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<thead>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<td>FGDs</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
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<td>KII</td>
<td>Key Informant Interviews</td>
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<td>LG</td>
<td>Local Government</td>
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<td>OCVP</td>
<td>Observatory of Conflict and Violence Prevention</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODK</td>
<td>Open Data Kit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRS</td>
<td>Systematic Random Sampling</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
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Adopted from UNCHA, 2012
DISTRICT PROFILE

Burtinle district is located 120 kms to the west and east of Garowe and Galkayo towns respectively, also sharing border on the western side with Ethiopia (the Somali Region). The establishment of the town dates back to 1950s and by the year 1982, it was officially given the status of a grade “B” district in the Nugaal region during the Siad Bare regime. Despite suffering the effects of the state collapse, it is considered as one of the fastest growing districts in Puntland, whereby the majority of the population lead a pastoral lifestyle, relying on livestock for their living.

Administratively, the district has a local council headed by a Mayor comprising of 23 members, 2 of whom are female and was established in 2005\(^1\). Even though the Puntland Ministry of Interior used to appoint the Mayor, the members of the local council, who themselves are appointed by their clan leaders, have elected the Mayor in 2015.

The district is relatively stable compared to major towns such as Galkayo, Garowe and Bosaso mainly due to the simple lifestyle and the traditional way of interaction among the residents. However, some villages such as Qoriley and Magacley have witnessed repeated conflicts resulting from disputes over grazing land between their two clans leading to the loss of many lives. During the data collection period for this DCSA, i.e., November 2015, there was a consolidated effort to wrap up the prolonged conflicts in the area which was successfully ended as the dispute resolution committee, composed of traditional elders, religious leaders, politicians and representatives of the disputing clans with the help of Ethiopian government, ordered for the payment of thousands of camel as compensation to the lives of the dead people. For many years, Burtinle was popular with many fenced grazing lands which had an impact on the availability of pasture thereby causing insecurity in some occasions, however; hundreds of them were removed in 2015 which allowed the animals to smoothly graze near the town hence improving security.

\(^1\) Burtinle Local Councillor, Key Informant Interview, 26\(^{th}\) December 2015
SCOPE

The District Conflict and Security Assessments were designed to gather community perceptions regarding service providers and accessibility and effectiveness of the services they provide. Information is gathered according to four progress indicators relating to service provision: justice, governance, security and conflict. While a district may contain a major urban settlement (main town) and a number of smaller surrounding villages, it is the unfortunate reality that the type of public services this assessment is aiming to measure are concentrated only within the main town of the district for they are deemed to be in adequate or completely absent at the village levels. Keeping this in mind, this assessment was designed and carried out in the major urban settlement of the district, BURTINLE Town.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Continual assessment of issues directly affecting the community’s safety and security is crucial for effective evidence-based programming, informed decision making and measuring the impact of related programmatic interventions to depict a better understanding of what works and does not work at the community level. With this in mind, the district level assessments map out and provide a better understanding of issues that affect targeted communities across the Somali regions. By using key indicators for selected thematic areas, this report provides an assessment on the state of governance, justice, and security as well as conflict and violence in Burtinle District. This assessment was conducted in Burtinle District from November 8th to November 12th 2015.

The following note summarises the key findings of the assessment:

Security Providers

In Burtinle, just like the other districts of Puntland, the police are tasked with provision of security. However, the collected qualitative data highlighted that traditional elders, village committees and prominent individuals in the community play commendable role in assisting police to maintain peace and stability. Study interviewees agreed that Burtinle district enjoys relative peace and stability, though it shares border with 8 districts, whose pastoralists conduct regular trans-border crossings in search of pasture. The Mayor of Burtinle re-iterated: “security in the district is good and conflicts are minimum”. The Agarre Conflict, whereby disputants established private enclosures on communal land were cited to be the major sources of conflict that cause insecurity in Burtinle District (for further details refer to the section on ‘conflict and violence’)

Key informants, focus groups as well as the household respondents stated that the police were formally entrusted with safeguarding security and public order. But it was noted that police relied on the support from traditional elders, village committee and other influential personalities to fulfil their role. According to the household survey, which covered 91 respondents, 77% of interviewees acknowledged awareness of police presence in their localities (sub-divisions), whereas 18% of them responded negatively, with 5% asserting no knowledge of police presence. With regard to the accessibility of the existing only police station in Burtinle, a cumulative number of 97% of respondents declared that they can reach the station. 94% of these said that they can reach it within or less than 1 hour, while the other 3% informed they walk over an hour to get to the police station.

On preference of security providers, both the qualitative data collected and household survey indicated that the public favoured to report to the police first and second to the traditional elders. Local authority ranked third in this category. In the household survey, respondents opted to report to police for all the three types of cases in the following order: 49% of serious crimes, 48% of civil matters, 45% of petty crime cases, while those for traditional elders’ arbitration scored 37% of serious crimes, 33% of petty crimes and 27% of civil cases. The local authority ranked third and scored 12% of civil cases, 9% of petty crimes, and 8% of serious crimes.

On the issue of order of trust to security providers, study participants in general identified police in the first place and traditional elders in the second place. In the household survey, 41% and 40% of respondents trusted police
and traditional elders respectively. Participants informed that each security provider excelled in its own realm. For example, police gained trust in fast response to crimes and violence (69%) and ease of access (28%), while it was accused of biased enforcement, which earned them least respect in public eyes. Traditional elders were most trusted on impartiality and ease of access. Religious leaders were ranked second in fastness of response (63%) and were good on impartiality (25%) but were found to lack ease of access.

Study participants praised the performance of the police and described them to be the only enforcing body that carries out the judgments of the three justice providers, which are formal courts, traditional elders’ jury and Sharia Courts. The police were also hailed on their role of safeguarding public order mainly by quickly intervening in conflicts and violence and preventing further aggravation of the situation. Nugal Deputy Police Commissioner, who was interviewed unveiled a positive development, which was enhancement of police technical capacity. He informed that during the last few months all police officers received skill training at Armo Police Academy to improve their performance in public relations and security maintenance.

On the other hand, a large majority of household respondents, constituting more than two thirds of respondents (67%) believed that the police performance had improved during the last 12 months. notwithstanding, a fifth of the respondents (22%) thought that the police had not made any improvements, while 10% viewed that their performance had declined during the last year. Though 11% were unable to express their opinions.

Despite the above assertions, participants highlighted that the Burtninle police are experiencing a number of challenges, which hampers their effectiveness. These include: a) understaffing – with 43 villages under its jurisdiction, the number of police officers operating in the district is 12-13, which is actually very small; b) lack of sufficient equipment and logistical support – the district police possesses only one transport vehicle to fulfill all its functions. The above constraints reflect in the effectiveness of the police as was expressed by some participants, particularly the IDP camp dwellers, who complained that the police arrive at the scene of the crime, conflict or violence at a time the culprits had already slipped away.

**Justice Providers**

At the time of data collection, there was also one district court operational in the district. There was also only one sitting judge presiding over all court cases and no lawyers in the district, but for complicated cases such as rape, they would be sent from Garowe to assist. The informal justice system – consisting of traditional elders and religious leaders was observed to be the best means of justice provision within the district, adjudicating all categories of crimes largely due to the cooperation and respect obtained from the society, gaining compliance with judgments and rulings. Over one in every ten respondents (13%) in the survey had used traditional elders in the year leading up to the assessment. The main reasons cited for which formal justice was less utilised was dependant on associated costs, time case takes to receive verdict on and ability to enforce ruling. Furthermore, according to majority of focus group participants, the traditional elders enjoyed high level of trust and thus were approached by the community to resolve cases. Because the formal justice is only recently gaining strength, respondents expressed the need for increased accountability of formal justice, qualified legal personnel to enter the profession and additional resources to become available to the court in order to improve its performance. Therefore unsurprisingly, when it came to assessing the performance of the formal justice over the last twelve
months, only two in ten (23%) felt that there had been an improvement as opposed to three in ten (30%) that saw no change, and over four in ten (40%) were unsure whether there had been a change.

Governance Providers
The majority of respondents were aware of the existence of the Local Council, and over four in ten (43%) of respondents were familiar with the channels of communication in place between the local authority and the population. The local council delivered basic services such as security (paid police to patrol at nights), infrastructure, justice health and many more. From the qualitative data, the current administration seemed to enjoy widespread support and assistance from civil groups as for the first time since the collapse of the Somali government, the local community agreed to pay taxes for the purpose of service delivery. Strides had been made in addressing local concerns such as banning private enclosures of grazing land, but there were still pressing needs such as lack of water, unemployment, lack of infrastructure, and poor sanitation which the public were expecting the council to address. However, most persons (90%) remained committed to a democratic process, and agreed that it was important to have elected representatives. Perhaps due to limited resources coupled with high demands on the council, respondents provided varied views between those that perceived performance to have improved (37%), saw no change and those that did not know whether there had been any change in local council performance in the last 12 months (31% each).

Conflict and Violence
Burtinle district remains relatively peaceful, however; irregular incidents that occasionally flare up relate mainly to resource conflicts between clans or individuals, youth related violence, and family feuds. With the exception of the Agarre Conflict, which took a momentous scale, the rest of the incidents are locally resolved with ease by police and/or traditional elders.

Both collected qualitative data and household survey demonstrated that conflicts were rare in Burtinle district. Very few individuals testified awareness of incidence of conflict and violence in their area. Nine out of ten household survey respondents reported that they were not aware of any conflict occurring in the district between clans or groups in the 12 months prior to the assessment. Likewise, on account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups, a limited number of people asserted that they had witnessed such conflicts. For the household survey, 99% of the respondents did not observe any conflict. Along gender lines, for those who stated awareness of existence of conflict during last year, slightly more men (95%) than women (88%) expressed awareness, while 100% of women and 98% of men affirmed that they did not witness conflict during the past year.

Although the preceding participants’ view features peace and stability in the area, yet the margin of error of this opinion might be inferred due to the fact that the study did not reach district villages and participants exclusively comprised Burtinle town residents, the district capital where governance and police presence was strong. This view was again reinforced by the Burtinle participants’ responses when asked about the number of conflicts they
had witnessed during the last 12 months. All of them (100%) had reported to have seen only 3 conflicts of which only one had advanced to violence.

However, knowledgeable study participants acknowledged two thorny conflict issues that constrained peace and stability in the district. One of these was a protracted clan conflict prevailing in the district, named Agarre Conflict, which posed a threat to security. In this conflict, two neighbouring ethnic clans have had repeated armed confrontations for a number of years over dispute on land and grazing rights. The former Burtinle Mayor, Mr. Hussein Dhere informed that although the conflict dragged on for several years and 50 persons from both sides have lost their lives in the last armed confrontation of this year, nevertheless, traditional elders from the conflicting parties as well as from other neutral clans have finally succeeded in November 2015 to end the armed confrontation and effected a peace agreement between the disputing parties.

The other issue hampering security is a new culture of creating private enclosures in the communal grazing land, which caused confrontations between pastoralists and enclosures’ claimants. To avert further conflict and ensure maintenance of security, the central government and Burtinle District authority both declared creation of private enclosures illegal and started destroying existing enclosures erected at communal land. Up until the time of the study, out of 450 private enclosures targeted, 105 enclosures were destroyed and the campaign continued.

Although informed interviewees attributed causes of conflict and violence to youth violence, assault, family feuds and resource conflicts, traditional elders’ focus group singled out land disputes as the most potent problem. They disclosed that a new imposter practice named ‘Ku qabso ku qadi mayside’ is building up nowadays. It implies disputing over other’s property with the aim of eventually deriving some benefit as a result of mediation on which conflicts are often adjudicated. The women focus group added that weak governance institutions, which cannot exert full power over citizens encourages strong clans to disregard its decisions and challenge authority of governance institutions whether these are police, courts or administrative organs. They also mentioned unemployment to be a significant cause of youth frustration, which finally drives them to acts of violence.

Despite the fact that more than 9 out of every 10 respondents (97%) regarded that they had not experienced crime and violence against someone outside the household during the last year, both youth and women focus groups underscored that conflict and violence mostly affect weak and vulnerable groups, among which are minority clans, women, non-community members living in the location such as IDP camp dwellers. Women groups further elaborated: “Those are victims of violence because minority clans are numerically inferior to stronger clans, and women are physically weaker than men not counted as clan members and therefore not defended by clan”.

All in all, study participants of Burtinle district commonly felt very safe. During his interview, the newly elected mayor commented: “The security in the town is good and most of the time there is no need for police night patrols. However, sometimes, some of the youth conduct mobile grabbing crimes and we use police at these times to patrol the town during night time. During these occasions the LG pays for the fuel and other costs of the police patrolling the town”. Similarly, in the household survey, 9 out of every 10 respondents viewed that they lived in a very safe environment. Notably, there were no tangible variations among sexes on their perceptions to safety (98% for women and 96% for men). And on a yearly trend the qualitative data gathered and the household survey (87%) both revealed that people thought that safety had improved during the last 12 months. On gender disaggregation on increase of safety during last year, men were more positive (93%) than women (82%).
1.0 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 BURTINLE District of Nugal region in Puntland.

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

The quantitative data was analysed by the OCVP Research and Analysis team using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 22, after it had been collected using smart tablets that were running ODK Collect; an open source mobile data collection tool. The qualitative data was subjected to thematic analysis, using a largely deductive approach (qualitative research being a smaller component of the overall study). The main themes of coding were developed before the mission, in line with the questions, but further coding was done during analysis.

1.2 Sampling Methodology
A district household estimation provided by the local municipality enabled the application of a sampling formula\(^2\) to determine a representative sample size for the district. The study took into account certain statistical parameters such as the level of confidence desired (95%), sample design effect (1.5), margin of error (+ or − 9%) and the assumption that some security correlations of (0.3) existed within the subdivisions.

The p-value of 0.3 in the formula assumes a security correlation above a random normal distribution of 0.5 within the district clusters (subdivision). This is a reasonable assumption based on the topic of the survey as respondents within the districts are likely to exhibit a correlational relationship between their perceptions and the surrounding security environment. This is further backed by OCVP’s past experience in which individuals from the same area tend to exhibit similar perceptions on security, justice, governance as well as conflict and violence. The calculation detailed above resulted in a sample size of 91 households.

1.3 Household Survey
A face-to-face quantitative survey was conducted in which questions relating to personal demographics, security, justice, governance, and conflict and violence were asked of respondents from randomly selected households. OCVP’s two trained data enumerators and two local supporters (with local acquaintances and knowledge on borders between subdivisions) under the supervision of an OCVP supervisor, conducted 91 household interviews with respondents in Hawl-wadaag, Wadajir, Israac, IDPs and Horumar Sub-divisions (Table 1), from 8th to 12th November 2015.

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

\(^{2}\) See Annex 6.1
### 1.4. Focus Group Discussions

The second research tool utilised was a series of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) aimed at capturing participants’ perception on security and justice providers (formal and informal), governance providers and the dynamics and experiences of conflict and violence. FGDs were conducted on the 9th to 11th November, 2015 at Abdulaziz hotel. Each discussion group lasted for about an hour.

A total of four groups were represented in the FGDs: women, youth, traditional elders and religious leaders and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Each group consisted of 10 participants. A local organiser assisted in the recruitment of the participants based on clan-lines, geographic coverage, social class, gender and age.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area/Subdivision</th>
<th>Gender (Number of respondents)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawl-wadaag</td>
<td>8 Male, 12 Female</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horumar</td>
<td>7 Male, 9 Female</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israac</td>
<td>9 Male, 8 Female</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadajir</td>
<td>10 Male, 11 Female</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IDPs</strong></td>
<td>7 Male, 10 Female</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total sample</strong></td>
<td>41 Male, 50 Female</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.5 Key Informant Interviews

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

The interviews were conducted from 11th – 12th November, 2015, each interview lasted for about half an hour. Five (5) key informants were interviewed, including: the Police Commissioner, an IDP chairperson, a Traditional Elder, the Mayor, and the district court commissioner.

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>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key traditional elder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP chairperson</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Police Commissioner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District court commissioner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

The Household survey sample comprised 45% males (40 respondents) and 55% females (50 respondents). See Figure 1. A gender balance had been emphasised to allow a clear depiction of the differences in experience, views and insights between the two genders in relation to the areas that were assessed.

Figure 1: Gender distribution of respondents

Over three quarters of the sampled respondents (77%) were aged between 20 and 49 years, with 30% of respondents falling in the 20-29 year age group, 19% in the 30-39 year age group and 28% between the ages of 40-49 years. Respondents in the 50-59 year age bracket represented 9% whereas the least represented groups were that of those aged under 20 years and 60 years and above, each represented by 6% of the sample (Fig. 2)

Figure 2: Age distribution of respondents by gender

Nearly two-quarters of Burtinle respondents (66%) were married, while those who were single made up 22% of the sampled population. Divorced and widowed respondents accounted for 5% and 7% respectively (Fig. 3).

Figure 3: Marital status of the respondents

With regard to the level of education of the respondents, nearly one-quarter (22%) attended Quranic Madarasas and 3% were self-schooled. Six in every ten respondents (60%) had been formally
educated with the representation of 8% in primary, 30% in intermediate, 18% in secondary level and 4% in tertiary respectively. Only 15% of the respondents had never attended school (Fig. 4).
Figure 4: Respondents' education levels
Figure 5: Respondents' education levels by gender
3.0 SECURITY, JUSTICE AND GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

3.1 SECURITY PROVIDERS

3.1.1. Level of Deployment
In Burtinle, just like the other districts of Puntland, the police are tasked with provision of security. However, interviewed focus group discussants and key informants underscored that traditional elders, village committees and prominent individuals in the community play commendable role in assisting police to maintain peace and stability.

According to the household survey, which covered 91 respondents, 77% of interviewees acknowledged awareness of police presence in their localities (sub-divisions), whereas 18% of them responded negatively, with 5% asserting no knowledge of police presence (Fig. 6).

Figure 6: Respondents’ awareness of police presence

In regard to gender, slightly more females (80%) reported awareness of police presence than males (73%). Contrarily, males, who responded negatively to police presence (24%), were two times larger than females, who rated 12%. Out of the remaining 10%, who responded that they do not know of police presence, 8% were females and 2% were males (Fig. 7).

Figure 7: Respondents’ awareness of police presence by gender

From another perspective, all 5 sub-divisions of Burtinle town, registered awareness of police presence in their sub-divisions but on varied levels. Awareness of respondents from the two sub-divisions of Horumar (100%) and Wadajir (95%) was very high, while the two other sub-divisions of Israac and Hawl-wadaag also registered high rates, which ranked 76% and 75% respectively. The fifth sub-division, which is an IDP camp, demonstrated the lowest score of 35% in police presence in its location. This is perhaps due to the fact that

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3 Burtinle Youth, Focus Group Discussion, 10th November, 2015
that the IDP is located outside the main town and the limited capacity of the police force (Fig. 8).

**Figure 8: Respondents' awareness of police presence by subdivisions**

On the number of existing police stations in Burtinle town, 96% of interviewees informed of their awareness of the existence of one police station. This is an indication that the visibility of the police is high which translates to significance of its operationality (Fig. 9).

**Figure 9: Respondents knowledge of the number of police stations**

On spatial accessibility to the only police station existing in Burtinle, a cumulative number of 97% of all respondents said that they can reach the station irrespective of variance of distance. Of these, 94% affirmed that they can reach it within or less than 1 hour, while the other 3% declared that it will take them over an hour to walk to the police station. The remaining 3% responded of no knowledge of a police station.

In further breakdown of the 97%, who asserted accessibility of the police station, 53% confirmed that they can reach the station under 20 minutes, 23% within 20-30 minutes, 19% within 40 min to 1 hour, and 3% stated they have to walk over 1 hour (Fig. 10).

**Figure 10: Respondents' estimation of distance to police station**

In relation to distance of police station, the responses of the 5 sub-divisions of Burtinle town revealed two extremes. While all respondents (100%) from the two sub-divisions of Israac and Wadajir reported that they can reach the station under 20 minutes, the other 3 sub-divisions depicted comparatively a different picture; In the IDP camp, 50% of respondents disclosed that they can reach the station between 41 minutes and 1 hour, 17% of them under 20 minutes, and another 17% between 20 and 40 minutes, while the remaining 17% recorded a travel of over 1 hour. In Hawl-wadaag sub-division, 40% of respondents
declared that they reach the station between 20 and 40 minutes, 40% over 1 hour, 13% under 20 minutes and 7% said they did not know how long. In Horumar sub-division, 56% stated they reach the station between 20-40 minutes, 25% over 1 hour, 6% under 20 minutes, 6% over 1 hour and 6% said they did not know (Fig. 11).

In the household survey, respondents were predominantly in favour of reporting to the police for all the three types of cases. For serious cases 49% of respondents opted for police, for civil matters 48%, and for petty cases 45%. Traditional elders rated the second as 37% in serious crimes, 33% in petty crimes and 27% in civil matters confirmed traditional elders’ arbitration. Local authority ranked the third position by scoring 12% in civil matters, petty cases in 9%, and serious cases at 8%.

### 3.1.1. Civil Matters

Pertaining to civil disputes relating to family and business disputes and trespassing personal law, nearly half of respondents (48%) commented that they would rather prefer to report to the police. while 12% favoured to approach local authority for resolution of disputes. Religious leaders and courts rated the lowest by each netting 2%. Those who stated that they do not know accounted for 8% (Fig. 12).

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4 *Traditional Elder, Key Informant Interview. 11 November, 2015*
On gender disaggregation, while a bigger proportion of women than men (54% of women against 41% of men) outstandingly opted for reporting to the police, men had the lead at 37 % against 20% in the case of reporting to the traditional elders. Likewise, where 10% of women could not decide on which institution to prefer, those of men numbered 6% (Fig. 13). 4% of women and 2% of men chose to report to religious leaders. The preference of courts was the lowest at 2% (Fig. 13).

### 3.1.1.2. Petty Crimes

In the event of reporting petty crimes, the police and traditional leaders obtained commutative number of 82% of support. The police was in the first place as 45% of respondents sponsored them, while the traditional leaders obtained the approval of 37%. The local authority registered third at 9% support (Fig.14).

In reporting petty crimes, gender disaggregation varied. Nearly half (48%), who were women espoused
police, against 41% of men. In contrary to the above, more men (44%) sustained traditional leaders than women (32%). For those who upheld local authority, 10% were female and 7% were male. Courts and religious leaders registered lowest preference at 4% and 2% respectively (Fig. 15).

In analysing gender disaggregation in serious crimes, the number of men (58%) who endorsed reporting to police were two times greater than women (39%). While it is interesting to note that women preferred to take serious crimes to police and traditional leaders at an equal rating (each at 39%), men principally opted two times more for police than traditional elders (58% and 28%). Local authority came to the third position at 10% for women and 6% for men. 5% of women supported religious leader’s rulings, while women and men were at par in opting for courts, each at 2% rating (Fig. 17).

3.1.1.3. **Serious Crimes**

In serious crimes, almost half (49%) of respondents backed reporting to the police, followed by 33% who sponsored traditional elders juries, local authority fell to the third rating at 8%. Religious courts and courts obtained minimum rating, each at 2% (Fig. 16)
3.1.2. Level of Trust in Security Providers (formal and informal)

Both key informants and focus groups, who were interviewed, admitted that the traditional elders and the police herald public trust in security provision. Traditional elders are most preferred for two major reasons; first they are the most quick and most efficient security provider and secondly, they do not charge fees.

Interviewees said that for some cases police and elders work together and for others the work is parallel depending on the nature of the case and surrounding circumstances. Elaborating on this, the youth focus group explained that people believe that different disputes or cases are opportune for different security providers. Often, People approach elders on property disputes, and payment of Diyah (murder cases), while on petty crimes, theft, and mobile snatching they report to police and formal courts to discharge heavy penalties. The district judge, who was interviewed, also agreed to this viewpoint. Below a good example:

In Burtinle, a man was involved in two disputes or cases: on one case, some pastoralists had looted some of his sheep and goats, while on another case, he had dispute with another person on a financial issue. The man took the case of looting of his sheep and goats to the traditional elders and the financial issue to the police and formal courts.

Another similar view from the qualitative interviews suggested that the public favours elders’ jury and Sharia jurisdiction due to their fairness or impartiality and fastness. Contrarily, the formal courts proved costly and take long times to produce a verdict.

Many key informants and focus group discussants pointed out those cases that are taken to police and courts have often passed through the elders, who endorsed submittal of case to the court; or when a losing party in the elders’ jury refused to carry out the verdict of the elders. In such a case, elders pass the case to police and courts for court trial. The view added that people have great trust on elders but, despite concerns, the police and court are also regularly approached.

In the household survey, in measuring the level of public trust in responding to crime and violence on various security providers, again police and traditional leaders maintained the lead at marginally an equal ranking at 41% and 40%. This time religious leaders earned the trust at the third rating at 9%, in contrast to the local authority, which moved down to the fourth position at 4%, figure (18).

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6 Burtinle District Court Commissioner, Key Informant Interview. 11 November, 2015.
9 Burtinle Traditional Elders, Focus Group Discussion, 11th November 2015.
In addition to the above, household survey respondents identified their most trusted security providers on a number of criteria. They preferred police (69%) for fast response and ease of access but are characterised with biased enforcement, which earned them the least respect (3%).

Religious leaders responded fast (63%) but lacked ease of access. The third group, who are the traditional leaders excelled relatively higher respect (39%) than others but were low in accessibility (25%) although it ranks second in this category and not fast (19%) and their enforcement is poor (17%).

The local authority is better than traditional elders (33%) in fastness of response, perform comparatively better (33%) than the traditional leaders in unbiased enforcement, and leads in ease of access (33%). Despite the above, the local authority enjoys no respect from the community, which strangely enough contradicts with the above mentioned performance evaluation bestowed to it with respect to the individual ratings given to the remaining three security providers (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>Fast response</td>
<td>Traditional elders 69% Police 63% Religious leaders 33% Local Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbiased enforcement</td>
<td>17% - 25% 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are respected</td>
<td>39% 3% 13% -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of access</td>
<td>25% 28% - 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>38 36 8 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 20: Respondents’ Level of trust in Police

According to the survey results taken from 91 respondents, the Burtinle police merited considerable esteem from its community as more than two thirds of respondents (68%) acknowledged their trust to police in responding to violence and crime, with 43% of these regarding it at very high level and 25% at fairly high level. Of those who rated police otherwise, 16% appraised it at fairly low and 5% at very low (Fig. 20).

Along gender perceptions, both men and women rated police at fairly similar trends; a higher number of both genders confirmed very high rating to police trust, compared to a relatively lower number sanctioning at fairly low. Specifically, slightly below half (48%) of women expressed very high levels of satisfaction towards police service and 20% at fairly high, while women constituted less numbers than men in those who rated police at low levels (with 14% of men rating at fairly low, and 4% at very low). Men showed the
same positive trend by 37% of them rating police at very high level and 32% at fairly high, in contrast to 20% and 7% of men expressing fairly low and very low at police service (Fig. 21).

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

![Graph showing trust levels by gender](image)

### 3.1.3. Police Performance

Key informants and focus groups have applauded police performance and singled them out as the only body that enforces the rulings of all the three justice providers, which are the formal courts, elders’ jury and Sharia principles. In addition to that the police were found to regularly provide public security. The deputy Nugal Regional Police Commander revealed that the police force is making progress and improvement day after day and that is something worth appreciation. He disclosed:

> Just recently, the Puntland Police had been trained in Armoy Police Academy and they acquired skills in public relations and security maintenance

However, informants, including the Deputy Regional Police Commissioner, admitted that, despite the above positive perspectives, Burtinle Police complained from lack of sufficient equipment and logistical support. This undermined the capability of the police to respond quickly to crime and violence.\(^\text{11}\)

Police lack sufficient equipment and logistics to better serve public demands. The response of police to crime and violence is not always quick due to this and that is why many times public complain of police coming late to urgent calls. The Burtinle IDP Chairman and the IDP focus group both complained of police response when a conflict erupts in the camp and they ask for police help.

Although a large majority of respondents, constituting more than two thirds of respondents (67%) believed that police performance had improved during the last 12 months, nevertheless, a fifth of the respondents (22%) thought police had not made any improvement. On the contrary, 10% viewed that the performance had declined during the last year. 11% were unable to express their opinions (Fig. 22).

Figure 22: Respondents’ perception of the performance of the police-year trend

\[^{10}\text{Deputy Nugal region Police Commander, Key Informant Interview, 10 November, 2015.}\]

\[^{11}\text{Burtinle Women, FGD, Op. cit.}\]
From a gender perspective, although both genders revealed gave positive evaluation on police performance, yet more women did so at 62% against 51%. However, for those who viewed that no change had taken place, the reverse was true. The number of men who declared no change was two times larger than that of women (men at 32% and women at 14%). More men accounted for decline of police service at (12% for men, and 8% for women). Strikingly, the number of respondents who could not assess on the performance was high at 20%, of which 16% were women (Fig. 23).

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

With respect to Burtinle sub-divisions’ valuation on police performance, whereas respondents from 4 sub-divisions reckoned improvement of police performance at ratings ranging between 86% and 53%, an estimated 41% of the respondents from the fifth sub-division IDP camp saw no change in police performance. This might be due to two reasons; firstly, the IDP camp is located at a point outside the main town, and secondly, the police lack sufficient transport and logistics to reach the camp and extend the necessary support.

At sub-division levels, 86% of Wadajir respondents felt that police performance improved, in contrast to 14% who built the opinion that no change had been accomplished. In Hawl-wadaag sub-division, 70% voted for improvement of police performance against 15% who disagreed with no changes and 5% declaring that in contrary there was a decline. For Horumar, 56% concluded improvement, 19% no change, and 13% contrasted with a decline. Among Isaac respondents 53% perceived improvement, 24% no change, and 6% decline. Isaac and the IDP camp had 18%, the largest number of respondents, who said they do not know (Fig. 24).

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

To sum up, both quantitative and qualitative surveys showed communities’ positive perception in regard with the presence of police as well as its security provision. However, most of respondents pointed out the shortage of equipment and some delays in the response of police to some incidences. A tangible role is played by traditional elders, religious leaders and other prominent figures in the community to maintain security in Burtinle. Only 12-13 officers are operational in the town while more than 40 settlements and
surrounding villages exist which leaves the number of police fewer than needed. In general, the district is secure as compared to other big towns of Puntland or Somalia.
3.1 JUSTICE PROVIDERS

There is one district level court in Burtinle, and it mostly deals with civil cases, although there has been increased usage of the court for criminal cases. Depending on the nature of the case, disputants decide whether to approach formal or informal providers, although the district court commissioner confirmed the public still prefers going the traditional elder route.\footnote{Burtinle District Court Commissioner, KII, Op. cit.}

Against this background, this section of the study investigates respondents’ perceptions regarding the levels of deployment, performance, and confidence in the justice providers and justice in general.

3.2.1 Level of deployment

Among the household survey respondents, awareness of the existence of courts was more than half of the total sample 57% of the surveyed respondents were aware of the court’s existence (Fig. 25).

Across the sub-divisions, awareness of the presence of courts was recorded over two quarters of the total sample in all areas except IDP (kaam 1) where only 12% reported they were aware of the existence of the courts. In the sub-divisions of Wadajir and Hawlwadaag, 14% and 15% respectively, reported that they were not aware of the existence of courts, whereas more than one quarter of respondents from Israac sub-division reported that they were also not aware of the existence of court. Similarly, over a quarter of respondents in Hormuud sub-division said that they were not aware of the existence of courts. The IDP (kaam 1) had the largest number (82%) of respondents who reported that they were not aware of the existence of the courts (Fig. 27).

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

![Figure 26: Respondents’ awareness of the existence of courts by gender](image-url)

Gender has not shown to have a great impact on the awareness of courts as 59% of the male respondents reported that they are aware of the existence of the courts while 56% of female respondents reported the same. Also 34% of the male respondents reported that they were not aware of the existence of the courts and 30% of female respondents reported the same (Fig. 26).
When it was enquired of the respondents that had indicated awareness of the courts how many courts they were aware of, more than three quarters of them (96%) said that they only knew of one court. Where 2% reported that they knew of two courts (Fig. 28).

Close to three quarters (64%) of respondents went on to state that the court was less than 20 minutes’ walk from their residence, while 18% estimated that the time it would take them to walk to the court was between 20 to 40 minutes. Also 14% out of the respondents stated that it would them between 41 minutes and 1 hour, and only 5% of the respondents reported that it would take them over 1 hour to reach the closest court (Fig. 29).

3.2.2 Performance of the Justice Providers

Ever since the collapse of the Somali government, the courts have sought to regain the public’s trust and to meet their expectations with regards to access to justice. Although there was a consensus amongst a majority of FGD participants that the public have equal access to justice, their opinions differed when it came to which provider the public would utilise. Concerns over the cost of bringing a case before the court as well as the level of confidence one held in a particular provider were two of the main issues mentioned by participants of the Youth FGD: “All have equal access to justice, although people have no much confident in formal courts.”

Among the respondents interviewed in the household survey, the most commonly used justice provider in the 12 months period preceding the assessment had been the traditional elders (13%), closely followed by the court who had been used by 10% of the entire sample. The use of religious leaders was reported by only 4% of the respondents (Fig.30).

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Among the 13% of respondents who had used traditional elders in the last year, the portion of men (22%) was four times that of women (6%), indicating that gender considerations may have played a significant role in the usage of traditional elders. Similarly, the usage of religious leaders had indicated a gender difference, of 7% of males and 2% of females. On the other hand, the usage of courts indicated that gender may not have had an impact, as men and women were proportionately equal (10% each). See (Fig. 31).

The preference for the usage of traditional elders was further repeated during the women’s focus group discussions, in which the main reason cited by discussants was the perception that they were “more informed and their verdicts are more lenient than courts which awards heavy penalties. In contrast to elders, courts do not entertain mediation or compromise”.14

Land, household violence related cases, assault and youth related violence were common cases that justice providers dealt with. Table 5 illustrates the issues which were referred to the various justice providers by the respondents who had used them in the past year.

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Table 5: Issues referred to justice providers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues referred to different justice Providers</th>
<th>Justice providers</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Court</td>
<td>Traditional Elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land dispute</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business dispute</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth violence</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household violence</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid distribution</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the participants who reported on consulting the various justice providers, reports of having received a judgement was the highest among those who had used courts; 67% of respondents reported receiving a judgment, compared to 58% among those who had approached the traditional elders. Whilst religious leaders were the least used justice provider with 50% of respondents who had used them reporting that they received a judgment (Fig. 32).

The qualitative study highlighted deficiencies in enforcement of judgements by the courts as captured by the Youth FGD participants, whereby a combination of: “(a) weak law enforcement bodies. The person may refuse to come to court or police station when summoned, and b) lack of trust to formal justice providers’ verdicts” poses challenges.

The district court commissioner believed financial punishments, coupled with the possible utilisation of police services encouraged the public to comply with the court’s verdicts, “The normal police forces are the law enforcement forces that we have in Burtinle but defendants always comply with the rules of the court when they have to pay a compensation.”

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When it comes to traditional elders, they rely on Somali customs to ensure compliance and that perhaps explains the reason behind their extremely high enforcement rate “the people on both sides first sign that they trust these judges, and they give their words that they will accept what those judges decide, and as the community is Muslim they definitely accept most of them”.18

Areas for reform

The court commissioner pointed to areas that need to improve in order to strengthen justice provision in the courts:

There used to be three judges and one court commissioner during 2006-2008 but the number of judges were reduced to only one in 2009 while there are around 41 villages under Burtinle which need more judges in place. We do not have vehicles and other logistical support.

Traditional Elders’ FGD group seemed to be in agreement with the court commissioner mentioning the impact of lack of skilled manpower on their capacity to dispense justice.19 Another suggestion from the traditional elders FGD participants was for the Puntland authorities to support the important role that elders play “government should recognise the commendable role of elders and they should be provided with requisite support”.20

In another discussion, the youth FGD members mentioned the need to improve accountability of judges in order to ensure just rulings and they should be monitored by a board which assesses their performance. The group further suggested that the employment of court personnel should be based on merit rather than clan basis.21

3.2.3 Perception of the Justice Providers

The traditional elders were mentioned by 41% of household survey respondents as the most trusted justice provider in solving cases. The religious leaders became the second trusted justice provider with 19% of respondents, the court and police were mentioned by 4% and 2% respectively. Over a quarter (25%) of the survey sample did not provide a reply (Fig.34). Some variations emerged upon the disaggregation of data along gender lines. Traditional elders were identified most frequently as the preferred justice provider for both men and women; however, men (46%) appeared to hold higher trust in traditional elders compared to women (36%) who were more likely than men to select the court and the police as their most trusted justice provider by (6% and 4% respectively). A substantial amount of male (22%) and female (28%) respondents did not provide an answer. See Figure 35.

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20 Ibid
When asked to state reasons for their choice of most trusted justice provider, the main reason cited for courts and religious leaders was their fair judgements (75%: courts, 56% religious leaders). Table 6 illustrates reasons given by respondents for their choice of most trusted justice provider.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for trust of justice provider</th>
<th>Most trusted justice provider in solving cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast decisions</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair judgment</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence from politics</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less costly</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of access</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More reliable</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The assessment also sought to assess respondents’ confidence in the formal justice system. According to the findings from the household survey, 59% of the respondents expressed their confidence in the formal justice providers (31%: very confident and 28%: fairly confident). However, 16% of the respondents said they were not confident in the formal justice system and approximately 26% did not provide an answer (Fig. 36).

When evaluated on the basis of gender, it was observed that more female respondents (34%) than male respondents (28%) were very confident, while more male respondents (35%) felt fairly confident than female respondents (22%) when it came to the formal justice system. Once again as with previous responses, a large portion of the sample did not provide an answer (male: 20% and female: 30%). See Figure 38.
A little less than a quarter of the respondents (23%) felt that the performance of the formal court had improved compared to the previous year. Whereas 30% of the respondents reported that in their opinion, there had been no change, and 8% felt that there had been a decline. Not surprisingly though was that four in ten respondents either did not know how to answer the question or did not provide a reply (Fig. 38).

Male respondents appeared to have a more positive outlook on the performance of the court over the past year, as approximately 61% of them compared with 46% of female respondents indicated that the court’s performance had remained the same or improved over the past year. In addition, a slightly greater portion of female respondents (8%) felt that there had been a decline compared with the portion of male respondents (7%). Once again over 40% of male respondents did not provide a reply, followed by 32% of respondents (Fig. 39).
3.3 GOVERNANCE PROVIDERS

Burtinle is a grade B district consisting of 42 villages, and borders eight neighbouring districts. The current administration was formed in October 2015, has 21 local councillors and two additional members were added to deal with conflict settlement among the clans in the district. The local council is comprised of a mayor, deputy mayor, the secretary of local government and four departments (finance, planning, social services and public works). Although the administration is young and under-resourced, it is determined to deliver public services.

This section is aimed at assessing the existence, awareness, performance, interaction with, and perception of the local government as well as the challenges facing the institution.

3.3.1 Level of Deployment

When asked about the existence of the district council, a significant majority (81%) of respondents in the household survey stated that the council did in fact exist. However, 12% of respondents did not give a response, and 7% believed there was no council present (Fig. 40).

Figure 40: Respondents’ awareness of the presence of a local council

On the disaggregation of data along gender lines, similar trend was observed, whereby slightly more female respondents indicated awareness of the presence of the local council than their male counterparts (82% women compared with 82% men). See Figure 41.

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23 Burtinle Mayor, Key Informant Interview, 10th November 2015
The majority of the respondents in each subdivision acknowledged the presence of the local council. However, awareness of the council’s presence was highest among respondents in Wadajir (100%) followed by Israac (94%) of respondents in these subdivisions acknowledging the council’s presence. Approximately 81% and 70% of respondents in Horumar and Hawl-wadaag subdivisions were respectively aware of the council, whereas awareness was the lowest in IDP (Kaam1), where 59% of respondents from that subdivision stated that they were aware of the council (Fig. 42).

3.3.2. Performance of the Local Council
The Burtinle local government provides a variety of services aimed at improving the town’s appearance as well as contributing to the district’s development. According to the mayor, who took part in an individual interview as a key informant, expressed his views on methods used to ensure that the public feels safe during the nights, “the local government pays for the fuel and other costs of the police patrolling the town.”

Among those respondents who were aware of the council’s presence, less than one-half (43%) of them claimed that the Local Council provided security services and over 35% responded that they did not know what services the council provides. However, a portion of those who were aware of the council recognised its work in the areas of infrastructure (27%), and justice and health provision (24% each), as well as sanitation and education (22% each). Smaller portions were aware of the council’s role in the provision of water (20%), agriculture (7%), and public and government relations (4%). See Figure 43.

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Figure 43: Respondents' responses regarding services provided by the local council

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>% of cases (n=74)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public and government, relations</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No services</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Security

Cooperation between police and local council extend to ensuring the authorities pay for their fuel and associated costs when patrolling the town at night, due to concern over minor thefts such as mobile snatching. Burtinle IDP chairman shared his concern over personal security, “IDP children who go to town to earn their living in the morning are faced with security risks when they are coming back from the town in the early hours of the evenings. They are harmed or beaten.”

Education

Participants from the IDP community were most expressive in the provision of education as a fundamental need of their community. In particular the FGD participants stated: “Our children go to the schools in the town even though we are far away from the town and this is a problem as it takes them so long to reach these schools. We need schools for our children in the IDP camps”.

Infrastructure/Town Planning

According to the Youth group, town planning and the widening or opening of roads, especially within subdivisions should be a priority for the local council.

Health

Once again the IDP community mentioned the need for increased access to functional health services in particular MCH facilities in the district and in the camp itself:

The lack of health facilities poses great risk to women and children. Pregnant mothers do not receive needed maternal health care as well as means of safe delivery of babies. Many of them lose their babies during delivery for lack of proper care and often mothers themselves become ill. The health centres in the town provide no support for our camp.

Traditional Elders FGD participants highlighted further issues with the health care services, whereby:

The hospital is not operating very well; the workers in the hospital do not receive a salary, this city does not have the services a city should have. The equipment in the hospital are full but there are no doctors, the doctors open their own clinics so that they can get their daily food from them.

3.3.3 Consultative governance

Existence of communication channels play a significant role in facilitating participation in decision making. With that in mind, residents were asked about their awareness of channels of communication with the district council. The study indicated that over a third of the respondents who were aware of the council were not aware of the channels of communication with the council (32%). See Figure 44.

26 Burtinle IDP Chairman, Key Informant Interview, 11th November
27 Burtinle IDP, Focus Group Discussion, 11th November 2015
When disaggregated by gender, it was observed that, of those who had indicated awareness of the council, just over the majority of males and less than half of females were aware of the channels of communication with the council (52% and 37% respectively), while three in ten of both male (30%) and females (34%) stated that they were not aware of channels of communication with the council (Fig. 45).

A closer look at the different areas showed fluctuations among those who were aware of the council’s presence, ranging from over 50% of the respondents in Horumar and Israac subdivision (62% and 56% respectively) was unaware of the available channels of communication with their local government representatives, followed by 48% and 30% in Wadajir and IDP (Kaam1). In fact, the majority of respondents who did not know about channels of communication were from the IDP subdivision (70%). The least informed respondents about the channels of communication resided in Hawl-wadaag with only 14% aware and over 71% unable to provide a definite response (Fig. 46).

The study further revealed of the total sample that a little under a third (28%) of respondents reported having participated in consultative meetings between the local government and the community within the 12-month period prior to the assessment (Fig. 47).
Residents from Israac (44%), Horumar (38%) and Wadajir (29%) had the highest participation in local governance consultations in the past year. On the other hand, over 93% from Hawl-wadaag and 80% from IDP (Kaam 1) residents reported no participation in local government consultations over the last 12 months (Fig. 49).

Among respondents who had confirmed their recent participation in local government consultative meetings (n=25), those who participated in more than three, two and three meetings over the year prior to the assessment reported the following: 38%, 29% and 24% respectively. Those who only participated once made up the smallest portion at 10%. See Figure 50.
3.3.4 Perception toward the Local Council

When asked whether they felt it was important to have elected representatives in local government, a great majority of the respondents (90%) agreed that it was important (Fig. 51). The majority of FGD respondents supported the quantitative data in that they perceived electing representatives was important and “This is because the members of the council and the mayor come out from our community and they are the true representatives of the people.”

On the issue of conducting consultative meetings with communities, the mayor claimed that several meetings had been held with established committees to discuss of matters of significance to the community. The Mayor stated:

“The town is divided into sub-divisions, each run by a community-selected village committee. There is also an elder’s committee, which is called in whenever important and urgent issues arise. The UNDP has built a house for the elders to meet and handle important public matters. The local council has also close contact with other civil society organs such as the youth, women, sports committees etc. We have regular consultations with all of these civil society members”.

Also discussants expressed overall positive opinions regarding the performance of the local council. Their responses ranged from claims that the current local council has managed to garner public support due to their performance: “Among the issues that earned trust for the local council is the destruction of private enclosures and its focus on the improvement of sanitation” to claims that the “current council and mayor are performing better than those who were in office previously”.

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33 Ibid
Moreover, traditional elders were aware of the difficult financial circumstances the local council was undertaking in delivering public services “this city is very large and our local council does not have much capacity in terms of economy”.\textsuperscript{36}

A broad majority of both women (92%) and men (88%) articulated the importance of elected representatives (Fig. 52).

3.3.4.1. Pressing Community Needs
The study sought respondents’ perception of the most pressing needs in their community. Respondents identified a number of issues, chief of which were lack of water (47%), unemployment (42%), infrastructure (36%), poor health (27%), poor economy (26%), and poor education (21%). See Figure 54.

\textsuperscript{36} Burtinle Traditional Elders, FGD. Op. cit.
**Water Provision**

Key informant interview with the IDP chairman revelead that access to water was among the most pressing issues facing the community and raised that the IDP camp had water system in place but were being charged high costs to gain access:

> World Vision has drilled a well in the camp and personnel from the Puntland Water Agency were allowed to operate the water systems in the camp. But the water agency operators obstruct free IDP access to the well.\(^{37}\)

He suggested that it would be better for the IDP camp to have a separate water storage tank for the use of only the camp’s inhabitants as they also ensure/pay for regular maintenance and repairs.\(^{38}\)

**Employment opportunities**

Although lack of employment has been an issue in the region, the IDP chairman in particular expressed for the IDP community’s wish to exercise greater financial independence through gainful employment and suggested that:

> IDPs should not be fed forever and they should not be dependent on others such as local authorities or international agencies for their living. My suggestion is that concerned actors should organise job creation schemes for the IDPs. Many of the IDPs have skills such as masonry, electricity, mechanics, possess traditional handcraft and they need initial support or tools or equipment to enable them to independently earn their living.\(^{39}\)

**Sanitation**

Participants of the Youth, Women and Traditional Elder FGDs expressed provision of adequate sanitation services, in particular rubbish collection was a pressing need in the district. Participants of the Traditional Elders FGD were particularly critical:

> This council is new for now, we do not know for sure what they will come up with, but there was no operating local government as hoped...all the markets are full of rubbish and waste materials, let us say for example, the meat market. I used to work with the local government and I have never seen them collecting rubbish from the city.\(^{40}\)

Limited resources hampers the effective delivery of sanitation services, and according to the mayor “Presently, private rented tipper trucks dispose garbage. Other sanitation tools such as spades, wheel barrows and staff uniforms are absent.”\(^{41}\)

In fact Youth FGD participants mentioned the delivery of sanitation is a priority in Burtinle’s annual local council plan “particularly garbage collection, disposal and digging of garbage pit”.\(^{42}\)

**Access to grazing land**

Pastoralism has been the way of life in this area for centuries and has been coming under threat with more and more private individuals fencing off portions of land for their sole use, making cross-migration more difficult. These private enclosures has decreased the availability of communal grazing lands and the local council has taken a strong stance in preventing their existence to ensure animals have grazing land as mentioned by Youth FGD and the Mayor:

> The new administration of Burtinle has declared private enclosures illegal and with the help of Ministry of Security and Puntland Police succeeded in waging a campaign. To date 105 private enclosures have been destroyed and the work is still ongoing. It was estimated that 450 private enclosures exist in Burtinle District.\(^{43}\)

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38 Ibid

39 Ibid


43 Ibid
Survey participants were also asked to express the level of confidence they held in the local council. Confirming the opinions expressed by group discussants over half of the respondents (73%) of the sample expressed ‘very high’ and fairly high confidence in the council (44% and 29% respectively) and 16% did not know how to respond to the question. Having ‘fairly low’ levels of confidence. Over one in ten respondents (11%) claimed they held ‘fairly low’ and ‘very low’ levels of confidence (Fig. 55).

Figure 55: Respondents’ level of confidence in Local Council

There were minor divergencies in the level of confidence of the local council by gender. Males tended to be more favourable towards the local council than females (49% vs. 40%), while other proportions (20% female, 12% male) expressed no opinion regarding their confidence in the council (Fig 56).

Figure 56: Respondents’ level of confidence in Local Council by gender

Among respondents who were aware of the council, over one – third of the respondents (37%) expressed that there was an improvement in the performance of the council, while 31% believed that there had been no change, and an equal 31% stated that they did not know how the performance of the council had changed over the past year (Fig. 57).

Figure 57: Respondents’ perception towards the performance of the Local Council (yearly)
Data was disaggregated along gender lines and there were slight divergencies in the level of confidence of the local council by gender. Slightly more males expressed performance had improved at the local council than females (39% vs. 36%). Contrarily only 2% of males believed that performance had declined. More females did not express their opinions regarding their confidence in the council (32%) than men (29%). See Figure 58.

Figure 58: Respondents’ perception towards the performance of the Local Council (yearly) by gender

There was a variation in the perception of the change in the council’s performance across all the subdivisions, as with the majority of respondents in Israac, Wadajir and Horumar stated that there had been change in the performance when compared with the previous year (53%, 52% and 38%). The majority of respondents in Hawl-wadaag (40%) subdivision expressed that there had been no change in performance. Also, same portion of the respondents in Hawl-wadaag recorded a similar percentage of don’t know responses (40%). The highest sample who did not know how to answer the question was from the IDP subdivision (59%). Only few respondents from Horumar subdivision gave decline in performance (6%). See Figure 59.

Figure 59: Respondents’ perception towards the performance of the Local Council (yearly) by subdivisions

3.3.4.2 Avenues for development

Qualitative participants were aware that levying of local taxation was critical step to avail enough resources to the local council to deliver fundamental services and were supporting steps towards its collection. The most evident support for the administration was the public’s acceptance of paying taxes such as road tax of vehicles. According to Youth FGD “since we see the public have started paying local taxes and are fulfilling their obligations, similarly it is time the local council becomes accountable to the people and become transparent in how it spends the collected revenues”.

The local council ensured they garnered public consent for the commencement of levying taxes and avoid possible backlash by engaging with the public in an engaging and inclusive manner:

When our administration came to office, the first thing we did was that we held extensive consultations with the different civil society groups and we asked them whether it was opportune to start levying taxes in order to serve the

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people. All civil society groups welcomed the idea and we started collecting taxes with their consent and encouragement or endorsement. Due to this, we have not so far been met with any challenges with regards to tax collection or otherwise.\textsuperscript{46}

One of the ways to improve service delivery suggested by the IDP FGD participants’ was the creation of local committee to organise local services through the separation of IDP funds from general population. The participants wanted more independence in handling own matters inside the camp.\textsuperscript{47}

Furthermore, the FGD members expressed that besides working with civil groups, the local council has carried out awareness of various services and their importance to the general public: “they rent cars with microphones and spread their message throughout the city.”\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{46} Burtinle Mayor, KII, Op. cit.  
\textsuperscript{47} Burtinle IDP, FGD, Op. cit.  
4. CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

4.1. Awareness of conflict

Burinle District, like the rest of the districts in Puntland is recovering from the 1991 collapse of the Somali state. Despite concern about sporadic incidents which were mainly resource motivated, political feuds between neighbouring clans over dominance, and weak formal institutions adept to dealing effectively with such incidences, there has been a resurgence of peace and normalcy to the district.

The following section seeks to give an account of respondents’ experience with crime and violence in their communities, mechanisms for conflict resolution and the perception of safety in the district.

4.2. Experience of conflict

Nine out of ten household survey respondents reported that they were not aware of any conflict occurring between clans or groups in the 12 months prior to the assessment. Only 9% of respondents asserted that they were aware of conflict taking place between clans or groups (Fig. 60).

Along gender lines, slightly more men (95%) than women (88%) expressed awareness of the existence of conflict. Among the sub-divisions, exclusively all (100%) of the respondents of Hawl-wadaag were unanimously in non-awareness of conflict in the area, followed by Horumar, where 94% agreed that they were similarly not aware of conflict. The respondents of the other two sub-divisions of IDP Camp and Israac confirmed seeing no conflict at 88% each, while Wadajir sanctioned at 86% (Fig. 61 and Fig. 62).
On account of witnessing conflict between or groups, 99% of respondents had not observed conflict, which indicated there was a high prevalence of peace and stability in the area (Fig. 63). With respect to gender opinions, all women respondents (100%) informed that they were not aware of occurrence of conflict, with men agreeing at 98% (Fig. 64).

At a sub-division level, the same picture was projected as the four sub-divisions of Hawl-wadaag, Hurumar, Wadajir and IDP Camp respondents reported of not witnessing conflict. Only 6% of respondents from the sub-division of Isaac claimed to have not observed conflict (Fig. 65).
Figure 65: Account of witnessing conflict between clans or groups by subdivision

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subdivision</th>
<th>% of respondents within subdivisions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Issac</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawil-wadaag</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horumar</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadajir</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP (Kaamt)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the causes of conflict were multiple (including revenge killing, youth related violence and family disputes). Discussants that conflicts were often incited by tensions over scarce resources (private enclosures of grazing and development land). This was compounded by the pastoral lifestyle, which involved frequent travel or migration in search of pastures and water, owing to unreliable rainfall patterns in the rural areas.\(^{49}\)

Clan related disputes can easily escalate to violence and according to local councillor, in the Qorilay there was an ongoing conflict between two neighbouring clans, and with the assistance of their traditional elders, a truce was reached. The clashes had come at a cost though, where this year alone, more than fifty people on both sides lost their lives until peace was achieved at November 2015. In accordance with customary Xeer system, compensation was agreed upon and to be paid within six months:

> Actually, the normal compensation of the dead man is 100 heads of camel while the compensation of a woman is half of the man’s. Thus one side was asked to pay 3850 heads of camel since the loss of the other side was 38 men and one woman. While the other side has to pay 1700 camel for the death of 17 men from the opposing clan.

When asked about the number of conflict respondents had witnessed during the last 12 months, all Burtinle respondents (100%) accounted to have witnessed 3 conflicts (Fig.66). Of these, all respondents (100%) reported that only one incident had developed to violence (Fig.67).

Figure 66: Number of conflicts witnessed in the last 12 months

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of conflicts witnessed (last 12 months)</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1. Victims of Conflict and Violence

The survey also attempted to uncover in the event of conflict which category was at most risk for being affected. Youth FGD discussants stated they thought minority clans, women, and non-community members living in the location such as those in IDP camps were most vulnerable.\(^{50}\)

Women agreed that along with themselves also minority clans were most affected and those reasons were because “minority clans are numerically inferior to stronger clans, while women were physically weaker than men and not counted as clan members and therefore not defended by the clan”.\(^{51}\)

IDPs expressed that they did not victimise anyone amongst themselves and that “there is no discrimination among us on the basis of gender or clan or group in terms of being exposed to violence”.\(^{52}\)

4.3. Experience of crime and violence

Regarding experience of crime and violence, more than 9 out of every 10 respondents (97%) answered that they had not observed crime and violence against someone outside of the household. When the household survey interviewed two persons on the common types, frequencies and causes of conflict, both of them stated that family disputes were the only conflicts that prevail in their area and the fact that in the year only three conflicts were recorded in Burtinle signifies that frequency of conflict was also minimal.

Furthermore, the household survey noted a minimum gender difference on experience of crime and violence against someone outside the household. This is because where 98% of men had recounted the incidence, 96% of women did the same. See figure 69.

\(^{50}\) Burtinle Youth, FGD, Op. cit.
\(^{52}\) Burtinle IDPs, FGD, Op. cit.
Although the main causes of crime and violence in the district is pertaining to youth, assault, and family disputes, also according to traditional elders FGD group:

\[\text{land disputes are the biggest problem in this environment, some of the people are capturing property they do not have expecting that they will get some percentage at the last when mediation comes, we call this situation (ku qaboo ku qadi mayside) and that happens all over the Somalia and is not only for us. But still such violence is not often happening here.}^{53}\]

Meanwhile, the women’s group cited further causes of disputes, such as weak governance institutions unable to effectively exert power over the territory and clans sometimes being better equipped (weapons) than the security forces and finally unemployment causing frustration and idleness, especially amongst the youth.\(^{54}\)

### 4.4. Perception of Safety

In an attempt to gauge perception of the level of safety in the district, respondents were asked how safe they felt in their area. The findings revealed that more than 9 out of every 10 respondents (97%) felt very safe with only 1% sensing rather unsafe (Fig. 70).

Among the sexes, minor variation appeared in perception of safety. In contrary to expectations, where women were more likely exposed to physical risks than men, females built slightly more positive perception of safety (98%) against that of males (96%) (Fig.71)

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On a yearly trend, the vast majority (87%) of Burtine respondents had the impression that safety had increased in the last twelve months compared to only 2% who thought the opposite (Fig. 72).

When looking at gender disaggregation on perception of safety during the last 12 months, men and women had built more positive conception of safety (93% for men) against 82% for women). Markedly, 16% of women respondents deemed that no change has been achieved for a year (Fig. 73).
Largely, sub-divisions considered that the safety of the area had improved during the last 12 months. However, the IDP camp showed the highest confidence as it had the largest portion of respondents feeling increase of safety (100%), followed by Wadajir which recorded 95%. Israac and Hawl-wadaag came second place when it came to safety increase.

In Israac, where 88% had voiced that safety had increased, the remaining 12% saw no change. Similarly, 80% of Hawl-wadaag respondents observed increased safety with one-fifth of them (20%) reporting no change. Horumar, ranked third as only 69% of its respondents thought there was increase in safety, while a quarter of its respondents (25%) challenged in viewing no change in safety.

Contentiously, in line with above, the IDP Camp sub-division expressed the highest safety perception. Perhaps surprising, despite the fact that the IDP camp is located outside the town and whose inhabitants do not share ethnicity with the host community, manifested a higher safety perception than the natives (Fig. 74).

Figure 74: Perception of safety by subdivision
5. CONCLUSION

Burtnile like most of Puntland districts is in recovery and as such, many institutions are under construction. Burtnile authorities have begun engaging with the public, sometimes even encouraging civil society participation and assistance.

When it comes to the provision of justice, the district has been characterised by an increased awareness of the courts (59%). However, there were several factors that presented obstacles in the public’s use of the formal justice system, such as under resource (lack of staff), appointment based on clan rather than merit and heavy costs associated with using this provider. The public continued to mainly rely on and trust informal providers such as the traditional elders to handle matters of justice. The informal providers are associated with their experience in the legal traditions of the Somali community whereby cases are perceived to be fairly judged and verdicts are enforced. The courts need to continue to improve and the suggested avenues for improvement included enhancement of staff capacities and their numbers, along with reducing the costs associated with bringing a case before the courts.

The District is headed by a Mayor and various departments who help deliver basic services to its inhabitants. Compared to the previous local council where there had been allegations of incompetence, and inactivity, the new administration garnered public support by holding continuous consultation meetings with stakeholders and various civil society groups, along with raising awareness of the pressing needs in the community. A clear sign that the local council has community backing is the acceptance of levying taxes for the purpose of service delivery. Therefore majority of participants reported awareness of the services that were provided by the council.

The people of Burtnile are positive about democratic practices and enormously agreed that it is important to have elected representatives. Though most of the participants had high confidence in the local council (73%), they expressed varied views regarding the performance of the local council in the last 12 months. The local council administration is facing challenges especially with respect to financial resources where despite collecting taxes still lacks enough to provide all public services efficiently.

In regard with the security, police is the main security provider in Burtnile with the support of other entities such as the local government, traditional elders, religious leaders and the local committees of the subdivisions. Though the number of police is not proportional with the number of people in terms of the broader Burtnile district, which hosts many surrounding villages, limited police officers places pressures when effectively responding to security matters. Awareness of police presence in Burtnile is high among the respondents of the household survey (77%) but participants of the focus group discussions expressed that the police is slow in responding to the incidents relating the reason to logistical shortages. On the other hand, the participants of both qualitative and quantitative surveys perceived that the town is safe and stable in security wise because of the simple lifestyle.
However, Burtinle witnesses occasional clashes between clans in the area sharing that problem with other Somali regions.
6. ANNEXES

6.1. Sample Size Formula

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

Where:
- \( z \) = confidence interval (95%)
- \( P \) = P-Value which assumed some security correlation within the cluster (0.3)
- \( f \) = is the sample design effect (1.5)
- \( e \) = the margin of error to be attained (+ or − 8%)
### 6.2 Glossary of Terms

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