DHARAHAR
DISTRICT CONFLICT AND SECURITY ASSESSMENT REPORT
MARCH 2016

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District Conflict and Security Assessment Report

DHAHAR DISTRICT

APRIL 2016
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Finally, we are grateful to the Puntland government and the local authorities in Dhahar District for giving us the permission to conduct this assessment in the district.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGDs</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KIIs</td>
<td>Key Informant Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG</td>
<td>Local Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCVP</td>
<td>Observatory of Conflict and Violence Prevention</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODK</td>
<td>Open Data Kit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRS</td>
<td>Systematic Random Sampling</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT ........................................................................................................ IV

ABBREVIATIONS ........................................................................................................... V

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..................................................................................................... VI

LIST OF FIGURES .......................................................................................................... VIII

LIST OF TABLES ............................................................................................................... X

MAP OF STUDY AREA .................................................................................................... XI

DISTRICT PROFILE ......................................................................................................... 1

COPE ................................................................................................................................. 2

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ................................................................................................. 3

Security Providers ........................................................................................................... 3

Justice Providers ............................................................................................................ 3

Governance Providers .................................................................................................... 4

Conflict and Violence ..................................................................................................... 4

1. METHODOLOGY ........................................................................................................ 1

1.1. Overview .................................................................................................................. 1

1.2 Sampling Methodology ............................................................................................ 1

1.3 Household Survey ................................................................................................... 1

1.4. Focus Group Discussions ....................................................................................... 2

1.5 Key Informant Interviews ....................................................................................... 2

2. PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS .................................................................................... 3

3. SECURITY, JUSTICE AND GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS .............................................. 6

3.1.1. Level of Deployment ........................................................................................... 6

3.1.2. Level of Trust in Security Providers (formal and informal) ................................. 10

3.1.3. Police Performance .............................................................................................. 12

3.2. JUSTICE PROVIDERS ........................................................................................... 15

3.2.1 Level of deployment ............................................................................................. 15
3.2.2 Performance of the Justice Providers ................................................................. 17
3.2.3 Perception of the Justice Providers ................................................................. 20

3.3 GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS ............................................................................... 23
3.3.1 Level of Deployment ...................................................................................... 23
3.3.2 Performance of the Local Council ................................................................. 24
3.3.4 Perception toward the Local Council ............................................................ 27

4. CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE ............................................................................. 31
4.1 Awareness of conflict ......................................................................................... 31
4.2 Experience of conflict ........................................................................................ 31
4.3 Experience of crime and violence ..................................................................... 34
4.4 Perception of Safety ......................................................................................... 35

5. CONCLUSION ..................................................................................................... 38

6. ANNEXES .......................................................................................................... 39
6.1 Glossary of Terms ............................................................................................ 39
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Gender distribution of respondents .................................................................3
Figure 2: Age distribution of respondents by gender .......................................................3
Figure 3: Marital status of the respondents ....................................................................3
Figure 4: Respondents’ education levels .........................................................................4
Figure 5: Respondents’ education levels by gender ..........................................................5
Figure 6: Respondents’ awareness of police presence ......................................................6
Figure 7: Respondents’ awareness of police presence by gender ......................................6
Figure 8: Respondents’ awareness of police presence by subdivisions ............................7
Figure 9: Respondents knowledge of the number of police stations ...............................7
Figure 10: Respondents’ estimation of distance to police station ....................................7
Figure 11: Respondents’ estimation of distance to police station by subdivision ...............8
Figure 12: Respondents’ preference of reporting civil matters .......................................8
Figure 13: Respondents’ preference of reporting civil matters by gender .......................9
Figure 14: Respondents’ preference of reporting petty crimes .......................................9
Figure 15: Respondents’ preference of reporting petty crimes by gender .......................9
Figure 16: Respondents preference of reporting on serious crimes ...............................10
Figure 17: Respondents preference of reporting on serious crimes by gender ...............10
Figure 18: Most trusted security provider in responding to crime and violence .............10
Figure 19: Most trusted security provider in responding to crime and violence by gender .11
Figure 20: Respondents’ Level of trust in Police ............................................................12
Figure 21: Respondents’ level of trust in the police by gender .......................................12
Figure 22: Respondents’ level of trust in the police by sub-division ..............................12
Figure 23: Respondents’ perception of the performance of the police-year trend ..........13
Figure 24: Respondents’ perception of the performance of the police-year trend by gender .13
Figure 25: Respondents’ perception of the performance of the police-year trend by subdivision 14
Figure 26: Respondents’ awareness of the existence of courts .....................................15
Figure 27: Respondents’ awareness of the existence of courts by gender .......................15
Figure 28: Respondents’ awareness of the existence of courts by sub-division ..............16
Figure 29: Respondents’ awareness of the number of courts ........................................16
Figure 30: Respondents’ estimation of distance to closest court ....................................16
Figure 31: Respondents’ estimation of distance to closest court by Subdivision .........17
Figure 32: Usage of justice providers ............................................................................18
Figure 33: Usage of justice providers by gender ............................................................18
Figure 34: Issuance of judgments ..................................................................................19
Figure 35: Enforcement of judgments .........................................................................19
Figure 36: Respondents’ choice of most trusted justice provider ..................................20
Figure 37: Respondents’ choice of most trusted justice provider by gender ..................20
Figure 38: Respondents’ level of confidence in the formal justice system ....................21
Figure 39: Respondents’ level of confidence in the formal justice system by gender ......21
Figure 40: Respondents’ level of confidence in the formal justice system by subdivision 22
Figure 41: Respondents’ awareness of the presence of a local council ...........................23
Figure 42: Respondents’ awareness of the presence of a local council by gender ..........23
Figure 43: Respondents’ awareness of the presence of a local council by subdivision ....23
Figure 44: Respondents’ responses regarding services provided by the local council ......24
Figure 45: Respondents’ awareness of channels of communication .............................24
Figure 46: Respondents’ awareness of channels of communication by gender .............25
Figure 47: Respondents’ awareness of channels of communication by subdivision .......25
Figure 48: Respondents’ participation in District Council meetings .............................26
Figure 49: Respondents’ participation in District Council meetings by gender ..............26
Figure 50: Respondents’ participation in District Council meetings, by subdivision ..............................................26
Figure 51: Frequency of participation in local governance consultations (last 12 months) ....................................27
Figure 52: Respondents’ perception towards elected representatives ..................................................................27
Figure 53: Respondents’ perception towards elected representatives by gender ............................................27
Figure 54: Respondents’ perception towards elected representatives by subdivision .....................................28
Figure 55: Respondents’ opinions about the most pressing local issues ...........................................................................29
Figure 56: Respondents’ level of confidence in Local Council .............................................................................29
Figure 57: Respondents’ level of confidence in Local Council by gender ...............................................................29
Figure 58: Respondents' level of confidence in Local Council by Sub-division ....................................................30
Figure 59: Respondents' perception towards the performance of the Local Council (yearly) ............................30
Figure 60: Respondents' perception towards the performance of the Local Council (yearly) by gender ............30
Figure 61: Respondents' perception towards the performance of the Local Council (yearly) by subdivision ....31
Figure 62: awareness of conflict between clans or groups (last 12 months) .........................................................32
Figure 63: Awareness of conflict between clans or groups (last 12 months) .......................................................32
Figure 64: Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups .................................................................32
Figure 65: Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups by gender ....................................................33
Figure 66: Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups by subdivision ...........................................33
Figure 67: Number of conflicts witnessed in the last 12 months ...........................................................................33
Figure 68: Number of conflict leading to violence ............................................................................................34
Figure 69: Number of conflict leading to death ..................................................................................................34
Figure 70: Number of conflict cases ..................................................................................................................34
Figure 71: Account of witnessing crime and violence against someone outside of the household ...................34
Figure 72: Account of witnessing crime and violence against someone outside the homestead within gender ..........................................................................................................................35
Figure 73: Account of witnessing crime and violence against someone outside the homestead ...................35
Figure 74: Perception of safety in the area ........................................................................................................35
Figure 75: Perception of safety by gender ..........................................................................................................36
Figure 76: Perception of safety by subdivision ..................................................................................................36
Figure 77: Perception of safety—yearly trend ....................................................................................................36
Figure 78: Perception of safety by gender-yearly trend ....................................................................................37
Figure 79: Perception of safety by subdivision ..................................................................................................37
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Number of male and female respondents within the subdivisions ........................................2
Table 2: Distribution of focus group participants by gender .........................................................2
Table 3: Key Informant Interview participants ...............................................................................2
Table 4: Respondents’ reasons of choice of most trusted security provider .....................................11
Table 5: Issues referred to justice providers .................................................................................. Error! Bookmark not defined.
Table 6: Reasons for trust of justice providers .............................................................................. Error! Bookmark not defined.
Map of Study Area

Dhahar District Map
Source: Google earth, 2016.
DISTRICT PROFILE

Dhahar district is situated west of Gardo district and comprises the capital town of Dhahar and 8 other satellite villages. According to the Puntland government sources, the population of Dhahar district was estimated at over 60,000 individuals, while that of Dhahar town was estimated at 15,000 individuals. The locality secured the title of district on a presidential decree by the former Somali Government in 1985; as well as through a regional entitlement from the Puntland administration in 2010. Dhahar town, in addition to being the district’s administrative capital, also constitutes the regional administrative epicentre of the newly established Haylan Region. Nowadays, the district is rated ‘Grade A’ with a district council comprising 27 members, of which 8 are female.

Historically the area excelled in good pastureland, thus pastoralists regularly visited the area for grazing their livestock, however they were (usually) forced to migrate to far off water points during the two dry seasons of the year as this area lacked enduring water sources. Permanent settlement at the location of present Dhahar town started in 1958, when the then British Colonial Administration, which ruled the locality, drilled a well. Since then, the town has grown, particularly so during the last 25 years after the collapse of the Central Somali Government in January 1991, when large ethnic populations migrated from the southern regions of Somalia to settle in their ancestral land.

Despite the fact that the Dhahar district neighbours the main tarmac road, which connects Bossaso and Galkayo, the town of Dhahar is only 30kms from the tarmac road in the area of Sherbi, the district has not receive countable outside assistance neither from the international agencies nor from Puntland central government. Provision of basic services is minimal in Dhahar district with exception of few; the education and water supply sectors were in a better position than other sectors. There are 5 functioning primary schools and 2 secondary schools in Dhahar town and all of the other 8 villages of the district possess operative primary schools. A publicly run borehole straddling at the centre of the town, serves water to the town dwellers as well as the district pastoralist population. Recently, local private investors drilled a water rig in the neighbourhood of the town to guarantee sufficient supply of water for the district, however, according to latest reports, the site did not strike ample reserves of water and it was abandoned. Notwithstanding, other sectors of health, hygiene and sanitation, and electricity supply poorly function due to shortage of expertise and essential equipment.

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1 Which government source: interview, written document...please specify the source of this population estimates
2 Elders informed of another operating borehole at the western outskirts of the town but whose water supply is marginal and not counted on
COPE

The District Conflict and Security Assessments were designed to gather community perceptions regarding service providers and the accessibility and effectiveness of the services they provide. 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 assessment is aiming to measure, are concentrated only within the main town of the district. In fact, they are deemed to be inadequate or completely absent at the village levels. Keeping this in mind, this assessment was designed and carried out in the major urban settlement of the district, Dhahar Town.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Continual assessment of issues directly affecting the community’s safety and security is crucial for effective evidence-based programming, informed decision making and measuring the impact of related programmatic interventions to depict a better understanding of what works and does not work at the community level. With this in mind, the district level assessments map out and provide a better understanding of issues that affect targeted communities across the Somali regions. By using key indicators for selected thematic areas, this report provides an assessment of the state of governance, justice, and security as well as conflict and violence in Dhahar District. This assessment was conducted in the Dhahar District from March 8th to March 13th 2016.

The following notes summarise the key findings of the assessment:

Security Providers

All focus groups and key informants as well as 90% of the household survey respondents acknowledged their awareness of police presence in the Dhahar district. According to the Police Commissioner, the police force which was active in the whole district of Dhahar numbered 33, with only 7 of them policing in Dhahar Town. The capital town possessed only one two-room police station, which was too old to be safe enough to work in. An aggregate number of 82% of the household survey respondents informed that they can reach the police station in less than 40 minutes.

The majority of the qualitative interviews affirmed that Dhahar people trusted the police as a security provider, however, they were quick to point out the ineffectiveness of the police force and thus, they explained, traditional elders factually filled in their place to preserve security within the community. They attributed the ineffectiveness to the limited number of the police officers and deficiency in equipment and logistical support. The household survey also exposed that a cumulative sum of 65% of respondents preferred to submit their civil matters to traditional leaders and police, while 86% of them presented petty crimes to traditional leaders and police, whereas 78% of them opted to submit serious crimes to traditional leaders and police. Traditional leaders maintained the lead in trust in the first two cases (civil matters and petty crimes) but police surpassed them when it came to arbitration on serious crimes.

The Police Commissioner of Dhahar and the governance group both asserted that, although Dhahar police operated to their maximum efforts, nevertheless, the limited number of police officers and the lack of equipment, transport and other facilities hampered their performance to a great extent. Despite this, the household survey revealed that 70% of respondent had the opinion that police performance improved since last year.

Lastly, study participants unanimously highlighted that, in order to increase police effectiveness, Puntland Government and International Aid Agencies should provide support in the following: a) reinforce police with additional officers, b) train and equip the police force, c) rehabilitate and extend the old police station, and d) construct a prison.

Justice Providers

Located in a remote area away from the main tarmac road, Dhahar district has been lacking government services and has lagged behind in the areas of having formal justice provider ever since the central government of Somalia collapsed in 1991. Reportedly, there is a police station and a court with no facilities and equipment to run their services. This resulted in lack of authority of the court as well as the police personnel in enforcing the law and the judgements of the court. The majority of Dhahar respondents (91%) are aware of the existence of the court, however it is not widely used as a destination for providing justice. Instead, respondents
preferred traditional elders and religious leaders to seek justice. Lack of facilities, authority, capacity and enforcement of the verdicts issued by the court were stated to be the reasons for why people did not go to court to settle conflicts, disputes and murder cases. Judgements issued by the traditional elders are fully (100%) enforced while 80% of those issued by the religious leaders get endorsed and implemented. Traditional elders are the most trusted justice provider followed by the religious leaders. Fast decisions and fair judgements were regarded the main factors of preferring and trusting those informal justice providers. It is worth mentioning that more female respondents (47%) than male (24%) preferred religious leaders over the traditional elders. More than half of the respondents (55%) believed that performance of the court has improved within the last 12 months. Rehabilitating the police station and the court premises, providing equipment and facilities to run their services, and securing the running cost and funds for the police and court personnel were among the areas of improvement suggested by discussants of Dhahar FGD and the participants of KII.

**Governance Providers**

The former Somali Government named the district of Dhahar in 1985 but the Puntland Government promoted it to regional status in 2010. Presently, Dhahar labels as a grade ‘A’ district, whose jurisdiction prevails over Dhahar town and 8 other rural villages. A 27-member council, 8 of which being females, was established on 14 June 2015 subsequently electing a mayor and an executive committee. In spite of the fact that the qualitative interview participants and 97% of household survey respondents verified that they were aware of the existence of a district council, nonetheless, they divulged that it remained inactive and traditional elders often played the role of council in management of district affairs. Hygiene and sanitation delivery signified the only mentioned basic service that the council provided since its formation one year ago. Participants attributed under-achievement of the council mainly to lack of revenue, deficiency of law-enforcing organs, and absence of external financial assistance from Puntland central Government or international aid agencies.

**Conflict and Violence**

There are not many conflicts and violence in Dhahar as narrated in the discussions of traditional elders, women, youth and business group FGDs. However, Conflicts related to pasture, water scarcity, youth violence and revenge killings are the common issues dealt by the traditional elders and religious leaders. More than three quarters (87%) of Dhahar respondents were not aware of any conflict between clans or groups within the past year prior to this assessment. 43% of the respondents reported witnessing only 3 incidents of conflict and they were mostly related to disputes of resource (land, water). Therefore, the vast majority (98%) of the respondents felt very safe and had a very positive perception of safety as more than 6 in every ten respondents (67%) believed the safety has increased in a yearly trend. More women (37%) than men (24%) thought no change is seen in their perception of safety.
1. METHODOLOGY

1.1. Overview
As part of its continual assessment of issues directly affecting community security and safety, OCVP conducted an extensive collection of primary data in the Dhahar district of the Haylan region in Puntland.

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

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

1.2 Sampling Methodology
A district household estimation provided by the local municipality enabled the application of a sampling formula 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%) and margin of error (+ or – 6%).

The calculation detailed above resulted in a sample size of 87 households.

1.3 Household Survey
A face-to-face quantitative survey was conducted in which questions relating to personal demographics, security, justice, governance, and conflict and violence were asked of respondents from randomly selected households.

OCVP’s two trained data enumerators, High Quality Research Support (HQRS) training interns³ and two local supporters (with local acquaintances and knowledge on borders between subdivisions) conducted 87 household interviews with respondents of Bilcil, Dalsan,Horseed, Hodman, New dhahar and Waberi (Table 1), from 8th to 13th March 2016.

OCVP employed a modified Systematic Random Sampling (SRS) approach where enumerators randomly selected the 4th household after a random start point and interviewed one respondent above 18 years old in every selected household.

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³ A two year research training project implemented by OCVP
1.4. **Focus Group Discussions**

The second research tool utilised was a series of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) aimed at capturing participants’ perception on security and justice providers (formal and informal), governance providers and the dynamics and experiences of conflict and violence. FGDs were conducted on the 8th to 13th March, 2016. Each discussion group lasted for about an hour.

A total of five groups were represented in the FGDs: women, youth, traditional elde and religious leaders, business grp and governance providers. Each group consisted of 10 participants. A local organiser assisted in the recruitment of the participants based on clan-lines, geographic coverage, social class, gender and age.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area/Subdivision</th>
<th>Gender (Number of respondents)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilcil</td>
<td>Male 9 Female 6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalsan</td>
<td>Male 7 Female 8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horseed</td>
<td>Male 19 Female 32</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hodman</td>
<td>Male 11 Female 4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Dhaaar</td>
<td>Male 8 Female 7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waberi</td>
<td>Male 4 Female 6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total sample</strong></td>
<td>Male 49 Female 38</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Distribution of focus group participants by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus Group</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Male - Female 10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elders/Religious Leaders</td>
<td>Male 10 Female -</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Male 6 Female 4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Group</td>
<td>Male 6 Female 4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance Providers</td>
<td>Male 8 Female 2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>Male 30 Female 20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5 **Key Informant Interviews**

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

The interviews were conducted from March 18 to March 13, 2016. Each interview lasted for about half an hour. Five (5) key informants were interviewed, including: the Police Commissioner, Politician, a peace activist, the Mayor, and a prosecutor.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Informant Interview participants</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Key Informant</td>
<td>Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>Male 1 Female -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace Activist</td>
<td>Male - Female 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>Male 1 Female -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Police Commissioner</td>
<td>Male 1 Female -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutor</td>
<td>Male 1 Female -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>Male 4 Female 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

The Dhahar Household survey sample comprised 56% males (49 respondents) and 44% females (38 respondents). See Figure 1. A gender balance had been emphasized to allow a clear depiction of the differences in experiences, views, and insights between the two genders in relation to the areas that were assessed.

Figure 1: Gender distribution of respondents

The vast majority of Dhahar household survey respondents (85%) were aged between 20 and 49 years, with 26% of respondents falling under the 20-29 year age group, 32% in the 30-39 year age group and 27% between the ages of 40-49 years. Respondents in their 50-59 year age group made up 8%, whereas the least represented groups were that of those aged under 20 with only 1% of the sample (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Age distribution of respondents by gender

Almost 9 in every 10 respondents (89%) were married, while those who were single made up 7% of the sampled population. Divorced and widowed respondents accounted for 3% and 1% respectively (Fig. 3).

Figure 3: Marital status of the respondents
Regarding Dhahar respondents’ level of education, respondents who attended Quranic Madarasa, primary school and intermediate school comprised similar portions of 22% each, while 23% were never schooled. The respondents who attended secondary school made up 9% of the whole sample while the least portions among all were the self-schooled and the tertiary with 1% each (Fig. 4).

**Figure 4: Respondents’ education levels**

When disaggregated by gender, the never-educated female respondents at 32% were double the male at 16%. In the formal education, men had the lead at 61% over women who scored 44%. None of the female respondent went up to tertiary level education (Figure 5).
Figure 5: Respondents' education levels by gender

- Never educated: Male - 32%, Female - 16%
- Self schooled: Male - 3%, Female - 3%
- Quranic madarasa: Male - 22%, Female - 21%
- Primary: Male - 26%, Female - 13%
- Intermediate: Male - 29%, Female - 13%
- Secondary: Male - 12%, Female - 5%
- Tertiary: Male - 5%, Female - 2%

(n=87)
3. SECURITY, JUSTICE AND GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

3.1. SECURITY PROVIDERS

This section discusses the Dhahar District’s state of security. It identifies who are the operating security providers, people’s perceptions and preference on various security providers, the extent of public trust that police enjoys as well as an assessment of police performance. Finally, the study categorizes challenges hindering security providers from ensuring security preservation.

3.1.1. Level of Deployment

Although all focus groups and key informants declared that a police force, whose role was to deal with security maintenance, operated in the district, nevertheless, they were unanimous of its ineffectiveness for a number of reasons that will be extensively dealt within the following sections. For example, the youth group affirmed the inadequate size of the police, as well as the issue of lacking resources:

The police force in Dhahar District exists by name; their number is very small, less than 10% of the required extent. In addition to that, they do not have enough resources, a police station, transport vehicles, or other vital facilities.

In the household survey, practically, 9 out of every 10 respondents verified that they were aware of police presence in their locality, whilst slightly less than 1 in every 10 respondents (8%) thought of no police presence. (Fig:6)

Figure 6: Respondents’ awareness of police presence

All of the key informants and focus groups declared that, in contrast to other districts, the Dhahar District enjoyed peace and stability with the exception of few random incidents that rarely occurred in the rural areas. These were mostly related to pastoralist disputes over pastureland and water points. Other security-linked incidents that took place in the urban villages were mostly related to urban land disputes, burglary, and physical injuries arising out of verbal quarrels or out of family disputes.

The traditional elders group highlighted that traditional elders resolve all conflicts because the district local authority lacks the enforcing power (police), which constituted the enforcing arm of the district. They added that the UNDP, recognizing the vital role of elders in conflict resolution, had built a premise for the elders to conduct conflict resolution undertakings, specifically security maintenance.

In relation to gender diversity, more men (94%) disclosed their knowledge of police existence, against 84% of the females. Women had the lead (11%) than men (6%) in the group who thought that police were not present in the district. While only 2% (all women) of the respondents stated that they did not know, or choose not to answer. (Fig. 7)

Figure 7: Respondents’ awareness of police presence by gender

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4 Youth group, Focus Group Discussion, March 11, 2016

5 Traditional elders and religious leaders, Focus Group Discussion, March 9, 2016.
At a sub-division level, awareness of police was high in all 6 divisions of Dhahar Town. Whereas all (100%) respondents from Bilcil and Waaberi sub-divisions expressed knowledge of police presence, 94% and 93% from Horseed and Dalsan respectively did the same. 80% and 73% of respondents from Hodman and New Dhahar respectively also revealed their knowledge of police presence. This was contrasted by a small percentage of respondents, who divided into 20% in Hodman, 13% in New Dhahar, 7% in Dalsan and 6% in Horseed sub-divisions, who alleged of no presence (Fig. 8).

Figure 8: Respondents' awareness of police presence by subdivisions

![Graph showing awareness of police presence by subdivision](image)

The Police Commissioner of Dhahar District\(^6\), who was a key informant, verified that three police stations operated in the district—one of which was located in Dhahar Town, while the others were located in the rural villages. He added to this that there are small sub-stations in 4 other villages in the district. However, Dhahar Town household survey respondents differed on their awareness of the number of police stations existent in Dhahar Town. Almost half of respondents (49%) informed of functionality of 2 police stations in the town, in contrast to 37% who thought that only one police station operated in the town. Only 12% of respondents assumed that 3 police stations existed. (Fig. 9).

Figure 9: Respondents knowledge of the number of police stations

![Graph showing number of police stations](image)

Broad majority (82%) of the household respondents could reach the closest police station within forty minutes walking. 42% of the respondents affirmed that they could reach the closest police stations under 20 minutes, a similar percentage of 40% stated they are also able to reach the closest police station within 20-40 minutes. However, 13% declared that it takes them 41 minutes to 1 hour to access the closest police station (Fig. 10).

Figure 10: Respondents' estimation of distance to police station

![Graph showing distance to police station](image)

At sub-division levels, 80% of Waaberi respondents, 56% of Horseed, 40% of New Dhahar, 36% of Dalsan, 27% of Bilcil, and 17% of Hodman declared that they...
could reach their police station in under 20 minutes. This was followed by 57% of Dalsan respondents, 50% of Hodman, 40% of Bilcil, 36% of New Dhahar, 31% of Horseed, and 20% of Waaber, who said it could take 20-40 minutes to walk to the nearest police station. Contrarily, 33% of Bilcil respondents, 25% of Hodman, 9% of New Dhahar, and 7% of Dalsan stated that, in order to report to the nearest police station, the estimated time frame was between 41 minutes and 1 hour (Fig. 11).

Figure 11: Respondents’ estimation of distance to police station by subdivision

Preference of the Security Providers

The following sub-section discovers people’s perceptions and preference on the various security providers, which are operational in the district. It also looks into which security provider(s) people trust most and often approach for conflict resolution. According to a local politician, people not only preferred the police to provide security, but they also believed in that police was entrusted with such responsibility. Nonetheless, he said, the existing police force is incapable to perform this job due to lack of personnel and facilities, and, therefore, security delivery partially fell on the shoulders of traditional elders. The youth group, likewise, informed that people did not approach police for their lack of requisite capabilities to independently provide security. The District Police Commissioner supported this view and admitted that traditional elders helped police in security prevalence and in apprehending culprits:

The police force in Dhahar District is limited and cannot maintain security without the backing of traditional elders. When a crime occurs, traditional elders, through the offending family, go and catch the perpetrator.

The household survey conducted in the district exposed that a cumulative sum of 65% of respondents preferred to submit their civil matters to traditional leaders and police (traditional elders: 40%, police: 25%). While 86% of them presented petty crimes to traditional leaders and police (traditional elders: 53%, police: 33%), whereas 69% of them opted to submit serious crimes to traditional leaders and police (traditional elders: 38%, police: 31%). Traditional leaders maintained the lead in the preference of reporting irrespective of the nature of the case being reported. See figures: 12, 14 and 16.

Civil Matters

After traditional elders and police (explained above), the court, religious leaders and local authority were the other preferred entities for reporting petty crimes at 14%, 9% and 6% respectively (Fig. 12).

Figure 12: Respondents’ preference of reporting civil matters

From a gender perspective, women were more likely to report, petty crimes, to traditional elders than their male counterparts at 47% vs. 35% respectively. While more men (29%) than women (21%) favoured to take their cases to the police, preference of courts was equal for both genders (men: 14% and women: 13%), see figure 13.

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7 Politician, Key Informant Interview, March 10, 2016.
8 Youth group, March 11, 2016.
9 Police Commissioner, March 10, 2016.
Petty Crimes

With regard to the petty crimes, the local authority (5%), court (3%) and religious leaders (2%) occupied the third, fourth and fifth rank in the preference of the security providers, with fractional portions, after the traditional elders and police (Fig. 14).

On gender disaggregation, women held the lead in opting for traditional elders with 58% in contrast to 49% of men. Contrarily, the number of men, who preferred reporting to police, were almost two times larger than that of women (41% vs. 24% respectively). While there was no substantial gender difference in respondents who favoured reporting to local authority or courts (Fig. 15).

3.1.1. Serious Crimes

In serious crimes, the courts emerged to have played visible role, after the traditional elders and police, with noticeable portion (23%) of the household respondents stated to have preferred courts in the occurrence of a serious crime (Fig. 16). In line with this, the District Police Commissioner mentioned that when elders apprehend the perpetrators, with the help of their close relatives, they hand over to the police. The police asks the District Court to issue an arrest warrant. After securing the warrant, the police escorts the arrestee to Gardo prison, the nearest prison, or all the way to Bossaso prison. The arrestees were kept on remand until the case was dealt with and finalized by the traditional elders, religious leaders or Dhahar district court\textsuperscript{10}.

\textsuperscript{10} Police Commissioner, March 10, 2016.
From a gender point of view, women showed higher preference than men (45% vs. 33% respectively) in reporting serious crimes to traditional elders, while, men surpassed women in preference police preference at 35% and 26% respectively. The difference between the two genders in court preference for reporting serious crimes was fractional (men: 24% vs. women: 21%) see figure 17.

Survey respondents offered assorted perceptions on their reasons of choice of most trusted security provider(s) in responding to crime and violence. Their standards of preference ranged among-fastness of response, unbiased enforcement, reputation, and ease of access. Broad majority (88%) of the respondents who had chosen the police as
their most trusted security provider based their trust on fast response. Traditional elders seconded to the police, in this benchmark, at 47%. One-third (33%) of the respondents who trusted traditional elders based their trust on respect for the elders. While almost three quarters (73%) of those trusted religious leaders went on to state that the reason for this trust is the unbiased enforcement (table 4).

<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>Traditonal elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast response</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbiased enforcement</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are respected</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of access</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In measuring gender trust in security providers; more men (43%) trusted traditional elders than women (39%). Similarly, men continued to lead in the trust held in police (male: 1% vs. female: 26%). However, women surpassed men in the trust held in the religious leaders at 21% vs. 14% respectively (Fig.19).

**Figure 19: Most trusted security provider in responding to crime and violence by gender**

With regard to the trust in the police (formal security provider), nearly 9 out of 10 of the respondents stated that they trusted the police high (64%: very
high trust and 24%: fairly high). Contrarily, only 8% held low trust in the police (low trust: 3% and very low: 5%), see figure 20.

Figure 20: Respondents’ Level of trust in Police

On gender disaggregation, more or less, equal numbers of men and women sanctioned the police ‘very high’ trust (65% of men against 63% of women), while basically equal numbers of both genders, 24% each, rated their police trust at a ‘fairly high’ ranking. (Fig. 21).

Figure 21: Respondents’ level of trust in the police by gender

Trust in police varied at sub-division levels; 90% of respondents of Waaberi sub-division, 87% of Hodman, 80% of New Dhahar, 63% of each of Horseed and Dalsan, 33% of Bilcil awarded ‘very high’ trust score to police. However, 60% of Bilcil sub-division, 29% of Horseed, 20% of Dalsan, and 13% of each of New Dhahar and Hodman sanctioned the police a ‘fairly high’ trust. 7% of each of the sub-divisions of Bilcil and Dalsan, and 6% of Horseed levelled a ‘fairly low’ trust rating to police, while 13% of Dalsan, 10% of Waaberi, and 6% of Horseed reckoned ‘very low’ trust to police (Fig. 22).

Figure 22: Respondents’ level of trust in the police by sub-division

3.1.3. Police Performance

Depends Adequacy of personnel and supportive facilities are key to police performance, without this police cannot be expected to preserve security adequately. This happened to be the case in Dhahar District. The women’s group stated that Police could not deliver security or deal with disputes or crimes arising in the community because they do not have enough manpower neither a police station. The informed insufficient police officers and necessary amenities rendered the police ineffectiveness. According to the Police Commissioner, the overall number of police officers designated to the district was small and were scattered over the district villages:

The number of police officers in the district, including me, is 33 and is distributed in the district villages of Buran, Beragaha-Qol, Elayo and the district capital town. For example, only 7 officers are deployed in

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13 Women group, March 10, 2016
14 Mayor, March 11, 2016
Dhahar Town, and 6 officers, among the total, operate as tributary officers and do not take part directly in security provision activities\textsuperscript{15}.

Dhahar Police also lacked other facilities such as functional police stations, logistics and transport facilities. The Police Commissioner added that police own only one transport vehicle and a dilapidated police station in Dhahar:

\begin{quote}
We have only one transport vehicle that cannot serve all the operations needed for security provision. Furthermore, our police station is a two-room building that was built in 1971 and has never been rehabilitated. We cannot lock a perpetrator in the prison room because the door and the two windows have already crumbled. We lock the arrested perpetrator at a tree trunk adjoining the police station or in schoolrooms until deported to Gardo or Bossaso Prisons\textsuperscript{16}.
\end{quote}

Although a decisive number of over two-thirds of household survey respondents (70\%) believed that the performance of the police had improved during the past 12 months, almost one quarter of them (23\%) assumed that police did not make tangible changes. 6\% of respondents stated that they do not know whether improvement took place or not (Fig. 23).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure23.png}
\caption{Respondents’ perception of the performance of the police-year trend}
\end{figure}

Figure 23: Respondents’ perception of the performance of the police-year trend

From a gender outlook, no great difference existed (71\% of men and 68\% of women) viewed that the police had accomplished improvements during the past 12 months. Nonetheless, more women (26\%) than men (20\%) insisted that police had not made improvement (Fig. 24).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure24.png}
\caption{Respondents’ perception of the performance of the police-year trend by gender}
\end{figure}

Figure 24: Respondents’ perception of the performance of the police-year trend by gender

On respondents’ perception on the yearly performance of the police, sub-divisions displayed congruent judgments. 80\% of Bilcil sub-division respondents, 76\% of Horseed, 73\% of each of Dalsan and New Dhahar, 70\% of Waaberi, and 47\% of Hodman concluded that police had performed better during the past year. This view was challenged by 63\% of Hodman respondents, 30\% of Waaberi, 20\% of each of New Dhahar and Dalsan, 12\% of Horseed and 7\% of Bilcil respondents, who perceived that police performance had not achieved any development during the past year (Fig. 25).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure25.png}
\caption{Perception of the performance of the police-year trend}
\end{figure}

Figure 25: Perception of the performance of the police-year trend

\textsuperscript{15} Police Commissioner, March 10, 2016

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
In conclusion, study participants, although they rated the reputation and performance of police high, stressed for the need to strengthen the capabilities of the police contingent of Dhahar District. They proposed that concerned agencies should assist the police in multi-dimensional aspects. These included rehabilitation and extension of the aging two-room police station, construction of a prison, and reinforcement of, training and logistical support of the district police force.
3.2. JUSTICE PROVIDERS

Dhahar does not have a well-rehabilitated police station neither does it have an equipped functional court. The current police station and court were not used as they lacked the necessities to run services in such premises. Therefore, residents in Dhahar mostly used the informal justice systems – the traditional elders and religious leaders – to settle their disputes and seek justice. This section of the study attempted to gauge the respondents’ perceptions regarding the levels of deployment, performance, and confidence in the justice providers and justice in general.

3.2.1 Level of deployment

The data analysis from the household survey conducted in Dhahar found that more than nine in every ten respondents (91%) were aware of the presence of courts (Fig. 26). However, the police commissioner of Dhahar district informed that the formal court was not in function.

In a similar vein, Dhahar prosecutor avowed the non-function of the formal justice institutions as they lacked premises to function.

This level of high awareness of court’s existence can also be observed along the gender lines; 92% of the men asserted that they are aware of courts’ presence against 89% of the women agreed the same. Only 4% of men and 5% of women respondents stated that they were not aware of the existence of courts in the district. (Fig. 27).

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17 Police Commissioner, March 10, 2016.
18 Ibid.
19 Prosecutor, Key Informant Interview, March 12, 2016.
The subdivision levels had shown a high level of awareness of the courts’ existence. Interestingly, all of Hodman subdivision respondents (100%) reported to be fully aware of court’s existence, followed by Bilcil and Dalsan respondents with 93% each. More than three quarters of both Waaberi and Horseed respondents also confirmed that they were aware of the existence of courts accounting 90% and 88% respectively. New Dhahar was not much different as 80% of its respondents agreed to have an awareness of the court’s existence (Fig. 28).

Figure 28: Respondents’ awareness of the existence of courts by sub-division

As majority of the respondents were aware of the existence of court in Dhahar, the study also wanted to know the number of court which the respondents were aware of. In this regard, it was found out that 65% of the respondents were aware of only one court while 34% were reported to have known the existence of two courts in the district (Fig. 29).

Figure 29: Respondents’ awareness of the number of courts

To measure the time it takes the respondents to get to the courts, the respondents were inquired to state an estimation of the distance to the court. Over four out of every ten respondents (42%) reported that it takes them 20-40 minutes to get to the court, while more than a quarter (31%) of them needed between 41 minutes to one hour to reach the court. However, just above a quarter (27%) of the household survey participants estimated that it takes them less than 20 minutes to be at the court (Fig. 30).

Figure 30: Respondents’ estimation of distance to closest court

At a subdivision level, majority of New Dhahar respondents (80%) spend less than 20 minutes to reach the court. Respondents in Dalsan, Waaberi,
Horseed and Bilcil who were able to get to the court in less than 20 minutes amounted 43%, 22%, 15% and 14% respectively. Moreover, almost two quarters (43%) of Hodman respondents would spend between 20 to 40 minutes to arrive at the closest court. The same goes to Bilcil and Horseed as more than half of the respondents (57% and 54%) said it their travel to court would take between 20 to 40 minutes. An important finding to note is that for 57% of Hodman respondents it would take between 40 minutes to one hour to get to the closest court, making that neighbourhood, which is the furthest from a court, as of the time of this assessment (Fig. 31).

Figure 31: Respondents’ estimation of distance to closest court by Subdivision

3.2.2 Performance of the Justice Providers

Most of the government services were not available in the district; the formal justice providers did not perform, as they should be. The youth group discussants argued, “In this district, the police and courts just exist by name but they don’t have power and capacity that people can trust in terms of service provision”.20

In the absence of strong formal justice system, the informal justice providers (elders and religious leaders) filled the vacuum to deliver services, such as conflict mediation, that formal entities would have.

20 Youth, March 11, 2016.

Business group discussants stated, “When a problem happens, usually the elders from both parties sit together and try to find a solution that satisfies disputants and if they fail to do so, they forward the matter to the religious leaders”.21

21 Business Group, Focus Group Discussion, March 11, 2016.
Although the court is not fully functioning, the Dhahar household survey respondents described that courts had been the most commonly used justice provider for the past 12 months as all of them (100%) confirmed that, followed by the religious leaders with a vast majority of 90% of the respondents using it as their first stop in seeking justice. Traditional elders come in the third place as 77% reported to have been using it to seek justice (Fig.32).

The data analysis of the usage of justice providers showed an interesting insight among genders. Of the 77% of the respondents who used traditional elders as their justice providers, more women (29%) sought the justice of traditional elders than men (18%), which indicates that women prefer traditional elders more than any other justice providers. However, when it comes to religious leaders, no difference is found between male and female respondents as 10% of men and 11% of women targeted religious leaders for seeking justice (Fig. 33). The lack of authority of the police and the court resulted in more women reporting their cases to the traditional elders. Participants in the Women FGD narrated the following in their respective interview:

*The police do not have full authority in tackling the cases while elders are more powerful than the police. In Dhahar, there are laws that protect the environment and prevent desertification.*

As table 5 illustrates, 50% of land dispute cases were reported to the religious leaders, while 40% of these cases were brought to the traditional elders., Courts were not included among the destinations of the disputes which elucidates the lack of formal justice providers’ services in Dhahar. Traditional elders were approached for the resolution of 45% of household violence as the leading entity to tackle cases of this class. See table 5.
Table 5: Issues referred to justice providers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues referred to different justice providers</th>
<th>Court</th>
<th>Traditional Elders</th>
<th>Religious Leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land dispute</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business dispute</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth violence</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household violence</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the participants who reported to have consulted the various justice providers, three quarters (75%) of the respondents who went to the traditional elders for seeking justice had received a judgement; whereas 56% of those who approached the religious leaders had experienced that a judgement was issued and cases were settled (Fig. 34).

**Figure 34: Issuance of judgments**

A very strong majority of the relevant sample asserted that the judgements issued by various justice providers were enforced. All (100%) of respondents who received judgments and verdicts from traditional elders had their judgments and verdicts fully enforced. Similarly, eight in every ten respondents (80%) who approached the religious leaders had reported that the issued judgments were also enforced (Fig. 35).

When the Dhahar Police commissioner was interviewed about the role of traditional elders in arresting suspects wanted by the Police, he stated:

*The Police personnel cannot act alone in enforcing the judgments of the justice providers. Traditional elders help the police in approaching the suspects and detaining them as police lack the capacity and authority to carry out their duties.*

As a result, if a judgment was issued where traditional elders were involved in the process, those judgements were fully enforced.

**Figure 35: Enforcement of judgments**

**Areas for reform**

Participants of Youth FGD described that the police station and the courts need to be equipped to provide the services and run with their full capacity.

*Police do not have any revenue to run their operations to uphold justice and enforce judgments. No salaries are paid, nor there is logistical support conferred to them and therefore, their presence is just ceremonious.*

Dhahar Police Commissioner acknowledged that the lack of equipment and facilities in Dhahar district is a big challenge for them to fully function.

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23 Police Commissioner, March 10, 2016.
It was found in the interviews with the ... that buildings of other government and enforcement agencies, including that of the mayor and the governor, need to be built and completed as they are among the priorities that this district needs.  

3.2.3 Perception of the Justice Providers

Traditional elders came in the first place as the most trusted justice provider with 38% of the household survey respondents that favoured them. Religious leaders ranked the second most trusted justice provider with 34% of the respondents, while only 18% of the respondents chose the court as their favourite justice provider. (Fig. 36).

Figure 36: Respondents' choice of most trusted justice provider

A notable difference could be seen along gender lines towards the choice of the most trusted justice providers. More men (47%) than women (26%) have favoured traditional elders and considered them as the most trusted justice provider. Contrary to that, 47% of women respondents regarded religious leaders as their most trusted justice provider compared to 24% of men. However, courts yielded to be the least preferable justice provider as only 22% of male respondents versus 13% of females mentioned courts to be their most trusted justice provider. See Figure 37.

26 Politician, March 10, 2016.
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>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair judgment</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence from politics</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less costly</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of access</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More reliable</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study has further assessed the level of respondents’ confidence in the formal justice system. The findings from the household survey suggests that 71% of the respondents expressed having a high level of confidence in the formal justice providers (police and courts), followed by 21% with fair confidence and 3% with no confidence at all. However, only 5% of the respondents did not state their level of confidence in the formal justice system (Fig. 38).

Figure 38: Respondents’ level of confidence in the formal justice system

Assessing responses along gender basis; it could be observed that men and women were quite close in their level of confidence as 74% of female respondents against 69% of male respondents had a high level of confidence in the formal justice system, followed by 21% of women and 20% of men with fair confidence. Furthermore, a small portion of men (4%) and women (3%) respondents stated the lack of confidence in the formal justice provider (Fig. 39).

Figure 39: Respondents’ level of confidence in the formal justice system by gender

On a subdivision level, a majority of the respondents of the subdivisions expressed a high level of confidence in the formal justice system. Hodman had the highest level of confidence with 93% of its respondents agreeing with that. Waaberi and Bilcil respondents recorded a highly confident feeling with 80% and 73% respectively while 67% of New Dhahar, 65% of Horseed and 53% of Dalsan respondents had also stated that they were confident in the formal justice system. (Fig. 40)
Due to the absence of a functional court, household respondents did not report any usage of the courts, instead they used the informal justice providers such as the traditional elders and religious leaders. However, generally people were confident in the formal justice system which, beyond the courts, also includes the police, prosecutors, and correctional authorities who work in concert to respond, investigate, prosecute, adjudicate and enforce judgements.
3.3 GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

The following section presents respondents’ opinions and confidence level in their local council. It assesses the local council’s performance and the prevailing challenges, as well as which needs are perceived to call for urgent attention.

3.3.1 Level of Deployment

The household survey respondents proclaimed that they were aware of council presence by a distinct approval of 97% (Fig. 41).

The district is a grade ‘A’ level with a 27-member council, which was nominated in June 14, 2015. Prior to this, Puntland-nominated mayors administered the district. The new council, which includes 8 female members, subsequently elected a mayor.

Qualitative research participants consented that a local council existed, but were also unanimous in that this council was ineffective due to a number of reasons. These included lack of sufficient police force to enforce council decisions, dysfunctional courts and lack of operational resources.

Along gender lines, both genders informed that they were aware of presence at close ratings of 98% of men against 95% of women (Figure 42).
3.3.2 Performance of the Local Council

According to the qualitative interviewees, the district council was newly established and was expected to dispense mandated functions. However, it was not active except a certain extent where the council performed the provision of hygiene and sanitation. The governance providers group added that, to ensure proper garbage disposal, the council purchased a dump truck for this purpose. Conclusively, the business group also assessed the performance of the local council in the following terms:

The local council really plays a limited role in management of the affairs of the district, because it is has no resources to fulfil its tasks and no police force to use in implementation of its decisions. Therefore, its presence means nothing and has no significance.

The household survey assessed how people perceived the performance of the local council. In this regard, 67% of respondents informed that the main task that their local council provided was hygiene and sanitation services, while 44% added to infrastructure. This was followed by provision of education (29%), security (26%), and health (24%). Justice and agriculture scored 11% and 8% respectively. Despite the fact that, in accordance to the survey team’s observation as well as the qualitative interviewee’s opinions, supply of water was scarce and a dire need prevailed, survey respondents rated water provision by local council very low (2%) (Figure 44).

3.3.3 Consultative governance

On consultative governance, the Mayor, and the governance providers group stressed that they maintained regular communication and consultations with the public. The governance provider’s group stressed:

We nurture good working relationship with the people. For example, we hold regular contacts and consultative meeting with the sub-division committees as well as the countryside village committees. The council also keeps regular contacts with the social groups, including women, youth, elders, business, and teachers’ groups. The council often holds public meetings with use of microphones mounted on cars.

Regarding the respondents’ awareness of channels of communication, more than two thirds of respondents (77%) admitted existence of communication between the local council and public. However, 17% of respondents disclosed a contrary view declaring that the council did not maintain communication with people. Only 6% were not sure of the existence of communication (Figure 55).

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27 Governance providers, March 13, 2016, 2016; Business group, March 11m 2016.

28 Governance group, March 13, 2016.
With respect to gender, more women (86%) than men (71%) believed that the council sustained communication with the public. Notwithstanding, the number of men (23%) was three times larger than the number of women (23% of men against 8% of women), who argued of none existence of council relationship with the public (Fig. 46).

Two-thirds of survey respondents (67%) ascertained that the district council did not avail them the opportunity to participate in its meetings, in contrast to the remaining one-third, who affirmed their physical participation in council meetings (Fig. 48).

Generally, the views of the respondents in the different sub-divisions on local council’s communication were positive and high. In fact, 87% of Bilcil sub-division, 81% of Horseed, 80% of Dalsan, and 78% of Waaberi accredited prevalence of channels of communication between local council and public, a little less percentage of respondents from New Dhahar (71%) and Hodman (67%) expressed the same view.

Those who stated that the communication with the local council did not exist were largest in Hodman sub-division (33%) followed by New Dhahar (29%), Dalsan (13%), Waaberi (11%), Bilcil (7%), and Horseed (6%) (Fig. 47).

Figure 47: Respondents' awareness of channels of communication by subdivision
From a gender perspective, more men (78%) than women (53%) asserted that they had not participated in any district council meeting, while, at the same time, women had been two times more likely than men (47% of women against 22% of men) to have been participating in those council meetings (12%) (Fig. 49).

At a sub-division level, the number of respondents who stated that they did not participate in district council meetings was highest in Hodman and New Dhahar, which polled 80% and 73% respectively. The number was lower in other sub-divisions counting 67% at Dalsan, 65% at Horseed, 60% at Waaberi, 53% at Bilcil. Those who confirmed their participation of local council meetings, 47% lived in Bilcil, 40% in Waaberi, 35% in Horseed, 33% in Dalsan, 27% in New Dhahar, and 20% in Hodman sub-division (Fig. 50).

When respondents, who had participated in district council meetings, were asked about the frequency of their attendance, 38% of them sanctioned that they had participated in more than 3 meetings during the last 12 months. Similarly, another 38% affirmed their participation in 3 meetings, while 10% confirmed 2 meetings. Only 14% of respondents argued that they had participated only once (Figure 51).
3.3.4 Perception toward the Local Council

When perception towards the local council was gauged, 9 out of every 10 household survey respondents regarded that an election of councillors on one-vote-one person modality was the most desirable option and that an impending obligation, whereas 9% of remaining respondents thought that it was not the right time to adopt this strategy (Fig. 52).

When data was disaggregated by subdivision level, it became apparent that all respondents (100%) of the 4 sub-divisions of Bilcil, Dalsan, Horseed, and Waaberi were unanimous in preference of the election of councillors, while 73% of Hodman and only 67% of New Dhahar also supported election of councillors. 27% of respondents from each of Hodman and New Dhahar countered the idea of directly electing councillors. The remaining 7% who responded ‘do not know’, resided in New Dhahar (Fig. 54).

Women considerably preceded men in appreciating the idea of directly electing council members (97% of women in contrast to 84% of men). Notably, the small percentage of respondents (16%) that refused the notion of election of councillors were exclusively men, while 3% who answered that they do not know were exclusively women (Fig. 53).
3.3.4.1. Pressing Community Needs

In the qualitative study, participants disclosed divergent views concerning the need of the district as well as their order of importance. An independent politician\(^\text{30}\), the Mayor, and some members of governance providers group\(^\text{31}\) thought that security was the number one priority and thus they stressed the essentiality of strengthening police, building prisons, and court premises. They suggested provision of water as the second priority. They also mentioned the need to complete the construction of the offices such as that of the Mayor and governor.

The youth group\(^\text{32}\) saw the creation of employment opportunities and income generating schemes, particularly for the unemployed youth. Further, youth rated water supply, health provision, and the establishment of vocational schools as well as tertiary education institutions as important needs, which should be prioritized in the order they were presented.

The traditional elders’ group, although they agreed to many of the issues raised above, singled out provision of water, human health and promotion of livestock veterinary services\(^\text{33}\) as the district’s most needed priorities, in their order of presentation.

The business group\(^\text{34}\) agreed with the youth group and ranked the creation of employment opportunities as the first priority, water provision, the second, and health delivery the third priority. The group also considered building a public market centre in Dhahar Town as an urgent need.

The police commissioner\(^\text{35}\) believed that health was the first priority due to how the existing referral hospital, which was built during the former Somali Government, in fact needed urgent rehabilitation, extension, and refurbishment of equipment such x-ray, beds, etc. He ranked construction of prison and a court structure as the second and third priority respectively.

A woman activist\(^\text{36}\), who was interviewed, voiced that mothers had no suitable place to deliver babies and, therefore, expressed the most urgent need they had in is the need for Mother Child Health (MCH) centre. She added that Development Alternatives In (DAI)- an international firm implementing a USAID funded projects, had already built the MCH structure but what lacked was equipment and trained staff.

The household survey respondents had wide-ranging opinions regarding the most urgent needs prevailing in the District. Lack of infrastructure (63%), poor health (52%), droughts (47%), poor economy (44%), poor sanitation (44%), lack of water (40%), poor education (39%), unemployment (34%), shortage of electricity (31%) and charcoal production (22%) were the most pressing issues in the community according to their order. A very marginal portion of 7% considered security, as a pressing community need. (Figure 55).

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\(^{30}\) Politician, March 10, 2016

\(^{31}\) Governance providers, March 13, 2016

\(^{32}\) Youth, March 11, 2016.

\(^{33}\) Traditional elders and Religious leaders, FGD, 9 March 2016.

\(^{34}\) Business group, March 11, 2016.

\(^{35}\) Police commissioner, March 10, 2016.

\(^{36}\) Women peace activist, Key Informant Interview, March 11, 2016.
A key informant summarized:

*There is no functioning administration here, I am telling the truth, and we manage our affairs locally through the elders and influential personalities. A governor, a mayor, a police commissioner, and court judges are there but they do not have financial resource and the executing arm, which is the police, and therefore, are powerless.*

A summative number of 92% of Dhahar respondents had a cumulative high level of trust (very high: 82%; fairly high: 10%) in the Dhahar council. (Fig. 56), whereas only 6% had a cumulative low level of trust (fairly low: 3%; very low: 3%).

With respect to gender, more men (86%) than women (76%) conferred ‘very high’ confidence in the local council. However, the number of women who had stated that they had a ‘fairly high’ level of confidence the rating were two and half times larger than that of men (16% of women against 6% of men), who held the same opinion (Fig 57).

At a sub-division level, all the respondents (100%) from Hodman bestowed ‘very high’ confidence in...
the local council, in comparison to 87% from New Dhahar, 82% from Horseed, and 80% from Waaberi, who did the same. In addition, 73% of respondents from Dalsan, and 67% from Bilcil also conferred ‘very high’ confidence in the local council.

Comparatively, 27% of respondents from Bilcil, 20% from Dalsan, 7% from New Dhahar, and 6% from Horseed confided a ‘fairly high’ confidence in the local council. While 20% from Waaberi and 7% from Bilcil rated their council confidence at ‘fairly low’, another 12% from Horseed and 7% from Dalsan gave a ‘very low’ confidence score to the local council. All respondents, who answered that they do not know, were from New Dhahar, while, likewise, all respondents, who delivered ‘fairly low’ confidence, lived in Bilcil sub-division. This meant that the council did not enjoy confidence and visibility in the last two sub-divisions in contrast the others for one reason or the other and, therefore, has to look more closely into this phenomenon (Fig. 58).

On assessment of the respondents’ perception of the yearly performance of the local council, 71% of the respondent thought that the council had accomplished improvements during the last year. On the other hand, 1 in 5 (20%) of the respondents, argued that no change had taken place. 9% of the respondents did not know or choose not to answer. (Figure 59).

Gender-related opinions differed in regards to the perception of the yearly performance of the local council. 76% of men against 66% of women agreed that the council performance had improved during the past year, whereas, 24% of women and 16% contended that there had been no change. The small percentage of respondents, who responded ‘don’t know’, divided between 11% of women and 8% of men (Figure 60).
On disaggregation of opinion at sub-division levels, 93% from Bilcil and 80% from Dalsan respondents gave the highest rating on improvement of council performance. This was followed by 71% from Horseed, 70% from Waaberri, 60% from Hodman, 53% from New Dhahar who stated that the council had undertaken improvements. The remaining respondents, who were distributed as 40% from each of Hodman and New Dhahar, 20% from Waaberri, 7% from each of Bilcil and Dalsan, and 6% from Horseed had stated that there had been ‘no change’ (Figure 61).

Study participants had divergent views on the pressing needs of the district. Some of the participants pointed out that, while security providers’ assistance stands as the first priority, other pressing needs included: creation of employment opportunities provision of water, human health, and livestock veterinary services. Lastly, the construction of governor’s and mayor office premises were also added to the list of critical needs of the district.

4. CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

4.1. Awareness of conflict

The following section attempts to investigate respondents’ experience with crime and violence in their communities, as well as the mechanisms for conflict resolution put in place. Further it also investigates the perception of safety in the district.

4.2. Experience of conflict

The household survey data analysis showed that more than eight of every ten respondents (86%) were not aware of any conflict between clans or groups in the past 12 months prior to the assessment. However, 13% of the respondents reported to be aware of conflict between clans in the last 12 months (Fig 62).
Some of the qualitative respondents reported that existence of conflict, no matter how limited in numbers, was mostly fed by disagreement in regards to resources such as water and pastoral interests, in the areas outside the town. For instance, the youth FGD, the Dhahar Prosecutor and the women FGD stated that frequently, conflict erupted in the district due to disagreements over the initially limited resources.  

Along the gender lines, more men (92%) stated that they were not aware of the existence of conflict compared to women at 82%. Nevertheless, 18% of the female respondents reported to have been aware of conflict between groups and clans in Dhahar district for the last 12 months (Fig. 67).

Among the sub-divisions, all of the respondents (100%) in Hodman and New Dhahar subdivisions expressed unawareness of conflict between clans or groups followed by the respondents in Dalsan and Horseed with 93% and 82% respectively. 80% of Waaberri respondents stated to have lack of awareness of conflict in their area while more than two quarters (67%) of Bilcil respondents agreed with the unawareness of the conflict between clans in the past 12 months prior to conducting this assessment (Fig. 63).

Exploiting if the household survey respondents witnessed conflict between clans or groups for the twelve months preceding the study, 92% of them are reported to have not seen a conflict. This implies the existence of a relevant peace and stability in Dhahar district (Fig. 69).

The gender account of witnessing conflict has shown marginal difference, as the majority of male respondents (94%) did not observe conflict between clans while female respondents agreed with their male counterpart at 89% (Fig. 65).

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38 Youth, March 11, 2016; Women, March 10, 2016; Prosecutor, March 10, 2016.
At a sub-division level, respondents of New Dhahar, Hodman and Dalsan subdivisions have unanimously reported of having no account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups at 100% each. Similarly, Horseed and Waaberi held the same view with 94% and 80% respectively confirming that they did not have any account of witnessing conflict between clans.

Whereas, in comparison only 73% of Bilcil respondents also stated that no conflict between clans or groups have been witnessed in their neighbourhood within the past 12 months (Fig. 66).

Figure 66: Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups by subdivision

The traditional elders stated that there had been no reported conflicts in this district so far, and in case one happens, the traditional elders usually dealt with it. However, discussants from the Youth, Women and Business groups agreed that there were sporadic conflicts that did happen from time to time. Conflicts related to pasture, water scarcity and revenge killings were narrated to be the common conflicts in the district. Almost all of those conflicts were dealt and solved by traditional elders collectively.

When the respondents who had experienced conflict was asked about the number of conflicts they had witnessed in the past 12 months, 43% of the respondents affirmed to have witnessed 3 conflicts. 29% and 14% of them confirmed to have seen two or one conflict respectively. Another 14% of the respondents witnessed 4 conflicts throughout the past 12 months (Fig. 67).

Figure 67: Number of conflicts witnessed in the last 12 months

Out of those conflicts, 86% of the respondents reported that only one incident had escalated to violence (Fig.68).

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39 Traditional Elders and Religious leaders, March 9, 2016.

40 Women, March 10, Youth, March 11, Business group, March 11, 2016.
The same result was seen in regards to the occurrences of conflict that lead to death as 86% reported to have witnessed one incident that resulted in death. The other 14% of them also confirmed to seeing two deaths because of conflict (Fig.69).

In determining the causes of conflicts, 86% of conflicts were reported to relate to disputes in resources (land & Water- in the outskirts of the town). Business disputes and revenge both accounted for 14% of the conflict cases that took places in the district for the past 12 months (Fig.70).

4.3. Experience of crime and violence

The respondent’s experience of crime and violence is also worth noting. The vast majority (95%) of the Dhahar respondents testified that they had not observed crime and violence against someone outside of the homestead. A mere 5% of the respondents reported to have witnessed such violence outside of their household (Fig. 71).

The police commissioner, a politician and a peace-activist who were some of the key Informant Interviewees (KII), stated that Dhahar is generally
peaceful. However, pasture disputes had been one of the main conflicts that traditional elders attend to, most of the time. Youth fighting which sometimes escalates to violence resulting in injuries is also among the incidents that took place in the district for the past 12 months.

From the gender perspective, a similar view was held regarding the account of witnessing crime and violence against someone outside the homestead. Male and female respondents had almost the same view with 96% and 95% respectively (figure 72).

Figure 72: Account of witnessing crime and violence against someone outside the homestead within gender

A similar opinion could be seen at the subdivision levels confirming the above results. Four out of six subdivisions had a hundred percent (100%) of its residents agreeing to have no account of witnessing crime and violence against someone outside of their neighbourhood. Those subdivisions are Dalsan, Horseed, Hodman and New Dhahar. In addition, 90% of Waaberi respondents also stated to have not seen any crime and violence while more than three quarters (80%) of Bilcil respondents confirmed the same. Only 20% of this latter subdivision reported witnessing crime and violence outside of their homestead (Fig. 73).

4.4. Perceptions of Safety

Also the level of perception of safety in the district was investigated by the OCVP. After asking respondents how safe they felt in their area, it was found that almost all of them (98%) felt very safe. Only 1% felt rather unsafe or had no opinion about it (Fig. 74).

Figure 73: Account of witnessing crime and violence against someone outside the homestead

Along the gender lines, the same perception was held with regard to safety, it was found out that 98% of male respondents felt very safe while 97% of
female respondents had the same perception (Fig. 75).

**Figure 75: Perception of safety by gender**

In a similar manner, the subdivision levels have shown the same perception high levels of safety: respondents of Dalsan, Horseed, Hodman and Waaberi subdivisions have all (100%) had a feeling of very safe. The level of safety perception can be regarded very high. Bilcil and New Dhahar respondents were not different from their counterparts of other subdivisions and both accounted 93% of feeling very safe (Fig. 76).

**Figure 76: Perception of safety by subdivision**

From a gender perspective more male respondents (76%) than female respondents (55%) had the perception of an increase in safety. Nonetheless, more than a quarter (37%) of women believed that there had been no change of the level of safety compared to that of men (24%). Only 5% out of the total respondents stated that there had been a decrease in the perception of safety they had (Fig. 78).

When investigation the perception of security in comparison to the last 12 months, the Dhahar respondents held a positive perception toward the safety as 67% of them had expressed that the safety has increased in the past 12 months while 30% claimed that there was no change in their perception of safety. Only, 2% of them had the feeling that safety level had decreased. (Fig. 77).
Most of the respondents of the subdivisions reported to have a very positive perception toward the safety. Horseed subdivision recorded the highest percentage with 88% of its respondents feeling an improvement of safety level in their area. It is followed by the respondents of Bilcil and Waaber subdivisions with 80% each having the perception of safety increase. Similarly, Dalsan and New Dhahar respondents reported to have been feeling safety increase with 67% each. However, Hodman subdivision respondents had a negative perception towards the yearly-trend of safety as more than three quarters (80%) of them had reportedly seen no change in the safety of their area (Fig 79).

Figure 79: Perception of safety by subdivision

Figure 78: Perception of safety by gender-yearly trend
Dhahar is the capital of the Haylan region of Puntland. It was first nominated in 1985 by the former Somali government and was then upgraded to a region in 2010 by the Puntland government. Unlike most of the big towns in Puntland, the public institutions of Dhahar are not of great function due to the remoteness of the district. The police are regarded to be the formal security providing entity in Dhahar. However, the lack of salaries and logistical support from the central government of Puntland is a great burden. Nonetheless, the level of awareness of police existence in Dhahar was remarkably high among both quantitative and qualitative interviewees as 90% of the household respondents acknowledged the police presence and all of the FGDs and KIs reported a high awareness of police in the district. Limited capacity in terms of equipment and financial support drags the police to seek support from the local community of Dhahar, especially from the traditional elders, in order to perform better in security service provision. The youth FGD argued that the police force in Dhahar District only exists by name; their number is very small, in fact, less than 10% of the required extent. Further, it was found that the police do not have enough resources, a police station, transport vehicles, or other vital facilities.

In regard with the justice provision, the district suffered the ineffectiveness of the local justice providers. Located in a remote area from the main cities off the main tarmac road, Dhahar district has been lacking government services and has been lagging behind in formal justice provision since the central government of Somalia collapsed in 1991. Reportedly, there is a police station and a court with no facilities and equipment to run their services. Thus, Informal justice providers play a key role in resolving most cases. The Dhahar district has a local council with 27 council members, where 8 of them are women. It is headed by a Mayor and have various departments that help deliver services to its inhabitants. Currently the Dhahar District classifies as a grade ‘A’ district. Beforehand, Puntland-nominated mayors administered the district. The level of awareness of the local council was high among respondents with 97% being aware of the existence of local council, the Mayor, and the governance group insisted that they maintained regular communication and consultations with the public. The governance group members stressed: ‘We nurture good working relationship with the people. For example, we hold regular contacts and consultative meeting with the sub-divisions’ committees of Dhahar Town as well as the countryside villages’ committees. The council also keeps regular contacts with the social groups, including: women groups, youth groups, elders group, business groups, and teachers. The council often holds public meetings with use of microphones mounted on.
### 6. ANNEXES

#### 6.1. Glossary of Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access to Justice</td>
<td>People’s ability to solve disputes and reach adequate remedies for grievances, using formal or traditional justice systems. The justice process has qualitative dimensions, and it should be in accordance with human rights principles and standards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil case</td>
<td>Non-criminal cases relating to civil wrongs and disputes between individuals, including generally property, business, personal domestic problems, divorces and such types where one’s constitutional and personal rights are breached.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clan</td>
<td>The clan is a system characterised by a chain of paternal ancestors reaching back to a perceived founding ancestor whose name all members of the clan share for identity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>State of disharmony between incompatible persons, ideas, or interests.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Criminal case</td>
<td>An action, suit, or cause instituted to punish an infraction of the criminal laws of a country.</td>
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<tr>
<td>District Safety Committee</td>
<td>A representative body comprised of a broad cross section of civil society that acts in an advisory capacity to the local government in issues of community security and safety.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enforcement</td>
<td>Relates to the implementation of orders, decisions and settlements emerging from formal or informal adjudication. Enforcement bodies include police and prisons, and administrative bodies in particular cases. Traditional systems may also have specific mechanisms of enforcement. Enforcement systems are the key to ensuring accountability and minimise impunity, thus preventing further injustices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Justice System</td>
<td>A codified system of laws and court proceedings enforced by recognized actors of lawyers, police and justice officials. The <em>formal justice system</em> 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>
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<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>&quot;Gender&quot; refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance provider</td>
<td>Formal institutions or individuals that act, process, or possess the authority of governing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Justice System</td>
<td>Dispute resolution mechanisms falling outside the scope of the formal justice system. The 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>
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<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>
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<tr>
<td>Local Authority</td>
<td>Those invested with formal power, especially a government or body of government officials at district level.</td>
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<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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