agriculture Report - FAO
SWALIM	Somalia Water and Land Information Management
TBA	Traditional Birth Attendant
UNHRC	UN High Commission for Refugees

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*GENDER IN EMERGENCY FOOD SECURITY, LIVELIHOODS AND NUTRITION:
A COMPENDIUM OF WHAT WE KNOW; AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON WHAT WE NEED TO KNOW
FOR ENHANCED GENDER ANALYSIS*

CHAPTER 1:

RESTATING WHY GENDER AND GENDER ANALYSES ARE IMPORTANT

In 2010, two out of three economically active people in Somalia worked in agriculture – the anchor of Somalia’s food security. Of these, 45.9 percent were women (SOFA 2010/2011). Raising crops and livestock is a dynamic partnership between men and women. Although women and girls dominate sheep and goat production, men share marketing and butchering roles. Likewise, although men and boys herd and have primary responsibility for camels and cattle, it is women who market the milk. There are also distinct gender roles in cropping as well as shared activities (FSNAU1 assessments).

During conflict and natural disaster, men and women do what needs to be done to keep their families and their herds alive. People shed their traditional gender roles if that is what works best for the family here and now. There are strong indications that more Somali women than ever before are contributing to the family income through foraging, petty trade and casual labour while increasing numbers of men are being deprived of their traditional livelihoods ranging from pastoralism to teaching. Pre-crisis knowledge, attitudes and practices shape the different capacities and openings women, men, girls and boys have to invest in survival (FSNAU IDP/Urban assessment, April 2012). They are also key to the root causes of Somalia’s high levels of chronic malnutrition. When economic shocks strike, the result is spikes in acute malnutrition.

Gender refers to the social roles associated with what it means to be a man or a woman, a boy or a girl. Our families, societies and cultures determine what women, men, girls and boys are expected to do and how they are to behave. Different gender roles emerge in each society as that society’s members, often their leaders, view the needs and realities of that time. The roles of men compared to women or boys compared to girls vary widely from one socio-cultural group to another and these roles can change dramatically over time as circumstances dictate. Sex is biology. Gender is sociology. Sex is fixed. Gender roles change.¹

Getting humanitarian aid and resilience-building response right starts with understanding what the affected women, men, girls and boys do and know, how they cope and what their solutions to their problems are. This compendium pulls together what we know and recommendations on what we need to know for enhanced gender analysis²: a critical tool in getting humanitarian and recovery response right for women, men, girls and boys.

Gender equality is not all about women. It centres on each man, woman, girl and boy being about to achieve their potential and exercise their human rights. In humanitarian action the key condition to advancing gender equality is meaningful consultation by gender and generation that leads to well targeted responsive interventions for all in affected populations.

“Women in agriculture and rural areas have one thing in common across regions (of the world): they have less access than men to productive resources and opportunities. The gender gap² is found for many assets, inputs and services— land, livestock, labour, education, extension and financial services, and technology – and it imposes costs on the agriculture sector, the broader economy and society as well as on women themselves.”

Closing the gender gap in agriculture would generate significant gains for the agriculture sector and for society. If women had the same access to productive resources as men, they could increase yields on their farms by 20–30 percent. This could raise total agricultural output in developing countries by 2.5–4 percent, which could in turn reduce the number of hungry people in the world by 12–17 percent.” *The State of Food and Agriculture: Women in Agriculture – Closing the Gender Gap 2010-11* (FAO)

1 FSNAU-Food Security and Analysis Unit of FAO

2 **Gender analysis** is the study of the different roles and realities of males and females in order to understand what they do, what resources they have and to identify their needs and priorities.

*"Gender has a key role to play in various aspects of food security information work, including analytical frameworks, information sources, and operations"*³

1.1 OVERVIEW AND PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

1.2.0 General Overview

In the *IASC Evaluation of the Humanitarian Response in South Central Somalia 2005 – 2010*, DARA (2011) reports that until there is greater gender awareness, agencies' interventions potentially end up "doing more harm than good...Women have been disproportionately affected by the emergency due to pre-existing inequalities. They have been often excluded from assistance or involvement in the process of aid distribution".

In *The Changing Nature of Gender Roles in the Drylands of the Horn and East Africa* (December 2011), Fiona Flintan highlights the need for "in-depth gender and contextual analysis as an important starting point for humanitarian relief interventions". And, on the optimal approach to such analyses, Flintan stresses the need for fully participatory methods. She goes on to note that gender relations are dynamic during times of crisis, such as drought and conflict, as men and women are exposed to different risks or experience different **levels of vulnerability. The level of vulnerability experienced will depend on degrees of asset ownership**, access to resources and income; risk preferences; cultural and social norms that influence household dynamics; as well as political economy issues within the community and at the national level.

During times of crisis, households and communities adapt their activities, roles and responsibilities in order to survive. Difficult decisions are made about whether or not the family should split; women may move with children and seek refuge with relatives or in urban areas and refugee camps: men may be recruited into armed forces, be left behind to look after homes and livestock or migrate for work⁴. Such movement affects levels of food security and/or may further threaten hopes of recovery as the social ties required to resume livelihoods are often broken (Omolo 2010 cited in Flintan 2011).

"There exists no blueprint for closing the gender gap in agriculture, as a wide range of inputs, assets, services and markets are involved and the related constraints are interlinked. But with appropriate policies based on accurate information and analysis, progress can be made and the benefits would be significant.
"Achieving gender equality and empowering women is not only the right thing to do; it is also crucial for agricultural development and food security."

Jacques Diouf – FAO Director General 2011

In times of crisis, decisions also need to be made about how remaining resources should be distributed. Both men and women have a role to play and will be effected by the decisions made by the other (*ibid.*).

Polygamous households tend to be more severely affected by crises as their limited resources must be shared among a larger number of family members, which may lead to the temporary break-up of households with wives returning to their parent's homes and children of polygamous and indeed monogamous households adopted temporarily by relatives, friends or clan members who are in a better position (*It must be stated here that the research behind this statement is from Kenya - Wawire 2003 cited in Flintan - and it is not clear whether this is also applicable to a Somali context*).

³ Günter, H., 2003, FAO International Workshop on "Food Security in Complex Emergencies: building policy frameworks to address longer-term programming challenges" Tivoli, 23-25 Sept. 2003, Matching Food Security Analysis to Context: the experience of the Somalia Food Security Assessment Unit, Agricultural and Development Economics Division Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, FAO/ EC Project: "Improving Early Warning and Food Security Information in Countries Subject to Complex Emergencies"
⁴ E.g. UNHCR states that 80 percent of those who recently fled Somalia were women and children (Dico-Young, 2011 cited in Flintan 2011).

In a 2007 'Gender Profile for Somalia', Gardner notes that "women's gender roles have been stretched beyond traditional limits to meet the new domestic, social and economic needs of the family and local community. Many women are now taking the main role in domestic decision-making and working in whatever way they can to provide an income for their families, even where men are present in the household". On the other hand, she notes that men's gender roles have tended to contract and that "overall men remain in control of the political domain and women remain excluded but men have reduced economic and decision-making power in the home. Many men are no longer the family breadwinner instead they are now financially dependent on their kinswomen..."

Despite these changes in gender roles, Gardner notes that the "values attached to gender identities remain unchanged; ...women and girls continue to be considered legal minors (in customary law) and generally inferior to men and boys". In addition, she notes, "despite their increased economic role, their valued peace-building strategies and contributions to clan activities women have not gained membership of community or clan institutions involved in political decision-making".

For some women, but by no means all, the protracted drought, compounded by the ongoing conflict, have created economic opportunities and empowerment. Based on women's post-conflict experiences elsewhere, the newly-established space for women often contracts as men seek to restore the pre-crisis *status quo* and, once again, define women's role as solely within the home (Gardner, 2007). It is important, therefore, that FSNAU captures information on women's new and emerging economic opportunities and decision-making forums so that it might inform programming that protects and consolidates this space in the future.

Both female and male literacy in Somalia are among the lowest in the world yet significantly more boys than girls are afforded education. Gardner (2007) concludes that, "access to education is harder than ever for girls whose mothers are the family breadwinner. Older daughters typically find they are unable to start or continue school because their domestic labour is needed at home to replace their mother's. This tends to hold true even if there is an idle but able adult male in the household" as "evidence suggests that these men and boys are not stepping into alternative, traditionally female roles so as to help the family and ease the burden on the women and girls". Accordingly, it is important that FSNAU captures information on households headed by females as it relates to the equitable school attendance by girls and boys within the household; such information having a direct bearing on opportunities for female children in the future.

It is clear from the materials reviewed in the development of this compendium report, including the FSNAU four post-*Deyr* and -*Gu* reports, that there is a wealth of information on traditional and shifting gender roles, responsibilities of and relations between women and men in agriculture and livestock management, livelihoods and nutrition practices. However, the picture is somewhat 'patchy' and explicit links have not been made between these changing roles, responsibilities and relations and household and community food security across the livelihood and wealth groups and regions.

1.2 PURPOSE OF THIS COMPENDIUM REPORT

The purpose of this report is to collate existing information on traditional and changing gender roles within pastoral, agro-pastoral, riverine, urban and IDP households and communities in Somaliland, Puntland and South Central. From there, the report attempts – insofar as it is available given the *patchwork* of information that is available – to map out the impact that shifting gender roles and responsibilities in food security, livelihoods and nutrition have on gender relations and on the wellbeing of all household and community members.

Completing such a mapping exercise will highlight the data that we are missing and, therefore, need to make provision to collect through regular food security, livelihoods and nutrition surveys and through a proposed stand-alone Gender Assessment.

It is also proposed that, in looking at the information already available *and* in highlighting the data deficits, FSNAU's Gender Team together with the Food Security, Livelihoods and Nutrition Teams will be able to formulate more precise questionnaires and indicators, develop appropriate survey methodologies and orientate and support enumerators in the collection of gender-related data for enhanced gender analysis.

CHAPTER 2:

GENDER IN FOOD SECURITY AND NUTRITION

2.1 AGRICULTURE: WHAT WE ALREADY KNOW

Increasing sedentarisation: Because of the changes taking place in pastoral areas, many pastoral groups may be forced to reduce their mobility and to lead a more sedentary way of life. Flintan (December 2011) reports that, increasingly, pastoralists rely on a satellite system of livestock production where agriculture is carried out around a permanent or semi-permanent household and some household members – mainly young men - migrate with herds to find pasture and water. This shift to more agriculture in pastoral livelihoods means that labour is required for agricultural tasks. Where households still have sizeable herds, men tend to remain responsible for them and it is left to women to take up the extra agricultural activities. In particular, women take on the tasks of planting and weeding.

As sedentarisation has increased, many women have found new opportunities to develop business and to raise their income. However, at the same time, their responsibilities and workloads increase. Though increased income-generating activities can provide much needed cash, they may do little to address the root causes of women's vulnerabilities that affect their lives including marginalisation from decision-making processes and insecure access to resources and assets (*ibid*).

On the issue of sedentarisation, Sandars (November 2011) describes how "land fragmentation, population growth, education, government policy, increased incidents of drought and conflict have all led to more and more people 'dropping out' of pastoralism... This change in lifestyle, often prompted by the fact that pastoralists have lost most, if not all, of their animals and no longer have any means of supporting themselves is having an impact on livelihood strategies as well as gender and inter-generational roles and access and control of resources".

Changes in access to land and other natural resources: Protracted drought, compounded by

Agriculture: What we need to know

In collecting and analysing data on agricultural activities, trends, changing roles and responsibilities, the following key issues need to be considered;

- Crop production and marketing: Increasing sedentarisation and changes in access to land and other natural resources results in shifting gender roles and intra-household and community gender dynamics. It is important, therefore, that through FSNAU regular food security and livelihoods surveys and in the development of a stand-alone gender assessment, that men's and women's, as well as boys' and girls' – if applicable - changing roles in crop production and marketing are recorded.
- Seasonal calendar: "Men, women and children have different roles in traditional communities. It is important to establish these roles so as not to overburden an already overworked group with new programmes, or to assign tasks to which they are not used. One method to discuss gender roles is to ask men and women separately to list their mainly daily activities. In plenary, the men can then comment on the calendar presented by the woman and vice versa" (SWALIM, 2009). As is documented (Flintan 2009), women and men and girls and boys share in agricultural activities and the nature of their roles and their share of the overall burden of household work is shifting. It is important that we understand these shifts so that we can also understand implications for workload, for school attendance, for decision-making, for assistance programming, etc.
- New technologies: Women and men have different abilities to access information, opportunities and technologies, which may lead them to have different priorities regarding investments in the adoption of new agricultural practices and technologies. When we consider this together with the shifts in gender roles and responsibilities, then understanding women's and men's distinct abilities to access agricultural information, opportunities and technologies and their preferences and capacities in this regard are increasingly important.

ongoing conflict, render significant changes in access to land and natural resources with increasing competition over remaining grazing areas and water sources. As women's and men's gender roles around agriculture, livestock management and other income-generating activities continues, it is important to record the impact of the changes in access to land and water have for both and on overall household food security.

Though women may have a clear role in agriculture and agro-pastoral systems, they may not have security to the land on which they work. Accordingly, pastoral women's security of access may be doubly marginalised: as pastoralists and as women (Flintan, 2011).

2.2 LIVESTOCK: WHAT WE ALREADY KNOW

Sandars (November 2011) gives us a broad overview: "The migratory pastoral lifestyle is organised around men and women having specific roles and responsibilities. Men are responsible for the livestock; managing grazing and water resources; providing for the family and ensuring its security. Women are responsible for the household: building, taking down and transport shelters; milking animals; looking after sheep and goats; small scale trading; collecting water, firewood and fodder; cooking and cleaning and looking after the children. Periods of drought, exacerbated by a changing climate, place different burdens on men and women in pastoral communities. For example, men have to travel further and further in search of pasture and women's daily chores, such as gathering water, can become much harder and take a lot longer, as they too have to travel further to find water sources and food".

With their livestock gone, many men no longer have a livelihood or a way of providing for their families. Their options for alternative unskilled, paid employment are limited and this can have an impact on their own self-esteem and can put stress on family relations. Women also look for work and many take up petty trade or other work such as collecting and selling firewood. This work is done in addition to the daily household chores of cooking, cleaning, fetching water and looking after the children (*ibid*).

Flintan (2008 cited in Flintan 2011) suggests that, by owning assets, women gain power and authority in their households and communities. In this regard, livestock are an important asset for women because it is often easier for them to acquire livestock through inheritance, markets or collective action processes than to purchase land or other physical assets, or to control related finances. Livestock is often more equitably divided than land and small animals can be easily managed and more readily converted into cash (*ibid*).

HERD MANAGEMENT - Nori (2009) reports that camel rearing is a task almost exclusively (97.3 percent) carried out by adult men and includes grazing, watering, looking after their health and milking. Once milk is extracted from the animal, its control goes under the female head of the household.

Generally, young men bring camels to distant pastures (*ibid*). Referring to Puntland in particular, Nori also reports that the "main camel herders are young boys; livestock trading is operated chiefly by men with a small number of women beginning to establish themselves as traders (especially when civil strife makes it more difficult for men to travel due to insecurity and their movement is confined to clan boundaries); women concentrate on less lucrative local markets, such as the slaughter market that produces meat for local consumption".

Women normally look after small ruminants with support from young children and milk the goats. It is predominantly women who market camel milk. Adult males are only involved in the marketing of milk through the *Jilaal* season when they migrate afar with milking camels.

Camels	Small-stock	Responsibility
Herding and milking	Looking after lambs and kids	Children – girls, boys
Responsible for camel herd	Herding shoats	Young girls
	Milking and dairy management	Wife
		Young boys/men
		Husband

According to Flintan (2011), the movement of livestock is the most common community-led strategy for coping with drought. Male community members, often elders, decide upon the movement of livestock, in particular large-scale movements. In severe cases, the whole household will move with the livestock to find grazing and/or water. Often the women will rebuild the hut when they have reached their destination. In addition, “commonly...women and children stay at home taking care of the remaining livestock often with unclear and weak decision-making power (Mandera, Kenya – Serna 2011, cited in Flintan 2011).

During droughts, as young men migrate with livestock away from the homestead for longer periods of time, women have less access to these livestock and the milk they contribute to household food security. Flintan notes that, in some cases (in Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda), it has been indicated that, as milk levels are reduced, women may compromise the health (even the life) of calves to ensure that there is enough milk left for their children.

TECHNOLOGIES FOR LIVESTOCK MANAGEMENT – Flintan, looking at developments in the greater Horn and East Africa, notes that “male and female livestock farmers select and utilise different technologies based on their ownership, access and control of resources. Women are more likely to link innovations to indigenous knowledge. Women are more likely to select technologies that address household food security. However, technology generation and dissemination are generally market-oriented (Uganda – Essenu and Ossiya 2010). This suggests that there is a gap in the design and generation of technologies that fulfill women’s needs, including those that can assist with the achievement of household food security” (Flintan 2011).

PASTORAL COMMUNITIES: Research for the development of this report found that there is, in fact, considerable information on gender roles and relations in pastoral communities.

Pastoral women are members of a pastoral grouping, most commonly a clan. Though women’s position may be viewed as subservient, marginalised and disempowered, the clan can offer many benefits including social protection. Customary rules and regulations govern access to and ownership of clan assets including livestock. Ultimately, all property belongs to the clan and all decisions about property must optimise benefits for the clan. Access is not restricted by ‘ownership’; that is, everyone is able to access much of the property of the others in the household and indeed within the clan. It is unlikely that anyone within the clan (and usually outside the clan) will be denied access to resources in time of genuine need.

Both men and women have access to livestock as ‘owners’ and/or as ‘users’. Because on marriage a woman moves to her husband’s clan, she often remains the owner of small numbers of livestock gifted by her family so that her clan does not lose these animals. The terms of access to livestock are often complicated and depend upon a number of factors including the status of the man or woman and stage in his/her lifecycle; the wealth of the household; exposure and education; and other factors such as the presence of drought. It will also depend upon the type of livestock production system in place; within all of these, the normal roles and responsibilities of men and women, boys and girls, are different.

Gender determines the different roles that men and women play in pastoral society, as well as

the power relations in the household. Access to livestock does not necessarily mean control; it may be the case that women play a role in the management of livestock and use products such as milk but are not able to dispose of them; in some cases, women have little say, whereas, commonly, the husband will have the final word. Large sales of livestock tend to be controlled by the clan elders while women tend to have greater control over livestock she has received through a dowry or gifts.

Pastoral women are likely to be dependent upon the presence of males in the family to enable an effective livestock-based production system. Female-headed households may find this particularly challenging especially if they cannot afford to hire a herder. Not only are men needed to access clan resources more directly but also men can provide protection for the household and a woman's own assets. The presence of sons, for example, gives greater reason for women to maintain control over livestock and other assets if her husband dies (though the livestock may be divided between the sons when they reach maturity). In divorce, women often do not retain sufficient resources for their wellbeing. It may also be difficult for women to access information, as extension messages and community announcements, for example, are usually made in public forums, which women may be unable to attend. Women often manage sheep and goats, which are kept closer to the homestead. They also tend to be responsible for the home herd of cattle and camels when men take others on migration. As such, women's roles in livestock management should not be underestimated, as they often have a lot of knowledge of livestock, grazing areas, migration routes and water points. Women and men typically have different objectives for keeping animals, different authorities and responsibilities and different abilities to access and use new information and improved technologies. These differences may lead them to have different priorities regarding investments in the adoption of new technologies and practices and/or different ideas about how best food and livelihood security can be attained.

Of course, variations exist within 'women' as a group, with status, level of education and wealth all having an impact on how different groups of

Livestock: What we need to know

What emerges from this review of a limited number of publications and articles on gender and livestock in Somalia is that there is a wealth of information on tradition and changing gender roles and responsibilities. However, again, we do not have a comprehensive picture of the regional variances nor do we understand comprehensively how the shifting roles are impacting gender and generational relations and food security in the household and communities.

Aside from a more comprehensive picture of differences in men's and women's access to and control over assets (land, labour, technology, services, etc.) across the regional groups (patterns of gender division of labour are location-specific and change at different rates over time), there are some specific issues that could do with greater focus in the regular food security, livelihoods and nutrition surveys and in the proposed stand-alone gender assessment;

- In poorer households largely dependent on home production for survival, what is women's involvement in decision-making related to household coping strategies?
- How does the female head of household's expanding role in agriculture impact her access to basic services and her children's (girls' and boys') enrolment in and retention in education?
- What is the relative importance of agriculture in general and that of different crops managed by women and men as sources of food and income for both women and men?
- Where agriculture is marginal as a livelihood source compared to other sources of income, households may not be immediately interested in investing time and resources in it. Therefore, it is worth considering whether households (and men compared to women) are investing in agriculture – from what sources of income; on which crops; managed by whom; whether they are prepared to do so in the future.
- Consideration should also be given to the introduction of new technologies, training, information-dissemination and extension strategies – past and future – and the relative importance that women and men assign to these in the management of different crops and agro-processing activities.
- Given that, generally speaking, women are more likely to select technologies that address household food security while technology generation and dissemination are generally market-oriented, it is important that FSNAU's surveys consider technologies that address household food security and technologies that are generally more market-orientated and factor men's / women's experience of both.
- The development of region-specific, seasonal calendars that look at women's, men's and, if appropriate, girls' and boys', agricultural activities both on and off the homestead.

women access resources and the gender roles they play. In polygamous households there will be different power relations between the wives and favouring by the husband.

Pastoralists have been finding it increasingly necessary to supplement livestock-based activities through livelihood diversification, including employment opportunities, trading of goods and the sale of natural resources including charcoal. Women play a key role in this diversification, sometimes becoming primary household providers. Flintan (2011) expands on this point by stating that “women have access to greater independent income as well as ability to contribute a greater percentage of household income”, increasing their self-esteem and their status in the household and the community. Flintan further suggests that women’s role as milk and shoats marketers gives them the opportunity to participate in the ‘public’ sphere, rather than being confined to the ‘private’ or domestic domain.

2.3 FISH, POULTRY & NATURAL RESOURCE HARVESTING – GAPS

There is scant gender analysis available related to fish, poultry and natural resource harvesting, so little in fact that separate sections on ‘What We Already Know’ are not justified.

Somali preferences for red meat have created little traditional space for local consumption of either poultry or fish.

POULTRY and EGGS. Incidental information arising from FAO baseline surveys indicates that rural Somali households place low value on indigenous chicken and that rural women and children are the primary producers. Both production and consumption levels are low by African and global standards. Food security actors are increasingly looking into the untapped potential for expansion in poultry and egg production. Among the enabling factors: increased acceptance and consumption of imported eggs and poultry in Somalia’s urban centres (Gardner 2009), poultry and eggs being the ‘destitution’ stop-gap protein resorted to by some pastoralist IDPs while they rebuild their shoat herds as well as some urban poor; and unmet demand for affordable protein in lower income families. A comprehensive analysis of both enabling and constraining factors is warranted and should include exploring gender dynamics.

Initial glimpses of the gender realities include that poultry or poultry products are identified as an income source in poor urban Mogadishu households during the FSNAU 2012 household food security survey: poultry and poultry product income is a source of income for more men in male headed households and women in female headed households. This raises unanswered questions about whether the income recipient is the producer. IDP households, regardless of the sex of household head, reported much less activity in poultry and poultry product sale than in urban households surveyed.

As increased focus is placed on poultry by food security stakeholders, it will be important to explore the gender dynamics in the value chain, poultry feed sources, as well as in consumer acceptance and consumption patterns.

FISH. Despite Somalia having one of the largest maritime zones in the western Indian Ocean with rich fish grounds, Somalia has one of the lowest per capita fish consumption levels in the world: a mere 1.6kg/per person/per year compared to global and African consumptions that are respectively 15 and 7 kg/person/year.⁵ Sex-disaggregated data was not provided.

⁵ Kulmiye, A.J. *Assessment of the Status of the Artisanal Fisheries in Puntland through Value Chain Analysis* (2010) VSF Suisse/UNDP Somalia

Only one of three major fishery baseline studies reviewed⁶ included any gender analysis. The Puntland artisanal fishery assessment referred to 12,730 permanent ‘fishermen’ but was not able to quantify the numbers of seasonal fishers. The only reference to women in the value chain was to a non-quantified group of women fishmongers who act as ‘middlemen’ at the landing beach. “Most fish buyers prefer dealing directly with fishermen mainly due to quality concerns. Because of this, less than 10 percent of the landed catch goes through these women who are mostly IDPs from the south who eke out a living from selling fish to the public at a small profit.”

The lack of gender analysis being systematically woven into the fishery assessments reviews indicates that the specific roles of women, men and potentially girls and boys in the fishery sector are invisible to many humanitarian and development actors. The FNSAU exposed that women as well as men are active in its Coastal Dehr Study of Puntland Shoreline 2012. The study sampled 155 FHHs as part of a broader nutrition survey. Of the 155 female household heads, five sold fish and seven were subsistence fishers. The same study documented that fish is not part of the regular diet of coastal communities surveyed despite there being immediate access to fish and some local fishing activity.

The current role and future potential for men and for women at all levels of the fishery value chain warrants examination as part of any upcoming support to the artisanal lobster, shark and finfish fishery.

NATURAL RESOURCE HARVESTING. There has been only limited documentation of gender dynamics in natural resource harvesting. Examples include evidence of: firewood collection, predominantly by women supported by children; the partnership of men and women in charcoaling; and references to women specifically foraging for sticks that form the structure of buul huts. There is, however, a lack of gender analysis related to the harvesting of other natural resources e.g. salt harvesting near the Djibouti border, wild edible and medicinal materials.

2.4 MARKETS & TRADE: What we Already know

LIVESTOCK AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS TRADE: “Increasingly, livestock and livestock products are being commercialized as markets and market infrastructure improve, governments and development agencies encourage such processes and pastoralists are drawn further into a monetary economy. Such processes affect women and men differently, not least because women tend to focus more on household welfare and livestock’s contribution to nutrition, while men tend to focus more on economic production and income generation” (Flintan, 2011).

The income generated through livestock trade goes to men while women usually retain most of the earnings generated through milk sales – which is then used, for a large part – for the benefit of children and household nutrition (Nori, 2009). Flintan confirms this gendered expenditure; “Milk can also be sold: it may also be traded for labour or to build goodwill and reputation with a woman’s female friends and relatives”⁷. Nori further suggests that, for women, the evolutions of camel milk marketing contribute significantly to their socio-economic profile.

Flintan, looking at the situation in Kenya and Ethiopia, notes that as livestock marketing increases, new social organisations are created and, in many cases, less formal organisations, such as

6 Kulmiye, A.J. *Assessment of the Status of the Artisanal Fisheries in Puntland through Value Chain Analysis* (2010) VSF Suisse/UNDP Somalia; *Somalia Fishers Sector Review* (2005) FAO/World Bank; and *Feasibility Report on the Fisheries Sector in Puntland* (2005) UNDP Somalia.

7 Flintan’s additional point in this regard is worth noting; she continues, “In the dry season in particular, there can be a conflict between leaving sufficient milk for young animals, and taking some for household needs. In times of food scarcity, it may be the case that given the opportunity a woman will leave young animals with insufficient milk in order to keep children healthy. This may cause disagreement with her husband, seeking to maintain the health of the herd”.

women's livestock marketing groups may have greater success in developing trade and mechanisms for controlling it than male-dominated, formal livestock cooperatives. Because such changes can contribute to shifts in decision-making processes and the role and place that women and men have in it, it would be worth looking at how men and women organise themselves by gender group in livestock and livestock product marketing.

According to Flintan (2011), "livestock trading often involves movement across clan and international borders. A great deal of the East/Horn of Africa region's livestock is transported to ports in Somaliland and then on to the Middle East while other goods move in both directions. Most of those involved in this trade are middle-aged men although there have been a growing number of young men plus women of all ages joining the businesses (Umar and Baulch 2007). Women are in a very favourable position to capitalise on this aspect of business development, as they do not have a primary role in inter-clan conflicts. Animosity and violence between Somali clans for example is common and has been complicated by rivalries between Ethiopia and Somalia as well as the effective collapse of the Somali Republic since 1991. Men therefore find it difficult to cross clan boundaries and may be viewed with suspicion or even hostility if they do so. Women's roles as non-combatants and often peacemakers, gives them much greater freedom firstly to move into other clan territories and also to work with women from other clans to build business alliances. This opens up many possibilities. However cultural restrictions still apply and such activities involve traveling far from home in a region well known for gender-based violence and restrictions on movement irrespective of clan allegiance (Oumer 2007)".

Nori (2009) states that "apart from minor portions of the livestock trade, women are in control of petty trading, the lucrative *qaat* trade, some import-export activities, hotels and others". She states that the limiting factors for women's involvement in market businesses include limited financial and managerial skills, attachment to household-related tasks, fewer sources of direct financing and limited access to educational opportunities.

Nori (2009) also reports that there are a number of diverse systems to market milk; networks headed by women milk collectors; companies manned by transport men; and companies organised around milk processing factories. The most important and effective networks, Nori concludes, are those controlled by women, who control about 90 percent of locally marketed milk. Of the female milk collectors, 89 percent have no schooling, 11 percent have had formal schooling, 5 percent to secondary level. Secondary milk collectors are women based in the final markets in Quadho, Garowe or Bossaso (Nori, 2009).

Beyond trading in livestock and livestock products, we learn that the marketing of fruit and vegetables in southern Somalia to Puntland is managed through a network of women established in Galkaiyo. Women who cannot write are assisted by their sons or by the drivers. Despite their often limited formal education, most milk collectors state that they face no problems in accountancy. It is likely that some basic accountancy knowledge is gained through the Koranic schools.

FSNAU, March 2010 reported that, in the regions of Northwest, Northeast, Central and Hiran, considerable shifts of gender roles in income were identified during the *Deyr* assessment. There was an increase in the number of women taking loans as a coping strategy, normally a strategy undertaken by men. In Gedo Region,

Markets & Trade: What we need to know

Again, while we have a great deal of information on women's and men's traditional and shifting roles in marketing and trade, we lack a comprehensive picture across regions and wealth groups. Some specific questions that would contribute greatly to our understanding would include the following:

- A comprehensive understanding of men's and women's changing and emerging roles in marketing of livestock and livestock products and the links between the new roles and changing patterns of contributions to household welfare and economic production/income generation.
- A fuller understanding of women's and men's involvement in both formal and informal marketing groups as an indicator of shifts in decision-making processes and the role and the place women and men have in it.
- Factors that both promote and limit women's and men's involvement in markets and trade, including, for instance, literacy and numeracy skills, combined domestic and commercial workload, access to finance.

where an improvement was noted in the food security situation, women's role in loan taking was on a par with men's. Further shifts in roles included increased participation of men in assembling houses, crop and livestock product sales, as well as petty trading. At the same time, the participation of women in frankincense collection and fish sales, normally seen as male responsibilities, were also being reported.

CHAPTER 3:

GENDER IN LIVELIHOODS AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

3.1 WHAT WE ALREADY KNOW

Generally, livelihood surveys are organised into four keys 'themes'; sources of food, sources of income, expenditure patterns and coping strategies. In view of the fact that *both* men and women make significant – and most often very distinct - contributions to the household economy and are integral in determining household food security, then livelihood surveys should explore the gender dimensions of each theme.

In terms of sources of income, Flintan (2011) notes that, where women are centrally involved in agricultural production they tend to have a high degree of control over the agricultural produce and/or – in some regions - some control over the proceeds when sold/exchanged;

- full control over the yield
- control the proportion of grain consumed at home and sometimes they are allowed to sell a small portion of the harvest, with their husband's consent
- In Somali region (Ethiopia) after harvesting, agricultural produce is divided into three approximate portions; one portion for the household consumption, the other portion for saving at home and the third portion to be sold to the local market.
- Women are responsible for selling surplus agricultural products and are able to control the use of money raised. However, though there may be some spare produce for sale it can be difficult for women to access markets, both due to distance and lack of time.

Flintan (*ibid*) goes on to note that men's reactions to such gains may not always be positive however. For instance, men may feel threatened by women's increasing economic power (Somalia – Kandagor 2005). In some communities, such changes generate debate and discussion. One elderly man asserted that women should maintain traditional roles and cited a Somali proverb: "*Hooyadu mar waa dabaakh, mar waa doobi, mar waa daabad, marna waa furaash*" - a mother's function is to cook, launder, nurture and be a wife to her husband. This view is based in part on tradition but also the frustration that many men feel when not being able to support their families as custom prescribes (Oumer *et al* 2007 cited in Flintan 2011).

Changing gender roles can have a ripple effect; more involvement in marketing of livestock and livestock products increases women's workload and, as a result, young daughters may assume their mothers' domestic role in the household and, in doing so, are unable to attend school.

While looking at the greater Horn and East Africa, Flintan (2011) notes that women's increasing control over income can have a detrimental impact on men's self-esteem and confidence; men are no longer the household's sole provider and, as a result, many just give up and leave the responsibilities to their wives. In Somali region of Ethiopia where women are highly involved in business, many men would rather sit and chew *qaat* than carry out menial and labourious jobs considered to be 'women's work'. Research also shows that, where a man may consider his wife's income is adequate for household needs, he may withdraw his own contribution. As such, it might

be said that women have only won the 'freedom to be poor' (*ibid*).

Given the possible range of changes in women's and men's income sources and the dynamics created by the changes, it is important that such information is consistently collected and, together with concomitant changes in expenditure patterns and coping strategies, analysed in order to have a more comprehensive picture of livelihood and livelihood strategies across the regions and among the different wealth groups.

In carrying out research for this report, it has been challenging to find consistent gender information or data across urban, rural and IDP populations.

Example: Gender-related observations in FSNAU Technical Series No. VI, 22 May 2009, *Livelihood Baseline Analysis Baidoa*⁸ urban Women play an important role in the urban context. In addition to their daily household tasks, women take part in income-earning activities through employment and self-employment. The 2009 report highlights that;

- Women manage almost 70 percent of petty/small trade businesses in Baidoa, which included trade in cereals, vegetable milk, tea and prepared foods, as well as non-food items such as firewood or charcoal.
- Approximately 85 percent of milk traders and 10 percent of livestock traders were women.
- Women constituted about 20 percent of the unskilled labour within the construction sector.
- Most of 1,037 fruit and vegetable retailers were female.
- Approximately 600 small retailers - mostly women - purchased 60 percent of the firewood supplied to Baidoa.
- It was mostly women and children that carried out the water fetching for household consumption
- Among the estimated 393 people involved in livestock market activities in Baidoa during the reference year, approximately 10 percent were women.
- Almost all fresh milk producers and traders in urban Baidoa and 80-90 percent of rural milk producers were women. Women generally had control of the income earned from milk sales and used it to fulfil household food consumption requirements.
- Women are also engaged in casual employment, such as mudding houses or agricultural labour in nearby rural areas during the cultivation season. They are also involved in house-cleaning work.
- For both men and women within Baidoa's poorer wealth groups, casual employment or unskilled labour is a main source of income. The majority of men were usually engaged in casual employment involving the construction and agricultural sectors with construction work more available during the dry seasons and agricultural labour on nearby farms during the rainy seasons. Low-paying self-employment, such as donkey cart and wheelbarrow transport, also provided income for men in poorer groups.
- In the most active very poor and poor households, two members of the family earned income. Usually this was the parents; however, in some cases, an older child or an elderly adult worked. Only children from the poorest households worked, often where adult labour was lacking. Some boys were engaged in breaking gravel or shoe shining and some girls worked as housemaids. Children also collected leftover or disposed of qaat for resale at very low prices.

In general, women also control and manage household expenditures related to both essential and

8 Baidoa is the centre of Bay Region, regarded as the sorghum basket of Somalia

non-essential household items. Since the majority of employed women work within the livestock sector, selling livestock products such as milk and ghee, income for women is highest during the rainy seasons, when livestock recovery begins, and also at the onset of the dry seasons, when livestock availability in Baidoa town is highest.

Interestingly, about nine UN agencies and six NGOs (international and national) were working in Baidoa during the reference year and, excluding WFP and WHO for which the team was unable to obtain information, these organisations employed about 110 skilled and unskilled workers, of which 92 (84 percent) were male and 18 (16 percent) female.

The demographic information that was available included the following;

- Household size tends to increase with wealth; average household size of poor groups was seven, with middle at eight and better-off at 11. No direct relation between wealth and increased reproduction, but since wealthier groups can economically accommodate more people they often took in additional extended family members for the purposes of either education or employment.
- Regardless of the wealth group, the dominant family structure in Baidoa town was monogamy, although a significant number of people practice polygamy.

While the survey provided some limited information on school enrolment in Baidoa during the reference year (poor due to the limited number of schools and lack of incentives for teachers), it was noted that, of the estimated five percent of Baidoa's children enrolled in school, there appeared to be no gender differences in the numbers enrolled.

Livelihoods: What we need to know

Research and surveys show clearly that both men and women make significant, often very distinct contributions to the household economy. And these contributions are not static, they are constantly changing in response to circumstances and events and there are considerable regional variations. Accordingly, FSNAU's livelihood surveys should continually explore the gender dimensions of each theme of food sources, income sources, expenditure patterns and coping strategies. In this context, it is suggested that the definitions of some of the livelihood concepts in the FSNAU technical surveys should be revisited.

Livelihood Assets is defined (in Report # 43) as "capitals that people draw upon to make a living". They are categorised into five groups: human, social, natural, physical, financial and political capitals. As we deepen our gender analysis of the food security situation in Somalia, it will be necessary to understand the gender dimensions of all livelihood assets in order to determine both men's and women's access to each resource/capital, the barriers they experience in gaining equal access and the impact on household food security and to meeting their practical and strategic needs.

Livelihood Strategies is defined (in Report # 43) as "the ways in which households and individuals utilise and combine their assets to obtain food, income and other goods and services". Accordingly, by looking at both the household as a unit but also at individuals, the definition aims to consider the intra-household dynamics in the share of food, income and other goods and services. However, it is suggested that women's, girls', boys' and men's individual experiences and the intra-household gender dimensions of livelihood strategies are not explored satisfactorily under this heading.

Coping Strategies is defined (in Report # 43) as "the activities that households engage in to access food and cash income when their normal livelihood strategies are undermined by a shock or hazard. These activities may include, and are not limited to, increased livestock sales or collection of wild foods, sending household members to work in town, reducing quality of food consumed, etc." Neither this definition nor the questionnaires and subsequent analysis explore the distinct coping strategies that male- and female-headed households or male or female members of the household adopt.

Income and expenditure patterns – Women's and men's incomes and expenditures should be analysed separately as income controlled by women is more often used to benefit household food security and nutrition whereas men tend to be responsible for longer-term investments and larger cost items. For example, increased income from cash crops, generally controlled by men, may not automatically translate into improved living conditions in the family.

CHAPTER 4:

GENDER IN NUTRITION

4.1 What we already know

Recommendations in the *National Micronutrient and Anthropometric Nutrition Survey (FSNAU, FAO, UCL, 2009)* relate to iodine intake, campaigns and programmes promoting appropriate infant and young child feeding practices, anthropometric findings (with a focus on women and children), vitamin A and iron intake, dietary diversity. A number of recommendations have or should have a gender dimension, namely:

- With regard to anthropometric findings, it is suggested that “further research is required to understand the cultural issues affecting women’s household food access, perceptions of women’s weight and eating habits, and how this could be affecting the high level of acute malnutrition. Studies should include the issues of intra household sharing of food and restriction of certain food types” (pg. 6).
- A number of recommendations suggest that vaccination and awareness campaigns could be promoted in health centres and in schools, including school feeding programmes. In this regard, equitable access for women and for boys and girls to such activities will be dependant on their equitable access to the health and school facilities.

A review of the 2009 report revealed that, in the section on water use (4.1.3), the question was not asked as to who in the household has primary responsibility for the collection, storage and treatment of water and, in section 4.1.4 on dietary intake, the information was not disaggregated by sex and/or age.

While the prevalence of acute malnutrition by age group - 6-17 months, 18-29 months, 30-41 months, 42-53 months and 54-59 months was recorded (Section 4.2.2), the information was not disaggregated by sex. However, Figure 9 (p. 61) records the distribution of weight-for-height z-scores in infant girls and boys aged 0-5 months; Table 24 (p. 61) records the prevalence of stunting in infant girls and boys based on WHO 2006 Growth Standards; and Table 23 reports the prevalence of acute malnutrition in infant girls and boys aged 0-5 months based on WHO 2006 Growth Standards.

Other than the comment that “the prevalences of anaemia by sex were also not significantly different despite the girls having lower prevalence than boys with 56.0 percent and 62.4 percent respectively”, there is no further analysis of the sex-disaggregated data.

Under a section titled ‘*Anthropometry in women*’ (p. 118), it states that “almost 21.5 percent of the women surveyed were underweight with a BMI of less than 18.5 kg/m²; about 14.0 percent were overweight; and 6.7 percent were obese”. The report notes the variations for that in the three regions of the North East, the North West and South Central. It is suggested that, in the future, surveys look at variations among rural, urban and internally displaced women in the three regions.

Findings of the *Somali Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices Study (KAPS): Infant and young child feeding and health seeking practices (December 2007, FSAU, FAO) (KAPS 2007)*⁹

⁹ Respondents to the KAPS 2007 represented a wide range of population groups as they “were selected with the aim of giving a voice to different categories of population considered to have an interest or influence on childcare and health seeking... [in] an environment that enabled optimal participation: elderly women alone (better off wealth group), elderly women (poor and middle wealth groups), women of child-bearing age (better off wealth group), women of childbearing age (poor and middle wealth groups), men, health service providers, traditional birth attendants (TBA), community health workers (CHW), health facility personnel, tradition healers, local leaders (local authority, community and religious leaders), women group representatives, local and international NGO employees, case studies (pregnant woman with children, woman in her first pregnancy, woman not pregnant but with children and kind of elderly and woman with a malnourished child)”.

4.1.1 North-East/Puntland

Gender-related findings in the FSAU 2007 report include the following:

Breastfeeding

- A group of leaders reported that older women believe that breastfeeding within an hour of birth is not good and, due to the influence they have on younger mothers, this results in delayed initiation of breast-feeding.
- The networks that – positively or negatively - influence breastfeeding include fathers (husbands) who contribute to mothers' apprehension of breastfeeding for fear that the breast will sag and result in reduced or loss of her husband's interest in her; or by encouraging or discouraging a mother to breastfeed. Other key persons that are influential in decisions around breast-feeding include the grandparents of the child. Other relatives and neighbours are less influential.
- Obstacles to successful breastfeeding include misinformation from other women, wrong beliefs (e.g. that the breast has no/inadequate milk), pressure from grandmothers, lack of knowledge and lack of a breastfeeding policy.
- The availability of funds and rations has the capacity to facilitate buying of alternatives to breast-milk and hence are considered as factors that undermine good breastfeeding practices.

Intra-household food distribution:

- There are variations in the order of serving but the general practice is to serve children under five years first. Among the Ufayn community (Bossaso District in Bari Region), however, it is more common to serve the father/men first, then the children and finally the mother/women. If there are guests, they are likely to be served first.
- "In sharing food to household members, children under the age of five years are served first and there are no gender differences in feeding of children. When food is not adequate, caregivers offer young children an adequate portion then share what is available to other members. In more severe situations the older members forego some meals".

Infant and young child feeding (IYCF)

- In relation to IYCF in coastal communities, mothers' networks include TBAs, CHW, mother, mother-in-law, MCH, relatives of the mother and elders.
- Asked who are the specific community members who need to be convinced first for change in child feeding practices to occur, the responses included husbands/fathers of the children and service providers (TBAs, midwives and other health workers).

Health seeking practices

- Mothers were identified as the key caregivers and husbands, daughters, other close members of the family and neighbours, in that order, are important social networks in health-seeking for children.
- Among pastoralists/agro-pastoralists in Puntland, the child's parents make the decision on where a sick child is to be treated. The child's condition (state of illness) will determine when to seek help. There are some cases where it is only the father who can make such decisions.
- If a mother goes away with a sick child, she may take all the young children with her or leave them with a neighbour.
- Fathers were listed as other caregivers whose role is to provide livelihoods and are integral in health care and creating awareness. The reason given for this are that the mothers do not have time and are not as available to provide care, lack of food, lack of clean water, and overcrowding as many mothers are now bread winners while husbands are jobless.

Nutritional advice during pregnancy:

- It is reported that the mother of the pregnant woman, her grandmother and TBAs bear most influence on a pregnant woman.
- The mother, husband and TBAs and, to a lesser degree, traditional healers, are most influential on women during the pre- and post-natal phases. The type of support availed during these phases include advice, psychological, financial and logistical support (e.g., collecting food rations). In general, the women were reported to be recipients of nutrition advice from elderly women (including their mothers), TBAs and CHWs. Findings from Sanag imply that no nutrition advice is given.

4.1.2 Northwest/Somaliland

Gender-related findings in the FSAU 2007 report include the following:

Breastfeeding

- Fathers were seen as supportive by either leaving decision-making to mothers, encouraging them to breastfeed or by supporting proactively the idea of breastfeeding for the duration of two years.
- Sheikhs, TBAs, midwives were listed as community members who could effectively influence behaviour change. The community members who would need to be convinced to expedite the adoption of new behaviours include fathers/husbands, maternal grandmothers, TBAs and midwives. Maternal grandmothers, in particular, are seen as the shapers of breastfeeding experience as they are charged with the responsibility of orientating their daughters to breastfeeding and motherhood in general.
- The cultural practice that encourages or requires maternal grandmothers to spend the 40 days period following birth (*umol bah*) with their newly delivered daughter, initiating them into motherhood, make it critical for interventions to target this group. Maternal grandmothers can and often do instil inappropriate knowledge and beliefs.

Intra-household food distribution

- In sharing food to household members, children under the age of five years are served first and there are no gender differences in feeding of children (p. 52). When food is not adequate, caregivers offer young children an adequate portion then share what is available to other members. In more severe situations, older members forego some meals.
- Strategies to assist children to consume adequate amount of foods include monitoring of the child during feeding. The child's mother is the principal actor in this regard but alternative caregivers such as fathers and house-help also assist in, respectively, 80 percent and 60 percent of cases. Respondents estimated that only 40-60 percent of mothers are fully involved in monitoring due to employment and engagement in IGAs (p. 52).

IYCF

- Factors that determine the choice of the type of complementary foods to give include; women's access to financial resources at household level (given that many women now participate in the generation of household income), the mother's availability, the father's views, the affordability of food, the availability of foods in the market, the age of the child, knowledge of what to give and the perceived nutritional quality of food are pertinent factors in the process of complementary feeding.

Health-seeking practices

- In health-seeking, decisions are made by the child's parents jointly or separately and are influenced by economic factors, advice given by a TBA and the number of under fives in a household.
- Besides the mother, men (about 40 percent) participate in child care. During illness mothers are supported by husband/father of the child and relatives. Types of support include contacting the doctor or helping in taking the child for treatment and giving child care at home; meaning they give care to the other children.

Nutritional advice during pregnancy

- Among agro-pastoralists, TBAs, traditional healers, medical staff, MCH midwives and religious leaders are groups of people that are considered to have most influence on pregnant women. Pregnant women receive education on nutrition, breastfeeding, where to seek help and advice during illness.

4.1.3 South Central Zone

Gender-related findings in the FSAU 2007 report include the following:

Breast-feeding

- In all livelihood zones, mothers rely mainly on the traditional knowledge received from grandmothers, relatives, TBAs, traditional healers, religious leaders and other elderly women on breastfeeding.
- Among the riverine and urban population, most mothers have learnt from their mothers and grandmothers that there is no milk in the breast in the first three days after birth and that colostrum is heavy, thick and unhealthy for children. With further knowledge from TBA, CHW and breastfeeding awareness promotions, some are aware that breastfeeding should start immediately after birth.
- In urban communities, the common belief that colostrum is poisonous and causes diarrhoea in children also exists. However, urban women - both elderly and of child-bearing age - who have attended World Breastfeeding Week Celebrations, hold a different opinion; about 10-15 percent of them believe that colostrum is good and makes the baby healthy, strong and active.
- Some urban men also influence breastfeeding by their negative attitudes towards breastfeeding. In parts of Buale, it was reported men tend to discourage women from breastfeeding because they believe that breast milk makes women dirty and smelly as it flows on her clothes and body.
- In Hiran region, it was noted that the urban and riverine population who give children colostrum had been influenced by the messages from the World Breastfeeding Week celebrations or by health workers and their grandmothers.

Intra-household food distribution

- In most households, children are served food before adults.
- No major differences were reported in feeding the male and female child across all livelihood zones. All children were reportedly treated and fed equally during meal time (p.26)

ICYF

- In the rural areas, among the pastoralists, agro-pastoralists and riverine communities, the alternative child care-givers are grandmothers, older siblings, aunts and fathers while, in urban communities, older siblings and aunts or employed house-helpers are the main alternative caregivers.

Health-seeking practices

- Among the pastoralists, fathers are the main decision makers concerning the management of most illnesses in children. Caregivers' decisions to take specific actions in health care depend, therefore, on access to the child's father at the time the child falls sick and on the availability of resources for modern health care. For some traditional cures, for instance removal of tooth in case of diarrhoea associated with teething, women make decisions without consulting their husbands.
- Among the agro-pastoralists and riverine communities, mothers are the main decision-makers. However, men also make decisions if they are present at home at the time the child falls sick. The man is also the financial decision-maker in case of modern health care.
- In urban areas, both parents are involved in decision making on health-seeking behaviours. However, in Bakool Region, the father was reported as the main decision-maker on when and where to take the child for treatment. In Hiran Region, both parents make decisions on treatment of a sick child.
- All forms of diarrhoea associated with teething are only curable by traditional healers who must perform the removal of the *fox teeth/red worm* or '*liligow*'. Husbands are often not aware or even consulted when the child is taken for *liligow*.

Nutritional advice during pregnancy

- In all livelihood zones, pregnant and lactating mothers mainly rely on the traditional knowledge received from grandmothers, relatives, TBA, traditional healers, religious leaders and other elderly women on what to eat during pregnancy and after delivery.
- Among the pastoralists, a mother traditionally received post-natal care from her mother for a period of 40 days after delivery (*Umol Bah*). In urban areas, after delivery, the woman's mother or any close relative was traditionally expected to stay with her for one month or 40 days to ensure that she feeds well and also assist her with household chores. Currently, however, the *Umol Bah* tradition has reduced to seven or less days, if at all.

Nutrition: What we need to know

FFSNAU's past and existing nutrition surveys focus almost entirely on children under five years, pregnant and lactating women and women of reproductive age.

In discussion with the nutrition unit, it was agreed that the focus should remain on these groups as the most nutritionally vulnerable groups. However, it is clear that there is a gap in understanding the nutritional status of Somalis across all livelihoods zones and regions, including additional vulnerable groups such as older men and women, adolescent girls and chronically sick males and females of all ages. However, to attempt to capture this information in the standard nutrition surveys would require that the questionnaire be added to considerably and it is already sufficiently lengthy. In addition, capturing this information would require a bigger sampling size and this is not possible within the regular nutrition surveys. Accordingly, it has been agreed that the Gender team will work with the Nutrition Unit to support them to enhance the nutrition surveys and the gender analysis of the survey results. Where the advice of the Nutrition Unit is that the sample size of the survey is too small to uncover statistically significant information on the disaggregated nutrition status of boys and girls, then a note/caveat to this effect will be included in the report. In addition, the Gender team together with the Nutrition Unit will develop a comprehensive, stand-alone Gender Assessment.

Additional issues that should be addressed in regular nutrition surveys and/or the stand-alone gender assessment, as appropriate, include the following;

- With regard to anthropometric findings, the 2009 report suggests that further research is required to understand the cultural issues affecting women's household food access, perceptions of women's weight and eating habits and how this impacts levels of acute malnutrition, as well as issues of intra-household food sharing and restriction of certain food types. This research remains outstanding and, when undertaken, should look at regional variations among the different livelihood, wealth and urban/rural/IDP groups.

- In addition to the above, the 2009 report provides details of anthropometry in women in North-East, North-West, South Central and all of Somalia. Given the considerable variances in urban, rural and IDP groups, it is suggested that future surveys also break down the data along these lines.
- The 2009 report suggests significant variations in the proportion of female-headed households among the different urban, rural and IDP groups. It is suggested that the full matrix of urban, rural and IDP groups, wealth and livelihood groups in the three regions is required to have a full and comprehensive picture of the linkages and correlations between household composition, decision-making authority and household nutritional status.
- In terms of regular nutrition surveys, the nutrition team might revisit – in the context of logistics, security issues and methodologies - the issue of sample size and sex- and age-disaggregation (with consistent age brackets) required to demonstrate statistically significant differences in the prevalence of acute malnutrition. Where the sample size is going to be too small, then this needs to be clearly stated.
- The KAPS 2007 survey is now five years old and, given the continued drought conditions in many locations, the famine in 2011 and the ongoing conflict, further changes may have occurred in breast-feeding, IYCF and health-seeking practices. Assistance programming may still rely on this data and, in the event of changes in practices would, therefore, not be targeted accurately. It is suggested, therefore, that a new survey in this regard may be required.

CHAPTER 5:

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ENHANCED GENDER ANALYSIS

A review by the IASC GenCap Adviser and FAO Gender Analyst of four reports¹⁰ together with preliminary conversations with the managers of the Food Security, Livelihoods and Nutrition sectors revealed the following gender-related concerns about the definitions of key food security, livelihood and nutrition concepts, current data collection and analysis approaches and methodologies;

- **‘Head of household’** is not currently defined in FSNAU reports and the implicit definition is unsatisfactory. In report # 43 of March 2012 states that the ‘status’ of female-headed households *“indicate[s where] females are [the] main income provider and in male headed household, men are the main income provider”*¹¹. Such a criteria for defining the head of household does not look at the key issue of who in the household has access to and control over the use of household resources or participates in household and community decision-making forums. *Accordingly, it is recommended that future questionnaires not only look at who is the de factor head of household but who has access to and control over resources, as well as for decision-making within the households and community.*
- **Defining and contextualising the definition of ‘household’**, which is defined (in the Glossary of Report # 43) as “a group of people, each with different abilities and needs, who live together most of the time and contribute to a common household economy, and share the food and other income from this”. *Consideration should be given to the specificities of the different livelihood and wealth groups in the three regions and to the inclusion, where relevant, to both monogamous and polygamous households.*
- **Female-headed households and female members of households:** Within household compositions, there is a focus on females as heads of households but less attention to the specific and distinct practical and strategic needs, the priorities and the capacities of females, of all ages, within both monogamous and polygamous households.
- **Analytical Processes and Methodology:** In this section of FSNAU reports, *comment is required about the gender balance of the enumerator and analysis teams, as well as some information on the challenges of non single-sex focus groups and non same-sex interviewers and the possible implications that could ensue in terms of bias.*

10 2009/2010 Post Deyr Analysis (Report # 31); 2010/2011 Post Deyr Food Security and Nutrition Analysis (Report # 36); 2011 Post Gu Food Security and Nutrition Analysis (Report # 42); and 2011/2012 Post Deyr Food Security and Nutrition Analysis (Report # 43).

11 Footnote in section 4.3.9 on *The Gender Perspective of Food Security in Somalia*

- **IDP Profiling:** It is noted that, in Report # 43 at least, some of the data, especially from the southern region, is supplemented by secondary data. UNHCR provides IDP analysis. No sex- and age-disaggregated data is provided in the latest report and the question remains as to whether, through IDP settlement registration, where available, UNHCR would be in a position to provide some demographic information on settlements that they or any of their partners manage.

5.1 STAND-ALONE GENDER ASSESSMENT

With the exception of the 2009/2010 post-Deyr report (# 31) when a Gender Survey Questionnaire was included, the gender chapter/section in each report is compiled from elements of all the other questionnaires/surveys. It is suggested, however, that it is not helpful to 'silo' a gender perspective of food security, livelihoods and nutrition into a stand-alone chapter/section. On the contrary, a gender perspective should be 'mainstreamed' into each dimension of the three themes.

What has emerged is that there is a need for a comprehensive, stand-alone Gender Assessment that will supplement and enrich the ongoing FSNAU data collection and analysis processes. Consultation with Somalia's IASC clusters and humanitarian actors will assist in identifying the most relevant focus for the Gender Assessment which will centre on food security, livelihoods and nutrition issues.

While the purpose of this compendium report was to explore the wealth of gender-related information available on food security, livelihoods and nutrition and to identify gaps in our understanding for which provisions need to be made in future surveys, the conclusions and recommendations would not be complete without some comment on the composition of FSNAU's enumerator teams. These teams are predominantly – and, in some case, exclusively - male. While the cultural and security challenges in achieving a more gender-balanced team are real and considerable, more explicit recognition of the bias to survey results that this creates must be made in reports (under the 'Methodologies' section perhaps). And while the FSNAU team strives proactively to achieve greater gender balance in their regular enumerator and field analysts teams, it is strongly recommended that connections be forged with women's groups and NGOs in the various regions for the purposes of achieving a gender balance for the proposed Gender Assessment. Without a gender balance, the survey results can only be viewed with a low degree of confidence.

WHAT WE NEED TO KNOW: A SUMMARY

GENERAL

Demographic data collected for Somalia – in the different regions (Puntland, Somaliland, South Central), for the different livelihood and wealth groups and among rural, urban and internally displaced populations - is not comprehensive. It would be useful to have the following demographic data across all groups/regions;

- Average household size
- Proportion of monogamous, polygamous and unmarried or single households
- Proportion of female-headed households (widowed, divorced, have unemployed husband, husband has migrated, etc.); link between status, role and responsibilities as head of household and decision-making authority in the household and in the community.
- Details of family-splitting (migration for employment or other; temporary 'adoption' of some children by other family or clan member; in the case of urban or settlement displaced people, household members who stayed behind, etc.)
- Age groupings: There is a need for consistency on age-groupings across food security and livelihoods analysis and, in this regard, the following groupings are recommended; 0 – 5 years, 6 – 14 years, 15 – 24 years, 25 – 49 years, 50 – 59 years, over 60 years. This will promote our understanding of gender and generational dynamics in terms of food security; it will also expand our understanding of women's, men's and girls' and boys' livelihoods and coping strategies.
- Sex- and age-disaggregated data (SADD): Given the many challenges – security/access, logistical, composition of enumerator teams (predominantly male) – and resultant restrictions in methodologies for conducting surveys (representative household surveys, key informant questionnaires and rapid nutritional surveys) in all regions of Somalia and within the distinct settings – urban, rural and IDP – we must acknowledge the difficulties in collecting SADD. Addressing these difficulties will mean addressing all other outstanding issues, including defining 'household', defining 'head of household', looking at the age-groupings, etc. However, collecting and analysing SADD will present a more comprehensive understanding of the distinct needs, priorities and capacities of all members of households and communities.

LIVESTOCK, FISHERIES AND POULTRY

There is a wealth of information on traditional and changing gender roles and responsibilities in livestock. However, the picture is not comprehensive across regions, wealth and livelihood groups and in the different settings – rural, urban and IDP. Much less information from a gender perspective exists in either fisheries or the poultry sector. We do not understand comprehensively how the shifting roles are impacting gender and generational relations and food security in the household and communities.

Some additional issues that warrant greater focus in the regular food security, livelihoods and nutrition surveys and in the proposed stand-alone gender assessment;

In poorer households largely dependent on home production for survival, what is women's involvement in decision-making related to household coping strategies?

How does the female head of household's expanding role in agriculture impact her access to basic services and her children's (girls' and boys') enrolment in and retention in education?

What is the relative importance of agriculture in general and that of different crops managed by women and men as sources of food and income for both women and men?

Where agriculture is marginal as a livelihood source compared to other sources of income, households may not be immediately interested in investing time and resources in it. Therefore, it is worth considering whether households (and men compared to women) are investing in agriculture – from what sources of income; on which crops; managed by whom; whether they are prepared to do so in the future.

Consideration should be given to the introduction of new technologies, training, information-dissemination and extension strategies – past and future – and the relative importance that women and men assign to these in the management of different crops and agro-processing activities.

Generally speaking, women are more likely to select technologies that address household food security while technology generation and dissemination are generally market-oriented. Therefore, it is important that FSNAU's surveys consider men's and women's needs and priorities for new technology.

Develop region-specific, seasonal calendars that look at women's, men's and, if appropriate, girls' and boys', agricultural activities.

Explore the gender dynamics in the value chain, poultry feed sources, as well as in consumer acceptance and consumption patterns.

Examine the current role and future potential for men and for women at all levels of the fishery value chain

MARKETS AND TRADE

While we have a great deal of information on women's and men's traditional and shifting roles in marketing and trade, we lack a comprehensive picture across regions and wealth groups. Some specific questions that would contribute to our understanding would include:

Greater and more comprehensive understanding of men's and women's changing and emerging roles in marketing of livestock and livestock products and the links between the new roles and changing patterns of contributions to household welfare and economic production/income generation.

A fuller understanding of women's and men's involvement in both formal and informal marketing groups as an indicator of shifts in decision-making processes and the role women and men have in them.

The factors that both promote and limit women's and men's involvement in markets and trade, including, for instance, literacy and numeracy skills, combined domestic and commercial workload, access to finance.

LIVELIHOODS

Both men and women make significant but distinct contributions to the household economy. These contributions are not static; they are constantly changing in response to circumstances and events. Accordingly, FSNAU's livelihood surveys should continually explore the gender dimensions of food sources, income sources, expenditure patterns and coping strategies. In this context, definitions of some of the livelihood concepts in the FSNAU technical surveys should be revisited.

Livelihood Assets is defined (in Report # 43) as "capitals that people draw upon to make a living". They are categorised into five groups: human, social, natural, physical, financial and political capitals. As we deepen our gender analysis of the food security situation in Somalia, it will be necessary to understand the gender dimensions of all livelihood assets in order to determine both men's and women's access to each resource/capital, the barriers they experience in gaining equal access and the impact on household food security and to meeting their practical and strategic needs.

Livelihood Strategies is defined (in Report # 43) as "the ways in which households and individuals utilise and combine their assets to obtain food, income and other goods and services". Accordingly, by looking at both the household as a unit but also at individuals, the definition aims to consider the intra-household dynamics in the share of food, income and other goods and services. However, it is suggested that women's, girls', boys' and men's individual experiences are not explored satisfactorily under this heading and that it is essential that future surveys and analysis look at the intra-household gender dimensions of livelihood strategies.

Coping Strategies is defined (in Report # 43) as "the activities that households engage in to access food and cash income when their normal livelihood strategies are undermined by a shock or hazard. These activities may include, and are not limited to, increased livestock sales or collection of wild foods, sending household members to work in town, reducing quality of food consumed, etc." Neither this definition nor the questionnaires and subsequent analysis explore the coping strategies that male- and female-headed households or male or female members of the household adopt and whether they are distinct. It is recommended that future surveys and analysis explore these issues.

Income and expenditure patterns – Women's and men's incomes and expenditures should be analysed separately as income controlled by women is more often used to benefit household food security and nutrition whereas men tend to be responsible for longer-term investments and larger cost items. For example, increased income from cash crops, generally controlled by men, may not automatically translate into improved

NUTRITION

FSNAU's past and existing nutrition surveys focus almost entirely on children under five years, pregnant and lactating women and women of reproductive age and this focus will continue.

However, an understanding of the nutritional status of additional vulnerable groups such as older men and women, adolescent girls and chronically sick males and females of all ages is missing. To attempt to capture this information in standard nutrition surveys would require that the questionnaires be added to considerably and it is already lengthy. In addition, capturing this information would require a bigger sampling size and this is not possible within the regular nutrition surveys. Accordingly, the Gender team will work with the Nutrition Unit to support them to enhance the nutrition surveys and the gender analysis of the survey results. Where the advice of the Nutrition Unit is that the sample size of the survey is too small to uncover statistically significant information on the disaggregated nutrition status of boys and girls, then a note/caveat to this effect will be included in the report. In addition, the Gender team together with the Nutrition Unit will develop a comprehensive, stand-alone Gender Assessment.

Additional issues that should be addressed in regular nutrition surveys and/or the stand-alone gender assessment, as appropriate, include the following;

With regard to anthropometric findings, the 2009 report suggests that further research is required to understand the cultural issues affecting women's household food access, perceptions of women's weight and eating habits and how this impacts levels of acute malnutrition, as well as issues of intra-household food sharing and restriction of certain food types. This research remains outstanding and, when undertaken, should look at regional variations among the different livelihood, wealth and urban/rural/IDP groups.

In addition to the above, the 2009 report provides details of anthropometry in women in North-East, North-West, South Central and all of Somalia. Given the considerable variances in urban, rural and IDP groups, it is suggested that future surveys also break-down the data along these lines.

The 2009 report suggests significant variations in the proportion of female-headed households among the different urban, rural and IDP groups. It is suggested that the full matrix of urban, rural and IDP groups, wealth and livelihood groups in the three regions is required to have a full and comprehensive picture of the linkages and correlations between household composition, decision-making authority and household nutritional status.

In terms of regular nutrition surveys, the nutrition team might revisit – in the context of logistics, security issues and methodologies - the issue of sample size and sex- and age-disaggregation (with consistent age brackets) required to demonstrate statistically significant differences in the prevalence of acute malnutrition. Where the sample size is going to be too small, then this needs to be clearly stated.

The KAPS 2007 survey is now five years old and, given the continued drought conditions in many locations, the famine in 2011 and the ongoing conflict, further changes may have occurred in breast-feeding, IYCF and health-seeking practices. Assistance programming may still rely on this data and, in the event of changes in practices would, therefore, not be targeted accurately. It is suggested, therefore, that a new survey in this regard may be required.

Annex 1: A glimpse at gender roles key to food security¹

This profile captures the predominant gender roles in the two main types of livestock, crop and natural resource harvesting activity in Somalia. Local variances exist.

Livestock. Sheep and goats (shoats) and camels are the two key types of livestock across Somalia. (Cattle are also very important in southern Somalia)

Shoats: Men castrate shoats, predominate as shroat traders for export, and assist in providing water. Shoats are predominantly reared by women and children. Women are responsible for flock health, herding, feeding, milking, slaughter, and sale of milk, hides and shoats on local markets. Ownership of shoats is often joint. Frequently men join women, and may take the lead, in fencing, branding (fire mark) and dipping.

Camels: Camels are viewed as men's domain. Men nearly exclusively own, buy and sell, graze and water, milk and slaughter camels. 'Sahan' or scouting for the best migration locations is men's role. Men use camels to transport water for livestock, primarily shoats. Women process camel milk, sell surplus milk and may be in charge of a pack camel they use to collect household water or move the buul (portable stick-frame hut).

The level of consultation between men and women on livestock purchase and sale varies.

In normal, as well as abnormal long-distance migration, women stay behind with vulnerable (sick/lame) animals and a few lactating animals. Small children, sick and elderly family members are also left in the care of the women. Men and older boys (sometimes older girls as cooks) migrate with the healthy animals in search of water and pasture.

Crops. Sorghum and maize are the two key food crops.

Sorghum: Men prepare land and thresh. Planting, weeding, harvesting, guarding and transporting are joint activities of women and men. Women exclusively winnow and mill. They are the key sellers of sorghum and predominate as retail vendors in local cereal markets. Women, girls and boys scare birds to prevent them eating the ripening sorghum.

Maize: Men usually purchase and apply fertilizer and pesticides, cut down the maize stocks, transport and market maize to commercial traders. Both men and women, usually more men, are paid casual workers in the maize harvest. Land preparation, sowing, irrigating, weeding and harvesting are joint roles. Women use or sell maize fodder (stalks), bang the kernels from the cobs and sell small volumes of maize on local markets.

Natural Resource Harvesting. Foraging for wood and harvesting wild resins are two key forms of natural resource harvesting.

Wood foraging: Firewood is primarily collected by women and girls, although men in the NW in particular actively collect firewood if long distances are involved. Men primarily burn wood for charcoal and sell sacks of charcoal in urban areas. Within the towns, women petty traders take over charcoal sales. Women are the key foragers for wood they will use in buul construction, for home cooking and for firewood sale. In the south, men cut larger trees for constructing frame houses and furniture.

Gums and resins: Men scale the rugged terrain, tap and collect the resin. Women clean and process resin for sale. Both sell.

Sources: Post-Gu 2012 rural FGDs; Post-Gu All Team Analysis Workshop sessions with FSNAU staff and government focal points; FSNAU baseline surveys.

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(Footnotes)

1 Adopted from **Quisumbing, A.R.** 1995. *Gender differences in agricultural productivity: a survey of empirical evidence.* FCND Discussion Paper No. 5. Washington, DC, IFPRI.

2 *Gender Gap is the discrepancy in opportunities, status, access to resources, etc., between men and women or boys and girls.*

