District Conflict and Security Assessment Report

ZEILA DISTRICT

APRIL 2016
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Finally, we are grateful to the local authorities in Zeila District for giving us the permission to conduct this assessment in the district.
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<tr>
<td>DCSA</td>
<td>District Conflict and Security Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGDs</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
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<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
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<tr>
<td>KIIs</td>
<td>Key Informant Interviews</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCVP</td>
<td>Observatory of Conflict and Violence Prevention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODK</td>
<td>Open Data Kit</td>
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<tr>
<td>SRS</td>
<td>Systematic Random Sampling</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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DISTRICT PROFILE

The Zeila (Zeylac) is officially the capital of Zeila district, under the Awdal region, on the Northern coast of Somaliland. The districts capital is the historical port city Zeila, situated around 25 km from the Djibouti border. Close to the city, are six islands, which because of their rich nature, marine and bird life have been chosen to become an official marine park of Somaliland. The most famous of the islands is Sa’aadad-Din.

The port city Zeila has been an important intercontinental trading post as far back as people can remember. The district became part of British Somaliland in 1888, after it had been a part of the Ottoman Empire for more than 300 years. The evidence can still be found in Zeila, which hosts remaining, though badly damaged buildings, from the time of the Ottoman Empire. Zeila also have one of the world’s oldest Mosques, the two-Mihrab mosque which dates back to the 7th century. The mosque could be a testimony that the town became an early Islamic Centre with the arrivals of Muslims shortly after the hijra. Though the ruins of the mosque barley indicate the two mihrabs.

As a result of the civil war, nearly every standing building in Zeila was destroyed, and most people fled the area to neighbouring country Djibouti. Today, the area has few modern buildings and a lack of infrastructure, although the re-building has begun with the help of remittance. Besides remittance, the economy is based on fishing and trading activities with especially Djibouti.

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1 Unofficially Zeila is the capital of the Salal region, one of the regions created in 2008, which is still not ratified by the parliament.
2 Qiblah direction; where Muslims face when praying.
3 The migration or journey of the prophet Mohammed and his followers from Mecca to Medina.
SCOPE

The District Conflict and Security Assessment is designed to gather community perceptions regarding service providers and accessibility and effectiveness of the services they provide. The data was 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 primarily within the main town of the district for they are deemed to be in adequate or completely absent at village level. Keeping this in mind, this assessment was designed and carried out in the major urban settlement of the district; the Zeila town.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Continu 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 provides an assessment on the state of conflict, governance, justice as well as safety and security in Zeila District. The research was conducted from the March 7th to March 10th 2016, and the key Research findings are presented below.

Security

In Zeila, the police force is the main security provider with some help from local traditional elders, especially in the remote villages of the district. There are no security concerns or widespread outbreaks of crime and violence reported in recent times. However, there are challenges that exist with the police who operate under restricted access to resources such as limited staff and transport services to respond to urgent security situations. Quantitative research participants have showed excellent awareness of police presence with reachable distance to the nearest police station. They preferred to report to the police when they experienced different security issues whether such was civil, petty or serious matter. They have also chosen the police as their most trusted justice provider in responding to crime and violence, followed by a quarter of respondents opting for traditional elders. On the other hand, the qualitative research participants have raised concern over the shortage in the number of police and their limited resources. Despite the logistical and resource limitations, six in every ten respondent felt police performance had improved compared with previous year.

Justice

There are a district court, a regional court and an appeal court in Zeila. People (98%) had a high rate of awareness of the presence of courts, although most people (92%) were only aware of one court in the district due to the regional court and appeal court being fairly new. People used the courts to deal with all kind of cases, and the traditional elders to deal with only civil matters. The respondents, who had used the justice providers in the last twelve months, had been three times more likely to use the traditional elders than the courts. The issues referred to the justice providers had been regarding land and business disputes, household violence and assault, whereas smuggling and trafficking were among the more prevailing cases in the court. It was found that the primary issues of the formal justice system were the fact that the court had no offices, and that there was no prison in the district. Nevertheless, a majority of respondents still reported an improvement to the performance of the court compared to previous year.

Governance Providers

Altogether the respondents were aware of the existence of an elected Local Council which comprised of 17 councillors. Almost half (49%) of the survey respondents, who were aware of the existence of an elected local council, were also aware of the channels of communication between them and their elected representatives. However, when it came to the participation in local governance consultations, the figure decreased to a fraction (8%). The local council provided the community with basic services such as sanitation, infrastructure, health, water and education of which respondents were most familiar with. The council’s ability to deliver these services was hampered by a number of challenges, mainly involving centralization of government offices and resources in the capital, Hargeisa, as well as the issues of working with severe budgetary constraints. This is partially the reason of why the majority (65%) of the household survey respondents stated that they had low confidence in the local council.
There was, however, a favourable perception of the council’s performance, with 41% of the respondents stating that the Council’s performance had improved in the past year, compared with 31% who conversely thought that there was a decline in performance.

**Conflict and Violence**

Zeila had not witnessed any major outbreaks of violent conflict or crime in the year leading up to the assessment, as reported by nearly eight in every ten of respondents. Of the eleven people who reported having witnessed conflict, about seven in ten further stated that none had led to violence, while the other two in every ten said that 1-4 of the conflicts had led to violence. Respondents reporting that they had witnessed conflict attributed mostly conflicts witnessed to competition over resources (land/water), though some also mentioned power/cultural struggle, and lack of justice. Incidents of rape in correlation to particularly people smuggling and inter departmental government disputes were consistently brought up in qualitative discussions as the most common underlying cause of conflict. Overall however, 99% of the residents of Zeila felt very safe, and most felt that safety levels had increased in comparison with the previous year.
1. METHODOLOGY

1.1. Overview

As part of its continual assessment of issues directly affecting community security and safety, OCVP conducted an extensive collection of primary data in the Zeila District of the Awdal region of Somaliland.

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 calculation of a sample size for the district based on the estimated number of households and a 9% margin of error at a 95% confidence level. This resulted in a sample size of 80 households.

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) managed to collect 80 responses in Awdal, Sa’aada-diin and Waaberi Subdivisions (Table 1), from March 7th to March 10th, 2016.

OCVP employed a modified Systematic Random Sampling (SRS) approach where enumerators randomly selected every other 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>Awdal</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa’aada-diin</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waaberi</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total sample</strong></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
<td><strong>47</strong></td>
</tr>
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1.4. Focus Group Discussions

The second research tool utilised was a series of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) aimed at capturing participants’ perception of security and justice providers (formal and informal), governance providers and the dynamics and experiences of
conflict and violence. The FGDs were conducted between the 8th and 9th of March 2016 at the Local Council Hall (see breakdown at Table 2). Each discussion group lasted for about an hour.

A total of five groups were represented in the FGDs: women; youth; elders and religious leaders; justice providers (formal and informal); and governance providers (formal). Each group consisted of 8 participants, with the exception of women and youth groups which consisted of ten participants each. A local organiser assisted in the recruitment of the participants based on clan-lines, geographic coverage, social class, gender and age (as well as profession in the case of justice and governance providers).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus Group</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elders/Religious Leaders</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>- 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice Providers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance Providers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>- 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
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Table 2: Distribution of focus group participants by gender

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 between the 8th and 9th of March 2016 at the respective offices of the interviewees. 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, including: The Mayor, Police Commissioner, Judge, Key Religious Leader and Key Traditional Elder.

A local organiser assisted in the scheduling of the interviews, which were then conducted by OCVP researchers. Interviews began with questions that were tailored to the interviewee and then generally cut-across the thematic areas of governance, justice, security, and conflict and violence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Informant</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Commissioner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judge</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Religious Leader</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Traditional Elder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Key Informant Interview participants
2. PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

The Zeila Household survey consists of 41% males (33 respondents) and 59% females (47 respondents), see Figure 1. Although there was a slight majority of women, the variation between men and women was adequately narrow to still represent a gender-balanced account. An emphasis of gender balance in the sample allows a depiction, which enrapures potential variations of experiences, views, and insights between the two genders in the area that were assessed.

Figure 1: Gender distribution of respondents

Table 4 shows the distribution of respondents in relation to their residence and the number of male and female interviewed in each area. 20 of the respondents resided in the Awdal subdivision (men: 13, women: 7), 30 resided in Sa’aada-diin (men: 8, women: 22) and 30 resided in the Waaberi subdivision (men: 12, women: 18) See table 4.

Table 4: 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>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total sample</strong></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the respondents (37%) were in their twenties (females 18% and males 19%). The second largest age group was 30-39 with 33% of the respondents (females 24% and males 9%) fell in this category. The 40-49s, 50-59s and 60 and above, were represented with 11%, 8% and 9% respectively, divided nearly equal between men and women. Respondents under the age of 20 only constituted 4%; all of the 4% were women. (Fig 2.)

Figure 2: Age distribution of respondents by gender

A sizeable portion of the respondents (64%) were married, 30% were single, and the last 4% and 3% were divorced or widowed respectively (Fig. 3)
A Considerable amount of the respondents (31%, n = 25 respondents) stated that they had never received education. A smaller portion of the survey (18%) had gone to Quaranic madarasa, and 1% had been self-schooled. Conversely, those who had attended formal education constituted half of the sample (50%, n = 40 respondents) with 21% respondents stated they had attended up to primary level; 6% up to intermediate level; 19% secondary level; and 5% up to tertiary level of education (Fig 4).

When separating the answers of women and men in the household survey, 43% of the women sample compared with only 15% of the men sample stated that they never had received education. Further, it was only 1 woman (2% of the respondents) who reported to have been self-schooled. Almost similar proportions of men and women had been to Quranic madrassa (18% vs. 17% respectively).

A larger portion of the male sample (66%) than the female sample (39%) had attended formal education. Most of the women, who had attended formal education, had attended up to primary level (26%), with only 4% and 9% in intermediate level and secondary level respectively. Conversely, 15% of the men had attended primary level, 9% intermediate level, 30% secondary level, and 12% tertiary level of education (Fig 5).
Figure 5: Respondents’ education levels by gender
3. SECURITY, JUSTICE AND GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

3.1. SECURITY PROVIDERS

In the Zeila district the police functions as the main security provider, although they occasionally receive assistance from both traditional elders and other security bodies. It is mostly the coastal guard and the military, which will extend help to the police if needed\(^4\).

It became apparent that the general feeling was that there has been only a small amount of crime prevailing in Zeila; and that the level of security has been high\(^5\). In an interview with the Police Commissioner, he disclosed to the OCVP researcher that most of the police work relates to tax surveillance, customs, illegal migration and human trafficking. The latter, he deemed to have been reduced within the previous year\(^6\).

In the FGD with the justice providers, and in the interviews with key informants, it became apparent that the police had a good working relationship with traditional elders, and the courts.\(^7\) Furthermore, the police was believed to do a good job, notwithstanding their occasional issues with resources and the numbers of police officers.\(^8\)

This section assesses the level of deployment of the security providers and the perception held by the general public towards security including the level of performance and trust in the security providers.

3.1.1. Level of Deployment

There is only one police station in the Zeila district, which is placed inside Zeila city. Additionally, four police posts and a customs office are spread out in the district. Most police officers are deployed at the police station and drive from here to respond to crimes elsewhere in the district\(^9\)

The awareness of the police presence in Zeila was high with all of the household survey informing that they were aware of the police’s presence in the Zeila district (Fig. 6).

Figure 6: Respondents’ awareness of police presence

Almost all of the respondents (94%) reported that they were aware of 1 police station in the Zeila district, only 1% of the respondents did not know, and 5% reported that they were aware of 2 police stations (Fig. 7).

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\(^4\) Traditional Elder, Key Informant Interview, March 08, 2016.
\(^5\) Women, Focus Group Discussion, March 08, 2016; Police Commissioner Key Informant Interview, March 09, 2016.
\(^6\) Police Commissioner, Key Informant Interview, March 09, 2016.
\(^7\) Ibid; Traditional Elder, March, 2016; Court Commissioner, Key Informant Interview, March, 09, 2016.
\(^8\) Women, March 2016; Traditional Elder, March 2016.
\(^9\) Police Commissioner, March 2016.
Figure 7: Respondents’ estimation of the number of police stations

A sizeable portion (86%) of the survey felt that they had less than 20 min. distance to the closest police station; a smaller portion (13%) estimated they needed between 20 and 40 min. and only 3% of the respondents thought they had between 41 min. and 1 hour distance to the closest police station. These findings should bear in mind that the respondents sampled live inside the Zeila city (Fig. 8)

Figure 8: Respondents’ estimation of distance to nearest police station

Across the subdivisions, all of the respondents who resided in Waaberi (100%) estimated their distance to the closest police station to be less than 20 min. Likewise, a chief part of the respondents who resided in Awdal (90%) also felt they had less than 20 min., and only 10% thought they needed 20-40 min.

A high percent of the Sa’aada-diin subdivision (67%) also agreed to need less than 20 min. However this division also had the largest portion of residents, who needed longer time, 27% needed between 20-40 min. and 7% felt that they would need between 41 min to an hour to reach the closest station (Fig. 9)

Figure 9: Respondents’ estimation of distance to nearest police station by subdivision

Figure 10: Reporting preference - civil matters

3.1.2. Preference of the Security Providers

When the respondents in the household survey were asked to whom they would prefer to report civil matters such as trespass, family disputes and business disputes, a sizeable majority (61%) preferred the police. A smaller amount of the respondents (21%) favoured traditional elders or the courts (15%). The local authority was only preferred by 3% (Fig.10).
From a gender perspective, men and women equally preferred to report to the police, with 62% and 61% respectively. The female sample was slightly more favourable towards reporting to traditional elders (23%), than compared with the male sample (18%). A bigger difference was seen in regards to the court, where 21% of the male sample respondents would prefer to report to the court, in comparison to only 11% of the women. The local authority was only favoured by 4%, all of the 4% were women (Fig 11).

Some discrepancies were observed between men and women. The majority among both female and male respondents preferred to report to the police (72% of women vs. 79% of men). However, in regards to traditional elders, female respondents were twice as favourable towards reporting to traditional elders, than their male counterparts (26% women vs. 12% men). The male sample also mentioned the court and religious leaders (6% and 3% respectively) whereas the female sample only mentioned the local authority (2%). See figure 13.

In regards to instances of petty crimes such as theft and household violence, a majority of the respondents (75%) told that they would prefer to report to the police. 20% of the respondents would rather use the traditional elders. Only few of the respondents (3%, 1% and 1%) mentioned the court, local authorities and religious leaders respectively (Fig 12).

In the case of serious crimes such as grave assault, rape and murder, the police remained the most preferred provider to deal with serious crimes (89%). Only a cumulative 12% would prefer to report to other institutions such as traditional elders (9%), or the court (3%). See figure 14.
A slight difference is noticeable when the data was disaggregated by gender. Although, police is the first choice for the vast majority of the respondents, slightly more women (91%) than men (86%) would prefer to report to the police. A similar portion of men and women (9% and 9%) favoured to report to traditional elders. There was only 6% who preferred to report serious crimes to the courts; all of the 6% were men (Fig. 15).

Furthermore, also the qualitative discussants pointed out that people report to the police whenever there is a security issue or any instance of crime. The Women FGD explained that people always report to the police first. Then, as described by the justice providers’ FDG, the police evaluate if the case is civil or criminal, and if needed, involve either the traditional elders or the court.

3.1.3. Perception of Security Providers

When the respondents of the Zeila household survey were asked about whom, among the security providers, they trusted most in responding to crime and violence, a majority of the participants (68%) referred to the police. A quarter of the respondents (25%) explained that they trusted the traditional elders the most, and a few (8%) pointed to the religious leaders (Fig 16).

Along gender lines, similar portions of men and women trusted most in the police (67% men vs. 68% women). Conversely, 30% of the female respondents placed more confidence in traditional elders, in comparison to only 18% of the male respondents. On the other hand men had a vastly larger portion who placed more confidence in religious leaders in contrast to their female counterparts (15% men vs. 2% women). See figure 17.

A vast majority (60%) the respondents who had chosen the police as their most trusted provider went on to state that the reason for this trust was their fast
response. Among those who had chosen traditional elders, unbiased enforcement (43%) was the main reason for the confined trust. Similarly, the unbiased enforcement and respect was the main characteristic attributed to the choice of religious leaders (68%) (Table 4).

Table 5: Respondents’ reasons of choice of most trusted security provider

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for trust of security provider</th>
<th>Most trusted security provider in responding to crime and violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast response</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbiased enforcement</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are respected</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of access</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the course of the household survey, the respondents were asked to state their level of trust towards the police (formal security provider) in responding to violence and crime. A cumulative 64% (46% very high level of trust, 20% fairly high) declared they had a high trust, while a cumulative 34% had a low level of trust in the police (9% fairly low, 25% very low trust) (Fig. 18).

Figure 18: Respondents’ level of trust towards police in responding to crime

Upon the segregation of answers in regards to gender, the responses were strikingly similar. Both men and women had a cumulative high trust with 66% (men: 45% very high; 21% fairly high vs. women: 47% very high; 19% fairly high). Similarly, their cumulative low trust was very close, with 35% of the women and 33% of the men (women: 9% fairly low; 26% very low vs. men: 9% fairly low; 24% very low) (Fig. 19).

Figure 19: Respondents’ level of trust towards police in responding to crime by gender

From a subdivision perspective the level of trust in the police was scattered. Awdal had the highest cumulative level of trust of 75% (40% very high level of trust, 35% fairly high), whereas the second largest, the Waaberi subdivision, had a cumulative 67% who declared a high level of trust (57% very high, 10% fairly high). Finally, the Sa’aada-diin subdivision had fewer residents stating that they had a high level of trust (cumulative 60%; 40% very high, 20% fairly high).

Although the majority of the residents in the regions stated that they had a high level of trust to the police, the amount of residents, which felt only a very low trust, was also sizeable. In Sa-aada-diin 33% of the residents had a very low trust in the police, in the Waaberi it was 23% and in the Awdal 15% (Fig. 20).
3.1.4. Police Performance

When the participants of the household survey were inquired about their perception of police performance in comparison to the previous year, a sizeable majority of 61% declared that they thought the police performance had improved. Nearly a quarter (23%) thought that there had been no change, while 13% declared that the police performance had declined since the previous year. 4% of the respondents did not know (Fig. 21)

From a subdivision perspective, a sizeable majority of the residents in all three districts declared that there had been an improvement in police performance in comparison to the previous year (Awdal: 65%, Sa’ada-diin: 53%, Waaberi: 67%). A smaller difference could be seen in regards to the numbers of residents, who stated that there had been no changes in police performance (Awdal: 25%, Sa’ada-diin: 17%, Waaberi: 27%). Likewise, a considerable variation between the subdivisions became apparent, when the respondents who felt that the police performance had declined made up a vastly larger portion of the Sa’ada-diin subdivision (23%) than the Waaberi (7%) and Awdal (5%) (Fig. 23).
These findings indicate that the police is not only the favoured entity when reporting crimes, but also that a majority have a high level of trust in the police, although, at the same time, more than 30% had a lower trust.

In the qualitative interview the general trend was that people had a strong feeling of security. One of the factors contributing to this was the low prevalence of crime, as explained by a participant of the women FGD:

“There are no safety concerns. … No drunkards, no thieves. If you leave your door open you will not see anybody coming to you and there are no other conflicts. Zeila is peaceful.”

Nevertheless, the qualitative participants did not agree on whether or not the police had enough staff to respond to crime in Zeila. From the perspective of the women FGD and the Elder KII there was enough police (both staff and cars) in Zeila, because Zeila was peaceful. This was articulated by a participant from the women FGD, “There are no that much of problems in the district. And the number of the police is sufficient to the local needs.”

In contrast stood the Police Commissioner who explained that because the police did not only function as police officers, but also dealt with customs, illegal migration and tax surveillance, the amount of police officers should be increased. Moreover, according to the Police Commissioner, it was especially when responding to crimes at the different villages, that the need for an increase in police staff became apparent.

### 3.1.5. Challenges faced by the security providers

Whether or not the police had adequate numbers of police officers to provide their service, they lacked other resources. The Justice Providers’ group discussants agreed that sometimes, the police would even not have the funds to buy fuel, which instead, needed to be provided by the local government. Furthermore, besides staffing and fuel issues, there were also logistical obstacles, where the district had only one official police vehicle and often resorted to using private cars in instances of emergencies. Not only was the lack of transport an issue, but also the ensuring of regular maintenance of those cars was also non-existent.

Another constraint, according to the Police Commissioner, was the harsh climate and the poor roads, which, in fact, sometimes put the lives of the police officers in danger.

### Issues of migration and trafficking.

Many of the qualitative participants highlighted the issue of trafficking and migration in Zeila. Zeila is a coastal town, which people go through to illegally migrate to other countries. The justice KII described how trafficking and smuggling is quite prevalent in Zeila. He explained about the different fishermen and smugglers:

“Smuggling and Trafficking is quite prevalent here. … We also see alcohol smugglers coming from Ethiopia, headed to Djibouti and Somaliland. And those that emigrate abroad.”

The justice providers’ FDG explained how especially women and youth were vulnerable to trafficking. The Police Commissioner also included kids, and made it clear how the ‘abolle’ [the traffickers] were perceived to

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11 Women, March 08, 2016.
12 Traditional Elder, March 08, 2016; Women, March 08, 2016.
13 Ibid
14 Police Commissioner, March 09, 2016
15 Youth, Focus Group Discussion, March 08, 2016.
16 Police Commissioner, March 09, 2016.
17 Court commissioner, March 09, 2016.
promise vulnerable youth/kids to facilitate their journey to Yemen or Djibouti.\textsuperscript{18}

However, such a travel is often really dangerous, and the people trafficked are at high risk of being harmed. As pointed out by a participant in the Justice FGD, people are very vulnerable to be harmed during the transport, for example by being raped.

\textit{They [the traffickers] don’t even safely transport people. They do a lot of harm to them. They might [for example] rape girls on the way.\textsuperscript{19}}

According to the Police Commissioner, the police has in the last year collaborated with the authorities in Djibouti to decrease the volume of illegal migration. In 2015 they arrested more than 25 traffickers. The Police Commissioner further explained how the police do their best to retrieve the people who migrate illegally.

A participant from the Justice Providers FGD also explained how the harsh climate in Zeila, especially during the summer, could be harmful to the people illegally migrating. As he stated:

\textit{Another thing is, in the summer time here it is very hot and those people who are coming from the Hawd don’t know about the local weather.\textsuperscript{20}}

\textsuperscript{18} Police Commissioner, March 09, 2016. \textsuperscript{19} Ibid \textsuperscript{20} Justice Providers, March 09, 2016.
3.2. **JUSTICE PROVIDERS**

This section investigated how the various justice providers operate in the Zeila District. It presents the participants' views and insights regarding the justice providers and examines the overall state of justice provision, including the challenges faced by the providers, the level of trust they enjoy; as well as the trends in their performance in the last 12 months.

### 3.2.1. Level of deployment

There is a district court; a regional court and an appeal court in the Zeila district, although none of the courts have their own offices. Instead, the district courts operate from either the police station; in the case of a criminal offence, or from the local council office or under a tree; in the case of civil matters.

The participants of the governance providers' FGD explained that besides the formal justice system (the courts) there is also a traditional justice system (the traditional elders). These systems run parallel to each other and complement each other in delivering formal and informal justice in Zeila.

Before Zeila had its own regional and appeal court, mobile courts from the Awdal region (for example the Borama court) came to provide justice in cases that were beyond the scope of the Zeila district court. The mobile court was in Zeila this year (2016) to respond to a rape case in Lawya’addo, however since then a regional court and an appeal court have been appointed for the Salal region.

The residents in Zeila had a high awareness of the courts. This was seen in the household survey were 98% of the respondents stated that they were aware. Merely 3% did not know, or choose not to answer (Fig. 24).

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21 Court Commissioner, March 09, 2016; Youth, March 08, 2016, Justice Providers, March 09, 2016; Governance Providers, Focus Group Discussion, March 09, 2016.

22 Governance providers, March 09, 2016.

23 Women, March 08, 2016.


25 Youth, March 08, 2016.
Similarly, when analysing the data in regards to the respondent’s subdivision, nearly all the participants were aware of the court(s). Only 5% of the respondents from Awdal and 3% of the respondents from Sa’aada-diin did not know or chose not to respond (Fig. 26).

In the household survey, out of those who had been aware of a court(s)’ presence, a cumulative 91% could reach the court within 40 min. (65%) of the respondents declared that they would be able to reach the closets court within less than 20 min.; 26% between 20 to 50 min.). Only 9% needed between 41 min. to 1 hour. See figure 28.

When comparing the different subdivisions’ distance to the nearest court, it became apparent that residents from the Waaberi subdivision had the least distance to a court, with 90% of its residents being able to reach a court in under 20 min, and 10% in between 20-40 min. In comparison only 61% of Awdal’s residents had less than 20 min, instead a larger amount (39%) had between 20-40 min. It was only in the Sa’aada-diin subdivision that respondents reported to have between 41 min to 1 hour (26%). The Sa’aada-diin subdivision also had the lowest amount of residents who could reach the court within 20 min (41%). See figure 29.

26 Women, 8th March 2016.
3.2.2. Performance of the Justice Providers

Out of the whole household survey a cumulative 20% of the respondents had used either the courts, traditional elders or religious leaders as justice providers within the past year. 5% had used the courts, 14% had used traditional elders, and mere 1% had used religious elders (Fig. 30).

When comparing the female and male samples, women had been slightly more likely to use traditional elders as justice providers than men (women: 15% vs. men: 12%), whereas, men had been slightly more likely to use the courts (men: 6% vs. women: 4%). Furthermore, it was only men who had used the religious elders in the subsequent year (3%) (Fig. 31).

Among the participants who reported that they had referred to the court, traditional elders or religious leaders within the last year, the issuance rate was varied. The respondents who had approached the religious leaders had all received a judgment. Similarly, the traditional elders had provided judgment in 91% of the cases. In strong contrast, the courts had only issued verdicts to cases brought by 50% of the respondents (Fig. 32).

Furthermore, in regards to the enforcement of the judgements received by the various justice providers, all the judgments by the religious leaders or traditional elders had been enforced. Dissimilarly, only 50% of the judgments from the courts were enforced (Fig. 33).
The big variation of issuance and enforcement of judgements by the different justice providers was also mentioned by the FGDs and the KIs, as a reason why some people chose to use to traditional elders rather than the court. The Elder KII explained that people choose to use traditional elders because the court’s ruling takes time, and are sometimes even not enforced. Sometimes, the court itself even refers people to the traditional elders, but only in cases of civil matters. It was explained that the enforcement issue is related to how the court depends on a guarantor of the offender for the enforcement. It was also explained that there was issues with the formal justice system in case of ensuring the reimbursement. As a participant explained:

For example in the formal justice system if somebody is ruled for a case. For example, a business dispute and judgment is issued for plaintiff to get his money, he might not get that money as per his expectations.

This makes people trust more in the informal justice providers.

3.2.2.1 Usage of the different Justice Providers

It was primarily the courts and the traditional elders, who operated as justice providers in the Zeila district. Although, the informal and formal justice system are not connected, they operate parallel from each other to provide justice. It is the case type, which makes a person precede a case with the court or the traditional elders. The traditional elders are normally only involved in cases of civil matters.

The Governance Providers FGD explained how the elder would not be involved until after the first case procedures were completed. Afterwards, the parties can choose to involve their elders. The case passes to the elders if both parties wish; otherwise it passes to the judge. The Elder KI described how the cases, which he handles, are normally between two parties who have inflicted injuries on each other. The elders then help them agree on and solve compensation and afterwards they let the police know that the issue has been resolved; if one of the parties is in custody they get him/her released. If the case is too complicated, or the parties cannot come to an agreement, they refer the case back to the police, who then refers the parties to the court. However, the Elder KI had not heard of any such case in the last 12 months.

In regards to criminal cases and serious offenses, these were mainly referred to the formal justice system. As pointed out by the Justice KI, in most cases judges and prosecutors deal with the criminal cases: "In criminal cases, the elders do not have authority, there it is rather the judges and prosecutors who handle the case".

Most cases are first referred to the court; afterwards they can be referred to the traditional elders. Thus, the traditional elders have lifted some of the burden from the formal justice system. Nevertheless, it also happens that people never come to the court, instead

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27 Traditional Elder, March 08, 2016; Justice Providers, March, 09, 2016.
28 Youth, March 08, 2016.
29 Justice Provider, March 09, 2016.
30 Governance Providers, March 09, 2016.
31 Traditional Elder, March 08, 2016.
32 Justice Provider, March 09, 2016.
33 Court Commissioner, March 09, 2016.
they go directly to the traditional elders, and often then the problem will not be a serious matter. As a participant from the women FGD told:

For example [if] there is a conflict between two neighbouring families and there is no serious problem when the issue is passed to the police station, the elders go there and inform that they will internally resolve the issues.

### 3.2.2. Issues referred to Justice Providers

When accumulating experiences from the respondents who had used the different justice providers within the past year, it became apparent that land and business related disputes, household violence and assault were the most frequent issues brought before the justice providers. Traditional elders and the court were referred to more often than the religious elders. Further, the findings show that it was only the case of household violence, which had been referred to all of the different justice providers. Issues of both land dispute and assault had only been brought before the court and traditional elders, whereas business disputes were only referred to the traditional elders (Table 6).

#### Table 6: Issues referred to justice providers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues referred to different justice Providers</th>
<th>Court</th>
<th>Traditional Elders</th>
<th>Religious Leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land dispute</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business dispute</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth violence</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household violence</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, results from the qualitative data showed that it was quite prevalent the formal justice system dealt with cases of smuggling, trafficking and illegal migration.

### 3.2.3. Perception of the Justice Providers

When the respondents were asked about which justice providers they trusted most in solving cases, 46% of the respondents declared that they confined most trust in traditional elders. 35% referred to the court, 15% to religious leaders, and only 1% (n=1) to the police. Also, 1% of the respondents stated to trust none of the justice providers, and 1% did not know (Fig 34).

**Figure 34: Respondents’ choice of most trusted justice provider**

From a gender perspective a larger portion of the female respondents (55%) placed most trust in traditional elders, than the portion of male respondents (33%). In contrast, more men than women found the courts to be the most trusted justice providers (men: 45% vs. women: 28%). There were no differences between genders in relation to religious leaders where 15% of both samples had stated that they trust them the most. It was only 3% men who trusted none of the service providers, and 2% women who did not know (Fig 35).

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34 Women, March 08, 2016.

When the respondents were asked to mention the reasons for their trust in the justice providers, it was observed that the main reason for trust was related to the perceived fair judgment (for the court: 61%, traditional elders: 42%, religious leaders: 83%). However, also other reasons where depicted.

In the case of the court, respondents declared that the main reason for their trust was related to its fair judgment (61%) and fast decisions (28%). In regards to the traditional elders it was their fair judgment (42%) and the fact that they were deemed more reliable (25%). Those who trusted the religious leaders attributed their trust to the fair judgments (83%), the lesser cost (8%) as well as their independence from politics (8%). The 1 respondent, who trusted most in the police, attributed his trust to ‘other’. See table 7.

Table 7: Reasons for trust of justice providers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for trust of justice provider</th>
<th>Most trusted justice provider in solving cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Court Traditional elders Religious leaders Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast decisions</td>
<td>28% 11% - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair judgment</td>
<td>61% 42% 83% -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence from politics</td>
<td>- - 8% -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less costly</td>
<td>- 14% 8% -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the discussants in the FGDs were asked which justice provider they trusted most, the majority of the discussants stated that the traditional elders were the number one justice provider of peoples’ choice. This trust was related to the higher issuance and enforcements of judgements.

As one of the governance providers FGD explained, a main reason for larger trust in the traditional elders was the long process time of the court.36 In a likewise manner, the issue of enforcement on behalf of the court was highlighted by the Youth FGD.37 Previously, according to the justice provider FGD, there were no judges of graduate level; therefore people did not trust them as they trusted their traditional elders.38 In addition, the Elder KII stated that: “People’s confidence is to stick with their elder who knows the customs”.39

Nonetheless, the residents in the Zeila region had started to use the court a lot40, and people was said to be happy with the way the justice system functioned.

The household respondents were also inquired about what level of confidence they had in the formal justice system, which, beyond the courts, also includes the police, prosecutors, and correctional authorities who work in concert to respond, investigate, prosecute, adjudicate and enforce judgements. The findings in this assessment indicate that a vast majority (accumulated 94%; 51% very confident, 43% fairly confident) of the respondents expressed confidence. Only 6% of the respondents were not confident in the system. See figure 36.

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36 Governance Provider, March 09, 2016.
37 Youth, March 08, 2016.
38 Justice Provider, March 09, 2016.
39 Traditional Elder, March 08, 2016.
40 Ibid
All of the women respondents were confident in the formal justice system (100%), in comparison, the men were less likely (84%). In fact, 15% of the men were not confident in the formal justice system. See figure 37.

Based on gender, the portions of men and women who felt the courts had improved were nearly equal (men: 52% vs. women: 51%), likewise only slightly more men than women felt that there had been no change (men: 21% vs. women 17%). Contrary, more men than women felt that the performance had declined (men: 24% vs. women: 15%), and sizeable more women did not know (17%) than men (3%). See figure 39.

When segregating results based on subdivision, it becomes apparent that the experiences in the subdivisions greatly varied.

The vast majority of respondents residing in Waaberì feel that the performance of the formal court has
improved in comparison to the preceding year. Likewise, 53% from Sa’aada-diin agrees, whereas only 30% of the residents of Awdal had experienced an improvement. In contrast to the other two subdivisions, a majority of respondents residing in Awdal had experienced that there had been no change in performance, which, in Sa’aada-diin and Waaberi was only experienced by 10% and 13% respectively. Furthermore, in Awdal a quarter of its residents (25%) felt that the performance had declined, likewise 20% in Waaberi and 13% in Sa’aada-diin agreed. Nearly a quarter (23%) of the respondents from Sa’aada-diin did not know or had no opinion about the topic, whereas this was only apparent among 5% in Awdal and 3% Waaberi.

Figure 40: Perception of the performance of the court: yearly trend, by subdivision

3.2.4. Challenges Faced by the Justice System

Not only did people prefer to use traditional elders because of the courts long preceding times, but also because of the courts missing facilities.

One of the main challenges for the formal justice system in Zeila is that the courts do not have premises. The Court Commissioner explained to the OCVP that because of that, all punishment cases were preceded at the police station, whereas smaller cases is dealt with under a tree.\textsuperscript{41} He explained how the documents and materials of the court needed to be stored in his private home.

\textit{We receive supplies but no furniture or an office. Our materials are stored at my home and another home; I am even carrying in my pocket the stamp. If I need an office I go to the police station and work from wherever I have to.}\textsuperscript{42}

Also, as pointed out by the police commissioner, this becomes problematic because people do not feel that they are dealt with by an independent court, instead they feel as the court and the police are intertwined. As he explained to the OCVP:

\textit{If the suspect who’s accused of a crime isn’t heard somewhere outside of the police station, he will not feel he is being dealt with by a different authority to the police. He’s going to see it a military rule (dacwad military), that the police arrested him and now his case if being tried in the police station. When he’s being asked by the court to state his case. He responds I don’t see a court here.}\textsuperscript{43}

Another major issue for the justice prevalence is that the Zeila district lacks a prison. Hence, the accused needs to stay in custody at the police station, which according to the Police Commissioner is a burden for the police.\textsuperscript{44} Further, as stated by the Elder KI, the issue is that the families cannot keep an eye on them, as well as bring them food, when they are taken to Borama-Awdal region.\textsuperscript{45}

That the district does not have a court or a prison culminates in some of the bigger cases are preceded in the courts of Borama. This is problematic because the witnesses will not show up in court. An example was told where an offender from Lawya’addo, got cleared, because the court lacked evidence, while the witness was back in Lawya’addo, because the travel cost from Lawya’addo to Borama is USD100 back and forth. It was

\textsuperscript{41} Court Commissioner, March 09, 2016.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid
\textsuperscript{45} Traditional Elder, March 08, 2016.
explained that nobody wants to pay USD100 from his pocket, when they are not compensated.\textsuperscript{46}

Furthermore, as explained by the participants of the Governance Providers’ FGD, this puts pressure on the accused and their families, who had a long and expensive travel on rough roads if they wanted to visit or be there for the trial. The participants elaborated to the OCVP that it is because all of the newly named regions are still under the old regions in the court system.

“The community is in suffering regarding this issue. The cases that are now taken all the way to Borama is a burden. Nobody will spend 300 kilometers or rough travel.”

However, according to the Governance Providers’ group, this also had a sort of positive side in that people stayed ‘peace-loving’ in fear of going all the way to Borama.\textsuperscript{47}

The participants of the Governance Providers FGD stated that the employees of the court are in general not ‘taken good care of’. They feared this could inflict badly on the performance of the court, which they feared would try to make money out of the people using the system. Thus, they also explained it was a better option to use the traditional elders who had their own livestock or shop, hence not in the same need as the court employers. As a participant declared:

\begin{quote}
Security starts from the availability of police and ends in court. The first thing is that the employee should be taken care of. But they are not. Otherwise they will make money out of those who come to them. They should then prolong cases and mess around in order for the parties to pay something. Once the employee is taken good care of, that is when he will be able to work well. But when you go to somebody who is in need, then he will make money out of you. So the better option is then to go to the traditional elders who have their own livestock or shop [not in need].\textsuperscript{48}
\end{quote}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{46} Governance Providers, March 09, 2016; Justice, March 09, 2016. \\
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid \\
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid
\end{flushleft}
3.3. GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

This section gauged respondents’ perception on the local council, the communication between the local council and the citizens, the performance of the council and the most pressing needs in the community. Furthermore, the study investigated the challenges faced by the local council which are potentially limiting effective service delivery.

3.3.1 Level of Deployment

As per the Regions and Districts (Self-Management) Law – Law No: 23/2002, Zeila District is a B-Grade district, which entitles Zeila to have a local council consisting of 17 councillors.

The sampled household respondents were asked their awareness of the existence of local council in the district; all (100%) respondents were aware of the presence of the local council (Fig. 41).

Figure 41: Respondents’ awareness of the existence of the local council

When the qualitative research participants were asked about which services the local council provided, garbage collection was highlighted.49 There were dumper trucks assigned for this particular task. Other local council accomplishments, which were mentioned by the governance providers FGD discussants, included construction tasks such as extensions and new premises for the government offices.50 The justice providers FGD participants had also cited that the local council put a great deal of effort in improving education. They identified construction projects in both formal schools, as well as informal schools such as Quranic Madarasas.51 Other achievements included the installation of water in town in spite of an incomplete piping system. There are several water kiosks and the central water reserve is within the town where water trucks redistribute water.52

3.3.2 Service Provision

Sanitation (68%), education (49%), health (23%) and infrastructure (18%) were the services that respondents in the household survey identified as the most delivered by the local council. Notable portions of the respondents also claimed that the council provides no services (15%). See figure 42.

Figure 42: Respondents’ opinion regarding services provided by the local council

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49 Justice Providers, March 09, 2016; Elders and Religious Leaders Focus Group Discussion, March 08, 2016; Traditional Elder, March 09, 2016.
50 Governance Providers, March 09, 2016.
In a KII with Zeila mayor, OCVP researchers enquired about the services that the local council did for the public. The mayor summarized it as follows:

*The local council serves the public, be it financial contribution in education, which is a must, and water, sanitation, the lower grade schools, MCH, and to look after the district. All that is their role.*

The Mayor continued to explain that local council is the bridge between the central government and the district. He described this as a positive development in which the public can learn the government policies in order for their needs to be passed further up the chain.

### 3.3.3 Pressing Community Needs

When respondents were asked about their opinion of the most pressing needs in the community, lack of water (84%), lack of infrastructure (56%), unemployment (51%), poor health (46%) and poor education (39%) were mentioned. Poor sanitation and drought were also mentioned by 21% each of the respondents (Fig. 43).

**Figure 43:** Respondents’ perception of the most pressing issues

Among the most pressing needs identified in the qualitative research discussions included water, health, education, roads and unemployment.

#### Water

Unlike the times when people used to fetch water as far as 20 kilometres away, people no longer travel long distance to fetch water. There is a central water reserve inside the town. Water is redistributed to the public through water trucks and by water kiosks. However, there are some people, who fetch it physically using wheelbarrows. The price of one barrel of water was 10,000 Sh withdraw equivalent to around USD1.5 at the time when the research was conducted (9th March 2016). This is relatively expensive considering the living standard level. The Justice providers FGD participants alarmingly identified water as one of the most pressing needs that existed in Zeila. According to one participant in the Justice FGD, the situation will be different when the summer approaches and weather turns less friendly:

*When it is summer time, one water truck cannot supply the whole town. People move away from the town. We move our children outside. There is no water. The barrel of water which is 10,000 Sh will shoot up to 20,000 Sh. You may not even get water with your 20,000, because there is only one water truck to supply all the population.*

#### Health

Most of the basic health services were absent in Zeila. The public hospital was closed and the only health centre available was a mother and child health care (MCH) supported by the Red Crescent. In case of emergency, the nearest place where reliable health facilities are available is Djibouti. The district is also ill-resourced in the logistics to cope with such emergencies. There was no ambulance and the public should rely on private cars.

Elders and Religious leaders FGD participant explained:

*If a mother is about to give birth, the nearest ambulance available should come from Djibouti. The ambulance comes to Lawa’addo and the person should be taken there with another car, whether she dies or survives on the way.*

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53 Mayor, Key Informant Interview, March 09, 2016
54 Ibid.
55 Youth, March 08, 2016; Women, March 08, 2016.
56 Justice Providers, March 09, 2016.
57 Elders and Religious Leaders, March 08, 2016; Justice Providers, March 09, 2016; Women, March 08, 2016
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
60 Elders and Religious Leaders, March 08, 2016.
Education

Both formal and informal educational centres were available in Zeila; public primary and secondary schools were operational. There were also Quranic Madarasas, which serve as the only schooling available in the neighbouring villages outside the main town. Youth FGD participants expressed concerns on the quality of the education, as they pointed out that qualified and quality teachers were not recruited. A participant in the Youth FGD contended that:

"My criticism towards the education here is that the process of recruitment [of teachers] is not through fair examination but through personal acquaintance... there are no quality teachers. In the primary school, the teachers themselves are at eighth grade level."

A participant in the Justice providers FGD explained the consequences this had on the students’ performance: “When the final exam results are issued, our students become one of those with the least levels of performance.”

According to the ministry of education’s representative in Zeila district there is more than one reason of why students poorly perform: “To me the reason why the education is in poor shape is because of lack of control [supervision], availability of quality teachers and lack of facilities such as transportation and funds.”

He also added that lack of community services such as water and health facilities forced many people to move their children to other places where they could get better services and quality education as well.

Roads

Because of the poor roads participants in the women and elders FGD described the town as an island. The rough roads further deteriorate in the rainy season where vehicles are not able to pass until the tracks turn dry again. According to the district police commissioner the poor roads sometimes hamper the effective execution of their operations. Justice providers FGD participant contended that there is remarkable tax revenue generated from the vehicles that pass by Zeila, while the roads are yet untouched. “The roads are yet untouched while there is a lot of revenue generated from the vehicles that pass by”.  

Unemployment

A participant in the governance providers FGD described unemployment as one of the most pressing needs that exist in Zeila: “Local people require jobs creation as most of the government projects don’t reach here because of the long distance [to Zeila]”. In the elders and religious leaders FGD, they complained that the majority of staff that work in the public offices are recruited from outside the district:

Except the police and the court staff. All other staff comes [are recruited from] Hargeisa. Whether the health, agriculture, environment as well as other ministries. If for example one employee is needed in the MCH, that person either comes from Hargeisa or from Borama.

They also made a complaint that local community is deprived of their deserved share in government expenditure as well as employment despite all the tax revenues generated from Zeila custom.

3.3.4 Channels of Communication

A little fewer than five in every ten respondents (49%) in the Zeila District answered affirmative, when they were asked whether they were aware of the existence of channels of communication between the community and the local council. However, four in every ten (44%) reported that they were not aware of such channels (Fig. 44).

61 Justice Providers, March 09, 2016; Mayor, March 09, 2016.  
62 Youth, March 08, 2016; Justice Providers, March 08, 2016.  
63 Ibid.  
64 Justice Providers, March 09, 2016.  
65 Governance Providers, March 09, 2016  
66 Ibid.  
67 Women, March 08, 2016; Elders and Religious Leaders, March 08, 2016.  
68 Police Commissioner, March 09, 2016.  
69 Justice Providers, March 09, 2016  
70 Governance Providers, March 09, 2016  
71 Elders and Religious Leaders, March 08, 2016.  
72 Ibid.
Awareness of channels of communication seemed to be slightly higher among women (55%) than among men at 39% (Fig. 45).

On the disaggregation by subdivision, it was observed that the awareness levels, with regard to channels of communication, were higher in Waaberí at 57% than they were in Awdal (45%) and Sa’adaa-diiin (43%). See Figure 46.

Further examination of the participation in consultations between the local community and the councillors, revealed that 8% of all respondents had participated in local government consultations in the last twelve months (Fig. 47).

Gender disaggregation showed that 9% of male respondents had participated in local council consultation meetings within the last 12 months, which was slightly more than their female counterparts at 6% (Fig. 48).
Along the subdivisions, residents in Awdal subdivision were more likely to have participated in such consultations at 15%, compared with the other two subdivisions with Waaberi following at 7% and Sa’aadadiin at 3%. (Fig. 49).

Gender disaggregation showed that a slightly larger proportion of male respondents had indicated that the election of local governance representatives was important than the female respondents (91%: male vs. 89%: female). On the other hand, similar proportions of male and female respondents (6% each) felt that it was not important. Only 4% female respondents had claimed that they did not know whether or not it was important (Fig. 51).

The mayor confirmed to the OCVP researchers that the local council holds public consultations 1 to 2 times a year. Women FGD participants further avowed that they had participated in some of these consultations:

> When the local council are doing things, they inform us. The mayor calls us and update us on the activities to be done…

3.3.5 Importance of elected representatives

When respondents of the household survey were enquired about their opinions regarding the importance of having elected representatives. A vast majority (91%) acknowledged that elections are important. Minor portion (6%) stated that they felt that it was not important, while 3% did not know whether or not it was important (Fig. 50).

The mayor shares accomplishments with the public annually.74

73 Mayor, March 09, 2016.

74 Women, March 08, 2016.
A similar proportions of respondents in Awdal and Sa’aida-diini (90% each), as well as a slightly higher proportion in Waaberi (93%) felt that the election of representatives was important. Minor proportions were of the opinion that elections were not important in all the three subdivisions (Awdal: 10%, Waaberi: 7% and Sa’aida-diini 3%). See figure 52.

The Qualitative discussion participants had mixed views on whether it is important to have elected local council, however many were of the opinion that election is important. The proponents of elected local council argued that elected councillors act as representatives of their communities and that they care about the existing needs of those communities. Governance providers FGD participant described the election to promote representation and decentralization. The work burden could be shared amongst the councillors, furthermore, every councillor briefs the Mayor on the needs in the location he/she is coming from. The Mayor disseminates information to the central government.

When people claim that the previous way of appointment is better than the election, such people do not understand the meaning of decentralization. Zeila district covers large area of land with a lot of villages which are around 17 villages. There is a representative councillor in each village. So each councillor will give the report of his own village.

On the other hand, there are counter-arguments to the importance of local council elections. The opposing party argued that a lot is lost in the rivalry and the friction between the councillors. Others claimed that the elections have led to clan based mobilizations and the elected members serve for the benefit of their own clans only.

### 3.3.6 Confidence in the Local Council

When asked what level of confidence they had in the local council, an average of around one third of the respondents across all subdivisions (34%) said that they had a high level of trust (very high and fairly high). Contrary, the majority of respondents had an accumulative 65% (Fairly low and very low) of low levels of confidence in the local council. The low confidence in the local council was prevalent in all subdivisions with the highest figure noticed in Awdal subdivision (70%), followed by Sa’aida-diini with 67% and Waaberi with 57% (Fig. 53).

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75 Youth, March 08, 2016.
76 Governance Providers, March 09, 2016.
77 Governance, March 09, 2016.
78 Youth, March 08, 2016.
79 Youth, March 08, 2016; Justice Providers, March 09, 2016.
With regard to gender disaggregation, it was observed that males seemed to have relatively more confidence in the local council than their female counterparts (male: 42% vs female: 30%). On the other hand, more than two third (69%) of the women had less confidence in the local council compared with men at 57% (Fig. 54).

Analysis along gender lines revealed that men (45%) had been more likely to state that they felt that the council’s performance had improved than women (38%). On the converse, a larger proportion of women (23%) had indicated that they believed that there had been no change than the proportion of men that had (12%). Men (36%) on the other hand, outnumbered women (28%) for those respondents who believed that there had been a decline in the performance of the local council. See figure 56.

3.3.7 Performance of the Local Council

When asked about their opinions in regard to the performance of the local council in comparison to the previous year, four in every ten (41%) stated that they thought that the council’s performance had improved, close to two in every ten (19%) felt that there had been no change while close to one third (31%) had a negative view of that there had been a decline in the performance of the local council over the preceding year. 9% said that they did not know (Fig. 55).
Across the subdivisions, it was observed that residents in Sa’aida-iiin (improved: 47% vs. declined: 30%) and Waaberi (improved: 43% vs. declined: 27%) had been more likely to have a positive outlook with regard to the performance of the local council in comparison to residents in the Awdal subdivision (Improved: 30% vs. declined: 40%). See figure 57.

When asked their opinion about the local council performance, qualitative research participants had varying views. Majority had a positive view towards the achievement made by the local council. They praised them in their support and contributions in the physical infrastructure such as building new premises for the government agencies, police stations and schools. Sanitation and garbage collection was also cited. However, Justice Providers FGD participants, pointed out that there are more services that are missing and that the local council are still not performing to their best: “Besides construction, we want them to also consider other services such as education, water and the roads”.  

When asked his view on the existing criticisms on the performance of his administration, Zeila mayor argued:

“When criticism gets too much, such is the case with the Mayors and, time isn’t given for them to do their job then that is not good. There is a time and a place for accountability to ask what has been accomplished and what is left. But if you keep being attacked all the time then that’s counterproductive.”

80 Women, March 08; 2016, Youth, March 08, 2016; Justice Providers, March 09, 2016.
81 Justice Providers, March 09, 2016.
82 Mayor, March 09, 2016.
4. CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

At the time of the assessment, no major outbreaks of conflict and/or violence particularly between clans or groups had been reported in Zeila over the past twelve months. Conflicts arose from phenomena such as people trafficking, and minor disagreements between people, which resulted in physical or domestic disputes. Nonetheless, in general a majority of survey participants expressed to be feeling safe in the district.

4.1. Experience of Conflict and Violence

Respondents who reported awareness of clan or group conflict taking place within the 12-month period prior to the assessment made up 21% (n=16) of the sample. The vast majority of respondents (79%), however, were not aware of any such conflicts having occurred in the district during the previous year (Fig. 58).

Awareness of the occurrence of conflict was highest in Waaber, followed by Awdal, then lastly Sa’aada-diin, with nearly a third (27%) of the respondents in Waaber, and one in every two (20%) having indicated such awareness compared with over one in every ten (17%) (Fig. 60).

Upon further enquiry, it emerged that up to 14% of all respondents in Zeila had actually witnessed conflict
between clans or groups within the 12 months prior to the assessment (Fig. 61).

Figure 61: Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups

![Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups (last 12 months)](image)

The analysis of data along gender lines revealed that male respondents (14%) had been more than twice as likely to have indicated an account of witnessing conflict as female respondents at 5% had been (Fig. 62).

Figure 62: Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups by gender

![Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups by gender](image)

Upon disaggregation by subdivision it was further noted that residents from Sa’aida-diin (17%) followed by Awdal (15%) and lastly Waaberi (10%) stated that they had actually witnessed conflict between clans or groups within the last year (Fig. 63).

Figure 63: Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups by subdivision

![Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups by subdivision](image)

Furthermore, of the respondents who reported witnessing conflict in the previous year (n = 11), over seven in ten went on to state that they had witnessed one conflict, with 9% each stating that the number of conflicts had been two, three, and five (Fig. 64).

Figure 64: Number of conflicts witnessed in the past twelve months

![Number of conflicts witnessed in the past twelve months](image)

When it was further questioned as to how many of those conflicts witnessed had led to violence, almost two in every ten (18%) of those who had witnessed the conflicts said that only one of them had led to violence while the remainder (9%) stated that four conflicts had led to violence (Fig. 65).
4.2. Dynamics of Conflict and Violence

When questioned as to the cause(s) of the conflicts witnessed, 73% of the respondents (11) said conflicts had been about resources (land), a further 36% also stated that the conflicts had involved power/cultural struggle, and a lesser 9% believed that the lack of justice had caused conflict (Fig. 67).

In FGDs and KIIs, participants reiterated how peaceful the Zeila district was. They told that the few occurrences of conflicts or safety concerns were mostly domestic violence or people traffickers, who smuggle people into the neighbouring countries, not always safely.\(^\text{83}\) The Zeila Police Commissioner went on stating that the trafficking phenomenon had in recent times become drastically less visible in Zeila, owing to the co-ordinated dedication of the police force:

\begin{quote}
Those youths, both boys and girls will come running to the coast, once they come we receive calls and given the number of runaways and we apprehend as many as God lets us. Then we investigate and it surfaces that Abolle [local slang word for people trafficker] has contacted the kids and then we arrest the Abolle. Thankfully in the previous year, 2015, we arrested over 25 Abolle. They are in custody even though some were acquitted, circa 15 have been sentenced between 2-5 years in prison.\(^\text{84}\)
\end{quote}

Not only have the police dealt with disputes, but also traditional elder and local council. In the key informant interview with the traditional elder, he mentioned a dispute between the fisheries and finance departments. The origin of the dispute concerned a construction of a wall for the customs department; the dispute between those departments led to a March and public outcry against the head of customs, who was perceived to be at fault. What had started out as an inter-departmental disagreement seemed to cause uproar within the city and the situation was not calmed until the Mayor stepped in, and elders spoke out on TV to plead the public for patience whilst the authorities were dealing with the matter.\(^\text{85}\)

In the KII with the Traditional Elder, he reiterated the peaceful nature of the district owing perhaps to the limited number of inhabitants. Further, he said that the main causes of instability are new arrivals or temporary residents, along with thieves.\(^\text{86}\)

Of all respondents in Zeila, only 3% gave an account of having witnessed violence or crime against someone outside their own homestead (Fig. 67).

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\(^{83}\) Justice Providers, March 09, 2016.

\(^{84}\) Police Commissioner, March 09, 2016

\(^{85}\) Traditional Elder, March 08, 2016

\(^{86}\) Traditional Elder, March 08, 2016
The likelihood of having witnessed a crime or violence against someone outside of the homestead was observed to be almost similar among male and female respondents (Fig. 68).

Analysis of witnessing a crime or violence outside the homestead along subdivisions showed that all (3% each) those who reported to have witnessed such a crime were the respondents in Sa’aada-diin and Waaber subdivisions (Fig.69).

4.3. Perception of safety

A distinct majority (99%) stated that they felt very safe in Zeila, with only 1% stating that did not know (Fig. 70).

Almost equal proportions of male (97%) and female (100%) respondents had indicated that they felt very safe, and only 3% of the male sample had indicated that they felt rather safe (Fig. 71).
There was a distinction between the safety perceptions in the two subdivisions, with all (100%) of the respondents in Sa’aada-diin and Waaberi that felt very safe, as opposed to 95% of the respondents in Awdal where the remainder 5% felt rather safe (Fig. 73).

A larger proportion of female respondents (96%) had indicated a perception of an increase in safety than the proportion of male respondents (88%), while a larger portion of the male respondents (12%) had indicated that there had been no change than the portion of female respondents that had (4%). See figure 74.

While all the respondents (100%) in Sa’aada-diin Subdivision had the perception of an increase in safety over the year preceding the assessment, respondents holding a similar opinion in Waaberi had been close to nine in every ten (93%) and eight in every ten (80%) resided in Awdal. In addition, most of those who had
stated that they felt that there had been no change came from Awdal and made up nearly one quarter (20%) of the sampled residents, whereas only 7% in Waaberi stated the same (Fig. 75).

Figure 75: Perception of safety-yearly trend by subdivision
5. CONCLUSION

In Zeila there are a district court, a regional court and an appeal court. The regional court and appeal court are both fairly new (from the beginning of 2016), hence most people in the household survey were only aware of one court in Zeila. Beforehand, mobile courts from the Awdal region would provide justice in cases of serious crime; or when the cases were beyond the scope of the Zeila court.

Both the formal justice system (the courts) and the informal justice system (the traditional elders) are widely used in Zeila. The courts deal with all kinds of cases, whereas the traditional elders primarily deal with civil matters. The most prevalent issues referred to the justice providers had been business disputes, household violence and assault, whereas smuggling and trafficking was the most prevailing cases in the court.

The usage of traditional elders was very common and the reasons for this were related to the lower issuance and enforcement of judgments by the courts. Together with the absence of court premises, which left the court with the option of using the police station when hearing and judging criminal cases. This promotes the perception that courts are not independent from the police and also lowered the trust people have in the courts.

Security is provided by both formal and informal entities. Police as a formal security provider is overstretched and operate under poor transportation to respond to security incidences in the distant places outside Zeila town. Despite of this there are no reported security alarms or prevalent outbreaks of crime and violence in the town, as the role of the informal security providers such as the elders is very pivotal to the provision of security. However, the district is adjacent to the Ethiopian border, and Djibouti therefore, cross-border migration issues need sufficient presence of formal security providers.

Being a B-grade district, Zeila has a local council comprised of seventeen councillors. The local council provides basic services and had done a commendable job despite all the challenges that exist. Furthermore, there are informal providers such as traditional elders and religious leaders that are also utilised by the local community. Although 100% of the respondents were aware of the local council, its inability to meet the public’s expectations of services such as health, water, employment and well-kept infrastructure, had led to a negative perception and low public confidence. The long distance from the capital city and the geographical isolation of the town had further contributed to the difficulty in the decentralization of government offices and resources.

Zeila had not witnessed any major outbreaks of violent conflict or crime in the year leading up to the assessment. While a small portion of the household survey respondents claimed to either have been aware of or personally witnessed conflict within the last year, very few of those incidences had escalated to the point of violence. The most common safety concern was people trafficking, leading some young women to be raped by the smugglers. Despite that, most residents of Zeila felt safe and a majority felt that the levels of safety had improved compared to the previous year.
### 6. ANNEXES

#### 6.1. Glossary of Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<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. Additional 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 formal justice system involves civil and criminal justice and includes formal state-based justice institutions and procedures, such as police, prosecution, courts (religious and secular) and custodial measures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>&quot;Gender&quot; refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance provider</td>
<td>Formal institutions or Individuals that act, process, or possess the authority of governing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Justice System</td>
<td>Dispute resolution mechanisms falling outside the scope of the formal justice system. The 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>
</tbody>
</table>
ZEILA DISTRICT CONFLICT AND SECURITY ASSESSMENT REPORT

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Contact: info@ocvp.org