



Sexual and Gender Based Violence against
Internally Displaced Women in the *Camps of
Mogadishu, Somalia*

Ugaaso Hussein Barre

*Master thesis for the faculty of Social Sciences, International Social Welfare and Health
Policy Oslo Metropolitan University – Storbyuniversitetet*

Abstract

The theme of this study is sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) against women in the camps for internally displaced people (IDP) in Mogadishu, Somalia. The aim of this thesis is to understand the causes and consequences of SGBV against IDP women in Mogadishu, Somalia. The access to restorative and retributive justice for survivors of SGBV is also a focus in this study.

The theoretical perspectives employed in this study has been feminist literature, theories on power and power relations, primarily Foucault's analysis of power, and the change of the concept of masculinity as a consequence of conflict. These theories were used to discuss and highlight the themes of this study.

This study was conducted with a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis. The research site was a camp on the outskirts of Mogadishu, Somalia. There were in total 10 interviews conducted with informants, 4 of whom were survivors of SGBV and 6 key informants. In addition, observations, informal conversations, and desk study were employed as data collection tools. Due to the sensitive nature of the theme of this study, several points of ethical considerations were made in order to protect the informant's privacy, anonymity, and to protect them against further physical and psychological harm.

Several causes of SGBV were identified in the findings, both in and outside of the IDP camp. IDP women moving to and from the camp are vulnerable to rape by thieves and rapist on the road. Therefore, several of the informants experienced rape on their ways to the camps or to their villages. Women are also vulnerable to sexual and physical violence from thieves and sexual predators inside of the camp due to the fragile plastic shelters they live in, often alone with children, without protection from male relatives. Domestic violence is also prevalent in the camp, and khat abuse amongst men has been identified as a cause. Women who work outside the camp are also vulnerable to SGBV from employers. Female survivors of SGBV seek justice through customary law, a patriarchal traditional system which does not provide adequate justice to women. The formal system is still weak, corruptible and heavily influenced by customary law and those who practice it.

Acknowledgements

It has not been an easy task writing a master thesis, with its ups and downs, but it has been an invaluable experience. I have learned a great deal, not just about the subject, but about myself and the definition of hard work. The last five years as a student at Hioa/OsloMet have been amazing, but I am also glad to be finished.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my parents for their dedication and support. Were it not for the sacrifices you have made for us, and your hard work, I would not be where I am today. I love you. To my siblings Nasteexo and Ali, I am grateful for your encouragement and support, and special thanks to my sister Ugbaad for taking care of me. Thank you all for tolerating me during this time and being there for me. Thanks to my friends for your endless encouragement and motivation throughout this process.

I would especially like to thank my supervisor John David Kisuule. It was you who gave me the idea to go to Somalia to research this important issue, and to challenge myself. I have learned so much from you. Thank you for your hard work, invaluable advice, and dedication to my thesis. You're by far the best teacher I have ever had.

Without the informants who were willing to share their stories, ideas, knowledge, and opinions with me, none of this would be possible. Thank you to all the amazing women who dared to share their stories on such a sensitive and personal subject.

Ugaaso H. Barre

List of content

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 BACKGROUND AND CONTENT	1
1.2 SGBV IN SOMALIA.....	1
1.2 OVERALL OBJECTIVES	2
<i>1.2.1 Specific Objectives.....</i>	<i>2</i>
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	3
1.4 RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY	3
1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	3
1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS.....	5
CHAPTER 2: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN SOMALIA	6
2.1 PRE-COLONIAL SOMALIA.....	6
2.2 COLONIAL TIMES	7
2.3. INDEPENDENCE	8
2.5 THE CAUSES OF DISPLACEMENT TODAY FOR THE IDP.	11
CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE	13
3.1 CONCEPTS OF SGBV.....	13
<i>3.1 .1 Sexual violence.....</i>	<i>13</i>
3.1.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL - EMOTIONAL VIOLENCE	15
3.1.3 PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	15
3.1.4 ECONOMIC VIOLENCE	16
3.2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES O	17
<i>3.2.1 Definition of Power</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>3.2.2 Feminist theories and Foucault 's Analysis on Power.....</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>3.2.3 Manhood, Feminism and Conflict</i>	<i>20</i>
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION TOOLS.....	24
4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN – QUALITATIVE RESEARCH	24
4.3 TARGET GROUPS AND SELECTION PROCEDURE	26
<i>4.3.1 Primary target group.....</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>4.3.2 Key informants.....</i>	<i>27</i>
4.4 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS	27
<i>4.4.1 Desk study.....</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>4.4.2 Interviews</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>4.4.3 Observations.....</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>4.4.4 Informal conversations.....</i>	<i>31</i>

4.5 LITERATURE SEARCH	32
4.6 INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION CRITERIA	32
4.7 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY.....	33
4.8 DATA ANALYSIS	33
4.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	35
CHAPTER 5: CAUSES OF SGBV AND WOMEN’S VULNERABILITY IN & OUT OF THE IDP CAMP	39
5.1 EXPERIENCES OF SGBV IN THE CAMP	39
5.2 FACTORS FOR VULNERABILITY TO SGBV OUTSIDE THE CAMP	44
CHAPTER 6: CONSEQUENCES AND RESPONSES TO SGBV.....	49
6.1 DEFINITIONS OF COPING AND STIGMA	49
6.1.1 Coping	49
6.1.2 Stigma.....	49
6.2 COPING WITH RAPE THROUGH RELIGION	50
6.3 STIGMA AND DISCRIMINATION OF SGBV SURVIVORS.....	51
6.3.1 Stigma and Social consequences.....	53
6.4 HEALTH SERVICES AVAILABLE TO SGBV SURVIVORS	55
6.5 THE CHALLENGES WITH LOCAL-NGOS AS SERVICE PROVIDERS.....	57
6.6 THE STATE AND ITS ROLE	59
CHAPTER 7: RESTORATIVE AND RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE FOR SURVIVORS.....	60
7.1 DEFINITION OF RESTORATIVE AND RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE.....	60
7.2 CUSTOMARY LAW – XEER.....	60
7.3 WOMEN’S ISLAMIC RIGHTS	62
7.4 THE PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION AND FORMAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IN SOMALIA	63
7.5 NEGOTIATING BETWEEN RESTORATIVE AND RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE.....	66
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUDING REMARKS AND FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS.....	75
LITERATURE LIST.....	78
APPENDIX 1 INFORMATION LETTER	83
APPENDIX 2 LETTER OF CONSENT.....	84
APPENDIX INTERVIEW GUIDES.....	86
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SGBV SURVIVORS AND IDP CAMP RESIDENTS.....	86
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TRADITIONAL LEADER.....	89
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR HEALTH WORKER.....	91
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MINISTRY OF WOMEN AND HUMAN RIGHTS DEVELOPMENT.....	93
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SGBV LAWYER.....	95
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CAMP MANAGER	97

Chapter 1: Introduction

In this chapter I will present the background to the theme of this thesis and SGBV on a global scale and in Somalia. Furthermore, I will present the objectives and research questions this thesis will aim to answer. This chapter will also outline previous research conducted on this subject, and the relevance of this study, in addition to the limitations of this study.

1.1 Background and content

The theme of this study is sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) against women in the camps for internally displaced people (IDP) in Mogadishu, Somalia. Sexual violence, gender-based violence, and violence against women are terms that are frequently used interchangeably. All these terms refer to violations of the fundamental human rights that perpetuate sex-stereotyped roles that deny human dignity, and the self-determination of the individual and hamper human development. They refer to the physical, sexual and psychological harm that reinforces female subordination and continue male power and control (UNCHR 2003).

On a global scale, violence against women and girls is one of the most prevalent human rights violations. The issue of gender-based violence reaches every corner of the world, and according to world health organization (WHO) data from 2013, one in every three women has been beaten, coerced into sex or abused in some other way – most often by someone she knows. Gender based violence is not only limited to developing countries. However, it is believed to be more common there, although that fact has been disputed, reports indicate that women’s vulnerability especially increases in conflict settings or in context of displacement (Kisuule et al. 2013, 10).

1.2 SGBV in Somalia

Somalia is a country recovering from almost three decades of civil war, resulting in more than two million Somalis being currently displaced. The United Nations’ Refugee Agency reported in 2017 that an estimate of 1.5 million people are internally displaced. The situation of displacement in and around Somalia is complex and changing. In addition to those being internally displaced due to conflict and famine, Somalia is currently experiencing the return of refugees from Kenya and Yemen (UNHCR 2017).

Violence and sexual violence against women in times of conflict has a high incidence. Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) has been a significant feature of the war in Somalia, a country where deeply rooted gender inequality is prevailing (Musse 2015,10).

There have been continuously high levels of violence against women and girls, manifested in sexual violations, female genital mutilation (FGM), physical abuse, and widespread discrimination (Norwegian Church Aid 2016). These issues are common and the male dominance in the community has transformed women into subjects of men, readily coerced to accept and justify violence from men. By and large, there are limited support for survivors of SGBV. The survivors mainly get apologies or compensations from the perpetrators' families and relatives (Norwegian Church Aid 2016).

We know that the customary conventions and code of honor, that used to regulate conflict between clans and ensure that women and children of any clan were protected from violence, have been widely violated during the war. Women and girls have been the targeted for rape, abduction, sexual slavery, and clan-related revenge killings (CISP 10, 2015). Also, due to the conflict, there is little research on the topic. The topic itself; violence, rape and other forms violence against women, is often considered a taboo in Somali culture. However, lately, the topic has been in the public discourse, and lifting the taboo and dealing with the issue is being called on. This thesis aims to better understand SGBV in the context of displacement in Somalia.

1.2 Overall objectives

The aim of this thesis is to understand the causes and consequences of SGBV against IDP women in Mogadishu, Somalia.

1.2.1 Specific Objectives

1. To explore causes of sexual violence against IDP women in Mogadishu, Somalia
2. To identify the consequences of SGBV for survivors in the IDP camp.
3. How do survivors of SGBV cope with their experiences?
4. To assess the services and judicial frameworks that exist to help provide justice for survivors of SGBV.

1.3 Research questions

In order to address the objectives of this study, the following specific research questions have been formulated to examine the theme more closely.

1. What factors can be identified to causes of SGBV against IDP women in Mogadishu Somalia?
2. What socio-psychological consequences are associated with SGBV for survivors in IDP camps?
3. Which coping strategies do IDP women who have experienced SGBV employ?
4. What services, regulatory framework, and actions is there to protect or to bring justice to SGBV survivors?

1.4 Relevance of the study

There has been little scientific research on the topic of SGBV against women in Somalia. The country is recovering from almost three decades of conflict and civil war, which has been a hinder for research and evidence-based policies. There are several reports and some research which has been conducted on the topic of SGBV in IDP camps around the country. However, these reports and researches have been written by non-governmental organizations as evaluations of running programs, or explorative with the aim of creating programs or recommendations. The relevance of this study lies in that it is explorative, and not an evaluation of a specific program. The study and its findings can therefore contribute to cover the knowledge gap in this field. There is also the factor that the topic of SGBV still remains a taboo in the Somali society. This can be relevant in contributing to public discourse and lifting the taboo. The findings of this study can also be relevant as research for policy makers in Somalia. Other researchers and research projects who are interested to further investigate SGBV can also use this study.

1.5 Limitations of the study

There are several limitations to this study. Some of the limitations are as following:

- a. The number of informants. that have contributed to it are not enough to represent the prevalence of SGBV among IDPs in Mogadishu, or the whole of Somalia. They are also not able to represent the general attitudes, and the category of women in the target group are not representative of the female population. The area of research is also

limited, and the situation and events of that area is not representative of SGBV in Somalia.

- b. Collecting data for qualitative research is a time-consuming process. The disposable time I had to collect the data needed to conduct this study was limited to less than ten weeks. Much of this time was spent on making connections to gate keepers which could aid me in recruiting informants. This left less time for observations on the research site and follow-up conversations with the informants and key informants after the interviews. More time with my informants and key informants would have enabled me to collect more data on the different aspects of the life of the informants, the culture on the research site, and attitudes towards SGBV.
- c. Language has also been a limitation of this study. As a Somali speaker myself, I was prepared to conduct all interviews and interaction with the target group in Somali, without the aid of a translator. However, I had not foreseen that different dialects of the participants, or the impact it would have on our communication. The key informants spoke a dialect called “Maay Maay”, which I do not comprehend. Thankfully, they were also able to speak a dialect I could understand too. Yet, the communication was still difficult at times with some of the participants. Some participants also lacked the understanding of certain concepts that were a part of the interview-guide questions, such as “psychological”, “emotional”, and “stigma”. With the use of examples and explanations, however, we were able to reach a mutual understanding most of the time.
- d. Due to the taboo of certain topics related to SGBV, especially sexual themes, many of the informants employed vague and unclear language when addressing some of the topics, making clarifications necessary. Therefore, in the translation of the interviews when transcribing, there may be some words that do not correspond precisely to the informants’ intentions.
- e. During the process of data collection, I was made aware of local-non-governmental organization who tamper with the data they report as statistics in order to secure funds from donors. Therefore, statistics on SGBV were not a reliable source to verify the findings of this study.

- f. I was also not able to recruit key informants that would provide me with valuable information. For example, I came in contact with several police officers in an attempt to recruit them for an interview. However, they all either asked for compensation in form of cash for their time or scheduled a time to meet, but never came to the interviews. After many attempts, I was not successful in recruiting a police officer for an interview and my time in Mogadishu had run out.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

Chapter one: Presents the theme of this study and outlines the background and SGBV in Somalia. It also has the overall, specific objectives, research questions, relevance of the study and the limitations of the study.

Chapter two: Presents Somali history. The civil war and the current political and social status of Somalia, and the causes of displacement for the target group of this study.

Chapter three: This chapter contains the definitions of the different concepts of SGBV. The theoretical perspectives used in this study is also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter four: This chapter presents the qualitative approach to data collection which have been employed in this study, the literature selection criteria, ethical considerations, data collection tools, validity and reliability of the data and data analysis strategy

Chapter five: This chapter discusses causes of SGBV and vulnerability to SGBV in and outside the camp.

Chapter six: This chapter discusses consequences of SGBV, stigma that survivors experience and the coping mechanisms which they employ. The services available to survivors in the camps is also discussed.

Chapter seven: This chapter examines women's customary, formal and religious rights and access to justice and the negotiation between the formal and informal system when seeking justice.

Chapter eight: The last chapter of this thesis presents a summary and conclusion with further recommendations for policies and research.

Chapter 2: Political and social situation in Somalia

This chapter outlines the history of Somalia and the development of the conflict that was ongoing for almost three decades. Understanding the conflict and the current political situation in Somalia today is an important part of understanding SGBV in Somalia, and the cause of why there are so many internally displaced people in the country.

2.1 Pre-Colonial Somalia

In order to understand the case of Somalia and the country's current state and political situation, it is important to analyze the history of Somalia and its people. There are three main themes to the early history of Somalia: contact, conflict, and expansion. Its long coastline, and its position on the north-eastern edge of Sub Saharan Africa, meant that Somalia was never part of the "dark continent". It has for centuries been in touch with other parts of the world and home to settler communities, especially along its coast (Harber 2012, 45). Through contact with the Arabian Peninsula, Somalis quickly adopted Islam. The Early historians and Arab geographers identified Somalis as a warlike people, who hundreds of years ago began their slow expansion from the coast westwards towards Ethiopia and south into what is now northern Kenya (Ibid.).

The Somalis are people of predominantly pastoralist culture, even if their ancient cities have maritime traditions spanning several millennia (Abdullahi 2001, 8). Pastoralism, the movement of households following seasonal grazing patterns, has been practiced among Somalis for centuries. The movement of pastoralist and their livestock are directed by the seasons and by the availability of grass and water (Ibrahim in ed. Gardner and El-Bushra, 2004, 26).

Today the word Somali refers to any inhabitant of Somalia; it also refers to any person of ethnic Somali origin in the horn or elsewhere (Abdullahi 2001, 8). Somalis are easily identifiable as people or even as a "race"; unlike the populations of almost any other sub-Saharan Africa, most Somalis have a common ethnicity, religion, language and to a large extent culture (Harper 2012, 16). There are of course exceptions. There are minority groups in Somalia who have traditionally been marginalized by the majority population. The largest is the Bantu, or Jareer, descendants of slaves and settled farmers. The word "jareer" literally means "those with coarse hair" (Harper 2012, 16). They have mainly lived and worked as

farmers or craftspeople in the fertile inter-riverine region of southern Somalia, but many have been displaced (ibid.).

Much of the country is harsh, arid scrubland, with camels and other hardy animals, watched over by equally hardy nomads in their relentless search for water and pasture. Livestock has for many centuries been the mainstay of the Somali economy, with trading networks stretching across the sea to the Arabian Peninsula, and by land into Kenya and other countries in the region (Harper 2012, 16). Although significantly more money is made from the sale of cattle, sheep and goats, the most precious form of livestock in Somalia is the camel, which plays a central part in the local culture. Camels have traditionally been used in life's most important transactions. They are used for dowry payments, blood money is often paid in camels or their equivalent in cash, as is compensation for injury (Ibid.). In recent years oil and natural gas reserves have been discovered off the Somali coast, but conflict, piracy, and the uncertain political situation at the time have prevented their exploitation (Harper 2012, 19).

2.2 Colonial times

Prior to European colonial arrival Somalis did not have a central state in the sense of a Western bureaucratic state. However, they used the conflict resolution mechanisms of Xeer (traditional law) and Islam for resolving disputes amongst individuals and groups (Elmi 2010, 17). In the imperial era of the late nineteenth century, Britain, Italy, France, and Ethiopia divided the territory inhabited by Somalis; people who self-identified as members of the Somali genealogy traced to common ancestors - among their governments (Besteman 1999, 11). Even though they didn't have many desirable natural resources to plunder by the colonial powers, Somalia was desirable due to its strategic and geographical location (Harper 2012, 46).

In the division of the Somali territory, Britain claimed two areas; the northern coast, and the inland area along the Gulf of Aden, inhabited by pastoralist Somalis. The British had little desire to fully colonize the region, but needed its livestock to feed their armies across the sea in Aden. Between 1884-1889, Britain signed a series of treaties with clans in the area, leading to the establishment of the British Protectorate of Somalia (Harper 2023, 46). The Somalis fought back, and Britain got more than they bargained for: the warrior poet Seyyid Mohammed Abdulle Hassan, the "Mad Mullah", declared jihad and for twenty years fought Britain and other colonial powers until he was defeated in 1920. Throughout his campaign, the Mad Mullah tormented his enemies with words as well as weapons, describing himself as a "wild and stubborn he-camel that knows no harness or bridle" (Harper 2012, 47).

The area west of the river Jubba, also inhabited by pastoralist Somalis as well as farmers on the west bank of the river, became part of the Northern Frontier district of British Kenya (Besteman 1999, 11). Agricultural, agro-pastoralist and pastoralist Somalis from the east bank of the river Jubba, to the boundary with British Somaliland, now belonged to the Italian Somalia. In 1925 Britain surrendered to Italia much of Somali-inhabited territory west of the river Jubba, this leading to it being drawn as a boundary between British Kenya's Somali inhabited Northern Frontier and Italian Somalia (Besteman 1999, 11). When Kenya became independent in 1963, the government in Nairobi refused to accept the demands of the predominantly Somali population in the region to break away and become part of the newly independent Republic of Somalia (Harper 2012, 49) The Ogaden become a part of the Ethiopian empire after being conquered by Ethiopia in 1887 and 1895, although it still continues to be a disputed area in Ethiopia with predominantly Somali inhabitants (Ibid.). In the far north, there was the "French Somali Coast". The French Colony became the independent Republic of Djibouti in 1977.

The colonial boundaries with French Djibouti, Kenya and Ethiopia left much Somali inhabited territory within these neighboring states. The colonial legacy of illegitimate boundaries took on enormous significance in the pastoral economy, where family members were separated from each other, and from critical grazing areas (Besteman 1999, 12).

2.3. Independence

During the 1940s and 1950s, party political activity was starting to take place in *Somalia Italiana*; The Somalia Youth Club was formed in 1943, later developing into one of the main political parties, Somali Youth League. Somalis at the time were to some degree being prepared for independence. Municipal elections were held in 1954, and by 1956 the Italians had handed much of the administration over to the Somalis. In 1960, both British Somaliland and Italian Somalia became independent, uniting on the 1st of July, becoming the Republic of Somalia (Harper 2012, 52).

In 1969, everything changed. On October 15th, the president Abdi Rashid Ali Sharmarke was killed by a policeman in what appeared to be an act of revenge linked to a clan dispute. Within a week the military took over key installations in Mogadishu, banning political parties and arresting senior politicians. The country would from there be controlled by a Supreme Revolutionary Council lead by head of the army General Siad Barre. This coup leader would

stay in power for more than 20 years, introducing a form of “scientific socialism” (Harper 2012, 54). Barre also attempted to eradicate the clan, one of the most fundamental building blocks in Somali society. One of the key slogans for Somalia was “Tribalism divides, Socialism unites”. Somalis were forbidden to refer to each other in terms of their clan, instructed instead to address one another as *jaale*, which meant “comrade” or “friend”. Like their new communist allies in the Soviet Union and North Korea, Somalis were encouraged to take part in gymnastic displays and public works.

For the first time, in 1972, a written form of the Somali language was introduced, as part of an effort to sweep away “old-fashioned” clannish oral culture. This was followed by a mass literacy campaign in 1974 (Ibid.). More than thirty thousand urban students and teachers were sent to the rural areas to teach literacy, basic hygiene, and the fundamentals of socialism to their nomadic host families and communities (Harper 2012, 55).

2.4 The Civil war

At a macro level, the colonial legacy has played a significant role in the Somali conflict. After the independence, Somalia spent most of its resources regaining its lost territories. The current collapse of the Somali states is rooted in the 1977 war between Somalia and Ethiopia over the Somali inhabited “Ogaden” region. Due to direct military intervention from the Soviet Union and Cuba, Somalia lost the war (Elmi 2010, 19). Injustices that stemmed from the use and abuse of power during the period of the Somali state (1960-1991) produced many grievances that Somalis now have against each other (Elmi 2010, 19). Whatever the exact nature and functions of kinship and clanship may have been in the pre-colonial period; clan as a construct of collective identity, as a group construct, was transformed under colonial rule because it became the only legal identity the “natives” were allowed, and the only means by which they could gain access to the state. The colonial state continuously reinforced this group identity, both through its courts and its policy of collective punishment – a policy by which whole clans or sub clans were punished for the transgressions of individuals – that remained the touch-stone of colonial administration up to the eve of political independence in 1960 (Kapteijns 2012, 76). Since the colonial administration insisted on ruling the Somalis as a clan and fractions of clans, the latter began to compete with each other through and for the state. Thus, the construct of clan, undoubtedly drawing on its precolonial roots, became an instrument of power, a political instrument in the hands of the colonial administrators and their Somali subjects alike (Ibid.).

In 1979, military officers from the Majeerteen clan attempted to overthrow the regime. In response, the Barre government used the national army and police to punish civilian members of the Majeerteen clan, and the military was involved in the killing of civilians, mass abuses, and the destruction of areas inhabited by the clan (Elmi 2010, 18). As more clans began to challenge the state, the Barre regime began to punish innocent civilians; murdering many people in Hargeysa and Bur'ó in the former British Somaliland in 1988. Barre was overthrown in 1991, most of the country's institutions, as well as law and order were destroyed and anarchy was the new normal (ibid.).

After Barre, the opposition failed to fill the power vacuum, as no fraction had the power to dominate the other groups militarily. They also failed to reach a negotiated settlement. As a result, the different clans kept fighting against each other, the major clans fighting for control, the others for survival. Militias were organized along clan lines, and in the 1990s it was common that clan X had captured a particular city or occupying important locations in the capital city. Even the breakaway region of Somaliland was not spared this intra-clan warfare, and the northern clans fought a bitter civil war in the north (Elmi 2012, 18).

These groups either fought each other, or formed alliances with one another, only to break apart within a short period of time (Harper 2012, 57). Accompanying the death and destruction came hunger. It soon developed into what was essentially a man-made famine; much of Somalia's most fertile land, situated between the rivers Juba and Shebelle, became a battleground for rival fractions. Food could not be moved around the country without being looted by clan militias. People started to starve to death, especially in parts of southern and central Somalia (Ibid, 19). Following this, there were attempts of intervention from the UN and US forces. Some Somali fractions started to perceive the armed foreign peacekeepers as if they were members of a rival clan, which could only be dealt with violently, especially when they behaved in what appeared to be a provocative way.

The era of direct interventions was over: it was now time for a long succession of internally sponsored peace conferences, held at a safe distance in the neighboring countries of Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti (ibid.). These conferences, with hundreds of delegates representing clans, political parties, and other interest groups, dragged on for months and sometimes even years, costing the United Nations, the African Union, the European Union, and others, millions of dollars. These meetings failed to bring peace to Somalia, but it was the foreign powers' way

to keep up façade that they were doing something to restore peace in Somalia without risking any direct involvement (Harper 2012, 64).

2.5 The causes of displacement today for the IDP.

During the past decade, clan-based violence has morphed into a more ideologically driven conflict in which the dominant ‘players’ are Al-Shabaab, the national defense forces, and international military, including the African peace-keeping mission (AMISOM), and the USA (through drone attacks) (Gardner and El-Bushra 2016).

The conflict in Somalia is still ongoing, with the Al-Qaida affiliated terror organization being in the center of the conflict. They continue to do targeted attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure with suicide bombings and improvised explosive devices that have devastating impacts (Human rights watch, 2014). Fighting, linked to both military operations against Al-Shabab and clan fighting over recourses and political power, and forced evictions, resulted in new civilian displacements and casualties (Ibid.). There is currently AMISOM peacekeeping forces from Uganda and Burundi in the country, assisting the national army in fighting Al-Shabab, expanding government-controlled areas and keeping the peace in the areas they already control, such as Mogadishu. However, there are still terrorist attacks carried out by Al-Shabab: most recently the deadliest attack in Somali history, with over 400 casualties in central Mogadishu.

The election of Somalia’s parliament in December 2016 and President in February 2017 were important milestones for the country’s post-conflict transformation, and created opportunities to accelerate progress on national priorities such as a security sector reform; completing the constitutional review process; building State institutions and local government; continuing dialogue with Somaliland; and improving public management and revenue collections (UNHCR, 2017).

There are internally displaced people in all parts of the country, and the displacement in Somalia is complex: in addition to those who flee from internal conflict, there are also large groups of returnees from Kenya and Yemen. Throughout the intense fighting and the famine that followed it, there was a chronic and massive displacement, and Mogadishu became home for many (CISP, 2015). There is more security in the cities where the government has more control, and there is an availability of health services and food availability for the internally displaced people. Most of the IDPs and the vulnerable population depend heavily on

humanitarian aid, due to lack of employment and opportunities (CISP, 2015). The organizations that work with internally displaced people are based in the big cities such as Mogadishu, but for security reasons may not travel to the closest city, Afgoye. Therefore, there are large camps and settlements of displaced people seeking protection from conflict, or a temporary shelter from the ongoing draught on the outskirts of Mogadishu, the site of this study.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework and Theoretical Perspective

In the first section of this chapter I will outline the concepts of SGBV and its compositions. In the second section of this chapter I present the theoretical perspective of the study.

3.1 Concepts of SGBV

SGBV takes many forms, these forms of SGBV are categorized under four umbrellas: sexual violence, physical and socio-economic violence, and psychological violence. SGBV against women and girls have become a central protection concern in displacement situations (UNHCR 2012, 3).

3.1 .1 Sexual violence.

Sexual violence encompasses any unwanted sexual act or attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic with intent of sexual exploitation, without consent by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim (WHO 2002). In most literature, sexual violence is mainly in reference to rape and defilement, however it also includes but is not limited to:

- Unwanted sexual advances or sexual harassment;
- “customary” forms of sexual violence, such as forced marriage or cohabitation, and wife inheritance (WHO 2012).

Rape/defilement

Rape is defined as psychically forced or otherwise coerced penetration- even if slight- of the vulva or anus, using a penis, other body parts, or objects. The attempt to do so is known as attempted rape and the rape of a person involving two or more persons is known as gang rape (WHO 2002). Defilement is the term used for sexual abuse of children.

The Somali society has two distinct terms for acts of sexual aggression; “Kufsi”, which is most closely related to the western term rape, and “faro-xumeyn”, which may be translated to sexual assault. These terms are often interchangeable (Ibrahim in ed. Gardner and El-Bushra 2004, 76). Conventionally, Somalis define “kufsi” as penetrative sexual intercourse with a woman by an assailant using force against her will. The term “kufsi” comes from “kuf”,

which literally translates “to fall down”, implying both the use of force to make one fall down and a drop in value of the honor and prestige of those who are forced to fall (Ibid).

Early forced marriage

Marriage is encouraged and expected in Islam and in Somali tradition. A man is expected to provide for the family just as a woman is expected to bear and nurture children. However, marriage has significance beyond the nuclear family. It is an institution vital to the maintenance of the social, economic, and political organization that underpins a nomadic pastoral society. It has been developed and maintained through strongly defined rules and customs (Musse Ahmed in ed. Garder and El-Bushra 2004, 51). Commonly, marriages are arranged by the spouses’ elder kinsmen. There are two types of marriage: the first, and most common kind, is where the couple has been courting and the man approaches the relatives of the woman to seek consent to marry. The second type of marriage are those arranged, sometimes without the consent of one or both of the couple (Ibid.). Forced marriage is the latter type of marriage. Age, however, is not a factor when arranging a marriage. Girls are eligible for marriage from the age of puberty, when they are able to bear children. The girl is selected mainly for admirable characteristics possessed by her family and her rating amongst her peers (Musse Ahmed in ed. Garder and El-Bushra 2004, 53).

Early and forced marriage is also a form of sexual abuse, as it facilitates consensual sex between a minor and an oftentimes adult male. From the age of maturity, once the marriage contract between the husband and the bride’s family is entered, the child bride is expected to fulfill her duties as a wife; including sexual intercourse with her husband.

There is a lot of forced marriage. You sometimes see young girls, girls you wouldn’t imagine are more than 12 years of age, small short girls. They sometimes look younger than they are because of the conditions they were brought up under. In addition to being that small, they get married off. Giving birth will be difficult for a child, in addition to already being small she was most likely circumcised in the pharaonic style, and not in the less invasive way; she might even die while giving birth.

(Key informant, Camp manager).

This comment from the key informant and Camp Manager illustrates the commonality of early and forced marriage in the IDP camp communities and the negative impact on young

girls' lives. However, marriage before the age of 18 is a fundamental violation of human rights. Several factors cooperate to place girls at risk of early forced marriage, such as poverty, the perception that marriage will provide "protection", family honor, social norms or religion.

3.1.2 Psychological - Emotional Violence

Psychological and emotional violence is characterized by verbal abuse and humiliation that is insulting, degrading, and demeaning. Psychological abuse compels the victim to engage in humiliating acts in public or private. The perpetrators may gain enough control over a person to isolate them from friends and family, restricting their movement along with deprivation of liberty or the restriction of movement. The perpetrator can be anyone in a position of power and control over the victim; the perpetrators are often spouses, intimate partners, or family members in positions of power (UNCHR 2003). There is limited information related to emotional violence against women in their homes and at community level. However, emotional violence is more common than other forms of violence in families (Kisuule et.al. 2013, 35). The informants reported that emotional violence is common in the IDP community, and that husbands quarrel with their wives, which sometimes escalates to physical violence. However, my informants did not share experiencing psychological violence directly themselves, and the findings primarily examine physical and sexual violence.

3.1.3 Physical Violence

Physical violence can take many shapes and forms. Physical assault in the form of beating, punching, kicking, biting, burning, maiming, or killing with or without weapons are forms of physical violence (UNHCR 2003). Physical violence is often found in combination with other forms of sexual and gender-based violence, such as psychological violence. Physical violence can be perpetrated by spouse, intimate partner, family member, friend, acquaintance, stranger, anyone in a position of power, or members of parties to a conflict (Ibid.).

According to the informants that were interviewed for this thesis, are incidents of physical violence amongst inhabitants in the camps common, especially physical violence amongst married couples in the form of beating. Early feminism constructed partner violence as one of the manifestations of male domination over women, which allegedly stemmed from patriarchal relations in society (Dobash & Dobash 1979 in Burianek 2015, 12). In the IDP society, the patriarchal culture still has a strong standing.

The first time he had beaten me up badly, but denied it, even though I had bruises on my body. He claimed I had been in a fight with another woman, and when I wouldn't listen to him he had to discipline me. I was so upset because he lied about beating me, I felt betrayed. He talked to my parents and persuaded them he did nothing wrong. My parents then came to me and asked me to get back with him.

(Informant 4)

This informant is a young single mother who was in an abusive relationship with a husband that was spending their money on narcotics and prostitutes. Despite the obvious issues in her marriage, her family encouraged her to reunite with her husband to avoid the shame of a divorced daughter.

3.1.4 Economic Violence

Economic violence encapsulates different forms of discrimination, and denial of opportunities and services. Examples are exclusion, and denial of access to education, health assistance, employment, or property rights. Social exclusion based on sexual orientation can also be an act of economic violence (UNHCR 2003). Obstructive legislative practices that facilitate denial of access to exercise and enjoy civil, social, economic, cultural and political rights, for women is an act of economic violence. Economic violence can be perpetrated by family, community, institutions, and the state (Ibid.).

In the Somali context, the form of economic violence most relevant is when the male abuser maintains control of the family finances, deciding without regard to women how the money should be spent or saved, thereby reducing women to be completely dependent for money to meet their personal needs. It may involve putting women on a strict allowance or forcing them to beg for money (UNIFEM 1999 in Fawole 2008). Economic violence may also include withholding or restricting funds needed for necessities such as food and clothing, taking women's money, denying independent access to money, excluding women from financial decision making, and damaging their property. One of the informants of this study shared an example of economic violence in the IDP community; the women must partake in income earning activities, but however, there are husbands who demand control over the wife's income or food ration cards, too. He may have several wives and households he must provide for, requiring him to have full control of all the finances. Another example is men with drug

addictions, who force their women to give them their income to sustain his addiction, without regard to her and the children's necessities, such as food.

3.2 Theoretical Perspectives o

In this section I present the theoretical framework by exploring the concepts of power and feminism as they have been analyzed by different scholars and how they are applied to understand SGBV.

3.2.1 Definition of Power

In social and political theory power is often regarded as an essentially contested concept, and there is no doubt that the literature on power is marked by a deep, widespread, and seemingly intractable disagreement over how the term power should be understood (Allen 2016).

Boulding (1989) understands power as a word with many meanings; its widest meaning being that of a potential for change. For individual human beings, power is the ability to get what one wants. The term is also used to describe the ability to achieve common ends for families, groups, organizations of all kinds, churches, corporations, political parties, national states, and so on. According to Boulding, the general concept of power is confused with the idea of "force", which is a much narrower concept (1989,16). Force is linked to the concept of domination, which is only a small part of the general nature of power. There is a certain tendency amongst people to identify power with the capacity for victory; overcoming another person, their own will, or institution (Ibid).

The classic formulation of the former definition is offered by Max Weber, who defines power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance ... " (Weber 1974, 53 in Allen 2016). Robert Dahl offers a similar definition of what he calls an "intuitive idea of power" according to which "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do" (Dahl 1957, 202-03, Allen 2016). Dahls definition sparked a lively debate that carried on until the mid-1970s; however, even his best-known critics seemed to agree with his basic definition of power as an exercise of power-over (Allen 2016). Another way of conceptualizing power is power-to. A classic articulation of this definition (as power-to) is offered by Thomas Hobbes: power is a person's "present means ... to obtain some future apparent good" (Hobbes 1984 (1641), 150 in Allen 2016). Arguing in favor of this way of conceptualizing power, Hanna Pitkin suggests, she writes, "that power is something – anything – which makes or renders

somebody able to do, capable of doing. Power is capacity, potential, ability, or wherewithal (Pitkin 1972, 276 in Allen 2016).

Opposed to defining power as one agency dominating another, Foucault defined power as control through a system (although he avoided the use of such general and abstract terms). He devoted years to research concerning discipline and punishment, and the obvious use of social sanctions to prevent deviant behavior to change the behavior to miscreants back to the group norm (McFarland in Ed. Wright 2015, 762). Michael Foucault's influential analysis presupposes that power is a kind of power-over, and he puts it: "if we speak of the structures or the mechanisms of power, it is only insofar as we suppose that certain persons exercise power over others" (1983, 217 in Allen 2016). This definition of power has two noticeable features: power is understood in terms of power-over relations, and it is defined in terms of its actual exercise (Ibid). One of Foucault's most fertile insights into the workings of power at the micro political level is his identification of the body and sexuality as the direct locus of social control. His analysis of power gives a valuable insight into how we can apply power to gender and feminist theory.

3.2.2 Feminist theories and Foucault's Analysis on Power

The gendered nature of violence has been established by activism and academic work in feminism for over 30 years (Browmiller 1975 in Segal & P. Demos 2013, 18). Although any general definition of feminism would no doubt be controversial, it seems undeniable that much work in feminist theory is devoted to the tasks of critiquing women's subordination, analyzing the intersections between sexism and other forms of subordination such as racism, heterosexism, class oppression, and envisioning the possibilities for both individual and collective resistance to such subordination (Allen 2016). It is possible to identify three main ways in which feminists have conceptualized power: 1) as a resource to be (re)distributed, 2) as domination, 3) and as empowerment (Ibid.). There are also those who conceptualize power as a resource; they understand power as a positive social good that is currently unequally distributed amongst women and men. For feminists who understand power in this way, the goal is to redistribute this resource so that women will have equal power to men. Implicit in this view is the assumption that power is "a kind of stuff that can be possessed by individuals in greater or lesser amounts" (Young 1990, 31 in Allen 2016). Young, criticized the redistributive model, understanding power in relation to domination, and not as a resource or critical social good. There are also those feminists who want to avoid masculinist

connotations to power and argue for a reconceptualization of power as capacity or ability, specifically the capacity to empower or transform oneself and others. These feminists understand power as transformative and empowering- and a power-to (Allen 2016).

Simone Beauvoir's "The Second Sex" is a classic in the feminist phenomenological approach to theorizing male domination. Her text delivers an excellent analysis of women's situation: the social, cultural, historical, and economic conditions that define their existence. Her basic diagnosis of women's situation relies on the distinction between for-itself: self-conscious subjectivity that is capable of freedom and transcendence - and being in-itself: the un-self-conscious things that are incapable of freedom and hindered in immanence. Beauvoir argues that whereas men have assumed the status of the transcendent subject, women have been demoted to the status of the immanent other (Beauvoir 1974 in Allen 2016). Beauvoir suggests that women are partly responsible for submitting to the status of the other in order to avoid the anguish of authentic existence. However, she maintains that women are oppressed because they are compelled to assume the status of the Other, doomed to immanence. Women's situation is thus marked by a basic tension between transcendence and immanence: as self-conscious human beings, they are capable of transcendence, but they are compelled into immanence by cultural and social conditions that deny them that transcendence (Beauvoir 1974 in Allen 2016).

Foucauldian-influenced feminists concentrate on exposing the localized forms that gender power relations take at the micro-political level, to determine concrete possibilities for resistance and social change. When pursuing this project, feminist scholars have drawn on Foucault's analysis of the productive dimension of punitive power which is exercised outside the narrowly defined political realm, in order to examine the workings of power in women's everyday life (Armstrong 2003). An analysis of power relations is central to the feminist project of understanding the nature and causes of women's subordination. Drawing on the traditional model of repression, many types of feminist theory have assumed that the oppression of women can be explained by patriarchal social structures which secure power of men over women (Armstrong 2003). The presence of power on the micro-level through politics, cultural and religion is a relevant concept in the analysis of the social and cultural drives of SGBV against vulnerable internally displaced women.

It is a common theme among rapists that the focus is on dominating the victim, rather than simply seeking sexual gratification. It has also been suggested that rape, and the threat of rape, even have socio-political motives at the macro-sociological level. Rape, the threat of rape, and the social domination of women have a long history of being linked to strongly patriarchal societies. In the late 18th century, the danger of rape was used to justify women's place in the home, using fear of rape as an excuse to restrict women from working or traveling unescorted outside the home (Brownmiller 1975, Clark 187 in Johnson 2014, 1112).

However, this assumption is being called into question by some feminist who are concerned to counter what they regard as the oversimplified conception of power relations this view entails, as well as its problematic implications that women are simply the passive victims of male power (Armstrong 2003). In this context, Foucault's work in power has been used by some feminist to develop a more complex analysis of the relations between gender and power, which avoids the assumption that the oppression of women is caused in any simple way by men's possession of power (Ibid.). Foucault's notion that power is constitutive of that upon which it acts has enabled feminist to explore the often-complicated ways in which women's experiences, self-understandings, comportment, and capacities are constructed by the power relations which they are seeking to transform (Ibid.)

3.2.3 Manhood, Feminism and Conflict

Gender relations is seen to shape the dynamics of every site of human interaction, from the household to the international arena. It has expression in physique; how women's and men's bodies are nourished, trained, and deployed, how vulnerable they are to attack, what mobility they have. It is expressed in economics: how money, property, and other resources are disputed between the sexes (Giles and Hyndman 2004, 6). It structures the social sphere: who has initiative in the community and the authority in the family, and who is dependent. And of course, gender inequality colors the statistics of political leadership in most countries men predominate among government officeholders, the membership of representative assemblies, and senior executives (Ibid, 29).

Gender relations make women play particular roles in society, and patriarchal power relations increase their vulnerability, while diminishing their power to make and shape decisions (El-Bushra and Gardner 2016). Not very surprisingly, this is also the case in Somalia. Feminist researchers working on gender and violence in a fragile context have focused particularly on the interconnections between gender and violence.

Issues of men and masculinity have long played a part in feminist approaches to development. Feminists working in development have used gender analysis to highlight the different identities and roles of men and women, and the unequal power relations between them (Ibid.).

Somalia is a patriarchal society, where men are the heads of family and considered the decision makers. However, El-Bushra and Gardner's research (2016) suggest that the ideal of Somali manhood is not predicated on violence or on the violent oppression of women. The Somali concept of manhood, *raganimo*, is a dynamic one; attaining and maintaining it requires a man to master skills, cultivate qualities, and repeatedly proving himself throughout his lifetime. The transition to manhood is marked by marriage and fatherhood, which is considered a man's primary purpose on earth. A Somali man's reputation, status, and power continue to depend on how well he is judged to fulfill his obligations to family and clan, and how far he demonstrates mastery of the ideal knowledge, skills, and qualities of a man (ibid.). A man is thought to be ordained by God as responsible for the family; to be its leader, manager, and shield. Responsible for paying clan dues, men and boys were described as the fence of the family - the protection between the family and the outside world. A man's responsibility also include payment of blood money (blood money is compensation offered to families for their killed or severely injured family member) and clan contributions on behalf of family members (El-Bushra and Gardner 2016).

By the time their sons are old enough to take over most of the labor of the family, adult men transition to elder status and can participate in clan elders' meetings. Clan elders are expected to provide ideas and improve quality of life (El-Bushra and Gardner 2016). The most respected and senior elders are those who are chosen to represent their clansmen as their lineage leaders, as they are considered indispensable assets when it comes to resolving conflict and other clan matters. Their collective mission is to deliberate, negotiate, build alliances, declare war and peace, and exercise authority based on interpretations of customary law (*xeer*). This requires extensive knowledge of people, places, of *xeer*, mediation skills, powers of persuasion, and a good memory for poetry and proverbs (Ibid.).

El-Bushra and Gardner's study (2016) found that society's expectation of men, as outlined above, continues till this day to be the essential criteria against which men across the country are measured, and measure themselves. The men in their study spoke of being unable to fulfill their gender specific responsibilities due to a lack of recourses, and most importantly,

security. In many families, women and children have also stepped in as income providers in the family; this is a huge shift of gender roles. Although, even if women have increasingly taken over some of the traditional male responsibilities, the traditional roles of women still seem to be within most women's reach even while their lives may be characterized by violence, poverty, and marginalization.

The models of masculinity available to Somali men in Somalia, and the range of options open for the realization of these models, have been affected by war, displacement, and change of state. For many Somali men, the collapse of state – and hence employment - in 1991 wiped out status, self-respect, security, and income, virtually overnight. This was experienced as an existential catastrophe for many men, and some still have not recovered (El-Bushra and Gardner 2016).

Work on intersectionality tells us that power relations between different groups are complex, and individuals experience powerfulness as well as powerlessness depending on their personal identity and experience in a particular place or time. How do feminists deal with the undeniable fact that not all men are equal, and that there are some men who are oppressed and vulnerable? And if men can be vulnerable, what are the implications of this; on the one hand, for the welfare of women and families, and on the other, for evolutions of male-centric institutions, including the state (El-Bushra and Gardner 2016)? Men interviewed in El-Bushra and Gardner's study described several traumatic experiences resulting from war-related hostilities, state collapse, and forced displacement. The loss of employment and failure to regain a position of commensurate status was a major contributor to distress. Many men had experience as combatants, which left different degrees of traumatic stress. Others mentioned drug addiction, separation from family, loss of assets, insecurity, and the threat of revenge killings (Ibid.). This indicates a strong links between conflict-related trauma, unemployment or financial dependency on others, and family breakdown. When family members have to take care of a mentally ill adult male or maintain his khat addiction, this can contribute to domestic violence and family poverty, according to El-Bushra and Gardner (2016). Another consequence noted by both women and girls have included vulnerability to forms of gender-based exploitation and violence (such as sexual violence and/or early marriage), diminished household capacity in the face of poverty, and adult male financial dependency on women's and children's labor.

El-Bushra and Gardner (2016) found that the challenge of protecting their family from poverty and violence is even greater for men from minority clans, which have been especially disempowered by the war and the collapse of the institutions of security and justice. They already had a disadvantageous position to provide and secure their family.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Data collection tools

This chapter will present the methodological approach to the study and why the chosen methods have been more suitable to answer the research questions than other approaches. This study was conducted with a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis. In this study, semi-structured interviews with the target group and key informants are the primary sources of information, in addition to observations, desk study, and informal conversation.

4.1 Research Design – Qualitative research

Denzin and Lincoln offer a generic definition of Qualitative research as a situated activity that locates the observer in the world (Denzin and Collin 2018, 10). Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to self (ibid.). At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means qualitative research study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Collin 2018, 10).

Qualitative interviews were the best suited method for the primary target group of this study. The informants were all illiterate, making semi-structured interviews a good method to collect their narratives. Qualitative methods allowed me to observe the informants in their natural context. By being in their environment, I could learn more about their life, culture and problems. The lack of verifiable statistics also strengthens the relevance of a qualitative study on this theme.

4.2 Research site/Time frame

This study was conducted in the capital of Somalia, Mogadishu from 1. July – 30. August 2017. After many years of conflict, the re-building efforts of the country have been localized in the capital. In the capital, there are also several camps for the internally displaced. People that flee from conflicts in other regions temporarily settle in camps on the outskirts and in the city to seek refuge from the ongoing conflict, draught, or other issues. The IDP camps on the outskirts of Mogadishu stretch as far as to the next town of Afgoye. Previously, IDP used to settle and make temporary shelter in abandoned government buildings, schools, and hospitals. Now that the government has control in larger areas outside the city and also has claimed

back many of the buildings that were previously occupied, the IDP have settled outside the city. I selected one of these camps as my research site. Before traveling for field work, I had reached out to a worker from International Organization for Migration (IOM) that works in Mogadishu. IOM works with several local NGOs that work with SGBV in Mogadishu. My acquaintance from IOM was helpful, and connected me to a local organization that worked with several camps in Mogadishu. The organization provides the women in that particular camp with solar lamps along with medical services and psycho-social support to SGBV victims, with referral to hospital and legal aid. They also give SGBV survivors in that camp dignity kits and some money. The organization put me in contact with one of the camp managers at a camp who invited me there to get to know her and its inhabitants

At the time of when the fieldwork was conducted, the camp's manager said there were exactly 1447 households there. She defined a household as a family sharing a shelter. The area on the outskirts of Mogadishu consisted of approximately 40 IDP camps. I had chosen one of these camps to conduct my research. There were times of instability, and the camps' inhabitants were forced to re-locate, but this time they had been living there for some time. During that time, there had arrived a large group of new arrivals from Lower-Shabelle due to conflict.

Some of the camps' inhabitants live in tin-roof houses, there are those who live in larger makeshift tents as shelters, others have small tents made of clothes and plastic bags, and the new arrivals that were living in the school that was built for the children because of lack of resources for supplies to build them shelters. The newly arrived IDPs do not have money for the wood and plastic covers that are used to make the shelters.

The Camp manager does not describe the households in the camp as traditional families, a traditional family being two parents with their children, and possibly grandparents. In the camp, there are mostly women and children, consisting of many divorced women and orphaned children. There are some of the women who arrive with their husbands and children, but that is often not the case. Some of the women in the camp are widows, and some of the men were left behind on the farms. The men that do live in the camp mostly work in the city as day time laborers, with wagon transportation, as waiters in restaurants and hotels, and in construction. Exactly how many men live in the camp are uncertain due to the lack of data. However, my observations tell me that women and their children are a majority here. Also, according to my findings, unemployment amongst the men in the camp is quite common,

especially amongst the married men where the wife has a chance to earn an income through odd jobs.

4.3 Target groups and selection procedure

4.3.1 Primary target group

The target group for this study was primarily women that reside in IDP camp, and who had experienced sexual or physical violence. Women who had experienced other forms of SGBV, were not included. Although SGBV is not restricted to the camps and happens in all residential areas, I chose to focus on the women in the camps because they are an especially vulnerable due to their living conditions and poverty.

Regarding recruitment, the camp manager was essential in this process, she was the gatekeeper to gain access to the participants. She knew her neighbors very well and was a trusted member of the community. I presented the study and my intentions for recruiting women to participate in the study to the camp manager. She gave me her approval to conduct interviews in the camp and agreed to help recruit participants from the target group to the study. The camp manager's approval gave me legitimacy as a guest in the camp conducting a study on SGBV. As the camp manager, who knows the women in the camp, she was able to suggest to me women I could recruit for interviews. In total, I recruited five women from the camp, four women who had experienced SGBV and one as a key informant. Three of the women had experienced rape and one attempted rape and physical assault. I had set age as a recruitment criteria, all the informants had to be at least 25 years for ethical reasons, which will be discussed later in this chapter. All the women who were recruited were aged between 26-50 years approximately.

Informant 1 is a fifty-year-old woman. She has nine children and lives in the camp with her husband and most of her children. They came from south-Somali and has been living in the camp for the past 4 years. They left their village because they were chased away by an armed group. She and other women experienced physical assault and attempted rape. That was the reason for their family leaving for the camp. She works as a volunteer, cooking food in the camp.

Informant 2 is a 40-year-old woman living in the camp with her mother and five children. They left their village because of hunger and conflict. She was raped while travelling to the

camp in Mogadishu. She works as a volunteer, cooking food in the camp, she also works as a cleaner in the city sometimes.

Informant 3 is a 26-year-old woman and a single mother living in the camp with her children. She was raped while travelling to where her family was living, by two men. After arriving in the camp, she was attempted raped by a man she was cleaning for too. She earns money to support her children by cleaning for people in the City.

Informant 4 is a 35-year-old single mother living in the camp with her children. While travelling to the camp, she and her daughter were raped by two men. She sells cloths she makes in the city, to support her children.

4.3.2 Key informants

To supplement the information from the target primary group I also conducted in total 6 interviews. A nurse from the local-NGO (28-year-old woman), one elder from the camp (50-year-old man), a camp manager (34-year-old woman), a 50-year-old IDP woman, a worker from the Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development (25-year-old woman) and a lawyer from a local-NGO (34-year-old man). Some of the key informants were recruited from different meetings I attended, which was hosted by the organization I was observing and other local-NGOs that they cooperate with on SGBV issues. The key informant from the Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development was referred to me by one of the heads of the ministry, after I got in touch with them to interview the Minister herself. The key informants were recruited for their specific knowledge on SGBV, IDPs, Women's health, Justice for survivors of SGBV, Somali Customary law and Gender Policies.

4.4 Data collection tools

Qualitative research involves the studied use of and collection of a variety of empirical materials - case study, personal experience, introspection, interviews, and cultural texts and productions, along with observational, historical, intersectional, and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individual lives (Denzin and Collins 2018,10). Therefore, in order to address the objectives of the study and to answer the research questions, I employed several methods of data collection.

4.4.1 Desk study

While in Somalia, I collected relevant documents drafted by NGOs and local-NGOs about SGBV in Somalia and the work they do. The local organizations that work with SGBV put consolidated their cases to create a report on the number of incidents of SGBV in the region. The local organization that I volunteered to work with gave me access to these monthly reports for the year of 2017, in addition to other reports on SGBV. I also contacted the Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development that sent me their Gender Policy, and with the help of one of my key informants, which is a lawyer for SGBV victims I found the Somali Constitution, Penal law and Civil Law in English online to study in order to understand Somali Women's legal rights. Studying these documents was useful to my study because they gave me an insight on how SGBV has been addressed in previous laws and the plans to address SGBV in the future. The consolidated reports from the NGOs and local-NGOs have not been useful to this study. I had learned many of the numbers were exaggerated and did not reflect the truth about SGBV prevalence in the research area.

4.4.2 Interviews

Interviews are most importantly a form of communication; a means of extracting different forms of information from individuals and groups (Byrne 2004,180). The interactive nature of this practice means that interviewing is a highly flexible, but also a somewhat unpredictable form of social research. When thinking about interviewing as a tool of social research, we need to be aware of the many different variables which will affect the outcome. These will include who is doing the interview, who is being interviewed, the location in which the interview is taking place, and the form of questioning (Ibid.).

For this study, I conducted qualitative interviews with participants from my primary target group, as well as key informants. The term qualitative interview generally refers to in-depth, loosely or semi-structured interviews and these have been referred to as “conversations with a purpose (Burgess, cited in Mason, 1996, 38 in Byrne 2004, 181). The purpose is to encourage the interviewee to talk, perhaps at some length about a particular issue or range of topic (Ibid.). Open ended and flexible questions are likely to get more considered responses than closed questions and therefore provide better access to interviewees' views, interpretations of events, understandings, experiences, and opinions (Byrne 2004, 182).

I had a hypothesis that the informants from my primary target group were likely to be illiterate and that this would be the most beneficial approach of data collection, with a questionnaire being a less practical option as they would not be able to fill out in writing. As I had predicted all four of the informants I had interviewed from the primary target group, plus two of the key informants were illiterate and unable to read or write. They had had no schooling because of their nomadic, rural or farming background, or as a result of the lack of access to education due to the conflict. For this reason, interviews were an important data collection tool for this study. The informants were able to freely share their stories, not hindered by their lack of education. I was able to observe their attitudes towards the topics we discussed, the underlying meanings and identify topics which were taboo to talk about otherwise in the society.

One of the reasons why qualitative interviewing is a particularly suitable method for accessing complex issues is that it is a flexible medium, and that it to a certain extent allows interviewees to speak in their own voices and their own language (Byrne 2004, 182). Thus, qualitative interviewing has been particularly attractive to researchers who want to explore voices and experiences which they believe have been ignored, misinterpreted, or suppressed in the past (Ibid.). The method also allows flexibility in allowing research topics to be approached in a variety of ways. Issues that might be sensitive, such as violence, which interviewees might be reluctant to talk about, can be approached with sensitivity to open up dialogue and thus produce fuller accounts (Byrne 2004, 182) Therefore, with the sensitive topic of SGBV, semi-structured, open ended qualitative interviewing was the main data-collecting tool for this study.

The openness and flexibility of a semi-structured interview allowed the participants to speak freely without restriction in how to answer the question. The participants gave me feedback saying that “it was like a normal conversation”, despite most of the questions being pre-prepared. I did ask follow-up questions to encourage the participants and to get more detailed information. However, at times I had to lead the participant back to the original question and the purpose of it. Some of the participants were too unstructured in how they answered certain questions, sometimes due to misunderstandings on my part in how I asked the questions.

I conducted the interviews in Somali, without an interpreter so as to make the communication flow better without a third person. I was also hoping that speaking the language as a

researcher would give me more of an “insider” status, making the interviewees more comfortable, in contrast to a researcher that may not speak the language and who would need assistance from a translator. I was confident in my ability to speak Somali and conduct the interviews on my own. However, I had not foreseen was that the members of the target group spoke Somali with a heavy accent of the “May” dialect that is spoken by the Bantu, Rahanweyn, and other groups. I am familiar with the dialect, but have a poor understanding of it. They were mostly able to understand me, as the participants were understanding of why I didn’t speak the language perfectly. I had told them in advance that I did not grow up in Somalia myself. Some of the participants who had a strong May accent were still very cooperative in attempting their best to speak slowly and clearly, so that I would be able to understand what they were trying to convey to me.

I drafted the interview guides with the help of someone with a better grasp of the language, well aware of my own lingual shortcomings. There were several interview guides, one for the target group, and a separate for each of the key informants, as they belonged to different professional groups. The interview guide for the female victims of SGBV was drafted with approximately 30 questions, all aiming to gather information for the research questions and the objectives of the study. The questions aimed to better understand the cultural context of SGBV, the services SGBV victims receive, camp safety, and how the women perceive their rights and the causes and consequences of SGBV. The interview guides to the different key informants were also individually customized to gather the specific information that could shed a light on the objectives of this study.

Considering that long interviews can lose focus, I tried to keep the interviews within a timeframe of approximately an hour, and to rather do a follow-up to continue if necessary. However, some of the interviews went on for much longer. The interviews lasted from 20 minutes or so till 1 hour and 30 minutes, as some informants were more talkative and open than others. I did one interview with each of the 10 informants and key informants. All the interviews with both groups of participants were recorded on a recording device in order to later transcribe the interviews.

Six of the interviews I conducted were conducted in the IDP camp here the primary target group of this study are currently living. I did most of the interviews on separate days, in order to get the chance to visit the camp on several occasions. Before I started interviewing I also

visited the camp on two occasions, in order to get to know the camp and its inhabitants. This also gave the informants the opportunity to get to know me in advance of the interviews.

4.4.3 Observations

If what you are interested in is observing behaviors and meaning as they emerge in their natural settings, simulated conversations may be insufficient. There, more traditional forms of participant observation and various sorts of field ethnography might prove more fruitful (Berg 2004, 129). Observation has been characterized as “the fundamental base of all research methods” in the social and behavioral sciences (Adler and Adler 1994 in Denzin and Lincoln 2013, 151).

In qualitative research, observations typically take place in settings that are natural loci of activity ((Adler and Adler 1994 in Denzin and Lincoln 2013, 151). Being originally from Somalia, with a certain knowledge about the culture, I do think of myself as an “insider”. However, I am an insider with certain limitations, with my experiences being that members of the diaspora are not considered as “insiders”. I was aware of my position and lacking knowledge of the culture, and the norms and values of the country, and especially in the IDP camps.

While observing I learned about the day-to-day activities of the IDP women, I was given a tour of the camp and some of the homes of my informants. I also had the opportunity to observe the work that the nurse at the local organization that hosted me did with SGBV victims. She allowed me, with permission from the patients, to observe several consultations with victims of SGBV, mostly rape victims, living in other camps than the one my target group resided in. These observations gave me the opportunity to observe and compare stories of women from different camps to examine if their experiences were similar to those of my informants.

4.4.4 Informal conversations

Informal conversations have also been an important source of information. I had conversations about SGBV with those who I had interviewed for this study and others I have met both in the camp and workers in different organizations that work with SGBV. It has given me information that reflect people’s views, attitudes, and a reflection of what the

general opinion is on certain important subjects. I have had many enlightening conversations about cultural, religious and social perspectives on SGBV. The informal conversations were useful additional data for this study to confirm some of the general tendencies, and cultural and social facts that were stated in the interviews.

4.5 Literature search

Initially the search was focused on collecting research reports, public policy and policy development documents regarding SGBV in Somalia against women in general. Through OsloMet's own databases such as Open Digital Archive and access to digital academic databases such as BIBSYS, Oria, EBookCentral in addition to Google Scholar, relevant articles, reports and books were found. Research reports and evolutions reports were also found through the UN, UNICEF, WHO, UNHCR's and other NGO's websites. In order to focus on relevant literature, the keywords and phrases in the search were related to the research questions and the objectives of the study. Key phrases used in the literature search included; GBV + Somalia + SGBV + violence against women + conflict and SGBV + Causes of SGBV + Consequences of SGBV + Coping. To widen the search other related concepts were searched. The generated literature was also a source of more relevant literature, suggesting further reading and comprehensive literature lists' with more relevant publications of the topic. Due to little scientific research available on SGBV against IDP women in Somalia, literature search for this thesis was time consuming and at times difficult.

4.6 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

The aim is to identify relevant research, documents, national laws, and policies addressing SGBV in Somalia, especially in relation to IDP women. The relevant research and documents were chosen to help answer the research questions and objectives of this thesis. In order to identify and use relevant research and documents I set selection criteria for the inclusion and exclusion. The set criteria were applied in the search process and again in the selection of literature. The set criteria included: studies conducted after 2005; studies written in English or Norwegian; studies published by universities, researchers or NGOs; research focused on SGBV and women's rights in Somalia; unbiased and objective literature. Literature which was excluded were those conducted before 2005 and not of empirical and objective quality. All the included literature was selected to address the research questions.

4.7 Reliability and Validity

Reliability usually refers to the degree to which the findings of a study are independent of accidental circumstances in their production (Kirk and Miller 1986 in Silverman 2011). It deals with replicability, which is whether or not some future researchers could repeat the research project and come up with the same results, interpretations, and claims. In quantitative research the same concept of reliability refers to the extent which an experiment, test, or measurement yields the same results, or consistent measurements on repeated trials (Silverman 2011 360). In qualitative research, it is unlikely to find exact methods of measurement.

Moisander and Valtonen (2006) suggest two ways to satisfy reliability criteria in non-quantitative work:

- Making the research process transparent through describing the research strategy and data analysis method in a sufficiently detailed manner in the research report.
- Paying attention to “theoretical transparency”, by making explicit the theoretical stance from which the interpretations takes place and showing how this produces particular interpretations and excludes others (Silverman 2011, 360).

In this study, I consider that the criteria suggestion for the reliability of detailed accounts of methods, research strategy, and theoretical transparency has been met in this study.

The concept of validity of a qualitative study is also relevant. Hammersley understands validity as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers. (1990 in Silverman 2011, 367). The study’s limitations hinder any generalizations, and the validity of this study may only apply to the certain phenomenon observed and the interviews that were done on the specific target group.

4.8 Data Analysis

Schutt (2006) outlines the different techniques that are shared by most qualitative analyses. He has summarized them into five stages. In the analysis process of the collected data I followed Schutt’s analysis technique to extract, assess, and analyze. The first step is documentation. According to Schutt is documentation critical to qualitative research for several reasons; it is essential for keeping track of what will be a rapidly growing volume of notes, tapes, and documents; it provides a way of developing an outline for the analytic

process; and it encourages ongoing conceptualization and strategizing about text (Schutt 2006, 331). My analysis of the collected data began already in the field with documentation and categorization of notes, as well as observation. After conducting the interviews, the process of translating and transcribing the interviews was the most important part of the first step of documentation. Simply reading the notes or transcripts is an important step in the analytic process (Ibid, 330).

The second step in analysis is identifying and refining important concepts. The data is organized into concepts (Schutt 2006, 330-331). During this process, I started to examine the transcriptions and coding pieces of information under the different concepts and topics of the study. The pieces of information I were labelling were of interest, because they were expressing certain opinions, and confirming or criticizing certain other pieces of information. I labelled information that had been repeated several times, information that surprised me, or was related to literature I had read or the theoretical framework of this study. All this information was coded using different colors under the different concepts of the study.

The third step on Schutt's five step analysis technique is examining the data to identify how the different concepts relate to each other. Examining relationships is the centerpiece of the analytic process, because it allows the researcher to move from simple descriptions of the people and settings to explanations of why things happened as they did with those people in that setting (Schutt 2006 334). During this stage I focused on relating the different concepts to each other and searching for explanations for causes and consequences of SGBV.

The fourth step is one of corroboration and legitimizations, and consists of evaluating alternative explanations, disconfirming evidence, and searching for negative cases (Schutt 2006, 330). During this phase of the analysis, I searched for information contradicting what most of the accounts had already stated. I compared the accounts given by the key informants and primary target group and those within the groups, to locate contradicting information about the same topic. During this process, it found it important to not be biased and keep an open mind to statements from the informants or literature contradicting my findings.

The final stage of the analysis model is representing and reporting the findings. Schutt's data analysis method was orderly and guided me through the data analysis process of organizing, extracting, and evaluating data.

4.9 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations must be a part of all steps when creating a research project: from formulating a research question to analyzing data. Social researchers should be ethical in their practice. When collecting their data, and in the process of analyzing the data and in the dissemination of findings, they are expected to:

- Respect the rights and the dignity of those who are participating in the research project;
- Avoid any harm to the participants arising from their involvement in the research;
- Operate with honesty and integrity (Denscombe 2007, 141).

These principles stem from the belief that people should be protected from researchers who might be tempted to use any means available to advance the state of knowledge on a given topic (Ibid.). The principles rest on the assumption that researchers have no privileged position in society that justifies them pursuing their interests at the expense of those whom they are studying – no matter how valuable they hope the findings may be (Denscombe 2007, 142).

On the topic of SGBV, there are several ethical considerations I as a researcher have to be aware of. The first ethical consideration I had to make was done regarding participant recruitment. When describing appropriate participants from the target group to the “gate keeper” helping me in recruiting participants, I set some criteria of inclusion. The most important criteria were that the participants had to be at least 25 years of age, the reason being that I wanted to recruit adults without the uncertainty of the participant possibly being underage. The second criteria were that the participant could not be currently living with an abusive partner. The last criteria were that the participants had not recently experienced a traumatic incident of SGBV.

Ethical considerations, especially with regard to confidentiality and privacy, are important. The participant should suffer no personal harm arising from the disclosure of information collected during the research. Disclosure of personal information could be embarrassing for the participants and, depending on the type of information, it could involve economic loss, or even the prospect of legal action (Descombe 2007, 143). Therefore, it is important to protect the interest of the participants by ensuring the confidentiality of information that is taken from

them. I drafted an invitation letter with information about the study and a letter of consent, with information regarding how their privacy would be protected and how the information would be used, in Somali. I read the letter for the women, as they could not read themselves, when recruiting them, and later before starting the interview. All participants signed (or stamped their thumb) the letter of consent before the interviews were done.

Being aware of the sensitivity of the topic and the personal details and events shared by the participants, I was clear on the measures I was taking to ensure privacy and anonymity to my participants before starting the interviews. I introduced myself to the participants and learned their names; however, their names and other identifying information was not included in the interviews. I believe this allowed them to speak more freely when sharing their stories with me. I also shared the purpose of my study, and several of the informants told me that they were willing to tell me about their stories and what happened to them if it could raise more awareness and more people knowing about the problems with SGBV in Somalia. After I had told them about the study and the intentions I had for the interviews, I waited several days before the conducting the interviews to give the participants some time to contemplate their involvement in the study.

All the participants from the camp were given the option of where they would like to conduct the interview, depending on where they were most comfortable; outside the camp, in the camps community building, or their own home. As my presence was visible, many of the men and women who were not participants were curious as to what my presence in the camp was concerning. Therefore, I also gave the participants the option of meeting me in an office in the city or on other locations outside the camp that would give them more privacy, and not cause people to raise questions.

Workers from the local NGO did not have the same view on ethical boundaries regarding the SGBV victims and IDP in the camp as I had. In my own work with clients and children, I would never take pictures, or encourage others in the workplace to do so. It is immensely violating to the privacy of vulnerable people. I was suggested several times to feel free to take pictures of the participants in my target group. I had to decline the offer and explain why taking pictures would be unethical and a risk to the privacy and anonymity of the participants. I took no pictures of the participants or other inhabitants of the camp. I did, for the purpose of

the study, take pictures of the camp site and some of the inhabitants in groups. However, the inhabitants were not close enough to be identified.

During the interview process, I attempted to insure the participants against further physical harm and trauma. There is general agreement that people should not suffer as a consequence of their involvement in research (Denscombe 2007, 143). According to this principle, it is the researcher's responsibility to consider in advance the likely consequences of participation and take measures that safeguard participants' interests. Safety is something that cannot be taken for granted and it is something to which researchers should give serious considerations when designing their investigations (Ibid.). The safety concern for the women I interviewed for this study has been paramount. When researching a topic about sexual and physical violence and interviewing victims, safety measures must be taken to secure already vulnerable women. None of the women I interviewed were currently living under conditions of domestic abuse. I considered it a risk for the women to talk about violence they were experiencing if it would have repercussions in form of violence from their spouse.

The principle of ensuring participants against physical harm and trauma was built into the research design because any investigation that is potentially going to lead to trauma, stress, or any other psychological harm would not be ethical (Denscombe 2007, 143). When interviewing on topics such as SGBV, the questions the researcher asks may bring up bad memories and trauma for the victim. Therefore, the researcher must be aware of the potential harm certain questions and how they are asked could cause, and the follow-up the participant is given is key to securing the person from psychological harm. Keeping this in mind, there were no questions asking for details about the specific physical, psychological, or emotional abuse that the participants of the target group had experienced. Whilst interviewing, if some stories were too emotional for the women to tell, I gave them the option to move on to the next question. However, if the women wanted to share the story of what happened to them, I allowed them to continue. It was important for me to not to open old wounds or to bring up sensitive issues that would affect the women after the interview.

Personal safety considerations are also important. A researcher must bear in mind any potential dangers, such as the prospect of being attacked on the way to an interview. Even if the possibility of an attack is quite remote, they have a responsibility to foresee and avoid the risk as far as possible (Denscombe 2007, 143). However, I conducted this research in

Mogadishu; a city that with many safety issues and is recovering from conflict. Even though I have been to Mogadishu several times and feel relatively safe in the city, I had never spent time in an IDP camp. In order to get there, I had to travel to the outskirts of the city, where I was less familiar, so I made the decision not to travel there alone. The area outside the city consists of many IDP camps, with a few new residential compounds. There are armed military checkpoints along the road checking vehicles going in and out of the city. On the first few visits to the camp I was accompanied by workers from the organization, for two purposes. The first was to introduce me to the camps' inhabitants and the camp manager, and the second was to accompany me until I was familiar with what safety precautions were necessary in the area. For example, I had to take safety precautions regarding how I dressed in order to blend in and not attract unnecessary attention. However, I wanted to visit the camp on many occasions, and the organization's workers didn't have the opportunity to accompany me each time. After a few accompanied visits to the camp, I started to travel there alone to conduct the interviews, draped in a hijab down to my knees with my computer tucked under and a veil to cover my face on the public bus. All the trips to the camp on my own were fairly safe, except for one time when the bus I was riding in back to the city was caught in traffic at the military check-point and a shooting broke out. Luckily, I got away unharmed. Taking the bus was initially a safety precaution in order not to attract any attention upon arriving at the camp, but after that incident I used another form of transportation to the camp.

Chapter 5: Causes of SGBV and women's vulnerability in & out of the IDP camp

In this chapter I will present and discuss the informants' cause of displacement and their vulnerability to SGBV in and outside the camp.

5.1 Experiences of SGBV in the camp

There are several factors that make the women living in the IDP camp especially vulnerable to SGBV, which separates them from women that live in more ordinary homes in non-camp areas. Although none of the informants had themselves experienced SGBV in the camp itself, and several of them expressed that they felt in the camp, they were still able to give examples of some of the SGBV experiences they had witnessed in the camp. The key informants also highlighted several problematic issues that place these women in a position of where they are constantly threatened by danger in their everyday life. The most prominent factor which makes women vulnerable to SGBV are the living conditions of the camp.

The camp where this study was conducted is a camp surrounded by, several other camps. The camps were open to each other with no way of limiting access to the camp for strangers. Homes are usually made of plastic tents and wood to keep the structure up. These homes are extremely vulnerable to easy access by unwelcome people. Despite some informants saying they felt safe in the camp, several of the informants also expressed their homes being a source of worry, in that they may be subjected to rape, physical assault, and other crimes such as theft, because the tents are so easily accessible. Informant 2 expressed her worry for this particular danger.

... your house is made of plastic, they can be cut open and entered and you can be raped. You may not have a husband at home, and small children sleeping next to you... who will protect you from that?

(Informant 2, 40-year-old woman)

As the camp manager explained, most of the households in the camp are women, who for different reasons live in the camp without a husband and alone with children. Some of their husbands are back home to watch out for their land and possessions. A husband would be able to protect his family, and his mere presence can preventive be of SGBV from outside

perpetrators. The Camp Manager described a typical perpetrator that prays on unprotected women;

Mostly, there is something called *Mufofo*, this is a man that does not work, he is not married, no work and no wife, he only sleeps during the day, and during the night.... You are not married, you only have children with you and you are sleeping in a plastic tent, he will cut that tent up and grab you by the leg and rape you just like that. That type of thing happens here.
(Key informant, Camp manager ,34 years old)

The two vulnerability factors in these statements are the lack of protection from an adult male in the household and the issue of the plastic tents being easily accessible for potential perpetrators. The camps being open to each other and the lack of control of who enters and exits the camps enhances the risk of SGBV. The Camp Manager expressed a wish to be able to enclose the camp with barbed wire to be able to gain control. She believed this idea would make it impossible for outside perpetrators to rape or assault women in the camp.

At the time, I was conducting the fieldwork in the camp, community toilets were being constructed for the camp to share. Even though the camp had been existing for a few years, they had not had toilets before. The camps inhabitants were forced to go several hundred meters outside the camp area to relieve themselves.

The camps are on the outskirts of the city. Some camps don't have toilets...sometimes the women have to go far from the camp to relieve themselves, if it is dark or far she might be raped there.

(Key informant, Camp Manager, 34 years old)

In order to reduce this risk, the Camp Manager had secured recourses to build toilets inside the camp. However, that was not the only reason for why women go outside the camp grounds. Other factors for vulnerability to SGBV is that the women use wood to make fires for cooking. Sometimes they go to empty lands to collect wood, putting them at risk for assault, or even rape, at the hands of angry land owners, according to the camp manager.

Informant 1 stated that there are many couples that fight and engage in physical altercation with each other. There were many accounts of severe domestic violence and some examples, where women had been stabbed to death or maimed by their husbands, given by the informants. That same day as we were conducting the interviews, there had been two women

that were injured by their husbands and been taken by the local organizations for treatment in the city.

The other day for example, a woman that was abused by her husband came to our camp from one of the neighboring camps. Her sister lives in our camp, so she came to spend the night with her sister. He had beaten her and she had visible bruises on her face. She was a light skin girl, but he turned her face black with bruises. He came early in the morning and came into the house. He had a sharp new knife. He sliced off no less than one kilogram of her buttocks. The girl was in shock, the man still had a knife. What can we do in that type of situation? It was early in the morning, he injured her badly but didn't kill her.

(Key informant, Camp manager)

After this incident, the Camp manager contacted the police while the perpetrator was held in the camp by members of the elders' counsel till the police arrived to arrest the perpetrator. The victim, who was bleeding profusely, was collected by a local NGO who work with victims of SGBV and driven to the city for emergency health care. Amongst the key and other informants there was consensus that psychological and domestic violence is the most prevalent form of SGBV in the camp. Especially men's addiction to the stimulant drug *khat* has been mentioned as a cause. Chewing the narcotic leaf of khat is an addictive habit mostly indulged in by men, which has reached endemic proportions in Somalia and other parts of the Horn of Africa. The khat plant contains cathinone, an active brain stimulant that acts much like an amphetamine. Khat consumption results in decreased appetite, euphoria and hyper alertness. Chronic use of khat can result in sleeplessness, nervousness, impotence, constipation, and nightmares (A. Koshen in ed. DeFrain and Asay 2013, 80). It is typically chewed during lengthy sessions which take place in *mefrishes* or rooms where men gather to lounge and drink black tea or soft drinks along with the khat. The most habitual chewers claim that it is a way of socializing and exchanging news and gossip. However, A. Koshen notes that the drug can be considered almost as serious as alcohol and drug abuse in the West – both of which Islam prohibits - with similar triggers such as frustration, unemployment, helplessness, loss of authority, stress and distress, nostalgia for the simple and secure past life, trauma, and loss of family members (Ibid.).

Although most Somalis consider themselves Muslims and refrain from substances prohibited by the religion, such as alcohol, they do not consider khat *haram*, or prohibited. The theological debate dates back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when arguments

centered on the degree to which the plant can be considered an intoxicant (Varisco 2004, 111-112 in Anderson, Beckerleg, Hailu and Klein 2007, 3). The debate is still ongoing, but the liberal interpretation that permits khat chewing among Muslims has gained the upper hand. In Somalia, it is frowned upon by the religious scholars. However, it is widely accepted by the population, and the use of the drug is prohibited neither by law nor religion.

The large scope of khat abuse in the Somali society has had obvious social and economic repercussions for individuals, families, and the society as a whole. Social effects include anti-social behavior, neglect of families, and use of much needed household-income to sustain the habit (A. Koshen in ed. DeFrain and Asay 2013, 80). The issue of men using household income - their own or income earned by their wives - to sustain their addiction has been stated as a cause for dispute amongst couples in the IDP camp.

Drugs is a big reason for families collapsing. If you see a man that chews khat, his family is not stable and the money they earn cannot be enough for both his family and to sustain his abuse, therefore it becomes difficult for him to spend money on something else than the drugs, and that's where many family conflicts start.

(Key informant, Nurse, 28 years old)

Another example that had been mentioned several times as the cause to violent episodes between married couples was the wife denying the husband her earnings as the main provider of the family for him to spend on khat.

You were working odd jobs and washing clothes to feed your children. He doesn't care, he will say give me what you have. He will ask for the money you washed clothes for. If you say no, he will beat you.

(Key informant, camp manager 34 years old)

The camp manager's example of economic violence from khat addicted husbands is just one amongst many in the camp. This form of economic violence is also a cause for physical violence in some IDP households. This raises another issue and cause of violence; a shift from the man being the family's provider to the wife being the main provider. This also stipulates a shift in the power dynamic of the household. Employed wives have been a far-reaching consequence in the fundamental change of family dynamics. This occurred when women were pushed to the forefront as income-earners due to the absence of male family members during, and after, the civil war (A. Koshen in ed. DeFrain and Asay 2013, 80). The shift

towards women gaining the role as household income-contributors or sole providers goes against the patriarchal family norm of the Somali society. Male dependency on women as providers causes a shift in the power dynamic, as the one who control the finances has a certain power in the family.

Margarethe Silberschmidt documents the impact of global economic trends on the intimate relations of East African men, suggesting that reduced economic opportunities for men limit their capacity to practice their gendered roles as providers, producing in them an elevated sense of frustration and entitlement (Silberschmidt 2001 in Gardner and El-Bushra 2016). The majority of people in the IDP community are women and children. The men that live in the camp are either day laborers or unemployed. Their frustrating economic situation, and the loss of their role as income providers and natural heads of the family, may be a trigger to exercise economic violence, physical, and emotional violence, according to my findings.

Another prevalent form of SGBV in the camp is arranged and forced marriage of young girls from the age of puberty. However, age of maturity linked to biological process of puberty is not defined by a certain age, and it is up to the individual parents or guardians of a girl to decide when she is ready for marriage; sometime after her first menstruation.

... many young girls are being married off by their parents that don't want to. Forced marriage. You see older men, that have some money, the parents want the money and even if she doesn't want the man, they give her away. The girls experience different problems in those marriages, abuse, and their body is not ready for marriage.

(Informant 1, 50 year old woman)

Informant 1 described how common early forced marriage is in the camp life, amongst the IDPs, as a consequence of poverty. Several other informants, including the Camp manager, also shared this impression, stating girls as young as twelve years here are eligible for early forced marriage. A study conducted in Mogadishu by Fauzia Musse for CISP (2015) on SGBV, reports that IDP communities stated child and early forced marriage among their youth has increased and is continuing to increase. However, amongst the IDPs and minority clans, child marriage is believed to be an economic and social means to address some of their challenges. Marriage is often seen as means of improving the status of young girls and boys

within the community, and something that contributes to solve negative and social stigma attached to girl survivors of sexual violence (Musse 2015, 35).

Economic factors is the most important driver of early forced marriage of young girls in the IDP community. Young girls are valued for their bride wealth. For a family living in absolute poverty, the amount of money that has to be paid to the bride's father and kinsmen may expedite the appropriate time for a young girl to marry. Marrying off a daughter may not only relieve the family of another mouth to feed, but also serves as influx of wealth to boost the family's struggling economy.

I had just finished Quran-School when my parents came to me with a marriage proposal from a young boy they thought would be suited to be my husband. I was unsure, but you can't exactly say no to your parents' wish.

(Informant from the observations, 29-year-old woman)

Some girls may be willing to accept a marriage proposal to help with their family's economic situation. However, not all girls are willing to marry at a young age, and the consequences may be catastrophic for the girl and her family. The informants gave examples of young girls running away from their husbands, being a cause for the husband to demand his money back. For the girls who do stay in the marriage, complications from their pharaonic style FGM when having intercourse and giving birth at a young age with underdeveloped bodies may lead to health difficulties, and in worst cases; death.

In the specific camp this study was conducted, physical and economic violence amongst married couples was highlighted as the most common forms of SGBV, in addition to forced marriage. However, there are other occurrences of SGBV. The informants shared incidents of rape, physical assaults, defilement, murder, robbery, homes being burned, and physical altercations amongst neighbors. It was obvious there was a normalization of violence in the camp community. This may be a result of the extremely high prevalence of violence from the time the civil war broke out, until this day.

5.2 Factors for vulnerability to SGBV outside the camp

The informants in the target group of the study were from the south of Mogadishu, from the agricultural regions of Bay, Bakool, and Lower Shabelle. It is home to a variety of clans from

the Digil, Mirifle, and Rahanweyn groupings, who are minority clans (El-Bushra and G. Sahl 2005, 45). All the target group informants stated that their families were farmers and that left the regions due to causes of draught, famine and the threat of different groupings wanting to grab their land. Some stated draught and hunger and lack of income in addition to the conflict.

“We were farmers and had livestock. There are no crops, and even if we grew something, your crops would be stolen. So, we fled and came here ... That life was very hard. There is nowhere to work, nothing to eat. Before, we used to eat what we farmed, but we couldn't do that anymore, then the war began, just struggles that made us come here” (Informant 3).

None of the informants stated conflict to be the only cause of their displacement. Issues such as failed crops, theft, hunger, bad conditions of living, unemployment, and the threat of armed groups were the cause of their displacement. These causes pushed the informants to leave their homes to settle in one of the camps of Mogadishu.

Before arriving at their current camp, the informants had different experiences on the road from their respective regions to Mogadishu. One of the informants had a tough journey to the camp, travelling with her children and elderly mother. She had to leave her husband behind and was at the time of the interview unsure if he was alive or dead, as they had not been successful in contacting him. She stated:

Some of us experienced physical violence and some experienced rape. We were pulled over and the women were told to get out of the car. Even the driver. He was told to turn on the lights so that they could see the girls and rape them in front of the light. He said that he couldn't do that, so they brought out their weapon and told him they would do to him what they were going to do to the girls. They raped the driver too.

(Informant 2, 40-year-old woman)

This informant claimed to have experienced rape on the journey to the camp along with others that were riding in the car with her. The children and elderly had been spared, whilst the women were subjected to rape. Informant 3 had also experienced rape whilst travelling to where her in-laws were living. The party she was travelling with experienced something similar. She claimed the perpetrators were a part of the terrorist group Al-Shabab. They had commanded the informant, along with three other young women, to step out of the car. They

had raped all four of the women, and the informant herself was raped by two of the perpetrators. In this case too, the older women were spared by the perpetrators. Informant 1 and one of the key informants, a fifty-year-old IDP woman, had not experienced being raped on their way to the camp or other destinations. Informant 4 had also been subjected to rape on her journey from Mogadishu to a city further north. The car they were travelling in had been stopped and she along with three other women had been raped, including her teenage daughter. Her other children were also present during this incident.

The five victims I had observed during their medical consultation at the local –NGO, had all experienced rape or physical assault. Two of these victims had experienced being robbed and raped by men on the road on their way to the camp. The two did not know who the perpetrators were. The other informants that had been raped were also robbed of what valuables they had by the perpetrators.

The informants I interviewed were under the impression that this was quite common also, that there was a high risk of being raped whilst travelling to the camp. Informant 2 said that it was common to ask new arrivals at the camp if they had “survived” or if they were raped on the road. “Some said they got away, and others said they experienced rape”.

Another issue that was expressed the informants as a risk factor for IDP women were their need to travel back to their villages, after they arrive at the camp for short periods. The findings indicate that travel implies a risk for assault, robbery, and rape, as three of the informants, including two of the women from the observations, themselves had experienced rape whilst traveling. The nurse interviewed was familiar with this risk, and used this example;

...a married woman with her husband back home, sometimes she needs to travel back home, she might experience rape on the way. She may come back saying she was raped by four men, by five men.

(Key informant, nurse 28 years old)

The problem of thieves, and that assault and rape along the road is an obvious symptom of the lack of security, justice, and accountability for perpetrators. All the informants of this study highlighted the lack of security both in their home villages and in the camp as the main cause for SGBV against IDP women.

Many of the women that live in the camp communities, including the informants of this study, seek work outside the camp, working in other people's homes as maids. Most of the women work in a new home every day and are not permanently employed in one home. The informants described their daily job searching activities as going from neighborhood to neighborhood knocking on different doors and offering their services. Some days luck is on their side and they are offered to clean a house or to wash clothes.

The households that can afford maids have them employed on a permanent basis. Those who do not have that luxury, hire casual workers on the days they need their clothes washed, because of the tiresome nature of manually washing clothes. These are the jobs available to IDP women. Working in a new household frequently presents risks to vulnerable women. Two risks are especially predominant; being denied the agreed upon wage, and being subjected to physical and sexual violence.

After I finished (washing) the clothes, one of the boys asked if I could also clean the bedrooms and the toilet. I didn't think much of it, but rather focused on the money I would earn. I was exhausted by the time I finished, looking forward to leave; I finally asked for my payment. Two of the boys (in the house) then attacked me and pushed me to the ground. I remember them arguing about what they should do to me, whether they should rape me or not. They decided to go ahead and rape me, two of the boys. I left that house raped and without a single penny. All of this happened to me because I was trying to provide for my children. If my husband had not been unemployed, I would not have been washing clothes for strangers, and this (rape) would not have happened to me.

(Informant from the observations IDP woman 29 years old.)

This narrative is from the 29-year-old IDP woman from my observations at the nurse's office, captures an issue that have been recurrent throughout the interviews, informal conversations about IDP women's safety, and from the nurse's consultations I had been allowed to observe. When I met this woman, she had been collected by the organization along with several others from an IDP camp that had recently experienced rape or physical assault. She lived with her unemployed husband and four children in the camp and is therefore the main provider of their family. This woman was lured in to the men's house under the pretenses that they would pay her and her desperate need for money clouded her judgement from considering the safety issues

attached to her going into a home with only male residents. It is questionable whether this is a situation other non-IDP women would be likely to find themselves in.

Life in the camp presents a number of risks for being a victim to SGBV for IDP women. However, it seems as if there are equally dangerous risks for these women in the society outside of the camp. In the personal opinion of one of the informants, it was dangerous for the women to leave the camp, and that it would be safer for them to stay in the camp, as they in the city may encounter different problems, with no one to help them. It is also not uncommon for the women to be accused of stealing, being held inside other's homes, and sexually harassed by their employers or others in the household. To summarize; some informants feel safe now that they are living in this particular camp, but however, the living conditions of the fragile shelters make them vulnerable to rape and physical assault. There is also an agreement that working outside the camp in strangers' homes put IDP women in risk of SGBV. It seems as if those who employ and subject IDP women to rape, physical, and emotional violence target them because the vulnerable position they are in, showing a pattern of an attitude that justifies taking advantage of these specific women in society.

Chapter 6: Consequences and Responses to SGBV

This chapter will examine the consequences of SGBV, and focus especially on rape and physical violence as those were the forms of SGBV my particular informants had experienced and how they are coping with it. I will also discuss the general attitude towards SGBV and towards survivors in the IDP community and the Somali culture and society. Furthermore, this chapter will outline the responses to SGBV and who the providers of health services to the IDP survivors are.

6.1 Definitions of Coping and Stigma

6.1.1 Coping

Coping refers to constantly changing cognitive or behavioral effort in order to manage certain external or internal demands that may exceed a person's resources (Kisuule et al. 2013, 16). In the psychoanalytic ego psychology model, coping is defined as realistic and flexible thoughts and acts that solve problems and thereby reduce stress (Lazarus and Folkman 1984 117- 119). Lazarus and Folkman's Transactional Model of Stress and Coping begins with cognitive appraisal that can be split into two categories: primary and secondary appraisal (Brooks 2009). During the primary appraisal, a person decides on an adequate response to the event. After cognitive appraisal, the person then engages in either problem focus or emotion focused coping. Problem focused coping occurs when the person takes action against the problem causing the stress. With problem focused coping, the individual takes an active role in facing their experiences. Emotion-focused coping is the coping style a person employs when he or she does nothing about the event; rather the person will instead change how he or she feels about and interprets the event (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984, Park 2004 in Brooks 2009, 14). The focus is then directed at lessening the emotional distress or limiting the impact of reality and stress (Kisuule et al. 2013, 16). Emotion focused coping promotes avoidance of the problem, whereas problem focused coping aims to face the issue head on.

6.1.2 Stigma

The Greeks, who originated the term *stigma* to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier (Goffman 1990, 11). Usage of the words "stigma" and "stigmatization" in modern society refers to inviable sign of disapproval which allows insiders to draw a line around the "outsiders" in order to mark the limits of inclusion in any group (Falk 2001, 17). Stigma is a multidimensional concept whose

essence centers on the issue of deviance. And the concept of deviance is a socially constructed one. People with power decide what is normal and what is deviant (Kisuule 2006, 156).

Scambler and Hopkins distinct between enacted or self-stigma. Enacted stigma refers to discrimination in the form of sanctions which are applied individually or collectivistic on the basis of the stigmatized persons perceived unacceptability of interiority (Scambler and Hopkins 1986 in Kisulee 2006, 159). Felt stigma is more complicated. It refers to the fear of enacted stigma, but also encompasses a feeling of shame and oppressive fear engendered by the possibility of enacted stigma (Kisuule 2006, 159). A person who has internalized their stigma on a high level, may tend to blame themselves for incidents of rejection or mistreatment as justified based on their stigma, rather than see others as intolerant (ibid.).

6.2 Coping with Rape through religion

In times of crisis, many people turn to religion and God. The informants of this study who had experienced rape expressed that the main strategy of their style of psychological coping is their relationship to Allah (God). Religious coping happens when a person's "religion is a source through which critical life situations and stressors are dynamically processed and understood" (Shreve-Neiger and Perez 1998 in Brooks 2009, 10).

The incident (rape) shook me up, but with the help of the Quran, and my faith in God, I am trying to move on and think about it too much.

(Informant from Observations IDP woman 29 years)

A study conducted by Pargament et al. (1988) interviewed 15 people about problems they had experienced involving religion and how they coped with those problems. That study identified three main religious ways of religious problem-solving; 1) self-directing, 2) deferring and 3) collaborative (Brooks 2009, 15). In the self-directing style the individual takes responsibility and an active stance on resolving the problem. The deferring style is characterized by when the person places the responsibility for resolving their problem onto God while taking a passive role while waiting for god to solve the problem. The last style which is collaborative the individuals perceive themselves sharing the responsibility with God and both take active roles in solving the problem (ibid). This means that, in religious coping, both practical and emotional coping are used.

All the survivors of rape I observed during their consultation with the nurse had described their way of coping as strictly relying on Allah, while remaining passive. The informants had sought refuge in reciting the Quran on their own or with the help of others reciting the Quran on them as a way of seeking spiritual comfort from the trauma they had experience.

It (rape) has not affected me. I decided to move on. It happened, God meant for it to happen, that's it. I don't let myself think about it too much. Think about the "what ifs" don't help.
(Informant 4, 35 years old)

A recurring theme amongst the rape survivors was active surrendering to Allah and describing their traumatic experiences as His plan. I understand this style of coping as similar to emotion focused avoidance coping. Not thinking about what happened and moving on was also an active choice the informants had made, which was also supported by the nurse giving them health consultation. She had actively been encouraging the survivors not to think about what happened to them, to trust in God and recite the Quran. This style of coping is similar to Pargament's deferring style of problem solving and the emotion-focused coping style of the Lazarus and Folkman's Transactional Model of Stress and Coping. Both of these styles of coping are avoidance coping.

Not all forms of religious coping are negative. There are several forms of positive religious coping associated with reduced distress and increased well-being and growth (Pargament, Koenig et al. 2000; Pargament, Smith et al. 1998 in Brooks 2009, 18). *Active religious surrender* and *Benevolent religious reappraisal* may be the closest description of the employed religious coping styles of the rape survivors. Active religious surrender occurs when a person does what he or she can to resolve their problem and leaves the rest to God. Benevolent religious reappraisal occurs when a person defines the stressor as a part of God's plan or finds a meaningful lesson inherent in the situation (ibid.). Several of my informants had said that what happened to them was a part of God's plan. This may be what some rape survivors with limited recourses needed to do and believe in order to cope with their otherwise difficult daily lives.

6.3 Stigma and Discrimination of SGBV survivors

Bokore's (2012) Somali-Canadian case study on the pre-and post-migration experiences of Somali women refugees explores the experiences of prolonged trauma and its resultant effect

on Somali women's health. Bokore presents the lack of a cultural context to deal with the trauma of sexual violence as a barrier for Somali women. Within the Somali society, women are required to show a sense of modesty and shame, a custom called "Xishood". Talking about sexuality by women is prohibited by this custom (Bokore 2009). Violated women, especially young girls are encouraged to hide their experience from members of the community (Bokore 2012). There is a general attitude of keeping silent about sexual violations directly linked to expectations of modesty. Speaking out and about sexual violations is considered vulgar and immodest. I asked the informants that had experienced rape if they had spoken about what happened to them to others in their family or friends.

I am sure she (other women) would mock me for it. I told no one. I didn't even want to talk about what happened, I was happy being the only one that knew, I never planned to tell anyone, but I told you because you asked me and told me about what you were doing. No one knows about what happened to me in the camp.

(Informant 4, 35 years old).

This particular informant had told her husband and family upon arriving home that she had been raped on the way in order for them to help her buy medicine. Those that had spoken about what happened to them had told it to someone in a position to help. During the interviews and conversations with all the target group informants, rape was spoken about in a vague and symbolic language, making it sometimes uncertain if they actually were referring to rape and sexual assault by using the correct and direct words. Informant 2 had told no one what happened to her. Not even her mother which was traveling with her at the time of the rape. When asked why she responded;

That (rape) is the worst thing that can happen to a human being. It is hard to say. It is hard to say this happened to me. However, if someone can help you and improve your situation. They said that if someone (family, friends etc.) can't help your situation you should not tell them your problems. This person might listen to all your problems and then they will tell everyone else later. You will tell her what happened to you, that you were raped. The only thing that will happen if you tell a person what happened to you is shame and embarrassment from everyone else in the village knowing your business. However, someone that might be able to help you. There is a proverb that say's "don't tell someone about your hunger that is not going to feed you".

(Informant 2, 40 years old)

The women showed reluctance in discussing rape with other women in their community. However, seeking help from outsiders such as personnel from health-care providing organizations or sharing their story with me as both a “foreigner” and a neutral researcher was acceptable to them. Gossip and shaming of victims amongst the women in the camp community is a major contributing factor for the survivors not to speak up about what happened to them. The culture of silence in the name of “Xishood” and ideals of female modesty, and the responsibility on women to maintain practices that uphold gender inequality, and practices that harm women in a patriarchal society, is the foundation for the coping mechanisms available to women in the aftermath of SGBV.

Ahrens’ study on the “Impact of Negative Social Reactions on the Disclosure of Rape” explores the effects of negative social reactions on survivors of rape and their choice to disclose or not disclose their experience. My informants chose not to disclose their status as rape victims in fear of the social reactions such as stigmatization and social exclusion from their community. Feminist activist and scholars have long been interested in the dynamics that keep women from speaking about their experiences. These analyses emphasize the sociopolitical nature of voice and silence (Ahrens 2004). Ahrens employs Shulamit Reinharz description of voice as “having the ability, the means, and the right to express oneself, one’s mind, and one’s will. If an individual does not have these abilities, means, or rights, he or she is silent” (Reinharz 1994, 180 in Ahrens 2004). Reinharz’s conceptualization highlights social power that privileges some voices and excludes others. As metaphors for privilege and oppression, to speak and be heard is to have power over one’s life. To be silenced is to have that power denied (Ahrens 2004). Silence is therefore emblematic of powerlessness and therefore it is not a surprise that rape survivors often remain silent about their experiences. Feminist such as Brownmiller and MacKinnon have long argued that rape serves as an active function to reinforce women’s powerlessness and “keeping women in their place” (ibid).

6.3.1 Stigma and Social consequences

With the cultural encouragement of keeping silent, survivors are forced to cope with traumatic experiences on their own. The negative social reactions rape victims may thereby become a silencing function, leading some rape survivors to stop talking about their experiences to anyone at all (Ahrens 2004). The anticipated response from their peers and community and

threat of culture based stigma has been the cause for why target group informants of this study who have experienced rape, have chosen to keep quiet.

... if they know what happened to her (rape), they will tease her. They will say that she is the girl that was raped. They are treated differently from the rest and shamed. For a long time she will hide. She will wear a niqab to hide if she is scared...

(Informant 3, 26 years old)

However, asking and providing help in the aftermath of an assault is not uncommon. The women in the IDP community expressed that neighbors respond with helpfulness in times of crisis. The informants expressed a sense of community and sisterhood with a primary objective of attaining help for the victim. The neighbors keep an eye on each other, intervene in disputes of domestic violence and share information with the more resourceful camp manager in cases they are unable to help each other.

.. sometimes they are blamed, if they were out late at night, you were late and it's your fault therefore, do not complain to me. They may even get a beating too. Why were you out so late? First, she will be blamed and even get a beating, after that when she has learned her lesson and her parents have calmed down, they may ask who was he and if she knows who the perpetrator. No matter under what circumstances this happened, she will be blamed for it.

(Key informant, Camp manager 34 years old)

Attitudes of victim blaming was obvious amongst the informants of the study, including the non-IDP key informants, e.g. blaming women for putting themselves in an uncertain situation such as entering the homes of strangers. The key informant nurse, had told one of her rape survivor patience "what were you thinking when going in to a house with five men?". I doubt this was a part of the psycho-social support she was providing. Provision of good emotional support by others, for example, has been associated with better recovery for victims, whereas negative social reactions including victim blaming, have been significantly associated with increased psychological distress and delayed recovery (Ullman 1996 in Grubb and Turner 2012)

The social ramifications for known victims of rape are especially severe for young unmarried girls. Such assaults are believed to destroy the sexual purity of the of the victim. As a result,

she is socially dead. Due to the severity of this offence, traditionally relatives of the victim demand not only payment for the offence, but also the *diyya*, or blood payment, given to the relatives of a murder victim. In addition, the relatives demand the assailant or a member of his clan to marry the victim (Musse in ed. Gardner and El-Bushra 2004, 76).

Informant 4 and her daughter that had been raped expressed that if she had known the perpetrator that had raped her daughter, she would make sure he would be the one to marry her. Her explanation being; “well who would want her after what happened? She is used”. However, it is unknown in the community that she and her daughter have been raped. If it was known, she said her daughter would be unable to find an eligible husband, as a consequences of having lost her virginity and being a victim of rape.

Older women don't go socially unscathed by rape either. Older women who have developed their status and influence over the years find both shattered in the eyes of the community when they are dishonored by rape (Musse in Gardner and El-Bushra 2004,80). Married women also risk being rejected by their husband, if he remains with his wife, a man's own social status suffers as the husband of a raped woman (ibid).

6.4 Health services available to SGBV survivors

Short and long-term health problems are the physical manifestations of the sexual and physical violence survivors have experienced. Survivors of sexual and physical violence are therefore in need of medical services in order to cope with what they have experienced. The informants and observed survivors of rape in this study all shared that they were experiencing physical pain as a consequence of the rape or physical assault they had experienced. Other, reported that they were not experiencing chronic pains. There were those who had themselves bought medicine from the local pharmacy to medicate themselves. However, displaced women may not be able to navigate the services available to them in their new settlement, and if they do, there is the issue of their financial ability to pay for necessary services. The informants expressed the urgency for rape victims to receive immediate medical help.

SGBV prevention and response in Mogadishu and South-Central Somalia has several international, national, and local humanitarian organizations that fund and provide services for IDPs and survivors of SGBV. In the area of the research site and the surrounding camps, there are several local non-governmental and humanitarian organization (Local-NGOs)

funded by UN-agencies and other international actors. Some of these organizations are well funded and able to provide organized services, from what I observed. These organizations are members of a GBV sub Cluster chaired by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and submit monthly reports of their work to the GBV Information Management System (GBVIMS) to provide a statistical overview of SGBV incidents.

During my field study in Mogadishu, I primarily worked with one local-NGO, but visited several others to learn about their services. There are also Maternal Health Clinics that are operated by the government with the financial support of NGOs that are free of charge to mothers and can also provide basic health services to victims of SGBV.

One of the larger operating Local-NGOs within SGBV response is SSWC – Save Somali Women and Children- an active organization that in providing services to victims of SGBV. SSWC has two centers: Hawo Tako 1 and Hawo Tako 2. The organization provides psycho-social support and legal aid, helping the victims report the perpetrator and pursue justice through the judicial system. At their centers, they are able to provide medicine and basic treatment. However, for more serious injuries and health conditions, they are dependent on referring the victims elsewhere, sometimes covering the expenses. They give the survivors dignity kits, with clothing and hygienic products, clothes and some money. Some of the SGBV survivors are also selected for occupational training as seamstresses. After the training, they give the women a sewing machine and rolls of fabric to start their small business. On their team, they have almost 30 field monitors that visit the camps of Mogadishu, to the neighboring city of Afgoye, looking for women recently victimized to all forms of SGBV. Survivors of SGBV can also come to their centers on their own. The center is also staffed with a nurse, a counselor/social worker and a lawyer. In the more well-organized camps, they cooperate with the camp managers, who contacts them in case of emergencies if there are victims in need of immediate assistance. SSWC host monthly awareness meetings, inviting members of the different IDP communities to their center, with the intent of them sharing what they have learned with their community.

...we also report domestic abuse, rape and other violations. So when things happen at night, we call in the morning and they come. Sometimes they collect girls, sometimes they just go back to the city. They take the girls to the center, write what happened, take her number and keep in contact. They give them a pack of clothes, a few dresses, under squirts, soap, washing

powder and they take it home. And for the girls that have experienced the worse things, get a room called Royal, the victim and her children can sleep in there. They get breakfast, lunch and dinner, they can even shower there.

(Informant 1, 50 years old)

Because of their presence in the camps and the awareness meetings, the target group informants and other women living in the camp are familiar with the organizations and their services. The informants expressed trust in the field monitors that come to their camp and have a great amount of gratitude for the services these organizations provide in response to SGBV in the camps.

The data from some of the informal conversations I had with local-NGO workers, camp inhabitants, and others, suggest that it does happen that women lie about being raped, assaulted, or abused by their husbands. They do so in order to secure themselves the services that the organizations provide, which are tempting to women in poverty, such as the dignity kits, clothing, money, and occupational training.

Sometimes some victims are lucky and get access to the services, and some don't because the organization may have run out of funds and are not able to provide the services anymore.

Some are lucky, some are not. But they usually get the medicine.

(Key informant, Camp manager, 34 years old).

Obtaining services from these organizations is however not always guaranteed. There may be times where services are unavailable due to low funding. However, it is undeniable that the Local Non- Governmental Organizations are the largest actors in providing health- and protection services to the IDPs, to and survivors of SGBV.

6.5 The Challenges with local-NGOs as Service Providers

One of the key findings in this study on the services provided by the local-NGOs regards the credibility of their services, the quality of the services, their practices of ethical considerations for survivors, and the numbers they report on how many they provide services for each month. During the field study, I was able to observe how the organization hosting me worked with GBV during the two months I was there.

In my observations, I noted during the two months I spent working with the Local-NGO, the organization did only one field visit to an IDP camp in relation to SGBV. On that visit, they collected 5 SGBV survivors from the camp and provided them with health services. Coincidentally, that visit was just before the time for reporting to their donors, and there was a sense of urgency to “find survivors” in a camp. After observing active falsifying by the staff on cases in relation to another program the organization was working with, I suspected there may also be some untruths regarding the cases of SGBV and the service provided to survivors from the IDP camps. Interested in finding out about more on this issue I asked the Camp Manager what her views were on the number of cases reported by the local-NGOs, her experiences of their services as a Camp Manager, and as a worker in a local-NGO herself.

The statistics that the organizations document, saying how many cases of rape there was the last month for example, how many children were molested, numbers of physical assaults, those numbers are exaggerated to secure funds. The problems do exist, but these organizations are exaggerating the issue to be much larger than it is in order to secure their funds. At a meeting I attended this week, they report that 15 children were raped, molested and sold to slavery. I do believe that those things happen every day, but not in that large scale.

(Key informant, Camp Manager 34 years old).

These findings led me to believe that there are local-NGOs that may not be doing the work that they are receiving funds for. This study is not able to give a detailed description on the extent of this problem in the different organizations. However, I did observe several ethically worrying practices at my host organization. Local-NGOs which don't offer adequate or ethical services may further complicate or damage SGBV survivors' coping and healing process. During one my field visits in a camp in the Afgoye area with my host organization, the camps' inhabitants shared their frustration about organizations that come to their camp. They host community meetings about a program they are running, take pictures of themselves with the IDPs, make promises of help and never come back, or they do the bare minimum for their IDP community. The IDPs felt used by organizations that come only to take pictures of them in their poverty and suffering. The IDPs may not be entirely wrong. Furthermore, this strengthened my suspicions of unethical practices amongst the Local-NGOs. Raising the hopes of people in need, only to use them for keeping appearances when running programs is highly unethical. The availability of adequate health and psycho-social services is important for survivors of rape and physical violence in order for them to cope with their experiences.

6.6 The State and its role

Concerning Government response to SGBV, The Ministry of Women and Human rights are spearheading a majority of the efforts. The Federal Republic of Somalia and the GBV Sub Cluster, which is a GBV efforts coordinating global agency, drafted The Somali National Gender Based Violence Strategy in response to the growing concerns in relation to the reported incidents of SGBV in Somalia. The aim of the strategy was to ensure a coordinated response to survivors of violence by all actors and especially the Government of the Somali communities (The Somali National Gender Based Violence Strategy 2017). However, the humanitarian sector is still the key provider of health and protection services to SGBV survivors. The Government's role is primarily to coordinate and guide humanitarian and development partners in their efforts.

The Ministry of Women has also been working on recruiting more women to the police and military. After a period of lobbying to create desks operated by female police officers to service female victims of SGBV, the Ministry succeeded in creating that service in police offices in three districts of Mogadishu, and the seventeen remaining districts are working towards creating the same offer. This concrete measure, being met by a female officer, aims to lower the threshold for female survivors to come and report the crimes that have been committed against them. The Ministry attends coordination meetings on SGBV efforts once a month with the local-NGOs, where they share what they have done that month. The key informant from the ministry said that they ask for concrete evidence from the organizations to monitor their work, and that they also visit their centers and offices.

For the first time in Somali history, the Ministry of Women and Human Rights has development and drafted a Sexual offences bill, to prevent and punish sexual offences. The bill was drafted in 2014, and approved in May of 2018 in Parliament. If implemented well, the sexual offences bill would an important tool in addressing SGBV.

Chapter 7: Restorative and Retributive justice for survivors

This chapter will examine the negotiation and overlapping between restorative and retributive justice for SGBV survivors, and the interaction between the formal and informal justice systems in Somalia. The National legislation, Customary law, Sharia law, and their convergence in practice, is the theme of this chapter. I will discuss the three different laws, how they are applied, their legitimacy, and their standpoint on SGBV and the access to justice for survivors of sexual and physical violence.

7.1 Definition of Restorative and Retributive justice

Retributive justice places emphasis on individual responsibility and accountability for crimes committed (Bukuluki et al. in ed. Kawa and Walakiri 2017, 203).

The UN Security Council defines justice as an ideal of accountability and fairness in the protection and vindication of rights, and the prevention and punishment of wrong (United Nations 2004 in Kisuule et al. 2013, 94). This understanding of justice is close revenge.

Punishing perpetrators will avenge the victims and serve as a prevention for future crimes. The pain inflicted, and the punishment the perpetrator will receive, must fit. The formal system adheres to this idea of punishment and accountability as justice for victims.

Restorative justice is mainly concerned with healing victims' wounds, restoring perpetrators to law-abiding persons, and repairing the harm caused to interpersonal relationships (Maiese 2003 in Bukuluki et al. 2013, 205). Furthermore, the central idea is that victims, perpetrators, and the community are all stakeholders in the restorative process, where the goal is not revenge (Ibid.) The informal justice system in Somalia bears more similarities to restorative justice.

7.2 Customary law – Xeer

Most Somalis from South-Central Somalia are homogenous in terms of religion and culture, which incorporates religious norms, values, and language. Although there are Arabs, Baravans and Bantu groups who are also Somalis, most Somalis in South-Central Somalia are connected. Besides religious Islamic identity and national identity, clan identity is very strong amongst Somalis (Elmi 2010, 29). The Somali Clans are divided into five great clan families;

Daarod, Hawiye, Isaaq, Dir, and Digil, which are then divided into sub-clans that are again divided into patrilineal kinship groups. Traditionally, these clans may fight over resources such as water, grazing areas, or livestock. Most of the time these conflicts were settled using the Somali traditional legal system; *Xeer* (Ibid.).

Ahmed Sheik Ali Ahmed (Burale) wrote a book about the Somali *Xeer*, *Xeerki ii Soomaalidii Hore* (Customary Legal System for the Somali People). There, he defines *Xeer* as fundamental rules and regulations which are adopted for regulation of the affairs and relationships of society. Ahmed argues that even though Somali *Xeer* was not written in form of a constitution, it was practiced as convention, and most elders are still familiar with the different articles of the *Xeer* (Elmi 2010, 31). Seid and Jotte define *Xeer* as the governing rules, equivalent to the English term of treaty, or contract. This system is nevertheless informal.

In regard to the function of clan, Elmi compares clan to life insurance: members of the clan come together during both happy and difficult times. After the Somali state collapsed in 1991, the use of clan identity as an insurance policy became normal. When there is a lack of authority that can enforce agreed-upon laws or common-sense requirements, clan can become the last refuge to safeguard one's own life and property (Elmi 2010, 33). There is not a single Somali clan which does not have its own dispute resolution institution. In this system, when disputes arise, the Odayaal – elders – of the clan around the area are selected to solve the dispute, provided that the dispute is between two parties of the same clan. If it is between two parties of different clans or sub-clans, the Odayaal of both sides will be called in, in order to resolve the issue at hand (Seid and Jotte 2008).

Seid and Jotte describe how the elders use customary law to resolve cases that are brought to them. The Odayaal of both sides look at the circumstances of the case at hand, and look at existing rules in the *Xeer*. How have similar cases been resolved in the past? If there is no existing precedence in the *Xeer*, the dispute will be solved through negotiation and compromise. Subsequently, that decision will set a precedent, and become a *Xeer* to govern future similar disputes between the respective families, sub-clans, or clans (Seid and Jotte, 2008). When the Odayaal of both sides come together, the parties involved will be called to appear, and is given the opportunity to speak. The most common form of evidences used are oaths and witnesses. If the plaintiff doesn't have witnesses, the respondent will be required to

take an oath denying the case, and the case would be decided in his favor. Disobeying the decisions of the Odayaal is met with criticism and social exclusion (Ibid). The aim is often to repair and restore the damage which has been done to the victim and the relationship between the families/clans involved.

7.3 Women's Islamic Rights

Islam as a religion has played an important role in the lives of Somalis. It has, and still is, a strong identity that competes and at times replaces clan identity for individual Somalis (Elmi 2010, 50). Islam regulates on a holistic basis the interpersonal and collective conduct of humans on earth, as well as relations between individuals and God. Thus, it applies to life in this world and the hereafter (Bassiouni 2013, 22). The Qur'an contains expressions of values, principles, and guidelines for conduct. It also contains admonitions against prohibited and wrongful conduct and appeals to do good and reject evil (Bassiouni 2013, 24).

Compatibility with the principals of Islamic Legal jurisprudence is essential for all laws in Somalia. The Qur'an and Sunnah - the sayings and teachings of the Prophet Mohammed - is the primary sources of Sharia Law, which was written after the Prophets lifetime, contain numerous pronouncements of women's rights and freedoms (Ibid.). The Islamic teachings are also an integrated part of the Somali's informal legal system of Xeer.

Many Islamic scholars and religious leaders confirm that all types of SGBV have no ground or approval in Islam. Yet, various doctrines point to the propagations of some forms of SGBV, such as use of physical violence against women, for example "disciplining" your wife. The discrepancies in interpreting the Islamic definition of SGBV lie in the attitudinal, behavioral, and geographical differences of scholars (Musse et. al. 2016, 25). In the Somali society, the customary law and Odayaal are often those who engage in resolving disputes. However, interpretations of religious matters are up to the religious scholars, and there is a divide between the two groups.

The scholars deal with certain issues as religious experts, and the elders deal with issues of culture. There are some issues that are beyond the scope of the elder's knowledge and territory. The elders can try to resolve disputes, but they are limited in matters of religion. That is solely on the scholars to decide. These scholars have religious educational backgrounds, often have a vast knowledge within the culture, and can navigate through disputes or cases that involve both of these aspects. However, elders are limited to only their knowledge on the

aspect of the culture and norms.

(Key informant, Elder 50 years old)

Xeer and Islamic laws overlap. For example, they both deal with what concerns family, marriage, divorce, and sexual matters, and religious leaders are consulted for the religious aspects of the matters at hand. Still, customary law is also applied to these matters. For example, in Sharia law, sexual violence is defined in the framework of Zina (Sexual intercourse outside the marriage bound) (Musse et al. 2015, 25). In this case, the standards of evidence to prove whether a rape has taken place or not need be: personal confession from the perpetrator, or the testimonies of four sane and upright adult males who witnessed the rape and can give reliable testimonies confirming whether the intercourse was consensual or non-consensual. If the evidence is insufficient, there is no sentence to pursue (Ibid.). In my opinion, this is highly problematic. By not distinguishing between rape and consensual intercourse outside marriage, a survivor's access to retributive justice is extremely limited. This issue will be further discussed later in this chapter.

7.4 The Provisional Constitution and Formal Justice System in Somalia

In 2012, the Provisional Constitution was drafted and later ratified. The Ministry of Constitutional Affairs of the Federal Government of Somalia is currently reviewing the Provisional Constitution of 2012. Quoting the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Abdi Hosh Jibril, whom I met, his mandate is to further review the constitution and make it more inclusive to women. The current Provisional Constitution, which is being used, was written, it was under difficult circumstances. Al-Shabab was controlling most of the country. He further highlighted that those who were deciding on the political agreements that would be the basis of the Provisional Constitution were all male. It was later ratified by a constitutional committee and it was never open to wide public debate.

Titles 1 and 2 of the Provisional Constitution of Somalia stipulate General Principles of Human Rights accorded to all Somali citizens. Under these titles, the constitution aims to protect human dignity and equality for all citizens regardless of sex, religion, or social status. Furthermore, the constitution protects the liberty and security of the person, including freedom from all violence against women including female genital mutilation (Musse et. al. 2015).

The new and revised Constitution will aim to include the Regional States, different segments of the community, and most importantly; Somali Women, who Minister Hosh states are currently marginal to the political configuration of Somalia. Minister Hosh J continued to frankly say that women in Somali do have, in theory, legal instrument that guarantee them political rights. Article 11(1) in the Provisional Constitution states that “*All citizens, regardless of sex, religion, social or economic status, political opinion, clan, disability, occupation, birth, or dialect shall have equal rights and duties before the law*” (Musse et al. 2014). The constitution provides, in theory, equal rights to men and women. However, realistically, the national apparatuses to actually realize these rights are not in place.

Somalia has also ratified a handful of international instruments, including the 1966 International Civil and Political Rights Covenant and its first optional Protocol, the International Covenant of Economic Social and Cultural Rights and the Convention Against Torture. Each of these laws, signed by the Barre government, have not been incorporated into domestic legislation.

In regard to political participation, one of those theoretical rights is the 1966 International Civil and Political Rights Covenant Article 25. The Article declares the right and opportunity for every citizen to take part in the conduct of public affairs, to vote and to be elected, and to have access to public service in the country. Nevertheless, so far, the civil and political rights of women have remained theoretical. In 2016, the Ministry of Women and Human rights presented their draft of the Gender Policy for review in the house of representatives and was approved.

The Gender Policy’s objectives are;

1. Provide practical guidance for the elimination of all forms of gender discrimination in the Somali Society;
2. Advocate for and promote an understanding of human rights for women and men;
3. Guide the process of increasing women’s participation in decision-making processes at all levels;
4. Provide sets of guidelines for concrete strategies and actions to empower women and men, girl and boys;
5. Hold government accountable to its commitment to gender equality;
6. Promote positive social beliefs, attitudes, and behavioral change pertinent to achieving gender equality.

The priority intervention areas are; economic empowerment, health, education, political participation, and access to justice. The Gender Policy is currently in the implementation phase. As of yet, the section on female political participation has been implemented. The key informant from the Ministry of Women and Human Rights shared that, while implementing the section of political participation, there is now a 24 % female representation in the lower house, and in the upper house there is 25 %. The goal was to have 30 % female politicians in both houses. They have a goal to implement a 30 % female representation quota in the constitution.

The Ministry of Women and Human Rights recognizes that there are many challenges in achieving a working gender policy and have already tackled some challenges in order to achieve an approval of the Gender Policy. The key informant from the Ministry explained how the policy was met with resistance from religious leaders who had misunderstood the policy and its contents. Some had understood it as a policy attempting to legalize same-sex marriage and other western norms. Tackling gender inequality in the socio-political system is an important step in tackling the SGBV.

Gender inequality in Somalia is undeniable on all social and political levels. The codified law is a consolidation of British Common law and Italian civilian law. The formal justice system is based on ideas of retributive justice, aiming to punish perpetrators and making them accountable for their actions. Currently, it does not provide a comprehensive legal framework and has historically been inadequately enforced. The limited legislative protections for women that do exist are mainly contained in the following legislations: The Family Code 1975, the Penal Code 1963, and The Civil Code 1973.

Somalia's 1962 Penal Code is still the current law. The Penal code's chapter 4, "Crimes Against Morals and Decency" Art. 389, punishes "Carnal Violence". Whoever with violence or threats has carnal intercourse with a person of the other sex, shall be punished with imprisonment from five to fifteen years. The same punishment also applies to anyone who has carnal intercourse with a person of the other sex who is incapable of giving consent. The same punishment shall apply to public officers who get sex by abusing their power. Art. 399 punishes "Acts of Lust" whoever by employing the means or under the conditions of art. 389, commits upon a person of the other sex, acts of lust other than carnal intercourse (penetration)

shall be punished with imprisonment from one to five years. These articles apply to violations towards the opposite sex. Art. 400 about “Unnatural offences committed with violence” punishes the crimes stated in art. 398 and 399 against the same sex. As previously stated, these laws are rarely used and remain almost theoretical. The formal system is not independent of Islamic sharia and the informal customary law.

7.5 Negotiating between Restorative and Retributive Justice

Negotiation is a dynamic process aimed at reaching something that is agreeable and serves the mutual interest of all the parties concerned. The formal and informal systems are both interested in justice, however, they have different ways of approaching justice (Bukuluki et al. in ed. Kawa and Walakiri 2017, 205-206). The Xeer, customary law, have been the judicial backbone of the Somali society, regardless of functioning government and formal justice systems. However, we must examine the challenges of customary law. Amongst this study’s key informants, there is an uncertainty on the justice the customary law is able to secure for the victims of SGBV. They expressed reservations against customary law and the practice of the Odayaal, bringing doubt to their intentions for seeking justice for the victims.

...it is a business. No volunteering. If the perpetrator is prosecuted and jailed, they won’t be paid the compensation. They don’t benefit. They take the money the victims are paid.

Whatever the compensation is, they take it and share it amongst themselves. It is official, everybody knows it. The elders share the money.

(Key informant Lawyer. 34 years old)

The Odayaal using customary law often require the wrongdoer to ask for forgiveness and/or pay compensation rather than imposing physical punishment or imprisonment.

Compensations is often paid by the perpetrator, his or her family, or clan, as a form of restorative penalty that enables both parties to be reconciled (Seid and Jotte 2008). The Odayaal’s practice can be considered pure restorative justice, with no interest in punishment for perpetrators. The receiver of the compensation, however, is not necessarily the victim. Officially, it is the victim or her parents who are given the compensation, but the Odayaal receive large parts of the payments. Financial compensation is favored by the elders, instead of physical punishment or imprisonment. If the perpetrator is punished and imprisoned through the government judicial system, there will be no compensation paid to the victim; the same compensation from which the elders draw their payment.

...in our culture, you are a part of your family, you are blood, and therefore your blood doesn't only belong to you. It also belongs to your family.

(Key informant, Elder)

It is not only the victim that has been violated, but the whole family. If the victim had been injured, some of the money from the compensation may be used to finance the medical expenses. Other than that, the victim will most likely not have the compensation at her disposal.

The camp manager spoke about another issue which is relevant to the IDP community. The IDPs have less resources than the general population. The elders, being common people, also work to provide for their families, thus making lengthy cases impractical.

... they make it as simple as possible anyway. The people in the camp are too busy worrying about their next meal, they don't have time for this type of thing. If they spend too much time to pursue cases like these, if they do, who is going to provide their meals? They don't have the resources to do so.

(Key informant, Camp Manager, 34 years old)

The elders may speed up the process of the dispute resolution due to the loss of time which could be spent working to earn money. In other, and wealthier, clans or families, pursuing a case may be motivated by a large payment of compensation, but that is not the case in the IDP communities, thus eliminating the financial motivation for seeking "justice" for their wronged family member.

Seid and Jotte explicitly state that women in the customary dispute resolution process undergo systematic discrimination throughout the whole process. Women are excluded from participating in the negotiations. The elders representing both sides of the dispute are exclusively male, and women are customarily not offered the position to represent their family or clan as elders. The elders who are only men negotiate on what types of rules will be a part of customary law, and they also serve as judges in adjudicating cases (Seid and Jotte 2008). The reason for this systematic discrimination of women is that traditional Somali values hold that women are like minors who are not capable of doing juridical decisions. The

Somali proverb saying *Haween waa dhallan raad wayn* translates to “women are children with large footprints” (Ibid.).

Women are expected to be represented by a male relative before the decision makers in the customary system. One of the key informants, a 50-year-old widow, lives with her children and grandchildren in the IDP camp. Her daughter, who is married to a much older man, is subjected to physical violence from her husband. Her children from a previous marriage is often the root of the conflict in their marriage. She has on several occasions attempted to leave the marriage, each time going to her male relatives to solve their marital dispute and aid her in divorcing her husband. On several occasions, elders from both of their families gathered to resolve their dispute, each time deciding she should return to her husband. Her mother, is rather helpless and unable to intervene on her daughter’s behalf, stated:

I will just have to wait and see what her brothers and uncles decide, since I can’t say anything, and I am only a woman. Her brothers and her father’s brothers are dealing with this now, because her father is dead. I agree with whatever they think is right and decide on.

(Key informant, 50-year-old IDP woman).

The above informant had been accused by her daughter’s husband of meddling in their relationship and attempting to break up their marriage. She was worried that their male relatives would once more send her daughter back to her abusive husband; especially worried, with her daughter currently pregnant and in an unhealthy relationship. However, if the elders do not help her daughter to divorce from her abusive husband and she must go back to live with him, she says she will report him to the police the next time. The last time I spoke with this informant, she was still awaiting the elder’s decision. If the informal system is unable to produce a satisfying solution, seeking justice in the formal system is an option. The formal system is however, influenced by customary law and corruptible by the elders.

Musse et. al. states that it is clear that Xeer alienates most of the universally recognized human rights for women, children, and minority groups in both war- and peace-time. Child and forced marriage, and other harmful cultural practices, failed to be recognized as human rights violations (2016). Moreover, some degree of physical, emotional, and psychological abuse is considered a form of discipline, rather than SGBV (Ibid).

The customary law's exclusion of women in all stages of the decision-making process gives men control of women through the traditional system of justice. This relates to Foucault's very definition of power; control through a system. The traditional system of Xeer is undeniably upholding uneven power distribution between the two genders. The key informant from the Ministry of Women and Human Rights boldly recognizes the elders and traditional leaders as being the backbone of a bad culture that suppresses women and actively hinders gender equality. Their systemic power over women in a heavily patriarchal culture is the biggest challenge for women seeking justice. It can be argued that Xeer is a system operated by men, for men. Foucauldian-influenced feminists focus on exposing the localized forms that gender power relations take at the micro-political level in order to determine concrete possibilities for resistance and social change. The feminist analysis of power to understand the suppression of women identifies patriarchal society structures as the most important factor – the informal customary law system and being such a system in the Somali society.

The elders have a powerful and legitimate standing in Somali society, sometimes using their power to hinder formal justice. The key informant and lawyer for SGBV survivors gave examples of perpetrators that have been detained by the police, awaiting trial, only to be freed by a group of elders. The group of elders may not be only from the perpetrators clan, but also the survivor's. If the perpetrator is imprisoned, the restorative justice process will be damaged, potentially causing conflict between the two families or clans. Also, the perpetrator's family wants to avoid imprisonment because the victim's elders would subsequently not receive payment of compensation to the victim. The key informant and lawyer stated that he is dependent on the Odayaal to do his job, knowing that certain cases, if they are brought to court, will be sent back to the Odayaal to resolve. In some cases, the courts may ask for a written agreement on what has been agreed upon by the two families. Both sides of clan elders will be operating with personal agendas, not for the victim's best interests. The customary laws' legitimacy is also confirmed by the formal institutions of justice, such as the national courts and the police, that encourage the Odayaal to resolve disputes and report back with the agreement that has been reached.

The informants of this study expressed that since that the government is becoming stronger, their trust in the formal system is increasing. They don't have to solely rely on customary law and the restorative justice it offers. If they are displeased with the decisions reached by the elders, or the elders are unable to agree, they can seek justice in the formal system. However,

the national justice system's articles and laws fail to explain many forms of SGBV, are vague in their language and not clear in what rights are being afforded to citizens (Musse et al. 2016, 23). Wordings such as "Unnatural offences", "Carnal Violence", and "Acts of Lust" are unclear and not capable of encompassing all the concepts of SGBV violations. The crimes are too narrowly defined in accordance with international law standards for protection from SGBV (Ibid.).

In order to tackle the weak legal framework to prevent and punish SGBV, The Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development, together with Legal Action Worldwide (LAW), drafted a new Sexual Offences Bill which defines the offences more broadly and highlights the duties of the security forces to prevent and punish much more explicitly (Musse et. al. 2016, 23). The Sexual Offences bill is, however, still awaiting approval in parliament. The key informant from the Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development explained how the process of drafting the bill was a difficult task, and how it for a long time had been held back by the traditional and religious leaders, which were in disagreement with the bill's content.

The religious leaders were against those articles of punishment. We used international laws as guidelines for the bill. For example is rape punishable by up to 15 years in jail. The religious leaders say that if the perpetrators is previously married and rapes a woman, he should be punished with death by stoning, according to the Islamic Sharia.

(Key informant, Ministry of Women and Human Rights, 25 years old).

In the case of rape, the religious leaders were asking for a stronger punishment, capital punishment, for the perpetrators. However, the Sexual Offences Bill follows the guidelines of Human Rights and international standards for protection for SGBV. In regard to physical violence, early forced marriage, and economic and psychological violence, the Sexual Offences Bill is the first of its kind punishing those crimes. The ministry is also drafting a legislation on early forced marriage.

There are several local-NGOs that offer legal aid to SGBV survivors in the IDP communities. The key informant and lawyer described the judicial process of a rape case, from the time he comes in contact with the survivor, till the case is closed. He sometimes receives calls from the police station when survivors of physical and sexual violence reports cases, asking the

organizations to take the case and assist the survivor with free legal aid. The organization also assists survivors who they are already in contact with in reporting the case to the police. In the “ideal” process of a rape case, where the lawyer is representing the survivor, the police will sign a requisition for the survivor to be examined at Medina Hospital, which is a government hospital. If the hospital can confirm that the survivor has been raped, the police proceeds to arrestb the perpetrator(s). After that, the perpetrators will be sent to the central jail for up to 45 days to await trail. The police will use this time to investigate, gather evidence, and interrogate the perpetrator. The lawyer highlights the police’s important role in being able to prosecute perpetrators in the court. However, corruption does occur, he says. While the lawyers are working hard to seek retributive justice for the survivors, there are others that are working to stop the process by paying bribes. This statement from the key informant is a very ideal case, and rarely how a case of rape is processed, according to other informants. As stated earlier, it is more common for the police to refer cases of rape and physical/domestic violence to elders. The problem with corruption in the police runs deep, and as I understand the issue, it represents a hindrance for retributive justice.

The country still struggles with corruption. However, this government is stronger than the previous. Still you see people trying to help the perpetrator, politicians helping perpetrators based on clan. There was recently a case of this. The people that work in the civil society warn about these types of cases. They recently warned us about a politician that was involved in helping a perpetrator to be released.

(Key informant, Ministry of Women and Human Rights, 25 years old)

This example shows to which extent the corruption reaches, with politicians intervening on behalf of perpetrators, with total disregard to the national justice system. The lawyer and key informant also gave one of his cases as an example, where the police were bribed to stop the case, and on why most cases of SGBV never make it to court. The survivor he was representing had been raped by five young men that had abducted her on a motorcycle. They were able to arrest the perpetrators as the families of the survivor and perpetrators knew each other. The day the perpetrators were due to appear in court, there had been a delay due to the roads being closed off. The next day the two families’ elders had come to the police and declared they had agreed amongst themselves and the police came to him, asking him to stop pursuing the case. The lawyer had advised the family of the survivor against this, but they

accepted 3000 US dollars as compensation. The perpetrators were later released from police custody.

People are not paid well and regularly and since they are not paid, what they are supposed to get, he will take a 100 dollars to feed his children. He will take that money. Now there is much less corruption. Now there are investigations and monitoring.
(Key informant, Lawyer. 34 years old).

The police's irregular and low salaries are a major contributor to why officers are corruptible. With customary law being the preferred instrument to address SGBV and other offences, and the domestic law not able to provide a comprehensive legal framework, survivors of SGBV have little opportunity for legal protection through the formal justice system. There are many elements that have to be in place in order for perpetrators of SGBV to be convicted. Survivors have to gain access to free legal aid, be able to identify the perpetrator, report the perpetrator, and the police and others in the process must not accept bribes. Furthermore, the clan elders must not be involved, and make space for due process. Then there is also the tackling the limiting and weak legal framework and fragile court system. Yet, there is also the principals of Islamic Law that must be applied to in all judicial ruling and is an important factor in most aspects of Somalia.

There are several problematic aspects of the Islamic Sharia in relation to the punishment of SGBV. One of them is the practically unreasonable requirement for proof of rape is justified by the severity of the punishment given to the perpetrator. Proven rape, the perpetrator would receive death punishment. Other interpretations allow evidence such as testimonies of people who either heard the survivors scream for help or saw that she had been taken into isolation, as well as vaginal bleeding and other bodily injuries that could prove the rape act (Musse et al. 2014, 25). The evidentiary requirement does not only value male witnesses over women; this is nonetheless unachievable in most cases of rape. This is also practiced in the courts of law, as Sharia law is integrated in the formal justice system. The severe punishments given by the Sharia law when proven guilt, are the cause for the unobtainable requirement for proof. It can also be questioned as outdated, and to what extent it can serve as protection for survivors of rape. My understanding of the findings' explanation on why customary law and restorative justice is favored over Sharia law and its retributive style is due to the severe punishments and the damage that can cause to the relationship between families and clans. For the victims of

rape and physical violence, this entails having to live with perpetrator still being free and virtually unpunished for his crime.

Many scholars have found evidence in Islamic texts which is supportive of women's right (Hashim 2010, 7). However, According to Islamic Sharia, the primary duty of women is to maintain the home, provide support to her husband, and bearing, raising and teaching her children (UNICEF 2012). Notions of honor and sexual morality in Islam and Somali culture are similar and are sources of gender bias against women and restrictions on their freedom of movement. In Islam, the movement of women requires the permission of husbands or male guardians, and in traveling she requires the permission of her Mahram (husband, father, brother, uncle) (Ibid.). Violence and cruelty is under no circumstances condoned in the Qur'an. Yet, a husband can "discipline" his wife if other lesser methods of settling their dispute fail, with a gentle tap on the body (UNICEF 2012). According to my findings these type of interpretations and inherent notions of women's subordination to men is not uncommon. Informant 3 stated "Well, if she doesn't listen to her husband, she will be beaten... she has to obey her husband". This informant's understanding of women's position in Islam, is that she has to obey her husband. Legitimizing physical violence towards women, disguised as "discipline".

Islam grants women several basic rights that women in Arabic societies and others who adopted Islam did not have before the introduction of Islam. The question is whether those rights and protection offered to women hold up in modern society. Feminists have tended to regard religion as just another source of women's subordination, citing the manners in which women are often represented as subordinated and the frequency with which religion is used to justify and maintain men's dominant position in society (White 1992 in Hashim 2010, 7). The feminist critique of Islam, as I understand their interpretation, is that Islam is a system suppressing and maintaining gender inequality. Foucault's analysis of power as control through a system, as I interpreted it, can be applied to religion. The principals of Islamic Legal jurisprudence and the Sunnah give strict guidelines that dictate and control Muslim societies, supporting cultural and patriarchal practices that suppress and discriminate women whilst maintaining male domination. Addressing gender inequality is an important step in preventing and adequately punishing crimes of SGBV against women.

However, reconciling feminism and Islam may be possible. In recent years, activists have made efforts to reinterpret the Islamic sources, suggesting that these can be read as fully supportive of equal human rights for all (Hashim 2010, 11). Nevertheless, western feminism is unlikely to appeal to Muslims. Islamic Feminism is on the rise. Muslim Feminists seek to re-examine the validity/meaning of certain *hadiths* that are used to justify male domination (Grech. 2014). In my opinion, an Islamic approach to Feminism, rather than Feminist critique of Islam, may be the way to tackle gender inequality in Muslim societies. Feminist theories can be used to interpret women's position in Islam and assist in modernizing the outdated gender perspectives in some Islamic countries, such as Somalia.

To summarize: for a long time, customary law and negotiations between elders have been the only channel to access justice for SGBV victims. The justice, customary system is able to offer victims is restorative, with collectivistic concerns such as repairing the damage done to the relationship between families and clans. Now that the Somali government is growing stronger, victims of SGBV have the option of seeking retributive justice through formal channels. They are able to negotiate between seeking justice in the formal and informal system in order to reach agreeable conclusions. However, the formal and informal justice systems overlap, and are not independent on each other, with both systems being heavily influenced by Islam.

Chapter 8: Concluding Remarks and Final Recommendations

My findings on causes for various forms of sexual and gender-based violence underline that women in IDP camps are very vulnerable to SGBV. Some of the factors which make women vulnerable are problems attached to living in the camp. An example is that some camps don't have toilets and the women have to go outside the camp, where it is dark at night, and uninhabited, to relieve themselves, this places them in danger of being physically assaulted and/or raped. They are also in danger of being raped or physically assaulted when they go to the empty lands outside the camp to collect firewood.

Most of the families in the camp consists women and children, without a husband or other adult male relatives to protect them from sexual and physical violence from perpetrators. The camps are open to anyone who wants to enter and exit, and people live in plastic shelters. Several of the informants highlighted that women that are alone in the camp are targets for rape and physical violence from thieves. The perpetrators who target women are described as men without work, wives, and who sleeps during the day. They can cut open women's tents and rape them, stab them, or injure them badly.

Married women are also vulnerable to abuse and violence from their husbands. Husbands spending the family's earnings on khat have been highlighted as cause of conflict and physical abuse in marriages by most of the informants. It is also common for a man have several wives, meaning he needs to divide his resources amongst his several wives. This is another cause for conflict and violence in marriages. For a woman who remarries, children from her previous marriage can also be a source of conflict and violence in the new marriage.

In addition to the risk factors in the camp, IDP women are also vulnerable to SGBV because they work outside the camp. They are vulnerable to physical violence and sexual violence when working in private homes as cleaners. Most of the informants and observed survivors of rape in this study who have experienced rape, were raped on their journey to the camps in Mogadishu. My findings suggest that the risk of rape for women travelling is considerable.

Somalia has endured almost 30 years of conflict, and in some regions, the conflict is still ongoing. The lack of infrastructure, weak law enforcement, and judicial system for the past 25 years is a contributive factor to sexual and gender-based violence against women.

The civil society has been working with the population throughout the many years of civil war, while there was no functioning government. They are the main providers of services to SGBV survivors in the IDP camps, services such as: medical help, psycho-social support, material support, and legal aid are provided by them. Some local-NGOs have more funds than others and provide better services than others. Some of them also visit the camps daily to collect victims of SGBV that they take back to their facilities in the city, according to the key informant and lawyer.

The informants in this study who living in the camps were familiar with the services that the local-NGOs provide, and say that other women in the camp also are familiar with their services. They suggest that there is no shame associated with using these services if you have been raped or physically assaulted. Although the local-NGOs are major service providers and influencers in the IDP camps, they are not free of corruption. One of the key informants confirmed my observation of local-NGOs creating false cases of SGBV and services provided to these non-existent victims, in order to secure funds for their organization.

The formal system is still very weak, and most victims of SGBV and their families seek justice in the informal system. The responsibility to mediate, judge, and punish sexual and gender based violence is currently with elders, who are customarily men. According to my findings they have lenient punishment for perpetrators with emphasis on restorative justice, often allowing the perpetrators' families to pay a small amount of compensation to the victim's family. Women who are victims often have no say in how the traditional leaders handle their case and must obey their decision and the wishes of their parents and families. The traditional leaders still have an immense power in Somali society, often ignoring law, police, and the judicial system. It is obvious that traditional leaders and family members of perpetrators can through corruption to stop cases of SGBV or other crimes that are in the police's and judicial courts' system. This indicates how corruption is hindrance for women's access to retributive justice. The formal system often refers cases of SGBV back to the informal system, for the elders to negotiate and reach an agreeable conclusion.

Recommendations

In view of my findings, my recommendations are as follows:

- It is important for women to be in positions of decision making in order to look out for the social and political interest of women and work towards gender equity. Therefore, the Somali Government must strive to increase the female representation on all levels of government.
- The government must strengthen the weak legal framework that addresses and punishes SGBV. The Sexual Offences Bill which has been approved must be implemented strongly. Other relevant international SGBV legislations and instruments must be ratified and implemented.
- The Somali government must put in place mechanisms to counteract corruption in law-enforcement and judicial systems.
- The informal customary law system, upheld by elders and community leaders, have and will most likely continue to have a strong standing in the Somalia society. Therefore, including them in dialog with the formal system, educating them on women's rights, human rights and how to better unite customary law with women's rights to protection and justice, is important.
- The Odayaal and the use of customary law, especially in cases of SGBV, must be regulated and their interference in the formal justice system must be restricted.
- The consumption of the habitual and addictive drug khat is a massive burden on the Somali society. When a family has to maintain a member's khat addiction, this can contribute to domestic violence and family poverty. The Somali government must implement effective legislation to limit the abuse of khat.
- There is need for more expensive empirical research on SGBV and gender issues in Somalia.

Literature list

- Abdullahi, M D. (2009). *Culture and Customs of Somalia*. Westport CT: Greenwood Press.
- Ahrens, C. E. (2006). Being silenced: The impact of negative social reactions on the disclosure of rape. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 38, 263–274.
Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1705531/>
- Allen, A. (2016). *Feminist Perspectives on Power*. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Fall 2016 Edition. Retrieved from <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminist-power/>
- Anderson, D., Beckerleg, S., Hailu, D., & Klein, A. (2007). The khat controversy: stimulating the debate on drugs. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056240902886117>
- Armstrong, A. (2003). *Michel Foucault: Feminism*. Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Retrieved from <http://www.iep.utm.edu/foucfem/>
- Bassiouni, M. C. (2013). Introduction. In *The Shari'a and Islamic Criminal Justice in Time of War and Peace*(pp. 1–17). introduction, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
<http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139629249.002>
- Besteman, C. (1999). *Unraveling Somalia: Race, Class, and the Legacy of Slavery*, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hioa/detail.action?docID=3442329>.
- Bokore, N. (2009). *Female survivors of African wars dealing with the past and present*. *Journal of Sociological Research*, 1(1): E5 Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Nimo_Bokore/publication/259368451_Female_Survivors_of_African_Wars_Dealing_With_the_Past_and_Present/links/0046352b3d4dc3b1d1000000/Female-Survivors-of-African-Wars-Dealing-With-the-Past-and-Present.pdf

- Bokore, N. (2013). *Suffering in silence: a Canadian-Somali case study*, Journal of Social Work Practice, 27:1, 95-113, DOI: 10.1080/02650533.2012.682979
- Brooks, R. (2009). *Religiousness, coping, and locus of control as predictors of anxiety* (Order No. 1466721). Retrieved from <https://login.ezproxy.hioa.no/login?URL=?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/304874249?accountid=26439>
- Bukuluki P., Ddumba-Nyanzi I., Kisuule J.D., Schei B., Sundby J. (2017) *Negotiating Restorative and Retributive Justice in Access to Justice for Survivors of Sexual and Gender Based Violence in Post-conflict Northern Uganda*. In Kawa-Mafigiri, D. & Walakira E.J. (eds). *Child Abuse and Neglect in Uganda, Child Maltreatment*. 6. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-48535-5_11
- Buriánek, J. (2015) *Abused, battered, or stalked : violence in intimate partner relations gendered*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.hioa.no>
- Denscombe, M. (2007). *The Good Research Guide. For small-scale social research projects*. Berkshire: Open University Press (Johnson, 2014)
- El-Bushra, J. & Ibrahim M. G. Sahl. (2005). *Cycles of Violence: Gender Relations and Armed Conflict*. Nairobi: Garden House. Retrieved from <https://www.africaportal.org/publications/cycles-of-violence-gender-relations-and-armed-conflict/>
- El-Bushra J & Gardner J. (2016) *The impact of war on Somali men: feminist analysis of masculinities and gender relations in a fragile context*. Gender & Development, 24:3, 443-458, Retrieved from DOI: 10.1080/13552074.2016.1233668
- Elmi, A. A.(2010). *Understanding the Somalia Conflagration: Identity, Islam and Peacebuilding*. New York: Pluto Press, Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.hioa.no/lib/hioa/detail.action?docID=3386601>

- Falk, Gerhart. Stigma, *How we treat outsiders*. 2001. New York: Promethous Books.
- Gardner, J and El Bushra, J. ed. (2004). *Somalia The Untold Story. The war through the eyes of Somali Women*. London: Pluto Press.
- Giles, W., & Hyndman, J. (Eds.). (2004). *Sites of violence: gender and conflict zones*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.hioa.no>
- Grubb, A. & Turner, E. (2012) *Attribution of blame in rape cases: A review of the impact of rape myth acceptance, gender role conformity and substance use on victim blaming*, Aggression and Violent Behavior- Volume 17, Issue 5, 443-452, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2012.06.002>.
- Harper, M. (2012). *Getting Somalia Wrong? Faith, War and Hope in a Shattered State*. London; Zed Books. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hioa/detail.action?docID=867037>.
- Hashim, I. (1998) *Reconciling Islam and feminism*. In ed. Sweetman C. *Gender, Religion and Spirituality*. Oxford: Oxfam
- Johnson, R. R. (2014). *Rape and Gender Conflict in a Patriarchal State*. Crime & Delinquency 2014, Vol. 60(7) 1110–1128 Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0011128713480656>
- LAW. 2014. *Sexual Offences Bill*. Retrieved from <http://www.legalactionworldwide.org/somalia-2/sexual-offences-bill/>
- Kisulee, J.D., Bukuluki, P., Schei, B., Sundby, J. (2013) *Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) A Research Study Exploring the Effectiveness of Work done by Actors in Civil Society Organizations on Sexual and Gender Based Violence in the Post Conflict Settings of Northern Uganda*. Oslo: Univercity of Oslo

Kisuule, J.D. (2006) *The Social and Cultural Context of HIV/AIDS Epidemic in Rural Areas of Jinja District (Uganda). A Social and Cultural Study of How the Soga are Responding and Reacting To the AIDS Pandemic.* Oslo: University of Oslo

Kapteijns, L. (2012). *Clan Cleansing in Somalia: The Ruinous Legacy Of 199.* Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hioa/detail.action?docID=3442104>.

Koshen H. I. in ed. DeFrain, J., & Asay, S. (2013). *Strong Families Around the World: Strengths-Based Research and Perspectives.* Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.

Krug EG et al., eds. (2002). *World report on violence and health.* Geneva; World Health Organization, 2002. Retrieved from http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/global_campaign/en/chap6.pdf

Musse, F., Sow N., and Skaper P. (2015) *The Complexity of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence: Insights from Mogadishu and South Central Somalia.* London and Rome: International Alert/CISP Retrieved from http://www.internationalalert.org/sites/default/files/Somalia_ComplexitySexualViolence_EN_2015.pdf

Norwegian Church Aid. (2016) *Protecting Women and Girls Against Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV), and Harmful Traditional Practices (HTPs) and Participation of Women In Peace-building.* Retrieved from <https://www.norad.no/om-bistand/publikasjon/2016/protecting-women-and-girls-against-sexual-and-gender-based-violence-sgbv-and-harmful-traditional-practices-htps-and-participation-of-women-in-peace--building/>

Schutt, Russell K. (2008). *Investigating the Social World. The Process and Practice of Research.* Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press

Segal, M. T., Demos, V., & Segal, M. T. (Eds.). (2013). *Gendered perspectives on conflict and violence: part a*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.hioa.no>

Seid, M. M., & Jotte, Z. (2008.) *Customary Dispute Resolution in the Somali State of Ethiopia: An Overview*. In Pankhurst, A., & Assefa, G. (Eds.), *Grass-roots Justice in Ethiopia : The Contribution of Customary Dispute Resolution*. Addis-Abeba : Centre français des études éthiopiennes. doi :10.4000/books.cfee.502

Silverman, D. (2011). *Interpreting qualitative data*. California: SAGE

THE PENAL CODE Legislative Decree No. 5 of 16 December 1962 . Retrieved from http://www.nuhanovicfoundation.org/user/file/1962_somali_penal_code_english_-_edited_13_august_12.pdf

UNHCR (2003). *Sexual and Gender-Based Violence against Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons. Guidelines for Prevention and Response*. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/protection/women/3f696bcc4/sexual-gender-based-violence-against-refugees-returnees-internally-displaced.html>

UNICEF. (2012). *Women ´s rights in Islam and Somali Culture*. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/somalia/SOM_WomenInIslam.pdf

UNHCR (2017). *Somalia Situation 2017 (January – December 2017)*. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/591ae0e17.pdf>
UNCHR 2012

WHO. (2013). *Global and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence*. Retrieved from http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/85241/WHO_RHR_HRP_13.06_eng.pdf;jsessionid=9C0EC36A5DAD77994EEECA2CE366F4A4?sequence=1

Appendix 1 Information letter

STUDY ON SEXUAL AND GENDER BASED VIOLENCE

My name is Ugaaso Hussein Barre and I am a student at Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Faculty of Social Science. I will be conducting a study about “Sexual and Gender Based Violence Against Women in IDP camps” in Mogadishu the summer of 2017. This is a letter containing information about my study.

Somalia is a recovering state that has endured civil war and conflict for almost three decades. Violence and sexual violence against women in times of conflict has a high incidence. Sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) has been a significant feature of the war in Somalia. Also, due to the conflict, there is little research on the topic. The topic itself, of violence, rape and other forms violence against women is often considered a taboo in the Somali culture. My study is explorative with the overall objectives of:

- Explore SGBV among women residing in camps for internally displaced (IDP camps).
- The study will also seek to identify the cultural and social drivers of SGBV.
- Women’s customary, legal and human rights.
- How are these issues being addressed in the civil society?
- How are policies addressing SGBV?
- Finally, I will present a few recommendations for how to better prevent sexual violence against women and also secure better rights for vulnerable women on the topic.

This study is being conducted in cooperation with Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences as a Master thesis for my degree. Science. I plan on conducting interviews with my primary and secondary target group. The content of the interviews will be used for the said purpose, and that only. If may have questions, feel free to contact me for further information.

APPENDIX 2 LETTER OF CONSENT

Ugaaso Hussein Barre

Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences; Faculty of Social Sciences

Invitation and consent letter

Dear Informant.

You are invitation to participate in the research study of “Sexual and Gender Based Violence against Women in IDP camps”. You can read more about the study and its purpose in the attached information letter. This study is being conducted as a part of a Master Thesis in the program “International Social welfare and Health Policy” at Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied sciences.

I would like to invite you to an interview for my research study, regarding this topic. The interview will be partially structured with pre-prepared question; however, I intend it to be more of a conversation than an interview. The information you give me regarding this topic will be used to do further research on the topic.

The interviews will be conducted individually and last for approximately 1 hour, however, if need be, we can be flexible with the time. The location will be of your choice to make it as comfortable as possible. If there is something in particular you need me to be facilitate let me know in advance. If possible I would also like to record our conversation for the purpose of transcribing and analyzing the information for the purpose of the study. With your permission, the information I collect will be stored with confidentiality and only used for the said purpose, according to the University’s rules and regulations on data collection and privacy in research. Your participation will be appreciated and of great importance for the study and its outcome. Thank you in advance.

Best wishes.

Ugaaso Barre

JAAMACADDA OSLO IYO AKISHUS NORWAY EE SEYNISKA IYO KULIYADAHA CULUUMTA
ARRIMAHA BULSHO EE CILMIGA .

Oslo-Norway.

Ugaaso Hussein Barre:

Warqadda Martiqaad ka Qeyb galid daraasadeed

Wallaal ka qeybqaate:(Xogsiye);

Waxaan kaa codsanayaa ama kugu martiqaadayaa in aad igala qeyb qadato daraasad aqooneed ku saabsan Tacadiyadda loo geysyo dumarka kujira Xeryaha qaxootiyada ee dalka gudahiisa meelao ka mid ah ka soo qaxay (IDPs) ee ku saleysan kala sooca Jinsiyadaha dumarka iyo dhibka loogeysto haweenka’.

Waxaad halkaan warqada ku lifaaqan ka dalacan kartaa daarasaddu waxa ay ku sabsan tahay iyo ujeeddooyinka laga leeyahay.

Daarasaddaani waxay ku saleysan tahay ama loo qabanayaa in xogta laga helo loo addeegsado ama qey ay ka noqoto buugga qalin jabinteyda ee shahaada Taqasuska Jaamacadeed ee Master-ka borograamka; Ciwaankiisune yahay “Gargaarka caalamiga ah ee bani’aadannimo iyo horumarinta siyaaddaha caafimaadka ee bulshooyinka caalamka ”; ee Jaamacaada OSLO – Norway. (Thesis in the program -“International Social Welfare and Health Policy” at Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied sciences).

Siddaa awgeed, waxaan rabaa in aan kugu casumo daarasadaa aqooneed ee buuggeyga aadna iga ogollaato in aan xog wareeysi kula yeesho ku ssabsan cinwaaankaa aan kor ku soo shegay. Xog-wareeysigaan oo qeyb ahaan aan u soo diyaariyey su’aalo aan jawaabtooda warqada xogwaranka aan ku buuxinaayo, balse inta badan aan iswareeysi iyo xogsiin; oo dood furan ah ay ku saabsanaan doonaan. Dhammaan xogta aad i siisidna waxay iga anfici doontaa cilbaarista dheeriga ah ee daasadda buugeyga qalin jabintay ee cinwaaankaa aan soo sheeg.

Xog-wareeysigaan waxa u dhici doonaa si kali kali ah, waxaanuu socondoona ugu badnaan hal saac, balse waaqti dheeri ah waa lagu dari karaa. Meesha iyo goobta lagu qaadayo ee ku haboon adiga ayaa dooran kara. Haddiise ay jiraan waxyaabo dheeri ah oo aad door bideeysida sida dad ama shaqsi aad dooneysid in uu ku wehliyo waxaan kaa codsanayaa in aad waqti hore ii sheegtid.

Ugaaso Hussein Barre.

APPENDIX INTERVIEW GUIDES

Interview Guide for SGBV Survivors and IDP Camp Residents

Personal information:

1. Age:
2. Sex
3. Education
4. Current Occupation?
5. Marital Status (**Single, married, widow/widower, Co-habitation**)
6. Number of children (**Adopted or biological**)

7. How did you and your family come to live in the camp? (Adiga iyo qoyskaga maxa sababey ina inta timadiin?)

8. How is the day to day life in the camp?

9. In what ways is living in the camp different than where you originally came from? (Maxe ugu duwantahaay nolasha xeerada, halki hore aa kuu noleeden?)

10. How was the journey to the camp? Did you or those travelling with you experience sexual or physical violence the road? (**if yes, Probe: how, who, what happened**) (Wax xad gudub eh jiidka ma kula soo kulenteen?)

11. What are some of the dangers you face as a women in the camp? (Haween ahan, halisyasha oo kula dhici karo marka aad dagantahay xeerada?)

12. Have you, any member of your family or community experienced any form of SGBV?
(maa ii sheegi karta dhibatoyinka xadguduub oo adiga kula dhacay, qof qoyskaga ama qof aad taqanid ku dhacay?) (**Probe: What type of SGBV Physical, Psychosocial, Emotional**)
13. Who was the perpetrator? (Yuu ahay qofki xad gudubka kuu geystay?)
14. Why do you think this happened to you? What do you believe was the cause? (**Probe: How? Were you alone, was it late at night, were you in a place unknown to you?**)
(Maxa iis ledahay iney sababatey ino xadgudubkan kula dhaco)
15. Could you have prevented it from happening? (Ma is ledahay in aa ka taxadiri kartey sidaa eey xadgudkas kula dhicin?).
16. Have you ever experienced a similar incident of SGBV before living in the camp? (Hore dhaqdooyin noqaan oo kaley ma la so kuluntey inta aa xera imadin?)
17. What made you seek help and report the incident? (**Probe: Or not seek help,**) (Maxa sababey inaad wargilisid dhadadan iyo cawin radsatid, ama adan cawiin radsanin)
18. Did you know what kind of services for SGBV victims the organisations working with the IDP camp offered? (Ma oogeysid cawinada la siiyo hawenka dhibatada kula dhacdo?)
19. What kind of help did you receive from the organization, and what was lacking?
(cawinaad nocee ah ayad heshey, maxaa seh ka maqnay cawimaada aad heshey?)
20. Has this help been useful to you and your family? (Adiga iyo qoyskaga cawinadan see uga faaideysaten)
21. Do you know of women afraid to seek help and speak up about what happened to them?
(**Probe: Why**) (Haween ma taqaana oo xad gudub ku dhacay oo cawinaad radsan, oo cabsanayo? Maxee ka cabsanayan?).

22. Did you tell your family and relatives about what happened to you?

YES: (**Probe**) how did they respond? Was it difficult to tell them what happened?
(Qoyskaga iyo qarabadada maa uu sheegtey dhibatadi kuu soo gartey adi? Siide kugu jawabeen? Hadii ad ka qarisey, maxa sababey?)

NO : Why did you not disclose to your family what happened (**Probe**) (Qoyskaga maxa ugu sheegin wixi kula dhacay)

23. What happened to the perpetrator (maxa ku dhacay qofki dibatada kuu geystey?)

a. (**Probe: if you had a relationship to the perpetrator, what is your relationship like today?**)

b. (**In the case of rape**) ->Was the perpetrator given the option to marry you?
(Probe: Is it common practice, how would you have felt about that?) (Qofki xadgudubka kuu garisyey, inu ku mehersado ma dhici kartey sidu ceebtada uu asturo)

24. What do you think should have happened to the perpetrator in form of punishment? (Maxa jeclaan leheda ina lagu sameya ama lagu xukumo qofkia xad gudubka kuu geystey?)

25. How do you feel about how the case was handled by were handled either by your family, local leaders, police or judicial courts? (Was Customary law used to deal with the SGBV incident? Did you get any compensation? (Dhibatadi xadgudub ee adiga lagu geystey, ma waxaa xaliyeey labadi qooy. Wax Magdhow ah ma heeshay?)

26. Did you experience that your rights were protected? (Ma is leedahay ina xuquuqdadi laa iilaliye?)

Interview Guide for traditional leader

1. Age:
2. Sex
3. Place of Birth
4. Present place of residence
5. Education
6. Current Occupation?
7. Marital Status (**Single, married, widow/widower, Co-habitation**)
8. Number of children (**Adopted or biological**)
9. How does one become an elder?

10. What kind of role do elders and clan have in solving different issues in the Somali culture? (Oday daqamed, iyo gar daqanka somaliga qilkas weyn see ku jeeshten?)

11. Why are elders and clans used to solve different legal issues and not for example police? (Oday daqamedka iyo gar maxa loo isticimla, oona loo isticimalin police iyo maxkamad?)

12. What kind of cases do the clan elders usually deal with? (Kiisas nooceph xalisin?)

13. What kind of SGBV disputes do the elders deal with? (xadguudubka naga loo geysto, kuwee xalisin?) (Probe: what do religious leaders deal with?)

14. How do the elders resolve cases of domestic violence and physical abuse? (**probe: how do you come to a decision, what is put weigh on and considered more important than other factors?**). (Siide uu xalisiin qoyska is dagalo iyo ninki nagtisa tumo)

15. How do elders resolve cases of rape and defilement? (**Probe: is it common to marry the victim to the perpetrator. Probe: how do you come to a decision, what is put weigh on and considered more important than other factors?**). (side uu xalisin gabarta laa soo xoogo?)

16. **Do the elders and clans co-operate with the policy on matters of SGBV?** (Poliska ma la shaqeysin?)
17. What role does the victim have in the elders' discussions and decision? (Qofka dibanaha eh, ma ka so qebgala garta?)
18. Can a woman be an elder and welcome in the discussions? (Naag, oday dhaqamed ma nqo karta?)
19. Does the victim have accept the elder's decision? If not, what happens, whats next? (Qofka dibanaha eh ma ku qasbanyahay ino goonka la so garey qato?)
20. What are the policies for SGBV in Somalia? Sharciyo oo quseeyo xadgudubka haweenka loo garisyo ma jiran? (**Probe: What is lacking, what is already there, is it sharia based**)
21. Do you think it is important for victims to report to their families and elders of the GBV incidents they experience? (probe: is shame a hinder for those who do not come forward). (Ma is ledahay ine hawenka soo shegtan xadgudubka ku dhoco? Kuwa soo sheganin neh maxa is ledahay ine uu qarsadan waxa ku dhaco?)
- 22.** How is SGBV addressed in the civil society? Sii caadi eh, oo furfuran ma loga hadla xadgudubka haweenka loo garsiyo, ama wax laga hadlin oo ceeb eh wayeey. (**Probe: Is it still a taboo or is it more common to address the topic now?**)
23. What would you say are the causes for the different forms of SGBV (Probe: **Probe: physical violence, sexual violence, economic , emotional violence, forced marriage**). Maxaa sababo xadgudubka kala nooc oo haweenka laa garsiyo aa iis ledahay?
24. What consequences of SGBV do women experience? (Dhibato noc eeh ee xadgudubki uu garisya haweenka iyo nolashoda sidu kuu sameya?)

Interview Guide for Health Worker

1. Age:
2. Sex
3. Education
4. Marital Status (**Single, married, widow/widower, Co-habitation**)
5. Number of children (**Adopted or biological**)
6. Current Occupation?

7. Where can GBV victims in the IDP camps acquire emergency health services? (**Probe: Who provides the services? Transport?**) Side hawenka xadgudubka ku dhaco ka helikaran cawinad cafimad?

8. Do the hospitals provide free health care to GBV victims, especially rape victims? Hosbitalyasha cawinad bilash ma siiyan

9. What kind of services do you provide victims? Cawinaad nooce dhibanayasha siisin?

10. What cases type of SGBV cases do you mostly treat?

11. What is lacking in the services provided to SGBV victims? Max aka maqan cawinada la siyo nagaha SGBV ku dhaco?

12. What would you say are the causes of SGBV? Maxa is ledahay inu sababo xadgudubka hawenka la garsiiyo? (**Probe: causes for the different types of SGBV**)

13. What consequences of SGBV do women experience? (Dhibato noc eeh ee xadgudubki uu garisya haweenka iyo nolashoda sidu kuu sameya?)
 - a. Psychological?
 - b. Social
 - c. Physical

14. Do you know of women afraid to seek help and speak up about what happened to them?
(Probe: Why) (Haween ma taqaana oo xad gudub ku dhacay oo cawinaad radsan, oo cabsanayo? Maxee ka cabsanayan?).
15. Do the women you treat later report when they experience SGBV **(Probe: who do they report to; relatives and elders or law enforcement)** Nagaha aa cawinada siisin, ma dacwodaan?
16. How do you follow up the victims your treat? Cawinada marka siisin, ma ka warqabtin?
17. How do they cope with their experiences? How do you help them with this?

Interview Guide for Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development

1. Age
2. Sex
3. Education
4. Occupation

5. Can you tell me about the Gender Policy in Somalia and how it aims to work against the large gender inequalities?

6. What are the strategies for implementation and who is responsible for implementation?

7. What is some of the challenges the government can face with implementing this policy?

8. What role does Civil Society have in gender inequalities?

9. What are the policies for SGBV in Somalia? Sharciyo oo quseeyo xadgudubka haweenka loo garisyo ma jiran? (**Probe: What is lacking, what is already there, is it sharia based**)

10. Who is responsible for implementation?

11. What policies are in place in order to prevent SGBV crimes?
 - a. Sexual offences
 - b. Forced Marriage
 - c. Denial of resources (economic)
 - d. Psychological violence

12. What does the new Sexual offences bill contain? (**Probe: How was it drafted, by who?**)

13. What rights does the bill aim to grant SGBV survivors? (**Probe: can they realistically be implemented**)
14. What are the reasons the bill has not been ratified yet?
15. How will the process of implementation proceed and when is the bill due to be implemented?
16. NGO's and Local NGO's offer different services and Aid to SGBV victims, especially those residing in IDP camps, what efforts is the government making for that group?
17. In terms of public services offered to SGBV victims, what is lacking?
18. How can the laws put in place to punish perpetrators be better implemented? (**Probe: What can the police do, what can the civil society elders do and what can the government and judicial system?**)
19. What does the ministry do or plan to do for the vulnerable women of the IDP camps?
20. Is the work law enforcement does for SGBV victims satisfying? How is their role addressed in the new sexual offences bill?
21. What are the consequences SGBV and gender inequality has on the society?

Interview guide for SGBV Lawyer

1. Age:
2. Sex
3. Present place of residence
4. Education
5. Marital Status (**Single, married, widow/widower, Co-habitation**)
6. Number of children (**Adopted or biological**)
7. Current Occupation?

8. What is the judicial system in Somalia organized and how does it function?

9. What are the policies for SGBV in Somalia? Sharciyo oo quseeyo xadgudubka haweenka loo garisyo ma jiran? (**Probe: What is lacking, what is already there, is it sharia based**)
 - a. What are the laws for physical violence
 - b. What are the laws for economic violence
 - c. What are the laws for rape and defilement
 - d. What are the laws for forced marriage
 - e. What is lacking?

18. What are the policies for SGBV in Somalia? Sharciyo oo quseeyo xadgudubka haweenka loo garisyo ma jiran? (**Probe: What is lacking, what is already there, is it sharia based**)

10. Who provides SGBV victims legal assistance and health care?

11. Can you tell me about the new Sexual offence bill that may be ratified soon?

12. How does a SGBV case proceed?

13. What does the police do for victims in form of justice? (**Probe: Does the police have legitimacy?**) Policeka maxay uu qabtaan nagaha soo dacwodo?

14. How likely is it for SGBV victims to report their victim and want them prosecuted? (Cadi miya ino qofka lagu xadgudbo boliska uu so dacwodo, oonah qofi dibatada uu garsiyey raban ina loo xero)
15. What kind of role do elders and clan have in solving different issues in the Somali culture? (Oday daqamed, iyo gar daqanka somaliga qilkaas weyn see ku jeeshten?)
- a. What do you think about the way elders resolve SGBV disputes and cases?
 - b. Do you work with elders in your work with SGBV victims?
16. What does the police do for victims in form of justice? (**Probe: Does the policy have legitimacy?**) Policeka maxay uu qabtaan nagaha soo dacwodo?
17. What would you say are the causes of SGBV?
18. What do you think the government can do to prevent SGBV?
19. What kind of impact does a high incidence of SGBV have on the society?

Interview Guide for Camp Manager

1. Age:
2. Sex
3. Place of Birth
4. Present place of residence
5. Education
6. Current Occupation?
7. Marital Status (**Single, married, widow/widower, Co-habitation**)
8. Number of children (**Adopted or biological**)

9. Can you tell me about the camp and its inhabitants (**Probe: how many, where are they from, are they from minority groups, what reasons lead them to live in the camp**)
Dadka kamka kuu nool wax ma iga sheegi karta.

10. What are some of the dangers women face in the camp? (Haween ahan, halisyasha oo kula dhici karo marka aad dagantahay xeerada?)

11. Which type SGBV do you encounter the most as camp manager? (**Probe: physical violence, sexual violence, economic , emotional violence, forced marriage**). (Nooce xadgudub aa badana la kulunta).

12. What preventive measures are there in the camp? (**Probe: What is the security in the camp like, what can be improved**). Sidee iskugu daydin ina loga hortago xadgudubka haweenka loo garsiin karo marki ii kamka joogan. Amniga kamka, side wayey maxana laga badali kara. (Sidee SGBV uga hortagtiin?)

13. What would you say are the causes for the different forms of SGBV (Probe: **Probe: physical violence, sexual violence, economic , emotional violence, forced marriage**). Maxaa sababo xadgudubka kala nooc oo haweenka laa garsiyo aa iis ledahay?.

14. Who are the perpetrators? (Yee yihiin dadka xad gudubka uu geysto?) (**Probe: Husbands, outsiders, soldier (AMISOM)**)

15. How common is it for women to seek help after an SGBV incident? (Caadi miya ine haweenka kamka dagen cawinaad soo radsadan?)
16. What type of help do SGBV victims receive from the organisations that work with the camp? Cawiinad nooce haweenka xadgudbka ku dhoco helaan (**Probe: Are the services only for women or male victims too?**)
17. Do the victims know about the available services? Haweenka kamka dagan ma oogyihiin cawinada ee heli karan.
18. Is this help useful to the victim and their family? (qofka xadgudubka loo geystey iyo goyskaga cawinadan see uga faaideysatan)
19. Do you agree with the numbers of SGBV incidents that the LNGOs that work with the camps report? (**Probe: does it happen that they report higher numbers than the actual incidents**) Organisationka cawinaada dhiibo ma is ledahay ine numero baadan qortan, oo uu qalmin xaqiiqda.
20. Do women report when they experience SGBV (**Probe: who do they report to; relatives and elders or law enforcement**)
21. Why do some women not report what they have experienced? (Probe: is it shame related or the belief nothing can be done for them (Maxa sababo iney nago qar waxa ku dhoco soo sheegin ama dacweeynin).
22. What does the police do for victims in form of justice? (**Probe: Does the policy have legitimacy?**) Policeka maxay uu qabtaan nagaha soo dacwodo?
23. How does civil society, relatives and clan elders deal with SGBV cases (**Probe: Are women involved in the process, are they usually agreement with the decisions made by the elders? If now, whats next?**) Gabarta hadi ee ciddeda uu soo dacwoto, see loo xaliya kiiska?

24. Do you know of women afraid to seek help and speak up about what happened to them?
(Probe: Why) (Haween ma taqaana oo xad gudub ku dhacay oo cawinaad radsan, oo cabsanayo? Maxee ka cabsanayan?).
25. What are the policies for SGBV in Somalia? Sharciyo oo quseeyo xadgudubka haweenka loo garisyo ma jiran? **(Probe: What is lacking, what is already there, is it sharia based)**
26. How is SGBV addressed in the civil society? Sii caadi eh, oo furfuran ma loga hadla xadgudubka haweenka loo garsiyo, ama wax laga hadlin oo ceeb eh wayeey. **(Probe: Is it still a taboo or is it more common to address the topic now?)**
27. Do women living in the IDP camps experience different forms of SGBV outside the camp?
(Probe: why do they leave the camp? who are the perpetrates, why are they especially vulnerable?) (Nagaha kamka dagan, xadgudub ma kuu dhaca kamka banankis marki ee uu baxan?)
28. What consequences of SGBV do women experience? (Dhibato noc eeh ee xadgudubki uu garisya haweenka iyo nolashoda sidu kuu sameya?)