Comparative District Conflict and Security Assessment Report for Bossaso 2013/2016

OBSERVATORY OF CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION
Comparative District Conflict and Security Assessment Report for Bossaso District 2013/2016
Introduction

Since its establishment in 2009 the Observatory of Conflict and Violence Prevention¹ (OCVP) has worked with local and international stakeholders to measure and evaluate progress in peace-building and state-building in all regions of Somaliland and Somalia. In an effort aimed at supporting evidence-led policy formulation and programming, the OCVP regularly undertakes district level data collection efforts for research publications. The District Conflict and Security Assessment (DCSA) Reports are OCVP’s flagship publications.

The DCSA is, in fact, designed to serve as a tool to regularly gather and analyse community perceptions on the providers and delivery of services related to security, justice and governance; as well as examining the drivers of local conflict in the district. These types of regular assessments are therefore critical, not only to the development and implementation of new evidence-based programmes and sound policies, but also in providing an important tool for the continued monitoring and evaluation of the relative success or failure of existing efforts at the district level.

While the continual assessment of issues regarding justice, governance and security is critical for the formulation of sound policies and interventions - equally important is the generation of data that compares year-over-year trends in order to shed light on what may be working, and what may not be working, in a particular target district. Through the support of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for Somalia and later the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (DFID) as well, the OCVP was able to conduct district level assessments in Bossaso District during the years of 2013 (Wave 1) and 2016 (Wave 2). The purpose of this report is to compare key results of the assessments conducted during the two periods.

District Profile

Bossaso district comprises 16 neighbourhoods within Bossaso city and 17 rural villages with a total estimated population of between 850,000 and 1000,000². Of these, Bossaso city, the capital of the District, hosts 600,000—700,000 residents including 30,000 IDPs, in 27 temporary makeshift IDP camps surrounding the city. The district is endowed with ample natural resources, which include: Water, Livestock, Fisheries, Frankincense, Arabian gum, and Agriculture (particularly dates, other fruit trees, and vegetables). The climate of Bossaso³ is a hot-desert type with mean annual humidity of about 60%. The average mean daily temperature throughout the year is 30 degrees Celsius, and with an average annual high of 35 degrees Celsius and average annual low of 25 degrees Celsius. In the summer months of June to August temperatures often rise and exceed 40 degrees Celsius.

¹ Website: www.ocvp.org
²Bossaso District Development Framework (DDF), 2010
³ Except for those parts that are located at the steeps and heights of nearby Golis Mountain Range, whose temperatures are lower
The district was one of the first districts established by the Italian colonial administration. In 1954 it earned the status of district, Grade A, when its first district council was formed and a mayor elected. Currently, it has a district council of 29 members, who elected a mayor in 2015. The local government consists of nine departments each tasked with a specific responsibility. As a result of the decentralization policy, which was adopted after the collapse of the unitary central government of Somalia and formation of the Puntland state, the responsibility of providing of all basic services is devolved to district-level local governments. These include delivery of services such as education, health, water supply, and electricity, which exerts enormous pressure on the local government mainly due to lack of personnel capacity skills as well as adequate revenue.

In contemporary times, Bossaso city constituted the administrative seats of both the Bari region and Bossaso district administrations. Located on the southern coast of the Gulf of Aden and adjoining the exigent markets of the rich Gulf Countries, Bossaso currently serves as the region’s commercial capital and an important seaport for import/export, not only for the Puntland state, but also for the neighbouring South-central regions and the fifth Somali Region of Ethiopia. Bossaso city boasts with the third largest airport in the country, which was recently upgraded by a Chinese company, with facilities of 2.4 km long asphalt runway, numerous paved roads and modernized terminal. Thus, the airport is capable of serving all types of passenger and cargo aircrafts.

Methodology and Possible Limitations

The Wave 1 and Wave 2 District Conflict and Security Assessments for Bossaso were conducted in 2013 and 2016 respectively. Both Assessments employed a mixed method research approach that included both quantitative ( household survey) and qualitative (focus group discussions and key informant interviews) means to collect public perception on the state of security, justice, governance as well as general stability of the district. However, it is worth mentioning that the 2016 assessment was carried out with the use of a number of improved research tools and techniques that included:

a) Use of a sampling formula to determine a representative sample size for the district in the 2016 assessment; hence, a total of 272 respondents were randomly surveyed. During the research activity for the 2013 report, no such sampling formula was employed. Instead, the research team randomly surveyed 80 respondents.

b) Updated questionnaires that avoided some of the ambiguity and vague questions that were identified in the 2013 assessment were used in the 2016 research activities.

c) Improved research questions – for both qualitative and quantitative data - were reworked to better complement each other and generate in-depth information on the topic; something that was not the case with the 2013 research questions.

d) Smart-phones with mobile data collection software developed by Open Data Kit (ODK) were used by the enumerators to administer the 2015 survey, while in 2013 conventional paper and pen quantitative data collection methods were employed.

---

4 *Since the colonial days, districts were graded as A, B, C, D, E according to a number of criteria including their political importance, revenue generation, etc.*

5 *After Mogadishu and Hargeisa Airports*
While these changes may have resulted in an improvement in the quality of the data collected, it is essential to recognise that they are likely to have had an adverse impact on the ability and confidence with which one can compare the two datasets. With this in mind however, the data provided from 2013 and 2016 can provide some indication of potential changing trends in the areas covered.

**Survey Participants**

The Wave 1 assessment included of a sample of 80 respondents, while the Wave 2 assessment included a sample of 272 respondents for the respective household surveys. The following presents an overview of the demographic profile of respondents for each assessment.

- **Gender**

With respect to gender, a greater proportion of female respondents were interviewed in wave 2 assessments, with females representing 54%, compared to wave 1 where more men (57%) were interviewed than women (43%). See figure 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants’ gender</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wave 1</th>
<th>Wave 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Age**

Minor variations existed in the age distribution of respondents in Wave1 and Wave 2 assessments. Respondents in their twenties (20-29 years) constituted the largest grouping in both assessments (wave 2: 43%, vs. wave 1: 38%), similarly respondents in the age of group 30-39 seconded overall group proportion (Wave 2: 33% against 31% of wave 1). In the age category of 40-49 years, wave 2 again exceeded wave 1 (wave 2: 17% vs. wave 1: 11%), whereas, in age group 50-59 years, wave 1 participants numbered two times higher than those of wave 2 (wave 1: 10% vs. wave 2: 5%). In contrast, respondents over the age 60 years and above were virtually not represented in both waves. on the other hand, whereas all participants in wave 1 responded to the interviews, 9% of wave 2 failed to provide responses. Figure 2 illustrates the age distribution of respondents in the Wave 1 and Wave 2 assessments.
Marital Status

Whereas a large majority of 81% of wave 2 respondents were married, only half (50%) of wave 1 were married spouses. Conversely, a quarter of wave 1 respondents led a single life, in comparison to 14% of wave 2, who had the same life style; however, the number of divorced respondents was pronounced in wave 1 (wave 1: 13% comparison with 2% in wave 2). Widowed respondents were smaller in size and at close ranges in wave 1 and 2 (5% for wave 1 and 3% for wave 2). And this time while all of wave 2 interviewees responded, 7% of wave 1 did not in their respective samples (Fig. 3.)
Perceived Performance of Security, Justice and Governance Providers

The two District Conflict and Security Assessments of Bossaso sought to record community perceptions of the deployment, performance, preference and perception of both formal and informal providers of security, justice, and governance, such as the police, courts, local government authorities, community elders and religious authorities. The assessments also sought to investigate respondents’ experience with local conflict and their perception of safety within their communities.

Security Providers

Research participants affirmed that a number of security providers collaborated in maintaining Bossaso security. These include, the police, religious leaders, formal courts, as well as other armed units, namely, Puntland Intelligence Agency (PIA), Puntland Security Services (PSS), Port Security Force, and Puntland Marine Police Force (PMPF). the participants also acknowledged that, in contrast to the rural areas, traditional elders play the least role in security maintenance in Bossaso city due to its metropolitan nature. Despite the above, research participants disclosed that although they believe that police are the legitimate authority responsible for security preservation, they had reservations on fairness of police judgements and enforcements, which undermined police overall trustworthiness, forcing many to approach other security providers instead.

In wave 2 Bossaso DCSA survey, key informants asserted that in Bosso City five police stations regularly operated. the chief Bossaso Police Commissioner\(^6\) specified the police stations as: Mijir (central station), Eastern, Baalade, Biyo Kulule, and Nur-Salad. However, household respondents in wave 1 and wave 2 were less informed on the number of police station; for instance, 74% of wave 2 household respondents viewed that Bossaso had only one police station. On the other hand, over three quarters of respondents (76%) of wave 1 and 74% of Wave 2 respondents revealed that they can access police stations with ease, i.e. under 40 minutes.

- Awareness of the Police

The level of Bossaso residents’ awareness of police presence in the city registered a sizeable increase in accordance to the outcomes of wave 1, which was conducted in 2013, and wave 2 which was later carried out in 2016. whereas, more than seven out of every ten (72%) household respondents revealed that they are aware of police existence in Bossaso in wave 2, a lower number of less than 6 out of every 10 respondents (58%) had earlier declared their awareness of police presence in wave 1. the level of those who believed of no police presence in Bossaso also decreased during the same period (wave 1: 38%, and wave 2: 22%) see figure 10.

---

\(^6\) Police Commissioner, Key Informant Interview, February 16, 2016.
Figure 4: Awareness of police presence

![Figure 4: Awareness of police presence](image)

Notwithstanding, qualitative participants of both surveys were unanimous in that Bossaso police were not capable of independently ensuring security of the city, due to multiple factors. The Bossaso Deputy Mayor\(^7\), who was interviewed as a key informant in wave 2 believed:

\[\text{“The performance of police is generally good; however, their professionalism is very low. They need training and new recruits. There are no sufficient police officers in the city, they are not fully equipped and they do not get the dire financial support that they need. On the other hand, they lack the necessary special skills and equipment to handle severe conflicts or public riots.”}\]

Additionally in wave 2, the views of the youth group and a key informant elder converged in that police usually did not immediately arrive the scenes of incidents and did not respond to crimes when summoned. They pointed out two issues for this cause: a) absence of community-police cordial relations, and b) lack of transport and communication of the police force. While Bossaso hosts 27 IDP camps with a population of 30,000\(^9\), one IDP camp chairlady declared they did not often get the required security support from the Bossaso police:

\[\text{“We never heard of or saw any police providing security to us. Even, when we go to their police stations for complaints, they do not respond accordingly to catch the culprit.”}\]

- Preference for Reporting of Civil Matters, Petty Crimes and Serious Crimes

In both waves, participants often favoured police over others in reporting civil cases, and petty and serious crimes, while the traditional elders generally seconded police in preference. Local authority and courts came to the third and fourth ranks respectively. Participants in both waves, attributed their preference criteria on a number of issues, namely: ease of access, rate of response, likelihood of unbiased judgement, and the nature of the prevailing case/crime.

- Civil Matters

In reporting civil matters, wave 2 depicted a sizeable increase in police preference when reporting civil matters; whereas 16% of respondent indicated their preference to report civil matters to police in wave 1, this figure rose up two times (34%) in wave 2. Likewise, the preference of reporting to

\[\text{7 Deputy Mayor, KII, Feb, 13 2016}\]
\[\text{8 ibid}\]
\[\text{9 Bossaso District Development Framework (DDF), 2010}\]
\[\text{10 IDP Chairlady, KII, Feb, 14 2016}\]
local authority ascended almost three times (from 13% in wave 1 to 32% in wave 2). Contrarily, where the traditional elders lost favour de-escalating from 30% in wave 1 to 12% in wave 2, courts also registered a lower preference mark, recording decline from 21% down to only 6%. Besides, preference of religious leaders fell from 10% to 2% (Figure 11).

**Figure 5: Reporting preference for civil matters**

○ *Petty Crimes*

In the case of reporting petty crimes, a decisive majority preferred approaching police in both of wave 1 and wave 2 opinion survey with an increasing trend from 40% to 54% over the period between the waves. Decreased reporting preferences were observed in traditional elders, which fell from 21% to 18%, as well as the local authority, which went down from 15% to 10%. Religious leaders gained a support of 9% in wave 1 but exclusively lost favour in wave, scoring zero value. Equally, preference in reporting to courts fell from 6% to 2%. Outstandingly, the number of those who did not respond or declared that they do not know increased from 7% in wave 1 to 13% in wave 2 (Figure 12)
Serious Crimes

Generally, study participants in both waves defined the most common serious crimes prevalent in Bossaso city to be murder, clan revenge killings, and rape. With regard to reporting preferences of serious crimes, in analogous with the petty crimes, the formal security providers gathered the most proclivity, again with the police in lead, among security providers, with both of these collectively marshalling two-thirds of all respondents in each of the two waves. Whereas the police registered a slight increase of 38% in wave 2 from 36% in wave 1, the courts increased their proportion from 26% in wave 1 to 29% in wave 2.

However, local authority lost preference as its proportion decreased from 16% in wave 1 to 9% in wave 2, while religious leaders demoted from 8% to 3%. Traditional elders scored low marks in both waves with their preference slightly improving from 6% to 7%. The number of respondents who gave no response or answered that they do not know increased from 8% to 12%.
Figure 7: Reporting preference for serious crimes

- **Level of Trust in the Police**

The public trust on Bossaso police in relation to response to crime and violence within the district intensified during the period between the two waves. This is evidenced by the fact that 78% of wave 2 respondents had either rated their trust on police at ‘very high’ or ‘fairly high’ levels, in contrast to wave 1 where a total of 44% had rated their police trust at either ‘very high’ or ‘fairly high’ levels. The portion of those who rated police trust at fairly low and very low also dramatically decreased from 44% in wave 1 to only 17% in wave 2.

Qualitative research participants as well as 46% of household survey respondents of wave 2 based their trust on police on the grounds that it was the police, among the security providers, who possessed the physical force to enforce judgements. Furthermore, wave 2 survey participants suggested that the Bossaso police, in order to improve its image and performance, needed to address two major deficiencies with which it was characterized: a) the police force is under-staffed, ill-equipped and lacks professionalism, and b) the police relationship with the public is poor.
### Challenges facing the police

Wave 2 survey participants highlighted a number of challenges facing Bossaso. These were divided between technical and operational flaws. In the first case, participants noted that the police were deficient in numbers and professional skills, in addition to lacking adequate transport, equipment and logistical facilities. Operationally, in the second case, the police were criticized for biased judgments and enforcements as well as neglect of fostering community-police collaboration. Therefore, from the above, it could be concluded that, in order to strengthen Bossaso police two-pronged interventions should be embarked on. First, the central government including Puntland Police Force High Command, should work for reinforcement of the Bossaso Police Unit in numbers, training and provision of adequate transport, equipment and logistics; and second, the police force in Bossaso must change its attitude towards the public and aim to improve its public relations and collaboration.
**Justice Providers**

Bossaso, like any other district in almost all of Somali regions, has both formal and informal justice providers in place. District court and court of appeal are fully operational alongside traditional elders & Religious leaders, who settle disputes and conflicts when required. Choice of the security provider depended on the preference of the litigants but most often the court indorsed the verdict and the police constituted the enforcing arm.

- **Awareness of the Court**

Respondents’ awareness of the existence of courts in Bossaso has dramatically increased from 24% in wave 1 to 89% in wave 2 assessment. This high level of awareness resulted in a decline of those who had no awareness of the presence of such courts, falling from 68% in wave 1 down to a mere 4% in the assessment made in wave 2. The formal courts, therefore, seemed to be increasingly gaining the trust of the residents of Bossaso.

![Figure 9: Respondents’ awareness of the existence of courts](image)

- **Use of Justice Providers**

The overall number of respondents who used the services of justice providers was notably higher in wave 1 compared to wave 2 assessment. Courts and traditional elders were equally utilized by 34% of respondents in wave 1, however, that number had drastically fallen down in wave 2 to only 11% seeking the services of traditional elders, followed by 9% who favoured the courts. Religious leaders as providers of justice were not spared of the decline as their choice dropped from 30% in wave 1 to a meagre of 5% in wave 2. On the type of cases or crimes brought before various justice providers, wave 1 participants mentioned land disputes and robbery, however, wave 2 respondents cited, in addition to the above, youth violence, physical assault, and disputes relating to household violence (Fig. 10).
Confidence in the Formal Justice System

The level of confidence of respondents on the formal justice system had remarkably increased in the wave 2 assessment. The cumulative approval rate ranging between ‘very confident’ and ‘fairly confident’ had risen from 58% in wave 1 to a size of 81% in wave 2. On the other hand, those who expressed lack of confidence in formal justice providers decreased from 24% in wave 1 to a mere 8% in wave 2. Those had no idea or gave no answer in also dropped from 19% in wave 1 to a number of 11% in wave 2 (Fig. 11)

Figure 11: Confidence in the formal justice system
Governance Providers

Bossaso district is one of the oldest districts in Somalia, which was established in 1954 by the colonial Italian Administration. Currently the district comprises Bossaso city and 17 other rural villages with an estimated population of between 850,000 and 1,000,000\(^{11}\). Of these, Bossaso city, the capital of the District, hosts 600,000—700,000 residents including 30,000 IDPs hosted in 27 temporary makeshift IDP camps surrounding the city. The district is rich in natural resources, which include: water, livestock, fisheries, frankincense, Arabian gum, and agriculture (particularly dates, other fruit trees, and vegetables). The climate of Bossaso\(^{12}\) district is hot-desert type with an average mean daily temperature throughout the year of 30 degrees Celsius, however, in June to August temperatures reach over 40 degrees Celsius.

Historically and contemporarily, the Bossaso district, particularly, Bossaso city, played an important political and economic role due to its geographical location, seaport, and recently completed airport with 2.4km long asphalt runway. Bossaso District classifies Grade ‘A’ status with a district council of 29 members, who, when they came to office in 2015, elected a mayor and a three-member executive consisting of the mayor, deputy mayor and executive secretary to lead the day-to-day affairs of the district. The local government consists of nine departments each tasked with a specific responsibility.

Awareness of the Council and its Role

Key informants focus groups of wave 2 informed that, According to Law No.6 on District Councils\(^{13}\), which stipulated the new decentralization policy, the Bossaso council was charged with delivery of such basic services of education, health, water supply, and electricity, in addition to the earlier mandated basic functions of town planning, urban land management, hygiene and sanitation as well as infrastructure. Bossaso local government did not possess sufficient revenue and qualified personnel to fulfil charged responsibilities\(^{14}\).

Since 2013, the visibility of Bossaso council improved. Whereas a small portion of 30% of wave 1 respondents was aware of the council’s existence and a majority of 56% were not, in wave 2, which was conducted in March 2016, 71% of respondents acknowledged presence of the council, while only 14% had no knowledge of it.

- Participation in Local Government Consultations

This study found out that Bossaso local council did not make any progress in participating public in local government consultations. The two surveys conducted in 2013 and 2016 both produced exactly the same results (wave 1: 82% did not participate in consultations, and wave 2: 82% did not participate in consultations). This signified a serious flaw in governance to which Bossaso council should attend to. In wave 2, views varied in another aspect of consultative governance, which was the level of council communication with the public: whereas, the Deputy Mayor\(^{15}\) and (59%) of

---

\(^{11}\) Bossaso District Development Framework (DDF), 2010

\(^{12}\) Except for those parts that are located at the steeps and heights of nearby Golis Mountain Range, whose temperatures are lower

\(^{13}\) Law No.6 of 18\(^{th}\) /09/2003 on the Laws of the District Councils of the Puntland State of Somalia

\(^{14}\) Deputy Mayor, Key Informant Interview, February, 13 2016

\(^{15}\) Ibid
household respondents insisted that the council maintains regular communication with the people, the rest of key informants and focus groups believed otherwise:

“There are no channels of communication between the council and the people, and there is no communication between police, the youth, and the people. I think this is the most terrible problem in Bossaso”.  

Figure 12: Participation in local government consultations

- Opinions Regarding the Importance of Elected Local Officials

In the span of four years (2013-2016), the level of people’s support to elected representatives increased from 69% in wave 1 to wave 85% in wave 2. Those who opposed election of representatives decreased from 18% in wave 1 to a size of 11% in wave 2.

Figure 13: Opinion regarding the importance of elected representatives

- Perception of the Council’s Performance

In both district conflict and security assessments of wave 1 and wave 2, the Bossaso residents underscored in principle the functionality of Bossaso council. Most of the key informants and focus groups of both waves were in agreement that, despite inadequacies, the council is fulfilling its

---

16 Bossaso Youth Group, FGD, 14 Feb 2016
responsibilities. The youth group plainly summarized the performance of the council in the following manner:

The council is demonstrating hard work and trying to provide all services expected from it, but it has not attained expectations. The council conducted interventions in sanitation, education, employment creation, and health. However, the council’s weak point is security maintenance; although it contributes financial support to the police, nonetheless, often culprits are not caught and not brought before justice.18

The Deputy Mayor, who was interviewed accentuated that the council regarded security the most urgent need and therefore invested heavily in security maintenance:

“The local council pays for the costs incurred during police night operations. It also grants financial support to the police stations to cover maintenance of facilities and vehicles. The council covers the water and electricity bills of the police stations as well as prisoners’ food bills.”19

From wave 1 and wave 2 household respondents’ opinions, we can determine how much progress had the council achieved during the period between the two waves (2013-2016). Although the number of respondents interviewed in the two waves, was not consistent,20 nevertheless, we infer indicative comparative figures from this. Despite that in some sectors respondents recorded improvements of council performance, yet, the general picture depicted that wave 2 respondents had underlined degrading ratings of council performance.

Whereas in wave 1 all respondents thought that the council was functioning, in wave 2, a portion of 20 respondents out of the 193 interviewees acknowledged that the council had not delivered any service. Similarly, where a majority of 58% of respondents of wave 1 voiced that the council delivered hygiene and sanitation services, only 30% of wave 2 respondents admitted that the council delivered such services. While in wave 1, a portion of 27% and 7% of respondents attributed provision of services of education and agriculture to the council, in wave 2 only 13% of respondents viewed that the council supported education, and none thought the council assisted in agriculture. The council’s lower performance was observed in infrastructure and water supply, where the assistance rating in agriculture fell from 20% in wave 1 to an amount of 18% in wave 2, and water supply slipped down from 7% to 2% approval.

Notwithstanding, other areas, which registered respondents’ approval in council performance, included: security, health and justice. Security provision improved from 23% in wave 1 to 32% in wave 2; health from 11% in wave 1 to 18% in wave 2, and justice from 9% in wave 1 to 13% in wave 2.

Table 2: perception of the Council’s Performance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion regarding the services providing by the local council</th>
<th>Waves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 Bossaso Traditional Elder, KII, 16 Feb 2016, and Bossaso Youth Group, FGD, 14 Feb 2016
18 Youth Group, FGD, 14 Feb 2016
19Deputy Mayor, KII, Feb 13, 2016
20 where 80 respondents in all participated in wave 1, a larger number of 272 respondents was interviewed in wave 2
• **Issues Facing the Community**

Although community urgent needs were not explored in wave 1, the theme was profoundly investigated in wave 2. Key informants and focus groups of wave 2 concurred on the most pressing issues facing their community as creation of employment opportunities, improvement of health care, education provision, water supply, and delivery of hygiene and sanitation. However, they disagreed on their order of priority. While the deputy mayor, police commissioner, the IDP focus group, and a traditional key informant elder argued that security poses the first issue facing the community, which calls for urgent attention, the youth and women groups countered this view with the proposition that creation of employment opportunities was the most prominent demand facing the community because, they reasoned, rampant unemployment plays a major part in illegal migration of youth as well as pervasiveness of insecurity in the community:

*There is no greater problem than unemployment. Look! Our children are graduating from universities and they get no jobs, then they are constrained to illegally migrate out of the country and put their lives in danger. Just last night, 73 youth had been smuggled out of Bossaso by boat. Today their parents are crying and searching for them*.21

On the other hand, survey household respondents of wave 1 and wave 2 identified similar challenges facing the community (see table 2 below), however wave 2 respondent expressed a higher scale of demand for these commonly agreed needs. Where 27% of respondents in wave 1 saw shortage of electricity the first priority at 29%, and poor sanitation as a second priority at 27%, wave 2 respondents selected poor sanitation the first priority need at 40% and poor health the second priority at 36%. Wave 1 respondents ranked insecurity and unemployment third and fourth at 25% and 24% respectively. In contrast, wave 2 rated poor education, poor economy and insecurity as basic necessities that warrant intervention at a higher demand than wave 1 (wave 1: poor education—10%, poor economy—12%, insecurity—25% against wave 2: poor education—31%, poor economy—28%. insecurity—28%).

---

21Women group, Feb 15, 2016 and Youth group, Feb 14, 2016.
comparatively, Wave 2 household respondents rated unemployment at a lower rank than wave 1 (wave 1: 24%, wave 2: 22%) and, according to the respondents, demand for electricity fell down from 29% in wave 1 to only 4% in wave 2, which might signal a council achievement. Furthermore, both waves mentioned inadequate capacity of local government staff and low revenue returns s two major challenges that impeded council performance and thus necessitated urgent intervention.

Table 3: Most Pressing Local Issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most pressing local issues</th>
<th>Waves</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of water</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drought</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of infrastructure</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor sanitation</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor health</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Education</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortage of electricity supply</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor economy</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charcoal production/ deforestation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender-based violence</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dynamics of Conflict and Violence**

Both wave 1 and wave 2 respondents agreed that in general terms minimum number of conflicts between clans and groups occurs in Bossaso district. 86% of household respondents of wave 2 reported that they were not aware of conflict between clans or groups, while in a wave 2 interview, the Deputy Mayor of Bossaso reiterated:

“I am not saying that conflicts between clans or groups do not take place in Bossaso, but I can affirm that these type of conflicts are very rare and, truly speaking, I do not remember any incident of this kind happening during the last 12 months”.  

22 Police Commissioner, KII, Feb 16, 2016
Experience with Conflict

As the figure below illustrates, there was a three-fold decline in the number of individuals among Bossaso household survey respondents who witnessed conflict in waves 1 and wave 2 assessments. 28% of wave 1 respondents claimed witnessing conflict between clans or groups during the 12 months prior to the assessment, while only 9% of wave 2 respondents stated that they had witnessed conflict between clans or groups in the same span of time (Fig. 14).

Figure 14: Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups (last 12 months)

Reasons for Conflicts that were Observed

Exploring the causes of conflict witnessed by the respondents in wave 1 and wave 2 assessments, resource-driven (Land and water) clashes, family disputes and revenge killings were among the main types of conflict and violence mentioned in Wave 1 assessment. While youth violence, which increased from 9% in wave 1 to 40% in wave 2 assessment, was regarded a cause of conflict in both waves, nevertheless, wave 2 respondents thought that power/cultural struggles, business disputes and perceived lack of justice were among other issues instigating conflict.

Experience with Crime and Violence

Although, the majority of Bosaso residents reported not to have witnessed crime or violence, the number of respondents, who had the experience during the previous 12 months, comparatively fell down between wave 1 and wave 2. As shown in the figure below, wave 1 household respondents witnessing crime or violence ranked 36%, while this digit dropped down to 15% in wave 2 (Fig. 15).
Figure 15: Account of witnessing crime or violence (last 12 months)

- Perception of Safety

In comparison, the perception of individual safety in Bossaso increased as respondents were more positive in wave 2. This is because more than four-fifth (82%) of Bossaso respondents felt either very safe or rather safe in wave 2 assessment, whereas only 29% in wave 1 respondents felt so and a large number of about a quarter of wave 1 respondents thought they lived in a very unsafe environment. Similarly, 17% of wave 2 respondents regarded themselves in a rather unsafe or very unsafe situation.

Figure 16: Perception of safety in the district
Conclusion

The district conflict and security assessments that OCVP had been conducting during the last 4 to 5 years, with funding from DFID, targeted selected districts and aimed to explore and analyze community perceptions, attitudes and experience on distinctive themes relating to good governance and peace building at grass root levels. These included: security provision, justice dispensation, governance as well as level and experience of local conflict, conflict resolution and violence mitigation mechanisms. The ultimate goal of the project aspired guiding development actors and policy makers on most sensitive themes that necessitate immediate attention. In this respect, this report highlights the outcome and comparative analysis of two district assessments carried out in Bossaso district (wave 1: 2013; wave 2: 2016).

The analysis demonstrated that, during the period between the two waves, the Bossaso council had considerably enhanced its posture towards the public; in wave 2 a size of 71% of household respondents confirmed their awareness of existence of Bossaso local council, in contrast to only 30% of respondents of wave 1. However, Bossaso council failed to enable public to participate in its consultations in order to voice their concerns. This shortcoming was emphasized by the fact that an equal size of 82% of both respondents of wave 1 and wave 2 concurred that Bossaso council did not sanction participation of public in its consultations. Thus, this study believed that it is time that Bossaso council reacted to this valuable feedback and worked towards facilitation of participation of public in matters concerning their destiny.

With regard to the perceptions of respondents’ on council performance, despite the fact both wave 1 and wave 2 respondents acknowledged operationality of Bossaso council, nevertheless, comparison of ratings of the two waves indicated that, in the respondents’ eyes, council performance fell down in delivery of most basic services. In both waves, knowledgeable individuals pointed out that the Bossaso local government did not collect, although the potentiality existed, enough revenue to dispense expected services, in addition to lacking skilled personnel. In both waves, respondents identified similar needs, which necessitated urgent attention but with varying degrees of urgency. Most of wave 2 survey participants stressed that unemployment was the most critical issue and, to stop the prevailing youth outmigration, creation of jobs for graduated and non-graduated youth posed the most urgent challenge facing the council. Wave 1 participants and some of wave 2 respondents, while admitting the threat of unemployment, saw security and provision of other basic services of not lesser importance and earnestness.

On security provision, while participants of wave 1 and wave 2 survey admitted their awareness of presence of police in Bossaso, the level of awareness was higher in wave 2 (58% for wave 1 vs. 72% for wave 2). However, both waves were unanimous in the view that Bossaso police did not possess the requisite capacity to independently ensure security due to limited number of officers, lack of sufficient logistics and equipment as well as professional skills. Thus, Bossaso police mostly relied on external support from other armed forces based in Bossaso and local government. Furthermore, wave 2 respondents accused Bossaso police of not instantly responding to crime incidents/scenes while failing to foster regular worthy working relationship with the public. A key IDP key informant went to the extent that police never visited their localities, leave alone guaranteeing their security.
Despite the above, respondents of both waves preferred police over other security providers and told that they often reported their civil cases, petty crimes and serious crimes to them. Traditional elders earned the second rank in preference, and local authority and courts ranked third and fourth positions respectively. Respondents of both waves based their selection criteria on: a) ease of access, b) rate of response, likelihood of unbiased judgment, and b) typology of the case at hand. Furthermore, public trust on police increased during the period between the two waves as the size of those who rated police trust at very high and fairly high markings surged from 44% of respondents in wave 1 to 78% in wave 2. The main leverage of police over other security providers, which the respondents informed to have accredited trust to police was their physical force of executing verdicts. As indicated above, respondents of both waves urged police, in order to be more effective, to improve its physical capabilities, coupled with enhancing their relations with public.

Wave 1 and Wave 2 respondents apprised that all formal and informal justice providers operated in Bossaso district. These included: a formal district court and court of appeal, traditional elders’ Xeer court, and religious Sharia court. Often police constituted the enforcing arm of the verdicts of these justice providers. From 2013 to 2016, public awareness of existence of formal courts in Bossaso improved from 24% in wave 1 to 89% in wave 2, which conveyed the impression of growing public recognition of these courts. Likewise, formal courts gained high public trust by increasing their cumulative approval of ‘very confident’ and ‘fairly confident’ rankings from 58% in wave 1 to 81% in wave 2. In spite of the encouraging trait of enhanced confidence in formal court, appraisal of the outcome of the two waves presented an overall decrease of public usage of not only the formal courts but also of all other justice providers. Formal courts’ usage fell from 34% in wave 1 to 9%, while that of traditional diminished from 34% to 11%, whereas, religious courts experienced the same decline (30% in wave 1 against 5% in wave 2). Cited prevalent cases or crimes in Bossaso included: land disputes, robbery, youth related violence and household violence.

On conflict and violence, while an overwhelming majorities of both wave 1 and wave 2 respondents accored in rarity of conflicts between clans and groups in Bossaso district, the small number of those who confirmed experience of conflict between clans and groups diminished threefold from 28% in wave 1 to 9% in wave 2. While wave 1 participants attributed causes of conflict to: resource-driven (land and water) disputes, family disputes, and revenge killings, wave 2 respondents added to this youth violence, power/cultural struggles, business disputes, as well as perceived lack of justice. On the other hand, the number of respondents, who accounted witnessing crime and violence during the 12 months prior to the respective assessments, tripped from 36% in wave 1 to 15% in wave 2. Finally, when asked about their perception of individual safety, 82% of wave 2 felt either very safe or rather safe in contrast to wave 1 respondents, of whom only 29% considered themselves either very safe or rather safe. This can be translated as heralding a sign of improvement of individual safety in Bossaso district.