JOWHAR

DISTRICT CONFLICT AND SECURITY ASSESSMENT REPORT

JANUARY 2015
District Conflict and Security Assessment Report

JOWHAR DISTRICT

JANUARY 2015
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Finally, we are grateful to the local authorities in Jowhar District for giving us the permission to conduct this assessment in the district.
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMISOM</td>
<td>African Union Mission in Somalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCSA</td>
<td>District Conflict and Security Assessment</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>FGDs</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
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<tr>
<td>KII</td>
<td>Key Informant Interviews</td>
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<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>SNA</td>
<td>Somali National Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRS</td>
<td>Systematic Random Sampling</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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Map of Study Area

Map of Jowhar District: Adopted from UN OCHA 2012
DISTRICT PROFILE

Jowhar is the capital town of the Middle Shabeelle region of Somalia; it is located in the central region and borders Galgadud to the north, Hiran to the west, and Lower Shabeelle and Banadir regions to the south and the Indian Ocean to the east.

Jowhar along with Baidoa were used to form the joint administrative capital of the Transitional Federal Government, during late President Abdullahi Yusuf’s time in office. During the regime of Siyad Barre, the district prospered to become one of the most resourceful in Somalia, with more than five large industries; including Jowhar Sugar manufactory, and SNAI PIAZA which was Somali Italian cooperation manufactory. Moreover, the region was blessed with farmlands and the Shabeelle River and in the middle of the 1980s attracted many labourers and displaced Somalis from other regions affected by drought. The influx of new residents to the area, who came to find work and utilise the areas’ resources, led to local residents boasting- ‘either Jowhar or Jeddah’, alluding to the availability of jobs and opportunities in these two cities - Jowhar and Jeddah in Saudi Arabia.

Before 1980, Jowhar was part of Banaadir region, current capital city of Somalia, but after 1980s the middle Shabeelle was made a separate region and Jowhar became the capital city of the (then new) Middle Shabeelle. A particularly happy memory fixed in the minds of the older Somali generation is the Jowhar football team, which used to be one of the most talented and respected teams in the whole of the country.
SCOPE OF THE ASSESSMENT

District Conflict and Security Assessment is designed to gather people’s perceptions of the accessibility and effectiveness of public service provision as well as providers. Information is 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 research is aiming to measure concentrates only within the main town of the district, while at the village level are either inadequate or completely absent. Keeping this in mind this study was designed and carried out in the major urban settlement of the district; the Jowhar 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. Ultimately it enables a better understanding of what works and does not work at the community level and, 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, the report provides an assessment of the state of conflict, governance, justice as well as safety and security in Jowhar District. This assessment was conducted in the Jowhar District from December 20 to December 26, 2014.

The following summarises the key findings of the assessment:

Security providers

Security is a prerequisite for the reconstruction, restoration of law and order and the provision of the much needed social services. By 2012, the Jowhar district was recovered from Al-Shabaab by the Somali National Army (SNA) with the help of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Currently, a fragile state of security existed and the district was in a nascent stage of restoration of law and order, whereby law enforcement bodies such as the police are being re-established. All respondents had been aware of police presence and one police station to which they reported all sorts of incidents. However, there were formidable challenges: feeble resources, lack of training and detention cells, poor logistics, with police having one car that had to respond to all emergencies in different subdivisions. Despite all these constraints, a large proportion of respondents believed that police performance had improved in the last 12 months.

Justice providers

Effective justice provision is a precondition to social reconciliation and co-existence. The current justice system of Jowhar lies in the intersection between the formal and informal justice providers; with findings indicating no substantial difference in the usage of the two. The inefficiencies in the law enforcement institutions such as the police, had affected the enforcement of court judgments. The formal justice system faces numerous challenges, including lack of inter and intra-institutional coordination, low morale of the judiciary staff as result of lack of payments and inadequate facilities which altogether compounded justice provision in the district.

Governance providers

Jowhar was blessed with an abundance of natural resources which attracted several mega projects before the collapse of the former regime. Residents of Jowhar boasted ‘either Jowhar or Jidda’, referring to the abundance of jobs and investments in their district; once a blessed region, the situation reversed with the outbreak of civil war. The current situation in Jowhar is that unemployment has touched everyone, with joblessness being the most pressing issue faced in the district. There is an appointed administration in the district, comprising of one commissioner and several deputies whose main focus is largely the provision of security. All other needs: education, health, sanitation and infrastructure remained unaddressed. Insufficient funds, natural calamities and fragile security hampered the performance of the district administration.
Conflict and Violence

After decades of conflict and violence, relative peace and normality has started to return to Jowhar. The notorious clan and group conflicts have subsided, with 85% of respondents stating that they had not witnessed such conflicts in the last year. However, this did not mean that the vicious circle of violence and conflict has been broken; there were persistent potential triggers of conflict and violence such as clan supremacy and undercurrents; an alarming rate of unemployment, mainly amongst youth, and widespread poverty (which might have caused a surge in mobile phone theft, and domestic violence). Furthermore, natural calamities exacerbated the situation by causing human displacements and loss of livelihoods. Elders attributed the vicious cycle of violence to federalism making the analogy of “federalism is a fire burning us and polarisation in new cloth.” Finally, women and children were vulnerable victims; with reported incidents of rape and victims being burnt inside their homes after a land dispute.
1. METHODOLOGY

1.1. Overview

As part of the continual assessments of issues affecting community security and safety, OCVP conducted extensive primary data collection in Jowhar district. In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the thematic areas under investigation namely, governance, justice, security and conflict as well as violence, a mixed-method approach was employed (both quantitative and qualitative designs were used). This was done in order to allow researchers to triangulate information uncovered in both the data collection and subsequent analysis phase. Firstly, the household survey was 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 then used to probe deeper into these areas, and to cross-validate issues that emerged.

The quantitative data was analysed by the OCVP Research and Analysis team using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 22, once it had been collected using smart tablets (Samsung Tab 4 mini) that were running ODK Collect; a mobile data collection tool developed by Open Data Kit (ODK). The qualitative data was subjected to thematic analysis, using a largely deductive approach (qualitative research being a smaller component of a larger quantitative study). The main themes of coding were developed before the field work, in line with the guiding questions, but further coding was done during the analysis phase.

1.2. Sampling Methodology

A sampling formula\(^1\) was employed in order to determine a representative sample size for the district. The study took into account certain statistical parameters such as the level of confidence desired (95%), sample design effect (1.5), margin of error (+ or – 8%) and the assumption that some security correlations of (0.3) existed within the sub-divisions.

The p-value of 0.3 in the formula assumes a security correlation above a random normal distribution of 0.5 within the district clusters (subdivision). This is a reasonable assumption based on the topic of the survey – respondents within districts are likely to exhibit a correlational relationship between their perceptions and the surrounding security environment. This is further backed by OCVP’s past experience in which individuals from the same area tend to exhibit similar perceptions on security, justice, governance and conflict and violence.

Finally, a total of 189 household questionnaires were calculated for the district. However, 191 household observations were made. All the statistics in the study will be based on the latter figure (191 household observations).

1.3. Household Survey

A face-to-face quantitative survey was conducted in which questions relating to personal demographics, security, justice, governance provision and conflict and violence were asked of respondents from randomly selected households. OCVP’s two trained data enumerators and two local supporters (with local acquaintances and knowledge on borders between subdivisions), under the supervision of an OCVP supervisor, completed a total of 191 interviews. The interviews took place from December 20-26, 2014, with residents of Hanti Wadaag, Horseed, Buulo Sheikh and Kulmis subdivisions (Table 1).

\(^1\) See Annex 6.1
OCVP employed a modified Systematic Random Sampling (SRS) approach where enumerators randomly selected every fourth household after a random start point and interviewed one respondent above 18 years old in each selected household. A gender balance was emphasised throughout the survey. The distribution of respondents by subdivision and gender is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Distribution of respondents by subdivision and gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area/Subdivision</th>
<th>Gender (Number of respondents)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buulo sheikh</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanti wadaag</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulmis</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horseed</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total sample</strong></td>
<td><strong>115</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Figure 1: Percentage of respondents within subdivision by gender

1.4. Focus Group Discussions

The second research tool utilised was a series of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) aimed at capturing participants’ perceptions on security and justice providers (formal and informal), governance providers and the dynamics and experiences of conflict and violence. The FGDs were conducted on the 21st and 24th of December 2014 at Subiye hotel in Jowhar. Each discussion group lasted for about an hour.

A total of six (6) groups were involved in the FGDs: women, governance providers (formal), youth (male and female in one group), IDPs, justice providers (formal and informal) in one group and elders and religious leaders (in one group). Each group consisted of ten participants (see table 2). A local organiser assisted in the recruitment of the participants, based on clan-lines, geographic coverage, social class, gender and age group (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 tape some of the discussions (local authorities did not give their consent for the interview to be taped) only after obtaining the participants’ consent. Following a verbatim transcription, the data was cleaned, organised and finally imported into NVIVO 10 for further coding.

---

2 Adjustments were made to the composition of focus groups, following discussions within OCVP in which it was observed that (i) there had been an overlap of the nature of information obtained using the previous composition and (ii) sufficient information about some of the thematic areas was not being captured. Consequently, the governance providers’ and justice providers’ groups were introduced, the business persons’ group was scrapped and the religious leaders’ and traditional elders’ groups were merged into one group.
1.5. Key Informant Interviews

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

The interviews were conducted from December 21 to 25, 2014 at the respective offices of the interviewees. A convenient venue (Subiye hotel) was selected for those who did not have offices. Each interview lasted for about half an hour. Six (6) key informants were interviewed, including: the District Police Commissioner, District Commissioner, the District Court Commissioner, an IDP Chairperson, a key traditional elder and the Governor of Jowhar (see table 3).

A local organiser 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.

1.6. Limitations

The overall security of Jowhar district still remains fragile and in a nascent stage of recovery and this rendered the data collection exercise with numerous challenges and limitations, coupled with general distrust and fatigue of any data collection among the respondents.

The following are some of the challenges that presented limitations to this study:

**Quantitative limitations**

Some respondents were reluctant to answer certain questions that they believed to be very sensitive. Consequently, enumerators had to spend more time than planned with most of the respondents in order to obtain relevant information.

Lastly, most household respondents could not easily understand or differentiate roles played by different public institutions (courts, police, military, regional authority and district authority) and most of the respondents were speculating on roles and responsibilities - adversely impacting on the accuracy of the information provided.

**Qualitative Limitations**

The FGD participants gave guarded responses, especially concerning security, conflict and violence related questions. This was particularly the case with

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus Group</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elders/Religious Leaders</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice Providers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance Providers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDPS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Informant</th>
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<th>Female</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District Police Commissioner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Commissioner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Court Commissioner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP Chairperson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Traditional Elder</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the residents of Hanti-wadaag and its outskirts, who mostly argued, “We are not liberated people most of the night-time, Al-Shabaab are within our villages, in addition, areas beyond 20 km outside Jowhar is controlled by Al-Shabaab militia.”
2. RESPONDENTS’ PROFILE

Of the total respondents, 60% (115 respondents) were males, and 40% (76 respondents) were females. Gender disaggregation, based on these percentages, had been emphasised to allow a clear depiction of the differences in experiences, views and insights between the two genders throughout the report (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Respondents’ gender

![Gender Distribution Chart]

The majority of the respondents (67%) were between the ages of 20 and 39 years old, while approximately 18% of respondents were in their forties and 10% in their fifties. The remaining respondents (5%) were younger than 20 years old or older than 60 years old (Fig. 3).

Figure 3: Respondents’ age groups by gender

Three quarters of the respondents 76% (145) were married. The divorced category made up 12% of the sampled population; while the singles and widowed accounted for 7% and 5% respectively (Fig. 4).

Figure 4: Respondents’ marital status

The respondents who reported that they were never educated comprised one quarter (25%) of the total sample, while those who went to Quranic Madrasa accounted for 17%. The largest portion (43%) had attended a formal educational institution, ranging from Primary to Secondary, whilst 15% had tertiary level education (Fig. 5).
The proportion of female respondents who had not been educated was four times higher than that of males who equally reported to have not been educated. In contrast, one half of the interviewed males (50%) had attended a formal educational institution ranging from primary to secondary, while females with the same level of education accounted for approximately one-third (33%). Marginally more women had gone to Quranic Madrasas than males. The most notable variation in gender education existed at the tertiary level, with 24% of males compared with only 1% of females being educated to the tertiary level (Fig. 6).

Figure 5: Respondents’ level of education

Figure 6: Respondents’ education level by gender
3. SECURITY, JUSTICE AND GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

3.1. Security Providers

After the collapse of the central state in 1991, Jowhar, like other parts of the south and central Somalia, has gone through turbulent times and fallen in the hands of different authorities, including clan warlords, the Islamic Courts Union, and Al-Shabaab. Jowhar was now under the control of the Federal Government of Somalia, who assumed the responsibility of security provision, supported by AMISOM.

Since the resurrection of the state, security has become a priority in the reconstruction of Somalia as a whole and in the rehabilitation of Jowhar district in particular. In this assessment the police were found to be the main security provider. However, the local authorities and traditional elders equally contributed in maintaining order. In this quest, the study first sought to establish the level of deployment of security providers and secondly to ascertain the perceptions held by the citizens towards these security providers, including assessing accessibility and trust for the formal security providers.

3.1.1. Level of Deployment

The level of deployment could be a reflection of access to the security providers. This may depend on the presence, numbers and distance of police stations in the district. The participants expressed marginally varied perceptions towards the police whereby the vast majority of the respondents (94%) had been aware of police presence in the district (Fig. 7).

Figure 7: Respondents’ awareness of police presence

There were no marked variations of police presence within the different subdivisions of the district; all respondents in each subdivision with the exception of Hanti wadaag (i.e. Buulo Sheikh, Kulmis and Horseed) had been aware of police presence. In Hanti-wadaag, 81% of respondents indicated police awareness (Fig.8). Respondents in Hanti-Wadaag reported the lowest police awareness vis-a-vis other subdivisions, notwithstanding the fact that the only police station in the district is located there.³

³ Police Commissioner, Key Informant Interview, Jowhar, 23rd December, 2014.
Regarding the number of police stations in the district, almost all (98%) of those respondents who were aware of police presence, estimated the number to be ONE police station (Fig. 9); an estimate later confirmed by the police commissioner. Furthermore, the police station was located under one-hour’s distance to nearly all respondents, regardless of their subdivision figure 10 and figure 11.

Figure 9: Respondents’ estimation of the number of police stations

Figure 10: Respondents’ estimation of distance to police station

Figure 11: Respondents’ estimation of distance to police station by subdivision
3.1.2. Preference of the Security Providers

The study investigated respondents’ perceptions of the entity to which they would consider reporting civil, petty and serious cases. More than one half of the respondents (53%) noted that they preferred reporting civil matters to the police, followed by 30% and 15% who stated that their preference lay with the courts and traditional elders respectively (Fig. 12).

Figure 12: Respondents’ preference for reporting civil matters

Further analysis of the results did not suggest notable variations in respondents’ preference for reporting civil cases based on gender (Fig. 13).

Most respondents (62%) also indicated a preference for reporting petty crimes to the police. However, traditional elders were slightly more favoured over the courts for reporting petty crimes (Fig. 14).

Figure 13: Respondents’ preference for reporting civil matters by gender

Gender-based analysis on reporting of petty crimes did not show a substantial difference. Both males and females indicated similar trends concerning their preferences for reporting petty crimes (Fig. 15).

Figure 14: Respondents’ preference for reporting petty crimes

---

4 Trespass, family disputes, business disputes

5 Theft, household violence
The formal security providers (police and court) emerged as the preferred entities for reporting serious crimes (39% each), followed by the elders, who were the preferred option for 17% of respondents in this case (Fig 16). Again, no notable variation was spotted in respondents’ preference for reporting of such crimes based on gender (Fig. 17).

Figure 16: Respondents’ preference for reporting serious crimes

In contrast to the reporting preference patterns, where police emerged to be most preferable in all cases, the informal security providers’ influence increased sharply when it came to the most trusted security provider. Collectively, approximately two thirds of respondents (66%) stated that they trusted the informal providers most in this regard – Traditional elders and religious leaders were identified as the most trusted security provider for responding to crime and violence by 44% and 22% of respondents respectively, while the court was most trusted by 24% of respondents. Only 6% of respondents identified the police as their most trusted security provider for responding to crime and violence (Fig. 18).

The relatively low level of trust for the police was attributed to factors such as “unprofessional conduct” and poor institutional arrangements. In many cases, criminals were gently discouraged from committing crimes through being spoken to, rather than punitive measures being administered to them. This soft approach to criminals occurred because the districts lack facilities and additional resources to contain such...

6 Grave assault, rape, murder

7 FGD participants
culprits, hence leading to low levels of trust and thus, the general public showing their dissent by resorting to violence.\textsuperscript{8}

Lack of manpower development in the criminal justice system (police and courts) negatively affected perceptions of these entities. It is only after these institutions develop that trust might be restored: “In order to restore order and trust among the population, there is need for manpower development of the criminal justice system.”\textsuperscript{9}

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

Analysis of reasons for respondents’ choice of most trusted security provider indicates that ease of access, level of respect, and an unbiased response were some of the main factors influencing respondents’ level of trust. Table 4 illustrates reasons cited by respondents for their choice of most trusted security provider for responding to crime and violence.

While trust in the police’s capability to respond to crime and violence was comparatively low relative to other security providers (Fig. 18 above), this did not mean that respondents did not trust the police as more than one half of the respondents (58%) still stated that they had very high or fairly high levels of trust in the police. However, approximately 38% of respondents expressed low or very low levels of trust in the police (Fig. 19).

Table 4: Respondents’ reason of choice of most 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>The Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast response</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbiased enforcement</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are respected</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of access</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused to answer</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{8} Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), Focus Group Discussion, 22\textsuperscript{nd} December, 2014

\textsuperscript{9} Police Commissioner. OP. Cit
The level of trust, among the genders, with regards to the police did not vary greatly as over half of both female and male respondents generally expressed trust in this institution. Marginally, females indicated a higher level of trust in the police than males, 61% and 57% respectively (Fig. 20).

A large portion (67%) of the respondents, however, perceived that police performance improved in the last twelve months (Fig.21). There were no notable gender distinctions which existed in the reported improvement of police performance (Fig. 22).

3.1.4. Police Performance

There were both logistical and human resource challenges that prevented the police from ensuring the security of individuals and property. The police was overstretched leading to the district police commissioner complaining that;

The security agencies are constrained in their bid to deliver due to the lack of resources to efficiently and effectively operate, like Jowhar lacks prison facilities to contain culprits who have been charged with several crimes and as a result criminals are released because there are no facilities. Furthermore, the police are ill-equipped with just one running vehicle available to respond to all district emergencies.  

When comparing the opinion of police performance across different subdivisions, it was noted that the majority of respondents in each of the Buulo Sheikh, Horseed, and Hanti Wadaag subdivisions reported an improvement in police performance (78%, 70%, and 68% respectively). Respondents in Kulmis were, however, more likely than those in other subdivisions to state that there had been no change (45%), or that there had been a decline (10%) in police performance over the past year (Fig. 23.)
3.2. JUSTICE PROVIDERS (Formal and Informal)

Effective justice provision is imperative for social reconciliation and co-existence. Somali justice system is a mix of formal and informal, which at times complement and sometimes tend to contradict each other. This section explores respondents’ perception on the deployment, performance and preference among the different justice providers.

3.2.1. Level of Deployment

Three quarters of overall respondents (75%) affirmed their knowledge of the existence of courts in the district. Nevertheless, one quarter of the people questioned indicated a lack of awareness of court presence (Fig. 24).

People questioned in the different subdivisions expressed similar levels of awareness of courts, with the exception of Hanti-Wadaag subdivision where a relativey small portion, slightly less than one third (31%), of the respondents stated that they were aware of the courts (Fig. 25).

Furthermore, the majority (97%) of respondents were aware of just ONE court in the district (Fig. 26). The district judge, however, affirmed that both district and regional courts are in operation,

Two courts are located in Jowhar; the district and regional court. [The] first grade court [District Court] mainly deals with family disputes and domestic violence, while the second grade court [Regional Court] settles land disputes, rape and murder cases. There is also the court of appeal in Mogadishu, the capital, which receives referrals when both first and two grades have failed to settle cases—especially when conflicting parties fail to accept the verdict or ruling.
Respondents were asked about the length of time it would take them to walk to their nearest court - nearly all (96%) responded under an hour (Fig. 27). It is therefore possible to argue that court distance does not prevent Jowhar-town residents from gaining access to the court’s services.

**3.2.2. Performance of the Justice Providers**

In order to ascertain the level of performance by the judiciary, it was therefore imperative to assess respondents’ level of utilisation of justice services. This meant obtaining data on the usage; nature of issues which prompted someone to seek judicial advice; forms of justice services available - formal or informal; and enforcement of judgments.

Traditional elders and the courts had been used by 38% and 36% of respondents respectively during the past year, while religious leaders had been used by 25% of respondents during this time (Fig. 28). The hybrid nature of the justice system might have caused an overlap in roles and a blurring of lines between the formal and informal justice providers.

Approximately 43% of the male segment reported to have used courts in the last twelve months, compared to approximately one quarter (24%) of the their female counterparts. There was less disparity in the use of traditional leaders and religious elders for matters of justice by both genders.
Land disputes, household violence and assault topped the list of issues brought before the justice providers (formal and informal). However, the breakdown of the cases brought to each justice provider suggests that they were chosen based on the type of case. Most of the cases brought before the court and traditional elders were land disputes (78% and 60% respectively). In contrast, most of the cases brought to religious elders were household violence (47%). (Table 5)

Table 5: Issues referred to different justice providers

<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>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household violence</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused to answer</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Observations made from these results are backed by the qualitative findings which suggested the different justice providers play complementary roles and sometimes serve to strengthen each other. The justice providers’ group stated that,

The informal justice providers were observed to settle a greater portion of the cases brought before them than the courts. Among respondents who had used religious leaders and traditional elders, approximately 2% and 11% respectively reported that they had not received a judgment. However, in the case of the courts, approximately 32% of those who had used its services stated that they had been issued a judgment (Fig. 30).

Figure 30: Respondents’ account of issuance of judgements

Both formal and informal justice providers were considerably effective in the enforcement of judgments. Nonetheless, the informal justice providers, with their voluntary enforcement, were slightly more effective than the formal courts, of which 20% who had received a judgment from the courts stated that these judgments had not been enforced (Fig. 31). This was further supported by a remark made during the justice providers’ group discussion: “Enforcement of justice is paramount and
central for upholding the law, there is a need to improve the enforcement of the law.”

Women FGD participants elaborated on the lack of enforcement, declaring that, “One police station and a dilapidated prison are not enough to enforce law and order.”

Figure 31: Respondents’ account on the enforcement of judgements

3.2.3. Perception of Justice Providers

The perception towards the justice providers is likely to affect the integrity and usage of the different justice providers and consequently impact on the enforcement of their judgements.

Among justice providers, traditional elders held the most trust, with half of respondents (50%) affirming this. Moreover, the court and religious leaders were identified as the most trusted justice provider by 23% and 22% of respondents respectively (Fig. 32). Gender based analysis did not show a substantial difference, however, slightly more females (54% vs. 47%) identified traditional elders as their most trusted justice provider (Fig. 33). Nevertheless, the success of traditional justice largely depends on the attributes of the individual elder, “Traditional justice success lies with the personality or leadership attributes of the leader.”

Figure 32: Respondents’ trust of justice providers

3.2.3.1. Reasons for trust of Justice Providers

Fair judgement was determined to be the most influential factor in respondents’ trust for justice

11 Justice providers, Focus Group Discussion, 23rd December, 2014

12 Ibid.

13 IDP chairperson, Key Informant Interview, 23rd December, 2014
providers, with this being the main reason cited for choice of most trusted justice provider. Other factors influencing respondents’ trust were fast decisions; independence from politics; cost; accessibility; and reliability (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>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair judgment</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence from politics</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less costly</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of access</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More reliable</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study put particular emphasis on the respondents’ confidence in the formal justice system (courts), of which findings had shown that more than 80% of the respondents felt very or fairly confident in the courts (Fig.34). There was no substantial variation in respondents’ confidence in the courts based on gender, with 78% of males and 81% of females stating that they were confident in the courts. However, females were more inclined than males to state that they were very confident (30% vs. 23%), while a greater proportion of males stated that they were not confident in the courts (19% males vs. 13% females). (Fig.35)

The majority of the respondents (64%) were of the view that the performance of the court improved from last year, while a quarter of respondents (26%) felt that the status quo remained (Fig.36).
Figure 36: Respondents’ perception towards the improvement of the performance of courts (yearly trend)

The formal justice system faced numerous constraints which could have negatively impacted on the integrity of the system: the general fragile security; lack of coordination between the criminal justice system and government institutions; lack of appropriate facilities; low morale and absence of a clear chain of command. The justice providers’ group discussion participants complained,

We do not have the means to provide justice; there is no coordination between different arms of the government like the police, military and the judiciary. Our desire to exercise justice is hampered greatly by the lack of facilities and low morale of the judiciary staff, due to lack of salaries or any form of payment - the judiciary works for free.14

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3.3. GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

Many parts of Southern Somalia (including Jowhar) are still struggling to establish a legitimate and effective governance system that is capable of delivering social services, promoting civil participation in the decision-making process and prioritising community needs. This study aimed at assessing the existing governance structure in Jowhar town, once a stronghold for Al-Shabaab, and to ascertain the perceptions of Jowhar residents regarding governance providers.

3.3.1. Level of deployment

Jowhar is the capital and administrative city of the Middle Shabelle region of Somalia, whose main districts include: Cadale, Balcad, Warsheikh, Aadan Yabaal and Raage Ceele. The current administration in the district is comprised of a District Commissioner and several deputies appointed by the Federal Government, which is yet to hold an election for district administrations.

3.3.2. Performance of the governance providers

The qualitative findings offered some insight into the perception of the governance providers’ performance and the existing channels of communication.

Consultation Meetings

District administrators demonstrated their willingness to engage with the community through establishing several voluntary committees, comprised of the different subdivisions within the district. Consultations were held between community members and officials regarding different issues, such as community needs and policy formulations.

Internally Displaced Persons’ FGD participants commented that:

Initiation of local consultation meetings in communities to gather opinions between the administration and the local community has somehow improved relations. Apparently the elders have an office where the District Administration officials come for consultative meeting.16

The consultation meetings were held with different segments of the community such as women, youth and elders, to understand their needs. Elders were particularly important for issues regarding clan arrangements, conflicts, security and justice.17

District Administration Services

Interviews with the District Commissioner provided further information regarding the services delivered by the Administration. The Commissioner stated that his administration worked on security, education and livelihoods:

Services delivered include security provision. We spend sleepless nights as night watchers; this also means street lighting is provided in order to boost security at night.18

It is also the responsibility of the administration to see that education services are appropriate and all needed resources are appropriately channelled to make education accessible.19

It is within the jurisdiction of the local administration to ensure there is provision of tools and equipment for farming.20

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15 There could be other districts created by the successive administrations
16 IDPs, Op. Cit.
17 District Commissioner, Key Informant Interview, 23rd December, 2014
19 Ibid
20 Ibid
3.3.3. Challenges facing the District Administration

The district administration and other local authorities worked against a backdrop of various challenges that jeopardised their responsibilities. The most pressing challenge was the lack of much needed financial resources. The Mayor lamented that, “the local administration lacks financial resources, either at the district or local level, for we only base on local taxes as revenue.”21

Seasonal calamities affected the scant revenues collected by the local administrations. The Mayor further argued that:

*River flooding not only affects the communities but also hampers our revenue collection since our economy is mainly based on farming. Whenever there is flooding, business stand still and others are destroyed, hence hampering revenue sources.*

3.3.4. Perception towards elected governance providers

The last time Jowhar residents elected local authorities goes back several decades; it was a meagre number of respondents who had ever had the opportunity to cast their votes. However, the opportunity to elect representatives was inherently important to them, with 96% holding this view (Fig. 37). No substantial divergence existed among different subdivisions on the importance of electing officials, with more than 90% of the respondents in all areas stating that they believed it was important to have elected representatives (Fig. 38).

3.3.5. Community’s most pressing issues

Joblessness was very pervasive and detectable across all the segments of the community, with 71% of respondents stating it as their most pressing issue. Unemployment could be the consequence of other factors such as poor economic output, lack of education and unsuitable infrastructure, which 23%, 21% and 38% of the respondents thought were their

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21 Ibid
most pressing issues respectively. Figure 39 illustrates respondents’ indication of their most pressing issues.

Figure 39: Respondents’ perception towards pressing issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most pressing Local issues</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad health centers</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor health</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of infrastructure</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor sanitation</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor economy</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor education</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drought</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>production/deforestation</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortage of electricity supply</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of water</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender based violence</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(n=191)

Poor health and lack of health facilities were also identified among the most pressing community needs – mostly concerning female respondents, as women FGD participants complained:

Our most pressing need is lack of health facilities and services especially the lack of medicines and recently there is an outbreak of diarrhoea affecting the children.22

River flooding is one of the natural calamities in Jowhar and it is in this context that Women group considered the rehabilitation of the river canals and dams, which were used to control river flooding, as a pressing need. Furthermore, the need to establish vocational training centres was also raised by the women’s group.23

3.3.6. Federalism and Governance
Federalism is the new political paradigm shift in Somalia, and has been welcomed with mixed feelings. Arguments against federalism emerged during the elders’ FGD. Here, it was stated that people misunderstood federalism when it came to notion of governance. Some of the current conflicts and incidences of violence were thought to have been motivated by the misconceptions about federalism. The elders further claimed:

Violence in our community is mainly as a result of Federalism. Federalism has sparked off land disputes and conflicts. Clans and sub clans are currently trying to acquire as much land as possible.24

Elders drew an analogy between federalism and fire and described current version of federalism to be the cause of community disintegration and polarisation:

Federalism is a fire that is burning us; it is clan divisions in new clothes. It is consuming us and leading to disintegration between clans that used to co-exist previously. We can even tackle floods together if united.25

In preparation for federalism, there is a clan supremacy based competition, with the ones described as less inferior trying hard to change the status quo. This sometimes turns into violent conflict between the clans.26

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23 Governance Providers, Focus Group Discussion, 23th December 2014
24 Elders, Focus Group Discussion, 21st December, 2014
25 Ibid
26 Ibid
4. DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

Somalia, in general, has over the last two decades experienced disturbing conflicts and violence. The unrest within its borders has spilled over to its neighbours, and left the whole region with insecurity. However, since the African Union and other concerned International Development Partners intervened, there has been progress in reversing the situation. It is within this context that this household survey was conducted, to ascertain the prevalence of conflict and violence since the civil war ended, and from the last 12 months. Data in the figures below are intended to portray a current picture on the dynamics of conflicts and violence within Jowhar District as a means of designing appropriate intervention in the reconstruction and recovery of the district.

4.1. Dynamics of Conflict and Violence

The occurrence of clan and group conflicts was not by and large prevalent in the district, as 86% of the respondents had not witnessed any such conflicts in recent times (Fig.40). Of those who witnessed conflict, most were residents of the Kulmis subdivision (Fig.41). However, the prevalence of crime and violence against individuals was alarming as presented in more detail below.

Further gender based analysis of respondents’ experience with conflict suggested that men were more exposed to conflict than women (17% vs. 3%) See Figure 42.
4.2. Level of Experience

Of the 22 respondents’ who reported that they had witnessed clan or group conflicts, the broad majority (81%) recounted that they had seen one, two, or three such incidents in the last 12 months preceding the assessment (Fig.43).

4.2.1. Drivers of Conflicts

The main reasons cited for the conflicts observed were said to have been family disputes; resources; lack of justice; and power struggles (Fig.44).

Qualitative participants also identified livelihoods as one of the reasons for conflicts in the area as people scrambled for scarce resources (mainly land); Women FGD participants believed that:

Floods are the [major] cause of violence; floods had increased vulnerability of the people as their livelihood and homes are washed away and have to start from nowhere with no means, sometimes creating IDPs. To compound the matter further, the remaining land, not affected by floods, becomes prime land that everyone wants to encroach on; leading to a fresh row of conflict and violence. Poverty is the leading cause of violence after clan based violence began to subside.\(^{27}\)

Clan conflict began to subside of late, but still some conflicts either covertly or overtly stemmed from persisting clan supremacy and undercurrent competition between and among clans. Justice providers’ group discussion participants noted that:

Clan supremacy [drives] some conflicts; when one clan or sub clan feels they are superior to others and wants to exercise this superiority and power over the other clans. The resultant phenomenon is only chaos.

\(^{27}\) Ibid
Causes of land disputes

Most conflicts in the district were land related; the land disputes came in different forms: (1) disputes over farming land, mainly along the river banks which are very fertile and easy to irrigate, (2) disputes between previous land owners with genuine registration documents and new claimants with falsified documents, (3) people arguing over pieces of land previously owned by the former regime and disputes over the grazing land in the rural areas of the district. The land disputes turn into violent and destructive clan conflicts, “the last land conflict [in 2013] was between two clans and about 17 villages were burnt down.”

4.2.2. Crime against Individuals

In contrast to the group/clan conflicts, crime and violence against individual members remained relatively high, as 36% of respondents reported to have witnessed such incidents outside their households (Fig.45).

Exposure to crime and violence was highest among respondents in the Horseed subdivision (45%), followed by those in the Kulmis and Buulo Sheikh Subdivisions (40% and 37% respectively). Respondents in Hanti Wadaag were least likely to state that they had witnessed crime or violence against someone outside their household (25%). (Fig.46.)

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28 Police commissioner, Op. Cit
29 IDPs, OP. Cit
30 Governance providers, Op. Cit
31 IDP, Op. Cit
Gender does not significantly matter when it came to the witness of the crimes against individuals as there was a slight difference between the two gender on witnessing crime (Male: 39% vs. 31%: female), see figure 47.

Figure 47: Respondents' account of witnessing a crime against someone by gender

![Figure 47: Respondents' account of witnessing a crime against someone by gender](image)

The women purported that addictions to drugs such as Khat and Shisha, which is prevalent amongst youth, coupled with unemployment, were some of the main factors contributing to an increase in mobile phone theft and domestic violence. Justice providers’ group concurred with women, adding that government institutions are unable to control the entry of drugs.

4.2.3. Victims of Conflict and Violence

Human suffering is one of the consequences of conflict and violence, but the degree to which it occurs varies depending on personal or community resilience. In Jowhar, women and children were most vulnerable to conflict and violence. Atrocities such as rape and burning of houses with women and children inside were mainly committed during land disputes. Participants in the Women’s group discussion stated that:

Women and children are most vulnerable. Conflicts affect us in different forms (1) there are times when women and children are burnt inside their homes after land based violence, where the perpetrators burn homes of the residents to ensure they lose all their possessions and with the hope that the victims will migrate to safer areas (2) the women are victims of rape during violence; we can neither participate in this violence nor defend ourselves from it, making women very vulnerable (3) a psychological trauma is inflicted upon the women who have lost their husbands during the process of fighting.

4.3. Perception towards Safety

Generally, at the time of this assessment, Jowhar appeared to be relatively safe, with an aggregate of 94% of respondents who perceived their area to be safe (Fig.48). Males and females had similar perceptions regarding their level of safety, with 39% of males and 38% of females stating that they felt very safe; while 55% of males and 57% of females stated that they felt rather safe (Fig. 50).

All respondents in the Kulmis subdivision stated that they felt safe in the area, with the vast majority (95%) indicating that they felt very safe. However, while most respondents in the other subdivisions also indicated that they felt very or rather safe, respondents in each of these areas were more likely to state that they felt rather safe as opposed to very safe (Fig.49).

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32 Ibid
Figure 48: Respondents’ perception towards level of safety

- Very safe: 39%
- Rather safe: 2%
- Rather unsafe: 4%
- Don’t know: 56%

(n=191)

Figure 49: Respondents’ perception towards level of safety by subdivision

- Buule a Sheik: 35%
- Harti wadaag: 44%
- Kulmis: 95%
- Horseed: 18%

(n=191)

Regarding the safety of the area, there has been a light at end of the tunnel, as 85% of the respondents reported improvement (Fig.51). In particular, all the respondents in the Kulmis subdivision reported that safety had actually improved of late (Fig.52).

Figure 50: Respondents’ perception of safety trend by gender

- Male: Very safe 36%, Rather safe 30%, Rather unsafe 5%, Don’t know 3%
- Female: Very safe 57%, Rather safe 30%, Rather unsafe 3%, Don’t know 1%

(n=191)

Figure 51: Respondents’ perception of safety yearly trend

- Increased: 12%
- No change: 3%
- Decreased: 85%

(n=191)
4.3.1. Safety Concerns

Despite the perceived relative increase in safety, research participants had a long list of safety concerns and issues which they thought could disrupt the relative safety. Commenting on their concerns regarding safety in the area, the justice providers’ group discussion participants pointed out:

“Our main safety concern is the [Al Shabaab] who are at the outskirts of town, coupled with the very fragile security as the local administration is too weak to provide us with reliable security. Poverty, unemployment, especially among the youth, and hardening livelihoods, coupled with lack of salary payments to civil servants.”

The presence of Al-Shabaab in the outskirts of the district caused the greatest safety concern as the IDPs stated, “Al-Shabaab is the greatest fear as it is just 20 kms away from the town.” Other participants also mentioned the presence of Al-Shabaab in the Chinese canal area in the outskirts of town.

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5. CONCLUSION

Jowhar, like most of the south and central of the country, is slowly recovering from protracted conflicts and state absence with the government supported by AMISOM recovering major towns from Al-Shabaab.

The situation in Jowhar District, however, is still fragile due to clan undercurrents, Al-Shabaab posing a danger to the city, and institutional deficiencies. Incidents of violence in the area were mostly driven by various factors which related to unsustainable livelihoods. Many cases of conflict and violence stemmed from the need to survive in times of few opportunities and possibilities, while the high level of unemployment and natural calamities like floods accounted for struggles for the limited natural resources like land. Whereas this is the case, the concerned institutions are still incapable of addressing these common issues that threaten the security of district.

The success and performance of institutions (security, education, health) and infrastructure is dependent on allocation of sufficient and reliable funding. However, there were financial constraints that limited the fundings of the much needed services and operations in the district. For example, government officials had yet to receive several months of salary arrears. This had demoralised the staff to deliver. Furthermore, lack of a clear chain of command and inter and intra-institutional coordination negatively affected the performance of local authorities.

Regarding justice services, citizens’ perceptions towards justice providers were not wholly positive. Failure of the justice systems to objectively address citizens’ disputes has led many to resort to violence. There were cases of favoritism, nepotism, and flaws in the justice system which lessened the chances of ensuring security and peace within the communities. Such deficiencies in the judicial system accounted for unending conflicts and violence in Jowhar district as people took the law into their own hands.

In order to control and prevent the continued conflicts and violence and promote economic growth and development on which the much needed public services are dependent, there is a need to promote inclusiveness in governance, reform the justice system, improve gender relations and enhance security services. Moreover, the perception that one clan or group is benefitting at the expense of others is a loophole that creates intrigue and division hence leading to continued undercurrents.

Finally, since the majority of the population depends on natural resources for their livelihood, without addressing land conflicts, violence will continue.
6. ANNEXES

6.1. SAMPLE SIZE FORMULA

\[ \frac{z^2 \times (P) \times (1-P) \times (f)}{e^2} \]

Where:
- \( z \) = confidence interval (95%)
- \( P \) = P-Value which assumed some security correlation within the cluster (0.3)
- \( f \) = is the sample design effect (1.5)
- \( e \) = the margin of error to be attained (+ or – 8%)
### 6.2. GLOSSARY OF TERMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Access to Justice</th>
<th>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.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<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 ones 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 on 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 recognized 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>“Gender” 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 term 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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</tbody>
</table>
JOWHAR DISTRICT CONFLICT AND SECURITY ASSESSMENT REPORT

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