District Conflict and Security Assessment Report

BALANBALE DISTRICT

DECEMBER 2015
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Finally, we are grateful to the local authorities in Balanbale District for giving us the permission to conduct this assessment in the district.
### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASWJ</td>
<td>Ahlu Sunna Waljama’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCSA</td>
<td>District Conflict and Security Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>FGDs</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KII</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRS</td>
<td>Systematic Random Sampling</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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Map of Balanbale

Adopted from UN OCHA
DISTRICT PROFILE

Balanbale district is situated in western Galgudud region of South Central Somalia on the Somalia-Ogaden border. The district is the third largest township in Galgudud region and the Ugaas Faarax subclan of Marehan dominates its populace. The district consists of six Sub-divisions, namely: Dhagax-barkato, Goronyo-hoor, Canjiidle, Waaber and IDP.

By the year 1982, the town was conquered by the Ethiopian forces. As a result, the fighting between the Somali and Ethiopian forces led to the destruction of the entire infrastructure and public institutions. Civilians also lost their residences as well as valuable assets and resources. The Ethiopian forces finally withdrew in 1988 leaving the town full of land mines planted during the fighting.

Since the collapse of the Somali state, Balanbale's population has roughly doubled, with new residents, including IDPs. Most households make their living from livestock raised in the nearby countryside. As the basic social amenities have withered away in the decades of state collapse, diaspora from Balanbale and Abud-wak recently established schools and hospitals including Balanbale Mothers and Children’s Hospital.
SCOPE
The District Conflict and Security Assessment is designed to gather community perceptions regarding service providers, accessibility and effectiveness of the services they provide. Information / data has been gathered according to four progress indicators relating to service provision: justice, governance, security and conflict. While a district may contain a major urban settlement (main town) and a number of smaller surrounding villages, it is the unfortunate reality that the type of public services this assessment is aiming to measure are concentrated primarily within the main town of the district, while at the village level they are either inadequate or completely absent. Keeping this in mind, this assessment was designed for and carried out in the major urban settlement of the district; the Balanbale town.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Continual assessments of issues directly affecting the community’s safety and security is always crucial for effective evidence – based programming, informed decision making and measuring the impact of related programmatic interventions. They enable a better understanding of what works and does not work at the community level thus protracting that clear picture to stakeholders. With this in mind, the district level assessments conducted by OCVP 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 Balanbale District. The assessment was conducted from the 18th to the 24th of October 2015. Key Research findings are presented below.

Security

At the time of data collection, there was no police station in operation in Balanbale. The entire police force comprised of thirty officers and they operated without sufficient equipment such as guns and ammunition, uniforms, communication and transportation facilities. About one half of the household survey respondents were aware of their existence, despite the lowest awareness being reported by the IDP respondents. A majority of the household respondents who were aware of police presence also pointed out that there was one station in the district. Due to the limited resources police would from time to time operate from rental premises, it is because of the lack of police owned premises, that they relied heavily on the collaboration of the community by apprehending suspects in civilian owned houses. In order to reduce the number of prisoners in the hands of the police, they relied on informal security mechanisms by handing over culprits to their respective elders to settle cases through the Xeer-system. The traditional elders were also the most preferred security providers to attend to security incidences involving civil matters, petty or serious crimes. As a by-product of the respect they have within the communities, the traditional elders have emerged to be the most trusted institution to be referred to in responding to crimes and violence. Possibly owing to the challenges faced by the police, a majority of respondents felt that police performance had not improved over the 12 months prior to the assessment.

Justice

There was no functional court in the district during the data collection. Court officials had been appointed but could not deliver their responsibilities and attend to their duties due to the absence of a courthouse and security to guarantee their safety. Accordingly, an outright majority of respondents in the household survey reported that there was no court in Balanbale. The informal justice system consisting of traditional elders and religious leaders was reported to be the only means of justice provision within the district, adjudicating all categories of crimes and conflicts largely due to the cooperation and respect obtained from the society which gained compliance to their judgments and rulings. Almost one in every ten respondents in the survey had used traditional elders in the year preceding the assessment and about as many as a half had used religious leaders. Household violence and business disputes were the two most common factors in each of the cases. A judgement was issued and complied with in all the cases that were taken to both religious leaders and the traditional elders. Religious leaders were the most trusted justice provider in solving cases, having been mentioned by two thirds of the respondents as such, followed by
traditional elders who were mentioned by a little under one third. In all cases, the most cited reason for such trust had been the fair judgements that victims receive.

**Governance Providers**

The district’s administration comprises of a mayor and two deputies who were appointed by the Federal Government’s Ministry of Interior and Federal Affairs in 2013 and several secretaries appointed by the mayor. When household respondents were asked their awareness of the existence of local council in the district, the majority said that they were not aware of such council. While qualitative participants argued that this council existed in name but was not functional. Furthermore, over half of the respondents did not know any service provided by the council/administration and, over 31% of those who were aware mentioned security provision as a service provided by the council/administration. This claim was substantiated by the mayor who said the local administration focused on preventing conflict and violence that could have resulted in clan rivalry.

Basic needs such as education, health and water were the most pressing needs of the community. In a discussion on the poor service delivery, the mayor pointed out lack of revenues as being the biggest hindrance to service delivery. Regarding the importance of elected officers, the majority of the respondents believed in the importance of an elected council arguing that this would have improved service delivery. Women FGDs, however, stated that no leadership would perform delivery of services unless financial and technical resources are availed to them.

**Conflict and Violence**

The findings indicate that there has been a downturn in incidences of conflict and violence in Balanbale, as over 90% of respondents had not witnessed conflict between clans or groups within the last 12 months. However, survey respondents identified family disputes, youth violence and lack of justice, business and power as well as cultural struggle as the main causes of the observed conflicts in the district. In the same vein, the qualitative participants presented further causes of conflict, such as competition over resources, water channels and political rivalry. Competition between Clans to dominate each other, particularly where there are no clear borders, coupled with migration in search for grazing land and drinking water causes tension and acts of violence, sometimes resulting in deaths. The decline in the occurrence of incidences of conflict and violence relative to the previous years resulted in a general feeling of safety among respondents. Furthermore both formal and informal providers were involved in conflict resolution, although FGD participants suggested traditional elders were perceived more relevant due to their expertise on Somali Xeer system. Perception of the community in terms of safety indicated that 54% of respondents saw an improvement, even though a large minority (40%) reported they had seen no change compared to previous year. The general attitudes expressed towards the formal institutions, and the security forces in particular, however indicate that there remains much to be done in order to completely restore peace and stability within the society.
1. METHODOLOGY

1.1. Overview
As part of its continual assessment on issues directly affecting community security and safety, OCVP conducted an extensive collection of primary data in the Balanbale District of the Galgaduud region in South Central Somalia.

In order to comprehensively understand the thematic areas under investigation, a mixed-method was employed to allow the research team to triangulate information acquired in both the data collection and the subsequent analysis. The household survey aimed at obtaining a representative picture of the target population’s 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 100 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 posed to respondents from randomly selected households. OCVP’s two trained data enumerators and two local supporters (with local acquaintances and knowledge on borders between subdivisions) under the supervision of an OCVP supervisor, managed to collect 100 responses in Canjiidle, Dhagax-barkato, Goronyo-hoor, Waaberi, and IDP Sub-divisions (Table 1), from October 18 to October 24, 2015.

OCVP employed a modified Systematic Random Sampling (SRS) approach where enumerators randomly selected the 3rd 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>Canjiidle</td>
<td>Male 9  Female 11</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhagax-barkato</td>
<td>Male 10  Female 10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goronyo-hoor</td>
<td>Male 10  Female 10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waaberi</td>
<td>Male 11  Female 9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Male 10  Female 10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total sample</strong></td>
<td>Male 50  Female 50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 The selection of every 3rd household was reduced to every 2nd household later in the stage due to the availability of respondents as several of the households were unoccupied.
1.4. Focus Group Discussions

The second research tool utilised was a series of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) aimed at capturing participants’ perceptions of security and justice providers (formal and informal), governance providers and their experiences in the dynamics of conflict and violence. The FGDs were conducted between the 19th and 21st of October 2015 at SADO organisation office (see breakdown at Table 2). Each discussion group lasted for about an hour.

A total of six groups with the composition of ten participants in each were represented in the FGDs: women; youth; elders; justice providers (formal and informal); and governance providers (formal), IDPs. A local organiser assisted in the recruitment of the participants based on clan-lines, geographic coverage, social class, gender and age (as well as occupation 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 2: Distribution of focus group participants by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus Group</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elders</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice Providers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance Providers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5. Key Informant Interviews

The third method utilised for data collection was personal interviews with key informants who possessed experiential knowledge and practical experience 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 22nd and 23rd of October 2015 at the respective offices of the interviewees. A convenient venue was organised for those who did not have offices. Each interview lasted for about half an hour. Five key informants were interviewed, including: The Mayor, District Police Commissioner, Key Religious Leader and Key Traditional Elder and IDP Chairperson.

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

Table 3: Key Informant Interview participants

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

Page 2
2. PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Equal proportion (male: 50% and female: 50%) of both genders were interviewed during the household survey (Fig.1). A gender balance had been emphasised to allow a clear depiction of the differences in experiences, views, and insights between the two genders in relation to the areas that were assessed.

Figure 1: Gender distribution of respondents

Over half (65%) of the sampled respondents were aged between 20 and 39 years, with 35% of respondents falling in the 20-29 year age group and 29% in the 30-39 year age group. Approximately 18% of respondents were between the ages of 40 and 49 years, whereas the least represented categories were that of individuals aged under 20 (all of who were males) and 60 and above, making up only 2% and 5% of the sample respectively.

Figure 2: Age distribution of respondents by gender

The broad majority (85%) of those interviewed were married, whereas singles and divorced categories each made up 6% of the sample. The least represented category was the divorcees while the widowed made up (2%), as shown in figure 3.

Figure 3: Marital status of the respondents
With regard to the level of education received by the respondents, approximately half (48%) of the respondents had attended Quranic Madarasa and about a quarter (26%) of respondents had never been educated. While approximately a quarter (24%) of the sample had received some form of formal education, including 9% of respondents who had been educated to primary level, 8% to intermediate level and 7% to secondary level. The least represented group, making up 2% of the sample, featured respondents who had been self-schooled (Fig 4).

Figure 4: Respondents’ education levels

The distribution of education along gender lines shows that more males were educated than females (male: 80% vs. female: 68%). In addition, the educational gap between the two genders widened in the higher levels, i.e., intermediate and secondary levels where approximately one quarter (24%) of the males were educated to this levels as compared to 6% of the females. In contrast, women scored higher than men in the primary (14% vs. 4% respectively) and 32% of the females were as never educated as 20% of the males.

Equal portions of both genders were self-schooled (2% each). See figure 5.

Figure 5: Respondents’ education levels by gender
3. SECURITY, JUSTICE AND GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

3.2. SECURITY PROVIDERS

In the absence of strong government institutions, the bulk of work involved in the provision of security had fallen largely on the hands of the traditional elders in Balanbale. While there was a police force present in the district, it was observed, at the time of data collection, to be severely under-resourced and with very few police officers. Nonetheless, Balanbale had not experienced any major incidences of conflict or widespread outbreaks of crime and violence in recent times. A developing conflict between Ahlu Sunna Waljama’a (ASWJ) and the Federal government was however said to be causing some fear among the local population although no fighting had occurred between the Somali National Army and ASWJ within the district.2

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

3.1.1. Level of Deployment

Slightly over half of the respondents (52%) were aware of the police presence, while 35% did not and 13% could not give a definite answer (Fig.6).

When responses on police presence were disaggregated by gender, a larger portion of male respondents was aware of police presence than that of female respondents (60% vs. 44% respectively). In contrast, a larger proportion of those who could not give an outright answer were female (20%) as 6% of the male counter parts fell in the same category (Fig.7).

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2 Balanbale District Police Commissioner, Key Informant Interview, 23rd October 2015.
Figure 7: Respondents’ awareness of police presence by gender

Area based analysis of police awareness suggested that two-thirds or more of the respondents in Dhagaxbarkato, Goronyo-hoor and Waaberi sub-divisions were aware of police presence. Respondents in Canjidle and IDPs were least aware of police presence (30% and 10% respectively), see figure 8.

Figure 8: Respondents’ awareness of police presence by subdivision

During a key informant interview, the District Police Commissioner informed OCVP researchers that at that time, there was no police station in the district. This claim was reiterated during another key informant’s interview with a respected traditional elder as well as various focus group discussions. The Police Commissioner further asserted that in the absence of a police station and consequently a jail, the police faced difficulties in the execution of their duty, especially when the family members of arrested culprits attempted to take the culprit in question out of their custody. At times, the police resorted to requesting community members with fenced and gated compounds to provide their houses for the detention of culprits. On the same topic, he stated that from time to time, the police would use rented premises as a police station but they often got evicted for failure to pay rent.

Of the respondents who had indicated an awareness of police presence, the majority (87%) went on to state that they were aware of the existence of one station, likely referring to one of the rented premises that the Police Commissioner had mentioned alluded to during his key informant interview (Fig. 9).

Figure 9: Respondents estimation of the number of police stations

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4 Traditional Elder, Key Informant Interview, 22nd October 2015
5 Balanbale Women, Focus Group Discussion, 20th October 2015; Balanbale Governance Providers, Focus Group Discussion, 21st October 2015 Balanbale Internally Displaced Persons, Focus Group Discussion, 20th October 2015 and Balanbale Youth, Focus Group Discussion, 19th October 2015
6 Balanbale District Police Commissioner, KII, Ibid
7 Balanbale District Police Commissioner, KII, Ibid
With regard to distance to the nearest police station, close to half (46%) of the respondents who had indicated an awareness of police presence reported that it would take them 20 minutes to walk to the nearest station from their homes. A quarter of the respondents (25%) estimated the distance to be 20-41 minutes while 13% estimated over 41 minutes but within an hour (Fig. 10).

When looking at the subdivisions, residents of Waaber, followed by those in Goronyo-hoor and Dhaqax-barkato reported to be closest to their local police station, with 64%, 60% and 40% respectively indicating that the police station was within 20 minutes of their homes. One third (33%) of the respondents in Dhaqax-barkato and Canjiidle were within 20-40 minutes to the nearest police station, while half (50%) and one quarter (33%) of the respondents in Canjiidle and IDPs were within more than 40 minutes of walking to the local police station (Fig. 11).

3.1.2. Challenges to Effective Security provision

Internally Displaced Persons in the Focus Group Discussions reported that there were only thirty (30) police officers operating in Balanbale and were in consensus that this number was severely insufficient in proportion to the size and population of the district. In their respective FGDs, religious leaders and traditional elders also reported being aware of a similar number of police officers. One of the religious leaders lamented:

*The police are very few. There are only thirty officers without any equipment and these are not even enough to cover one village.*

Further to that, the police were said to be operating under severe resource constraints, not only lacking a police station as mentioned above but also without transportation to respond to security incidences, communication equipment, uniforms and even guns and ammunition. A participant in the women’s FGD stated:

*The police lack an office or station, equipment to use in the office and uniforms for identification. Furthermore, even the guns they use are borrowed from the public.*

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9 *Balanbale Traditional Elders*, Focus Group Discussion, 19th October 2015 and *Balanbale Religious Leaders*, Focus Group Discussion, 21st October 2015
3.1.3. **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, 61% of them preferred the Traditional Elders. The Religious Leaders were mentioned by the second largest proportion of respondents 17%, followed by the police at 14% (Fig. 12). When it came to civil matters along gender lines, almost equal proportion of both genders (female: 62%, male: 60%) favoured the Traditional Elders in this regard (Fig. 13).

![Figure 12: Reporting preference - civil matters](image1)

![Figure 13: Reporting preference - civil matters by gender](image2)

With respect to instances of **petty crimes** such as theft and household violence, the traditional elders remained the preferred entity to report to, with two thirds of the respondents (66%) stating them. The court was preferred by 15%, religious leaders were chosen by 11% and only 1% of the respondents had preference for the local council (Fig. 14). Looking at gender variations, the majority of both males and females indicated that they would prefer to report petty crimes to the traditional elders. However, slightly a greater proportion of males identified the traditional elders as their preferred choice (68% of males vs. 64% of females). Notably, while approximately two in ten female respondents (18%) and two-in ten (12%) stated that they would prefer to report petty crimes to the police. (Fig. 15).

![Figure 14: Reporting preference - petty crimes](image3)
Figure 15: Reporting preference for petty crimes by gender

Figure 16: Reporting preference - serious crimes

Figure 17: Reporting preference for serious crimes by gender

Regarding reporting **serious crimes** such as grave assault, rape and murder, the traditional elders still remained the preferred choice at 63%, while police and religious leaders were identified as the preferred option by 15% and 13% of respondents respectively (Fig.16). Considering the gender variations, almost similar proportions of both genders (male: 64% vs. female: 62%) preferred traditional elders for reporting serious crimes. Notably, when it came to serious crimes, the proportion of both genders who preferred police was similar to one of the petty crimes (male: 18% vs. female: 12%). Furthermore, slightly more male preferred religious leaders than women (12% and 10% respectively). See figure 17.

### 3.1.3. Perception of Security Providers

Regarding the most trusted security provider in responding to crimes and violence, 78% of the respondents mentioned that they trusted the informal security providers. Almost half (48%) of the respondents identified traditional elders as their most trusted entity that is capable to respond to crime and violence while 30% of the respondents trusted religious leaders.
Those who trusted formal institutions as security providers were 17% of the respondents. Among them, 16% trusted the police and only 1% local authority (Fig.18)

Figure 18: Most trusted security provider in responding to crime and violence

Analysis of the most trusted security providers along gender lines showed that equal proportions of both gender trusted traditional elders. More males trusted religious leaders than their female counterparts (male: 32% vs. female: 28%), but more female respondents trusted the police than males (female: 18% vs. male: 12%). See figure 19.

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

A majority (88%) of those who had stated that the traditional elders are their most trusted security providers went on to state that the reason for their trust was the respect accorded to the elders. Respect was also the most commonly cited reason among those who had preferred religious leaders as their most trusted security provider, having been chosen by 59% of the respondents. The single respondent who had chosen the local authority as their most trusted security provider stated that the reason for that trust was ease of access, (Table 4).

Table 4: 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>Traditional elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast response</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbiased enforcement</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are respected</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of access</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s their job</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Base 48 29 1 16

Speaking to role that traditional elders play in the provision of security, the Police Commissioner informed OCVP researchers that due to the fact that the formal justice system faced constraints such as limited detention centres. The prevailing practice was to forward a suspect who had been arrested to the informal justice providers (traditional elders) without them completing the statutory period for detention. When he was asked what the most prevalent crimes in the district were, he stated:

Mostly robberies, we arrest someone and detain them for 24 hours and have to forward the person to courts but since there is no formal court, we therefore send the offender/criminal to their respective elders to resolve the matter further.12

When respondents’ perception on the trust in the police (as a formal security provider) was gauged, the proportion who held high trust in the police and the proportion who held a low trust happened to be similar (high trust: 48% vs. low trust: 49%), see figure 20.

Figure 20: Respondents’ level of trust towards police in responding to crime

![Pie chart showing levels of trust towards police](image)

3.1.3. Police Performance

The household survey respondents were further enquired of their perception of the current performance of the police in relation to the previous year. Hence, close to two thirds (64%) stated that the police performance had remained the same. Close to two in every ten (18%) felt that it had improved while 13% felt that there had been a decline and 5% were not sure (Fig. 21).

Figure 21: Perception of the performance of the police - yearly trend

![Pie chart showing performance perceptions](image)

Equal portions (64%) of both male and female respondents felt that there had been no change in the performance of the police while a slightly larger portion of male respondents (22%) felt that there had been an improvement than that of female respondents (14%). Almost similar proportions of males and females respectively (14% vs. 12%) felt that there had been a decline in the performance of the police. Respondents who had not had an opinion on the matter had been female and had made up 10% of the sampled women (Fig. 22).
Among the subdivisions, Waaberi had the largest portion of its resident respondents (45%) reporting that there had been an improvement in the performance of the police. In Dhagax-barkato 30% of the respondents held a similar view as did 15% of those in Goronyo-hoor. None of the respondents in Canjiidle or among the IDPs felt that there had been an improvement. The proportion of respondents among the IDPs that felt that there had been a decline in police performance at 35% was significantly larger than the portions holding a similar view in the Subdivisions (10% each in Dhagax-barkato, Goronyo-hoor and Canjiidle and none in Waaberi). See figure 23.
3.2. JUSTICE PROVIDERS

This section attempts an investigation of the various justice providers operating in Balanbale District. It presents participants and/or respondents views and insights regarding the justice providers. At the same time, it generally examines the state of justice provision, including the challenges faced by the providers, the level of trust they enjoy and trends in their performance over time.

3.2.1. Level of deployment

At the time of data collection, there was no formal court in operation in the district. In a focus group discussion with governance providers, it was pointed out that court officials had recently been appointed, but in the absence of a courthouse to operate in and security to guarantee their safety, they had not yet started working. In light of that, only informal justice providers (traditional elders using customary law and religious leaders employing Shari’ah law) were active within the district. This state of affairs was confirmed by consensus in various qualitative discussions.

In the household survey, an outright majority (95%) of the respondents also confirmed the absence of courts in the district. Only two respondents (2%) thought there was a court in Balanbale while three others (3%) were not sure whether or not there was one (Fig. 24).

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Further analysis along gender lines revealed that all those who had thought that there was a court had been men, making up 4% of the male sample in the survey while all those who had stated that they did not know had been women, making up 6% of the female sample (Fig. 26).

3.2.2. Performance of the Justice Providers

Despite operating in the absence of a formal justice system, the informal justice system was observed to have taken it in stride, adjudicating all categories of conflicts and prosecuting crimes as they were presented. According to reports from qualitative discussants, the lack of the power of enforcement had not adversely impaired their capacity to operate effectively, because the level of cooperation from the community and the authority accorded to their status in the society helped to ensure compliance with judgements. In a key informant interview, OCVP researchers were informed by a traditional elder:

We use equality and justice before the law and this aids in our enforcement since the all the people accept our judgments.

According to the religious leader who gave a key informant interview to OCVP researchers, occupy a particularly special position in the district in terms of respect, trust and authority. He stated that:

The religious leaders are often like the judges in the justice provision. We are mostly called upon to deliver judgments/rulings after a resolution has not been reached in the elders system and the matter is forwarded to us. There is no failure with the religious leaders.

Among some of the types of issues that religious leaders were said to handle included cases relating to blood money (compensation in the event of murder or death occasioned by injury), disagreements arising from parties denying their responsibilities for crimes adjudicated under the Xeer system and reparation in the event of car accidents.

In the household survey, close to one in every ten respondents interviewed (9%) reported having used traditional elders for an issue of justice at some point in the 12 months preceding the assessment, while 4%
reported that they had used religious leaders and none reported using the court (Fig. 27).

Figure 27: Usage of justice providers

Upon gender comparison it was observed that at 12% male respondents were twice as likely to report usage of traditional elders as their female counterparts were at 6%. Conversely, a portion of the female sample thrice as large as that of male respondents (6%: female vs. 2% male) reported usage of religious leaders (Fig. 28).

Close to one half (46%) of the respondents who stated that they had traditional elders within the year prior to the assessment went on to state that the issue had involved household violence. Almost one quarter (23%) had involved business disputes and robbery had accounted for 15% of the cases. Among those who had used traditional elders the main issues had been household violence and business disputes at 40% each followed by land disputes at 20% (Table 5).

Table 5: Issues referred to justice providers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues referred to different justice Providers</th>
<th>Justice providers</th>
<th>Traditional Elders</th>
<th>Religious Leaders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land dispute</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business dispute</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth violence</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household violence</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the respondents who had used religious leaders within the year prior to the assessment further stated
that they had received a judgement on their matter, while among those who had used traditional elders, all but 11% had also received a judgement by the time of data collection (Fig. 29).

**Figure 29: Issuance of judgments**

Findings indicate that all issued judgements were enforced, irrespective of the entity that made the judgement in the first instance (Fig. 30).

**Figure 30: Enforcement of judgments**

Approximately three quarters (72%) of female respondents stated that they trusted the religious leaders more than male respondents who were at 60%. While at 34%, male respondents were slightly more likely to have stated that they trusted traditional elders than female respondents at 26% (Fig. 32)

**3.2.3. Perception of the Justice Providers**

When respondents in the household survey were asked to state who among the justice providers they trusted the most in solving cases, two thirds (66%) mentioned religious leaders, while almost a third (30%) mentioned traditional elders. Despite there being no operational court in the district, a small portion (3%) of the respondents mentioned the courts whereas 1% said that they trusted none of the justice providers (Fig. 31).

**Figure 31: Respondents' choice of must trusted justice provider**

**Figure 32: Respondents' choice of most trusted justice provider by gender**
Upon further investigation of the reasons behind the trust accorded to the justice providers, it was observed that fair judgements were a key factor in determining trust, having been mentioned by a majority of the respondents who had declared that they trust any of the providers (91%: religious leaders, 60%: traditional elders and 67%: court). The other key factor observed was reliability, which was mentioned by 33% each among the respondents who had stated that they trust traditional elders and the court (Table 6).

Table 6: Reasons for trust of justice providers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for trust of justice provider</th>
<th>Most trusted justice provider in solving cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast decisions</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair judgment</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence from politics</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less costly</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More reliable</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents were also asked what level of confidence they had in the formal justice system which, beyond the courts, also includes the other actors in the criminal justice arena such as the police, prosecutors and correctional authorities who worked collectively to respond, investigate, prosecute, adjudicate and enforce judgements. Responses to this question were split almost halfway between the positive and the negative, with a cumulative 42% indicating some level of confidence and 38% stating that they were not confident. Two in every ten (20%) were not sure of how to answer (Fig. 33).

Gender disaggregation showed almost similar proportions of male and female respondents having answered that they either felt very confident (24%: male and 20%: female) or fairly confident (22%: male and 18%: female. A larger portion of male respondents (44%), than female respondents (32%) were not confident. Conversely, a larger portion of female respondents indicated that they did not know than that of male respondents (30%: female vs. 10%: male). See figure 34.
Across the subdivisions, all (100%) of the respondents in Goronyo-hoor, nine in every ten (90%) of the those in Canjiidle, three quarters (75%) of those in Dhagax-barkato, two thirds (65%) of those among the IDPS and six in every ten (60%) of those in Waaberi reported that there had been no change in the performance of the formal court over the past year (Fig. 36).

Along gender lines, men were observed to have been more likely to assert that there had been no change, having done so at 90% as opposed to 66% of the female respondents. Conversely, a larger portion of the female sample (28%) reported that they did not know than that of the male sample (6%). See figure 37.
Figure 37: Perception of the performance of the court: yearly trend by gender

[Bar chart showing the percentage of respondents within each gender for 'No change', 'Declined', and 'Don’t know' categories.]
3.3. GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

3.3.1 Level of Deployment

The Local Government in Balanbale is headed by a District Commissioner, who also serves as the Mayor. The Mayor has two deputies and a number of secretaries. The District’s leadership was appointed in 2013 by the Federal Government’s Ministry of Interior and Federal Affairs. This section is aimed at assessing the awareness, performance, participation and perception of the local government (council) as well as the challenges facing the institution.

Few respondents (16%) in the household survey acknowledged the presence of the Local Council in Balanbale. A little less than three-quarters of the respondents (73%) stated that there was no council, while one in ten (11%) indicated that they did not know whether or not a Council was present (Fig. 38).

Figure 38: Respondents’ awareness of local council

Awareness of the local council was low across all the subdivisions. Only one-quarter (25%) of the respondents in Dhagax-barkato stated that they were aware of the council’s presence; however, this was the subdivision in which respondents were most aware of the council. In contrast, IDPs were least aware of the council, with 5% of the respondents stating their awareness of local council in the district (Fig. 40).

Governance providers’ discussants stated that the local government is not functional but rather exists in name, “The local administration is just existing only by name as it does not operate.” 19 Elders’ discussants also pointed out that role of the government: rule of law, tax collection and service delivery, has not reached their district, “To me government is rule of law, the government here is appointed, and however, the foundations of government is lacking: no service delivery, no rule of law, no taxation…” 20

The level of awareness of the council was similar among both genders; equal proportions of men and women (16% each) acknowledged the presence of the Council in the district (Fig. 39).

Figure 39: Respondents’ awareness of council by gender

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Security, health, water and education were some of the services delivered by the Local council according to the mayor. Most of the violence in the area was sparked off by clan rivalry. As such, the local council made efforts to avert clan conflicts by establishing committees who play a vital role in ensuring peaceful solutions “Security has been provided by mainly averting clannism as it has been the major source of insecurity and violence in the country.” 21 “We created women, elders and youth committees, these committees have been very vital in ensuring peaceful resolutions.” 22

The IDPs group discussants confirmed that security and conflict resolution is the most important service provided by the local government, “the most outstanding service provided by the local government is that they assist in conflict resolution within the IDPs. Security is also provided by the local government”. 23 Regarding the health, the local government constructed Maternal and Child Health (MCH) centres, “Constructed an MCH with 8 rooms”. 24 The Local authority also purchased water pumps for the district “Purchased and installed three mortars used to pump water from the well”. 25 Furthermore, the mayor stated that the local council constructed schools, “The construction of the only high school in the district and opening of some of the primary schools”. 26

Women FGD discussants stated that they hear about the local government but do not see any service provided by this administration, “We hear about the local government but do not know or see their services”. 27

The absence of tax collection has hindered the effective service delivery of the local council, “This district has no tax base to assist in the collection of local revenue which would have been used for local service delivery”. 28

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21 Balanbale Mayor, Key Informant Interview, 23rd October 2015
25 Ibid
26 Ibid
3.3.2. Communication with the local council

Overall, only 6% of respondents in the district were aware of channels of communication with the local council (Fig. 42).

Only males (13%) who were from the district of Dhagax-barkato indicated that they had knowledge of such avenues (Fig. 43 and Fig. 44).

Respondents’ participation in local government consultations was nearly non-existent. Nearly all respondents (99%) stated that they had not participated in local government consultations in the year preceding the assessment. Only one respondent (1%) had participated in consultations during this time (Fig. 45).

The sole respondent who had participated in local government consultations in the past year was a male from the subdivision of Dhagax-barkato (Fig. 46 and Fig. 47).
The mayor further explained that women and elders’ committees have offices and that these committees at times resolve conflicts and promote peace.\textsuperscript{29}

Despite respondents’ limited awareness and involvement in matters pertaining to local governance, the vast majority (91\%) agreed that it was important to have elected representatives (Fig. 48).

There was no substantial difference along gender lines regarding respondents’ perception of the importance of having elected representatives. Similar proportions of men and women (92\% and 90\% respectively) indicated that they believed this was important (Fig. 49).

\textsuperscript{29} Balanbale Mayor, KII, Op. cit.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid
All respondents in the subdivisions of Dhaqax-barkato and Goronyo-hoor agreed that it was important to have elected representatives. While eight in every ten respondents from the IDPs, Waaber and Canjiidle agreed with this statement. Those who gave an outright disagreement response were in Canjiidle (15%) and Waaber (5%). While 25% did not know whether or not it was important, 10% in each of the IDPs and Waaber and 5% in Canjiidle (Fig.50)

3.3.3. Challenges facing the community

When respondents were asked to state issues that they believed to be most pressing in the community, each respondent mentioned at least one area of concern. Poor health (93%), followed by unemployment (85%) and poor education (78%) were the issues that were mentioned most frequently. Figure 51 illustrates issues that were identified as pressing needs within the community.

Absence of Basic Needs

Group discussion participants stated that basic needs such as water, health and education were the most pressing issues in the IDPs.

Water

The discusant mentioned shortage of water owing to the fact that water wells need renovation, “There is water shortage simply because the wells need renovation”.

Health

The absence of qualified medical staff and equipment seemed to have compounded the health situation further, “Lack of health services for there is need for qualified medical personnel and equipment”. The governance providers’ discusants added that the district has no hospital and patients in critical health conditions were transferred to other neighbouring districts. Women FGD discusants emphasised the need for maternal health, raising concerns including rehabilitation of dilapidated MCHs, operation theatres, toilets and the availability of labour facilities, “The MCHs lack the necessary equipment such as doors, no operation theatre. Just imagine a women failing to give birth and is transported using an animal cart and dies on her way to Galkayo.” Elders mentioned that the two-roomed MCH in the town has no doctors and that no matter the type of the ailment, Paracetamol was described to the patient.

Education

Governance providers emphasized that education was the biggest need in the community. Schools were housed by dilapidated buildings with no walls and school equipment as the students used mats instead of desks and chairs, “There is lack of buildings to house schools, most of the schools have no walls, while in other schools students use mats instead of desk”. In the few schools that were in place, there were no enough teachers and the few teachers who were present were substandard to teach, qualified teachers moved out in search for a better life, “There are no teachers, for those present lack the necessary teaching capacity”. IDPs group discussion participants argued that where education was available, it was privately owned and unaffordable for the low income families including the IDPs, “Lack of affordable education, we are IDPs in need of free education since the education in this district is private and hence unaffordable”. Another participant added that though there were schools in the district, inability to pay teachers’ salaries paralysed the operation of the schools. Women discusants also voiced that though education is present, it was poor, the teachers lack salaries and the students were always sent home for not paying their school fees.

There was also low awareness of the relevance of education among the youth circles. Despite the presence of one secondary school, tertiary institutions were absent from the district, “There is lack of tertiary schools and only one high school is present”.

Unemployment

Unemployment was a pressing social problem in the district as an IDP discusant complained about the lack of employment opportunities which left them to be under the mercy of charity from the district for survival, “Our problem is that this town lack casual jobs to earn a living. We live on people’s mercy.”

Regarding the level of confidence in the local council, a little more than one-half of respondents (53%) had confidence in the local council, while 44% expressed fairly low or very low levels of confidence (Fig. 52).

40 Ibid
42 Ibid
Men and women expressed similar views regarding their level of confidence in the Local Council – 52% of male respondents compared with 54% of female respondents stated that they had fairly high or very high levels of confidence whereas 46% of male respondents and 42% of female respondents had little (fairly low or very low) confidence in the council (Fig. 53).

At least one-half of the respondents within each of the various subdivisions indicated (fairly or very) high levels of confidence in the local council. Goronyo-hoor was the subdivision with the greatest proportion of respondents who collectively indicated high levels of confidence (60%). However, while 50% of respondents in each of the Dhagax-barkato and Waaberi subdivisions expressed high levels of confidence in the council, 45% of the respondents in each of these subdivisions compared with 20% of respondents in Goronyo-hoor stated that their confidence in the council was very high. The IDPs were least confident in the council, with equal proportions of 25% of IDP respondents stating that they had fairly low and very low levels of confidence in the council (Fig. 54).

3.3.4. Perception on Local Council’s Performance

Regarding the council’s performance, respondents were asked to use the previous year as a benchmark and to indicate whether the performance of the council had improved, remained the same, or declined over the past year. Most respondents (85%) were unable to give a response. However, among those who did, most perceived that there had been no change in the council’s performance, as indicated by more approximately one in ten respondents (12%). Small minorities of 2% and 1% respectively felt that the council’s performance had improved or declined during the stated period (Fig. 55).
Males and females expressed nearly identical views regarding the change in the performance of the local council over the past year. Equal proportions of 12% of men and women felt that the council’s performance had remained the same, while 2% from each felt that there had been an improvement in performance. However, while 2% of males (n = 1) felt that there had been a decline in performance over the past year, none of the women shared this opinion (Fig. 56).

When asked their perception towards the local government, women discussants elaborated that the performance of the local government is poor, the discussant further stated that in spite of this, the security of the district is good due to the community efforts, “The performance of the local administration is poor and yet our security is good as the community is responsible of their security”.

**Challenges facing the Local Government**

Absence of revenues was said to be the main challenge facing the local government. The absence of economic activities in the district has compounded this further. “There is no tax, no economic activities, except the livestock which is threatened by famine and droughts…” Furthermore, the local government did not have offices and therefore worked under the “tree”.

The governance providers’ discussant also said “There is lack of finance and other resources such as salaries, employees and cars that would have facilitated service delivery”.

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47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
The district’s remoteness from the capital and lack of infrastructure marginalised it from the Federal Government support, “We are very far from the Capital, Mogadishu, and the central government has not even tried to secure us from threats”, “We are at the extreme end of Somalia, government has not reached us, neither Al-Shabaab nor the Islamic Courts Union, there is no tarmac road to connect us to the other regions”.

Ibid
4. CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

Much like the rest of Somalia, Balanbale district is still in post conflict state and disputes can easily escalate into violence. In particular when clans are seeking dominance in one area and fighting over resources. Both formal and informal conflict resolution actors existed which included the police, Somali National Army and traditional elders. Despite the numerous security providers, unfortunately respondents reported concern over insurgent groups causing instability. Coupled with weak federal government unable to completely exert influence over 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 13% (n=13) of the sample. The vast majority of respondents (87%), however, were not aware of any such conflicts having occurred in the district during the previous year (Fig. 54).

 Awareness of clan or group conflict was higher among men than among women, with 18% of male respondents confirming their awareness of recent conflict, as opposed to 8% of the sampled females (Fig. 55).

Within subdivisions, three in every ten respondents in Waaberi (30%), and 15% each of respondents from Dhagax –barkato and Goronyo-hoor were aware of conflict having occurred during the previous year. The Canjiidle subdivision had the lowest proportion (5%) of respondents reporting awareness of clan or group conflict in the district. None among the IDPs had reported awareness of conflict in the previous year (Fig. 56).
Further to this, respondents were asked whether they had witnessed any conflict between clans or groups in the 12 months preceding the assessment. Approximately 10% of the respondents stated that they had witnessed conflict between clans or groups; however, the vast majority (90%) claimed that they did not see any conflict between clans or groups in this period (Fig. 57).

Experience with conflict was highest among residents of the Waaber subdivision, as 25% of respondents from this area stating that they had witnessed conflict between or among clans or groups in the past year. Approximately 15% of respondents in the Goronyo-hoor subdivision and 5% each of all the respondents in the Canjiidle and Dhagax-barkato subdivisions reported that they had witnessed conflict, whereas none of the respondents from the IDP subdivision stated that they had witnessed any conflict during this time (Fig. 59).
Furthermore, of the respondents who reported witnessing conflict in the previous year (n = 10), the majority (40%) went on to say that they had witnessed a single episode of conflict, approximately 20% had witnessed five incidents, while 10% each reported witnessing one, three and four and 10 episodes (Fig. 60).

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

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

4.2. Dynamics of Conflict and Violence

Participants in the FGDs depicted Balanbale as being more peaceful in recent times, with fewer incidents of armed conflict. Discussants did, however, mention cases of disputes and conflicts due to competition over resources, mainly related to the availability of land (in particular, grazing land) and tension over water channels due to drought caused by reduced rainfall, as well as violence caused by clan conflict.

The majority (50%) of survey respondents who had witnessed conflicts regarded family disputes as a likely cause. Four in every ten (40%) also attributed the conflict(s) that they had witnessed to youth violence and almost two in every ten (20% each) of respondents mentioned the lack of justice, business disputes and power/cultural struggle as a potential cause (Fig. 61).

Figure 65: Causes of observed conflicts between clans or groups
Pastoralism/Land disputes

Focus group participants highlighted that competition over natural resources was a major cause of disputes and conflicts in the district. The pastoral life of the past when residents wandered across borders in search of water and feed for their animals was at odds with post conflict Somalia. Discussants went on to explain the types of resource-related disputes: 1) disputes over fenced grazing land; and 2) disputes over water channels.\footnote{Balanbale Youth, FGD, Op. cit.} Furthermore, the women providers’ group confirmed that most of the cases which led to conflict originated in the rural towns and the pastoral lifestyle: “changing rainfall patterns leads communities to moving to other areas in search of pastures and water.”\footnote{Balanbale Women, FGD, Op. cit.}

The attempt to secure livelihoods may be regarded as the main trigger of land disputes, as people enclose large swathes of land to provide constant water source for themselves or to feed their animals. One discussant explained those types of scenarios: “A person constructs a well and others come claiming that this land previously belonged to their ancestors and come to claim ownership, causing conflict to arise.”\footnote{Justice Provider, Focus Group Discussion, 21st October 2015}

The creation of such enclosures has a profound impact on the pastoral lifestyle of the community leading to situations where new arrivals are not welcomed and sometimes viewed with suspicion.\footnote{Ibid}

Disputes between neighbouring clans was mentioned by FGD participants who were concerned over their potential to rapidly escalate and impact on the fragile security situation: “our greatest safety concern is the lack of peace between neighbouring clans, which can easily affect us directly or indirectly, thus making our security fragile and we are at the mercy of these clans.”\footnote{Ibid}

IDP participants further explained the difficulties of pastoralism on modern settlements:

\begin{quote}
This lifestyle [pastoralism] often causes insecurity because it involves migration that cuts across clan borders to other areas and sometimes they are not welcome in the new areas as the owners are also trying to maximise the few resources.\footnote{Balanbale Women, FGD, Op. cit.}
\end{quote}

Opposition Groups and relations with Ethiopia

Representatives expressed varied views on the impact of their more powerful neighbour, Ethiopia. The KII with traditional elder remarked on improved relations:

\begin{quote}
Ethiopian government left this district after years of her occupation, therefore violence here is of two nature, one is national and the other is regional/international. We currently have good relations with Ethiopia and when their troops come here armed, they keep their arms away.\footnote{Balanbale Internally Displaced People, FGD, Op. cit.}
\end{quote}

Political instability was also a cause for concern mentioned during the qualitative analysis, whereby the Police Commissioner pointed to the ongoing power struggle and intermittent fighting between the paramilitary group Ahlu Sunna Waljama’a (ASWJ) and government administration.\footnote{Ibid} Furthermore, depending on with whom one identifies with, the supposed support of ASWJ by Ethiopian government will impact on relations between the two countries, which are already under constant scrutiny.\footnote{Balanbale District Police Commissioner, KII, op. cit.}

When further inquiry was made among respondents who had witnessed conflict (n = 10), as to how many of the conflicts witnessed had led to violence, more than half (60%) stated that one incident had led to violence, 20% mentioned that five episodes had escalated to violence, while the remaining (10% each) stated that between four and eight incidents in the last 12-months preceding the assessment had led to violence (Fig. 62).
Of the respondents that had witnessed conflicts (n=10), approximately 70% reported that a single incident had led to a death, followed by 10% each that reported between five and twenty violent conflicts had led to deaths (Fig. 63).

Along the lines of gender, the likelihood of having witnessed crime or violence outside the homestead was slightly higher among men (10%) than women (8%). See Fig. 65.

Approximately 9% of the respondents also reported having witnessed crime or violence against someone outside their homestead, as shown in Figure 64.
4.2.1. Conflict Resolution

Both formal and informal entities played an active role in conflict resolution in the district, and the findings show the existence of different layers of conflict resolution mechanisms. Among those are the elders who in traditional Somali culture have always maintained peace through the use of their good mediation skills and are selected for their roles by their clans. Although concern over potential violence erupting from tense inter-clan relations has made resolving matters more complex, whereby traditional elders have had to create agreements in line with xeer to ensure peace and regardless of whether people cross clan lines, there are means to resolve issues.

However, the qualitative assessment suggested although traditional elders were more favoured according to KII religious leader, sheikhs “…are mostly called upon to deliver judgements/rulings after the elders system has failed and the matter is forwarded to us. There is no failure with the religious leaders.”

4.3. Perception of safety

The majority of the respondents (54%) stated that they felt ‘very safe’ in their area, while another 27% stated that they felt ‘rather safe.’ Almost two in every ten (17%) of respondents stated the opposite, feeling rather unsafe and a minor 2% responded to feeling very unsafe (Fig. 66).

Although responses were equal between male and female respondents when it came to feeling very safe (54% each), more women had a favourable perception of feeling rather safe (32% women versus 22% men). On the other hand, 22% of male interviewees stated they felt rather unsafe, compared with 12% of females (Fig. 67).

Although perceptions regarding the improvement of safety conditions over time were positive, and 54% of the total sample regarded the safety situation as having

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improved during the year leading up to the assessment, approximately 40% of the sample stated that there had been no change. Only 3% each reported either a decline or did not give an opinion regarding the change in safety during this time (Fig. 68).

Although there was a large minority of the sample that expressed there was no change in the perception of safety, the KII interview with key traditional elder instead took a clear stance in positivity: “Today we have surpassed the days of armed violence and for the past 12 months we have not had any armed violence”.63

Figure 72: Perception of safety - yearly trend

Fluctuations in perception among residents in the various subdivisions were also minor. Respondents from Approximately 65% from Waaberri and 55% residing in Goronyo-hoor reported an improvement of safety conditions over time, followed by 50% each from respondents in Canjiidle, Dhagax-barkato, and IDPs. Only 15% of the IDPs reported a decline and 10% of interviewees residing in Dhagax-barkato subdivisions, and 5% among respondents in Goronyo-hoor offered no opinion regarding safety over the year prior to the assessment (Fig. 70).

Minimal differences were observed when disaggregating respondents’ perception of safety along gender lines: 56% of male respondents stated that the safety situation had improved over the previous year, compared with 52% of female interviewees, whereas equal numbers of both gender reported no change (40% each). See Fig.69.

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Figure 74: Perception of safety-yearly trend by subdivision

The chart shows the perception of safety by subdivision over a yearly trend. The data indicates that 65% of respondents in Waaberl and 55% in Goromgoyo-hoor perceived an increase in safety, while 50% of respondents in Canjilde, Dhagax-barkato, and IDPs reported no change. 40% of respondents in Waaberl and 50% in Canjilde perceived a decrease in safety, with 35% of respondents in IDPs not knowing.
5. CONCLUSION

There were no major destabilising incidences reported within Balanbale at the time of the study. Hence, the survey sample reported relative stability despite the long absence of strong government institutions. However, much like the rest of Somalia, the area is still recovering from more than two decades of unrest and instability caused mainly by administrative power struggles and clan warfare. These threats still pose a danger to the town.

The formal institutions in Balanbale are at an nascent stage, marred by resource deficiencies and therefore incapable of fulfilling their mandates. Consequently, the traditional systems, upheld mainly by the elders, continue to play a significant role in addressing matters relating to peacebuilding and statebuilding, including security and justice. This explains why slightly over half of respondents chose traditional elders over the police as their preferred security provider. Not only did the police lack adequate resources (uniforms, weapons and police cars etc) but there was no police station or jail in the district, causing immense pressure on police to fulfill their roles. Furthermore there appeared to be limited understanding of police role amongst the public, making it difficult to detain suspects. On the other hand, the informal providers enjoyed the respect and cooperation of the public, making their jurisdiction possible for civil, petty and serious crimes.

When it came to the provision of justice, again the informal providers have held this position since the collapse of the Somali central government and as such there were no formal courts operational at the time of OCVP’s visit. Therefore it comes as no surprise that informal providers were most utilised, as they were also perceived as operating fairly and justly. According to the household survey respondents, household violence and business disputes were dealt with by both religious leaders and traditional elders, but it was religious leaders alone who resolved land disputes.

As the district is still in a state of recovery, not many respondents were aware of the services that local government delivered, most pointing to security provision being the main role of the local council. However according to officials the limitations that the council faced were attributed to the lack of revenue, in particular, difficulty in collecting local taxes. Although participation in local government consultations were limited, an overwhelming majority of survey sample felt election of representatives was important.

The most pressing needs which the community faced were poor health, unemployment and poor education. The limitations of the formal institutions, perhaps explain why nearly equal portions of respondents held high levels of confidence as well as low levels of confidence in the local council. Which further alludes to the reason why a majority of respondents were not aware of any change in the performance of the local council.

Whilst majority of FGD participants were not aware of any clan or group conflicts, there were disputes that arose from competition over resources, drought driving people to migrate and settle in different districts, causing pressure and sometimes fighting with new communities. Neighbouring clans were also competing for land, water channels and grazing land, drawing up borders that did not exist in previous years, leading sometimes to violence if those lines were not respected. Respondents also expressed concern over political conflicts between ASWJ and the federal government, and saw that as potential trigger for instability.
Regarding safety in the district, there were almost similar numbers of respondents that felt safety had improved and those that stated the situation had not changed in the district. This implies that there is much work left for both formal and informal providers before the community’s perception on safety improves.
### 6. Glossary of Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access to Justice</td>
<td>People’s ability to solve disputes and reach adequate remedies for grievances, using formal or traditional justice systems. The justice process has qualitative dimensions, and it should be in accordance with human rights principles and standards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil case</td>
<td>Non-criminal cases relating to civil wrongs and disputes between individuals, including generally property, business, personal domestic problems, divorces and such types where ones constitutional and personal rights are breached.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clan</td>
<td>The clan is a system characterised by a chain of paternal ancestors reaching back to a perceived founding ancestor whose name all members of the clan share for identity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>State of disharmony between incompatible persons, ideas, or interests.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Criminal case</td>
<td>An action, suit, or cause instituted to punish an infraction of the criminal laws of a country.</td>
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<tr>
<td>District Safety Committee</td>
<td>A representative body comprised of a broad cross section of civil society that acts in an advisory capacity to the local government in issues of community security and safety.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Enforcement</td>
<td>Relates to the implementation of orders, decisions and settlements emerging from formal or informal adjudication. Enforcement bodies include police and prisons, and administrative bodies in particular cases. Traditional systems may also have specific mechanisms of enforcement. Enforcement systems are the key to ensuring accountability and minimise impunity, thus preventing further injustices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Justice System</td>
<td>A codified system of laws and court proceedings enforced by recognised actors of lawyers, police and justice officials. The 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>
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<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>&quot;Gender&quot; refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Governance provider</td>
<td>Formal institutions or Individuals that act, process, or possess the authority of governing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Informal Justice System</td>
<td>Dispute resolution mechanisms falling outside the scope of the formal justice system. The term informal justice system is used here to draw a distinction between state-administered formal justice systems and non-state administered informal justice systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice Provider</td>
<td>Formal or Informal Institutions or individuals that are responsible to provide fair and equitable treatment of all individuals under the law (customary, formal or Sharia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice System</td>
<td>Includes formal justice institutions and procedures, such as police, prosecution, courts and prisons, as well as Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), and other informal and traditional systems (e.g. a council of elders). The justice system includes coordination and other arrangements among its different components that influence overall outcomes on access to justice.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Land/water disputes</td>
<td>A state of debate or quarrel between/among persons, groups or communities over the property, the use, etc. of plots or swathes of land and water points.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local Authority</td>
<td>Those invested with formal power, especially a government or body of government officials at district level.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Petty Crimes</td>
<td>Criminal offense that is less serious than a serious crime and generally punishable by a monetary fine, forfeiture or a jail term of up to a year, or a combination of both.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Provider</td>
<td>Formal or informal Institutions or individuals that are responsible for the protection of persons, dwellings, communities or the nation from harm</td>
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<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>
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<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>
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<tr>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Men and Women between the age of 15 and 30</td>
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