SOMALILAND GENDER GAP ASSESSMENT

March 2019



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ACRONYMS

ABE Alternative Basic Education

CATI Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviews

FGD Focus Group Discussion

HAVOYOCO Horn of Africa Voluntary Youth Committee

GAVO General Assistance and Volunteer Organisation

IDP Internally-displaced person

IQS Integrated Quranic Schools

KII Key Informant Interview

MOEHS Ministry of Education and Higher Studies

MESAF Ministry of Employment, Social Affairs and Family

MDG Millennium Development Goals

MP Member of Parliament

MICS Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey

OCHA Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

SHG Self-help Group

SOCA Somali Consultants Association

STEM Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics

SLWCC Somaliland Women Chamber of Commerce

TVET Technical and Vocational Training

UNFPA UN Population Fund

UNICEF United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

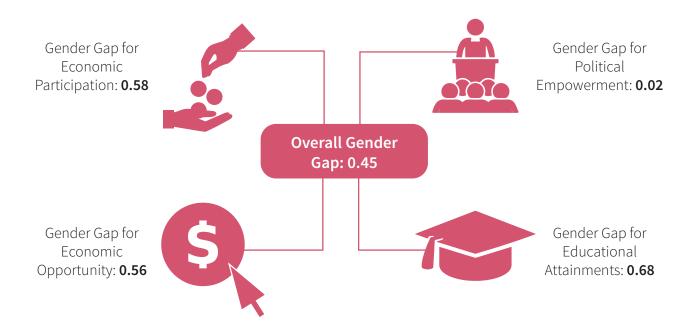
1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: THE GENDER GAP AT A GLANCE

The purpose of this study, the first of its kind in Somaliland, is to generate evidence on and better understand the gender gap between Somaliland women and men. As detailed, the gender gap runs deep, with women comprehensively disadvantaged compared to men in terms of economics, politics and education. This is major cause for alarm, as not only are women negatively impacted, but families, communities and the broader Somaliland are also missing out on much of the potential that can be gained by greater inclusion and empowerment of women. It is hoped this research can draw attention to and illuminate the realities of gender inequalities in Somaliland, not just to inspire action, but also to guide interventions by all stakeholders to improve gender equality for the benefit of all.

This study establishes a composite index to measure the relative gender equality or inequality in Somaliland composed of four sub-components: economic participation, economic opportunity, political empowerment and educational attainment.

The study followed a mixed-methods approach. These methods included a desk review of existing databases and related reports as well as legislative documents, a nationally representative household survey with 1,200 respondents, six Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with relevant stakeholders, and 12 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with female and male community members.

The index is a relative assessment of the gap between women and men. It therefore does not take into account levels of attainment, but instead the gap between these: a score of 0 signals absolute inequality whereas a score of 1 indicates absolute equality. This section highlights key findings of the report.





Women in Somaliland have less than half the opportunities afforded to men

The gender gap index of 0.45 indicates that women are severely disadvantaged in all of the four assessed domains, ranging from fewer economic opportunities to defacto non-representation in political decision-making processes to lower educational attainments.

Women are far less likely than men to participate in the labour market

Somaliland's economy offers limited opportunities for formal employment. Women are twice as likely as men to be unemployed but actively looking for a job (30.1% of the female labour force, compared to 16.4% among men). This indicates that despite pervasive socio-cultural norms that place women in the domestic sphere, plenty of women are looking for economic opportunities outside the house. This gap is particularly evident among youth: a staggering 53.8% of women aged 15 to 24 are not in employment or education, compared to 24.4% of young men in the same cohort.



A woman's educational background decides the type of employment accessible to her

Higher education increases the likelihood of labour market participation: 89.0% of female survey respondents who have obtained tertiary education are participating in the labour market (either employed or looking for a job), compared to 94.0% among men. On the other hand, while vulnerable employment is widespread among both women and men in Somaliland's largely informal economy, women with little to no formal education are particularly prone to vulnerable employment as own-account workers or contributing family members: 91.5% of female survey respondents who identified as self-employed do not employ any other person on a regular basis, compared to 80.3% of men. This accounts for the lion's share of female-owned small-scale businesses, which make up the backbone of the Somaliland economy but are particularly vulnerable to external shocks or family emergencies.



Clannism is considered the main challenge in accessing employment opportunities, in addition to genderspecific barriers

Women suffer from the precarious labour market situation in general and gender-specific barriers that

impede their access to the job market in particular, while pervasive clannism in the allocation of jobs, in other words favouritism over qualification is a major barrier to employment for both women and men. However, the impact on women is exacerbated by lower levels of literacy and education than their male competitors, a weaker social network, their perceived inability to work in physical jobs, and restrictive sociocultural norms that place women in the domestic sphere.



Women's employment is largely seen as a contribution to or substitute for the male head of household's ability to provide

Both women and men recognise the necessity of women's financial contributions to household income and women who work outside the household are respected and admired for their tenacity in shouldering the double burden of housework and livelihood activities. However, interviewed men who were opposed to women working outside the household drew upon traditional concepts of masculinity that consider the male role to be that of sole provider, often justified through narrow religious definitions, while raising concerns that woman would end up earning more money than her husband, thus challenging traditional masculinity. Female interviewees were more likely to link women's employment to sentiments of self-determination and self-actualisation.



Men are almost twice as likely to rise to positions of leadership in their workplace

A far higher 44.1% of male survey respondents state they are responsible for supervising the work of others, compared to only 25.0% of females. Women's challenges in accessing leadership positions are likely the result of a conservative upbringing that teaches boys how to lead and girls how to support, qualitative data suggests.



Legislation on maternity leave exists but is only accessible to the small number of formally employed women

Access to maternity leave is deemed a powerful incentive for women to seek work outside the household. Legislation mandates four months of paid maternity leave for both private sector and government employees. **Enforcement is weak, however, particularly in smaller companies, with no repercussions for violating the law.** Existing legal regulations also do not extend to the large number of self-employed women.



Lack of access to finance is the biggest challenge for women to sustainably grow their businesses

While access to the formal banking system is low in general, survey findings indicate that women face greater challenges than men in accessing financial means. For instance, men are twice as likely as women to have an account at a financial institution in their own name. The terms and conditions to qualify for a bank loan are often not suited to the nature of women's small-scale businesses, as in many cases they are unable to provide a guarantor or fixed assets to offer as collateral. Women's organisation into self-help groups (SHGs) and cooperatives has proved an effective model to increase the productivity of business activities, facilitate access to loan schemes for business activities or emergencies, and provide a social support network to discuss personal and business issues, according to information by the Somaliland Women Chamber of Commerce (SLWCC) and qualitative data gathered for this study. Strengthening the negotiating power of the SLWCC or creating cluster associations of SHGs has the potential to increase the formal representation of working women.



Data reveals a large discrepancy between women's de facto lack of political representation and high levels of community openness towards their political participation

Women's representation in decision-making bodies is currently limited to nine local council representatives, one female member of parliament, and three female ministers (two full and one deputy). This stands in stark contrast to reported high levels of community openness towards political participation.

Women's barriers to accessing the political arena are based on socio-cultural norms that relegate women's influence largely to the domestic sphere, women's lack of social capital in a society where influence on decision-making is strongly liked to one's family background and clan affiliation, women's lower educational attainment compared to men's, and the lack of financial resources for women candidates to afford campaign expenses. Decisions on political participation are also often made in informal gatherings of men. In Somaliland's traditional society, where religious leaders and elders hold the ultimate decision power, women are hesitant to back up dissenting voices, particularly those of other women.

Women are perceived to support but not lead. Women are known for influencing decision-making processes behind the scenes, often by advocating for a certain male representative, while opportunities to exert their constitutional right to political participation are slim to non-existent.



Widespread understanding of the benefits of women's involvement in politics

An overwhelming 85.8% of survey respondents (90.8% of women and 80.7% of men) agree that women's political participation is beneficial for society, demonstrating that women and men do understand the importance and benefit of including women in politics. It's critical that this sentiment translates to practical and sustained action to increase women's participation in politics and broader decision making in society.



Survey respondents understand the importance of a quota to increase women's political representation

An overwhelming 84.1% of survey respondents agreed that the introduction of a quota system would increase the number of female representatives. This data, which has never before been assessed in a nationally representative survey, is a testament to continuous advocacy efforts by NAGAAD and others, and are an inducement for political decision-makers to act according to their constituents' interests.



The gap between women and men's educational attainment runs deep

Women are significantly less likely to reach higher levels of education than their male counterparts. The percentage of female survey respondents who have received no education or have attended only Quranic school stands at 50.7%, compared to 25.8% of men. Only 9.5% of female respondents attended secondary school, compared to 20.1% of men, and 13.5% of female respondents have obtained a university degree, compared to 23.2% of men.



A pervasive narrative links girls' access to education with their future reproductive role

Despite recent progress in girls' enrolment and retention rates, the value of girls' education is persistently linked to their reproductive role, with the expectation that educated mothers will raise educated children. Only a few interviewees saw girls' education linked to the increased potential of

an educated woman to enter the labour market and pursue self-fulfilment through professional work. In case of financial difficulties, boys are more likely to remain enrolled in school, as they are expected to be the breadwinner for their family later on, while girls are largely prepared to take on their role as wife and mother.



Higher education remains inaccessible to many young women due to high costs and limited mobility

In addition to high tuition fees and lack of scholarships, the need to move to a different region (which might not be allowed by the family) further impedes the ability of young women to pursue higher education. This was shown by the qualitative data gathered for this study.



Youth opt for vocational training programmes in line with gendered expectations, strongly limiting women's options to learn a trade

Pervasive gender norms with regards to which trainings and trades are deemed appropriate for young men (i.e. any physical craftsmanship) and which for young woman (i.e. cooking, tailoring, and henna art) further limits women's options to break into the labour market, according to qualitative data collection. While the highly informal nature of vocational training in Somaliland makes it difficult for both young women and men to access high quality programmes and find sustainable employment after completion, the majority of programmes focus on male-dominated trades (such as carpentry, construction, electrical installation, mechanics, and plumbing) and are therefore deemed off-limits for women.



Lack of legislative framework and enforcement to support gender equality

Across the assessed areas, there is a distinct lack of legislation and enforcement to improve gender equality, such as the lack of enforcement on maternity leave, no law guaranteeing equal pay for equal work regardless of gender, and a lack of enforcement relating to non-discrimination in hiring practices, while legislation related to education fails to address many of the key barriers to women achieving higher education. Both providing the appropriate legal framework and a commitment to enforcement a key to addressing many aspects of the gender gap highlighted in this report.

2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on findings in this report, a number of key recommendations for future policy, programming and advocacy work can be made for women's advancement in the four sub-components as listed below:

Overall Closing of the Gender Gap:

- Policies to address all gaps: policies must be developed in close consultation with women and men to address the many deeply embedded gender gaps highlighted throughout this research. This ranges from national government policies, such as those that support women's political, education and economic empowerment, down to business and other localised policies that can create a more supportive environment for women. For example, a law to ensure equal pay for equal work should be a government priority.
- Enforcement of policies: policies alone are not enough to address the deep gender gap in Somaliland, with the maternity leave policy a clear example where lack of enforcement undermines effectiveness. Therefore, attention must also be paid to enforcement and ensuring accessible avenues of recourse for women when policies are not followed.
- Strategic addressing of underlying barriers to equality: issues such as persistent stereotypes that disadvantage women must also be comprehensively addressed beyond the policy realm, such as by championing women's contributions to society, supporting women's leadership and influence in decision-making making, and openly stated commitments to reducing the gender gap.

Economic Participation and Opportunity:

• Equal access to TVET programmes: Research findings revealed a gender dichotomy in the vocational training programmes available and

accessible to young women and men. Advocacy efforts should focus on breaking down the notion of gender-specific training programmes, countering the narrative that women's vocational training can only exist for trades such as cooking and tailoring. TVET centres should be encouraged to promote their courses to women and men equally, and encourage women to sign up for classes that bring the greatest chances of employment, including ICT trainings.

- Considering that the existing legal framework on four months of paid maternity leave is only accessible to the small number of formally employed women in addition to weak enforcement SHG members could be further encouraged to coordinate childcare among themselves, for instance by allocating funds towards access to available nurseries or rotating childcare duties among members.
- regulations regarding maternity leave: Civil society organisations (CSOs), together with business and government sector representatives, should continue their advocacy efforts for the full implementation of the existing maternity leave regulations, particularly pushing for fines in cases of non-compliance. Simultaneous awareness-raising campaigns should focus on educating women on their rights in the workplace, including where and how to file a complaint in case of discrimination.
- Promote legal representation of women entrepreneurs by organising SHGs into clusterlevel associations: A potential next step for the SHGs supported by NAGAAD and other civil society or business organisations could be to organise SHGs into cluster-level associations in order to increase the women's negotiating power towards price-makers such as wholesale distributors, as well as to strengthen their representation in front of legal bodies such as the Chamber of Commerce.

Political Empowerment:

- Women quota now! Supported by the fact that over 84 per cent of survey respondents recognise the importance of establishing a political quota for women, NAGAAD - alongside allies in civil society, business and government sectors - must continue its advocacy for the introduction of a quota system for the allocation of political seats, in particular encouraging the three political parties to adhere to their promise of adding a 30 per cent quota for the upcoming parliamentarian elections in March 2019 and the adoption of a minimum 25% guota to be allocated in the parliament in the same elections. To that end, NAGAAD should continue its efforts to support women's electoral campaigns by providing leadership trainings as well as training on fundraising.
- Support women's political leadership and influence: Advocacy campaigns should focus on increasing awareness of the difference between openness towards women's participation and de facto participation. Advocacy messages should increase awareness for the difference between influencing a decision and making a decision and encourage women to support each other in community meetings. In order to overcome the perceived dichotomy of women- and menspecific topics, actors should conduct community sessions with women to coach them on issues of public governance, including financial resource

allocation, to make them more comfortable speaking up about issues other than those related to the domestic domain.

Educational Attainment:

- Redefine the benefit of education for girls and women: In order to counter the prevailing narrative that links girls' education to their reproductive role, action must be taken to demonstrate the broader benefits of education for girls and women, such as having well-known and respected Somali women to champion the value of education, curricula revisions that outline the diverse benefits of women and similar actions.
- Establish scholarship funds for girls: Considering that girls are more likely to drop out of school if the family encounters financial problems, scholarship funds should be established to retain girls in school. Similarly, considering that high costs of university education were named the biggest deterrent to higher education, university scholarship funds for young women should be established. Those could be based on merit and, as the 2017-2021 Education Sector Strategic Plan stipulates, linked to professions in sectors with high growth potential.
- Support accommodation for girls and young women: ensuring appropriate accommodation for girls and young women can help overcome one of the key education access barriers, particularly for rural and remote communities.

3 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to generate evidence on and better understand the gender gap between women and men in Somaliland. While previous research projects have pointed to gender discrepancies on various levels, there are little to no recent research figures to substantiate those working assumptions with data.

Somaliland's legal framework references women's rights in several instances. The National Constitution, endorsed in a public referendum in 2001, establishes national commitments and obligations directly related to the promotion of gender equality and women's rights and empowerment. Article 36 on the Rights of Women states that "[t]he rights, freedoms, and duties laid down in the Constitution are to be enjoyed equally by women and men save for matters which are specifically ordained in Islamic Sharia." Yet the challenges that women face are manifold, largely owed to traditional narratives that confine women's influence to the domestic sphere.

Recent efforts to increase women's visibility and bolster their participation in public affairs include the Somaliland National Gender Policy, introduced in 2009 by the then Ministry of Family Affairs and Social Development (now Ministry of Employment, Social Affairs and Family, MESAF) with funding from UNDP Somaliland. Focusing on five thematicareas—i.e. poverty reduction and economic empowerment (livelihoods), education and training, health and reproductive health, political participation and decision-making, and gender-based violence—the content of the National Gender Policy was largely seen as "externally developed" and driven by donor language. In 2012, the document was further developed into the National Gender Action Plan with limited implementation

success to date. Due to a lack of financial and human resources, lack of coordinating capacity caused by frequent staff changes, lack of coordination between MOLSA and the civil society sector, and little demonstrated interest of male representatives to drive the agenda forward, government ministries have generally not mainstreamed the Gender Action Plan in their own programmes.³

A composite index was selected for this research because it is a powerful tool for civil society to hold its government and other influential stakeholders to account. This study establishes a composite index, based on up-to-date data, to measure the gender gap in Somaliland composed of four sub-components:



This data allows for nuanced recommendations and highlights avenues for targeted advocacy as well as project implementation. A description of the indicators that are assessed in each sub-component is given in Section 4. The Technical Annex explains measurement aspects in greater detail.

¹ The Constitution of the Republic of Somaliland (Updated translation from April 2015) http://www.somalilandlaw.com/body_somaliland_constitution. htm (Last accessed on 20 January 2019)

² NAGAAD/Ministry of Justice/Progressio Somaliland. Women's Human Rights in Somaliland. 2010. http://www.progressio.org.uk/sites/default/files/Womens-human-rights-in-Somaliland.pdf (Last accessed on 20 January 2019) 3 Ibid.

INDICATORS FOR COMPOSITE GENDER GAP INDEX

This section outlines the indicators that were measured under each sub-component and subsequently fed into the composite gender gap index. The indicators listed below have been inspired by the indicators used in the Global Gender Gap Index and have been selected for their relevance, context-appropriateness and feasibility in accordance with the methodology for this research assignment. To ensure that all indicators are context-appropriate, their selection has been informed by a desk review of relevant data reports.

The composite gender gap index comprises perceptions survey data, expert assessments, and desk-based

research into existing legislation. The index therefore includes both de jure and de facto indicators. *De jure*, or rules-based, indicators capture concepts such as legislative regulations on, for instance, inheritance rights or parental leave arrangements, and their enforcement. De facto, or outcome-based, indicators capture the views of both experts as well as survey respondents of various types (assessed through the quantitative household survey). For further information on the indicators listed below, the Technical Annex offers definitions as well as explanations on measurement aspects.

Economic Participation

- Adult unemployment rate (as % of female/male labour force)
- Female/male youth not in employment or education
- Female/male high-skilled share of labour force
- Employers (as % of female/male labour force)
- Female/male rate of vulnerable employment
- Female/male rate of underemployment
- Law mandates equal pay

Political Empowerment

- Quota for women on candidate lists in national/local elections
- Women's representation in Local Council
- Women's representation in Parliament (Upper & Lower House)
- Number of female ministers compared to males
- Number of female judges compared to males
- Community openness towards women's participation in formal government structures⁵
- Women's influence on decision-making at the community-level⁶

Economic Opportunity

- Existing law that mandates non-discrimination based on gender in hiring
- Access to child care
- Ability of women to rise to positions of leadership
- Percentage of women/men with an account at a financial institution
- Access to financial services
- Access to remittances
- Women's ability to make financial decisions
- Inheritance rights for daughters
- Women's secure access to land use, control and ownership and women's secure access to non-land assets use, control and ownership

Educational Attainment

- Female literacy rate over male value
- Female net primary enrolment rate over male value
- Female net secondary enrolment rate over male value
- Female/male primary education attainment rate
- Female/male secondary education attainment rate
- Female/male tertiary education attainment rate
- Percentage of individuals using the internet (female, male ratio)

⁴ Information on the use of de jure and de facto indicators in the creation of government indicators can be found here: Government Indicators: Kaufmann, Daniel & Kraay, Aart. (2007); Governance Indicators: Where are We, Where Should We Be Going?; The World Bank Research Observer. 23. 10.1093/wbro/lkm012.

⁵ Considering that this indicator is perception-based rather than a de facto figure, it is not included in the composite indicator but rather serves as contextual information.

⁶ See above.

5 LIMITATIONS

In view of the chosen methodological approach for this study, three potentially limiting factors shall be mentioned.

- Response bias: Although phone ownership across Somalia and Somaliland is very high at an estimated 90%,7 the response bias is inherent to CATI data collection and likely to play a more significant role in rural locations where – although phone ownership rates are estimated to be equally high as in urban settings - phone connectivity is weaker. During data collection, this bias was mitigated by ensuring that each respondent was called at least three times before marking them as unavailable. Once a respondent was marked as unavailable, he or she was replaced by another respondent that was selected randomly from the Forcier phone bank. This phone bank includes over 8,500 contacts for Somaliland with an even distribution across the six regions, urban and rural settlements, and an almost perfect 50:50 gender split. This large number of available contact numbers ultimately allowed for the full realisation of the targeted sample.
- Self-selection bias: The self-selection bias is pertinent to any kind of social science research where participation is voluntary. Hence, the realised sample for this project is limited to respondents who consented to partake in the survey. In addition, a commonly observed factor

- that influences people's decision to participate in a survey is their perceived prospect of benefitting personally, such as through monetary rewards or humanitarian aid. This bias was mitigated to the best of the enumerators' abilities by informing respondents about the purpose of the survey and explaining that their participation would not result in any immediate benefits. In order to assuage any potential privacy concerns, respondents were informed at the beginning of the survey, and throughout, that they have the right to refuse to answer any question, that their personal details will be kept confidential, and that the survey is only conducted for research purposes to improve project implementation.
- Social desirability bias: The social desirability effect is a likely occurrence in any kind of social science research that asks about sensitive topics where respondents might feel compelled to appear as good citizens. In this survey, it appears that respondents have over-estimated their literacy levels and over-reported school enrolment rates, as results are much higher than estimates in previously conducted surveys (i.e. UNICEF MICS 2011; Educational Statistics Yearbook 2013/14; Education Sector Strategic Plan 2017-2021). However, this does not compromise the validity of the overall research, but should be considered in relation to the various results presented.

⁷ Reliable statistics on phone ownership in Somalia can be found here: http://www.altaiconsulting.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/WB-MME_Final-Short-Version_20170608.pdf (Last accessed on 14 Nov 2018)

6 RESEARCH FINDINGS

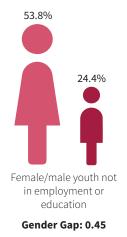
Drawing upon qualitative and quantitative data as well as an extensive literature review, this section details findings on the four sub-components: economic participation, economic opportunity, political empowerment, and educational attainment.

6.1 Economic Participation

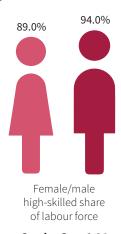
Women are twice as likely as men to be unemployed but actively looking for work.



Young women aged 15 to 24 are twice as likely as young men in the same age cohort to be neither employed nor in education.

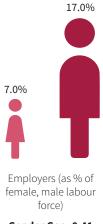


Higher education increases the likelihood of labour market participation for both genders. The percentage of female respondents who have obtained tertiary education and are participating in the labour market (either employed or looking) is almost as high as the percentage of men in the same cohort.



Gender Gap: 0.94

Men are more likely to function as employers. The percentage of respondents who are self-employed and employ at least one other person is higher among male than female respondents.



Gender Gap: 0.41

Vulnerable employment, i.e. the sum of ownaccount workers and contributing family workers, is widespread among both women and men in Somaliland's largely informal economy.



Gender Gap: 0.71

Underemployment concerns women and men equally. Among those respondents who indicated that they work less than 40 hours per week, 86.4% of men and 79.4% of women stated that they would like to work more hours (Note that due to the polarity of the question, a lower percentage is the desired outcome, indicating smaller likelihood of underemployment).



In terms of government legislation, the final indicator, there is currently no legislation in place that mandates equal pay for equal work.

6.1.1 Labour force participation

The latest available data on labour market statistics is the Labour Force Survey 2012, conducted by the Ministry of Labour with technical support from ILO. In 2012, labour force participation rates stand at 56% for urban males, 29% for urban females, 57% for rural males, and 42% for rural females. By age groups, employment was highest among 35-54 year-olds, followed by 25-34 year-olds. Women tend to be overwhelmingly employed in the service and sales sector at 59%, but only make up 4% of managers, 5% of technicians, and 5% of professionals.⁸

Based on this report's survey findings, labour force participation stands at 85.4%. This figure is considerably higher than the one presented the 2012 Labour Force Survey. This is likely linked to the fact that the 2012 survey was only conducted in Borama, Burao, and Hargeisa districts, thus leaving large parts of the (predominantly rural) population unaccounted for. In this survey, disaggregation by type of employment reveals Somaliland as a highly informal economy with a high percentage of self-employed respondents, including farmers and livestock owners. The percentage of self-employed respondents is twice as high in rural than in urban locations. Hence, the percentage of labour force participation in this nationally representative survey is possibly higher, as respondents in rural settings are more likely to be employed in (subsistence) farming or pastoralism rather than indicating that they are unemployed.

Somaliland's economy is largely informal with limited options for formal employment

As indicated in Figure 6.1, the percentage of respondents who are in a formal employment relationship, i.e. in either full-time or part-time paid employment, is low in total (10.6% and 8.3%, respectively). However, there is a clear gender divide: Male respondents are more than four times more likely to be employed on a full-time basis than female respondents (17.4% vs. 3.6%). One third of respondents indicated that they are self-employed or business owners, including farmers and livestock owners. The gender gap in this category is present but less pronounced: 37.2% for men vs. 26.0% for females. Although the overall percentage is quite small at 2.4%, females are three times more likely to work as contributing family workers than males.

⁸ Labour Force Survey Somaliland 2012. Ministry of Labour & Ministry of Planning and National Development. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@africa/@ro-addis_ababa/@sro-addis_ababa/documents/publication/wcms_234412.pdf (Last accessed on 13 November 2018)

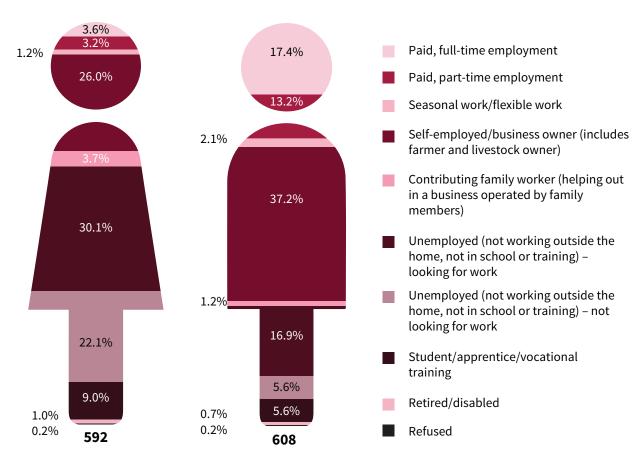


FIGURE 6.1 What is your main occupation?

Women with a higher education background are most likely to be in formal employment

Those respondents who indicated that they are in full-time or part-time paid employment were further asked to specify their type of job. As demonstrated in Figure 6.2, a higher percentage of women are employed as professionals (60.0% of women vs. 48.4% of men) whereas men are more likely to work as skilled labourers. This indicates that while women are generally less likely to work outside the household, those that have obtained higher education are indeed more likely to work in salaried positions. For instance,

women with a university degree are most likely to work in either full-time or part-time employment (42.9% who are in full-time employment have university education, 47.4% who are in part-time employment have university education). Interestingly, a large percentage of women who have received no formal education, i.e. Quranic or no education, are self-employed (71.4% of self-employed have received no education). No females with a university education identified as self-employed. This furthers the impression that women with low educational attainments who identify as self-employed are prone to vulnerable employment, as detailed in the following sub-section.

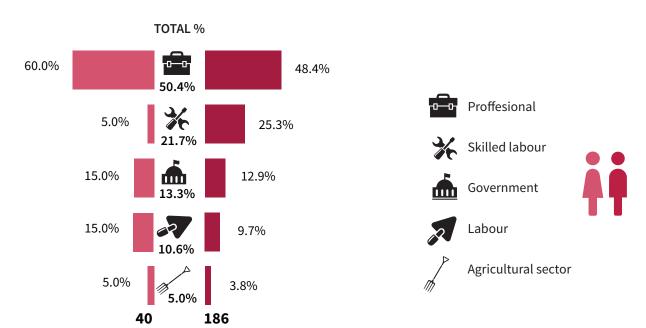


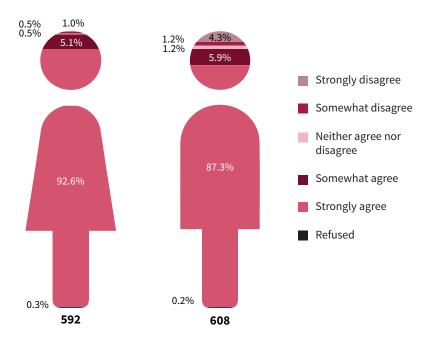
FIGURE 6.2 (For those who indicated they are employed)
In what type of job are you employed?

6.1.2 Vulnerable employment

The SLWCC, a women-led non-governmental institution that supports women entrepreneurs including through skills training classes, estimates that women entrepreneurs make up 60-65% of businesses in the country.⁹ This reality is reflected in the fact that

almost all survey respondents agree that women are capable of owning successful businesses. Interestingly, FGD participants repeatedly pointed to traditionally female-connoted qualities such as patience, kindness, and ability to sympathise with staff and customers as features of a successful business owner.

FIGURE 6.3 Women are capable of owning successful businesses



⁹ Somaliland Women Chamber of Commerce. Annual Report Jan-Dec 2018.

Data from the SLWCC indicates that around 70 per cent of women entrepreneurs run small-scale enterprises that have started as micro-enterprises and have grown over time. In a recently conducted SLWCC study, two thirds of the surveyed women said that they had expanded or diversified their business to some degree since it was established. At the time of the study, a total of 5,230 female-owned businesses were registered from all sectors, such as agriculture, fisheries, livestock, honey production, frankincense, and retail. Demographic information of business owners obtained in the SSWC survey corroborates findings in this survey: 70% of SSWC members had not obtained any form of education with high levels of illiteracy among the women surveyed.

Women with little to no formal education background are most likely to run small businesses

Vulnerable employment is defined as the sum of own-account workers, i.e. self-employed workers who do not hire paid employees on a continuous basis, and contributing family workers. While precarious employment situations are prevalent among both women and men, survey findings indicate that women are more likely to find themselves in vulnerable employment than men: the total percentage of vulnerable employment stands at 43.0% among men and 61.0% among women. These figures are similar to those reported in the 2012 Labour Force Survey (45.5% among men and 65.2% among women). In

Conversely, men are more likely to function as employers. ¹² The 2012 Labour Force Survey reports 11.0% of men and 7.4% of women as employers. ¹² In this survey, 17.0% of male respondents employ at least one other person, compared to 7.0% of female respondents. However, large businesses that employ a considerable amount of people remain a rarity in Somaliland. Out of those who indicated that they indeed pay regular salaries to other people, 78.1% of respondents do not employ more than five people.

6.1.3 Unemployment

Unemployment levels among survey respondents are quite high with 23.4% of respondents being unemployed

but looking for work (16.9% among men, 30.1% among women) and another 13.8% being unemployed and not looking (5.6% among men, 22.1% among women). Hence, although over one-fifth of female respondents identify as homemakers not looking to work outside the house, another 30.1% indicate that they would indeed like to work outside the household. This signifies that despite pervasive socio-cultural norms that place women in the domestic sphere, plenty of women are looking for economic opportunities and would likely take the chance if presented.

Women are twice as likely as men to be unemployed but looking for work

Unemployment levels are particularly high among younger respondents: 36.7% of females below the age of 25 are looking for a job (compared to 19.6% of males in the same age group) and 30.6% of females aged 26-35 (compared to 15.8% of males in the same age group). A staggering 53.8% of women aged 15 to 24 are not in employment or education, compared to 24.4% of young men in the same age group.

Moreover, urban dwellers are more likely to be looking for work than respondents in rural locations (25.5% vs. 21.1%), largely because rural populations are more likely to work in agriculture or pastoralism (42.7% for self-employed). Ultimately, the percentage of jobseekers is highest among refugee and IDP populations (38.1% for refugees, 31.8% for IDPs, and 22.1% for residents).¹³

6.1.4 Underemployment

Underemployment is measured by the total hours worked in all economic activities in one week. The rate of underemployment is the percentage of respondents who work less than 40 hours per week and wish to work more hours. According to the 2012 Labour Force Survey, 8.8% of employed males and 14.3% of employed females worked for less than 25 hours in the last week. Conversely, 57% of males and 47% of females in urban areas and 64% of males and 60% of females in rural areas expressed the desire to work for more hours. 14

Based on survey findings, the average number of hours worked per week comes to 49.3 for respondents who

¹⁰ Detailed definitions are provided in the technical annex.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid

¹³ A total of 126 respondents identified as IDPs and 21 respondents identified as refugees. The household survey did not ask respondents to specify where they fled from, although the most likely source countries are Yemen and Ethiopia.

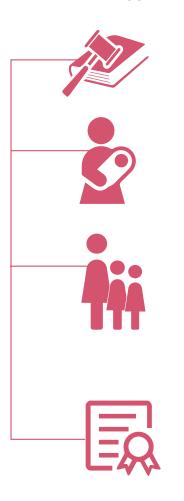
 $^{14\,}Labour\,Force\,Survey\,Somaliland\,2012.\,Ministry\,of\,Labour\,\&\,Ministry\,of\,Planning\,and\,National\,Development.$

are in formal employment or self-employed. Women reported a slightly higher average of 50.8 hours, compared to 48.6 hours among men. These high averages by global standards might hint at unregulated opening hours of small businesses and low productivity jobs, i.e. long working hours for little output – be it as a market worker or as a pastoralist. Among those who indicated that they work less than 40 hours per week, 86.4% of men and 79.4% of women stated that they would like to work more hours.

6.1.5 Equal pay for equal work

Key informants were largely unaware of any antidiscrimination legislation that mandates equal pay for equal work. While the few large-scale companies currently operating in Somaliland, e.g. Telesom or Dahabshil, were said to ensure fair pay through company-wide policies such as pay scales and internal complaint mechanisms, those efforts have limited practical reach considering the largely informal economy of Somaliland.

6.2 Economic Opportunity



Existing law that mandates non-discriminaction based on gender in hiring: **0.0**

Access to parental leave: **0.5**

Inheritance rights for daughters: **0.5**

Women's secure access to land use, control and ownership and women's secure access to non-land assets use, control and ownership: 1.0 There is currently no legislation in place that mandates non-discrimination based on gender (or any other demographic variables) in hiring. This de jure indicator is therefore set at 0.0.

Legislation mandates four months of paid maternity leave for both private sector and government employees. However, enforcement is weak, in particular in smaller companies, with no repercussions for disregard of the law. This de jure indicator is therefore set at 0.5.

Inheritance rights are regulated through Islamic law, according to which a son inherits twice that of a daughter, a brother twice that of a sister, and the husband twice that of his wife. Considering the sociocultural context and research findings that indicate the majority of respondents support inheritance rights as prescribed in Sharia law, this de jure indicator is set at 0.5: Women have some inheritance rights but not the same.

Land ownership in Somaliland is governed through secular, customary (xeer), and Islamic law. The National Constitution as well as Sharia law recognise women's right to property. Xeer has been known to deny women their share of inheritance in both land and livelihood assets in order to protect the property of the patriarchal family. However, as this could not be substantiated within the scope of this study, this de jure indicator is set at 1.0.

Men are almost twice as likely to rise to positions of leadership in their job as women, as indicated by the percentage of respondents who indicated that they supervise the work of other employees.

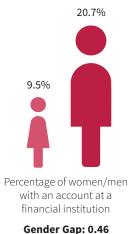


Gender Gap: 0.57



Gender Gap: 1.00

Access to financial means remains challenging for both women and men.





6.2.1 Challenges in accessing the labour market

Clannism is the biggest barrier to accessing employment opportunities for both women and men

Women are prevented from seizing economic opportunities by the precarious labour market situation

in general and gender-specific barriers that impede their access to the job market in particular. Based on qualitative data, the single greatest impediment, especially for young people, to find a job is pervasive clannism in the allocation of jobs, i.e. favouritism in hiring based on clan membership. Jobs are distributed based on people's connections, regardless of qualification. This, in addition to the general lack of employment opportunities, was said to dissuade young people from pursuing higher education.



The main challenge when looking for a job is that having knowledge, experience, and certificates is not enough. Unless you know someone important or famous, it will be very difficult to be hired for a position.

.....

Female Youth FGD participant, Borama

One of the main challenges is that people are not able to get a job in a company if they do not have a family member that works there. This leads to educated people having to find jobs that are way below their education level, whereas the uneducated are managing to get jobs in high paying offices. So, favouritism based on clannism is a big challenge.

Male Youth FGD participant, Las Anod



Women's challenges in accessing the labour market are manifold, including lower levels of literacy/education than their male competitors, a weaker social network, perceived inability to work in physical jobs, and restrictive socio-cultural norms that place women in the domestic sphere and discourage them from actively seeking out economic opportunities.

Women's employment is largely seen as a contribution to or substitute for the male head of household's ability to provide

Evidence suggests that while women who work outside the household are respected and admired for their

tenacity in shouldering the double burden of housework and livelihood activities, women's employment is largely seen as a contribution to or substitute for the male head of household's capacity to provide. Male FGD participants were more likely to express reservations against women working outside the household, particularly if said work were of political or military nature, or required long commutes. While both male and female FGD participants appeared to recognise the necessity of women's financial contributions to the household income, female participants were more likely to link women's employment to sentiments of self-determination and self-actualisation.



A woman who works outside the household is self-sufficient. Of course I will encourage my family members to take the path towards self-determination and do what they want to do.

......

Female Adult FGD participant, Hargeisa

I would encourage my female family members [to seek work outside the household] because we don't know what might happen in the future. In case you get divorced, you shouldn't have to depend on your husband.

Female Youth FGD participant, Hargeisa





We are Muslims and our religion tells us that women should stay at home, as it is mentioned in the Quran. But nowadays everything has changed. People forget what the Quran mandates and do whatever feels good to them.

Male Adult FGD participant, Hargeisa



Those FGD participants who were in opposition to women working outside the household drew upon traditional concepts of masculinity that understand the male role as that of the sole provider, often hiding behind narrow religious definitions and referring to feelings of emasculation in the event a woman ends up earning more money than her husband.

6.2.2 Legislation on non-discrimination

Based on key informants' accounts, there are currently no laws in place that prohibit gender-based discrimination (or discrimination based on other demographic characteristics) in the labour market, which in turn also allows clannist hiring practices to persist. Only one interviewee, a civil society representative, explained that while such anti-discriminatory legislation exists on paper, it is not enforced and employers do not face any consequences in case of disregard.

The Somaliland Human Rights Centre is said to fight cases of discrimination in the private sector by filing complaints on behalf of employees to MESAF. Government employees, on the other hand, can file their complaints with the Civil Service Commission. While private sector interviewees claim that the few larger companies operating in Somaliland (for example, Telesom and Dahabshil) do have fair hiring policies

such as merit-based hiring and qualifying exams in place, there is no indication that these practices are carried over into the wider, largely informal, economy in Somaliland. The Civil Service Commission – to give a best-practice example – has introduced a quota system according to which at least 30 out of 100 jobs available in the government must be filled with women.

6.2.3 Women's ability to rise to leadership positions

As previously cited evidence suggests, women are an integral part of Somaliland's economy, albeit often under precarious working conditions. However, survey respondents' perceptions of women's ability to rise to positions of leadership stands in stark contrast to their de facto representation.

Men are almost twice as likely to rise to positions of leadership at their workplace

While the large majority of respondents (83.8% of men, 92.1% of women) somewhat or strongly agree that women have the same opportunities as men to assume leadership roles at their workplace, survey data reveals large gender discrepancies. Respondents who work in formal full-time or part-time employment were asked



I am not aware of any specific laws, but as far as the Civil Service Commission on behalf of the government employees is concerned, we have fair hiring policies in place. Everyone has an equal chance to apply for a job and be successful. If we find out that these practices are not adhered to, we will follow up on it.

Government representative, Hargeisa

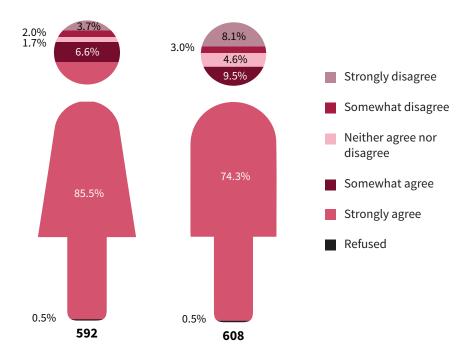


whether they are responsible for supervising the work of other employees, for which 44.1% of men and only 25.0% of women answered affirmatively. When these figures are compared with the perception that women indeed have the same opportunities at leadership as men, it is likely that respondents believe that women and men have the same chance to be successful within their respective gendered domain, i.e. women take

on lead roles at the domestic level, while men govern public affairs.

Women's challenges in accessing leadership positions are likely the result of a conservative upbringing that teaches boys how to lead and girls how to support, as explained by key informants.

FIGURE 6.4 Women have the same opportunities as men to rise to positions of leadership



Although a lot of progress has been made in terms of women accessing higher education, a lot of these women do not believe that they can work in high level positions like their fellow male university students. For example, a woman is much more likely to go for a deputy minister position rather than the minister position. In this society, girls are brought up to be second best to the boys, and to always support their brothers or male relatives. This makes them become less ambitious later on in life.

Government representative, Hargeisa

At big meetings. All the men are greeting or hugging each other and having lots of banter, and because we are a Muslim country, the woman would just be standing there all awkward. The woman can't hug or shake the men's hands or be too friendly. She would be worried how she would be perceived. [...] In our culture, women are supposed to be shy and reserved. If you see that the large majority of the men are all supporting something that you don't agree with, it will be very difficult as a woman to try to get your opinion across.

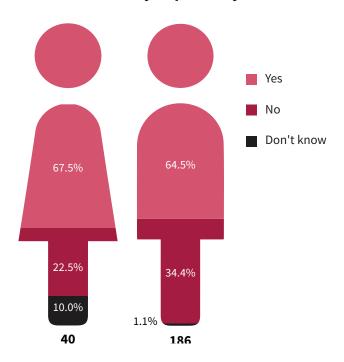
Government representative, Hargeisa



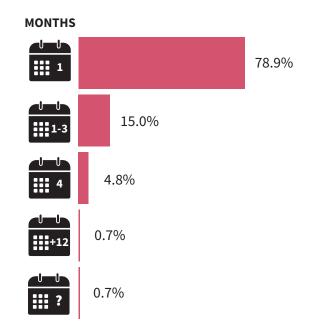
6.2.4 Access to parental leave

Access to maternity leave is a powerful incentive for women to seek work outside the household. Article 15 of the Somaliland Private Sector Act (ACT NO-31/2004) regulates access to maternity leave, mandating that a pregnant mother is entitled to 16 weeks of maternity leave, which she is supposed to commence four weeks prior to giving birth. In addition, a pregnant mother or a mother who has given birth cannot be removed from work until the baby is one year old, except if her contract period expires normally during that time. In the 1996 Civil Service Law (Law No. 7/96), Article 35 on Extraordinary Leave mandates that women in the civil service are entitled to paid maternity leave for a period of four months, with one month having to be taken after the date of delivery.

FIGURE 6.5 In your job, do you have access to maternity or paternity leave?



GRAPH 6.1 How many months of maternity or paternity leave are you able to take?



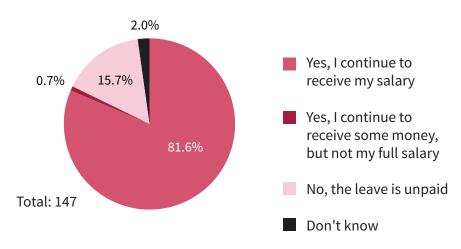
Respondents who indicated that they are in a full-time or part-time formal employment relation were asked whether they have access to maternity or paternity leave, which 65.0% of respondents confirmed. Considering that there are no formal regulations on paternity leave in place, it might well be that male respondents referred to maternity leave arrangements that their employer has in place for female colleagues. A closer look at the nature of parental leave, however, indicates that the legal regulations that mandate four months of maternity leave are largely disregarded by employers who are said to offer leave. The majority of survey respondents with access to parental leave indicated that they are only granted one month or less. Only 4.8% of respondents stated that they are granted the four months to which they are entitled by law.

Nevertheless, the majority of respondents indicated that they continue to receive their salary during parental leave.

¹⁵ Republic of Somaliland. Presidential Decree No: 0431/03210. Private Sector Act.

¹⁶ Republic of Somaliland. Civil Service Law (Law No. 7/96).

FIGURE 6.6 If yes, is the maternity or paternity leave paid?



Legislation on maternity leave exists but is only accessible to the small number of formally employed women

While most FGD participants seemed to be aware of the legal regulations that mandate maternity leave, few knew about women who had been granted such leave, with most referring to government employees, employees at public institutions such as hospitals, or NGO workers. Interviewed key informants explained that while larger companies such as Telesom offer leave, this does not translate to practices in smaller companies which do not have the resources to cover for a person taking four months of leave, let alone female own-account workers who essentially have to shut down their business activities after delivery.

The issue of paternity leave, for which there are currently no legal regulations, was considered less important among interviewees because women are seen as

the primary caregivers. However, FGD participants welcomed the idea of a father being allowed to spend some time with his wife and new-born.

6.2.5 Access to financial means and services

Women in post-civil war Somaliland have increasingly taken on greater economic responsibilities due to men being absent, abroad for work, or incapacitated due to khat17 consumption; however, their influence on financial decision-making remains largely limited to the domestic sphere.¹⁸

In line with desk research that found women are likely to be the financial decision-makers at the household level, survey findings indicate that women are at least equally responsible for major financial decisions of their household. The largest group of respondents indicated the husband and wife (or father and mother) made joint household financial decisions at 47.8%.



Where I used to work, we were granted five days of paternity leave because you need to support your wife or there may be an emergency during delivery.

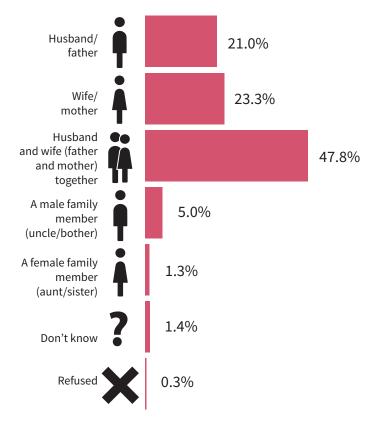
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Male Adult FGD participant, Hargeisa



¹⁷ *Khat* is a plant that is chewed for a stimulant-type effect. Its use is subject to debate in Somaliland. 18 NAGAAD/Ministry of Justice/Progressio Somaliland. Women's Human Rights in Somaliland. 2010.

GRAPH 6.2 If your household has to make a major financial decision (such as buying more livestock or making repair works to your house), who makes this decision?



SLWCC identified access to finance as the biggest challenge for women entrepreneurs, as most small enterprises do not qualify for bank credit due to a lack of fixed assets to offer as collateral. In a study conducted by the SLWCC, only 13 percent of surveyed women said that they had taken out a bank loan, mostly because they were able to offer fixed assets - often those of their parents - as loan security. The terms and conditions of loans, including those offered by microfinance institutions, are also unfavourable to small businesses, as loan repayments are not based on the capacity of such enterprises, thus making it difficult for small businesses meet their repayment obligations. As a short-term solution, women entrepreneurs often borrow from the informal sector, which is not conducive to sustainable business growth.19

Lack of access to the financial market is the biggest challenge for women to grow their businesses sustainably A 2013 Financial Sector Diagnostic Study for Hargeisa, Somaliland, by ILO found that only 16% of surveyed respondents had a formal account with a bank or remittance company. However, around 44% of surveyed households use *hagbed*,²⁰ with women being more likely to contribute frequently at 24% compared to 11% of men. In this study, 30% of respondents indicated that they had borrowed money, however, the majority had borrowed from family or friends, not through formal institutions.²¹

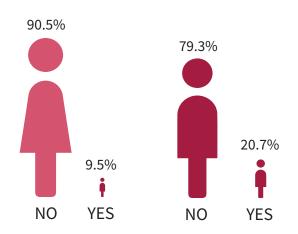
Survey findings indicate that women face greater challenges in accessing financial means. Access to the formal banking system, including *hagbed*, is low in general. Nevertheless, men are twice as likely to have an account at a financial institution in their own name as women (20.7% for men, 9.5% for women). Urban dwellers are also more likely to have a bank account than rural dwellers (19.7% for urban, 10.1% for rural).

¹⁹ Somaliland Women Chamber of Commerce. Annual Report Jan-Dec 2018.

²⁰ Hagbed – also known as ayuuto or shalong – is a typical rotating credit and saving association (ROSCA). It follows the principle of a micro-saving and lending scheme with groups between 20 and 30 members, often women, pooling money together in a common fund. For more information see: Mobile money and Somali social networks: Cultivating monetary alternatives in a volatile world. Gianluca lazzolino. https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/api/datastream?publicationPid=uk-ac-man-scw:199524&datastreamId=FULL-TEXT.PDF (Last accessed on 13 November 2018)

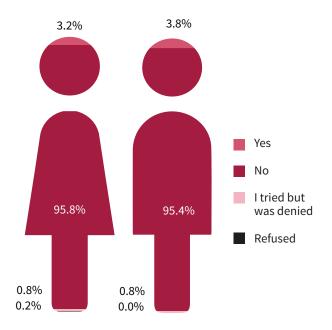
²¹ Financial Sector Diagnostic Study for Hargeisa, Somaliland. ILO. April 2013. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---africa/---ro-addis_ababa/---sro-addis_ababa/documents/projectdocumentation/wcms_398843.pdf (Last accessed on 13 November 2018)

GRAPH 6.3 Do you have an account at a financial institution in your own name?



On the other hand, both male and female respondents reported limited options for loans from financial institutions. Only 3.5% of respondents had borrowed money from a financial institution. The majority of those 42 respondents who have taken out a loan used the money for business activities (12 men and 15 women), followed by livelihood assets (including livestock), to buy food and other goods (3 men and 3 women), and for school fees and related expenses (2 men and 3 women).

GRAPH 6.4 Have you ever borrowed money/ taken out a loan from a financial institution in your own name?



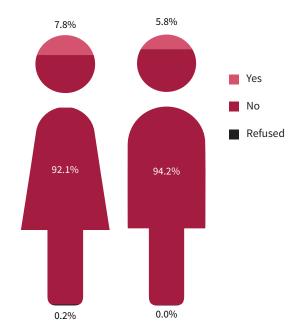
Six out of the 10 respondents who said they had applied for a loan but were denied could not find a guarantor or co-signer. This corresponds to qualitative findings from FGD participants, who said the lack of a guarantor



was the biggest impediment to taking out a loan. Male participants said that women were more likely to be granted a loan as they are known to be more reliable in making repayments. This was disputed by female participants.

Desk review suggests that remittances are overwhelmingly sent directly to and controlled by women, as they are in control of the household budget and considered more reliable than men. However, only 6.8% of all respondents received regular remittances, with female respondents only slightly more likely to receive them in their name. Remittances were primarily sent by family members living abroad, and female and male family members were equally likely to function as senders.

GRAPH 6.5 Do you personally receive remittances from abroad on a regular basis?





There is a share for men and a share for women, from which is left by parents and those nearest related, whether the property be small or large – a legal share.

.....

Male Adult FGD participant, Hargeisa



There was no great variation between genders on the purpose of remittance spending. In addition to personal expenses, remittances were said to go towards managing everyday life, including buying food and other household goods, school fees, and saving money for emergency or health purposes.

6.2.6 Women's inheritance rights

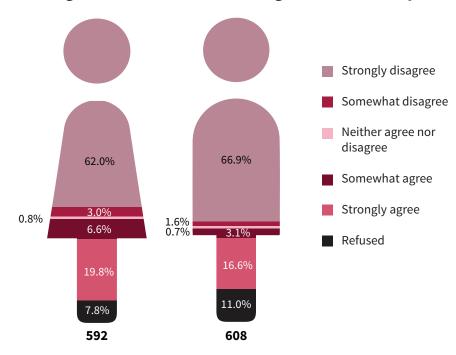
In Somaliland, inheritance rights are regulated through Sharia law. Islam does not deny women's inheritance but sets out the rules by which inheritance is to be shared among female and male dependents.

In Sharia law a son inherits twice that of a daughter, a brother twice that of a sister, and the husband twice that of his wife (Verse 11, Surah 4, An-Nisa).²² This apparent unequal treatment of sons and daughters is

explained by referring to the financial obligations that men bear, as they have to bestow *mahr* upon their wives, a mandatory payment paid to the bride at the time of marriage. All expenses of wives and children are to be paid for by the husband, while wives are not obliged to spend any of their wealth, including *mahr* and inheritance that they bring into marriage or income earned through livelihood activities, on anyone else. Both women and men can write a will as long as it does not violate the principles outlined in the Quran.

The quantitative survey included a somewhat controversial question to probe respondent attitudes towards inheritance rights. Based on the legacy of Sharia and customary law in Somaliland, the majority of respondents support inheritance rights as they are prescribed in Sharia law: 64.5% of respondents strongly disagreed with the notion that a daughter should have the same right to inherit family assets as a son.

FIGURE 6.7 A daughter should have the same right to inherit family assets as a son



²² NAGAAD/Ministry of Justice/Progressio Somaliland. Women's Human Rights in Somaliland. 2010.



In ancient times, women were not allowed to inherit anything, but the Quran abolished this unjust practice and included women as heirs in their own right, capped at one third of the total inheritance. These are the shares that have been decreed by Allah, so it is not permissible for anyone to change them.

Male Adult FGD participant, Hargeisa

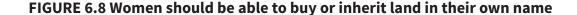


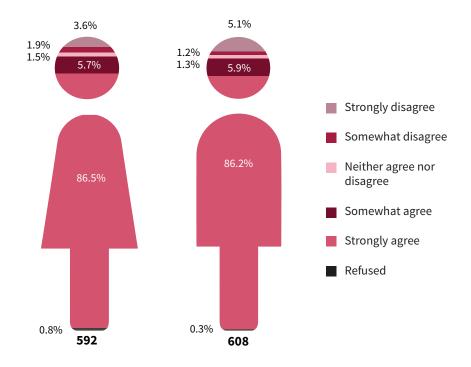
Interestingly, 18.2% of respondents – 16.6% among men and 19.8% among women – strongly support the idea of equal inheritance rights. However, considering respondents' socio-cultural frame of reference, it might well be that respondents had the current regulations in mind and simply reaffirmed that they perceived them as fair and equal. Considering the sensitivity of the question, the comparatively high percentage of "refused" responses at 9.4% is not surprising.

Qualitative findings largely corroborated survey data with FGD participants supporting strict adherence to Sharia law principles.

6.2.7 Women's secure access to land use, control and ownership and women's secure access to non-land assets use, control and ownership

Land ownership in Somaliland is governed through secular, customary (xeer), and Islamic law. As stipulated in Article 12 (1) of the Constitution, "land is a public property commonly owned by the nation, and the state is responsible for it." Two national statutes govern land: the Urban Land Management Law No. 17/2001 (amended in 2008), which regulates the allocation, usage, and control of land, including land tenure; and





²³ For further information on land tenure rights see: Research Guide to the Somaliland Legal System. Mohamed Farah Hersi/Update by Mohamoud Hussein Farah: http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Somaliland1.html#LandTenure (Last accessed on 20 January 2019)

the Agricultural Land Ownership Law No. 08/1999. *Xeer* mostly regulates land usage rights for pasture, grazing land, forests and water in rural areas.²³ Article 36 on The Rights of Women in the National Constitution states that "Women have the right to own, manage, oversee, trade in, or pass on property in accordance with the law."

Survey respondents strongly support equal land ownership rights with 86.3% agreeing that women should be able to buy or inherit land in their own name. Differences between genders are not statistically significant.

Islamic law recognises women's property rights before and after marriage, stipulating that the woman keeps her belongings upon entering marriage and shall be taken care of financially by her husband. In that regard, legal scholars contend that Sharia law is fairer than Somali customary law. While Sharia law grants women rights to inheritance and ownership, Xeer has been known to deny women their share of inheritance in both land and livelihood assets in order to protect the property of the family.²⁴ A study that by Forcier in 2014 found that survey respondents were overwhelmingly in favour of women having equal legal land rights. Despite the legal enshrinement of this equality, familial and traditional dynamics – such as the fear that land would transfer to another clan at the time of marriage – were found to impede women's ability to own land.²⁵ These findings were echoed by one of the interviewed civil society representatives, who said that in reality women's properties are often confiscated by their husbands.

6.2.8 Women's economic opportunities – the way forward

Evidence gathered for this report suggests several ways forward to facilitate women's participation in the labour market and increase their chances for occupying leadership positions, including focusing on the rehabilitation or expansion of labour-intensive sectors; encouraging the organisation of women into self-help groups and cooperatives to increase productivity; and offering start-up grants and loan schemes to women entrepreneurs. In addition, one private sector representative urged young women to use the digital transformation and social media to start and market their businesses from home.

Speaking to the lack of economic opportunities in general, private sector representatives pointed to the need of investing in and modernising the agricultural sector and investing in labour-intensive infrastructure projects. Policies should include both the redistribution of land that has been seized by individuals and support for women to grow their own produce instead of importing it.

While collective organising in form of selfhelp groups and cooperatives provide a social support network and are effective in increasing the productivity of women's business activities, the need for expanding labour-intensive industries remains a top priority

According to information by the SLWCC and qualitative data gathered for this study, the formation of SHGs and women cooperatives has proved an effective model to increase the productivity of business activities, facilitate access to loan schemes for business activities or emergencies, and provide a social support network to discuss personal and business issues.

SLWCC organises women entrepreneurs into cooperatives of 20 members to increase productivity through offering specialised training courses on business management and skills, legal advice, and facilitating access to financial resources. Similarly, SHGs supported by NAGAAD consist of 20 women who pay a monthly contribution of \$5 into a common pot, as explained by interviewed SHG members in Sool. Depending on need, a member can take out a loan of up to two months' worth of money, (\$200). Those funds can be used for emergencies or to salvage or scale-up business activities.

A SHG is formed after an initial workshop where women learn about the advantages of organising collectively and are introduced to SHG procedures, such as how to choose a chairwoman and bookkeeper. The groups meet at least once a month to discuss how much money has been collected in that month, how the money should be used, and how the members can support each other. Husbands are said to be largely supportive of their wives' participation, albeit some interviewed members stated that often their husbands were not even aware of their membership. SHG membership is described as personally rewarding and reassuring as a result of the bonds that women are able to forge with each other and the knowledge that there will be financial support in case of an emergency.

²⁴ NAGAAD/Ministry of Justice/Progressio Somaliland. Women's Human Rights in Somaliland. 2010.

²⁵ Observatory of Conflict and Violence Prevention. Baseline Assessment on Land Ownership and Land Rights in Somaliland. February 2014.



When someone is part of a group, compared to being alone as an individual, you are much more able to achieve something greater. [...] We collect money from each other every month so that we can support each other in times of need. We are all women that come from a relatively poor background and some may not have family support. If a woman starts a business but runs into financial trouble, we may be able to dip into our savings pot and support the woman.

.....

SHG member, Sool

"Although we may not all have taken out money from the fund yet, there is that sense of security that if you are in need, whether it is for your child's education or for your business, money is available to you and your household."

SHG member, Sool



Moreover, interviewed SHG members expressed interest in forming umbrella groups or cluster-level associations that represent SHGs at a regional level, in addition to providing women with additional trainings such as literacy trainings or business skills trainings.



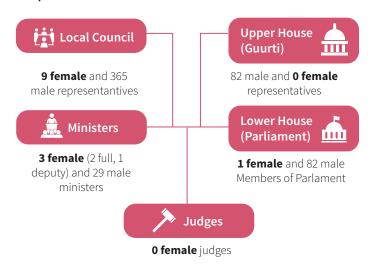
A SHG is always beneficial. Nothing bad will ever come out of [being member of] a SHG. Imagine bringing all the SHGs together? I can only imagine that the benefit will be even greater. An umbrella group will be much more powerful and will have much more of a voice.

SHG member, Sool

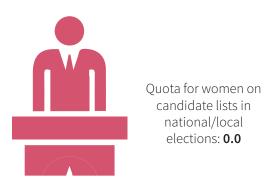


6.3 Political Empowerment

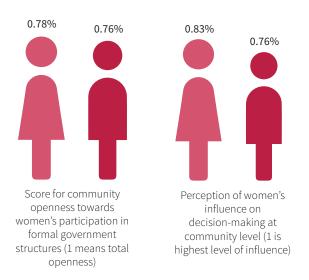
Women's de facto political representation is low to non-existent.



There is currently no legislation in place for a quota for women on candidate lists in national or local elections. Attempts to pass a bill have so far not found the necessary support by the Guurti and Lower House.



However, survey respondents demonstrated high levels of support for women's participation in both formal government structures and the community level.



6.3.1 Women's lack of political leadership

Article 22 in the National Constitution grants women equal rights to political participation, form political parties and nomination by political parties for political leadership. Findings reveal an enormous gap between de facto figures and perception-based data. Figures on community openness towards women's political participation and perceived ability of women to influence decision-making stand in stark contrast to the reality of women's representation in government structures: There are currently nine female representatives in the Local Council out of 365, one female Member of Parliament out of 82, no women in the Upper House (Guurti), three female ministers (two full and one deputy minister) our of 32, and no female judges.

Perceptions of women's current representation in government structures among respondents were rather polarised, with 42.0% of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing and 49.2% disagreeing that women are currently sufficiently represented. Interestingly, male respondents were slightly more likely to view women's current representation as insufficient.

A total of 90.4% respondents (86.8% among men, 94.1% among women) agreed that women were capable of participating in all forms of government, including local councils, Upper and Lower House, and ministries. Among the remaining respondents who did not view women capable of participating in all levels of government, the majority stated that women were not fit to participate at any level (55 respondents in total, 41 men, 14 women).

FIGURE 6.9 Women are sufficiently represented in the government in Somaliland

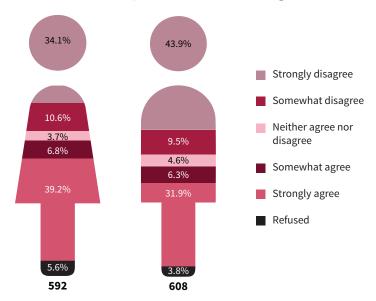
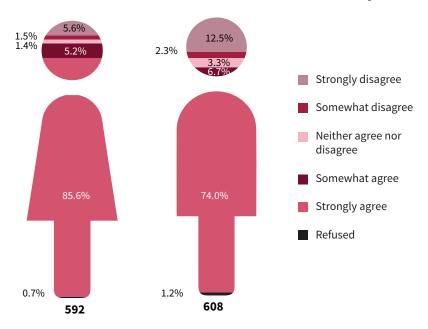


FIGURE 6.10 Women's participation in government structures like the national parliament and the local councils is beneficial for society



Survey data indicates that respondents have recognised the potential of women's participation in political decision-making processes, both in formal government structures and on community level. The overwhelming majority of respondents indicated openness to women's participation, with 79.8% strongly agreeing that their participation is beneficial for society (74.0% among men, 85.6% among women).

Women's influence at the community level is perceived as positive. The majority of respondents agree that women have the same right to speak up at community meetings as men, with male respondents slightly less inclined to agree with this statement (Figure 6.11). Similarly, women who speak up at community meetings are well respected (Figure 6.12).

FIGURE 6.11 Women have the same right to speak up in community meetings as men

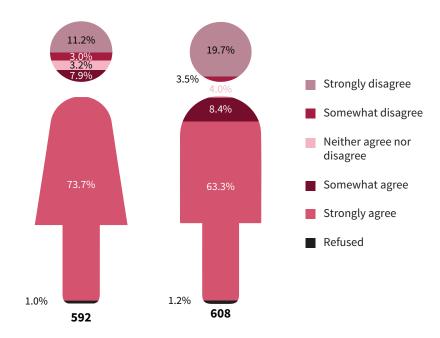
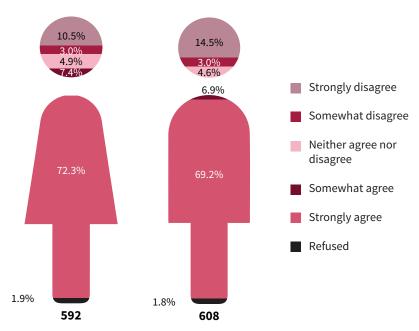


FIGURE 6.12 If a woman speaks up at a community meeting, her opinion is as respected as a man's opinion



Discrepancy between women's de facto nonrepresentation and high levels of community openness towards women's political participation

This paradox of de facto non-representation on the one hand and high levels of community openness towards women's political participation on the other hand warrants more nuanced analysis. Based on qualitative accounts, the barriers that women face when trying to access the political arena include pervasive sociocultural norms that relegate women to the domestic

sphere and place the ultimate decision power in the hands of religious leaders and elders; women's lack of social capital in a society where one's influence is strongly liked to family background and clan affiliation; women's lower educational attainment compared to men's; and women's lack offinancial resources to launch electoral campaigns. While women's engagement at the community level – be it through talking to family members or attending community or district council meetings – is deemed important, women are often barred from informal networking, which tends to occur when men gather in informal men-only spaces called *mafresh* to talk and *chew khat* together.²⁶



If the elders do not support a woman's opinion, no one will support her

Female Adult FGD participant, Hargeisa

"Men do not tend to put their support behind other women, as they consider the women's place to be in the home. Even in our everyday life, all the girl hears is 'You are a girl, stay at home. You are a girl, go do the cooking/cleaning/groceries.' Although our religion is very clear on the rights of a woman [...], people are often not educated enough on religious matters and take the Imam by his word when he says that a woman should stay at home. Ignorance is a big issue.

Civil society representative, Hargeisa



²⁶ NAGAAD/Ministry of Justice/Progressio Somaliland. Women's Human Rights in Somaliland. 2010.



Women played a very important role in rebuilding the country. [...] Although they did not have a seat at the table to join the reconciliation talks, women took care of all the logistics and rallied the people. And if the men didn't come to an agreement, the women played a big role in influencing them behind the scene. [...] As you know, a woman can marry into a different clan, so they have a big say behind the scene.

Civil society representative, Hargeisa

99

Moreover, in addition to men viewing women who raise their voices as competitors whose influence needs to be curtailed, women do not have a strong support network among themselves. This is largely because ultimate decision-making power lies with religious leaders and elders, and women in particular are hesitant to support dissenting voices.

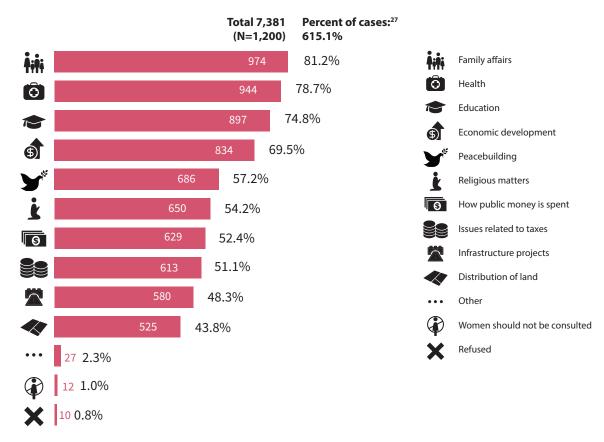
Women are raised to support, not to lead

These findings are largely reflective of some of the key findings presented in the Talo Wadaag baseline study

conducted by Forcier for NAGAAD and Oxfam in early summer 2018. Women's influence is often limited to advocating for male candidates or supporting the ideas of elders in community meetings. Socio-cultural norms make it difficult for women to exert influence by putting forward their own ideas.

Although able to influence decision-making at the community level, women labour under the gendered dichotomy between the domestic and public spheres because of attitudes about women's expertise. Survey respondents saw women most apt to be consulted

FIGURE 6.13 On which of the following issues should women be consulted?



²⁷ Since respondents could choose more than one answer option to this question, the total percentage supersedes 100.0%.

about issues relating to the domestic domain and the wellbeing of children, including family affairs, health, and education, while only around half or less than half of respondents identified topics relating to financial resource allocation (including how public money is spent, tax issues, infrastructure projects, or the distribution of land) as matters of concern to women. Answers did not vary significantly between male and female respondents.

The fact that men are unwilling to share power voluntarily, along with lack of coordination and support among women, relegates women to supporting roles and effectively bars them from leadership. This reinforces the urgency of establishing a quota system for the allocation of political seats.

6.3.2 Introduction of a quota system

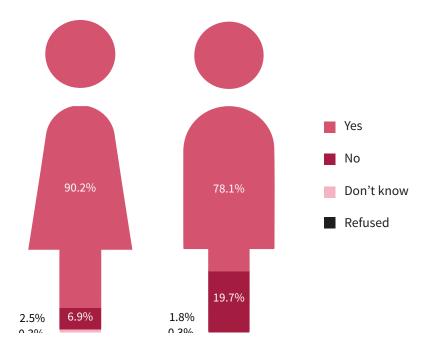
Recognising that a quota system is an effective measure to increase women's participation in political decision-making processes – albeit a temporary means to the long-term goal of gender equality in democratic processes – NAGAAD has worked with allies in civil society, business and government on the introduction of a quota system to mainstream women's political participation since 2005. Prior to the 2017 presidential

elections, NAGAAD had established a Quota Task Force including a group of elite stakeholders from different professional backgrounds to advocate for the women's quota. The taskforce also assisted the three political parties in developing and adopting policies on establishing a voluntary quota within the party. This resulted in the three political parties adding a 30 per cent quota for the upcoming March 2019 parliamentary elections to their by-laws. NAGAAD is advocating for the adoption of a minimum 25 per cent quota for women to be seated in the parliament.²⁸

Survey respondents understand the importance of a quota to increase women's political representation

Although 42.0% of survey respondents stated that women's current political representation is sufficient, an overwhelming 84.1% agreed that the introduction of a quota system would increase the number of female representatives. This data, which has never before been assessed in a nationally representative survey, is a testament to continuous advocacy efforts and is a sign for political decision-makers to act according to their constituents' interests. This attitude towards the introduction of a quota system is equally high across all six regions as well as age groups.

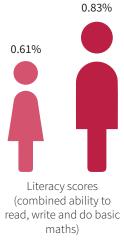
GRAPH 6.6 In your opinion, do you think that a quota system that allocates a specific number of seats for women within government bodies would help to increase the number of female representatives?



²⁸ NAGAAD. Advocacy Campaign Strategy for Ratification of the 25% Quota for Women. March 2017.

6.4 Educational Attainment

Literacy levels are higher among men than among women.²⁹



Gender Gap: 0.74

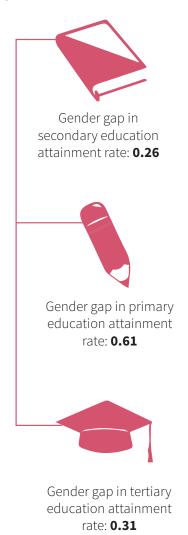
Primary and secondary net enrolment rates are similar for boys and girls, but somewhat higher for boys.³⁰



Gender Gap: 0.94



Female respondents are significantly less likely to reach higher levels of education than their male counterparts.



Women are less likely than men to have regular access to the internet.



²⁹ Considering that reported literacy levels in this survey are slightly higher than in MICS data or the 2012 Labour Force Survey, it is plausible that respondents have overestimated their reading, writing and maths capabilities as a result of social desirability bias.

30 Social desirability bias may also explain the discrepancy here between respondents and government surveys.

Article 36 on The Rights of Women in the National Constitution states: "In order to raise the level of education and income of women, and also the welfare of the family, women shall have the right to have extended to them an education in home economics and to have opened for them vocational, special skills and adult education schools." Girls' enrolment has continuously improved based on recently available data. This section outlines achievements in literacy and enrolment rates as well as primary, secondary, and tertiary education attainment levels by drawing upon a comprehensive desk review as well as quantitative and qualitative research findings.

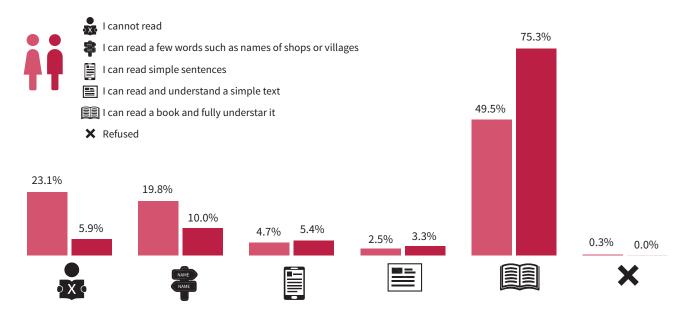
6.4.1 Literacy

Data on literacy rates in Somaliland is scarce. The Somaliland MDG Report (2010) draws on MICS³¹ data from 1999, which put the overall literacy rate at just 26.9% with a significant gap between female and male levels (54.8% among males, 25.4% among females).³² UNICEF MICS data from 2011 put the literacy rate among young women aged 15-24 at 40.0% with great variance between urban and rural locations (53.8% in urban locations, 27.3% in rural locations). Awdal was the region with the highest level of literacy at 50.7% and Togdheer had the lowest rate at 35.6%. Unsurprisingly,

family wealth is a significant determinant of female literacy: 64.7% of females in the richest wealth quintile are literate, compared to only 14.1% in the poorest quintile.³³ According to the 2012 Labour Force Survey, reported literacy rates were highest among youth aged 15-25, with literacy rates of 74% for males and 55% for females, while literacy decreases significantly among older age groups.³⁴

According to survey findings for this report, male respondents supersede female respondents in terms of literacy levels in all three categories of reading, writing, and basic math skills. Literacy levels decline with age. While 80.8% of respondents aged 15 or younger report being able to read a book and fully understand it, this percentage drops to 62.2% for 26-35 year-olds, 50.2% for 36-64 year-olds, and 28.1% for over 65 year-olds. Figures are similar for writing and math skills. Disaggregated by group status, non-displaced people's literacy skills far supersede those of IDPs or refugees. For instance, while 12.2% of residents say they cannot read, this percentage rises to 30.2% among IDPs, and 47.6% among refugees (writing: 12.2% among residents, 32.5% among IDPs, and 47.6% among refugees). The same holds true for the divide between urban and rural settlements, with rural dwellers twice as likely to be illiterate.

GRAPH 6.7 How would you rate your ability to read in your mother tongue?



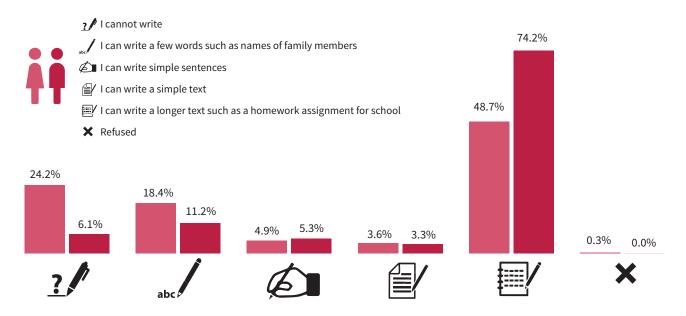
³¹ Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey

³² Somaliland MDG Report 2010. UNDP. http://www.undp.org/content/dam/somalia/docs/MDGs/Somaliland%20MDG%20Report%20First%20 draft%20(2).pdf (Last accessed on 13 November 2018)

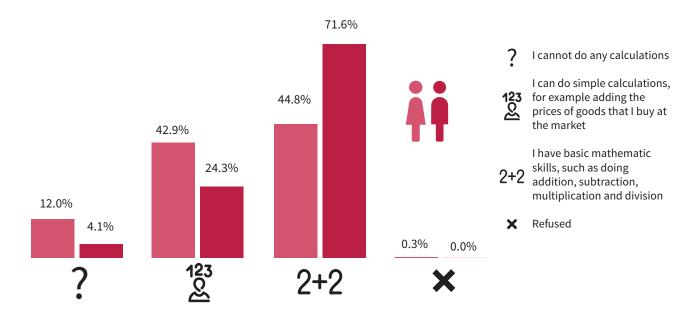
³³ Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2011. Somaliland Final Report 2014. UNICEF. https://mics-surveys-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/MICS4/Eastern%20 and%20Southern%20Africa/Somalia%20%28Somaliland%29/2011/Final/Somalia%20%28Somaliland%29%202011%20MICS_English.pdf (Last accessed on 13 November 2018)

³⁴ Labour Force Survey Somaliland 2012. Ministry of Labour & Ministry of Planning and National Development.

GRAPH 6.8 How would you rate your ability to write in your mother tongue?



GRAPH 6.9 How would you rate your ability to do calculations?



6.4.2 Enrolment rates

Background information on primary enrolment

In Somaliland, there are 8 years of primary school starting at age 6 and four years of secondary school starting at age 14. According to UNICEF MICS data from 2011, just over half of the children of primary school age were attending school (51.4%). Primary school enrolment is higher among boys (55.4%) than

girls (47.3%). There was an urban-rural divide with a participation rate of 59.1% in urban and 43.1% in rural locations. Attendance rate was highest in Awdal at 62.7% and lowest in Sool at 39.4%. Household wealth as well as the mother's education status are significant determinants: 70.8% of children of primary school age in the richest wealth quintile are attending school, compared to 28.1% in the poorest wealth quintile. If the mother has attained secondary or higher education, 75.6% of children of primary school age are

enrolled, compared to 66.3% of children with mothers who have attained primary school education, and 47.5% of children with mothers with no educational attainments.³⁵

The Somaliland Education Statistics Yearbook 2013/14 presents contending figures to those outlined above, as it puts the net primary enrolment rate at just 33.3% (36.2% for boys and 30.3% for girls).³⁶ This is surprising, as this report includes Integrated Quranic Schools (IQS) and Alternative Basic Education (ABE)³⁷ as part of formal primary education. IQS use the same curriculum, teachers and textbooks as formal primary schools, alongside additional Quranic subjects.³⁸

The 2017-2021 Education Sector Strategic Plan estimates net primary enrolment at 33.7% (with 5% less enrolment among girls) with a projected trend of 54% by 2021.³⁹ Speaking to the key challenges that prevent children from going to schools, including natural disasters (drought, flooding, and cyclones), financial shocks, and conflicts, the report details that up to 35,000 children were forced out of school for periods of varying length in the previous strategic period. Most vulnerable were children in rural areas, in nomadic/pastoralist communities and IDPs.

Measures to increase girls' enrolment outlined in the 2017-2021 Strategic Plan include: adequate and girl-friendly facilities; encouraging female teacher training (the proportion of female teachers is under 5%) and placement, especially in secondary schools; affirmative policies to achieve gender parity among teaching staff, including head teachers; scholarship programmes that target girls at secondary level; and improved systems for students with special needs.

Background information on secondary enrolment

The official age range for secondary education in Somaliland is between 14 and 18. Secondary school attendance is low: According to UNICEF MICS data from 2011, only 20.5% of secondary school aged youth are

attending secondary school or higher. The urban-rural gap is more pronounced here than at primary school level, with 30.3% attending in urban settings and only 6.6% in rural settings. Attendance is highest in Maroodi Jeex/Sahil at 26.5% and lowest in Togdheer at 10.1%. Here again household wealth as well as the mother's education status are important determinants. While 41.8% of children from households in the richest wealth quintile attend secondary school, this percentage drops to 0.4% in the poorest wealth quintile. In addition, 42.6% of youth whose mothers attended secondary or higher education are attending secondary school, compared to 26.7% for mothers with primary education and 16.4% for mothers with no education. The gender gap is more pronounced than at primary education level (24.3% of boys, 16.3% of girls).40

The Somaliland Education Statistics Yearbook 2013/14 puts net secondary enrolment at only 9.5% (10.8% among boys and 8.0% among girls). ⁴¹ The strategic plan estimates that, as of 2015, the net secondary enrolment rate was 10.5% (boys 11.6%, girls 9%). The report also highlighted a drastic urban-rural divide: Only 10% of secondary teachers are deployed in rural areas, while only 78 or 4% of teachers are female. ⁴²

Survey data on enrolment rates

Survey respondents were asked whether they have children of school age: 46.7% or 560 respondents have sons between the ages of 6 and 14; 44.3% or 531 respondents have daughters of primary school age. 26.2% or 314 respondents have sons between the ages of 15 and 18 and 25.8% or 310 respondents have daughters of secondary school age.

Out of those respondents, 80.9% indicated that they send their sons of primary school age to school and 75.5% indicated the same for their daughters. It shall be noted that respondents have likely over-reported their children's school enrolment for reasons of social desirability bias. Nevertheless, the gender gap is apparent.

³⁵ Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2011. Somaliland Final Report 2014. UNICEF.

³⁶ Education Statistics Yearbook 2013/14. Ministry of Education and Higher Education. https://www.unicef.org/somalia/SOM_resources_somalilandeducstats2014.pdf (Last accessed on 13 November 2018)

³⁷ ABE education targets children who join the formal education system at a later stage and aims to facilitate a smooth transition to formal secondary schools. The ABE curriculum matches the formal primary curriculum but is accelerated in order to better serve older out of school children.

³⁸ Note that the research methodology and sample design of these two studies were very different. For the MICS 2011 assessment, a total of 4,820 households were interviewed across the six regions. The Yearbook on Education Statistics is based on questionnaires that were sent to schools for data collection through regional and district education offices. The data was then analysed by the Ministry of Education and Higher Education.

³⁹ Republic of Somaliland. Ministry of Education and Higher Studies. Education Sector Strategic Plan 2017-2021. October 2017

⁴⁰ Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2011. Somaliland Final Report 2014. UNICEF.

⁴¹ Education Statistics Yearbook 2013/14. Ministry of Education and Higher Education.

⁴² Republic of Somaliland. Ministry of Education and Higher Studies. ESSP 2017-2021.

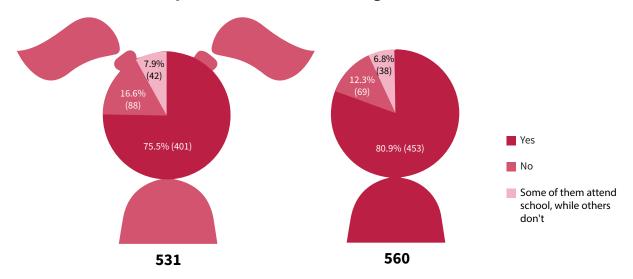
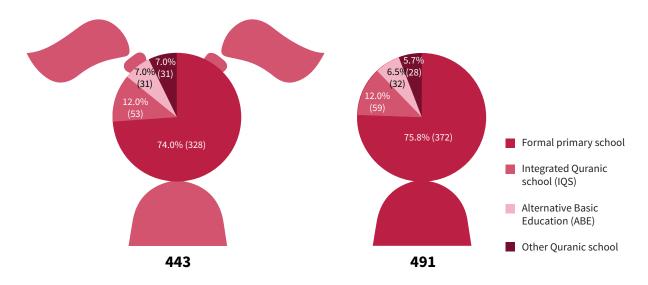


FIGURE 6.14 Do your children between the ages of 6 and 14 attend school?

The majority of primary school children are enrolled in formal schools, with a less significant percentage attending IQS or ABE. Only 5.7% of sons and 7.0% of daughters receive their education at other Quranic schools. (Note that the gender gap calculation only takes into account the number of children enrolled

in formal primary school, IQS, or ABE). Maroodi Jeex sees the highest number of primary enrolment (88.8% for boys, 83.2% for girls). Sool sees the lowest number of boys' primary enrolment at 70.7%. Girls' primary enrolment is lowest in Sanaag at 67.0%.

FIGURE 6.15 Which type of primary school do your children between the ages of 6 and 14 attend?



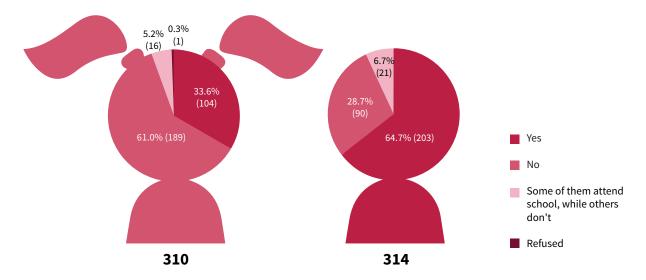


FIGURE 6.16 Do your children between the ages of 15 and 18 attend secondary school?

The gap between girls' and boys' enrolment becomes apparent at secondary school level

Secondary school enrolment was highest for boys in Maroodi Jeex at 73.8% (lowest in Sool at 51.4%) and highest for girls in Awdal at 69.2% (lowest in Sanaag at 52.6%). Enrolment rates are consistently higher in urban than in rural areas. Here again the reported numbers are higher than expected, considering earlier enrolment statistics. In addition to social desirability bias, it is possible that respondents also answered affirmatively if their children of secondary school age are actually enrolled in primary school, although enumerators have been clearly instructed to tell respondents that the question is about secondary school enrolment only (i.e. to calculate the net enrolment rate). Regardless, the gender gap at this stage becomes much more pronounced with 64.7% of sons being reported as attending secondary school, compared to 33.6% of daughters.

Reasons for not enrolling children in primary schools are overwhelmingly related to the inaccessibility of education due to high costs, in addition to having no school available nearby. The percentage of parents stating that there is no money available to send children to primary school is equally high for girls and boys. In addition, 13.9% of parents stated that girls had to help at home with household chores, while only 6.5% said the same about boys (Figure 6.17). These findings are largely corroborated by qualitative

information, with statements underlining that in case of a money shortage, families are more likely to retain boys in school, as they are expected to provide for their families later on. Survey data suggests that this gap becomes more pronounced at secondary school level with 56.2% of respondents stating that there is no money for girls to go to school, compared to 36.0% for boys (Figure 6.18).

All FGD participants viewed girls' school enrolment favourably, expressing satisfaction that communities have finally recognised the value of educating girls. The decision of how and where to send children to school is said to lie with the parents – often the mother, whose dominance over household decisions extends to education decisions.

FGD participants claimed that there is no difference between boys' and girls' enrolment, regardless of type of school; the only difference might be in the daily schedule with boys attending in the morning and girls in the afternoon. Girls were described as more invested in their education and less likely to drop out once they got in, while early khat consumption was seen as the greatest impediment to retaining boys in school. Nevertheless, when asked about secondary school enrolment more specifically, responses become more nuanced with participants explaining that boys are more likely to attend secondary school, as girls have to help with household chores and tend to get married at a younger age.



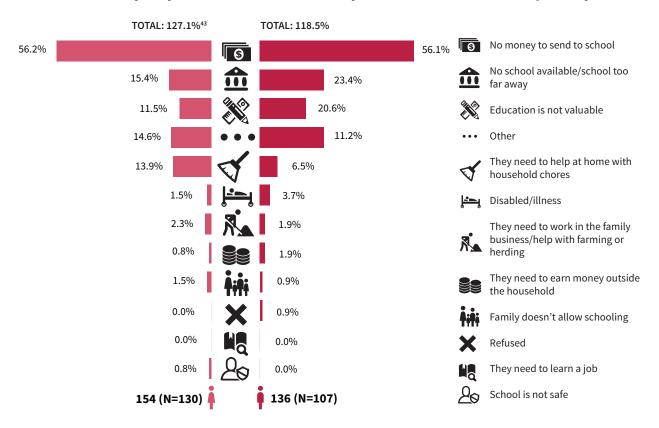
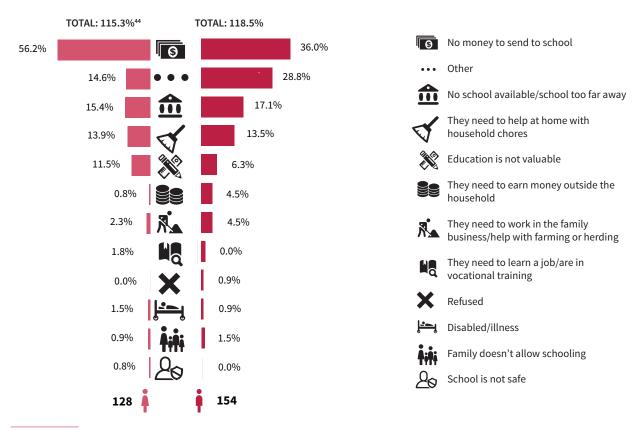


FIGURE 6.18 Why do your children - or some of your children - not attend secondary school?



⁴³ Since respondents could choose more than one answer option to this question, the total percentage supersedes 100.0%.

⁴⁴ Since respondents could choose more than one answer option to this question, the total percentage supersedes 100.0%.



People understand the value of education. In the past, many people thought that education is just for men and that women should stay at home, but now they understand.

Female Youth FGD participant, Hargeisa

In this century, 90 per cent of girls are attending school. We have passed the years in which girls were told to stay at home and only boys attended school

Male Adult FGD participant, Borama



The narrative linking girls' access to education to their future reproductive role is pervasive

Although demonstrating support for girls' education, the data strongly suggests that the value of girls' education is persistently linked to their reproductive role, with the expectation that educated mothers will raise educated children. Few FGD participants saw girls' education linked to the increased potential of an educated woman to enter the labour market and pursue self-fulfilment through professional work. This is strongly linked to the previously mentioned notion that women's livelihood activities, while necessary, are only seen as a contribution to or substitute for a husband's capability to provide for his family. While data shows that women with higher education are more likely to be in full-time or part-time employment relations,

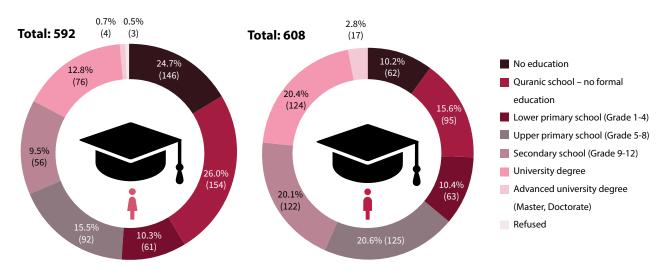
qualitative data suggests that this is not necessarily the expected trajectory for girls who attend school.

6.4.3 Educational attainments

Women are less likely to reach higher levels of education than men

The gender gap on educational attainment is definitive: female respondents are far less likely to reach higher levels of education than their male counterparts. The percentage of female respondents who have received no education or have attended Quranic school stands at 50.7%, compared to 25.8% of men. Only 9.5% of female respondents attended secondary school, compared to 20.1% of men, and 13.5% of female respondents have obtained a university degree, compared to 23.2% of men.

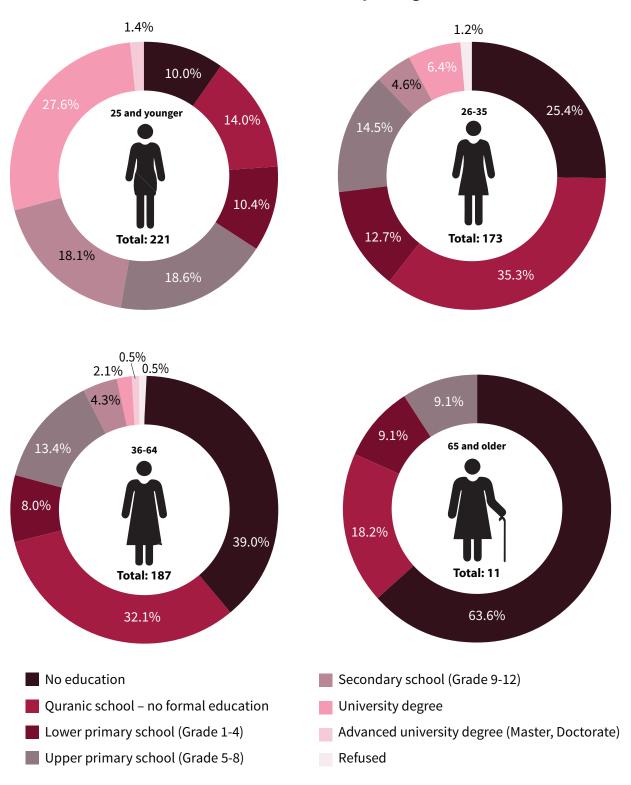
FIGURE 6.19 What is your highest level of education?



Educational attainments vary greatly by age group for both male and female respondents. The younger a respondent, the higher the likelihood of achieving higher education. The percentage of female respondents without any formal education stands

at 24.0% for women aged 25 and younger, and rises significantly for older age groups. Similarly, 18.1% of women aged 25 or younger have attended secondary school and 29.0% have obtained a university degree (Figure 6.20).

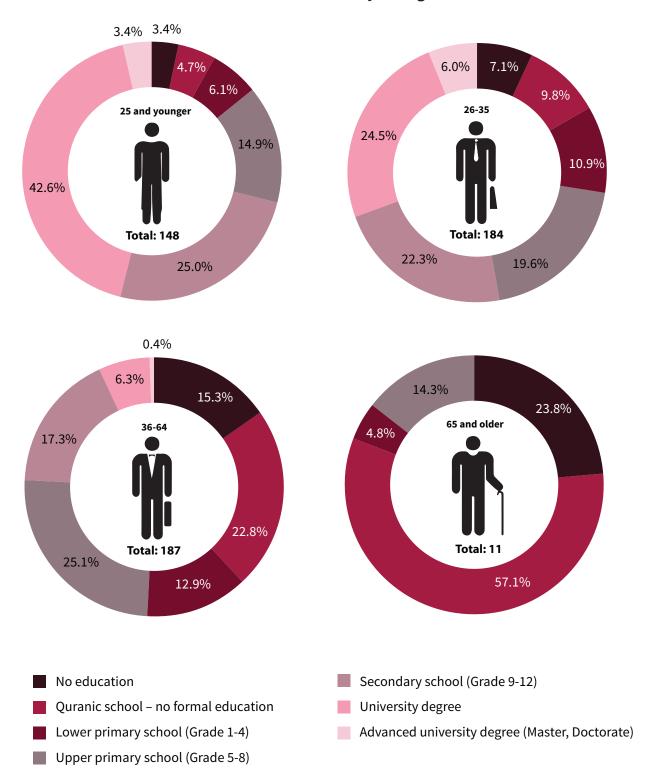
FIGURE 6.20 FEMALE RESPONDENTS: What is your highest level of education?



Nevertheless, even in the youngest age group male respondents supersede their female peers. Only 8.1% of males aged 25 or younger have not obtained any form of formal education, while 25.0% of respondents in this age group have attended secondary school, and

46.0% have obtained a university degree (Figure 6.21). Here again it shall be noted that respondents might have over-reported their educational attainments due to social desirability bias.

FIGURE 6.21 MALE RESPONDENTS: What is your highest level of education?



Educational attainments are particularly low among IDPs and refugees. A total of 77 out of 126 IDP-identified respondents (61.1%) have not received any formal education, while only nine IDPs have attended secondary school and only two have obtained a university degree. In addition, 14 out of 21 refugee-identified respondents have not received any formal education.

There is also a clear urban-rural divide in educational attainment: 49.7% of rural dwellers have not received any formal education, compared to 27.2% of urban settlers. While 32.3% of urban respondents have obtained a university degree, this holds true for only 2.8% of rural respondents.

6.4.4 Access to higher education

Figures on tertiary education rates are difficult to come by. Somaliland is still in the process of rebuilding its education sector and its first university, Amoud University in Borama, Awdal, was only opened in 1997. According to the 2017-2021 Education Sector Strategy Plan, there are between 24 and 35 recognised universities in Somaliland, with Amoud, Hargeisa, Gollis, and Burao University the largest. The higher education sector is overwhelmingly driven by private investment, with universities being founded by NGOs or private entities and funded through tuition fees. Teaching staff qualifications are low with the majority of staff at the three biggest universities – Hargeisa,

Amoud, and Gollis – having only completed a Bachelor degree.⁴⁶

Access to higher education remains unattainable to many young women due to high costs and limited mobility

In a review of the higher education sector in Somalia published in 2013, The Heritage Institute concluded that 35% or 17,500 of the over 50,000 students in Somalia and Somaliland are enrolled at a higher education institution in Somaliland. The University of Hargeisa was said to enrol 7.6% or 3,900 students out of these 50,000 students.⁴⁷ The report does not offer any gender-disaggregated information. The National Development Plan (2012-2016) published in 2015 found 20,441 students enrolled at universities in Somaliland for the academic year 2014.⁴⁸ The only gender disaggregated data is for graduation rates, which puts the male graduation rate at roughly 4,200 and the female graduation rate at roughly 1,750 in 2014. The 2017-2021 Strategic Plan stipulates that less than 2% of all Somali youth will ever attend university. Out of all Somali youth that will ever enrol in higher education, an estimated 30% will be women.⁴⁹ As per qualitative data, access to higher education remains unattainable for many young people, as they cannot afford the fees without scholarships. Women's access is often particularly limited, as their family might not consent to having to travel or relocate to different regions.



Access to university is good in our area, even though it is expensive and most people cannot afford it. But the quality is good.

.....

Female Youth FGD participant, Hargeisa

The biggest barrier for young people to access higher education is the cost of the universities, which is very high. Since they cannot afford the fees, they drop out after high school.

Female Youth FGD participant, Hargeisa

Students would often like to move to a different region or go abroad for their university degree. This is possible for boys, but girls are often not allowed to live somewhere else without their family.

Male Adult FGD participant, Las Anod



⁴⁵ Republic of Somaliland. Ministry of Education and Higher Studies. ESSP 2017-2021.

⁴⁷ The State of Higher Education in Somalia. The Heritage Institute. August 2013. http://www.heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/HIPS_Higher_Education_ENGLISH.pdf (Last accessed on 13 November 2018)

 $^{48\} National\ Development\ Plan\ (2012-2016).\ Edition\ 12\ (Data\ of\ 2014).\ Ministry\ of\ National\ Planning\ and\ Development.\ https://slministry\ of\ Planning\ org/images/Statistics/Final_Somaliland_Infigures_2014.pdf\ (Last\ accessed\ on\ 13\ November\ 2018)$

⁴⁹ Republic of Somaliland. Ministry of Education and Higher Studies. ESSP 2017-2021.

As per survey data, female respondents with a university background are gravitating towards health science, nursing, and midwifery degrees, whereas male respondents are more likely to enrol in or obtain business, engineering and IT degrees. This trend towards a gender-specific selection of studies was confirmed by qualitative accounts. FGD participants said that men were more interested in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) subjects as well as business/accounting courses (and, interestingly, poetry), while women tended to choose health-related professions, especially midwifery.

Seeking to encourage young women to enrol in traditionally male subjects, the Government's 2017-2021 Strategic Plan outlines key strategies including providing scholarships "based on (a) clear set of guidelines, addressing the economic added value," focusing on areas with sustainable growth potential, including marine studies (fisheries), dry land agriculture, livestock by-products, food processing, energy, mining and gems, and mineralogy (petroleum). It says that scholarships should be allocated based on merit with a ratio of 70% from public and 30% from private school. 50 Notably, most of these areas are typically maledominated, and there it little to no mention of targeting women for scholarships.

6.4.5 Vocational training

Technical and vocational training (TVET) programmes in Somaliland are characterised by little to no standardisation. There is little government coordination, with most TVET programmes being privately owned and administered, often dependent on donor funding or NGOs. According to the Government's 2017-2021 Strategic Plan, attempts to pass legislation or policy frameworks such as the 2011 National Vocational Qualifications Framework (VQF) have not come to fruition yet. A draft TVAQ Bill was developed but not finalised.⁵¹ The TVET Department of the Ministry of Education and Higher Studies (MOEHS) offers trainings in technical schools in Hargeisa and Burao and entertains one technical agricultural school close to Burao.

Interviewed private sector representatives referred to different vocational trainings including by organisations such as the Somali Consultants Association (SOCA), Horn of Africa Voluntary Youth Committee (HAVOYOCO), and General Assistance and Volunteer Organisation (GAVO). Larger companies such as Telesom are known to run their own training programmes, in addition to

investing in initiatives such as Innovative Venture, a social enterprise that provides trainings to youth and holds competitions for them to pitch their business ideas.

Among survey respondents, 29.9% of respondents (38.3% male and 21.3% of female) stated that they have participated in a vocational training of some sorts. This percentage is likely linked to the high degree of informality and lack of standardisation, as even a two week course offered by an NGO could lead to some sort of certification. FGD participants shared their grievances over the unavailability of vocational training programmes, explaining that offers are limited (e.g. for mechanics, construction, tailoring, cooking, henna art), expensive, and therefore inaccessible – especially to women. They further pointed to the short-lived nature of most programmes known to them and emphasised that trainings need to be followed by job placements and start-up grants.

Youth opt for vocational training programmes in line with gendered expectations, strongly limiting women's options to learn a trade

Enrolment in vocational training programmes is of a highly gendered nature, with young women opting almost entirely for a select few traditionally female vocations such as cooking, tailoring, and henna art trainings, thus further limiting their options. This was evidenced in both survey data and qualitative accounts. Young men are overwhelmingly trained in physical labour jobs such as electrical installation, mechanics, plumbing, building and construction, carpentry, as well as ICT and accounting. The gender split is less pronounced with regards to business management and office administration courses, while women are overrepresented in nursing, food processing/cooking, and beauty salon trainings.

The Government's 2017-2021 Strategic Plan says that due to national budgetary constraints, progress on the availability of publicly funded TVET programmes is not expected in the near future. However, it does refer to the promotion of gender equity in TVET centres as one of its key strategies, seeking to overcome barriers to female enrolment.

6.4.6 Internet access

According to UNICEF MICS data from 2011, 16.4% of surveyed women between the age of 15 and 24 have

 $^{50\ \} Republic of Somaliland. \ Ministry of Education and Higher Studies. \ ESSP\ 2017-2021.$

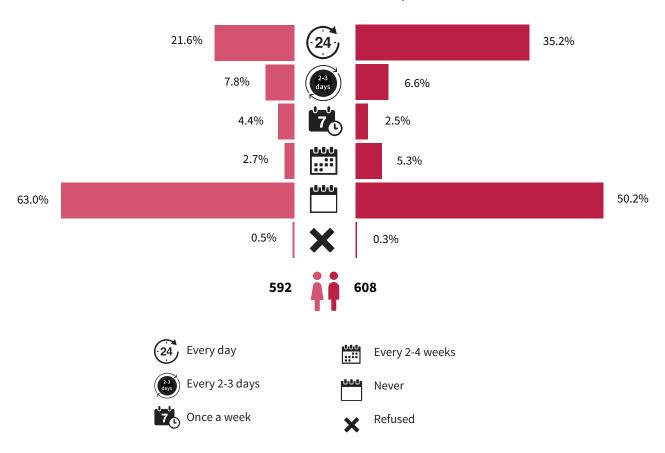
⁵¹ Ibid

used the internet at some point, 14.3% have used it during the past 12 months, and 12.2% have used it at least once a week during the past week.⁵² As this question was only asked to women, there are no comparable statistics for male respondents.

Women are less likely to have access to the internet regularly, according to survey respondents, with 35.2% of male respondents reporting daily access to the internet, compared to 21.6% of women. Unsurprisingly,

younger generations use the internet more frequently (48.8% use it "every day" among 25 and younger; 79.4% "never" use it among 36-64 year-olds). IDP and refugee populations have less access to the internet than residents (52.7% for "never" among residents, 86.5% for "never" among IDPs, and 81.0% for "never" among refugees). Similarly, while 43.8% of urban population states that they use the internet every day (36.1% for "never"), only 11.3% of rural populations access the internet every day (79.5% for "never").

FIGURE 6.22 How often do you usually access the internet (on a mobile phone, a computer, or some other device)?



 $^{52\,}Multiple\,Indicator\,Cluster\,Survey\,2011.\,Somaliland\,Final\,Report\,2014.\,UNICEF.$

CONCLUSION

This report has measured and analysed the gender gap between women and men's achievements and opportunities, as it pertains to the four sub-components of economic participation, economic opportunities, political empowerment and educational attainment. Gender equality is highest in the field of education and lowest in formal political representation. The depth and breadth of gender inequality demands that all stakeholders take coordinated and concerted action at both the policy and practice level to close the gender gap in Somaliland. The following are key concluding points relating to the research focus on economics, politics and education.

- The structure of Somaliland's economy, with little to no industrial production, few large-scale enterprises, and the predominance of small-scale, low-productivitybusinesses, has challenges for both women and men. However, women, in particular female youth aged 15 to 24, are disproportionately affected by unemployment. Women who have not received any formal education are more likely than men to find themselves in vulnerable employment situations.
- While the single biggest impediment to accessing the labour market was said to be clannism in the distribution of jobs, women face a series of additional challenges that limit their economic opportunities and chances to rise to a position of leadership at their workplace. This includes lower levels of literacy and education than their male competitors, a weaker social network, perceived inability to work in physical jobs, and restrictive socio-cultural norms that place women in the domestic sphere and discourage them from actively seeking out economic opportunities.
 - o While the Government should prioritise the expansion of labour-intensive industries as the most urgent action to address chronic unemployment, interim measures should focus on linking highly qualified youth with potential employers, for instance through internships.

- o In order to promote the legal representation of women entrepreneurs and strengthen their negotiating power towards price-makers as well as legal bodies, SHGs could be organised into cluster-level associations.
- o Improving women's protection at the workplace through strict enforcement of labour law provisions regarding maternity leave is likely to encourage more women to seek work outside the household, while equal pay for equal work must be made into law.
- In Somaliland's traditional society, where religious leaders and elders are the ultimate decision-makers, women not only lack the social capital to exert their right to political participation but also the financial resources for women candidates to pay for campaign expenses. Women's roles are therefore often relegated to influencing decision-making processes behind the scenes, for instance by advocating for certain male candidates.
 - o In addition to introducing a quota system for the allocation of political seats, advocacy campaigns should focus on increasing awareness for the difference between openness towards women's participation and de facto participation. Advocacy messages should increase awareness for the difference between influencing a decision and making a decision and encourage women to support each other in community meetings.
- Girls in Somaliland are less likely to reach higher levels of education than boys. In case of financial difficulties, boys are more likely to remain enrolled in school, as they are expected to be the breadwinner for their family later on, while girls are largely prepared to take on their role as wife and mother. Scholarship funds and other support mechanisms, such as women-friendly accommodation options, should be established to retain girls and young women in formal education.

8 TECHNICAL ANNEX

8.1 Methodological Framework

This study followed a mixed-methods approach in order to best address the objectives of establishing a composite index comprised of four sub-components and formulating nuanced and targeted recommendations for future advocacy and programming. This included a thorough desk review of existing databases and related reports (e.g. on economic and education indicators) as well as legislative documents (e.g. on legislation governing topics such as non-discrimination in hiring, equal pay for equal work, and maternity leave), a quantitative household survey with 1,200 respondents, six Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with relevant stakeholders, and 12 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with female and male community members.

8.1.1 Quantitative Household Survey

The quantitative household survey, administered to 1,200 respondents via Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI), constitutes the core of this research. The survey was administered by Forcier's in-house call centre in Hargeisa utilising the mobile data collection platform ONA/ODK.

Sampling

Due to the lack of a population census since 1975, sampling for this survey relied on data from the updated version of the 2014 UNFPA Population Estimation, published by OCHA in 2017.⁵³ This version is disaggregated by district, which was necessary for creating a proportional sample for Somaliland, as the older version of UNFPA combines the regions Maroodi Jeex and Sahil. The estimates provide a breakdown of rural, urban, nomadic and settlements of internally displaced persons. For the purpose of regional allocation, rural, nomadic and IDP populations were

combined as one rural category. The sample was stratified proportionally to the population size of the six regions in Somaliland by both rural and urban settlements and gender. A randomly drawn sample size of n=1,200 results in a margin of error of 2.8% at the 95% confidence interval.

8.1.2 Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

KIIs are a crucial way to access a population of influential people who would otherwise not be captured by a typical household survey, in particular local government partners or influential private sector representatives. In analysis and report writing, this allows for new and often overlooked voices to be documented, as well as detailed experiences and sentiments that can only be gathered from open-ended questions. For the purpose of this research assignment, six KIIs were conducted to gather contextual information on gender gaps within the four sub-components and learn from key informants' perspectives on these topics. All six KIIs were conducted in Hargeisa. Targeted interviewees included:

- 2 business leaders (1 male, 1 female),
- 2 government representatives (1 male, 1 female), and
- 2 leaders of civil society organisations (1 male, 1 female).

8.1.3 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Focus group discussions allow for nuanced and openended responses to difficult questions, eliciting more information on attitudes, perceptions, and experiences that otherwise cannot be obtained by a quantitative survey. While the household survey allows for analysis of general population trends, FGDs allow for more detailed reports including in-depth explorations of

⁵³ The UNFPA Population Estimation survey can be found here: https://data.humdata.org/dataset/somalia-population-data (Last accessed on 14 November 2018)

respondents' views and experiences. For the purpose of this research assignment, 12 FGDs were conducted to gather community perceptions on gender gaps within the four sub-components. In order to ensure a geographical spread, interviews were conducted in the regional capitals of Awdal, Maroodi Jeex, and Sool. FGDs were held with women and men separately in order to ensure that women feel comfortable speaking up and giving their honest opinions. In addition, FGDs were be split by age. The breakdown looked as follows:

- 2 FGDs with younger women (16-35 years old) in Borama and Hargeisa
- 2 FGDs with older women (over 35 years old) in Borama and Hargeisa
- 2 FGDs with members of women self-help groups in vicinity of Las Anod
- 3 FGDs with younger men (16-35 years old) in Borama, Hargeisa, and Las Anod
- 3 FGDs with older men (over 35 years old) in Borama, Hargeisa, and Las Anod.

8.2 Index Calculation

The steps taken to calculate the Gender Gap Index are as follows:

1. Convert data to ratios/normalising data if necessary

Initially, all data was converted to female-to-male ratios. This was to ensure that the Index captures gaps between women and men's attainment levels, rather than the levels themselves. Indicators that were assessed on a Likert scale (e.g. literacy levels, frequency of internet usage) were calculated using min-max normalisation, which transforms the data on a common scale from 0 to 1, i.e. the maximum value possible becomes the highest score and the minimum possible value becomes the lowest score. This method is not affected by skewed values, and does not make any assumptions about the distribution of the data. The obtained mean scores were then converted to female-to-male ratios as

well. De jure indicators, such as existence of non-discrimination laws or legislative regulations on maternity/paternity leave, were assessed on the same scale, ranging from 0 ("non-existent") to 1 ("existent") with an optional 0.5 step (e.g. "some laws are in place") if deemed appropriate based on research findings.

2. Truncate data at equality benchmark

As a second step, the obtained ratios were truncated at the "equality benchmark". For all indicators, this equality benchmark was taken to be 1, meaning equal chances for women and men. In line with the WEF Gender Gap Index methodology, a one-sided scale which measures how close women are to reaching parity with men has been chosen. This is the most appropriate, as it does not reward countries for having exceed the parity benchmark.

3. Calculate sub index scores

The third step in the process involved calculating the average of the indicators within each subcomponent to create the sub-index scores. The Gender Gap Index uses linear, additive aggregation and weights each indicator equally within its sub-index. While there are different aggregation methods, the merit of this approach lies in its simplicity, transparency, and accessibility.

4. Calculate the final score

The composite index is in turn an unweighted average of all of the underlying sub-indices. For all the sub-indices, the highest possible score is 1 (parity), and the lowest possible score is 0 (imparity), binding the scores between equality and inequality. Similarly, the composite index ranges between 1 and 0, allowing for comparisons to be made relative to ideal standards of equality across the different dimensions of the index.

The following tables give an overview of the indicators for each sub-component, including definitions, comments on measurement, and the figures that fed into the index.

8.2.1 Economic Participation

Indicator	Definition	Comments on Measurement	Male Figure	Female Figure	Gender Gap
Adult unemployment rate (as % of female, male labour force)	Share of the labour force aged 15-64 that is without work but available for and seeking employment. ⁵⁴	Percentage of male/female survey respondents aged 15-64 that are unemployed but actively looking	16.35%	30.12%	0.54
Female/male youth not in employment or education	Percentage of people aged 15-24 who are not in employment and not in education or training. ⁵⁵	Percentage of male/female survey respondents aged 15-24 who are not in employment and education or training	24.35%	53.8%	0.45
Female/male high- skilled share of labour force	Proportion of a country's working-age population with a tertiary degree that engages actively in the labour market, either by working or looking for work. ⁵⁶	Percentage of male/female survey respondents who have obtained tertiary education and are participating in the labour market (either employed or looking)	0.94%	0.89%	0.94
Employers (as % of female, male labour force)	"Self-employed" in the sense that their remuneration is directly dependent upon the profits derived from the goods and services produced and who, in this capacity, have engaged, on a continuous basis, one or more persons to work for them as employees. ⁵⁷	Percentage of male/female survey respondents who are self-employed and employ at least one other person	17.02%	6.98%	0.41
Rate of vulnerable employment	Vulnerable employment is defined as the sum of OAW and CFW. ⁵⁸ The rate of vulnerable employment refers to the employed working age population in the vulnerable employment expressed as a proportion to total employment. ⁵⁹	Percentage of male/female survey respondents whose employment can be classified as OAW or CFW. In the Somali context, OAW applies to the majority of female shop owners, street vendors, and market women.	0.43%	0.61%	0.71

 $^{54\} Definition\ taken\ from:\ The\ Global\ Gender\ Gap\ Index\ Report\ 2017.\ World\ Economic\ Forum.$

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Contributing family workers (as % of female, male labor force): A contributing family worker is a person who holds a self-employment job in a market-oriented establishment operated by a related person living in the same household, and who cannot be regarded as a partner because of the degree of his or her commitment to the operation of the establishment, in terms of the working time or other factors to be determined by national circumstances, is not at a level comparable with that of the head of the establishment. Own-account workers (as % of female, male labor force): Own-account workers are those self-employed who do not hire paid employees on a continuous basis but may have assistance from contributing family workers (unpaid employee who usually lives in the same household and are related to family members). (Definitions taken from: The Global Gender Gap Index Report 2017. World Economic Forum.)

 $^{59\} Definition\ taken\ from: Labour\ Force\ Survey\ Somaliland\ 2012.\ Ministry\ of\ Labour\ \&\ Ministry\ of\ Planning\ and\ National\ Development.$

Rate of underemployment	Employment at less than desired or normal working hours (40-48 hours per week). Measured by the total hours worked in all economic activities in one week. ⁶⁰	Percentage of male/female survey respondents who work less than normal working hours per week and less than desired	86.39%	79.41%	1.00
Law mandates equal pay		This was assessed through desk review and relevant Klls.	0.0 There is currently no legislation place that mandates equal pay equal work.		

8.2.2 Economic Opportunity

Indicator	Comments on Measurement	Male Figure	Female Figure	Gender Gap
Existing law that mandates non-discrimination based on gender in hiring	This was assessed through desk review and relevant KIIs.	0.0 There is currently no legislation in place that mandates non-discrimination based on ger (or any other demographic variables) in hiri		
Access to child care	This indicator looks at the length of maternity/paternity leave (days), wages paid during maternity/paternity leave, and provider of maternity/paternity leave benefits. It was assessed on various levels, including a desk review on existing legislation, quantitative survey questions to relevant respondents (i.e. those in a formal employment relation), KIIs with private sector and government representatives, as well as FGDs to allow for more in-depth discussion of the subject matter.	maternity leave government emp is weak, in particu	dates 4 months for both private s loyees. However, en llar in smaller comp in case of disregard.	ector and forcement anies, with
Ability of women to rise to positions of leadership	This was assessed through the ratio of female and male survey respondents who stated that they were in a formal employment relation (either full-time or part-time employment) and are in a managerial role, i.e. are supervising the work of other employees.	44.09%	25.00%	0.57
Percentage of women/men with an account at a financial institution	This measures the percentage of women and men who report having an account (in their own name) at a bank or another type of financial institution. Respondents were asked whether they have an account with a bank, including ROSCA, or remittance company in their name. It was made clear that the use of mobile money transfer (Zaad, hawala), which is independent from a bank account, is not what was asked for.	20.72%	9.46%	0.46

60 Ibid.

Access to financial services	Respondents were asked whether they have borrowed money/taken out a loan in their own name from a bank or remittance company (such as Dahabshil), microfinance services (such as Salaam Financial Services or Kabaa Microfinance Institution), or ROSCA.	3.78%	3.21%	0.85	
Access to remittances	Respondents were asked whether they personally are receiving remittances via a bank transfer or remittance company.	5.76%	7.77%	1.00	
Women's ability to make financial decisions	This was assessed through a survey question asking about who in the household is responsible for major financial decisions (such as purchasing livelihood assets or land). The figures on the right refer to the percentage of respondents who indicated that either a male household member or a female household member alone is responsible for financial decisions. This does not take into account the percentage of respondents indicating that both male and female HH members are decision-makers.	26.00%	24.50%	0.94	
Inheritance rights for daughters	This refers to whether daughters and sons have equal inheritance rights and was assessed through desk review of existing legislature and KIIs.	law, according to that of a daughter sister, and the hus Considering the sresearch findings of respondents suthey are prescribe respondents strong that a daughter slinherit family assegure indicator is segure indicator is segure indicator is segure indicator is segure indicator.	nce rights are regulated through Islamic ording to which a son inherits twice a daughter, a brother twice that of a and the husband twice that of his wife. Iring the socio-cultural context and a findings that indicate the majority ndents support inheritance rights as prescribed in Sharia law, i.e. 64.5% of lents strongly disagreed with the notion aughter should have the same right to amily assets as a son, the gap for this decator is set at 0.5: Women have some nce rights but not the same.		
Women's secure access to land use, control and ownership and women's secure access to non-land assets use, control and ownership	This refers to whether women and men have equal and secure access to land use, control and ownership and to non-land assets use, control and ownership and was assessed through desk review of existing legislature and interviews with government officials.	Land ownership in Somaliland is governed through secular, customary and Islamic law The National Constitution as well as Sharia law recognise women's right to property. Xeer has been known to deny women their share of inheritance in both land and livelihood assets in order to protect the property of the patriarchal family. However, as this could not be substantiated within the scope of this study, this de jure indicator is set at 1.0.			

8.2.3 Political Empowerment

Indicator	Comments on Measurement	Male Figure	Female Figure	Gender Gap
Quota for women on candidate lists in national/local elections	Drawing on the on-going debate about establishing a quota system for political representation in Somaliland, this indicator was assessed through desk review and KIIs with government and CSO representatives.	O.0 There is currently no legislation for a question for women on candidate lists in nation local elections in place. Attempts to particle a bill has not found the necessary supby Guurti and Lower House thus far.		
Women's representation in Local Council		365	9	0.02
Women's representation in Parliament (Upper	Women's representation in Somaliland's government structure was assessed through desk review and KIIs with government and CSO	82 Guurti	0	0.00
& Lower House) Number of female ministers compared to male number	representatives. The desk review drew, among other sources, on the Talo-Wadaag project baseline that Forcier conducted for Oxfam in early summer 2018.	81 MPs 29	3	0.01
Number of female judges compared to male number		N/A	0	0.00
Community openness towards women's participation in formal government structures	In addition to establishing hard facts on women's actual representation, the quantitative survey as well as FGDs assessed respondents' perceptions of and readiness towards women's political participation. Since attitudes of survey respondents do not necessarily correspond to actual levels of representation, these questions are not included in the composition of the Gender Gap Index but provide interesting comparisons between attitudes and de facto representation. The figures on the right are the average of the mean scores of responses to the following survey questions: Women's participation in government structures like the national parliament and the local councils is beneficial for society. Women are sufficiently represented in the government in Somaliland. Do you think women are capable of participating in all levels of government?	0.76	0.78	0.97

Women's influence on decision-making at the community- level	In addition to looking at formal political structures, the quantitative survey as well as FGDs and relevant KIIs also assessed women's level of influence on decision-making at the community level, including the topics on which women have the most influence and whether men support them. Since attitudes of survey respondents do not necessarily correspond to actual levels of representation, these questions are not included in the composition of the Gender Gap Index but provide interesting comparisons between attitudes and de facto representation. The figures on the right are the average of the mean scores of responses to the following survey questions: Women have the same right to speak up in community meetings as men. If a woman speaks up at a community meeting, her opinion is as respected as a man's opinion.	0.76	0.83	0.92
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8.2.4 Educational Attainment

Indicator	Definition	Comments on Measurement	Male Figure	Female Figure	Gender Gap
Female literacy rate of male value	Part of the population aged 15 and over with the ability to read and write and make simple arithmetic calculations. ⁶¹	Average of mean scores of responses to the following survey questions: How would you rate your ability to read in your mother tongue? How would you rate your ability to write in your mother tongue? How would you rate your ability to do calculations?	0.83	0.61	0.74
Female net primary enrolment rate over male value	Percentage of girls and boys in the official school age range who are enrolled in either primary or secondary education. 62	This was assessed by asking survey respondents whether their children of primary school age are enrolled. The percentages only include those children enrolled in formal education, i.e. formal schools, Integrated Quranic Schools, Alternative Basic Education.	0.83%	0.78%	0.94

⁶¹ Definition taken from: The Global Gender Gap Index Report 2017. World Economic Forum. 62 Ibid.

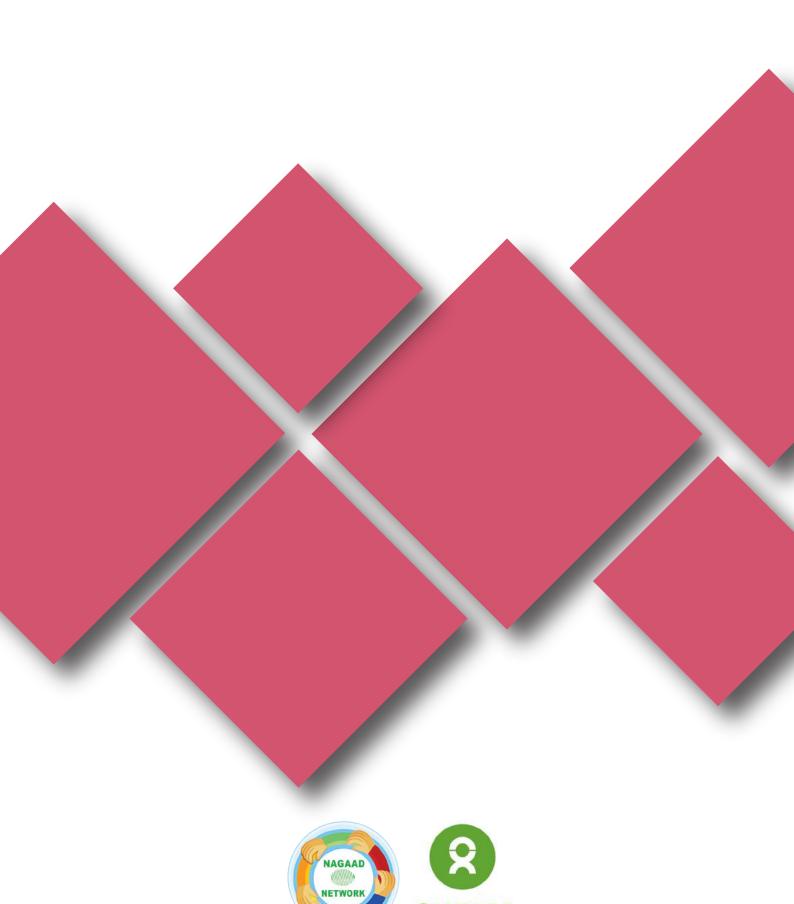
Female net secondary enrolment rate over male value	Percentage of girls and boys in the official age range for secondary education who are enrolled in secondary education. ⁶³	This was assessed by asking survey respondents whether their children of secondary school age are enrolled.	0.71%	0.66%	2.0	93
		li e a r	Female, male lower primary education attainment rate: 25 and younger	91.89%	76.02%	0.83
			Female, male lower primary education attainment rate: 26-35	83.16%	38.15%	0.46
	at least a primary education, split up in lower primary (Grade 1-4) and upper primary (Grade 5-8). Data is nt cumulative, which means that those with secondary education and above	copulation with at least a primary education, split up in lower primary Grade 1-4) and upper primary Grade 5-8). Data is cumulative, which means that those with secondary education and above are counted in the quantitative survey by asking about respondents' highest level of education. Data was disaggregated by age groups. The overall education attainment rates are the average of all age groups at the respective level, i.e. primary (lower and upper), secondary, and tertiary.	Female, male lower primary education attainment rate: 36-64	61.95%	28.34%	0.46
Female, male			Female, male lower primary education attainment rate: 65 and older	19.05%	18.18%	0.95
primary education attainment rate			Female, male upper primary education attainment rate: 25 and younger	85.8%	65.61%	0.76
			Female, male upper primary education attainment rate: 26-35	72.29%	25.43%	0.35
			Female, male upper primary education attainment rate: 36-64	49.01%	20.32%	0.41
			Female, male upper primary education attainment rate: 65 and older	14.29%	9.09%	0.64

63 Ibid. 64 Ibid.

			Female, male secondary education attainment rate: 25 and younger	85.81%	47.06%	0.55
Female, male secondary	Percentage of the population with at least a secondary education. Data is cumulative, which means that		Female, male secondary education attainment rate: 26-35	52.72%	10.98%	0.21
education attainment rate	those with tertiary education are counted in the figures. ⁶⁵		Female, male secondary education attainment rate: 36-64	23.91%	6.95%	0.29
			Female, male secondary education attainment rate: 65 and older	0.00%	0.00%	0.00
			Female, male tertiary education attainment rate: 25 and younger	45.95%	28.96%	0.63
Female, male tertiary	Percentage of the population with tertiary education. ⁶⁶		Female, male tertiary education attainment rate: 26-35	30.44%	6.36%	0.21
education attainment rate			Female, male tertiary education attainment rate: 36-64	6.66%	2.67%	0.40
			Female, male tertiary education attainment rate: 65 and older	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Percentage of individuals using the internet (female, male ratio)	Frequency of internet usage on any device from any location. Assessed to provide an insight into ease of access and exposure to information.	Mean score of responses to survey question: How often do you usually access the internet (on a mobile phone, a computer, or some other device)?	0.43	0.30	0.	71

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.



OXFAM