District Conflict and Security Assessment Report

ABUDWAK DISTRICT

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DCSA</td>
<td>District Conflict and Security Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDG</td>
<td>Danish Demining Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGDs</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KII</td>
<td>Key Informant Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCVP</td>
<td>Observatory of Conflict and Violence Prevention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODK</td>
<td>Open Data Kit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRS</td>
<td>Systematic Random Sampling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIS</td>
<td>Transition initiative for stabilization</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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Source: UNOCHA, 2012
DISTRICT PROFILE

Abudwak is the capital of the Abudwak District. It is located in northwest of Galgadud region in Central Somalia. The city is situated about 20 km west of the main highway that connects the country's southern and northern regions. It also lies close to the border with Ethiopia.

Several health centres exist in the town. Among these is the Abudwak Maternity and Children's Hospital (AMCH). There are also schools in the town. Air transportation in Abudwak is served by the Abudwak Airport. A major renovation of the facility was launched in 2011, funded by Somali expatriates from the province.

The city of Abudwak is one of the largest commercial cities in the whole of Galgadud region. It shares a borderline with the Somali region of Ethiopia. Economy mostly depends on livestock, food commodities and household products trading. Various Abudwak markets are also supported by other towns in the region such as Balanbale and Dhusamareeb.

Abudwak district has some of the richest grazing lands in the region. All four main livestock species - camel, cattle, sheep and goats are available. The city has one of the largest animal markets in the region. Consumers buy plenty of livestock and their products such as milk, butter and hide for sale.
The District Conflict and Security Assessment is designed to gather community perceptions regarding service providers as well as accessibility and effectiveness of the services they provide. The data has been gathered according to four progress indicators relating to service provision: justice, governance, security and conflict. While a district may contain a major urban settlement (main town) and a number of smaller surrounding villages, it is the unfortunate reality that the type of public services this assessment is aiming to measure are concentrated only within the main town of the district owing to the inadequacy or the complete absence of those services at the village level. Keeping this in mind, this assessment was designed and carried out in the major urban settlement of the district; the Abudwak town.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Continual assessment of issues directly affecting the community’s safety and security is critical for effective evidence-based programming, informed decision making and measuring the impact of related programmatic interventions. It enables a better understanding of what works and does not work at the community level. With this in mind, the district level assessments map out and provide a better understanding of issues that affect targeted communities across the Somali regions. By using key indicators for selected thematic areas, this report portrays the findings of an assessment conducted in Abudwak between the February 25 to March 2, 2016 by evaluating the state of conflict, governance, justice as well as safety and security in Abudwak District.

Security Providers

Police as the formally recognized institution mandated to provide security services in the district is weak in terms of competency, proficiency and logistics. There is only one police station in the town and the number of police officers available is not sufficient and generally had low morale due to lack of incentives. As a result, residents sought security services from informal bodies composed of religious leaders and clan elders within their areas. Majority of the survey respondents (61%) were not aware of the police presence in the town. People reported to traditional elders (77%) and the religious leaders (13%) for the security issues they encountered. More than two thirds (68%) of the respondents had low trust in the police. In guessing the performance of the police over the past year, respondents either did not know what to answer (44%) or reported decline (51%) in the police performance.

Justice Providers

There has been a district court with majority of the household survey respondents (59%) not aware in its presence. It is a Shariah based court with its operations critically hampered due to recurring conflicts in the town. Moreover, traditional elders also played a role in the justice provision in the district. Regarding the usage, most of the respondents who approached the justice providers used the service of the informal justice providers (religious leaders and traditional elders), while the court was the least used. Findings had shown that both formal and informal justice providers had been utilized. Cases referred to them ranged from dispute over land, business, robbery, household violence and assault. Land dispute and household violence were the main issues referred to the courts, while household violence topped the issues referred to the elders and religious leaders. When respondents were asked the justice provider they trusted most, majority (52%) of the respondents mentioned the religious leaders followed by the traditional elders (41%). The main reason of trust cited by the respondents for both justice providers was because of fair judgment. From the household respondents, it was observed that, more than half of them (51%) were not confident in the formal justice system. Reason of low trust can partially be attributed to the challenges that existed. Primarily, absence of an effective government system had led to vulnerable security system which hindered the operation of the justice system. Not all residents in the different subdivisions were able to come to court due to clan tensions in the town. There was lack of salary and logistics for the court staff who were not able to serve full time for the public.

Governance Providers

Majority of the household survey respondents in Abudwak (68%) were not aware of the existence of a district administration. This can partially be attributed to the short period the current district administration were in the
office. However, qualitative research participants argued that low profile presence was due to poor performance and failure to provide basic services. Majority of the household respondents (77%) who were aware of the presence of district administration expressed that the district administration had not provided any services at all. Knowledge of any channels of communication between the public and the local administration was very low (5%), with no participation in the local governance consultations reported in the household survey.

Vast majority of the respondents (93%) preferred local council elections as a more effective method than the current system of nomination. Public confidence towards the existing local administration indicated unaspiring satisfaction. More than half (51%) of the respondents expressed that they had low confidence in the current local administration. Most survey participants were able to identify the most pressing community issues. They identified poor education, poor health, insecurity and unfavourable economic conditions among a list of community needs.

**Conflict and Violence**

Safety is a big concern in Abudwak. Majority of the household survey respondents (73%) considered their town as unsafe. While more than one third (36%) witnessed incidents of conflict and violence including death cases. The household respondents remarked that Power or cultural struggle and revenge killings were the most prevalent causes of conflict, followed by competition over resources and family disputes. Furthermore, qualitative research participants also agreed that revenge and power struggle were among the issues that triggered violence in the area. Criminals seek refuge in their respective clans who either back them up or aid them to escape. As a result, antagonistic family members of the deceased sometimes kill other innocent individuals for the sake of revenge. Groups fighting over the administration sometimes cause aggravated assault. Conflict over land is common in the district, a situation that was further compounded by clans struggling for power. Crime and drug abuse were also mentioned as the likely causes of conflict and violence in the district. In the occurrence of conflict or violence, both the formal and informal entities played a role to sort it out.
1. METHODOLOGY

1.1. Overview

As part of its continual assessment of issues directly affecting community security and safety, OCVP conducted an extensive collection of primary data in Abudwak district.

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the thematic areas under investigation, a mixed-method approach was employed to allow the research team to triangulate information uncovered in both the data collection and subsequent analysis phase. The household survey aimed at obtaining a representative picture of the target populations’ perceptions regarding the thematic areas under exploration. Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews were used to probe deeper into, and cross-validate issues pertaining to these areas.

The quantitative data was analysed by the OCVP Research and Analysis team using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 23, after it had been collected using smart tablets that were running ODK Collect; an open source mobile data collection tool. The qualitative data was subjected to thematic analysis, using a largely deductive approach (qualitative research being a smaller component of the overall study). The main themes of coding were developed before the mission, in line with the questions, but further coding was done during analysis.

1.2. Sampling Methodology

A district household estimation provided by the district administration enabled the calculation of a sample size for the district based on the estimated number of households and a 7% margin of error at a 95% confidence level. This resulted in a sample size of 160 households.

1.3. Household Survey

A face-to-face quantitative survey was conducted in which questions relating to personal demographics, security, justice and governance provision, and conflict and violence were asked of respondents from randomly selected households. OCVP’s data enumerators\(^1\) escrowed by a locally recruited assistants with local acquaintances and knowledge on borders between subdivisions and under the supervision of OCVP Mogadishu Head Office, managed to conduct household interviews in Amana, Horseed, Waberi, October and IDPs sub-divisions (Table 1), from February 25 to March 2, 2016.

OCVP employed a modified Systematic Random Sampling (SRS) approach where enumerators randomly selected the 3rd household after a random start point and interviewed one respondent above 18 years old in every selected household. Adjustments to this interval were periodically made so as to cater for gender balance without adversely affecting the random nature of the sampling approach.

Table 1: Number of male and female respondents within the subdivisions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area/Subdivision</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amana</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horseed</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waberi</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>68</strong></td>
<td><strong>92</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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\(^1\) Two trained data enumerators and 5 OCVP interns.
1.4. Focus Group Discussions

The second research tool utilised was a series of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) aimed at capturing participants’ perception on security and justice providers (formal and informal), governance providers and the dynamics and experiences of conflict and violence. The FGDs were conducted from the 26th to 28th of February, 2016.

A total of five groups were represented in the FGDs and each focus group lasted for an hour. The list of the groups is indicated in Table 2 below.

A total of five groups were involved in the FGDs: women; elders and religious leaders; youth; justice providers (formal and informal); and governance providers (formal). Each group consisted of 10 participants. A local organizer assisted in the recruitment of the participants based on clan lines, geographic coverage, social class, gender and age (as well as profession in the case of justice and governance providers).

An OCVP researcher moderated the discussions with the assistance of a note taker. Digital recorders were used to record the discussions only after obtaining the participants’ consent. Following verbatim transcription, the data was cleaned, organised and finally further coding was done during the analysis phase.

Table 2: Distribution of focus group participants by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus Group</th>
<th>Discussion Date</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>26/02/2016</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elders/Religious Leaders</td>
<td>27/02/2016</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>27/02/2016</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance Providers</td>
<td>28/02/2016</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>28/02/2016</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5. Key Informant Interviews

The third method utilised for data collection was personal interviews with key informants who possessed experiential knowledge on the themes under investigation. The aim was to go deeper into the subject areas and cross-validate the issues raised in the FGDs.

The interviews were conducted from 27th to 29th of February, 2016. A convenient venue was selected for those who did not have offices. Each interview lasted for about half an hour. Four key informants were interviewed, including: Local Key Traditional Elder, Social Affairs Officer from the District Administration, Deputy Police Commissioner and Deputy Court Commissioner. The list of the interviewees is provided in Table 3 below.

A local organizer assisted in the scheduling of the interviews, which were then conducted by OCVP researchers. Interviews began with questions that were tailored to the interviewee and then generally cut-across the thematic areas of governance, justice, security, and conflict and violence.

Table 3: Key Informant Interview participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Informant</th>
<th>Interview Date</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Traditional Elder</td>
<td>27/02/2016</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Affairs Officer</td>
<td>28/02/2016</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Police Commissioner</td>
<td>29/02/2016</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Court Commissioner</td>
<td>28/02/2016</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

The proportions of female respondents were relatively higher than those of males (Females: 58% vs males: 43%) as shown in the figure below. The categorical consideration of both genders in the survey was vital in getting diversified sets of insights, experiences and concerns in relation to the thematic areas of the research (Fig. 1).

Almost eight in every ten of the respondents (79%) were married, while nearly one in every ten (9%) were single. Moreover, relatively minor proportions were either divorced (6%), widowed (4%) or had given no response (2%). See figure 3.

50% of the sample respondents were between the ages of 20 to 39 with almost equivalent proportions of males and females (24% and 26% respectively). One third (33%) were in the age range of 40 to 59 with female respondents outnumbering their male counterparts (19% and 14% respectively). The number of respondents of 60 years and above were 14% of the total sample of respondents (Male: 6% and Female: 8%). On the other hand, only 2% of the respondents were below the age of 20 with 1% of each genders (Fig.2).
The bulk of the respondents (41%) reported to have never attended any formal school, while one third (33%) had formal schooling: 13% primary, 14% intermediate, 3% secondary and 3% tertiary level. Besides, around a quarter (24%) went to Quranic madarasas, while a minor 3% were self-schooled (Fig. 4).

For those respondents who had never attended formal schools, 38% were males compared to 42% who were females. Formal schooling was more common among females (35%) than men (28%), even though males dominated in the tertiary level of schooling. All the 6% of the respondents who attended tertiary educational level were men. Men also attended Quranic madarasas more than women did (32% and 17% respectively (Fig. 5).
3. SECURITY, JUSTICE AND GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

3.1 SECURITY PROVIDERS

Over the years the security of Abudwak District had been deteriorating since the collapse of the State in 1991. The political turmoil led to several twists and turns that made security of Somalia at large paralyzed. Abudwak District is not unique when it comes to security. Though it is also worthwhile to note that, apart from political failures that account for insecurity, worse still, insecurity has been fuelled by conflicts for land for grazing and water sources. It would be inaccurate to conclude that the insecurity in the area is only attributed to power struggle, there is ample facts that, livelihood insecurity has further contributed to the bad security status in the area. As communities are competing to secure their food sources and territories for grazing this has jeopardized the security status of the district. The findings in the following section reveal the big picture about respondents’ perception towards security in Abudwak.

The collapse of the central government left a void for formal leadership and as a result religious and traditional institutions took the centre stage to handle the affairs of the community including security. The informal role played by both religious and traditional elders has been voluntary and as the findings indicate, there is a preference towards the elders or religious figures to settle conflicts.

In this section, findings capture the perceptions of elders, women, youths, government officials and police officials on the notion of security status of Abudwak District.

One area of interest in the security status of Abudwak District is the level of Police deployment in the district in terms of infrastructure, size, equipment, and proficiency among others.

3.1.1 Level of Deployment

Abudwak district has only one police station with 27 policemen. This number is supposed to be in charge of the security provision of the six (6) subdivisions of the town. FGD discussants stressed that the town is poorly policed due to insufficient number, lack of facility, financial support and accountability. One participant in the governance providers FGD indicated that:

*The police station is the one that the former government left in 1991. There is another one on the east, but there are no police officers.*

Likewise, similar view was shared by Elders FGD discussants as they stated that:

*The police are not adequate in terms of both quantity and quality. They are just there carrying the name of police. They have no budgets, no administration and no accountability.*

Due to low level of police deployment which is not capable to cover all the security needs in the district residents often turn to religious and clan leaders in the matters concerning security.

Elders and religious leaders had played a role of mediating between conflicting parties, passing penalties to offenders, consultation and arbitration.

According to Abudwak deputy police commissioner, plans to increase the level of police deployment failed due to limited resources:

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2 Deputy Police Commissioner, Key Informant Interview, February 29, 2016
3 Governance Providers, Focus Group Discussion, February 28, 2016
4 Elders and Religious Leaders, Focus Group Discussion, 27th February, 2016
5 Ibid
We made a plan on how to make the town secure. The plan was to create six police stations for each subdivision, and to place 25 police men in each of them, and to have 50 more police men in the main police station. We submitted this plan to DDG [Danish Demining Group] which was assisting us in public relation issues, but it did not work out.6

The general impression is that, besides the level of police deployment being low, the available police personnel are incompetent to deliver the little they could. They work under limited incentives and are demoralized to respond to the security demands of the district. The existing police office comprises of two rooms built in the time of the former government.7 There is another police post constructed in Waberi subdivision but non-functional due to inter-clan issues.8

In the figure below, data from household survey indicate that, nearly two thirds (61%) of respondents were not aware of the police presence in Abudwak while little less than a quarter (23%) of the respondents were aware of police presence. However, 16% were uncertain as to whether or not the police were present (Fig. 6).

A comparison between genders regarding their awareness on the issue of police presence in the area is that males were relatively more aware compared to females (Male: 28% vs. Female: 20% respectively). In contrast, the females were twice the males in those respondents who were uncertain about police presence (Females: 20%, Males: 10%). See figure 7.

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6 Deputy Police Commissioner, February 29, 2016
7 Ibid
8 Ibid
Low awareness of the presence of police in the district simply sought to capture the visibility of the police force in the district. It was therefore an indication that, the police were still invisible and the level of deployment was still low to respond to security challenges of the district.

When women FGD discussants were asked about the presence of police in the area they argued that:

There is no police, but we have them in name. Their chief was killed while they did nothing. The person who killed him was killed on the spot but no one knows who was behind the incident.  

Unlike the women, elders FGD participants showed awareness to the police presence. However, they had specifically mentioned the challenges that the police faced:

Yes, there are police officers, but they lack the capacity. The government did not give them all that would empower them. And everyone is armed.

Area based analysis revealed that four in every ten (40%) of respondents in October were aware of police presence. The highest figure compared to other subdivisions. Followed is Waberi subdivision with 30%. Similarly close to a quarter of respondents in Horseed and Amana were aware of police presence (24% and 22% respectively). While the least (13%) level of police awareness were recorded among IDPs respondents (Fig. 8).

Regarding the number of police stations in the district, the results from the household survey showed that a significant majority (84%) mentioned the existence of one police station in the district; whereas 11% of the respondents stated presence of two police stations. Conversely, 5% did not know the number of police stations (Fig. 9).

The study further sought to establish the distance covered by residents to reach that particular police station. According to statistics in the Figure below it was found that more than a quarter (27%) of the respondents

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9 Women, Focus Group Discussion, February 26, 2016
10 Elders and Religious Leaders, February 27, 2016
stated that it would take them less than twenty minutes, while around half (51%) of respondents said that it would take them between twenty minutes to one hour. However, 14% of the respondents expressed that it would take them more than an hour to reach the police station. The remaining 8% of the respondents were unable to estimate the distance (Fig. 10).

What these findings entail is that the majority of the residents live relatively far from police services which exposes them to insecurity. This can also be the reason why the police did not respond promptly on time as the respondents indicated when asked about how quickly the police response was.11

Further subdivision disaggregation revealed that the majority of the respondents (70%) in October said it took them less than 20 minutes to reach the police station. Additionally half (50%) of the respondents in Horsed would take the same time (less than twenty minutes) to reach to the nearest police station. In contrast, Waberi is the farthest subdivision which is located over one hour’s distance from the police station (Fig. 11).

3.1.2 Preference of the security providers

The study sought to examine respondents’ perceptions towards the police. Among the different security providers, findings indicate that, majority (77%) of respondents preferred to report to the traditional elders on civil matters, followed by the religious leaders with 13% making the informal entities the most preferred. All formal entities such as the police (2%), local authority (1%) and the court (1%) constituted insignificant percentages. The remaining 6% did not show any preference (Fig. 12).

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11 Governance Providers, February 28, 2016
When disaggregated by gender it was revealed that slightly more females than males (Female: 78% vs. Males: 75%) had articulated their preference for reporting civil matters to the traditional elders. Conversely, 16% of male preferred reporting civil matters to the religious leaders compared to 10% of the female respondents (Fig. 13).

Figure 13: Reporting preference for civil matters by gender

According to youth FGD participants, because of the prolonged absence of a formal system, elders are all they know and their sole security provider.

The lack of government caused so many disorders. Some people like to refer to the elders, while others would prefer other methods. The youth do not know anything to do with government so their elders are their security providers.  

However a participant in the elders FGD, argued that reporting to the formal security bodies is the right manner.

The person who prefers the police is better because he is abiding and accepting the role of the police, whereas the person who approaches the elders is more inclined towards clannism.

IDPs FGD participants cited that the lack of proper security forces brings the difference in reporting preference. This was reinforced by the elders group who added that lack of government was the sole reason for reporting preference to other non-state organs.

However, both formal and informal institutions cooperate in the security provision. This cooperation in respect to providing security can only be explained by the fact that the government institutions are too weak to deliver the needed services as argued by Women FGD discussants:

The elders and the police work with each other, because they are interdependent. Both of them do not have the backing of government because there is no strong one, and they are afraid if they would propose to kill the murderers. Recently, there were cases of people killed in mediation and both of the warring parties denied

Qualitative data obtained through FDGs indicate perception regarding preference towards the different security providers is affected by different factors such as political and trust towards the clan elders. A social affairs officer from Abudwak district administration explained:

The existing customs are stronger than the government and people prefer to solve their differences among themselves through elders. After that, they will look for the involvement of the government.

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12 Social Affairs Officer, Key Informant Interview, February 28, 2016
13 Ibid
14 Youth, Focus Group Discussion, February 27, 2016
15 IDPs, Focus Group Discussion, February 28 2016
16 Ibid
17 Elders and Religious Leaders, February 27 2016
involvement. There are about four cases of that kind.\textsuperscript{18}

In regard to reporting petty crimes majority (75\%) of the respondents preferred the traditional elders followed by 12\% of the respondents showing preference to the religious leaders. While the least preferred were the formal entities with 4\% to the police, 2\% to the court and 1\% to the local authority (Fig.14).

The majority (74\%) of respondents articulated their preference for reporting serious crimes like grave assault, rape and murder to the traditional elders. 13\% of the respondents cited preference of reporting serious crimes to the religious leaders whilst small proportions of 4\% and 3\% stated their reporting preference towards the police and court respectively (Fig.16).

Further investigations along gender lines indicated that both males and females preferred reporting petty crimes to the traditional elders with slightly higher female proportion than the males (78\% females vs. 71\% males). In contrast the males were more likely to report to the religious leaders than their female counterparts (Males: 16\% vs. Females: 9\%). See figure 15.

\textsuperscript{18} Women, February 26, 2016
preference of reporting serious crimes to the traditional
elders compared to males (Female: 77% vs. Males: 71%).
In contrast males were twice more likely to report to the
religious leaders than the females (18%: males vs. 9%:
females). See figure 17.

Figure 17: Reporting preference for serious crimes by gender

3.1.3 Level of trust in security providers
Results from household survey indicate that informal
tentities were the most trusted security providers in
responding to crime and violence with 87% of
respondents. Nearly six in every ten (56%) of
respondents trusted the traditional elders while three in
every ten (31%) trusted the religious leaders. Only 7% of
the respondents had chosen the formal institutions as
their most trusted security providers in responding to
crime and violence (Police: 6%, Local authority: 1%). See
figure 18.

Along gender disaggregation, results indicate that slightly
more females than males bestowed trust to the
traditional elders (Female: 57% vs. Males: 54%). On the
other hand, slightly more males than females trusted
religious leaders (Males: 32% vs. Females: 30%), while
9% males trusted the police in comparison to 4% females. However, only 1% for both genders trusted the
local authority as the most trusted security provider in
responding to crime and violence (Fig.19).

Figure 18: Most trusted security provider in responding to
crime and violence

Figure 19: Most trusted security provider in responding to
crime and violence by gender
The choice of respondents’ trust was based on various reasons as in the Table below. The three most referred reasons for trust in the different security providers were: respect, unbiased enforcement and ease of access. Precisely, main reason cited for trust in the traditional elders was because they are respected. While religious leaders were given trust because of their unbiased enforcement and out of respect. On the other hand respondents indicated their trust towards the police because they were respected and as a result of their unbiased enforcement. See table 4.

Table 4: Respondents’ reasons for choice of trusted security provider

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for trust of security provider</th>
<th>Most trusted security provider in responding to crime and violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast response</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbiased enforcement</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are respected</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of access</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>89</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents level of trust in the police as a formal security provider indicated that nearly three in every ten (29%) of the respondents had bestowed high levels of trust in the police (very high: 13% and fairly high: 16%) in contrast to 68% of respondents who showed low levels of trust in the police (very low: 38% and fairly low: 30%). see figure 20.

Gender based analysis portrayed that slightly more females (32%) than males (25%) had bestowed high levels of trust in police regarding responding to crime and violence. On the contrary, more males (75%) than females (62%) had expressed low levels of trust in the police in terms of responding to crime and violence (Fig.21).

Figure 20: Respondents’ level of trust towards police in responding to crime and violence

Figure 21: Respondents’ level of trust towards police in responding to crime and violence by gender
Based on subdivision, the highest levels of trust were noted in October and IDPs subdivisions at 64% and 34% respectively. Two thirds of the respondents in Amana subdivisions had low trust towards the police (66%), while 74% of respondents in Waberi had the same low levels of trust. Horsed had the lowest levels of trust with a significant 88% (Fig.22).

Lack or low levels of trust towards formal institutions such as police among residents is attributed to a number of factors which may be individual, historical and structural hence making the formal institutions less attractive to residents. The low trust for police or formal institutions is due to the fact that, available services do not match residents’ expectations when it comes to security services in the area hence they prefer other informal security providers because they are more reliable than the formal institutions.\(^\text{19}\)

### 3.1.3 Police Performance

Nearly half (51%) of the household survey respondents indicated that there was no change in the police performance in comparison to the previous year.

Contrary to this, 44% of respondents revealed that there was a decline in police performance, whereas only 3% stated an improvement in the performance of the police (Fig.23).

Upon gender disaggregation. Almost similar preparations of males (50%) and females (51%) indicated that the police performance maintained their status quo from the previous year. Meanwhile more males than females said that police performance had declined over the year (Males: 49% vs. Females: 41%). Nonetheless, females who believed in police performance improvement were thrice of their male counterparts (Females: 3% vs. Males: 1%) see figure 24.

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\(^\text{19}\) Governance Providers, February 28, 2016
Generally all subdivisions indicated a feeling of either a decline or no change in the performance of the police over the year. Majority of the respondents in Amana (70%), Horsed (64%) and Waberi (56%) reported no change in performance. On the other hand, majority of the respondents in IDPs (57%) and October (64%) said there was a decline in performance (Fig. 25).

Challenges to Security Provision

Qualitative research participants acknowledged that there are challenges that have undermined the performance of police or formal institutions in general.

In almost all of the FDGs that were conducted, tribalism was cited as a challenge that has undermined the different efforts to restore security as observed. Youth FGD participant explained this:

Tribalism is another security issue in the town. People reside in the villages according to their clans. For instance, each clan resides in one village, and right now some of us have been brought with vehicles because we could not travel this side of the town. That is how far tribalism has divided us to the extent that it restricted our movement and access to water points, market, schools and health centres.

The main challenge is however, poor logistical and infrastructural support for the smooth execution of their security operations. For instance, police borrow vehicles, fuel and even food. This had resulted low moral for the police which is the reason why many had to quit as explained by a women FGD participant:

There were some people who used to work on security. They were taken for training and no one gives them salary. None of them can work on voluntary bases for more than three months.

It was also observed that economic conditions especially high unemployment among youth has complicated the security of the district and Somalia at large as noted by women FGD participants:

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20 Youth, February 27, 2016, Women, February 26, 2016
Governance Providers, February 28, 2016
21 Youth, February 27, 2016
22 Ibid
23 Ibid
Unemployment of the youth is also a challenge to security, because they are indulged into drug abuse.\textsuperscript{24}
3.2. JUSTICE PROVIDERS

This section will cover the justice in the district. It will evaluate the perception of the communities regarding the level of deployment, the performance of the justice Providers and to the degree of trust that people have in the justice providers.

3.2.1. Level of deployment

Majority (59%) of the household survey respondents were not aware of the presence of a court compared to little less than one third of the respondents (29%) who were aware of the presence of the court. 12% of the respondents did not give a response (Fig. 25).

The existence of the court was assured in the discussions made with the FGDs and the Key informants who mentioned that the district had a court.25

In terms of gender, male respondents in the household survey were less aware of the existence of the court. For those respondents who said that they were aware of the existence of a court in Abudwak 34% were females compared to 24% males. On the other hand, more men (68%) replied to No when asked whether there was a court in their district compared to women (52%). See figure 26.

On average, less than one third (32%) of the respondents in all subdivisions were aware of the existence of the court. The only subdivision where people who knew about the court (48%) were more than those who did not (28%) or did not give response (24%) was Horsed. While the opposite was true in all other subdivisions where majority gave negative responses when asked whether they were aware of the presence of a court in their district. (Amana: 70%, IDPs: 70%, Waberi: 59% and October: 52%), see figure 27.

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25 Youth, February 27, 2016; IDPs, February 28, 2016; Women, February 26, 2016; Deputy Court Commissioner, February 29, 2016.
For those respondents who were aware of the presence of a court (n=47) when asked the number of courts there in Abudwak, the majority (89%) mentioned that there was only one court, while 11% did not know the number of courts in the district (Fig. 28).

There is only one court that functions in the town; it is a Shariah based court with its operations critically hampered due to recurring conflicts in the town.26

However, according to the deputy court commissioner:

"It [the court] functions despite the obstacles hindering its services".27

Largest number (43%) of the household respondents who knew about the court said that the court was in close proximity of less than 20 minutes walking. 38% estimated the court’s distance to their localities to be from 20 minutes to one hour walking. Those estimated the distance to be over an hour made up 20% of the respondents (Fig. 30).

When disaggregated by subdivisions, Horsed subdivision was the closest to the court with 89% of its respondents estimating the distance to be under twenty minutes. Followed were the respondents in October subdivision in which two third (67%) gave the same response. Conversely, all (100%) respondents in Waberi said that the court was over one hour distance to them. Majority of the respondents in Amana (57%) estimated the distance between 20-40 minutes. Whereas, respondents in IDPs gave mixed responses (Fig.30).

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26 Youth, February 27, 2016; Women, February 26, 2016

27 Deputy court commissioner, February 29, 2016
3.2.2. Use of the Justice Providers

Over the twelve months preceding the assessment, a total of 21% of the household respondents reported to have used both formal and informal justice providers. Those who mentioned to have used the court made up the least (1%), while 6% used the informal religious leaders. While the majority (14%) went to the traditional elders (Fig.32).

When the usage of justice providers was disaggregated by gender, all those respondents who used courts constituted males (3%). Usage of informal justice providers was also more common among men compared to women. (Male: 7% vs Females: 5% in religious leaders) and (Male: 16% vs Female: 13% in traditional elders). See figure 33.

The table below shows that both formal and informal justice providers have been utilized for cases ranging from dispute over land, business, robbery, household violence and assault. Land dispute and household violence were the main issue referred to the courts (50% each). Household and youth violence (60% and 40% respectively) on the other hand, stood out of the issues referred to the religious leaders. Household violence (26%) was again the relatively most reported issue to the traditional elders. Robbery, Land and business disputes followed (22% each) in the issues referred to the traditional elders. See table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues referred to different justice providers</th>
<th>Justice providers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land dispute</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business dispute</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth violence</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household violence</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The household survey revealed that vast majority (100% in courts and religious leaders and 91% in traditional elders) of the respondents who mentioned using the different justice providers, received judgement as indicated in the graph below (Fig. 34).

Figure 34: Issuance of judgments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Justice providers</th>
<th>% of respondents who received judgement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Court</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Leaders</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Elders</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lack of strong and capable formal bodies impaired any enforcement of the verdicts issued by the court. The religious leaders who are the court judges seek help in the traditional elders as they are more influential in the clan affairs. The deputy Shariah court commissioner explained this:

**Before we make the judgments, we ask the parties to come with three or two elders and we inform them about the judgment, then the elders will be responsible for the enforcement.**

Because of the clan support they possess, elders can make follow ups and can pressurize the parties on the enforcement of the laws. In a key informant interview with OCVP researchers a traditional elder asserted:

**The clans have customs of sharing and paying compensations together. The elders also work together and the people will accept what the elders decide. Our force are the people.**

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28 IDPs, February 28, 2016; Women, February 26, 2016; Deputy Court Commissioner, February 29, 2016.
29 Deputy Court Commissioner, February 29, 2016
30 Traditional Elder, Key Informant Interview, February 27, 2016.
3.2.2.1. Areas for improvement in the court

There are numerous challenges that surround the justice system in Abudwak. Primarily, absence of an effective government system had led to vulnerable security system which hindered the operation of the justice system. The only court that serves for the community is not enough as it is not easy for everybody to come due to the clan tensions in the town. Deputy court commissioner explained this:

The town is very big, the court is only one. So, there is the need to increase the number of courts. Secondly, the location of the court is also important. Right now, there are a lot of people who would like to come to the court but due to the tensions between sub-clans in the town, they cannot come. 

Judges and court staff rely on small payments at the discretion of the involved parties. There is no running cost for the day to day activities of the court and the offices lack the basic infrastructural facilities. The deputy court commissioner pronounced that it is difficult to work under such conditions:

We do not get any salary from anywhere, and there is no running cost. So, we might be driven towards our own business than working for the people, because our children are waiting for milk.

The deputy court commissioner further stated the need for a constitutional court for people to have choices in approaching the courts.

Youth and governance providers FGD participants also suggested improving conditions of other law enforcement agencies such as the police and the availability effective and competent administration.

Capacity building programs for all law enforcement agencies and library for law references were also the areas cited by the governance FGD discussants.

3.2.3. Perception of the Justice Providers

Religious leaders were considered to be the most trusted justice provider by the household respondents at 52%. Traditional elders were selected to be the most trusted by around four in every ten (41%) of the respondents, while only 5% of the respondents trusted the court. 1% of the respondents said that they trusted none (Fig 36).

Figure 36: Respondents’ choice of most trusted justice provider

Despite marginal gender differences, slightly more female than male trusted the religious leaders (52% and 51% respectively) as well as the traditional elders (42% and 38% respectively). While on the other hand, more men trusted the court than their female counterparts (9% and 2% respectively). See figure 37.

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31 Governance providers, February 28, 2016; Women, February 26, 2016, Youth, February 27, 2016
32 Deputy Court Commissioner, Key Informant Interview, February 28, 2016
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid
The most cited reasons accredited to the religious leaders for gaining trust is their fair judgment (93%), whereas the traditional elders were trusted for their fair judgment (40%), independence from politics (18%) and ease of access (17%). The court’s trust was ascribed to be fair judgment (75%) and independence from politics (13%). See table 6.

Table 6: Reasons for trust of justice providers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for trust of justice provider</th>
<th>Most trusted justice provider in solving cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast decisions</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair judgment</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence from politics</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less costly</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of access</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More reliable</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.4 Confidence in the Formal Justice System

The assessment pursued to determine respondent’s level of confidence in the formal justice system. From the household respondents, it was observed that, more than half of them (51%) highlighted that they are not confident in the formal justice system, while about more than a quarter (28%) indicated that they are confident in the formal justice system (fairly or very confident). A little more than a fifth of the respondents (21%) did not know whether they are confident or not (Fig. 38).

When level of confidence was assessed on the basis of gender, it was observable that males (29%) were slightly more as compared to females (27%) for those respondents who said they were confident in the formal justice system. In a similar fashion males (57%) were more than females (46%) for those who uttered that they did not have any confidence in the formal justice system. While females (27% each) were more than males (13%) for those who reported that they do not know (Fig. 39).
When subdivisions were considered in terms of their trust towards the formal justice system, October subdivision paid the highest level of trust towards the formal justice system (60%). In Amana subdivision equal proportions of respondents (41% each) had the mixed feeling of confidence as well as non-confidence. Majority of the respondents in the other three subdivisions revealed that they were confident in the formal justice system (IDPs: 52%, Horsed: 72% and Waberi: 63%). See figure 40.

Figure 40: Confidence of courts by sub-division

Very minor portion (1%) of the household respondents asserted that there had been improvement in the formal justice system for the last twelve months preceding the assessment against a majority of the respondents (57%) who did not sense any improvement. Furthermore, more than a quarter (28%) of the respondents reported a decline and 13% did not respond (Fig. 41).

Figure 41: Percentage of the performance of the court in yearly trend

Those respondents who pointed out that the courts had improved were all females (2%). While more males (63%) expressed that there were no change compared to females (53%). However, Equal proportions of both sexes reported decline in performance (28% each). See figure 42.
Figure 42: Perception of the performance of the court: yearly trend by gender

Analysis made on the basis of subdivisions regarding the performance of the formal justice system over the last twelve months, disclosed that majority of the respondents of Amana (74%), October (67%), Horsed (64%) and Waberi (52%) were of the opinion that the formal justice system did not improve in the last twelve months. On the other hand, the highest percentage of respondents who reported decline were observed in the IDPs (45%). The equivalent proportion of respondents (45%) in the IDPs also responded that there were no change in performance (Fig. 43)

Figure 43: Perception on the performance of the court: yearly trend by subdivision

3.3. GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS
This section investigates the level of governance in the Abudwak district. It presents the research participants’ views and insights regarding the governance providers, as well as examines the overall state of governance provision. It highlights the challenges faced by the governance providers, as well as the level of awareness of the governance institutions and the trust towards them. It also inquires about trends in their performance for the last 12 months.

### 3.3.1. Level of Deployment

The current district administration in Abudwak was appointed recently. The district administration was appointed rather than elected by the inhabitants of Abudwak. Although some of the NGOs, which have visited the area, have requested that the district form a local council, so far the conditions have not been met and “It can’t happen as easy as they demand it”.

On the whole, the level of awareness towards the district administration was low. It was only 28% (n=44) of the household respondents who were aware of a district administration, whereas 68% (n=109) were not aware of any. 4% of the respondents did not know what to answer, or chose not to give a statement (Fig. 44).

In the qualitative interviews, it became apparent that the participants shared a low perception of the district administration. On one hand, they all agreed that the district administration existed per se, however, on the other hand, most participants expressed that in terms of presence and activities the district administration was not visible; it did not provide any services or perform.

The general low level of awareness towards the district administration was quite similar from a gender perspective. 29% of the male respondents and 26% of the female respondents were aware of a local council, whereas 68% of both men and women had not been aware. Only 3% of the male respondents and 5% of the female respondents did not know how to answer, or choose not to (Fig. 45).

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38 Social Affairs Officer, February 28, 2016.

39 Elders (25/2) youth 25, IDPs 26, Women 26 and Governance providers 27
3.3.2. Performance of the District administration

The respondent attitude also become apparent, when the majority of the respondents (77%) who had stated that they were aware of a district administration in Abudwak, declared that the district administration had not provided any services at all. However, a cumulative 27% had named some services such as 9% had named security, 7% had named health, and 5% had highlighted education. Also sanitation, infrastructure and justice were highlighted by 2% each. 5% did not answer the question or did not know. The respondents were permitted to give multiple answers (Fig. 46).

More than two thirds (77%) of the respondents rated that the district administration does not offer any service. While those who mentioned that the district administration provided basic services such as security, health, education and sanitation constituted 27% of the respondents. The Deputy District Commissioner claimed that for reasons related to budget and technical expertise, their service delivery have been limited.\footnote{Deputy District Commissioner, February 29, 2016.}
As already presented, the qualitative research participants had denounced the performance of the district administration to be nearly microscopic. However, although the district administration did not perform, the qualitative participants related this to various challenges for the district administration such as: the lack of financial resources such as absence of customs\textsuperscript{41}, the lack of support towards the administration\textsuperscript{42} and the internal power struggles in Abudwak.\textsuperscript{43}

The participants from the Youth FGD were the most positive towards the district administration, stating that although the current administration lacks capacity, they are still determined to perform. As explained by a participant of the Youth FGD:

\textit{The current administration does not have all sorts of capacity to provide community services. They don’t collect taxes, and they don’t get any salaries. But they are still determined to do something. Currently, they implemented a solar}\textsuperscript{44}

Furthermore, the women FG highlighted the lack of capability of the district administration. To illustrate this point, one of the participants used the example of when the area installed street lamps, this only happened on the basis of the people’s support.\textsuperscript{45} Also, in a KII interview with an Elder, he argued that district commission did not know how to perform its duties. As he stated:

\textit{Those who claim to be government do not know what government is all about. So, they need to be trained. Secondly, people with the knowledge of governance need to be nominated.}\textsuperscript{46}

### 3.3.3. Pressing Needs in the Community

The household survey participants were asked to name the most pressing needs in the community; they were permitted to present multiple answers. Poor education was the need, which was highlighted by most respondents with 83\%, next in line was poor health (79\%), insecurity (72\%), poor economy (62\%) and unemployment (59\%). Less frequently mentioned were the electricity supply (24\%), poor sanitation (19\%), drought (18\%) lack of infrastructure (16\%) and the lack of water (14\%). The least pressing needs according to the results of the household survey were the deforestation (9\%) and the gender based violence (3\%), as well as the lack of administration (1\%). (Fig. 48)

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\textsuperscript{41} Youth, February 27, 2016; governance providers, February 28; elder, February 27, 2016.

\textsuperscript{42} Women, February 26, 2016.

\textsuperscript{43} IDPs, February 28, 2016.

\textsuperscript{44} Youth, February 27, 2016.

\textsuperscript{45} Women, February 26, 2016.

\textsuperscript{46} Elder and Religious leaders, February 26, 2016.
Poor education and health

Health and education remained important challenges in Abudwak. At the time of the research there were 13 schools in total: 10 primary schools and 3 secondary schools in the district. Further, there was a university in town and four schools in the remote villages. The district also had a college, which trained students in computer skills, nursing, languages and adult education. However, according to the Youth FGD neither the education nor the health facilities were sufficient to cover the needs of the district. In fact, they were argued to be overpopulated without enough wards. It was argued that every subdivision needs one hospital, rather than sharing just one in a large district.

The health facilities were of a low standard, and their staffs needed capacity building. Although IMC was assisting the health services, the quality was still poor, women in labour were dying and the facilities had a great problem if, or when, contagious diseases happened. The IDP FGD also raised that there was no healthcare for them, and especially women and children were suffering.

Another factor was the high cost of education. 2 out of 3 inhabitant of the region could not afford to send their kid to school, and those who could not afford to go to school were left on the streets. As explained by a participation of the Youth FGD:

*The poor people cannot send their children to school. A person, who does not have the food to eat, cannot afford to pay 10 dollars per month for education.*

The women FGD explained how education was costly, and although Save The Children subsidized the salary of the teachers and provided books to students, it is only in some schools to some extent. The women FGD also shared a concern that the “Lack of education causes the support for different and illegitimate administrations”.

Security

During OCVP’s research security continued to be an important concern amongst both the quantitative and qualitative respondents. The qualitative respondents agreed that one of the main issues were insecurity, because as put by the Elder FGD, how are the district administration to provide any services if they cannot provide security? It was argued that the basis for the other forms of services was that security was in order.

Also, it was argued that NGOs could not come to the district due to this insecurity and the lack of paved roads, which created a space for the local NGOs to fill.

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47 Social Affairs Officer, February 28, 2016.
48 Youth, February 27, 2016.
49 Ibid
50 Women, February 26, 2016.
51 Governance providers, February 28, 2016.
52 IDP, February 28, 2016.
53 Women, February 26, 2016.
54 Youth, February 27, 2016.
55 Women, February 26, 2016
56 Women, February 26, 2016.
57 Elder and Religious leaders, 27, 2016.
58 Governance Providers, February 28, 2016
their pockets.\textsuperscript{59} Thus, excluding potential resources for service provision. However, the NGOs were also seen as a potential solution to the problem, due to their reconciliation and conflict prevention mechanisms.\textsuperscript{60}

In fact, the question of governance were continuously linked to the question of security, because as pointed out in the qualitative interviews, the internal power struggles and sub-clan disputes for political power, were a part of making the district unsafe.

According to the women FGD it was the lack of government, in the form of mutual agreement, which has brought the insecurity to Abudwak.\textsuperscript{61} Also, in the IDP FGD it became apparent that:

\textit{There is no government in Cabudwak, neither local government nor local administration. They were nominated but have done nothing. Instead they kill us fighting over power. We have a country but no one to make what it deserves}.\textsuperscript{62}

The qualitative participants underlined that the district council were not governing with a mutual vote, instead the IDP FGD explained how there is especially disagreement between two groups; one pro the current district administration, the other one not. However, as pointed out by the Elder FGD, the town is safe per se, people can walk around the town.\textsuperscript{63}

Unemployment

Unemployment was also a harsh reality in Abudwak, where especially there were no job opportunities or job creations for the youth whether or not they were educated.\textsuperscript{64} The women FGD feared that the unemployed youth could be a security threat, due to their potential indulgence with drug abuse.\textsuperscript{65}

Drought

The drought had already affected many people. Although drought were not highlighted by more than 18\% of the quantitative respondents, many of the qualitative respondents saw the drought as one of the main issues in the district because it affected the livestock capacity.\textsuperscript{66} Other issues such as water, and diseases also affected it. Especially, the IDPs were harshly affected; they had lost their cattle and thus in dire need of assistance.\textsuperscript{67} As explained by a participant of the IDP FGD:

\textit{There is a severe drought in the draught and as a result, the livestock have migrated to Ethiopia creating an economic crisis. Right now, camels and milk come from Ethiopia}.\textsuperscript{68}

3.1.1. Consultative Governance

3.3.4.1. Channels of Communication

The awareness of any channels of communication between the district administration and the public were also very low.

When the respondents who had stated they were aware of a local council, were asked if they were aware of any channels of communication between themselves and the local council, a resounding 95\% stated that they were not aware of any channels of communication. Only 5\% (n=2) indicated that they were aware of any communication channels (Fig. 49).

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid
\textsuperscript{60} Governance providers, February 28, 2016.
\textsuperscript{61} Women, February 26, 2016.
\textsuperscript{62} IDPs, February 28, 2016
\textsuperscript{63} Elder and Religious Leaders, February 27, 2016.
\textsuperscript{64} IDP, February 28, 2016.
\textsuperscript{65} Women, February 26, 2016
\textsuperscript{66} Youth, February 27, 2016; IDPs, Febr 28, 2016.
\textsuperscript{67} Elder and Religious leaders, February 27, 2016.
\textsuperscript{68} IDPs, February 28, 2016.
The tendency was the same from a gender perspective. Only 5% of men and 4% of women were aware of any communication channels, whereas 96% of the female respondents and 95% of the male respondents were not aware of any. (Fig. 50)

Three of the subdivisions (Amana, October, IDPs) had no residents that were aware of any channels of communication. Only Horsed and Wabari had 7% of their residents each who were aware of any channels of communication to the local council. (Fig. 51)

Likewise, none of the respondents from the household service had participated in any local governance consultancy meetings within the last 12 months. (Fig. 52)
This lack of awareness did not correspond to the perception of the social affairs officer of the district administration who argued that the district administration communicated with the public if needed. Mostly, that would happen when the NGOs are in the district, or when there is a security problem. He explained that the district administration used the radio, wall posts and written letters as channels of communication, which apparently only reached 5% of the respondents from the household survey. Likewise, he argued that the that they should hold consultancy meetings minimum one time per month, however, which none of the participants of the household survey had participated within the last 12 months. Further he explained the district have 6 orientation centers, one for each subdivision.

Indeed there was a discrepancy between the awareness of channels of communications from the perspective of the household respondents, and the perception of the district administration. From another perspective, the Elder KII explained how there were a need to separate awareness raising meetings from that of the governments.

The people should have separate awareness raising meetings from that of the governments. They should open their doors to each other and have inter-communal consultations.

3.1.2. Importance of elected representatives

When the OCVP researchers inquired about if the respondents found it important to elect officials, a majority of 93% answered that it was important. Only 6% did not find the election of officials important, and 1% did not know how to answer or chose not to (Fig. 53).

Only a small differences could be noticed when the data was segregated by gender. Almost the same percentage of men and women found the election of official important (93% women; 91% men), whereas slightly more men (9%) than women (4%) stated that it was not important. Of the respondents who had stated they did not know how to answer, or who chose not to, all was women (2%) (Fig. 54).

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69 Social Affairs Officer, February 28, 2016.
70 Ibid
71 Elder, February 27, 2016
72 Ibid
The Amana, Horsed and October subdivision shared the highest level (96% each) of residents who thought that the election of officials was important. The Wabari subdivision had 93% of its residents who stated that these elections were important, whereas the IDPs had the lowest amount of residents (88%) who thought the elections were valuable (Fig. 55).

![Figure 55: Respondents’ perception towards elected representatives by subdivision](image)

This trend was shared amongst the participants of the qualitative interviews who also felt that it was important to elect officials. However, the qualitative interviewees also explained how at this moment in time it was not possible to have such elections. This became problematic because it caused the officials to lack the support from some parts of the population, in fact “There is no unanimously agreed upon government, because we didn’t elect them due to the fact that the means and mechanisms to hold elections have not been put in place.”

Also in the youth FGD the importance of the elections were highlighted. They explained that the youth were tired of not electing their MPs; they felt the MPs would only be accountable to them, if the people elected them.

Yes, we would like to elect them. We need to elect our MPs. We are fed up of MPs imposed on us or appointed by a clan leader. We need them to be accountable to us. But, when shall we have such a platform.

Likewise, participants of the Governance FGD summarized how they felt that good governance was linked with elections; because nomination makes the officials less accountable to the people. Also they highlighted that the election of local official could be a step towards security and good governance in Abudwak.

Although most of the participants saw the positive side of election officials, one of the participants from the Women’s FGD explained that although it could possible create less division, people would also be divided even if they had election. In fact, as already mentioned in an earlier paragraph, a major issue in Abudwak was described to be the conflict in political presentation, as a participant explained:

There is also conflict in political representation and the competition arising from such issues often lead to conflicts. For instance, if someone is to be appointed for a position, then his kin men might also want to get that same position.

According to the IDP FGD one the challenges towards the election of officials, was that the warlords disrupts such election by making diversion according to their own interest.

However, many of the qualitative participants saw a potential decline in the political divide, and the acceptance of MPs, if they were actually elected.

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73 Elder and Religious leaders, February 27, 2016.
74 Ibid
75 Youth, February 27, 2016.
76 Governance providers, February 28, 2016.
77 Women, February 26, 2016.
78 Ibid
79 IDP, February 28, 2016.
3.3.6. Perception towards the District administration

3.3.6.1. Confidence in the District administration

Half of the respondent (51%) had a cumulative low level of confidence (very low: 10%; fairly low: 41%) in the local council, whereas a cumulative 42% had a high level of confidence (very high: 19%; fairly high 23%). 8% of the respondents did not answer. (Fig. 56)

From a gender perspective, women (accumulative 45%) had a slightly higher high level of trust in the local council than men (accumulative 37%) (very high: 18% men vs. 20% women; fairly high: 19% men vs. 25% women), whereas more men (accumulative 53%) than women (accumulative 48%) had a lower trust (fairly low: 50% men vs. 35% women; very low: 6% men vs. 13% women). (Fig. 57)

3.3.7. Performance of the district administration

When the respondents were asked to state how they felt the performance of the local council had developed in comparison to the previous year, a remarkable amount of 73% did not know how to respond to the question, or choose not to. Only 27% (n=43) answered the question; mere 1% stated the performance of the council had improved, 19% stated that there had been no change, and 7% stated that there had been a decline. (Fig. 58)
Only small differences could be found when segregating the data in accordance to gender. The 1% who has stated that there had been an improvement in the performance of the local council was all male. Slightly more women (21%) than men (18%) said that there had been no change, whereas more men (9%) than women (5%) stated that there had been a decline. Nearly the same amount of women (74%) and men (72%) had stated that they did not know or had not answered the question. (Fig. 59)

All of the respondents who had stated that there had been an improvement in the council’s performance in the last 12 months resided in the Waaberi subdivision. Of the respondents who stated that there had been no change 56% resided in Horsed, 41% in Wabari, 9% was IDPs and 4% inhabitants of the Amana subdivision. The respondents who said that there had been a decline lived in the IDP subdivision 13%, Waaberi 11% and Horsed 4%. All respondents who was residents in October had not known how to answer, or choose not to, likewise 96% of the respondents who lived in Amana. (Fig. 60)
4. CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

4.1. Experience of Conflict and Violence

Majority of the respondents (54%) reported that they were aware of conflicts between clans or groups. However, close to half of the respondents (46%) said that they were not aware of any such conflict (Fig. 61).

Among those who were aware of conflicts, Amana had the largest share (96%) followed by 92% in October. The level of awareness of conflicts between clans or groups was relatively lower in the other subdivisions (IDPs: 42%, Waberi: 30% and Horsed: 20%). See figure 63.

Both Men and women were almost equally aware (Male: 54%, Female: 53%) of conflicts between clans or groups in the last twelve months (Fig. 62).
4.1.1. Crime and Violence

Since 54% of the respondents have mentioned that they were aware of conflict as shown in figure 61 above, then it is paramount to further dig into those who had account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups – those who witnessed conflict as it took place. The survey results showed that more than one third (36%) of the respondents reported accounts of witnessing conflict (Fig. 67).

Figure 64: Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups: yearly trend

Going into further analysis based on the subdivisions, highest proportion in witnessing conflicts were observed in October (88%). Second highest was Amana with 56%. Other three subdivisions had relatively less accounts of witnessing conflict (Horsed: 20%, Waberi: 19% and IDPs: 18%). See figure 66.

Figure 65: Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups (last 12 months)

Accounts of witnessing conflict between clans or groups were more among men compared to women (81% and 58% respectively). See figure 65.

Figure 66: Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups (last 12 months)
4.2. Experience in Conflict

Furthermore, one in every ten respondents (60%) have reported to have witnessed conflicts once (21%), twice (21%) or thrice (18%) in the past twelve months. While the rest (40%) have witnessed accounts of conflict more than three times and as much as ten times. See figure 67.

Figure 67: Number of conflicts witnessed (last 12 months)

However, two thirds of the respondents (67%) who witnessed conflicts reported that either one (30%) or two (37%) conflicts had led to violence. 16% said to have witnessed three conflicts that lead to violence, while 12% reported four incidents that lead to violence. There were also cases of conflict that lead to five, six or eight incidents of violence (2% each). See Figure 68.

Figure 68: Number of conflicts leading to violence

Of the violent conflicts reported, near to two thirds (65%) of the respondents recounted that 6 to 15 violent conflicts had led to death. While 12% said to have witnessed more than sixteen violent conflicts that had led to violence. Around two in every ten (19%) of the respondents stated that 1 to 5 of the violent conflicts lead to death. Only 4% said to have not witnessed any violent conflict that resulted in death. (Fig. 769).

Figure 69: Number of violent conflicts leading to death

16% of the respondents reported that they witnessed crime or violence against someone outside their homestead (Fig.70).
Figure 70: Account of witnessing crime or violence outside the homestead

Along the lines of gender, the accounts of having witnessed crime or violence outside the homestead was relatively higher in men (18%) than women (15%) as shown in the figure below (Fig. 71).

Figure 71: Account of witnessing crime or violence outside the homestead by gender

4.3. Dynamics of Conflict and Violence

Survey respondents identified a variety of reasons that play a major role in causing and triggering violence. Power or cultural struggle is the major cause of conflict in the area. 70% of the respondents who had witnessed conflicts had raised this issue. This was seconded by conflicts driven by revenge which accounted for 56%. Respondents also mentioned other causes that lead to violent conflicts such as those that arise over resources (18%), family disputes (16%) and lack of justice (12%) among others. See figure 72.

Figure 72: Causes of conflict within the last 12 months

Revenge

Revenge killing is a common player of conflict between clans. Criminals seek refuge in their respective clans who either back them up or aid them to escape. As a result, antagonistic family members of the deceased sometimes kill other innocent individuals for the sake of revenge. KII Elder explained this:

People kill each other in the towns and no one has ever been punished. That happens due to revenge which is not primarily targeted to the murderer but anyone from his clan especially when the murderer escapes.  

80 Elder, February 27, 2016
IDP FGD participants further explained how criminals are kept hidden by their own relatives.

The killer will even disappear with the help of his relatives. They rent a vehicle for him and send him abroad, and they will pretend that they couldn’t get him. The family of the deceased will be forced to take a compensation (Diya) while not being satisfied which will pave the way for revenge killing and spread of violence.⁸¹

This had resulted in many intellectual people fleeing from the town in fear of killing.⁸² Woman FGD participant dissented: “Revenge killing – an educated person is killed for a culprit who was killed long time ago”.⁸³

Power Struggle

Power struggle is another source that leads to armed confrontations. Governance providers FGD participants cited occurrence of such an incidence in the area recently:

The major conflict happened in September last year between Ahlu Sunna and Galmudug administration. It was the conflict in which the current administration took control of the town.⁸⁴

Resources (land and Water)

Claims and counter claims over resources such as land and water is a cause of conflict in the town as well as in the surrounding areas. Land dispute between individuals might ascend to clan level, reviving old grudges and hence inciting deadly violence.⁸⁵ In the rural areas, migration in search of grazing land or water points bring adversaries at some point as one of them might trespass in the other’s land which triggers clashes. Women FGD participants explained this:

Grazing land and water points are some of the main causes of conflict... If antagonistic communities reside in areas close to each other, then that might trigger conflict.⁸⁶

A participant in the women FGD also recounted death cases due to violence that arose over land disputes:

There was a fight on a piece of land on November, and as a result one man got killed. About a month ago 7 men died in Bangeele and Huurshe.⁸⁷

Lack of Justice

Lack of justice had been identified as another source of conflict. Nepotism and lack of proper adjudication of crimes creates grudge and discontent to individuals who might take the law into their hands. Governance Providers FGD had hinted this:

Conflicts are caused by the lack of justice. Hence, the person who did not get justice might use all his power to get the kind of justice he seeks.⁸⁸

Rape

According to women FGD participants, rape is another source of conflict. Rape results in defamation of the victim who is discriminated in the community. The rage this causes to the family of the victim leads to violent actions against the offender:

Rape done to girls also causes conflicts between communities as there is no justice system in place to handle this... If a girl is raped she is ostracized and discriminated from the rest of the community. She won’t be married at all because she already lost her virginity. So, that will lead to the killing of the criminal who raped her.⁸⁹

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⁸¹ IDP, February 28, 2016
⁸² Youth, February 27, 2016
⁸³ Women, February 26, 2016
⁸⁴ Governance Providers, February 28, 2016
⁸⁵ Elders and Religious Leaders, February 27, 2016
⁸⁶ Women, February 26, 2016
⁸⁷ Ibid
⁸⁸ Governance Providers, February 28, 2016
⁸⁹ Women, February 26, 2016
Crimes: Result of Drug consumption

Crimes as a result of drug consumption is another source of conflict. There is a rising consumption of alcohol which passes from Ethiopian border. The alcoholics who are armed are prone to kill or harm others. Woman FGD participant said: “drunkards will target someone upon a minor issue and kill him. They also loot and rape at night”.  

Similar conflicts arise over dealing in Qat as Qat dealers are also armed. A youth FGD participant argued that majority of the Qat dealers are also alcoholics:

“Chat is a major cause of conflict among the families, consumers and even the sellers... Majority of the chat consumers and even dealers are alcoholics and they are all armed. Every night, there is an incident of drunkards who fired each other and got killed or wounded.”

4.3.3. Victims of Violence and Conflict

Women, children and the old people are the most vulnerable as they are weak and lack the strength to fight or to flee. However, Elders FGD participant specifically stressed that the nature of their work which is arbitrating the conflicting parties makes them more vulnerable: “Elders are the most affected, because they will be the ones to face the burden and risk their lives to mediate between clans or groups”.

4.4. Conflict Resolution

In the presence of weak administrative system, different community members join forces to stand for peace. They create the platform for the parties to engage in talks. Elders FGD participants explained how they ensure this:

“Elders, religious leaders, business community, women groups, all get involved in solving conflicts. They voluntarily organize themselves, contribute money and arrange all the logistics needed to intervene in conflicts.”

Different community sectors such as women, youth, elders and religious leaders arrange awareness campaigns to embrace the value of peace, brotherhood and co-existence. This was raised in the IDP FGD:

Women come together, compose songs and poems criticizing the conflict, and they go to the scene of the conflict. Elders also send advocates informing each party of the wellbeing of the community. The youth rent vehicles and speak to all in a loud voice using microphones embracing peace and coexistence and they move between the conflicting parties. The religious leaders come with the Quran and they preach the conflicting parties on the fear of Allah.

4.5. Perception of safety

Safety is a big concern in the area as only less than three in every ten (28%) of the respondents said that they feel safe as opposed to the majority (73%) who felt unsafe. Little less than one third (30%) of these respondents felt very unsafe. (Fig.73).

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90 Ibid
91 Youth, February 27, 2016
92 Elders and Religious Leaders, February 27, 2016; IDP, February 28, 2016.
93 Elders and Religious Leaders, February 27, 2016
94 Ibid
95 IDP, February 28, 2016
For those respondents who felt safe in the area, women respondents felt safer twice as men did (Female: 35% vs. Male: 17%). In other words, men were more concerned about their safety more than women did. 83% of the men felt unsafe compared to 65% of the women who had the same safety concern (Fig. 74).

Almost equal proportions of male (10%) and female (9%) respondents had positive perception towards safety in the year preceding the assessment. While slightly more women (53%) perceived that safety had decreased over the past year compared to men (50%). See figure 76.

Only less than one in every ten (9%) of the total respondents, believed that safety had improved over the past twelve months while on the other hand, the absolute majority (52%) of the respondents felt that the
Despite with varying degrees, majority of the respondents in the different subdivisions, either perceived no change of safety in the past twelve months (Horsed: 64% and Waberi: 63%) or felt that there was a decrease in safety (October: 76%, Amana: 63% and IDPs: 55%). See figure 77.

Figure 77: Perception of safety – change over the past year by subdivision

An elder in the Elders FGD recounted how Abudwak used to be peaceful in the old times and how things got changed. He attributed all that to the lack of administration:

> **Abudwak used to be next to Borama [used to be peaceful in old times] in the peace record. However in the late 2015, conflict between clans caused killing of more than 200 men, and that happened due to the absence of government.**

A participant in the IDP FGD raised concern of the proliferation of weapons. This together with the bitterness that exists among the clans that reside in the town is likely to have unfavourable consequence on the security of the town:

> **The whole town is armed. It is not shame and there is no one to fear of. The clans in the town**

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96 Elders and Religious Leaders, 27th February, 2016

97 IDP, 28th February, 2016
5. CONCLUSION

Results of the assessment show that security is a big concern in Abudwak. Absence of an effective government system had led to vulnerable security system. Existing clan tensions jeopardize peace and stability. Other formal bodies can barely function in the area as there exist further challenges such as insufficiency of financial abilities and logistics from lack of salaries and availability of other basic infrastructure.

The only operating court in the district is one that functions in accordance with the Sharia law presided by a judge with his justice commission mainly composed of the most popular religious clerics in town. However, the court is least popular and the least referred justice provider. Lack of strong and capable formal bodies impaired any enforcement of the verdicts issued by the court. The religious leaders who are the court judges seek help in the traditional elders as they are more influential in the clan affairs. The elders and the police collaborate with the court to enforce judgments made. The justice system in general and the court in particular need to be assisted in the provision of salaries, office and office facilities, qualified and competent staffing as well as capacity building.

Abudwak is the administrative capital of Abudwak district under Galgadud region of Somalia. At the time of the assessment there was a newly appointed local administration. In the absence of reliable sources of revenue, the administration operates with minimal facilities. Inter-clan issues amid rising tensions in the area poses a threat to any efforts and attempts of the administration. The current administration has yet to draw public trust by meeting the public expectations towards the issues of security, social and physical infrastructure, improving the economy and establishing an effective system of governance.

The security status of Abudwak District is alarming. The deteriorating security status of the area is a combination of intersectional factors, some political, social and economic. Political factors such as power struggle for resources or who control what accounts for insecurity as clans compete to secure their resources and territories for grazing. Livelihood insecurity has further contributed to the bad security status in the area. Economic conditions especially high unemployment among youth has complicated the security of the district as the youth are indulged into drug abuse. The formal security bodies that operate in the area are weak and under resourced. Thus, informal security providers such as elders and religious leaders play the major role in the security provision.

Conflicts and violence is more common in the town with widespread awareness and with relatively larger proportion of respondents witnessed accounts of violence. There was some concern about the ongoing tensions among the clans and competition over for power and resources. Reports of revenge killings and crimes related to drug consumption caused insecurity by making it difficult for the public to get around in the town. Perception towards safety indicated that there had been a decline in safety over the year preceding the assessment. On the other hand, residents expressed their fear over the proliferation of weapons and the bitterness that exists among the clans which is likely to make the situation even worse with further unfavourable consequence on security.
### 6.1. Glossary of Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access to Justice</td>
<td>People’s ability to solve disputes and reach adequate remedies for grievances, using formal or traditional justice systems. The justice process has qualitative dimensions, and it should be in accordance with human rights principles and standards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil case</td>
<td>Non-criminal cases relating to civil wrongs and disputes between individuals, including generally property, business, personal domestic problems, divorces and such types where one’s constitutional and personal rights are breached.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clan</td>
<td>The clan is a system characterised by a chain of paternal ancestors reaching back to a perceived founding ancestor whose name all members of the clan share for identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>State of disharmony between incompatible persons, ideas, or interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal case</td>
<td>An action, suit, or cause instituted to punish an infraction of the criminal laws of a country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Safety Committee</td>
<td>A representative body comprised of a broad cross section of civil society that acts in an advisory capacity to the local government in issues of community security and safety.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enforcement</td>
<td>Relates to the implementation of orders, decisions and settlements emerging from formal or informal adjudication. Enforcement bodies include police and prisons, and administrative bodies in particular cases. Traditional systems may also have specific mechanisms of enforcement. Enforcement systems are the key to ensuring accountability and minimise impunity, thus preventing further injustices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Justice System</td>
<td>A codified system of laws and court proceedings enforced by recognised actors of lawyers, police and justice officials. The formal justice system involves civil and criminal justice and includes formal state-based justice institutions and procedures, such as police, prosecution, courts (religious and secular) and custodial measures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>&quot;Gender&quot; refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance provider</td>
<td>Formal institutions or Individuals that act, process, or possess the authority of governing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Justice System</td>
<td>Dispute resolution mechanisms falling outside the scope of the formal justice system. The informal justice system is used here to draw a distinction between state-administered formal justice systems and non-state administered informal justice systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice Provider</td>
<td>Formal or informal Institutions or individuals that are responsible to provide fair and equitable treatment of all individuals under the law (customary, formal or Sharia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice System</td>
<td>Includes formal justice institutions and procedures, such as police, prosecution, courts and prisons, as well as Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), and other informal and traditional systems (e.g. a council of elders). The justice system includes coordination and other arrangements among its different components that influence overall outcomes on access to justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land/water disputes</td>
<td>A state of debate or quarrel between/among persons, groups or communities over the property, the use, etc. of plots or swathes of land and water points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Authority</td>
<td>Those invested with formal power, especially a government or body of government officials at district level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty Crimes</td>
<td>Criminal offense that is less serious than a serious crime and generally punishable by a monetary fine, forfeiture or a jail term of up to a year, or a combination of both.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Provider</td>
<td>Formal or informal Institutions or individuals that are responsible for the protection of persons, dwellings, communities or the nation from harm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious Crimes</td>
<td>Criminal offense that is more serious than a petty crime and which can be punished by one or more years in prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, or deprivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xeer</td>
<td>A customary law system that has evolved from a basis of clan relations, with some influence of Islamic law (Sharia), that employs mediation and negotiation through the use of traditional elders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Men and Women between the age of 15 and 30</td>
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