Comparative District Conflict and Security Assessment Report for Odweyne 2012/2016

OBSERVATORY OF CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE PREVENTION
Comparative District Conflict and Security Assessment Report for Odweyne District 2012/2016
Introduction

Since its establishment in 2009 the Observatory of Conflict and Violence Prevention\(^1\) (OCVP) has worked with local and international stakeholders to measure and evaluate progress in peace-building and state-building in all regions of Somaliland and Somalia. In an effort aimed at supporting evidence-led policy formulation and programming, the OCVP regularly undertakes district level data collection and consequently disseminates research publications. The District Conflict and Security Assessment (DSCA) Reports are OCVP’s flagship publications.

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

While the continual assessment of issues regarding justice, governance and security is critical for the formulation of sound policies and interventions - equally important is the generation of data that compares year-over-year trends in order to shed light on what may and may not work as well as the challenges in a particular target district. Through the support of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for Somalia and later the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (DFID), the OCVP was able to conduct district level assessments in the district of Odweyne during the years of 2012 (Wave 1) and 2016 (Wave 2). The purpose of this report is to compare key results of the assessments conducted during the two periods.

District Profile

The town of Odweyne (Oodweyne in Somali) is officially the administrative capital of Odweyne District of the Togdheer Region in Somaliland.\(^2\) It is also regarded as the capital of the DaadhMadheeh Region\(^3\) – one of the regions created in 2008, which at the time of writing, were yet to be ratified by the parliament.

Odweyne is a Grade B District with a local government, which is comprised by 17 local councillors, led by a Mayor elected locally. It lies approximately 57 kilometres from Burao, the capital of Togdheer Region. The region, which is popular for pastoralism, hosts over 60 villages.

Before the fall of the Siad Barre regime, the city was an important base for the Somali National Army. The strategic importance of this base made it the location of fierce fighting between the Somali National Army and the Somali National Movement in the late 1980s.

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\(^1\) Website: [www.ocvp.org](http://www.ocvp.org)
\(^2\) According to the Regions and Districts (Self-Management) Law (Law No: 23/2002).
\(^3\) According to a presidential decree in 2008
Methodology and Possible Limitations

Wave 1 and Wave 2 of the District Conflict and Security Assessments for Odweyne were conducted in 2012 and 2016 respectively. Both Assessments employed a mixed method research approach that included both quantitative (household survey) and qualitative (focus group discussions and key informant interviews) means to gauge the public perception of the state of security, justice, governance as well as general stability of the district. However, it is worth mentioning that the 2016 assessment was carried out with the use of a number of improved research tools and techniques that included:

- The use of a sampling formula in 2016. During the research activity for the 2012 report, the research team randomly surveyed 80 respondents. A methodology review workshop with stakeholders in 2013 highlighted the need to increase the precision of estimates so as to arrive at more statistically significant results. As a result, the formula was employed to determine a more representative sample size for the district during the 2016 assessment and a total of 175 respondents were surveyed.

- Updated questionnaires, which avoided some of the ambiguity and vague questions that were identified in the 2012 assessment, were used in the 2016 research activities.

- Improved research questions – for both qualitative and quantitative data – were re-worked to better complement each other and generate in-depth information on the topic; something that was not the case with the 2012 research questions.

- Smart-phones with mobile data collection software developed by Open Data Kit (ODK) were used by the enumerators to administer the 2016 survey, while in 2012 conventional paper and pen quantitative data collection methods were employed.

While these changes may have resulted in an improvement in the quality of the data collected, it is essential to recognise that they are likely to have had an adverse impact on the ability and confidence with which one can compare the two datasets. With this in mind, however, the data provided from 2012 and 2016 can still provide some indication of potentially changing trends in the areas covered.

Survey Participants

The Wave 1 assessment included a sample of 80 respondents, while the Wave 2 assessment included a sample of 175 respondents in the household surveys. The following presents an overview of the demographic profile of respondents for each assessment.

Gender

In regard to gender, while in both waves there was a greater portion of female respondents than that of male respondents, the difference in proportion was lesser in the Wave 2 assessment (58%: female v 42%: male) than it was in the Wave 1 assessment (64%: female v 36%: male). See figure 1 and Table 1.
Figure 1: Distribution of respondents by gender

Table 1: Number of participants by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants’ gender</th>
<th>Waves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Age

In Wave 1 the respondents who was between thirty years and fifty years made up more than one half of the entire pool (52%: 30-39:28% and 40-49:24%), while in the Wave 2 assessment it was the respondents who was between twenty and forty years of age that made up more than 50% of the sample (52%: 20-29:27% and 30-39:25%). The biggest variations in the composition of age groups was observed in the increase of respondents aged 20-29 from 14% in Wave 1 to 27% in Wave 2. There was also a sharp reduction of the proportion of non-responses from 9% in Wave 1 to mere 1% in Wave 2.

Figure 2: Respondents’ age groups
Marital Status

The majority of the respondents in both assessments reported that they were married, although it is observed that there was an increase in the proportion of married respondents in Wave 2 (77% v 61% in Wave 1). Likewise, there was a corresponding decrease in the proportion of respondents reporting that they were single from 33% in Wave 1 to 21% in Wave 2 (Fig. 3.).

Figure 3: Respondents’ marital status

Perceived Performance of Security, Justice and Governance Providers

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

In both District Conflict and Security Assessments, the Police were observed to be the main formal security provider in Odweyne District. However due to the large size of the area of operation and limited resources, they cooperate with informal entities such as the traditional elders, religious leaders and the local authority in the provision of security to the community. There is only one police station located in Sha’abka Subdivision and serving as the central station for the entire district. As most respondents interviewed in both assessments were residents of the urban and peri-urban areas of Odweyne, most of them indicated that it would take them less than twenty minutes to walk to the police station (82%: Wave 1 and 85%: Wave 2). The limited number of police stations was observed to be most severely felt in areas further out for the urban centre and it was in such instances that informal service providers were said to intervene. A participant in a focus group discussion with justice providers during the Wave 2 assessment remarked:

“If police is present in the scene they take action on the matter, if the crime is committed and police is not present, elders deal with the issues and report back to the police”.

Awareness of the Police

The level of awareness of the existence of the police continued to be as high in Wave 2 (99%) as it had been in Wave 1 (98%). While a nominal portion of respondents in the initial assessment (3%) had claimed that there were no police during the Wave 1 assessment, none of the respondents in the latter assessment thought there were no police, and only 1% stated that they did not know whether or not the police were present in Odweyne. See Figure 4.

Figure 4: Awareness of the police presence

![Chart showing awareness of police presence in Wave 1 and Wave 2]

Reporting Preference: Security Matters

In both assessments, the police were repeatedly mentioned as the formal security provider by the majority of respondents. The respondents preferred the police for reporting security incidence of a

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4 Justice Providers, Focus Group Discussion, February 12, 2016
Civil nature as well as those involving either petty offences or serious crimes. During the Wave 2 assessment respondents were further asked to state whom among the various security providers they trusted the most to respond to crimes and violence, and a clear majority (77%) intimated that they trusted the police most. They were further asked to state their reasons for this trust and more than one half (59%) of those, who had stated the police as their most trusted security provider, went on to state that it was because of the relative fast response of the police. Of those who had mentioned traditional elders (15%), slightly more than a third (37%) gave their unbiased enforcement as the reason for their trust while close to one quarter (22%) each stated fast response and ease of access.

Civil Matters

While the police remained the most popular security provider to whom respondents indicated they would report to in the case of civil matters; their popularity saw a marked decline when comparing the answers from 2012 and 2016. In Wave 1 80% mentioned them, in comparison to 62% in Wave 2. The court was in both instances the second most popular reporting agent (18%: Wave 1 vs 21%: Wave 2), while the local authority and traditional leaders – both of whom had not been mentioned in the initial assessment – made an appearance in the latter assessment at 9% and 6% respectively. In both assessments the religious leaders were only mentioned by a small minority (3%: Wave 1 v 1%: Wave 2) Figure 5 illustrates.

Figure 5: Reporting preference for civil matters

Petty Crimes

Upon being asked to whom they would prefer to report in the instance of petty crimes, all the respondents in the Wave 1 assessment had replied that they would report to the police, while in the Wave 2 assessment the preference was spread out across all providers, although the police still held a majority of 78%. The local authority was mentioned by 16%, while a only a small portion of the
sample mentioned the court, religious leaders and traditional leaders– 3%, 1% and 1% respectively. See Figure 6.

Figure 6: Reporting preference for petty crimes

![Bar chart showing reporting preferences for petty crimes](chart_url)

**Serious Crimes**

Likewise, whereas in the Wave 1 assessment all the respondents had indicated that they would prefer to report serious crimes to the police, in the second wave the preferences were spread out across the providers. The police retained the highest popularity at 74%, followed by traditional leaders at 13%, the court at 10% and the local authority at only 2%. Religious leaders were not mentioned to be a preference for reporting serious crimes in either of the assessments. Figure 7 illustrates.
Figure 7: Reporting preference for serious crimes

Challenges facing the police

During the wave 1 assessment only the Deputy Police Commissioner explained in detail the challenges faced by the police in Odweyne. Speaking as a key informant, he surmised that the lack of communication equipment for the police was among the safety concerns facing the community. In the Wave 2 assessment, key informant interviewees and focus group discussants canvassed some perennial issues with relation to their adverse effect on the efficiency of security provision.

Insufficiency of police officers/stations

During the second wave assessment, the police commissioner told that the number of police officers were not proportional to the security needs in the district. This, in fact, had an adverse effect on police services. He explained:

_There is a shortage of police officers in the area. The number of police is not proportional to the security needs in the area._

Lack of transportation

The lack of proper transportation facilities was an obstacle for the police to execute their mandate. In a key informant interview the Police Commissioner stated:

_We have only one vehicle which belongs to the District headquarter, but the police station has none. We use that one with them. At the present the vehicle is away as it was taken to a mission last night. Sometimes, when there is no car at our disposal, we use private cars._

Community participation as a mitigating factor

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5 Odweyne Police Commissioner, Key Informant Interview, February 13, 2016
6 Ibid
Despite the challenges faced by the police, the members of the community in Odweyne were observed to have been proactive with regards to their own security. There was observed an unprecedented level of awareness and interaction between the local community and the formal security providers. For instance, it was stated that many members of the public kept the contact numbers of the police and thus were able to report security incidences as they occurred. A participant in the justice providers’ focus group discussion during the Wave 2 assessment stated:

“If any act of insecurity occurs, people report to police and they have police commissioner’s telephone number. All community in Odweyne and nearby villages have the contact of police and they report back if any violence happens and police respond promptly.”

Ordinary members of the society were said to be actively involved in the maintenance of peace and security within the district:

“Local people arrest the criminal by themselves till police reaches the scene or they help the police in search of the wrongdoers. This happens many times.”

It was explained that the community played a vital complementary role to the police in the prevention of crime and the apprehension of wrongdoers, thereby easing the burden, which the insufficient and ill equipped police would otherwise have had to bear. One participant in the women focus group discussion from the Wave 2 assessment noted:

“The police and the community give a hand to each other. Security is not left for the police, local authority or to the government, but rather the community gives a support to maintain its security. Community is the first to act when there is insecurity by arresting the perpetrator and handing him over to the police.”

Furthermore, the informal justice system was observed to be highly organised and actively involved in the provision of justice and security services in collaboration with the formal entities. A major part of this informal system was numerous village committees, which were comprised by a village head and representatives from the local sub-clans, who lived in a given village and whose names were submitted to the formal authorities for purposes of collaboration on security and justice provision.

The Police Commissioner further highlighted this collaboration:

“Our work relationship with traditional elders is good. They even go to places we do not have access to reach… In the cases where they fail to settle we take due process of law and the law settles.”

Level of Trust in the Police

As a result, the overall approval of the police remained largely similar in both assessments. A cumulative 90% of the respondents in the Wave 2 assessment, compared to 87% in the Wave 1 assessment expressed either very high or fairly high levels of trust towards the police in responding to crime and violence. On the other hand, a combined 12% had indicated either fairly low or very low levels of trust in the Wave 1 assessment, as opposed to 9% in the Wave 2 Assessment. See Figure 8.

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7 Justice providers, February 12, 2016.
8 ibid.
9 Women, Focus Group Discussion, February 11, 2016.
10 Elders and Religious Leaders, Focus Group Discussion, February 11, 2016
Justice

Odweyne has one District Court that was elevated to serve as both a District and Regional Court (Gobol/Degmo) in November 2014. At the time of the second assessment this court was the only resident court serving the entire district, however, from time to time the High Court and the Court of Appeal would visit Odweyne as mobile courts. According to the Odweyne District/Regional Court Commissioner:

There is only one District/Regional Court, we worked as a District Court but since November, 2014 the court status was elevated. There is no Court of Appeal here, but both the court of appeal and High Court come to us as a mobile courts occasionally.\(^\text{12}\)

Before the 2014 elevation of the court, residents of Odweyne had to travel all the way to Burao for matters that fell beyond the jurisdiction of the District Court. The elevation was a positive development for the people in Odweyne, who now could file their cases here. The Court Commissioner substantiated this statement:

It reduced the pressure from the people, because they used to use the service of Burao Regional Court but now they file their cases with the Regional Court here.\(^\text{13}\)

However, at the time of the Wave 2 assessment there was clearly still some need for the appropriation of additional resources to the formal courts, as the lack of a separate courthouse or judiciary offices meant that the two courts had to share a single room built in the colonial days. As stated by participants in a focus group discussion;

The Regional/District Court are the same, they share the same room, and it is called as Gobol/Degmo [Regional/District] Court. The court uses one single room left by the British colony…\(^\text{14}\)

\(^\text{12}\) Court Commissioner, Key Informant Interview, February 13, 2016

\(^\text{13}\) Ibid.

\(^\text{14}\) Ibid.
Awareness of the Court

In the Wave 1 assessments nearly all the respondents (95%) had been aware of the existence of the court. By the second assessment that portion had increased further to 100%. (Figure 9). Moreover, whereas 72% of the respondents in the Wave 1 assessment had indicated that it would take twenty minutes or less for them to walk to the court, in the Wave 2 assessment the portion that intimated the same spatial accessibility to the court made up 84% or the sample.

Figure 9: Respondents’ awareness of the existence of courts

Use of Justice Providers

Within the year preceding each of the assessments, traditional elders were the most utilised justice provider as per the household surveys (13%: Wave 1 and 19%: Wave 2). Religious elders remained the second most utilised provider for issues of justice in both assessments (10%: Wave 1 and 8%: wave 2) while the court was third in both instances, albeit with a marked increase in usage from 5% in wave 1 to 10% in wave 2 (Figure 10).

As indicated in the section above, the informal justice system was evidently active in both security and justice provision, with well-established structures such as the village committees forming a vital nexus between the enforcement capabilities of the formal justice system and the far-reaching accessibility of the informal system. The large community surrounding the town of Odweyne was predominantly rural pastoralist in nature, with an attachment to tradition and customary norms. This conservatism, when juxtaposed against the centralised nature of formal justice and its numerous constraints, had made it easier to maintain the trusted systems that had served the pastoralists for ages. Speaking to this, the Court Commissioner who spoke as a key informant during the Wave 2 assessment pointed out, **People love the traditional justice because they are connected to their tradition which has survived over the years**.15

Figure 10: Use of justice providers

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14 Youth, Focus Group Discussion, February 11, 2016.
15 Ibid.
Issuance and Enforcement of Judgments

The effectiveness of the various justice providers was also measured, and there was an observed increase in the overall rates of issuance and enforcement of judgements. For the courts, there was an increase from 75% in Wave 1 to 82% in Wave 2 and for religious leaders there was also an increase from 63% in Wave 1 to 86% in Wave 2 while among those who had used traditional elders, the rate of issuance and enforcement remained high, only going down one percentage point from 80% in Wave 1 to 79% in Wave 2 (See Table 2).

Table 2: Issuance and enforcement of judgements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entities that were consulted on matters of justice</th>
<th>Judgments issued and enforced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Elders</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Leaders</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perception of Justice Providers

Although the respondents from the Wave 1 were not asked whom among the various justice providers they trusted the most to solve cases, group discussions highlighted a general level of antipathy towards the formal courts, expressing fears that the only way one could succeed in these forums was to bribe or otherwise corrupt the court officials. In the course of the Wave 1 assessment, one of the participants in the women focus group discussion told that, “the courts need deep pockets”\(^{16}\)

When respondents in the household survey conducted during the Wave 2 assessment were asked to state who among the justice providers they trusted the most in solving cases, four-in-ten and more (43%) mentioned traditional elders. One quarter (25%) mentioned courts and one fifth (20%) said the religious leaders, while 9% could not make up their minds and only 1% trusted none of the

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\(^{16}\) *Odweyne Women, Focus Group Discussion, 14th October 2012*
justice providers. Among those who had mentioned traditional elders, reliability, ease of access, fair judgement, fast decisions and their low cost were the main reasons proffered for the trust. Fair judgements and fast decisions were the most cited reasons for trust in the courts while fair judgement was also the most mentioned reason for trust in the religious leaders.

During the latter assessment about one half (52%) of the respondents felt that the performance of the formal court had improved, whereas 16% felt that it had not changed compared to the year prior to the exercise. Only 3% felt that there had been a decline in performance, while almost one third (29%) stated that they did not know, or chose not to answer, whether or not the performance of the court had changed.

Challenges Faced by the Formal Justice System

The proactive collaboration between the community, the informal justice system and the formal justice system had gone a long way in ameliorating the adverse effects of the challenges faced by the latter system. However, the formal system still faced some challenges that were believed to be in need of addressing in order to foster a more independent, self-reliant and thereby effective provision of justice. The lack of facilities for the judiciary, which meant that the Regionl Court and the District court shared a single room, was one of the main challenges. Another challenge was the lack of a prison and a permanent Court of Appeal. Despite of the marked improvement in wave 2, the elements of the formal justice system were highly overstretched, given the size of the community. The Court Commissioner stated:

> There are around 60 villages under the ambit of the Odweyne court(s) and yet we do not have the facilities, you see that we use one room built by the British colony, no cars are available to us. People are pastoralists and they need that you go to them in their localities.  

Furthermore, it was also felt by the elders and religious leaders that the progressive urbanization occurring in the region and the advent of contemporary crimes had a deteriorating effect on the effectiveness of the informal justice system mechanisms.  

Confidence in the Formal Justice System

Despite the marked increase in usage observed with regard to the court (see figure 10) as well as the high levels of trust associated with the police regarding to response to crime and violence (see figure 8), there was a slight reduction in the proportions of respondents expressing confidence in the formal justice system as a whole, going from 83% in Wave 1 to 66% in Wave 2. The portion of respondents stating outright that they had no confidence in the formal justice system increased from 8% in Wave 1 to 15% in Wave 2. It is noteworthy however, to observe that the non-response rate increased twofold from 10% in Wave 1 to 20% in Wave 2. Figure 11 illustrates.

Figure 11: Confidence in the formal justice system

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17 Court Commissioner, February 13, 2016.
18 Elders and Religious leaders, February 11, 2016
Governance

Odweyne is classified as a Grade B district under the Regions and Districts (Self-Management) Law of Somaliland. In accordance with this, the district has a local council, which comprises 17 elected members, one of whom is female. Amongst themselves the councillors has elected a Mayor and his Deputy.

Awareness of the Council and its Role

During the Wave 1 assessment about one half (51%) of the respondents in the household survey stated that they were familiar with their local representatives, whereas all (100%) of the respondents in the Wave 2 assessment acknowledged the presence of the Local Council in the district. Most respondents who were aware of the council during the Wave 2 assessment could state at least one service that the council provides. Sanitation and infrastructure development and maintenance were the services most readily attributed to the local council. Respondents also mentioned health, water, education, security and aid distribution as some of the services they believed the council provided. However, a significant proportion (30%) claimed that the council has provided no services that they were aware of. Amore detailed overview of the respondents’ opinions on service provision is offered below in table 4.

Issues Facing the Community

In both assessments, the respondents provided some highlights on the most pressing needs within the community. Most notably, almost all (95%) of the respondents in the Wave 2 assessment pointed out lack of water as one of the most pressing needs facing the community, this portion had risen from about half (51%) in the Wave 1 assessment. Another notable variation was observed among those who (also) pointed out poor health as a concern, that portion had risen from 1% in Wave 1 to 53% in Wave 2. There was also an increase in the portion of the respondents that reported lack of infrastructure as a pressing need, from 4% in Wave 1 to 37% in Wave 2. Also, there was an increase in the portion of respondents stating drought as a concern (3%: Wave 1 to 23%: Wave 2). Poor sanitation remained a concern for 29% (Wave 1) and 26% (Wave 2) of the respondents. See table 3 for a more detailed overview.

Table 3: Most Pressing Local Issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most pressing local issues</th>
<th>Waves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of water</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drought</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of infrastructure</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor sanitation</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor health</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Education</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortage of electricity supply</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor economy</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charcoal production/deforestation</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender-based violence</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Participation in Local Government Consultations**

The level of participation in local governance consultations remained the same across the two assessment periods, with 14% of the respondents in each of the waves reporting that they had participated in consultations and 86% in both instances reporting that they had not. Figure 12 illustrates.

Speaking about communication channels between the council and members of the community during the Wave 2 assessment, the Secretary of the Local Council informed the OCVP researchers that the council has once a year hosted meetings with members of the community “We discuss the work we (local council) has done and we show the community our achievements and they ask questions”.19

**Figure 12: Participation in local government consultations**

![Participation in local government consultations](image)

**Opinions Regarding the Importance of Elected Local Officials**

Overall, the importance of having elected government official representing the community at the district level appeared to be more popular in the Wave 2 assessment where a majority of 86% of the respondents had answered in the affirmative, compared to 70% in the Wave 1 assessment. However, the portion of those who stated that they did not believe it was important to have elected representatives remained almost the same (14% in wave 1 and 13% in wave 2) while the rate of non-responses dropped from 6% in Wave 1 to 1% in Wave 2. See figure 13.

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19 Local Council Secretary, February 13, 2016.
In the wave 2’s qualitative discussions, whenever the youth, women and the governance and justice focus groups were queried on the importance of having elected representatives at the local governance level, they all unanimously agreed that it was important. Accountability and being an antidote to clan rivalry were the key factors in supporting the election system, “The previous Odweyne local council was nominated on clan basis and they were not accountable...But, we can go to this administration and hold them to account...Because we elected them.”

Perception of the Council’s Performance

As with other governmental entities, severe resource restrictions were said in both waves to have been limiting factors to the effective administration of local governance in Odweyne. During the Wave 1 assessment, it was recommended that the government should start to collect taxes in order to obtain resources for infrastructural investments, public services (such as garbage collection), and improvement of health services. By the time of the second assessment, some taxation measures had been put in place, though they still fell short of the required resources. In a focus group discussion with the governance providers it was said that one of the major blockades to effective tax administration was the archaic legal framework that did not take into account the grassroots realities of the community. They also pointed to the lack of a livestock market, which lead to loss of potentially lucrative tax on livestock that instead went to larger cities such as Hargeisa and Burao, even when the livestock had originated from Odweyne. One participant stated:

*If we had a market, then our animals would not go to Hargeisa and Burao markets. They [markets in Hargeisa and Burao] most refer to article 12 of taxation that was drafted during the former President (Egal). There are new taxation articles, which were drafted after article 12 but they are not implemented. People will refuse our taxation because we do not have a market and will accept the taxation of areas that have markets.*

The services that was most associated with the local council was sanitation and infrastructure mentioned by respectively 52% and 23% of the respondents in Wave 1 and 38% and 37%

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20 Governance Providers, February 12; Women, February 11; Youth, February 11; Justice, February 12, 2016.
22 Governance, February 12, 2016.
respectively in Wave 2. Notably, a significant proportion of the respondents 30% in Wave 2 also claimed that the council had provided no services that they were aware of. See table 4 for a detailed overview.

Table 4: Opinions Regarding Service Provision

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion regarding the services providing by the local council</th>
<th>Waves</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No service</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>80</strong></td>
<td><strong>175</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Dynamics of Conflict and Violence**

Most respondents (82%) declared that they were unaware of any conflict that had taken place in the year leading up to the wave 2 assessment. Reports of having witnessed incidents of crime and violence outside of the homestead dropped from 14% to 11% in the period between wave 1 to wave 2. However, respondents in wave 2 had mixed opinions regarding the change in the level of safety in the area. When asked to state their perception of the change in safety over the past year (between the two assessments), a slight majority (51%) felt that safety in the area had improved. Another 16% did not believe that there had been any change during this time, approximately one-third (33%) felt that the level of safety had in fact deteriorated during this time.

**Experience with Conflict**

While in both the Wave 1 and Wave 2 assessments the majority of the respondents were either not aware or had not witnessed conflict between clans and/or groups, the portion of those who stated that they were aware of the occurrence of such conflict had gone from 15% in Wave 1 to 13% in Wave 2. (Figure 14.)

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

**Aware and Witnessed**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wave 1</th>
<th>Wave 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reasons for Conflicts that were observed**

During the Wave 1 assessment, most of the conflicts observed that had led to violence had involved land disputes, with a connection either to enclosures of communal land or to the establishment of new settlements. The local elder who was interviewed as a key informant gave two examples. Firstly, he mentioned that the most recent violent conflict, with many casualties, had occurred in Qudhac village, within the Bah Dhuulbahante sub clan of the Habar Yoonis. That conflict, which was at the time of the initial assessment still unresolved, had been about the fencing of land that was previously suitable for pasture. Secondly, he made reference to another conflict between two other sub clans of the Habar Yoonis (Ugaadh Cumar and Muuse Cabdalle) over the establishment of a new settlement. Likewise, the Deputy Police Commissioner also mentioned another conflict that had taken place in Ballay Cigaal, again concerning land enclosure. Several individuals were reported to...
have sustained minor injuries during that particular conflict. According to the household survey, of the eleven conflicts reported to have led to violence, six had concerned land use and resources. The rest of the incidences were said to have been caused by family disputes, crime and youth violence.

By the time of the second assessment in Odweyne, land was still the leading cause of conflict. Participants in the FGDs and KIs stated that the major reasons for conflict were related to land, especially arising from the enclosure of large tracts of land in the previously communal pastoral lands. With weak national land registration and poor management of such legal framework, land was said to have remained the main source of dispute in the rural areas. Other causes of conflict alluded to in qualitative discussions included those between charcoal traders and the owners of demarcated plots of land, clans disputes over new settlements and the construction of dams. Furthermore, it was mentioned that the competition among khat dealers in the market places sometimes turned violent. Also violence between the youth, mainly centred on football rivalries, was reported.

In both assessments land resources were the most mentioned cause (50%: Wave 1 and 83%: Wave 2). The second most mentioned cause in wave 1 had been family disputes while in wave 2 the second most mentioned cause was political/power struggle. See table 5 for details.

### Table 5: Causes of Conflict Observed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause of Conflict</th>
<th>Waves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources (land, water)</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family disputes</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crimes</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth violence</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power/cultural struggle</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business disputes</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Experience with Crime and Violence**

On the other hand, the portion of respondents who reported to have witnessed at least one incident of crime and/or violence against someone outside of their homestead within the year preceding the assessment, went from 14% in Wave to 11% in Wave 2 as shown in figure 15.
Figure 15: Account of witnessing crime or violence (last 12 months)

**Account of witnessing crime and/or violence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wave 1</th>
<th>Wave 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Land Conflict**

As highlighted earlier, land conflicts were the leading cause of disputes in the district. During the Wave 2 assessment the different focus group discussions explained how land conflict was the highest priority in terms of safety concerns in the Odweyne District. Furthermore, the Police Commissioner, when asked about the most common type of crime, pointed to the illegal enclosure of large tracts of land.

The enclosure of previously pastoral lands was stated to be a major source of insecurity as it stimulated conflict between livestock herders and those enclosing the land. In a focus group discussion with elders during the Wave 2 assessment, it was stated that these individuals who enclosed land mostly claimed to be setting it aside for farming purposes but, in most instances they just put up demarcations (in the form of branches) and then, nothing more productive had happened to the land. Additionally, they were not known to have paid taxes on the so called farms.

There are also charcoal traders who cut and burn trees and sometimes burn trees inside the demarcated lands. This causes conflicts between them and the enclosed land owners. Likewise, charcoal dealers get into conflict with the local community who attempt to stop them from cutting the trees. Elders and religious leaders FGD participants stated:

*When they [charcoal dealers] burn trees, the community demands them to stop burning down the trees, if they then insist doing so, the result might be a violent confrontation.*

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Moreover, the district has productive farmlands and sometimes disputes arise over water channels or the extension of borders. Youth FGD participant said: “There are farm land disputes among the farmers who conflict over farm water channels during the rainy season”.

Another prominent source of land dispute is the formation of new settlements in a progressively urbanising environment. These settlements were generally said to be formed around newly dug dams and other clans considered this as transgression to their ancestral lands and thus violent confrontations arose. Youth FGD participant explained this:

*Dams in the villages cause disputes. A group [A clan] digs a dam and gives it a name. Others come and claim that the place belongs to them and that it is their ancestral home. They also claim that they have the right to name the place. Dams always cause problems.*

**Perception of Safety**

In general the perception of safety within the district continued to be very high in Odweyne, with 97% of respondents in wave 1 having stated that they felt very safe, compared to a totality (100%) of the respondents in the Wave 2 assessment who felt very safe (99%) or rather safe (1%). See figure 16.

Figure 16: Perception of safety in the district

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29 Ibid.
Conclusion

A comparative analysis of the results of the District Conflict and Security Assessments is useful to understand the changes in of community perception in relation to the thematic areas of study, namely governance; security; justice; conflict and violence. Although there were methodological challenges when comparing the data from wave 1 and wave 2 of the Odweyne DSCSAs, mostly because of the changes to the data collection tools, this report considered these challenges carefully. Thus, the comparison of wave 1 and wave 2 provides an indication of potential changes in the issues covered.

As a Grade B district, Odweyne has a local council that comprises of 17 councillors, one of whom is female. Having come into power in the 2012 elections, the council had made progressive improvements albeit stymied by resource constraints. Therefore, it was believed to be more accountable and less susceptible to clan politics than the old system of nomination. While there had not been an increase in participation in governance consultations between members of the community and the local council, it was stated (by the council right?) that the council made efforts to hold annual meetings for the sharing of views on development and concerns affecting the population. In both reporting periods, sanitation and infrastructure were the two services, which was mostly associated with the local council by the respondents. There was however a noted growth of antipathy towards the slow progress of service provision with a third of the respondents in the latter period stating that they were not aware of any service provision.

Lack of water was pointed out by one half of the respondents in the Wave 1 assessment and by almost all the respondents in the Wave 2 assessment, showing that it had continued to be a major concern in Odweyne. Poor sanitation was also mentioned in both assessments, as was drought and lack of infrastructure. Other concerns that were seen to feature prominently during the Wave 2 assessment included poor health, poor education and unemployment.

Tax collection, which was meant to enable the local council to carry out its objectives, had been non-existent at the time of the initial assessment and minimal at the time of the second assessment. The major reason for this was the reliance on an unfavourable legal framework that empowered larger neighbouring municipalities with livestock markets to take advantage of the tax generated from the proceeds of livestock trade, even when the livestock had originated from Odweyne. In consideration the livestock trade ranks as one of the main commercial activities of the largely pastoral district, this concern cannot be downplayed.

In terms of security provision, there was only one police station, which served as the central station for the town as well as over sixty surrounding villages. It was felt that the number of police officers deployed in the district fell far short of being proportional to the security need of the population of Odweyne. Further, it was said that the police were constrained in terms of resources, lacking basic equipment such as transportation, which meant they needed to rely on a single vehicle that belonged to the administrative headquarters of the district or the police had to ask civilians to help with transportation. Despite these challenges the police were consistently mentioned in both assessments as the most preferred security entity to report to in the instance of civil matters, petty or serious crimes. Respondents in both assessments also expressed high levels trust in the police to respond to crime and violence.
In relation to the provision of justice, there had been only one District Court serving Odweyne at the time of the Wave 1 assessment. The court was elevated to a District/Regional Court in 2014, in line with the as yet to be gazetted status of Odweyne as the capital of Daad Madheedh (one of the new regions created by way of Presidential decree back in 2008). This elevation had eased some of the problems that residents had complained of in the initial assessment; which explained how they had to travel to Burao to proceed any cases that were above the jurisdiction of the District Court. In the latter assessment, the occasional visit of the Court of Appeal and the High Court in the form of mobile courts was said to have also helped in easing the access to justice. Despite those improvements however, there was still a lot left to be done and the perennial resource constraints meant that the two courts had to share a single courtroom, which was built during colonial times. The lack of a prison and a permanent Court of Appeal were also mentioned as challenges to the justice provision. Overall, awareness of the existence of the court had risen from nearly all the respondents in the Wave 1 assessment to absolutely all in the Wave 2 exercise. Reported usage of the court also rose twofold between the two assessments although the informal justice providers continued to show more reported usage. Issuance and enforcement of judgements was high for all justice providers in both assessments.

In the face of the challenges facing the security and justice providers in Odweyne, the members of the community were observed to have taken proactive steps to aid in maintaining peace and order as well as the administration of justice in their community. It was reported that civilians routinely detained wrongdoers and handed them over to the police, as well as occasionally lend their vehicles to the police when they needed to respond to incidences of crime and violence. They also maintained close contact with the police for the purposes of reporting such incidences. Furthermore, village committees comprising of the village head and clan representatives from all of the sixty villages surrounding the town of Odweyne were organised and registered with the formal authorities for the purposes of collaboration on matters of justice and security.

Finally, an investigation of the dynamics of conflict and violence in Odweyne showed that for both assessment periods, conflict caused by land disputes had been the most common type of conflict observed. The demarcation and alienation of communal pastoral land purportedly for the purposes of farming by individuals had led to conflict between such individuals and the predominantly pastoral members of the community in need of pasture. In addition, they had also been violent confrontations between the individuals who had demarcated large tracts of land and charcoal traders. Further, clans had also been reported to have clashed over the establishment of new settlements and the construction of dams. Other causes of conflict had included competition among khat traders in market places and youth violence over football rivalries. Nonetheless, there was a general decline in conflict between clans or groups as well as accounts of witnessing crime or violence against someone outside the homestead. Accordingly, there was a concomitant increase in the overall perception of safety within the district.