DOLOW

DISTRICT CONFLICT AND SECURITY ASSESSMENT REPORT

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District Conflict and Security Assessment Report

DOLOW DISTRICT

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Finally, we are grateful to the local authorities in Dolow for giving us the permission to conduct this assessment in the district.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DCSA</td>
<td>District Conflict and Security Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDG</td>
<td>Danish Demining Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGDs</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KII</td>
<td>Key Informant Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCVP</td>
<td>Observatory of Conflict and Violence Prevention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODK</td>
<td>Open Data Kit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRS</td>
<td>Systematic Random Sampling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIS</td>
<td>Transition initiative for stabilization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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Source: UN OCHA 2012
DISTRICT PROFILE

Dolow is one of the seven districts of Gedo region in the newly formed Jubaland administration. It is located right on the Jubba river as it straddles the border line between Ethiopia and Somalia. It is about 31 miles away on the South of Luuq and about 27 miles away to the north of Balad-Hawa. The town shares international borders with Dolow Addo in the Ethiopian Somali Region on the west only divided by the River.

It is said to be the smallest district in the entire Jubaland administration, in terms of areal size. Its residents make their living by farming along the river banks and on the plains in the interior. Some of them also dwell in a pastoral life. The town often swaps population as it is located in international borders with Ethiopia and Kenya.

Before the demise of the Somali state, like many other towns along the border, Dolow was affected by the strained relations between Ethiopia and Somalia. Thus, its inhabitants evacuated many times losing their properties and loved ones. More so, it has survived in the predicament of rival militias in the early 1990s, and later the Ethiopian preemptive incursions against extremism in Somalia.

However, the people of Dolow decided not to perish but to endure with all the pain and coexist together in peace. The district administration and the diverse sectors of the local community work together in committees to keep their district safe and secured- their self-pride-, attracting a handful NGOs to support them in the provision of social services. Together, the elders, administration and religious leaders grapple with all sorts of inter and intra-communal conflicts from land to farm disputes and from family to clan disputes using the Somali customary practices and religion.

Educationwise, the district never got the chance to have a secondary school of its own even before the downfall of the state. Often, parents send their children to continue their higher education in the neighboring Ethiopian town, Dolo and Mandera in Kenya without any dispensation, which is unaffordable. Two rivers run down their vicinity, yet there is no clean water. Many of the farmers depend on subsistent rains compounded by the lack of equipment and tools for cultivation.
SCOPE

The District Conflict and Security Assessment is designed to gather community perceptions regarding service providers as well as accessibility and effectiveness of the services they provide. The data has been gathered according to four progress indicators relating to service provision: justice, governance, security and conflict. While a district may contain a major urban settlement (main town) and a number of smaller surrounding villages, it is the unfortunate reality that the type of public services this assessment is aiming to measure are concentrated only within the main town of the district owing to the inadequacy or the complete absence of those services at the village level. Keeping this in mind, this assessment was designed and carried out in the major urban settlement of the district; the Dolow town.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Continual assessment of issues directly affecting the community’s safety and security is critical for effective evidence-based programming, informed decision making and measuring the impact of related programmatic interventions. It enables a better understanding of what works and does not work at the community level. With this in mind, the district level assessments map out and provide a better understanding of issues that affect targeted communities across the Somali regions. By using key indicators for selected thematic areas, this report portrays the findings of an assessment conducted in Dolow between the 15th to 21st of December, 2015 by evaluating the state of conflict, governance, justice as well as safety and security in Dolow District.

Security Providers

In Dolow, Police is the major security provider, the informal security providers including the local community, religious leaders and traditional elders also complement police in the provision of security. The town has one police station and the respondents showed high level of awareness in the presence of police with two-third estimated the police station to be within one hour by walk from their homesteads. Furthermore, majority of the respondents preferred to report civil, petty and serious crimes to the police. Traditional and religious leaders were the second and third, respectively, preferred entities for reporting after the police. Challenges including lack of sufficient resources and logistical support, absence of proper training for police officers and the presence of Al-Shabaab in the vicinity of the district boundaries were all recounted by the research participants.

Justice Providers

There has been a district court of which majority (90%) of the respondents were aware of. The court employed Shari’ah when delivering justice services. Moreover, the informal justice providers including the elders and religious leaders also played a role in the justice provision in the district. Regarding the usage, most of the respondents who have used the justice providers used the service of the informal justice providers (religious leaders and traditional elders), while the court was the least used. Findings had shown that the type of the case, level of trust held in the entity and desired outcomes were three factors that influenced the usage of the different justice providers. Issues referred to justice providers ranged from land and household disputes, robbery, youth violence and assault. When respondents were asked the justice provider they trusted most, majority (72%) of the respondents mentioned the religious leaders. Despite the availability of a court in the district, there were a number of justice system related challenges including, lack of salary and logistics for the court staff, lack of furniture and a prison. There is also the need for constitutional court, mobile court, military court and a court of appeal as reiterated by the research participants.

Governance Providers

Dolow has a local administration of which half of the respondents were aware of its existance, though only 3% of the respondents reported to have been knowleadable about existance of channels of communication. Sanitation and infrastrucutre were the main services provided by the administration. Security was also a priority for the local administraiton which enabled them attract a number of Non-Governmetal Organisaitons (NGOs) who provide relief and social services. When respondents were asked if they participated any consultation meetings with the local administration, 98% of them mentioned that they did not participate any of such meetings. However, the Deputy District Commissioner asserted in the Key Informant Interview, that they hold such meetings on a weekly basis (every
Tuesday), attended by various sectors of the community. Regarding the election of local council, 95% of the respondents stated that they would prefer an elected local council that represents them.

**Conflict and Violence**

Dolow is relatively a peaceful town as compared to other parts of South Central Somalia. The household respondents remarked that revenge killings were the most prevalent cause of conflict, followed by family disputes. Furthermore, qualitative research participants also argued that conflict over land is common in the district, a situation that was further compounded by the constant change of local administration. Every successive administration nullifies the land titles granted by its predecessor. Crime and drug abuse, resulting from the depression caused by unemployment, were also mentioned as the likely causes of conflict and violence in the district. In the occurrence of conflict or violence, both the formal and informal entities played a role to sort it out. Regarding the safety, 95% of the respondents felt safe. However, in order to improve security, research participants suggested the need to pay salaries and give support to the formal security, justice and governance providers.
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 Dolow district.

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

The quantitative data was analysed by the OCVP Research and Analysis team using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 22, 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\(^1\) to determine a representative sample size for the district. The study took into account certain statistical parameters such as the level of confidence desired (95%), sample design effect (1.5), margin of error (+ or – 9%) and the assumption that some security correlations of (0.3) existed within the sub-divisions.

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

The calculation detailed above resulted in a sample size of 130 households which will be dealt with in the course of this research.

1.3. Household Survey

A face-to-face quantitative survey was conducted in which questions relating to personal demographics, security, justice and governance provision, and conflict and violence were asked of respondents from randomly selected households. OCVP’s two trained data enumerators and two local supporters (with local acquaintances and knowledge on borders between subdivisions) under the supervision of an OCVP supervisor, managed to collect 130 responses in Halgan,

\(^1\) See Annex 6.1
Garboley, Farah Ali Guled, Wabi Xaarey Sub-divisions (Table 1), from 15th to 21st of December, 2015.

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. Adjustments to this interval were periodically made so as to cater for gender balance without adversely affecting the random nature of the sampling approach.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area/Subdivision</th>
<th>Gender (Number of respondents)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faarah Ali Guled</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garboley</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halgan</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wabi-Xarey</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4. Focus Group Discussions

The second research tool utilised was a series of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) aimed at capturing participants’ perception on security and justice providers (formal and informal), governance providers and the dynamics and experiences of conflict and violence. The FGDs were conducted from the 16th to 19th of December, 2015.

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

Table 2: Distribution of focus group participants by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus Group</th>
<th>Discussion Date</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>17/12/2015</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elders/Religious Leaders</td>
<td>16/12/2015</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>16/12/2015</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice Providers</td>
<td>19/12/2015</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance Providers</td>
<td>19/12/2015</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP Group</td>
<td>17/12/2015</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>60</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 20th to 21st of December, 2015. A convenient venue was selected for those who did not have offices. Each interview lasted for about half an hour. Five key informants were interviewed,
A local organizer assisted in the scheduling of the interviews, which were then conducted by OCVP researchers. Interviews began with questions that were tailored to the interviewee and then generally cut-across the thematic areas of governance, justice, security, and conflict and violence.

Table 3: Key Informant Interview participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Informant</th>
<th>Interview Date</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Religious Leader</td>
<td>20/12/2015</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Traditional Elder</td>
<td>20/12/2015</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy District Commissioner</td>
<td>21/12/2015</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Police Commissioner</td>
<td>20/12/2015</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosecutor</td>
<td>20/12/2015</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

The proportions of male and female in the research were slightly different, the male participants were a little bit more than the female participants accounting for 53% and 47% respectively, as shown in the figure below. The categorical consideration of both genders in the survey was vital in getting diversified sets of insights, experiences and concerns in relation to the thematic areas of the research (Fig. 1).

![Figure 1: Gender distribution of respondents](image)

More than three quarters of the respondents (76%) were married, while nearly two in every ten (11%) were single. Moreover, the divorcees were twice (8%) as many as the widowed (4%) of the respondents. Only 2% of the respondents did not give a response to this question as indicated in the graph below (Fig. 3).

![Figure 2: Age distribution of respondents by gender](image)

- Only 4% percent of the sample were aged under 20 years. Over one-half (63%) of the respondents were aged between 20-39 years of the sample. Close to two in every ten (19%) were aged between 40-49 years. While nearly one in every ten (9%) fell in their fifties and just 5% were at 60 and above years (Fig. 2).

- Further broken apart, 30% of the women and 33% male were aged between 20 and 39 years. On the other hand, equal proportions (14%) of both genders were aged between 40 and 59 while only 1% of female and 4% of male were aged 60 years and beyond (Fig. 2).

![Figure 3: Marital status of the respondents](image)
Majority of the respondents (67%) reported to have never attended any formal school, while 34% have had formal education: 19% primary, 9% intermediate, 5% secondary and 1% tertiary level. Besides, one in every four of the respondents (25%) never attended any kind of schooling, while 37% attained Quranic education and 4% were self-schooled as shown in the figure below (Fig. 4).

Nearly one in every four (45%) of the male respondents have had formal education as compared to 23% of the female counterparts. The never educated female respondents (39%) were three times more than the men (12%) in the same category. Of all the respondents who were informally educated, male respondents accounted for 43% while female respondents totalled 37%. See the figure below for elaboration (Fig.5).

Figure 4: Respondents' education levels

![Figure 4: Respondents' education levels](image)

Figure 5: Respondents' education level by gender

![Figure 5: Respondents' education level by gender](image)
3. SECURITY, JUSTICE AND GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

3.1 SECURITY PROVIDERS

Dolow enjoys security that does not exist in the major areas of South Central Somalia. The district administration put much effort and responsibility in maintaining the security. The police is the major security provider in the district with help from local community. However, the police force present in Dolow are undersourced lacking proper training and other facilities. Nevertheless, people still trust the police with no security concerns or widespread outbreaks of crime and violence reported in recent times.

3.1.1 Level of Deployment

Dolow has one police station to serve the town and the nearby villages. Paramilitary forces, locally recruited police and small number of federal police officers are the main security providers in the district. Local people told OCVP researchers that this number is not sufficient. Nonetheless, local community assists the police efforts in security provision by sharing information of the suspicious activities as police respond immediately. The community elders also help in resolving conflicts before they escalate into full violence. Youth focus group discussant stated that:

Residents of Dolow contribute a fair share in security provision because they report incidents and suspected people to the district police station for investigations and interventions.

A participant in the justice providers’ focus group discussion also gave similar explanation:

I can say 50% to 60% of the effective security maintenance comes from local people. For example there are villages and areas as far as 40km away from Dolow town with little presence of district security forces but the locals are active and communicate.

Locals also volunteer in helping the police to respond to urgent incidences of crime and violence by providing resources needed such as fuel and transportation in executing security operations. Women focus group participant explained this:

Locals volunteer to the police transportation mechanisms, fuel, food and medical support in the raids to eliminate security threats in the district.

Findings from the household survey show that vast majority of the respondents (84%) were aware of the police presence in Dolow. 7% of the respondents were not aware, while 9% were uncertain as to whether or not the police were present (Fig. 6).

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2 Governance Providers, Focus Group Discussion, December 19, 2015
3 Youth, Focus Group Discussion, December 16, 2015
4 Justice Providers, Focus Group Discussion, December 19, 2015
5 Women, Focus Group Discussion, December 17, 2015
Awareness of police presence in the district was observed to be more prevalent in the male (91%) than the female (77%), see figure 7.

Within the subdivisions, the majority of the respondents in each subdivision were aware of the police presence in the district. The highest level of awareness was reported in Garboley with 95% of the respondents there indicating awareness. In Halgan and Farah Ali Guled, the level of awareness was fairly similar at 86% and 85% respectively. Equal level of awareness was also reported in the subdivisions of Wabi-Xarey and IDPs at 80% each (Fig. 8).

Among those who were aware of the police presence, majority (86%) mentioned the existence of one police station in the district. Small portion of the respondents (9%) mentioned the presence of two police stations while 5% did not know the number of police stations (Fig. 9).
respondents said they were relatively in close distance with the police station to reach it in less than 20 minutes. Relatively the highest number of the respondents (42%) said it would take them twenty to forty minutes, while 8% estimated that it would take them more than 40 minutes but less than 1 hour. However, around two out of ten (21%) of the respondents, said that the police station was more than one hour away from their homes. The remaining 13% of the respondents were unable to estimate the distance (Fig. 10).

When the respondents were disaggregated according to their subdivisions, majority of the respondents (72%) in the IDPs said they walk more than one hour to reach the police station. IDPs is the only subdivision that is located in such relatively long distance (over one hour) from the police station. Conversely, majority of the respondents in Halgan subdivision appeared to be in closest proximity to the police station with 79% of the respondents reporting they were less than 20 minutes away. Majority of the respondents in the other three subdivisions were twenty to forty minutes away with Farah Ali Guled having the highest percentage (94%) followed by Garboley and Wabi-Xarey subdivisions with almost similar portions (67% and 65% respectively (Fig. 11).

3.1.2 Preference of the security providers

When the respondents in the household survey were asked to whom they would prefer to report when they had problems of a civil nature such as trespass, family disputes and business disputes majority (68%) of them said the police. Traditional elders were mentioned by 12%, followed by the religious leaders with 8%. Other formal entities such as local authority and the court constituted minor portions (6% and 1% respectively). The remaining 5% did not show any preference (Fig. 12).
genders identified the police as the entity to which they would prefer to report petty crimes (74% of males and 61% of females). Moreover, women were relatively higher than men for those respondents who did not indicate any preference (females: 8% vs males: 3%), see figure 13.

Figure 13: Reporting preference for civil matters by gender

The results of respondents’ petty crimes reporting preference is similar to that of reporting of civil matters. Once more, the police were identified as the preferred choice for reporting petty crimes (68%). See figure 14.

Figure 14: Reporting preference- Petty crimes

Almost consistent with the overall results, the trend was unchanged when looking at the genders, with the police remained the most preferred security provider for both genders, less females (62%) than males (74%) held this view, see figure 15.

Figure 15: Reporting preference for petty crimes by gender

When respondents were enquired about their reporting preference of serious crimes such as grave assault, rape and murder, the police remained the most preferred choice, having been mentioned by seven in every ten (71%) of the respondents. Traditional elders, religious leaders and the local authority were cited by almost similar proportions (8%, 8% and 7% respectively) while 1% mentioned the court and a further 5% claimed that they did not know (Fig. 16).
When the data was disaggregated according to the gender, male respondents were relatively higher in reporting to the police on serious crimes than females respondents (male: 80% vs female: 61%). Conversely, slightly more women had reporting preference towards the informal security providers, i.e. traditional elders (male: 7% vs female: 10%) and religious leaders (male: 4% vs female: 11%). With the exception of the court where women constituted of only 2% of the respondents who reported to the court (Fig. 17).

8. Women, December 17, 2015

3.1.3 Level of trust in security providers

When respondents were asked the security provider whom they trust most, their answers were consistent with that of reporting preference. Majority of the respondents said police were their most trusted security provider (69%). Religious leaders and traditional elders were the second (15%) and third (8%) choices respectively. Minor portion of the respondents (5%) have mentioned the local authority as their most trusted security provider (Fig. 18).
Gender based breakdown of the respondents revealed that a slightly greater proportion of men (72%) than women (66%) trusted police the most for responding to crime and violence. The same was also true in trusting traditional elders (male: 9% vs female: 7%), while more women than men trusted religious leaders (18% vs.13%). Nevertheless, there was a marginal difference between the proportions of females (6%) and males (5%) who stated that they mostly trusted local authority. There was relatively more uncertainty among women regarding their choice of the most trusted security provider in responding to crime and violence as all (5%) those who replied that they do not know whom they trusted were women (Fig.19).

When asked to state reasons for their choice of most trusted security provider, respondents identified fast response, unbiased enforcement, ease of access, respect and others as some of the main factors that influenced their trust. As the majority of the respondents in the household survey selected the police as their most trusted security provider, almost half (49%) of the respondents reasoned this due to ease of access and fast response by 23%. Religious leaders have been identified as the second most trusted security provider. Majority (65%) of the respondents who gave this trust reasoned it because of respect to the religious leaders. Those who selected traditional elders as their most trusted security provider reasoned their trust among others as fast response and unbiased enforcement (30% each). The local authority which was the least mentioned security provider were chosen because of ease of access and because they are respected (29% each). See table 4.
Table 4: Respondents’ reasons for choice of trusted security provider

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for trust of security provider</th>
<th>Most trusted security provider in responding to crime and violence</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast response</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbiased enforcement</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are respected</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of access</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
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</table>

When respondents’ level of trust in the police (as a formal security provider) was measured, more than three-quarters (77%) held a high degree of trust in the police (very high: 49% and fairly high: 28%). Conversely, two in every ten (20%) of the respondents had a low degree of trust in the police (Fig. 20).

Quantitative research discussants had showed that the police have the ability of enforcing judgments reached and have legal authority to detain the offenders. In a key informant interview a religious leader stated that, “People have trust in us, however we do not have the enforcement [of our judgments]… We collaborate with district administration and police when the issues are serious”.9 A traditional elder in a key informant interview further agreed this by saying:

Before we make any judgment we inform the district administration and police forces to be present at the hearing of the case. After the ruling, it is the administration who take over the implementation of the judgment.10

On the other hand, participants in the youth FGD pointed out that there are people who trust in the informal security providers such as the traditional elders because they are easily accessible and fast in reaching verdicts:

Some people like to report to elders because elders are accessible all the time and the victim can approach them with

Disaggregation of trust towards the police along gender lines indicated that more males (84%) than females (69%) indicated high levels of trust in the police (Fig. 21)

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9 Religious Leader, Key Informant Interview, December 20, 2015.
10 Traditional Elder, Key Informant Interview, December 20, 2015.
or without an appointment, with no postponements and [they are] fast in reaching decisions.\(^\text{11}\)

### 3.1.3 Police Performance

When respondents in the household survey were asked what their perception of the police was compared to the previous year, majority of them (76\%) stated that there had been no change. Those who said that the police performance had improved made up 16\% of the surveyed sample and those who thought there had been a decline made up 5\% (Fig. 22).

![Figure 22: Respondents' perception about the performance of the police - Yearly trend](image)

No major variations were evident with regard to the respondents’ perception of the yearly change in police performance upon gender disaggregation as the findings indicated that the majority of both men and women reported that no change had been observed in the performance of the police over the past year (Fig. 23).

When compared the opinions of the change in police performance across different sub-divisions, it was noted that respondents in Halgan subdivision had the highest (50\%) positive perception towards the performance of the police. It was mentioned earlier that this subdivision is the closest to the police station and that vast majority of its respondents were aware of the police presence in the district. However, there was a general perception across the subdivisions that there had been no change in police performance in the town as the majority of the respondents in Garbooley (91\%), Farah Ali Guleid (80\%), Wabi-Xarey (76\%) and among the IDPs (85\%) stated that performance had not changed compared to the previous year (Fig. 24).

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\(^{11}\) Youths, December 19, 2015.
Challenges to Security Provision

Myriad of challenges faced the formal security providers in Dolow; lack of transportation, fuel, where a transport was available, and unreliable and low salary all negatively affected the moral and performance of the formal security providers, “The district police lack all the necessary requirements to maintain security such as transportation facilities, vehicles, medical assistance for those hurt during their operations and salaries to boost their moral”. 12

In the same vein, the security providers lacked proper knowledge on laws, “You know if you were trained how to shoot, given gun and ignorant about the law you can be part of the security problem we are talking about”. 13

An elder added:

There are killing cases committed by the district security forces because they have impunity from the administration, which means they can kill anyone at will. Imagine it in this time where gun is available to every person … this behavior is a threat to the district security and demands immediate judiciary intervention. 14

The women FGD participants have also raised issues that bear potential challenges to the security provision.

Terrorist [Al-Shabaab] groups promising payments for the people to cover the basic needs such as arranging marriage and providing transport and communication facilities can easily recruit many people. These offers attract many unemployed youth in the country and particularly in Dollow district of Gedo region. 15

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12 Women, December 17, 2015.
13 Governance Providers, December 19, 2015.
14 Elders, December 16, 2015.
15 Women, December 17, 2015.
3.2 JUSTICE PROVIDER

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

3.2.1. Level of deployment

Majority (76%) of the household survey respondents were aware of the presence of a court while 13% among the respondents were not aware of the existence of a court in the town. 11% of the respondents did not give a response (Fig. 25).

The existence of the court was assured in the discussions made with the FGDs and the Key informants who mentioned that the district has a court.16

Figure 25: Respondents’ awareness of the existence of courts

On average, more than 70% of the respondents in all subdivision were aware of the existence of the court. Garboley subdivision were the highest (87%) while the IDPs were the least informed (68%), see figure 27.

Figure 27: Respondents’ awareness of the existence of courts by subdivision

In terms of gender, female respondents in the household were less aware of the existence of the court at (67%) as compared to their male counterparts (84%). Conversely, females were the majority of the respondents who gave both outright (male: 2, female: 18) and indefinite (male: 7%, female: 15%) responses on the absence of a court in the district (Fig. 26).

Figure 26: Respondents’ awareness of the existence of courts by gender

16 FGDs conducted on December 16, 17 and 19, 2015.
In response to the number of courts existing in the town, the broad majority (90%) of the household respondents mentioned that there is only one court, 1% reported that there are two courts, while 9% did not know the number of courts in the district (Fig. 28).

The group discussion participants substantiated the existence of one court in the district. Elders stated that the one court in the district is a Shari‘a based:

*We have a court, a district court based on the sharia. It is only one court presided by a chairman and his commission of judges who are all religious people. They make the judgements as per the laws of the Almighty which are stipulated in the Qur’an and in the Sunna of the Prophet (PBUH).*

The justice providers’ group went on to explain the composition of the court’s staff, “The court has a judiciary commission composed of six to seven members, formed by the district administration, who are presided by the chairman of the court”. In the same vein, the Deputy District Commissioner also spoke of the presence of one Shari‘ah based court in the district.\(^\text{17}\)

Majority (76%) of the household respondents estimated the court’s distance to their localities to be under one hour walking. However, those estimated the distance to be over an hour made up 23% of the respondents (Fig. 29).

When court’s distance was disaggregated by subdivisions, Halgan subdivision was the closest to the court with 94% of its respondents estimating the distance to be under twenty minutes. All (100%) respondents in Farah Ali Guled and majority of the respondents in Garobley (93%) and Wabi-Xarey (79%) estimated the distance between 20-40 minutes. Whereas, majority (94%) of the IDP respondents said the court is located over an hour distance to their locality (Fig. 30).

\(^\text{17}\) Elders, December 16, 2015.  
\(^\text{18}\) Justice provider, December 19, 2015.  
\(^\text{19}\) District Deputy Commissioner, Key Informant Interview, December 20, 2015.
3.2.2. Use of the Justice Providers

Over the twelve months preceding the assessment, a total of 28% of the household respondents reported to have used both formal and informal justice providers. Those who mentioned to have used the court made up the least (3%), while 14% used the informal religious leaders, followed by 11% who used the traditional elders (Fig.31).

Figure 31: Usage of justice providers

3.2.2.1 Comparison between Justice Providers

The type of the case influenced the usage of different justice providers. Informal religious leaders were mainly referred to the family law related cases such as inheritance, divorce, debts and diyya (blood money). As the religious leader KII tells, “…it is not every case that comes to the attention of the religious leaders, rather it is those that require serious intervention such as inheritance, divorce, debt payment as well as diyya payment for injuries and murder”.

Approachability, cost effectiveness, respect and their pragmatic approach to cases were the reasons preferred for elders over the other justice providers as claimed by the interviewed elder:

You would not need to make an appointment with an elder and you do not need to pay service charges to consult with elders. The respect owed is more than enough and makes us feel important in the society which encourages us to conclude cases on win-win solutions which makes everyone happy at the end of the day.

Other group discussants stated that less serious cases were settled under the customary law of which people were familiar with, “…we do not go to the court or to the police if it is not serious, we conclude our cases with the elders who use the customary system, because we know it and we accept it”.

Culture also played a key role in the usage of justice providers with one part considering his adversary to be a bitter enemy if the latter took the matter to the court, “It is very rare to find plaintiffs rushing to the court as the first instance, because it is something culturally detested and not suitable. It will create deep animosity between the two. Therefore, it is advisable to start with the elders first and then move to the religious leaders and the court if they fail.”

However, at times the different justice providers play a complementary role by referring cases to each other on the thought that the party being referred to would be better to settle the matter than the one making the referral.

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22 IDPS, Focus Group Discussion, December 17, 2015.
24 Governance providers, December 19, 2015.
When the usage of justice providers was disaggregated by gender, the proportion of male and female respondents who reported to have used the courts tied up (3% each). More male (13%) than female (8%) used the traditional elders, while more female (16%) than male (12%) have used the religious leaders (Fig 32).

The household survey revealed that respondents who mentioned using the different justice providers, had all (100%) received judgement as indicated in the graph below (Fig 33).

Regarding the enforcement of judgements issued by the different justice providers, majority of the respondents expounded that the judgements they received from the various justice providers were enforced. The judgements issued by the courts were the least enforced at 75%, while 94% and 93% of those used religious and traditional elders stated that their judgements were enforced (Fig.34).

Table 5: Issues referred to justice providers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues referred to different justice</th>
<th>Justice providers</th>
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<td>Court</td>
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25 Ibid.
The interviewed elder spoke of the enforcement of the judgements issued by the elders:

There is great respect for elders, the police and the district administration are also present during such hearings. Then the administration takes the responsibility to implement the judgements. We use Xeer [customary precedents] which is widely accepted. We pay rituals at the eve of the verdict and the two sides eat and pray together.26

Similarly, the religious leader’s KII, also commented on the enforcement of judgements issued by the religious leaders. The enforcement is basically voluntary and it is up to the parties to respect the judgment, “We do not use force, the people are confident and trust us. We judge based on the Islamic law, so the people will accept because it is their religion that decided”. 27

However, instances where judgment does not please the parties, the formal authorities got involved, “When force is needed, we share the matter with the administration who will in turn inform the police chief and from that they make the follow ups.”

3.2.2. Areas for improvement in the court

Focus group discussants spoke of the challenges facing the formal justice system. The youth stated the need for a constitutional court arguing that the current court in Dolow functions according to the shari’ah. They also mentioned the need for court of appeal and a military court to handle culpability of military crimes.28

They have also mentioned yearly budget to pay salaries, office expenses and recruit competent staff to enhance the righteous judgements. Improving conditions of other law enforcement agencies such as the police and the availability of prison to confine detainees and convicts. The lack of prison is advantageous for perpetrators for they know that they will not be imprisoned which encourages them to commit crimes as they like.29

Capacity building programs for all law enforcement agencies and library for law references were also the areas cited by the justice discussants.30 Governance providers FGDs also mentioned the provision of mobile courts and court of appeal will increase the provision of justice in the district.31 While the IDPs discussants emphasized the need for the construction of a police station, increasing the number of police officers, improved governance as well as training the informal justice providers such as religious leaders and traditional elders will improve provision of justice in the district.32

3.2.3. Perception of the Justice Providers

Religious leaders were considered to be the most trusted justice provider by the household respondents at 72%. The court was selected to be the most trusted by nearly two in every ten (17%) of the respondents, while 9% of the respondents trusted the traditional elders. Nonetheless, 2% of the respondents said that they don’t know who they trust most (Fig 35).

26 Traditional Elder, December 20, 2015.
27 Religious leaders, December 20, 2015.
28 Youth, December 16, 2015.
29 Justice Providers, December 19, 2015.
30 Governance providers, December 19, 2015.
32 IDPs, December 17, 2015.
Despite marginal gender differences, slightly more female (74%) than male (71%) trusted the religious leaders. While slightly more men trusted the court and traditional elders than women (court: 17% and 16%, traditional elders: 10% and 8%, respectively). See figure 36.

The most cited reasons accredited to the traditional elders for gaining trust is their fair judgment (50%), fast decisions (30%) and independence from politics (50%), whereas the religious leaders were trusted for their fair judgment (93%) and independence from politics (6%).

3.2.4 Confidence in the Formal Justice System
The assessment pursued to determine respondent’s level of confidence in the formal justice system. From the household respondents, it was observed that, more than half of them (55%) accentuated that they are not confident in the formal justice system, while a quarter (25%) indicated that they are confident in the formal justice system. One fifth of the respondents (20%) did not know whether they are confident or not (Fig. 37).
When level of confidence was assessed on the basis of gender, it was observable that females were more confident (27%) in the formal justice system as compared to males (25%). While equal portions for both of them (20% each) reported that they do not know (Fig. 38).

Males and females have had slightly dissimilar views in the performance of the justice system as 7% of the male respondents reported an improvement against 5% of females. Small minority of both sexes have reported decline in performance (3% for male; 2% for female). However, both sexes seemingly reported that there had not been a change in performance over the last twelve months (92% for female; 86% for male), see figure 40.

Analysis made on the basis of subdivisions regarding the performance of the formal justice system over the last twelve months, disclosed that all the respondents of
Farah Ali Guled (100%) and a little more than half (59%) of Halgan, along with a strong majority in Garboley (91%), Wabi-Xarey (96%) and 93% among the IDPs, were of the opinion that the formal justice system did not improve in the last twelve months. Though, 32% of the respondents in Halgan and merely 3% of the respondents of the IDPS bragged with an improvement (Fig.41).
3.3. GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

Since the collapse of the state, local communities in Somalia have resorted to nascent administration systems mainly to address security and political issues. With the advent of the federal system, clan based power sharing deals were practiced in many parts of the country including district levels to revive governance at every level.

Dolow, being a district, has a local administration that were nominated by their clan elders based on clan dynamics and configuration. This section will therefore, assess the awareness, the perception and participation of the people in governance related matters. It will also evaluate the performance of the local administration and the possible challenges hindering their performance.

3.3.1. Level of Deployment

The district has an all-male occupied local administration that is composed of seven (7) members who were formed through nomination by the Jubaland Administration in Kismayo.

According to the household survey, nearly half of the respondents were familiar with the presence of the district administration (49%) while almost similar number (45%) of the respondents did not know about the existence of the district administration. Only 5% of the respondents were uncertain about the presence of a district administration (Fig.42).

However in the qualitative discussions on governance, the youth discussants stated that they are aware of the administration because, “They normally deal with security and conflict resolution and issuing title deeds for land.”

A female discussant also stated that, “…in addition to security which is key to our safety, they [district administration] collaborate with NGOs and make advocacy issues.”

Across gender lines, male respondents were much aware about the presence of the district administration than their female counterparts 51% and 48% respectively. While almost similar proportions of both genders stated that a district administration did not exist. Women have also outnumbered in the percentages of those who reported that they did not know (7% vs. 4%). See figure 43.

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33 Youth, December 16, 2015.
34 Ibid.
Disaggregation by subdivision on the awareness of the presence of a district administration showed a thin difference between those who had been aware and those who have not been aware. With the exception of Garboley where 65% of the respondents mentioned to have been aware of the presence of an administration against 26% of those mentioned that a district administration was not present (Fig. 44).

3.3.2. Performance of the District administration

According to the household survey, “infrastructure” has been reported to be the major service that the district administration provides (74%), followed by sanitation services (64%) as illustrated in figure 45. The Deputy District Commissioner for Social Affairs contended that they have maintained roads, initiated and contributed in the establishment of a local airstrip in collaboration with DDG (Danish Demining Group) and installed solar lamps along the streets of the town getting 30% of the costs from Transition Initiative for Stabilization Project (TIS):

Even though we are weak in many aspects, we have tried to improve the district infrastructure by maintaining roads in the town. We also made an airstrip which will ease the movement problems. On the other hand, we installed solar lamps with 30% of the cost covered by TIS.\(^{35}\)

Commenting on the sanitation, the women FGD discussants said, “…the administration does a lot in sanitation activities by mobilizing all the subdivisions to voluntarily participate in cleaning campaigns in the district and preparing garbage pits”.\(^{36}\)

One in every ten respondents (22%) rated that the district does not offer any service. While those who mentioned that the district administration provided basic services such as water, health and education were 5%, 3% and 1% respectively. The Deputy District Commissioner claimed that for reasons related to budget and technical expertise, their service delivery have been limited.\(^{37}\)

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\(^{35}\) Deputy District Commissioner, December 21, 2015.

\(^{36}\) Women, December 17, 2015.

\(^{37}\) Deputy District Commissioner, December 21, 2015.
The NGOs also collaborate with the district administration to speak loud and in the form of advocacy during natural climates such as droughts, floods and disease outbreaks. Furthermore, the civil society participate in the community mobilization, “They [NGOs] also mobilize the community to take part in communal activities such as sanitation works.”

While security drained the energy and resources of the district administration, the administration is blamed to have forgotten other services that they should have provided or worried of, as explained by an elder “The administration does a lot in security which attracted NGOs in the district. But in fact, they have forgotten other services such as education, health and water”.

In response to this blame, the Deputy District Commissioner sated in his interview that the services they have not been able to provide such as education, health and water need huge and regular funding which is not in their coffers, while they keep security through voluntary means to a larger extent.

We do not pay salary to the security forces because we cannot afford, but occasionally we provide them some stipends we get from irregular taxation. But education and health services need bigger than that which we cannot afford.

Security has been graded as one of the lowest services given by the district administration. Conversely, according to the insights shared by the different focus groups as well as the interviews held with key informants, the district administration is highly involved in security related matters by organizing and deploying militias to combat extremism (Al-Shabaab), by providing extra police force, organising security task force meetings, collecting revenues to pay stipends to the non-salaried security forces and coordinating security issues with the NGOs in the district.

Commenting on the role of District Administration in security provision, an elder in the FGD remarked:

Despite the lack of budget and financial support from the federal and Jubaland governments, the district administration does a lot in making sure that Dolow is a safe place for everyone. And in fact they made that work, because I remember that a former District Commissioner Jowhar fled to Dolow and used to live here for some time during Abdullahi Yusuf’s (former president) era.

The relative peace in the district has attracted a handful of NGOs who provide the district with both humanitarian and development assistance. In particular, “The NGOs (DDG and TIS) have helped the administration to install street lamps, and establish an air strip to mention a few.”

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38 Elders, governance providers, justice providers, December 16, 19, 2015.
40 Deputy District Administration, December 21, 2015
41 Ibid
42 Women, December 17, 2015.
43 Elders, youth, December 16, 2015.
44 Deputy District Administration, December 21, 2015
3.3.3 Consultative Governance

3.3.3.1 Channels of Communication

Availability of communication channels is a major trajectory facilitating and improving participation in decision for collective governance. Coming to the respondents’ knowledge about the channels of communication between the community and the district administration, only 3% of all the respondents confirmed while 94% did not know and 3% never gave a response. The chart below shows the details (Fig 46).

Figure 46: Respondents’ awareness of channels of communication

When awareness of channels of communication was disaggregated by subdivision it was apparent that a great majority of the respondents did not know. For instance, 100% of the respondents in the IDPs and Wabi-Xarey subdivisions both reported that they did not know any channel, whereas 88% of the respondents in Farah Ali Guled did not know either. Only 9% in Halgan and 7% in Garboley subdivisions mentioned that they know the channels of communication. However, nearly one in every ten respondents in Farah Ali Guled and Garboley did not give any response (7% and 13% respectively). The figure below gives an overview (Fig. 48).

Separated by gender, none of the female respondents knew about those channels at 93% while the remaining 7% did not give a response. Thus, only 6% of the male respondents affirmed that they know the channels of communication between the district administration and the community (Fig. 47).
3.3.3.2. Participation of Local Governance Consultation Meetings

According to the chart below, only 2% of the respondents reported that they have participated in local consultations over the last twelve months. Majority of the respondents, however, have not attended (Fig. 49).

However, the Deputy District Commissioner mentioned in the KII that they hold weekly consultative meetings to discuss and update each other on pressing issues such as emergencies, for instance, the Elnino draught. This is what he had to say:

We hold a meeting in every Tuesday morning attended by committees of all sectors of the community to discuss about pressing issues and how to mitigate problems conferred. Sometimes, anyone can attend those meetings especially when we want a larger public attention.  

The gender dissection of the respondents who have attended consultation meetings over the last twelve months shows a major variation as is clear in the following graph. A great majority of the male respondents (94%) and a unanimous gesture of the women respondents (100%), voiced that they did not attend any consultation meeting (Fig. 50).

Looking at it differently, participation of consultation meetings by subdivision has also been very low as the following graph shows. A small portion of the respondents in Garboley and Wabi-Xarey (9% and 4% respectively) have reported that they did attend such meetings while all the respondents in the other subdivisions (Farah Ali Guled, Halgan and IDPs) have solidly reported that they did not participate in such meetings (Fig. 51).
There was symmetrical balance in the diverse portions of respondents regarding their frequency of participation in governance consultative meetings. Respondents who participated only once, three times or even more have all accounted to 33% across the bar as shown below (Fig. 52).

This was further substantiated by the elders’ FGD who remarked that electing them will improve the provision of service and ensure accountability:

“Yes! It is important to elect district administration members. Because they will be elected based on qualification and criteria, and they will be expected to deliver their responsibilities as they promise during the election.”46

Women discussants also pinpointed that elections will bring gender equality and form democratic society. But, “Al-Shabaab and clannism are the two enemies we have to achieve that dream!”47

Slicing symmetrically, majority of both male and female respondents (96% and 95% respectively), have reported that it is paramount for them to elect local officials. Small portions of both male and female respondents (4% and 3% respectively) however do not share that idea while 2% of female respondents did not give a definite response (Fig. 54).

46 Governance providers, December 19, 2015.
47 Women, December 17, 2015.
3.3.4. Pressing Needs in the Community

According to the quantitative data, unemployment is reported to be the most tenacious issue in the district hitting the highest in the scale by 83%, followed by inadequate access to the basic needs. Poor health (82%), poor education (81%), poor sanitation (72%), shortage of electricity (67%) and lack of infrastructure (65%) were mentioned as the most pressing community needs. At the bottom of the list lies Gender Based Violence, insecurity and lack of water narrated by 18%, 4% and 4% of the respondents respectively (Fig.56).

Farah Ali Guled subdivision respondents wholly (100%) reported that it is important to have the district administration elected. To the contrary, a small representation in the IDPs (3%), Wabi-Xarey (4%) and Halgan (14%) reckoned that it is not important to elect to have elected representatives (Fig.55).
Unemployment and its impact on Youth

A number of issues were mentioned to be the basis for this plight by a member of the youth discussants including injustice, inequality for opportunities, and shortage of resources as well as lack of infrastructure to create employment. This view was supplemented by an elder, “Unemployment is a serious threat in this district and that is why, our youth resorted to cross the desert and the sea.”

The local administration also sees the issue from security perspective saying that unemployment of the youth leaves a room for Al-Shabaab to recruit them, “It is not because of ideological plausibility that Al-Shabaab recruits our youth, rather it is a source of income for them and their families.” Elaborating further, he goes on:

The youth need so many things, like dowry to pay to the family of the prides. Al-Shabaab tells them that they will cover not only the dowry but all the expenses to marry four wives let alone one.49

Health and Education Needs

Health and education remain to be stressful challenge in the town. The qualitative participants also reiterated the serious need for both facilities. To start with health, the district has only one Maternal and Child Health (MCH) centre which is ill-equipped and understaffed. On the other hand, there are several clinics privately owned by individuals in the district.

Consequently, patients are sometimes forced to travel to the neighbouring towns of Kenya and Ethiopia to seek better medical attention while they cannot even afford

48 Elder, December 20, 2015.

49 Governance providers, December 19, 2015.
the expenses required. As an elder discussant informs, “We have to go to Dollo-Ethiopia and Mandera [Kenya] for simple cases that should have been treated here.” This seriously impacts their economy as they are forced to sell their assets or take loans from relatives and friends.

Labour and related complications risk the lives of women in Dolow. As they run away from lack of proper equipment they are susceptible to die on the poor roads. A discussant in the women group indicated that, “labouring mothers sometimes travel to as far as Mandera (Kenya) risking their lives and their babies’. Many of them passed away on the road”. 50

Education is another pressing need mentioned by all the focus groups as well as the key informants. There are several primary schools some of which are run by NGOs (DRC & World Vision), while other are privately owned. However, once a child completes the primary education in his home town, the only option he or she has is to cross borders to Kenya or Ethiopia or else drop out. This is because, the district never had any secondary school since established. Those who can afford or have got relatives supporting them, usually send their kids to neighbouring towns in Kenya and Ethiopia to join secondary education and proceed further.

Sanitation

Even though, sanitation has been selected as the most service provided by the district administration earlier, yet it remains as one of the most pressing issues in the district.

Poor farming and Dependency on relief

Even though it has two rivers running in its disposal, farming remains to be cumbersome in Dolow due to lack of proper farming equipment and expertise. Some NGOs distributed water generators and other farm tools, but they were inadequate compared to the need. As a result, the residents are economically affected leading to constant expectation of relief from NGOs. A key traditional elder informant stated:

We have two rivers, but we do not utilize them properly. They just end up in to the sea. There are a few farms alongside, and they produce less due to the lack of tools and skills to produce enough. 51

Poor Economy

The economy is also affected by the prevalence of draughts and the reduction of or the absence of seasonal rains. Some of the causes of the draught as mentioned by a youth discussant is the burning down of trees and forests for charcoal in order to curb economic problems. 52

3.3.5. Perception towards the District administration

3.3.5.1. Confidence in the District administration

Nearly similar portions of respondents mentioned that they had very high or fairly high confidence in the district administration (35% and 38% respectively). Comparatively, close two in every ten (17%) said that they had fairly low confidence while a small representation (4%), said that they had very low confidence. However, 6% of the respondents did not give a response (Fig 57).

50 Ibid

51 Elder, December 20, 2015.

52 Youth, December 16, 2015.
From gender perspective, 76% of the males and 70% of the females had high trust in the district administration. While, 25% of the females and 17% of the males had low trust in the district administration (Fig. 58).

When assessed on the level of confidence by subdivision, it was discerned that Farah Ali Guled and Halgan subdivisions had the highest level of confidence (45% each) followed by Garboley, Wabi-Xarey and the IDPS (36%, 28% and 28% respectively). Conversely, Wabi-Xarey had the highest number of respondents who said they had fairly high confidence (52%), followed by the IDPs, Farah Ali Guled and Halgan (43%, 39%, 35% and 18% respectively). In terms of the respondents who reported that they had fairly low or very low confidence level, a quarter of the IDPs (25%) took the rank and file, tracked by one fifth (20%) of Farah Ali Guled respondents, 13% in Garboley and 12% in Wabi-Xarey (Fig. 59).

3.3.5.2. Performance of the district administration

As far as this question was concerned, majority of the respondents did not give any response about whether the performance of the district administration did improve (52%). But, respondents just below the average (48%) gave their opinion as to the performance of the district administration compared to their previous year. Therefore only 2% of the respondents upheld that it improved whereas 46% have exceptionally denied any improvement (Fig. 60).
Assessed long the gender basis, a small minority (3%) of the male respondents reported that the performance of the local did improve in the course of the last twelve months, whereas 45% of the male respondents and 48% of female respondents reported no change in performance. Equal portions of the respondents were not sure, hence did not give any response (52% male and female respectively) (Fig 61).

District Administration cannot be singled out for performance without considering the informal providers such as the elders who support the formal providers in the provision of services including security. Discussants in the governance FGD alluded that the performance of the local elders is palatable for they prioritize and exert enormous efforts on security despite the challenges. He added, “Security is the main problem in Somalia and we complement our local administration for prioritizing on security because it is what attracted all these NGOs in the town.”

3.3.6. Avenues for Reform

The district does not have a mayor and a local council, instead it is governed by a District Commissioner who is in charge of the town and its environs. He and his officers were nominated by the Jubaland administration where Dolow is part of.

53 Governance, December 19, 2015.
The administrator and his officers prioritized security over social affairs for they believe that security is the base block for everything and that they are also engulfed by lack of budget source which hinders their ability to invest in basic service such as education and health.

3.3.7. Need for assistance

Dolow community and the administration both need a lot of assistance from their federal and regional government as well as NGOs in the following areas:

Education

Dolow has no secondary and tertiary education hence, some of the parents have to struggle sending their children to the neighboring countries while less fortunes ones have to drop out to begin to earn a living at a young stage or support his or her family. As a result, many of them got addicted to drugs while others wander joylessly. As an elder in the FGD contended:

Our main challenge is the lack of secondary school. Often, parents have to struggle to send their kids to other countries to continue studies by asking their relatives in abroad to support them. Many of the children are driven to drug abuse and criminal acts at a young stage.\textsuperscript{54}

Absence of post-primary schooling had been also raised in the Women FGD which poses security threat in the district:

There is absence of secondary schools in the district for the students who completed primary schools and there are parents who cannot support them financially to pursue their studies within the country or in the neighbouring countries. These idle unemployed young men and women are a threat to the security maintenance of the district and the current administration has no plans of interventions to these youth.\textsuperscript{55}

Unemployment

Unemployment leading to poverty is another area that needs to be addressed in Dolow, which could be done through the improvement of livelihoods. Some of the residents work in the farms to sustain their families, but they need to acquire farming skills, farming tools and equipment so as to produce marketable goods.\textsuperscript{56} We also need to be given vocational trainings and skills that could help the unemployed youth earn a living,” says the youth FGD member.\textsuperscript{57}

Health

The improvement of the health services was also raised. The town has only a single MCH which is understaffed and not equipped as required. Labouring mothers and other patients are sometimes forced to travel to neighbouring countries for better service and medication. Unfortunately, some of the labouring mothers have been reported to have lost their lives as they sought to deliver in Mandera, Kenya.\textsuperscript{58}

Therefore, the FGDs have asked for the elongation of the current MCH into a general hospital which could provide better medical attention.

Infrastructure

The airstrip which was established in collaboration with TIS needs to be elongated and improved to accommodate multiple flights as air flight is the only option to travel across the country.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{54} Elders, Governance, youth, December 16, 17, 2015.
\textsuperscript{55} Women, December 17, 2015.
\textsuperscript{56} Youth, December 16, 2015.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Women, op cit.
\textsuperscript{59} Elders, op cit.
4. CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

4.1. Experience of Conflict and Violence

Less than one in every ten (6%) of the respondents reported that they did witness conflicts between clans or groups. However, majority of the respondents (94%) said that they did not witness any conflict between clans or groups (Fig. 63).

Among those who witnessed conflicts, Garboley had the largest sample in terms of the occurrence of conflict (26%) followed by 8% in Wabi-Xarey. However, respondents in Farah Ali Guled, Halgan and IDPs did not mention the occurrence of any conflict in the last twelve months (Fig. 65).

Approximately one in every ten (10%) of the male respondents reported to have witnessed a conflict between clans in the last twelve months as compared to only 2% of female counterparts (Fig. 64).
4.2. Crime and Violence

Since 6% of the respondents have mentioned that they were aware of conflict as shown in figure 63 above, then it is paramount to further dig into those who had account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups – those who witnessed conflict as it takes place. Thus, 5% of the respondents reported that they witnessed conflict (Fig. 66).

Of the 5%, none of the female respondents mentioned to have witnessed any account of violence. Nonetheless, one in every ten of the male respondents affirmed that they did witness violence (Fig. 67).

Going into further analysis, 26% of respondents in Garboley and only 4% of the respondents in Wabi-Xarey reported that they witnessed accounts of violence (Fig. 68).

4.2.1 Experience in Conflict

Furthermore, nearly half of the respondents (43%) reported that that they have witnessed five incidences of conflicts, while equal portions of respondents (14% each) said that they witnessed accounts of violence for once and three times respectively. In addition, virtually three
in every ten (29%) also witnessed accounts of violence twice in the last twelve months (Fig. 69).

Figure 69: Number of conflicts witnessed (last 12 months)

However, 14% of the respondents said that 5 of the conflicts witnessed have led into violence, while another similar portion (14%) mentioned that 3 of those conflicts have led into a violent situation. Likewise, three in every ten (29%) reported 2 conflicts, while a great fraction (43%) of the respondents said that only one conflict did lead into violence (Fig. 70).

Figure 70: Number of conflicts leading to violence

Of the violent conflicts reported, 14% of the respondents reported that 10 violent conflicts have led to death, while two portions (29% each) said that 1 and 2 violent conflicts have led to death (Fig. 71).

Figure 71: Number of violent conflicts leading to death

Only one in every ten (10%) reported that they witnessed crime or violence against someone outside their homestead (Fig. 72).

Figure 72: Account of witnessing crime or violence outside the homestead

Along the lines of gender, the accounts of having witnessed crime or violence outside the homestead was higher in men (12%) than women (8%) as shown in the figure below (Fig. 73).

Figure 73: Account of witnessing crime or violence against someone outside the homestead
4.2.2. Dynamics of Conflict and Violence

“Dolow is relatively a peaceful town as compared to other parts of the country.” However, survey respondents identified a variety of reasons that play a major role in causing and triggering violence. For instance, Conflicts driven by revenge attributes were mentioned to be the major cause (57%) for those violent conflicts that some of them even led to murder.

This was seconded by family disputes and dispute over resources which accounted for 29% each. Lack of justice and crime were also some of the causes that led to violent conflicts (14% each) as shown in the figure (Fig. 74).

Land: A major cause of conflicts

As per the household survey, revenge killing was the highest in rank as being the most prevalent cause of conflict seconded by family disputes. Resources have been placed as the third in the list (Fig. 74). However, the qualitative discussions and key informant interviews seemed to be overwhelmed by “land disputes” as the main cause of conflicts in the district. As an elder succinctly informed:

In most instances, the causes of conflicts in the district are based on resources such as land for commercial gains and even communal land for grazing. Not so often, but sometimes, revenge killings and lack of justice for some cases also cause conflict.  

Another elder elaborates how land is a safety concern:

The town was always a victim of conflicts between militia, insurgents and even states and so it was deserted many times left with ramshackle and ashes. So, returnees might come back while their plot of land has been taken by someone or even constructed, and their titles deeds were burnt or lost in the

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60 Elders, December 20, 2015.

61 Ibid
conflicts. Sometimes, it is not a surprise to see a lot of different people fighting over the same piece of land.\textsuperscript{62}

Aside from that, “land is a commercial fortune, an area of investment and also the source of income for brokers”,\textsuperscript{63} Says an elder. Thus, competition for its possession often leads to conflict between individuals and might later involve clans.

Land acquisition is engulfed by corruption, nepotism and a competition for clan dominance within the town. Hence, by no surprise every new administration nullifies title deeds that were issued by the outgoing administration by claiming that they were wrongly distributed, “….and that is why you might see different registration certificates for the same piece of land”.\textsuperscript{64}

A part from commercial lands, farming and grazing lands are also a concern in the district often costing time and energy from the elders, administration and religious leaders as well.

Demarcation between plots of farms might disappear over time or might be swept away by floods. Or in the cases of conflicts, those who win or remain might get several plots of lands and then sums up to make a big one. Later in the time, previous owners might return only to find that their farms have disappeared. Hence, regaining their land might trigger conflict that will not be easy to resolve.\textsuperscript{65}

Another discussant informed that, “Shepherds might graze his cattle in someone’s farm or he might fence a whole lot of land to reserve for his cattle during the draught.”\textsuperscript{66} He goes on, “On the other hand, one might fence a water point along the river and start farming all these illegal acts encourage conflicts.”\textsuperscript{67}

Family Disputes are also part of the safety concerns and the causes of conflicts. This involves, a wife complaining about her husband for not providing the bills. This was compounded by the rampant use of drugs including chat and Hashish which will not only result in depleting personal savings and resources but contribute to family disputes and inspirations to join extremist to pay the bills. It also includes family members disputing over inheritance fortunes.

Flawed Justice

Lack of justice has been mentioned in both the quantitative and qualitative data gathering. This happens due to the lack of proper judicial system.

Some people might fear the judgements of the religious leaders and approach elders who conclude cases in simplistic normalcy or through traditional customs. As a result, they might knowingly or unknowingly dishearten one of the plaintiffs who might resort to violence.\textsuperscript{68}

Crime

Even though it is ranked at the bottom of the list as per the quantitative data, discussants and informants qualified crime as one of the causes of conflicts ranging from cattle raids, looting of cattle, rape, murder, and property theft.

The presence of armed groups, such as government militias formed through clan contribution and Al-Shabaab forces are not only direct sources of conflict but an obstacle to the socio-economic welfare of the communities. “Sometimes, a militia man might deliberately or accidentally kill his mate or a civilian, this will trigger violence.”\textsuperscript{69}

4.2.3. Victims of Violence and Conflict

According to some participants in the focus group discussions, youth have been pointed out being the first victims as they lose their lives or incur injuries. Elders

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{66} Justice providers, December 19, 2015.
\textsuperscript{67} Governance providers, December 19, 2015.
\textsuperscript{68} Religious leader, December 20, 2015.
\textsuperscript{69} Ibid.
highlighted that women and children were vulnerable on the fact that they cannot defend themselves. Women also mentioned that they become vulnerable once they lose their husbands and sons.

4.3. Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution in Dolow is a major activity collectively engaged by the elders, religious leaders and the local administration as was mentioned by all the focus groups. For instance, a youth participant tells, “Elders are the central players in conflict resolution by using the customary laws [Xeer system]”. The same view was shared by the women group discussants:

Whenever there is a conflict between individuals or communities, the elders are notified to prevent escalation and intervene. If it is an issue involving different clans, then representatives from those clans sit and talk.

Many at times, the elders are voluntary and they get notified through another elder or one or both of the conflicting parties may inform them in respect. Paying attention to the respect owed and their ideal morality makes them to immediately get to solve that problem.

Another factor that influences their intervention is the clan sensitivity in the district. Hence, concluding cases through mutual understanding is an integral issue. Therefore, the police might refer cases to the elders due to the lack of proper judicial system in the district. One of the elders’ focus group discussants had to say:

We work very closely with the police especially when there are compensations to be made or even ordinary cases due to the lack of proper judicial system and the sensitivity of clan dynamics. In such cases, they prefer elders who will conclude cases on mutual understanding.

It is not only the elders that are involved in conflict resolution, religious leaders are also key players in this matter using the sharia law. But they do not get involved with every incident as one of the group discussants expressed.

Mostly elders are involved with most of the cases, but those who fear injustice come to our attention and we solve their cases based on the shari’ah which is stipulated in the Qur’an and other references.

The local administration gets involved when the conflict escalates and the elders as well as religious leaders fail to solve it. In this case, they use the police and other security forces in the district to deter the perpetrators.

4.4. Perception of safety

Majority (95%) of the household respondents said that they feel safe as opposed to 5% who mentioned that they are unsafe as shown in the figure below figure (Fig.75).

Figure 75: Perception of safety in the area

From gender perspectives, less women (92%) feel that they are very safe/safe than men (97%) who feel the same. Similarly, more female (8%) feel rather unsafe than their male counterparts (3%), see figure 76.

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70 Elders, December 20, 2015.
71 Women, December 17, 2015.
72 Elders, December 20, 2015.
73 Justice providers, December 19, 2016.
It is worth to note that security and safety provision is not a role that is confined to the police and other formal security agencies that exist in the district, but rather, according to the elders’ focus group, “It is a task for the whole community and all the diverse sectors of the communities are regularly involved in maintaining security.”

The youth also added that they take some preventive measures to make sure that their town is safe:

*We notify the police immediately when we see unfamiliar people. The residents also inform the police about visitors or relatives who come to see them. Taxi drivers should register passengers at the police station.*

However, some of the discussants were worried about the fragility of the safety they maintained due to the absence of effective government. Al-Shabaab is a constant threat they fear of, and their security forces are ill-equipped and lack proper trainings and salaries to boost their morale. A woman discussant laments:

*We live in a fragile security because everyone is a volunteer. The security forces (Police, Military & Intelligence) work without any salary. They could anytime defect or they could sell their weapons and bullets or they may be involved in criminal activities.*

Nearly three in every ten (28%) of the household survey respondents mentioned that there is an increase in safety as compared to the previous year (2014), while a great majority (68%) believed that it remained the same. Worth to mention is that 5% of the respondents reported that it has decreased (Fig. 77).

As the graph below illustrates, more men (33%) than women (21%) mentioned that safety had increased as compared to less men (3%) than women (7%) who said that safety decreased. On the other hand, more women (72%) than men (64%) reported that there is no change in safety measures (Fig. 78).

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74 Governance providers, December 19, 2015.
75 Youth, December 16, 2015.
76 Women, December 17, 2015.
Despite with varying degrees, all the subdivisions, Halgan, Garboley, Farah Ali Guled, Wabi-Xarey and IDPs conveyed an increase in safety (64%, 26%, 15%, 20%, 20% respectively), eventhough some of them reported with high figures that it did not change. However, some respondents in Garboley (4%), Wabi-Xarey (4%) and IDPs (10%) believed that there is a decrease in safety compared to the previous year (Fig. 79).
5. CONCLUSION

Through the assessment we came to realize that Dolow is relatively a stable place where everyone among the community has a story about how they brought and maintained that normalcy and peace.

However, lack of financial abilities and logistics ranging from the lack of salaries to the unavailability of vehicles, bullets and weapons is something they painfully have to grapple with often afraid of the fragility of their security dominion.

The only operating court in the district is one that functions in accordance with the Shari’ah law presided by a judge with his justice commission mainly composed of the most popular religious clerics in town. The shari’ah court was established by one of the former district administrative bodies to mitigate violence, address justice and tackle criminality in the district. Thus, it deals with land and family disputes, revenge killings, drugs and criminality, all addressed through what is locally known as *mashaqo-dhaqan*\(^7\). The court works in association with the elders and the police to enforce judgements made. The justice system in general and the court in particular need to be assisted in the provision of salaries, office and office facilities, qualified and competent staffing as well as capacity building.

Moreover, the district does not have a local council and is governed by an administrator with a team of officers. They have done some infrastructural activities in the town (an air strip and solar lamps) in collaboration with TIS and DDG. However, there is the need to improve them regularly which is beyond their capacity.

Despite the poor educational standards, the town never had any secondary school in its life time, forcing students to drop out at a young age. Hence, some parents sell their meagre assets to help their kids study in the neighbouring countries or even beg relatives in the diaspora for help whereas those who run out of options, are left stranded hiking the rate of unemployment, criminality and drug abuse.

On top of that, the health facilities in the town are of substandard and inadequate where the only available health facilities are an MCH for the whole district and several privately owned clinics. The gap, in this regard, arises from the absence of the federal government and the regional governments roles. Hence, the people still live in the olden days of state failure, as such urging their governments to move ahead and stand for their people.

Even though, the district has been branded safe to an extent that attracted humanitarian and development assistance, there are the habitual disputes on both commercial and farm lands, inheritance and business. Criminal activities such as revenge killings, strategic murder, assault and drug abuse have also been part of the dynamics of the conflicts in Dolow. However, no matter the magnitude, both formal and informal security providers have always been there to manage conflicts in their *mashaqo-dhaqan methodology* without salaries, tips or even stipends and lack of acknowledgement. In here, the role of the government is enormously absent and people expect them to deliver services, pay salaries and boost the fallen economy.

The people of Dolow have shown resilience towards conflicts and they decided to live in peace. But they are stranded in the next step to straddle towards development. On their part they are ready with utmost community participation in every activity, but they lack anyone willing to invest in the future. Their biggest needs include, the improvement of the quality of education in general and the provision of secondary school in particular. They also need to be given job creation schemes for the youth to make abstain from criminality and drug abuse.

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\(^7\) issues that they deal with on daily basis that receive...
6. ANNEXES

6.1. Sample Size Formula

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

Where:
- \( z \) = confidence interval (95%)
- \( P \) = P-Value which assumed some security correlation within the cluster (0.3)
- \( f \) = is the sample design effect (1.5)
- \( e \) = the margin of error to be attained (+ or – 9%)
### 6.2 Glossary of Terms

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

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