World Vision

IMPACT EVALUATION REPORT

Puntland Shelter Project
World Vision Somalia
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Aktion Deutschland Hilft
Das Bündnis der Hilfsorganisationen

ACRONYMS

ADH	Aktion Deuschtland Hilft
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DEC	Disasters Emergency Committee
FGDs	Focused Group Discussions
FCS	Food Consumption Score
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
PHC	Primary Health Care
QA	Quality Assurance
SC	Shelter Cluster
SOMREP	Somalia Resilience Program
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
WASH	Water Sanitation and Hygiene
WVI	World Vision International
WVS	World Vision Somalia

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This evaluation would not have been possible except for the guidance of Shelter Advisor to WVI and Loeb Fellow at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, Brett Moore, who pioneered a partnership between WVS and Harvard in order to complete this evaluation.

The WVS Program Office provided day-to-day guidance and support, including physical workspace in which to begin this evaluation work while I was in Nairobi. Former Quality Assurance and Strategy Manager at WVS Jennifer Neelson and Senior Program Officer Mareike Voges Badoreck worked with me to design the research tools and coordinate the evaluation activities. Operations Director Kevin Mackey was instrumental in coordinating and guiding the evaluation process overall. Data collection was carried out in the project implementation sites by the Puntland-based WVS Team. The team was led by both Accounting, Monitoring, and Evaluation Coordinator Martin Busingye and Accounting, Monitoring, and Evaluation Officer for Puntland Hassan Abdirahman Daad. The data collection team was comprised of a group of focus group discussion facilitators and household survey enumerators.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In July 2010, the number of internally displaced people (IDPs) in Somalia was estimated to be 1.4 million with 92% of the displacement linked to conflict. Puntland hosted approximately 125,000 of these IDPs. Compounded by a devastating drought and resulting famine in 2011, population density in Puntland further swelled due to the influx of IDPs, including former pastoralists who had lost their livelihoods and animals, those who had fled violence in South-Central and some of the long-term IDPs who settled in Garowe Town.

After a global emergency was declared in the region, World Vision Somalia (WVS) conducted a number of assessments revealing the complexity of linkages between conflict-related displacement, drought-related displacement, and the long-term displaced population.

With that in mind, WVS moved forward providing a phased approach that combined immediate relief (in the form of 'non-food items' approach, known as NFI) for those in formal and informal camps, and a longer term transitional shelter program that dealt with the protracted needs of the most vulnerable amongst the displaced. Additionally, there was a recognition that the IDP camps where temporary shelter was being constructed compounded a wide range of urgent sanitation, protection, and livelihood issues -- which led the WVS team toward a multi-sector approach that eventually led to a broader "community build"strategy.

Presented in this document are the results of an impact evaluation conducted on the Puntland Transitional Shelter Project. Because the desired impact of this project evolved from immediate relief to wider community development goals, the evaluation scope was adapted according to which stage of the project was being assessed. A review of key findings appears later in the report, divided between a synthesis of impact metrics and a synthesis of impact created through certain decisions related to strategy & approach. Finally, the report concludes with lessons learned and key findings related to weaknesses of the project, as well as recommendations for operationalizing the lessons learned and new questions for future work.

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BACKGROUND & CONTEXT

SITUATION & CONTEXT

As Ethiopian-backed militia pushed south into the border regions of Bakool, Hiraan and Gedo, IDPs fled north to Puntland and settled in Nugal region, concentrating around Garowe. In the wake of a devastating drought and resulting famine in 2011, population density in Puntland further swelled due to the influx of IDPs, including former pastoralists who had lost their livelihoods and animals, those who had fled violence in South-Central and some of the long-term IDPs who settled in Garowe Town. After a global emergency was declared, therefore kickstarting a coordination of humanitarian actors in the region and a direct engagement by the UN Shelter Cluster, standards of temporary shelter needed to be met.

The influx of IDPs led to increased tensions between the host community and the new arrivals as they competed for limited employment, as well as access to state services and scarce resources. The Puntland State Government's effort to move IDPs to relocation sites was initially met with resistance from land owners demanding compensation for the loss of the land. Recognizing this, World Vision Somalia (WVS) set out to develop a long-term engagement with government in order to build capacity and promote the sustainability of activities beyond the life cycle of the project.

> *Impact* came as part of solving the problem, not as part of the design of the project.
>
> *Napoleon Phiri, Project Manager*

The project began in July of 2011 at the beginning of the Horn of Africa Response (HARD), with the intention of pursuing a set of activities around transitional shelter. With the government of Puntland agreeing to transfer ownership of land over to the beneficiaries of the project, the aspirations of the project pivotred to a community build. By handover in May 2013, the impact of the project reached beyond permanent shelter to multi-sectoral interventions, community building and social cohesion, and longer-term community development goals.

> We have all kinds of people but poverty is in the only thing we share in common.
>
> *Female IDP, Burtinle*

DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT

The multi-donor Puntland Shelter Project targeted a total of 1,200 households: 600 in Burtinle and 600 in Garowe district of Puntland. 300 households were targeted through the ADH-funded project while the other households were targeted through DEC and CIDA funding. The construction of shelter homes began after land was being made available. After private landowners agreed to transfer their title deeds to the government of Puntland, WVS was able to secure ownership of the shelter site land in both Burtinle and Garowe. Individual title deeds were then granted to beneficiaries for their plots.

In addition to the construction of peranent shelter and the transfer of title deeds, WVS led the construction of access roads, a primary health care center, a child-friendly community space, an extension of the town water supply, and the development of autonomous committees and other structures for community engagement.

Due to the magnitude of the problem, The Ministry of the Interior of Puntland State created a Directorate of Displaced Persons through which WVI was expected to work in order to achieve the desired outcomes of this project. WVS maintained a strong partnership with the government of Puntland throughout this project, which is undoubtedly one of the major strengths that allowed the project to reach its desired outcomes and impact.

PROJECT GOALS

Most broadly, this project maintained a goal of providing "durable solutions for protracted IDPs." Because the activities of the project changed as more funding became available, the transition from an emergency response situation to a permanent shelter and community build project allowed for larger goals to be met.

IMPLEMENTATION

The first mission was undertaken in July of 2011 at the beginning of the Horn of Africa Response (HARD). The first visit was undertaken as a multi-sectoral assessment mission, to ascertain the needs on the ground for the drought and conflict internally displaced people (IDPs). This visit assessed a number of sites and issues, including locations

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EVALUATION METHODOLOGY & FINDINGS

PURPOSE OF EVALUATION

Several years after the Jilab Village Handover Ceremony and the official close of the project, World Vision has maintained an active presence in Puntland. WVS is eager to understand the impact that the Puntland Shelter Program has made in the local experience, particularly the relationship between permanent shelter and a variety of community development objectives. In addition to being unprecedented in the region in a number of respects, the Puntland Shelter Program had a relatively unique trajectory, developing out of the emergency response to the plight of a conflict and drought-affected population into a transitional shelter project and then ultimately a permanent shelter program with a community build approach.

Undertaking this impact evaluation was a joint effort between WVS, Harvard University, and the UN Shelter Cluster to better understand the value (in terms of effectivness, relevance, etc.) of the program permanent shelter with insights into the gradient of 'success' and 'failure' in improving household resilience in peri-urban environments through the construction of permanent shelter in Butinle and Garowe in Puntland, Somalia. More specifically, the following metrics were used to better understand the relationship between permanent shelter and:

Livelihood Opportunities, including employment prospects and alternate sources of income;
Maternal and Child Health and Well-Being, including overall health outcomes, birth and mortality, child protection;
Food Security, including nutrition and diet diversity;
Household Resilience[1], particularly as it relates to social capital, credit-debt relationships, and financial management;
Safety and Protection, including perceived and real threats/dangers and gender-based violence;
Social Cohesion and Social Capital, especially inclusion with the host community, changes in clan-based networks; and
Identity and Membership, especially a sense of belonging, cultural relevance

This evaluation has not only allowed for a deeper understanding of the human experience in both Jilab and Burtinle, but it has also contributed to reflection on unexpected or unintended outcomes of the program. The insights presented here represent of body of evidence from which actors working in these contexts may drawn on to make decisions in future projects and ultimately incorporate lessons learned into future work.

1 The definition of resilience utilized in this evaluation comes from the Somalia Resilience Program (SomRep), which takes a broad understanding of resilience to include social, economic, and physical forces.

SCOPE & FOCUS

The scope of this evaluation (including specifying the issues covered, the time period, research tools, funding, geographical coverage and target groups) was determined through several meetings between WVS staff (those based in Nairobi and those based in Somalia) and the Harvard graduate student in the time leading up to data collection.

The focus of the evaluation can be summed up by the following objectives:

to undertake an evaluation focusing on achievements and lessons learned,
to assess the strengths and weaknesses of both the participatory and settlements-based approach, and
to provide insights and recommendations to WV about how to operationalize best practices moving forward.

LIMITATIONS OF THE EVALUATION

While the key findings from this evaluation have far-reaching applications, it is worth noting that certain limitations do exist. Given the time constraints and limitations on travel for some, the scope of the evaluation was kept relatively tight. Due to the emergency response context which kickstarted the program and the ad hoc funding cycles that followed, there was limited baseline data available. Partly because of this, there was a difficulty in identifying a true 'control' group for comparison in the evaluation. The author also notes the possibility of recall bias due to the fact that the handover ceremony was several years ago and several parties who participated in the program have since taken up different projects, roles, or organizations.

Lastly, it is critical to acknowledge the limitations of any evaluation. The data presented here does not allow us to claim causation, but only correlation. As with any qualitative research, the sample size represented in the focus group and interview data is rather limited and the translation and interpretation of that data was done to the best of the researcher's capacity.

RELEVANCE & APPROPRIATENESS

During the project inception and at key stages of project implementation, WVS held stakeholder meetings in order to build consensus on the planned interventions and ensure that activities were tailored to the context. Relevant government officials, local government authorities and the community elders were engaged.

It was clear from the project team that negotiations with government took longer than expected, which may be due to the fact that the issue of land tenure and security is a sensitive issue within the Somali community where the land in question was held by private landholders. Land in Somalia is predominantly owned by the community, with individual ownership limited to urban areas. For this reason, engagement across scales of government and governance were necessary to reach the desired outcomes of the project. The signing of the MOU with the government of Puntland lends support to the claim that the WASH and Shelter interventions were aligned to the priority needs of the target communities.

Utilizing a participatory design approach, the shelter design was appropriate and consistent with Puntland standards and is composed of quality materials that are better than families would ordinarily be able to purchase themselves. The shelter design similarly meets the UN cluster recommendations and standards.

METHODOLOGY

Data collection occurred over a three-week period in the field (Jilab Village and Burtinle, respectively) in January 2016, with concurrent field-work taking place in Nairobi. Field research was conducted by the WVS team in Puntland, led by Accountability, Monitoring and Evaluation Coordinator Martin Busingye and Accountability, Monitoring and Evaluation Coordinator for Puntland Hassan Abdirahman Abdi. Carly worked closely with Martin, Hassan, Mareike Voges Badoreck, Senior Programme Officer at WVS, and Jennifer Neelsen, Quality Assurance and Strategy Manager to design the research tools, including surveys, focus group discussion (FGD) guides, and interview questions for key informants (KII) for several weeks prior to the data collection period. Reporting, data cleaning, and analysis/synthesis took place over a four-week period primarily using SPSS, MS EXCEL, and MAXQDA.

We were able to conduct door-to-door household questionnaires with a total of 504 households spread fairly evenly across Burtinle and Jilab Village. We also conducted FGDs with IDPs not in shelter sites, shelter site beneficiaries (one for women, one for men in each location), women who are heads of household, elders in the shelter sites (in each location), children and youth (ages 12-18, one for girls and one for boys in each location) in the shelter sites; KIIs in Puntland with a representative from the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, the Mayor of Garowe, the Mayor of Burtinle, Religious leaders in Jilab, and Religious leaders in Burtinle; and KIIs in Nairobi with UN Shelter Cluster Lead for Somalia Martijn Goddeeris, Head of ECHO's Somalia office Lars Oberhaus, former shelter site staff Bashir Abdullahi and Abdiaziz Osman, Project Manager for the Puntland Shelter Program Napoleon Phiri, Former WVS Area Manager for Puntland Jeremiah Kibanya, and Operations Director for the Puntland Shelter Program Kevin Mackey.

The advantage of using a mixed methods approach was that we were able to not only reveal a narrative through large sample sizes gained in quantitative research, but also to round out that narrative through qualitative research that provided depth and richness. The sample size we were able to reach during data collection is large enough to be considered representative of the village populations respectively.

> "I don't know what it would feel like to have land. To me, having a land is like I have something of my own. Which I can make anything I want.

Female IDP, Burtinle

FINDINGS

Impact Metrics

INTRODUCTION

The outcomes of the Puntland Shelter Program were widely appreciated and understood within the district and throughout Puntland, by stakeholders, other agencies and the community at large. The program was defined by an early recognition that the complexity of the situation among protracted IDPs demanded durable solutions from more than just a shelter standpoint. The multi-sectoral focus of the program addressed wider community infrastructure apart from housing, resulting in important inroads in sanitation and health, safety and protection, livelihood generation, education, and more. Via the interagency system and regional Shelter Cluster, other actors became aware of the program processes, particularly around gender inclusion and security of tenure. The program was by far the largest and most ambitious of any shelter program in Somalia in recent years.

Presented in the following portion of the report are the key findings, or insights, that arose from deep analysis of the evaluation data. The findings are grouped under specific measures of impact (e.g. levels of protection and safety, experiences of gender equity), while also showing the positive cross-cutting impacts which have underpinned sustained progress in the shetler sites.

50%

of women who completed the HH survey identified as head of household

6

is the average number of children (ages 0-18) per household

273

of 504 respondents reported that their primary income comes from casual labor

KEY FINDINGS

LEADING THROUGH BUILDING CAPACITY IN GOVERNMENT

The long-term engagement with regional government served to not only build the capacity of the government but also legitimize its efforts and the efforts of the project. WVS helped to establish the government as a credible voice and partner in the well-being of Puntland residents. Reciprocally, the Government of Puntland formally recognized one of the shelter sites as "Jillab Village," one of the eight villages in Garowe Town.

PERMANENT SHELTER AS A PATHWAY TO PROTECTION AND SAFETY

One of the most striking discoveries in this evaluation was the impact that this project has had on protection and safety. Statistically, crime has dropped dramatically from the IDP camps to the shelter sites. In total between the two sites, village elders reported only a handful of petty crimes within memory. Women, men, and youth almost unanimously reported feeling safe in all parts of the compound. The lockable windows and doors have been incredibly effective in reducing burglaries and gender-based violence (and the fear thereof). Clan tensions were also reported as a non-issue, even by the elders in both communities.

RISE IN HEALTH-SEEKING BEHAVIORS

Pregnancy complications and child mortality were some of the most pressing health-related issues in the camps. Since living in the shelter sites, beneficiaries have reported much fewer complications with pregnancy, as mothers who are expecting have easy access to the local health centers and, where they are not able to be treated, can be referred to the hospital (host community). Also, while further research needs to be done to confirm, we have a rich set of anecdotal evidence claiming that birth rates have increased significantly since living the camps.

EDUCATION AS A KEY TO SUCCESS

Across all FGDs with youth, education was cited as one of it not the most important drivers for 'climbing the ladder' of success in their community. While rooms wtihin the child-friendly space in Jillab Village had been used as classrooms in the past, children reported that there were better schools that they wanted to attend (and were not always able to, financially) in the town. School fees were considered an anticipated barrier to success.

COMPLEX BOUNDARY CONDITIONS

This evaluation revealed insights around the question of boundaries and cohesion both within the respective shelter sites and between the shelter sites and their host communities. Importantly, the construction of an access road between one of the shelter sites and its host community had increased the amount of traffic between the two places. Still, we did not find any evidence that this had a signficantly positive impact on the economic conditions of the community.

DESIRE FOR JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS

Most beneficiaries reported being in a much stabler financial position than they were in the camps. Beneficiaries cited specific skills training as a major need for their community, since many people are shown to rely on casual labor for their primary income. Such skills include tailoring, carpentry, and mechanical/engineering/repairs. Almost no families reported having a secondary or alternative source of income, and savings were rare.

BIGGER ASPIRATIONS AND PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

While household and individual savings are extremely rare in these communities, beneficiaries are no less inclined to do financial planning and goal-setting. Households reported that their conception of the "future" had changed, and therefore their aspirations, since leaving the IDP camps. They mentioned being able to think and plan on larger timescales. The absence of a threat of eviction and the removal of the psychological burden of 'temporariness' freed them to have larger and longer-term aspirations, or as one resident put it, "to think beyond just food and shelter."

SECURE TENURE & PROPERTY RIGHTS

Impact Metrics

The notion of land ownership and rights in Puntland have long been defined by extralegal power structures and clan-based networks, intertwined with fluid connections of space, home, and place that are historically rooted in nomadic pastoralist livelihood practices. Within this context, this evaluation must highlight the fact that there was no precedence for a permanent, sedentary 'community build' from a humanitarian organization in Puntland. This evaluation has shed light on the ways in which the holding of title deeds at the local scale and the legitimization of private land ownership at the regional government scale have changed the way people think about shelter.

According to the newly released Shelter Cluster Strategic Operating Framework (2016-2018), "Most land in Somalia is privately owned. Dominant clans control land and are often hesitant or unwilling to sell land to outsiders or members of other clans. Lack of access to land and insecurity of tenure are major obstacles to durable solutions and represent a root problem that must be addressed in order to affect change" (13). Initially WVS planned to construct transitional shelters[1], but later on during the project implementation, the Puntland government issued a title for the IDP camp thereby enabling WVS to shift strategy and construct permanent shelters. By the mid-term review, WVI was already able to report that "the promise of permanent land rights" was "recognized and acknowledged by national, municipal, and regional leaders."[2] According to Area Manager Jeremiah Kibanya, any discussion of tenure had to be a discussion between the community and the government, with WVS taking more of a secondary and facilitatory role. After long negotiations at the outset of the program, a private landowner in Burtinle was first to offer his land for the shelter site. From the government's perspective, this landowner was driven to do so in part because such an act can be seen to raise one's status as a leader within the community. In light of this event in Burtinle, private landholders in the capital of Puntland (Garowe) were inclined to do the same. Negotiations culminated in the signing of MOUs for the shelter program.

1 According to the Shelter Cluster Strategic Operating Framework (2016-2018), "transitional shelter" refers to a range of shelter typologies from upgraded shelter kits to hybrid solutions. SC Somalia, in particular, promotes a context-specific solution that takes into account local land tenure practices, funding levels, specific needs, support from local authorities, location of settlements, and beneficiaries' preferences. In the Puntland Shelter Program, initially the project team was exploring hybrid solutions that often combine plywood and cement in 4.4x4.4m structures with CGI sheet roofing.

2 Puntland Shelter Project, Mid-Term Review. July 27, 2012.

With title deeds not being prevalent in this portion of Puntland, there was an interest in this evaluation to understand whether or not a title deed had affected beneficiaries' conception of the household as an asset that could be transferred and "leveraged into wealth" rather than simply a permanent holding.[3] There was not much evidence of beneficiaries moving from According to Kibanya, title relocation occurred through the government and therefore buying and selling of property could not take place laterally between residents. This was a deliberate move on WVS's part, to prevent the vulnerability that could arise from selling property and thereby avoid the possibility of the"disintegration" of property rights among beneficiaries. With that said, however, it is clear that beneficiaries found creative ways to profit from leveraging their tenure. Both Phiri and Kibanya recalled a moment where they had seen been conducting a transect walk through one of the sites, and came across a woman in her late 70s. Kibanya notes, "Her house had become a shop. I asked her, 'Why would you give up your house?' She responded, 'I no longer have any relatives. I came form the rural area. Here, unless I beg, I cannot get milk or food. When I rent, I am able to get $50. With that money, I can buy my clothes, I can buy my milk, I can buy my food. I am not a begger.' And then I asked, 'But is it warm enough for you?' And she took me inside her house. She had extra blankets, reinforced her walls. She told me, I am secure and I am warm.'" This woman's story echoes the feelings of other beneficiaries who were interviewed in this evaluation. In FGDs in both Jilab Village and Burtinle, female heads of household reported that owning land and permanent shelter has changed their lives for the better. One male head of household from Jilab Village reported, "We do not have to pay rent or think of it any more; all we are going to do is think of how we are going to improve our lives."

Based on the qualitative data alone, a major result of tenure security in the shelter sites has been a deeper sense of 'belonging' which many of the beneficiaries had never experienced as a result of tenure before. Men and women across shelter sites reported that having a title deed meant "never been evicted again," where most of them had been caught in cyclical periods of temporary shelter and eviction for years and some, decades. The validity of beneficiaries' tenure was formally recognized by the government of Puntland in a handover ceremony in May 2013. According to the Mayor of Garowe, today there also continues to be a reduction in clan tensions as a result of the legal basis for and [what the Mayor calls] popular "awareness" of these deeds.

3 See Hernando de Soto's *The Mystery of Capital* for more on the theory of unified, legal systems being the primary catalyst for a thriving capitalist economy.

CHANGED GENDER RELATIONS & NORMS

Impact Metrics

In many ways, it is clear that the major achievements of this shelter project had cross-cutting outcomes on on gender norms and gender relations. From both the male and female perspective among beneficiaries, it is clear that this program kickstarted a dialogue about certain gender-based issues which had never been addressed at the government level before. For instance, Kibanya notes that the title deeds distributed as part of this project were referred to as "gender-sensitive title deeds" because they arose out of new legal decisions related to divorce and female headed households.

In the FGDs at both shelter sites, both men and women reported feeling "safe" and "protected" in their community. There has been a reduction in gender-based violence, according to the elders and camp leaders, to which they credit lockable windows and doors in the shelters. While our evaluation revealed only a couple of petty crimes having occurred in the shelter sites (and immediately addressed by the elders), several FGDs that we conducted with female beneficiaries featured a request for fencing around their properties for protection. One female head of household in Burtinle responded, "We are women living without the protection of a husband (spouse) to feel more protected we would like a fence walls that made off bricks or stones. Some of us think that's the only way we can feel more protected for us and our children."

Former shelter site staff member Bashir Abdullahi insisted, importantly, that while changes have occurred locally, the narrative of gender relations in Somalia is long overdue for a change. Too often, the story of Somalia is burdened by misconceptions of shar'ia law and simplistic understandings of the root causes of gender-based violence. Bashir that women have always been "the backbone of life here," and yet "things are different now." The Mayor of Garowe also argued that a rise in female headed households with title deeds should not be an indicator of enhanced gender equity in the shelter sites, because gender imbalances related to property ownership and female-led households "has nothing to do with [our] culture." Not a single female respondent in either shelter site reported experiencing discrimination or unfair treatment on the basis of being a female-headed household.

ENHANCED PROTECTION & SECURITY

Impact Metrics

Recognizing that vulnerability to drought and conflict was a core driver in the situation among protracted IDPs, WVS made protection and security a core part of their participatory design process. Each shelter unit was in a plot that measured 10m X 10m (100m2). This gives 17m2 per person per shelter unit, with lockable metal windows and doors. Beneficiaries, particularly female beneficiaries, overall said that they feel extremely safe in the sites. Public spaces such as water sources, communal latrines, the health center, the children's play area, and the schools are all shared, communal spaces which beneficiaries agree helps promote a mutual responsibility among the community.

In an FGD with female heads of household in Jilab Village, women reported that they "feel protected here and protection means everyone lives in peace." There was an acknowledgement that personal saftey and protection in the home was directly related to peacekeeping and safety in the community at-large. "Protection is something that improves the lives of people," they said. Men in Burtinle said that they often fear going outside of the community at night, because there are gangs around. Both women and men are interested in having a police station, night guards, and security training for the community. When asked if there was any portion of the compound they would not go or would not allow their children to go to, several female beneficiaries in Garowe agreed, "Every part of the compound feels safe." While it appears rare, any issues or disputes are typically handled as such: someone reports it directly to the camp leader, then the camp leader works with the elders and the local authorities if needed to resolve the issue. The elders are upheld as the primary authority for conflict resolution.

From baseline assessement data, we understand that the threat of fire to the home (typically made of plastic tents or tarps and wood), gender-based violence (typically occurring at night), and burglaries (also at night) were the most pressing concerns for beneficiaries before they moved into the shelter sites. According to this evaluation, the biggest threat or danger is health-related where hospitals are located in the host community. In great contrast, we spoke with a male IDP currently living in a Garowe camp who commented, "We always fear for our girls and wives the nights that we are not there, because the house itself is made of cloths and you always wonder what will happen next."

IMPROVED COMMUNITY HEALTH & SANITATION

Impact Metrics

The primary sources of water in Putnland are rainwater, groundwater, springs, and water courses.[1] About 26% of the population was estimated to have access to safe drinking water at the outset of the project. Access to safe drinking water was a critical part of reducing vulnerability for IDPs both in the emergency response period and in long-term recovery.

During the scope of the project, there were investments made in the shelter site infrastructure around sanitation, including water supply, drainage, and communal toilet blocks. With funding from the British public channelled through the DEC, WVI carried out an Emergency WASH program in two locations in Puntland, one of which was the Nugaal Region (Garowe, Burtinle locations). The Government of Canada provided funding through WV Canada for a borehole which was drilled in at Burtinle. A 3.5 km pipeline is now completed and water is running to community water kiosks, from Garowe Town to Jilab Village. At the same site, 96 communal latrines (roughly 3-4 people per latrine) were introduced which provide privacy and security but also sanitation to residents. In addition to access to safe drinking water, improving primary healthcare options was a major goal for WVS's settlement-based approach. WVI has long supported 22 health facilities across Puntland: 5 MCHs in Garowe, 2 MCH in Burtinle, 1 MCH in Eyl, 1 referral hospital in Garowe and 13 health posts across the three districts. WVI, in collaboration with the Ministry of Health, supports the training of staff and drug and equipment supply.

From the qualitative data we have, we know that pregnancy complications and child mortality were some of the most pressing health-related issues in the camps. Since living in the shelter sites, beneficiaries have told us that there are much fewer complications with pregnancy, as mothers who are expecting have easy access to the local health centers and, where they are not able to be treated, can be referred to the hospital (host community). Male beneficiaries and elders in Burtinle, however, explained that healthcare facilities have become farther away for them now that they are in the shelter site. While there is a health center in the host community, they feel somewhat removed from that and this can have negative effects on health outcomes.

1 During a baseline assessments conducted by WVI in 2010, it was found that the Nugal Valley Pastoral Zone (Garowe) had decent access to water with it being about 7-10 meters below ground accessed through a prevalence of shallow wells. In the Hawd Pastoral Zone (Burtinle), in contrast, had a much lower water level (roughly 300 meters from the surface), making it more vulnerable to stress. The boreholes required to reach water at that level would be too costly to build and maintain.

The MCHs WVI supports offer antenatal and postnatal care (i.e. nutrition, vaccinations, other services), family planning, and delivery is provided to expectant mothers free of charge. Several women in Jilab also highlighted an increase in the birth rate over the years that they have been in the shelter site. Indeed, our household survey revealed that the age group with the highest frequency are male and female children aged 0-5 years old (both shelter sites reflected this). This can, of course, be interpreted as a positive indicator of health outcomes, since birth rates are up since the start of the program. With that said, when asked whether or not, over the past 3 months (prior to Jan 2016), respondents had avoided spending money on healthcare in order to buy food for their household, 65% responded affirmatively that they had indeed made that tradeoff.

> "My favorite part of my job is when I'm telling the camp about sanitation and hygiene, and the importance they have on our health...most people take that seriously.
>
> *Camp Leader, Jilab Village*

Our FGDs with beneficiaries in Jilab Village also reveal that there has been a noticable increase in "community awareness" with respect to health and sanitation issues. There has also been awareness-raising around sanitary garbage disposal, and beneficiaries have commented on the postivie impac this has made in the community.

NUTRITION & FOOD SECURITY

Impact Metrics

Food security, diet diversity, and nutrition are all important components of household resilience. Overall, there is a correlation between certain aspects of permanent shelter and enhanced food security in the shelter sites. One female beneficiariy reported, "Yes, [food security] has improved because now we can afford food from the money that we saved from the rent." As having a permanent household has freed up the cost of rent per household, families are better positioned to have greater expenses on food. With that said, it is unclear whether or not there has indeed been more spending on food per household since living in the IDP camp, and more research must be done to better understand how income rise relates to food expenditures per household.

Across the 504 households surveyed, we did not see a statistically significant change in consumption levels across months or seasons.[1] While consumption levels overall stayed relatively constant, when disaggregated by food group, the data revealed insights into which foods people are consuming more often than others. We used the Food Consumption Score (FCS, acording to WFP's scoring system)[2] to evaluate the consumption level of each food group per household over the course of a 12-month period. To calculate FCS, we summed the consumption frequency of each household (consumption per day per 7-day week), multiplied that value by its weight (scoring assigned by the WFP), summed the weighted scores, and then used the appropriate threashold to assign a FCS for that food group. We then averaged these across households, resulting in the following. Most notably, household consumption of meat (including any beef, lamb, goat, camel, wild game, chicken, liver, kidney, heart or other organ meats, but not to include fish) was considered "acceptable" by WFP standards, and dairy (exclusively milk and eggs) is also consumed at an "acceptable" level. Consumption of fruits was considered "poor." The high consumption of oil (for cooking) and sugar (mostly for tea) is not advisable by the WFP. It is clear from research conducted externally to this evaluation that consumption levels reveal

1 The author notes the possibility of recall bias here, given that the survey respondents were asked to recall consumption levels over the past 12 months.
2 Prepared by VAM unit HQ Rome. Version 1 February 2008 © World Food Programme, Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping Branch (ODAV)

important linkages between preferences and foodstuff availability, among other factors.[3]

With respect to hunger, it appears that households are facing less of a burden when it comes to accessing food and supplying enough food for their households now than compared to baseline data. In Figures 1.2 and 1.3, we see the meals households reporting consuming on the day before they were surveyed.

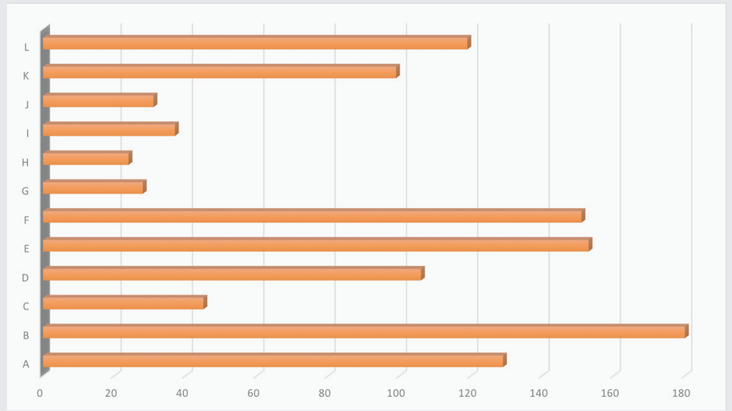


Figure 1.1
Most frequently used (greater than or equal to 3 days per week) coping strategies per household, used in order to access food

KEY

limit portion size at meal times A
reduce number of meals eaten per day B
skip entire days without eating C
borrow food or rely on help from a friend or family member D
rely on less expensive or preferred foods E
purchase food on credit, or taken a loan pay for food F
gather unusual types of wild foods or hunt G
harvest immature crops H
send household members to eat elsewhere I
send household members to beg J
restrict consumption by adults so children can eat K
rely on casual labor for food L

3 Little, P.D., Fratkin, E., Galvin, K.A. and Roth, E.A., 1994. Maidens and milk markets: the sociology of dairy marketing in southern Somalia. African pastoralist systems: an integrated approach., pp.165-184.

63%

of the households who reported not being able to give their children 0-1 meals on the day prior to surveying were female-led households

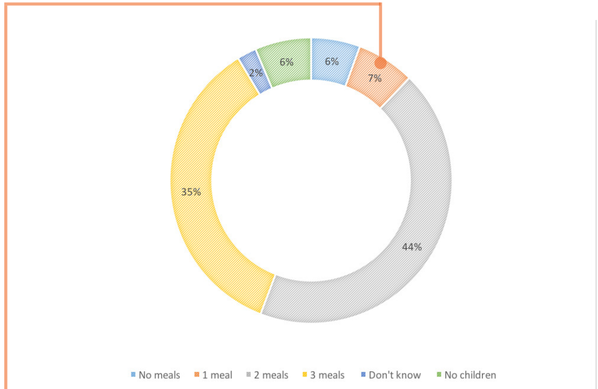


Figure 1.2
Number of meals consumed by children (ages 5-18) in the household on the day prior to surveying

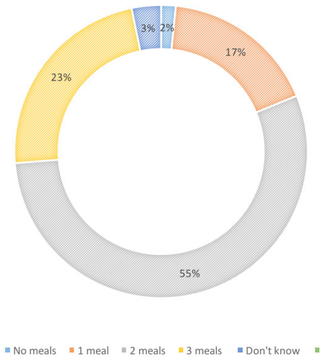
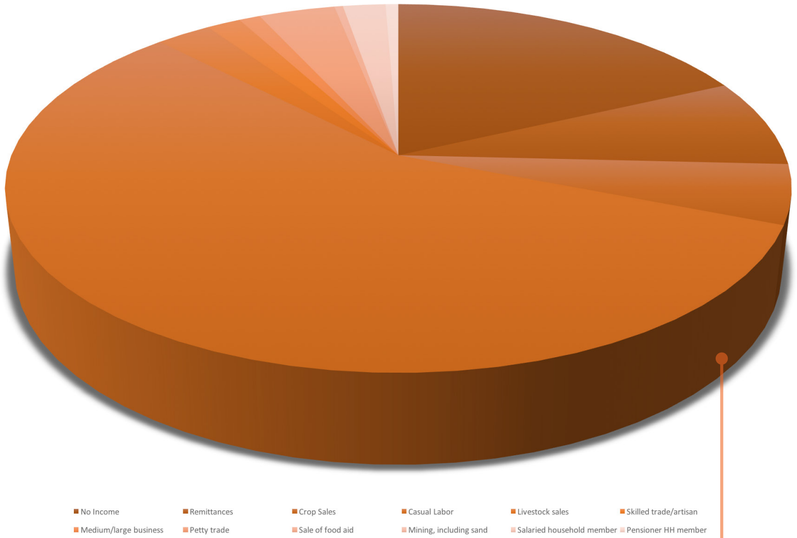


Figure 1.3
Number of meals consumed by adults (ages 18+) in the household on the day prior to surveying

Figure 1.4
Employment and livelihood practices of household survey respondents



54%

of households reported that if their primary income source was casual labor (mostly in the host community)

INCREASED LIVELIHOOD & EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Impact Metrics

Evaluation data reveals that the participatory design approach utilized in this project, among other effects, stimulated the local labor market by emphasizing local resourcing of skilled labor and the procurement of local materials. Beneficiaries reported 'hiring' family members and friends to help them construct their shelters. Bearing in mind that the Puntland Shelter Project was implemented during a time when the region was experiencing prolonged drought, the project strategy labour agreements and Cash for Work (CfW) programming also served to strengthen household economies. In the words of WVI Shelter Advisor Brett Moore, "If you can satisfy the skills gap, you can create a whole industry."

66%

of households reported that if their primary income source was lost, they would turn to family for help.

WVI ensured that the shelter sites were able to experience traffic between them and the host communities (with access to public transportation and a main road), with the aim of increasing commuter traffic and cohesion between the two comunities. Still, most benficiaries told us that today they rely on casual labor within the shelter site which is sometimes not enough to sustain their livelihood. When asked, almost all beneficiaries in our FGDs responded affirmatively to questions about vocational training and other programming around employment/job skills.[1] There was also an interest in literacy and writing, recognizing that this is a valuable skill to have when looking for employment in the host communities.

Many beneficiaries also reported the desire for farming land, saying that their plots were not large enough for gardening or farming. Very few (less than 10/504) beneficiaries reported currently having access to land for farming -- of those who reported, almost all were renting that land

1 The majority of adult beneficiaries already possess trade skills, including tailoring, construction, and mechanics.

from someone else.

Youth (ages 12-18) in both shelter sites reported that their biggest aspiration was also their biggest limiter in this community: education. While the shelter sites offer schooling, the host communities have higher quality facilities and the youth understand these facilities as being too far away for them to attend regularly. In our FGDs, youth were asked to participate in an interactive activity where they identified enablers and barriers to reaching their goals. Insightfully, the youth responded saying the enablers were also their barriers: education and money. When asked about planning for the future, beneficiaries confirmed that when living in the IDP camps, they could only plan on relatively short timescales. A woman in Jilab said, "Yes, of course every human being has plans..." and then went on to explain that those plans were limited to feeding and clothing their family. Since moving into permanent shelter, women in both shelter sites reported that their aspirations had gotten bigger and they were able to plan for longer timescales: "Most of us we didn't have good plans for the future, but now because we have a permanent shelter we think beyond just feeding our children but also how we could give them better health and education," said a women in Burtinle.

79%

of households reported having no secondary source of income

When it came to employment, 54% of respondents said they relied on casual work for their primary income. In fact, less than 5% of beneficiaries had formal, salaried employment. Further research is needed to understand how this statistic compares with employment in the host communities. When asked about savings or alternate sources of income, 79% of households reported having no alternate sources of income. In FGDs, women said that they did not participate in savings groups or informal microlending/borrowing, claiming that any and all income is used "for the family." If they were ever in a situation where they needed money urgently, 66% of beneficiaries said their response would be to turn to family and friends to help them out. Less than 1% of respondents said they would turn to a microfinance institution or bank in the same scenario. Those who did say they would turn to a microfinance institution or bank were 71% more likely to answer "yes" to having borrowed money from a microfinance institution previously.

CHILD PROTECTION & WELL-BEING

Impact Metrics

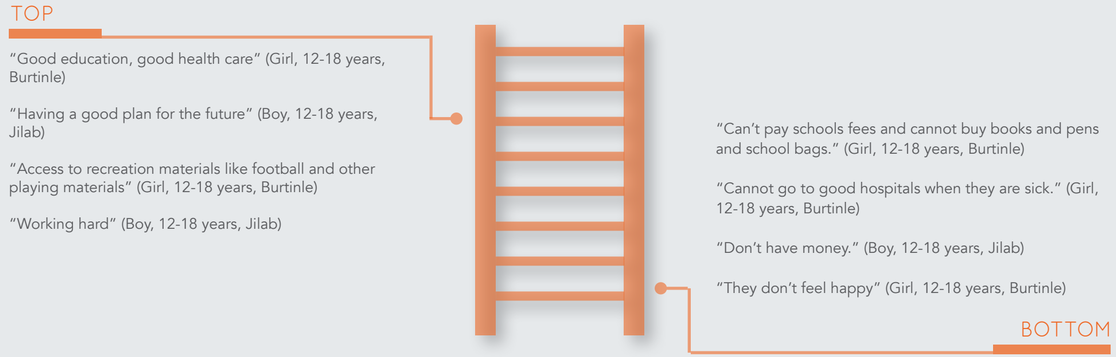
Undoubtedly, providing high-quality and reliable child protection services was a core activity in the Puntland Shelter Project. The WVS team ensured that there was a child-friendly space as part of the new shelter site. After the handover ceremony in May 2013, the former project office in Jilab was converted into a multi-use community space that functioned as classrooms, an event space, and more.

In our FGDs, youth (ages 12-18) reported that there is not any part of their respective shelter site where they feel unsafe. When it came to playing outside, the boys said they play freely and sometimes at night, while the girls said they did not play at night. The girls all agreed that they do housework so often that they do not have time to play. The girls spoke most about their experiences at weddings, Islamic holidays, and other major events in the community where they get time to spend with their friends. Conversely, the boys did not speak of these events much at all.

Children playing in the back of the child-friendly mutli-use community center. (Jilab)

According to our household survey, the current ages of residents across shelter sites were pretty evenly distributed from 0-65+, though it appears that the highest frequency age group was male and female children aged 0-5 years old. This, of course, raises interesting questions about what kind of environment these first-generation village residents will grow up in, and whether or not there are adequate resources for them to lead healthy and productive lives.

To answer some of these questions, we invited the youth to participate in an activity that offered insights into perceptions of well-being in the shelter sites. The youth were asked to imagine a ladder in their heads. As a metaphor for people's lives, the youth were told that someone at the top of the ladder is "a child in your community who is doing very well -- living the best possible life that a child in this community could be living." They were told that someone at the bottom of the ladder is "a child in your community who is not doing very well. They are living the worst possible life that a child in this community could be living. " FGDs were controlled for gender and age group, with a total of 4 youth FGDs taking place in this evaluation. The insights gleaned from this activity are below.



Afer mapping out the ladder, youth were asked to raise their hand if they know someone in their community who is like the child (a) at the top of the ladder and (b) at the bottom of the ladder. On average, the number of hands raised for (b) was double the number of hands raised for (a). When asked what was needed to move from the bottom to the top of the ladder, the most common answer was "to pay school fees," with other top answers including "working hard," having good health, and a good home. When asked who could help them reach the top of the ladder, most responded by saying simply "*Allah*."

TAKEAWAYS

Strategy & Approach

INTRODUCTION

Many of the strategic elements of this project were rather innovative compared to the history of humanitarian intervention in the region. Bearing this in mind, the evaluation team would have been remiss not to synthesize the key findings data in order to take a deeper look at the project's strategic impact. While the key findings provide us with knowledge about the impact of scheduled activities and outcomes, the key takeaways go one step further to show how the strategic framework which guided those activities and outcomes toward having a longer-term effectiveness.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

PARTNER-LEADERS WITH GOVERNMENT

One of the most oft-cited strengths of this project was also one of its most effective strategic decisions, which was to build a long-term relationship with the Puntland government and work *with* them by working *through* them to achieve shared goals. Area Manager Jeremiah Kibanya considers this a "partner-leader" arrangement, which he describes as "the servant leader par excellence," because partnership implies a mutual benefit. The longer the engagement, the more trust and confidence is inspired, allowing for networks to be developed and more to be achieved.

PARTICIPATORY APPROACH TO SHELTER CONSTRUCTION

While the project team and shelter staff agreed that hiring local contractors would have been much easier and more conventional, WVS decided to use a participatory approach to the construction of the shelter. Beneficiaries contributed to not only the design of their shelter but also the physical construction of it, though there was no significant data showing that this has made a long-term impact on a sense of ownership. Rather, what is clear is that the participatory approach curbed a notion of dependency and kcik-started the idea of a 'community' with beneficiaries relying on their social networks to help build their homes.

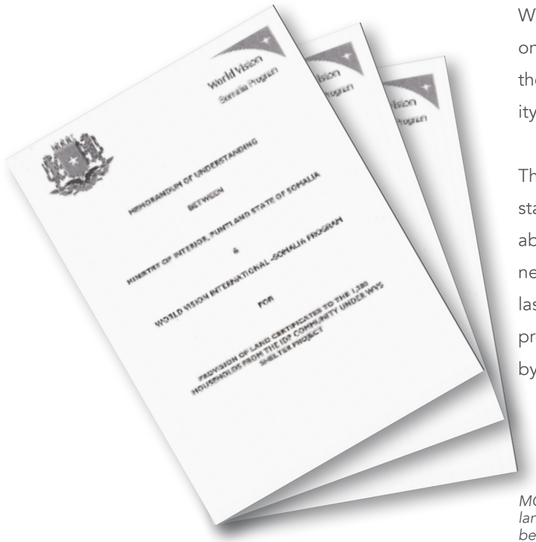
NUANCED HOUSEHOLD RESILIENCE

Early into this project, it was clear that shelter would be the core intervention but it would not be the only one. In order to operationalize an adaptive capacity to resist vulnerability, WVS knew it was necessary to pursue multi-sectoral programming with detailed vulnerability criteria. Drivers for well-being and resilience at the household level are complex and dynamic, meaning no single approach is best. WVS utilized a settlement-based development approach which was shown to positively impact aspects of household resilience.

NEW WAY OF WORKING: PARTNER-LEADERS WITH GOVERNMENT

Strategy & Approach

One of the most impactful aspects of this project from a logistical standpoint alone was WVS's long-term engagement with the Government of Puntland, and more specifically, WVI's deliberate positioning as a partner alongside government rather than an autonomous institutional leader. WVS's intent to work "with" and "through" government had a multiplier effect on this project, because it ensured not only a sustained engagement between the community and the Puntland government but it also strengthened the capacity of the government to act in a recovery context.



MOU between WVI and the government of Puntland State regarding the transfer of title deeds for beneficiaries

The Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC), though understaffed and underfunded, represented a key partner through which WVS was able to make real change in the community. Moreover, it was through this partnership with government that several major achievements occurred, including: a lasting formal recognition of the landholdings that were provided as part of the program, and an incorporation of the Jilab population into the host community by declaration of the shelter site as a new 'village' in Garowe Town.

BUILDING LOCAL CAPACITY: A PARTICIPATORY DESIGN APPROACH

Strategy & Approach

The SC promotes owner-driven solutions where possible, but makes a distinction between participatory approaches to shelter and owner-driven approaches. In the case of the Puntland Shelter Program, beneficiaries were consulted for the design of the shelter and labor was carried out for hire by the beneficiaries. The engineers who were part of the project team were ultimately responsible for the design of the shelter, planning and zoning, and quality control of the shelter construction. Burtinle Shelter Staff Member Bashir Abdullahi reported that "At the beginning, there were only 2 suppliers in all Burtinle. At the end of the project, there were about 7 suppliers who were supplying us construction blocks." Distribution of building materials was managed through several contractors in order to mitigate risk.

According to Project Manager Napoleon Phiri, there was a clear understanding among the beneficiaries that they would be provided shelter but what they did not expect was being asked to participate in the construction of their shelter. WVS provided the walls, the roof, and the windows, and the beneficiaries were asked to provide the rest. In the words of Area Manager Jeremiah Kibanya, "The project team seemed to be in agreement that the sheer provision of shelter was not enough," and moreover, that it reinforced vulnerability by discouraging collaborative and local labor resourcing. The evaluation team found this to be one of the major strategic impacts of the project, since it avoided understimating the initiative of the community and developed a sense of ownership within the beneficiaries long before the final handover. With that said, more research is needed to understand the long-term impact the participatory design and construction approach had on the local economy, since the effect of most beneficiaries hiring casual laborers (e.g. masons, carpenters) who were within their family meant that the activity within the labor market was kept relatively insular and new work was not activated as a result of this project.

CONSTRUCTING SHELTER & RECONSTRUCTING IDENTITY: SOCIAL INCLUSION

Strategy & Approach

According to the UNHCR Shelter Cluster, there are three major categories for durable solutions to protracted IDP situations: voluntary resettlement, integration, and repatriation.[1] With that, WVI's goal of providing durable solutions for protracted IDPs was addressed in part through activties promoting integration. According to Kibanya and Phiri, major achievements in integration came through certain hard infrastructure projects (e.g. public bus routes and a road that connects Jilab to the tarmac) that connected the shelter sites with the host communities and soft infrastructure in the form of a diverse set of beneficiaries living together and forming new bonds that have the potential to supercede clan tensions. From the standpoint of current shelter site residents, discussions on integration are very nuanced. It appears that proximity to the host community has been troubling for many Burtinle residents, with many commenting that it is perceived as "far." At the same time, most people reported traveling between the shelter site and the host community about 1-3 times a day. Jilab residents also reported traveling quite a bit between the two communities. With respect to clan tensions, residents report that there was not much clan-based conflict before the project and there continues to be very little tension. Beneficiaries provided quite a bit of anecdotal evidence regarding the "respect" they all feel for others in the community as a result of private property being established. "Everyone here knows what he owns," said one Jilab resident.

There is much to be said about the potential impact permanent shelter can have with respect to personal dignity. One former shelter staff member Bashir Abdullahi put it this way, "Maybe a man is very poor, but he cannot be called poor anymore...because now he is a *homeowner.*" Further research is needed here to unpack the meaning of 'dignity' locally and its connection to permanent shelter, though it appears that residents feel their sense of security and respect for others has improved since moving into the shelter sites. At the Opening Ceremony of the shelter site in Garowe, the President of Puntland declared the settlement no longer be known as a 'camp' or 'project' but would be known as Jilab Village. In the same way, he said that the beneficiaries would henceforward be considered local citizens, no longer IDPs, and able to utilize social services with equal entitlements as the permanent residents of Garowe.

1 "Finding Durable Solutions." UNHCR Global Appeal Update (2009 http://www.unhcr.org/4922d43b0.html

BEYOND SHELTER: A SETTLEMENT-BASED STRATEGY

Strategy & Approach

According to WVI Shelter Cluster Lead Brett Moore, "We knew that the core intervention would be spatial, but that it would not be the only one." Without a doubt, this project managed chronic problems in the region in rather unprecedented ways. One of the many innovative approaches utilized in this project was the settlement-based or community build approach, which distanced the goals of the project from a traditional shelter-only intervention to incorporating a broader community development frame. The strength of the approach, as the evaluation revealed, was that it looked at the shelter sites in a human-centered way, rather than in a shelter-centered way. This means that WVS went beyond shelter to plan and zone the communities for inclusion of health resources, safety and protection provisions, and more, after witnessing (and documenting through numerous assessments) how shelter is inextricably linked to a number of other basic human needs. In order to serve beneficiaries with this holistic approach, WVS managed to generate other[1] funding for complementary activities. Project Manager Napoleon Phiri confirms that the project would not have been moving in the direction of hard infrastructure had it not the proper funding to do so.

Using a selttement-based approach allowed for the team to consider the root causes of vulnerability in this region, and as Operations Director Kevin Mackey put it, to avoid the "bandaid after bandaid after bandaid" situation. According to a December 2014 ODI Report, "World Vision has been embedding disaster risk reduction (DRR) and, more recently, resilience-building into its development and humanitarian practice to safeguard livelihoods as well as lives."[2] The SomRep consoritum, led by WVS, has found a way to use grant funding to promote cross-sectoral programming to reduce vulnerability and better understand the root causes of vulnerability through improved capacity assessments. This joint resilience agenda allows for clearer, collaborative thinking earlier on, ultimately averting the potential need for relief assistance on the scale and in the urgent time frames under which humanitarian organizations in Somalia typically work.

1 Here, 'other' is used to refer to private, non-sponsorship funding..
2 Carabine, Elizabeth, Maggie Ibrahim, and Richard Rusmey. "Institutionalizing Resilience: The World Vision Story." December 2014.

ABSORBING CHANGE: ENHANCING HOUSEHOLD RESILIENCE

Strategy & Approach

The evaluation data revealed that permanent shelter has a positive relationship with what Bene et al. call a household's absorptive capacity (see Figure 1.5 at right). Increased protection due to the durability of the shelter contributed to beneficiaries being able to divert resources and attention to other needs. Among other coping strategies, households reported reducing their number of meals and sometimes turning to family and friends in a time of need. Between awareness-raising campaigns about rubbish, a commitment to prioritizing safety/protection among residents and many other things, we have anecdotal evidence showing that beneficiaries have a sense of mutual accountability and responsibility. This is a form of social capital, which The project also greatly contributed to increasing the Puntland government's capacity to manage IDP situations. What is less clear is how the project has impacted the informal governance and community networks among clans, which appear to be the strongest force for change in Somalia.

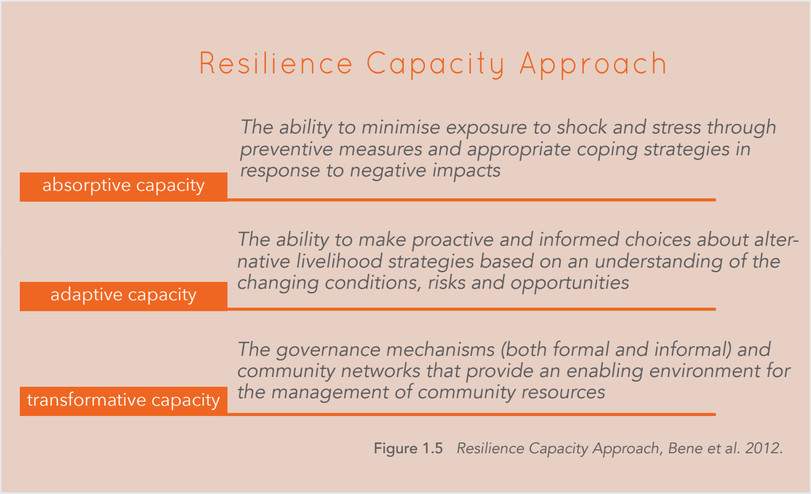


Figure 1.5 *Resilience Capacity Approach, Bene et al. 2012.*

> We kept hearing don’ts, don’ts, don’ts and no do’s... which made me become very creative and work to overcome the obstacles at the end of the day.
>
> *Napoleon Phiri, Project Manager*

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3

LESSONS LEARNED, CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

KEY LESSONS LEARNED

QUALITY OF SHELTER CONSTRUCTION WITH PARTICIPATORY APPROACH

There were many reports of shelters being unfinished, though it is unclear whether this is related to the maintenance/repair a fault of the participatory approach to shelter construction. Further research is needed to understand where the quality of the shelters may have suffered, whether through management strategies or process and design.

CULTURAL RELEVANCE AND APPROPRIATENESS

Concerns from beneficiaries and third parties reveal that the shelters did not adequately address issues of privacy nor did they provide beneficiaries with enough space to farm or garden (since livestock was largely depleted during the drought, preventing traditional land use). Moreover, shelter sites could have been improved by using vernacular architectures and local aesthetics as inspiration for the design process. According to the project team, the design was kept "very simple" to keep costs down, but it is worth considering where a standard shelter build could have been contextualized aesthetically.

BENEFICIARIARY SELECTION

According to those involved in the project team, other organizations acting locally, and the beneficiaries themselves, there were concerns about how the beneficiary selection process was carried out and the effect it had on the new communities. With some of the beneficiaries being IDPs from various places across Somalia and some being longtime residents of the host communities, there was difficulty between WVS and the local community leaders in determing the meaning of "most vulnerable." There were certainly disputes at the time of the selection process that raised concerns over future community cohesion. None of these disputes seem to have resulted in real conflict in the communities. However, there was evidence of at least some beneficiaries who were selected and later made clandestine moves out of the sites after the project.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

HAVE AN APPETITE FOR CHANGE AND A MINDSET FOR INNOVATION

The core strength of this ad hoc and stair-stepped approach was that it allowed for flexibility, for unexpected change. It prompted an organizational culture of adaptive learning. WVS now has this project as an incredible precedent for working not linearly but iteratively toward a desired impact. Working iteratively allows you to test ideas in low-cost and low-risk ways, to become an organization that learns not through successes only but also through failures.

STAIR-STEPPING FROM RESPONSE TO RECOVERY

Because WVS utilized a kind of stair-stepped approach in this project, it was able to to work strategically within its means by balancing urgent humanitarian actions with long-term development goals. The evaluation team recommends that WVS consider adapting and applying this approach in future work to improve critical outcomes. This approach allows for a much larger scoped project with a much more embedded, long-term engagement with the local context. The evaluation team would also argue that it sets the stage for more resilient communities, because a longer-term engagement is a built-in corrective for ensuring that activities are sustainble and embraced in the community beyond the life cycle of the project.

PARTICIPATION AS AN AUTHENTIC & HUMAN-CENTERED EXPERIENCE

Participatory design for shelter reconstruction is generally considered to be a best practice, though variations exist in how the *participatory* aspect is carried out. In disaster response, participation is sometimes criticized as being a time-consuming, costly, risky, or altogether ineffective endeavor due to the fragility of conditions in the post-disaster moment. However, based on the body of evidence contained within this report, the evaluation team strongly recommends that WVS consider how to make participation an integral and powerful part of the shelter reconstruction and development process. Participation is about authentically building in self-determination by giving beneficiaries permission to affect the course of the project. Beneficiaries become part of the problem-solving process and are asked to co-design their communities with the project team.

LESSONS LEARNED

This portion of the report surveys the critical inquiries and points of consideration that arose throughout this evaluation process. Lessons learned are based on a combination of previous assessment reports and synthesized evaluation data, and they present WVS with new knowledge that can be used to transform future work. Consider these lessons a kind of feedback loop, providing WVS with important tacit knowledge from beneficiaries and external parties alike. By operationalizing this feedback loop, WVS builds on adaptive organisational capacities and systems to engage in practice that is genuinely responsive to the continually changing external context of Somalia.

One of the major weaknesses of the project includes limited female participation in the project, although not for lack of efforts at all levels. Gender inclusion in Somalia is bound by cultural and religious considerations that affect the ability to engage female staff and beneficiaries to the same extent as males. Programmatic gender analysis needed to have been built into the monitoring systems in order to tease out power and influence biases, flag the level of participation of women in the project, and inform the setting of actions to improve equitable participation.

95%

of households reported that they do not have access to land for farming. Those who did have access to land for farming repoted that they rent rather than own the land.

In Garowe, there was concern about the beneficiary selection process and the fact that some of the beneficiaries were not indeed the "most vulnerable" of the community. Beneficiaries were selected according to certain vulnerability criteria that were jointly developed by WVS and local community representatives. There was difficulty in applying this criteria to the host communities, in part because of the diverse set of local residents (including IDPs from all parts of Somalia, long-term Puntland residents, etc.). One of the former shelter staff members argued that the community representatives were in a unique position to see 'relative' vulnerability, which the oridnary resident could not necessarily do. At the same time, there is no evidence of an analysis of these representatives' own biases except for by the Humanitarian Accountability Officer. Lars Oberhaus of ECHO's Somalia office provided anecdotal evidence claiming that some residents had sold off their property (not allowed within the boundaries of the project and technically not legal due to the permanent nature of the title deeds), pointing out that "this was a shelter project, not a cash transfer program."

Due to security issues, the project team was not always able to be on the ground having a continuous engagement with beneficiaries and with local officials. According to some, this meant that the team left too much in the hands of the government and the quality and effectiveness of the project may have suffered as a result.

One of the more common needs we heard from beneficiaries, particularly female beneficiaries, was more land for farming or gardening. Their plots simply are not large enough, and very few (less than 10/504) beneficiaries reported currently having access to land for farming. Of those who reported having access to farming land, almost all were renting that land from someone else.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, most of the criticism of the project (both internally from the beneficiaries and externally from third party actors in the region) was on the topic of shelter. Indeed, with shelter as the core intervention of this project, there were many expectations of it and some were simply not met. Beneficiaries fairly commonly reported their shelters being unfinished, with walls not smoothed and foundations not filled or complete. Oberhaus (ECHO Somalia) highlighted the lack of vernacular building techniques and local aesthetics reflected in the design of the houses themselves as well as the layout of the sites. SC Somalia Coordinator Martijn Godderris commented that SC Somalia promotes the use of vernacular architectures, which he urges WVS to adopt where possible. Oberhaus also provided anecdotal evidence of unfinished shelters and low quality construction. Further reserach is needed to understand whether or not this is due to WVS's approach to have beneficiaries themselves construct the homes and hire their own handymen.

> "It's something we never wanted to achieve -- to find a standard solution. Somalia is diverse and needs *context-driven solutions.*"
>
> *Martijn Goddeeris, Shelter Cluster Somalia*

When asked what a re-design of their shelters would take into consideration, beneficiaries most commonly said: a veranda (we had many reports of people sitting outside their homes to watch activities happening in the streets), a larger home overall (the average family has at least 6 children), subdivisions within the home (women lacked privacy), and a plot for farming. When asked what the compound lacked, the beneficiaries most commonly reported that they were quite content except for a need for a police station and gatekeepers. Further research is needed to understand the role that gatekeepers have played in the IDP camps versus the role they are expected to play in the shelter sites, and how this may have changed.

It's also worth considering that the project was nearly completed when the term 'durable' entered the lexicon. Therfore, concepts like "resilience" and "durable solutions" may take on new meaning when applied retrospectively. SOMREP is leading the charge for making these operative concepts in WVS's current and future work.

"We're not just talking shelter... it's habitat...the place where we live...it supports us in being human...in interacting and living...designers and architects need to be involved in innovating shelter."

Lars Oberhaus, ECHO Somalia

CONCLUSION & NEW QUESTIONS

Because this project evovled from an emergency response situation to a large-scale community build and development project, it was not the conventional context for an impact evaluation. The project did not begin as most development projects begin, with a theory of change and strategic framework where a strict budget is articulated and justified. For that reason, it has attracted a bit of attention and criticism where others see ambition and a capacity to adapt to local needs as funding became available.

As for new questions, there is a host of further research to better understand access to education, health outcomes, financial activity, and more. Identity is also an interesting question which can be difficult to unpack in a set of FGDs. Beneficiaries referred to themselves as "IDPs," which may carry a loaded meaning about how they view themselves in relation to the host community. This is worth exploring more. One of the largest gaps in understanding was around displacement and mobility, which can be very difficult to track and monitor. There are many research questions worth exploring with respect to movement within and outside of the shelter sites.

A NEW WAY FORWARD

From the Somalis who were involved in the project, it was quite clear early into the evaluation that this project was an engine for positive change in Puntland. This is not only because of the impact it made strategically and through its activities on the ground, but because WVS positioned itself as a thought leader for changing the narrative of Somalia. WVI was found to be one of the only actors in the region with (a) a rather continuous and long-term relationship with the government in Puntland, (b) an embedded presence on the ground with multi-sectoral projects happening concurrently, and (c) a willingness to innovate in a time of crisis. This project has been a remarkable process of redesigning the way that people think about *community* and *home* in Somalia. In the same breath, Area Manager Kibanya described the complexity of the local context as a "wildnerness" for WVS and this project, which rose up to meet that challenging context, as "the single greatest achievement" in his career.

SPECIAL THANKS TO OUR DONOR

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