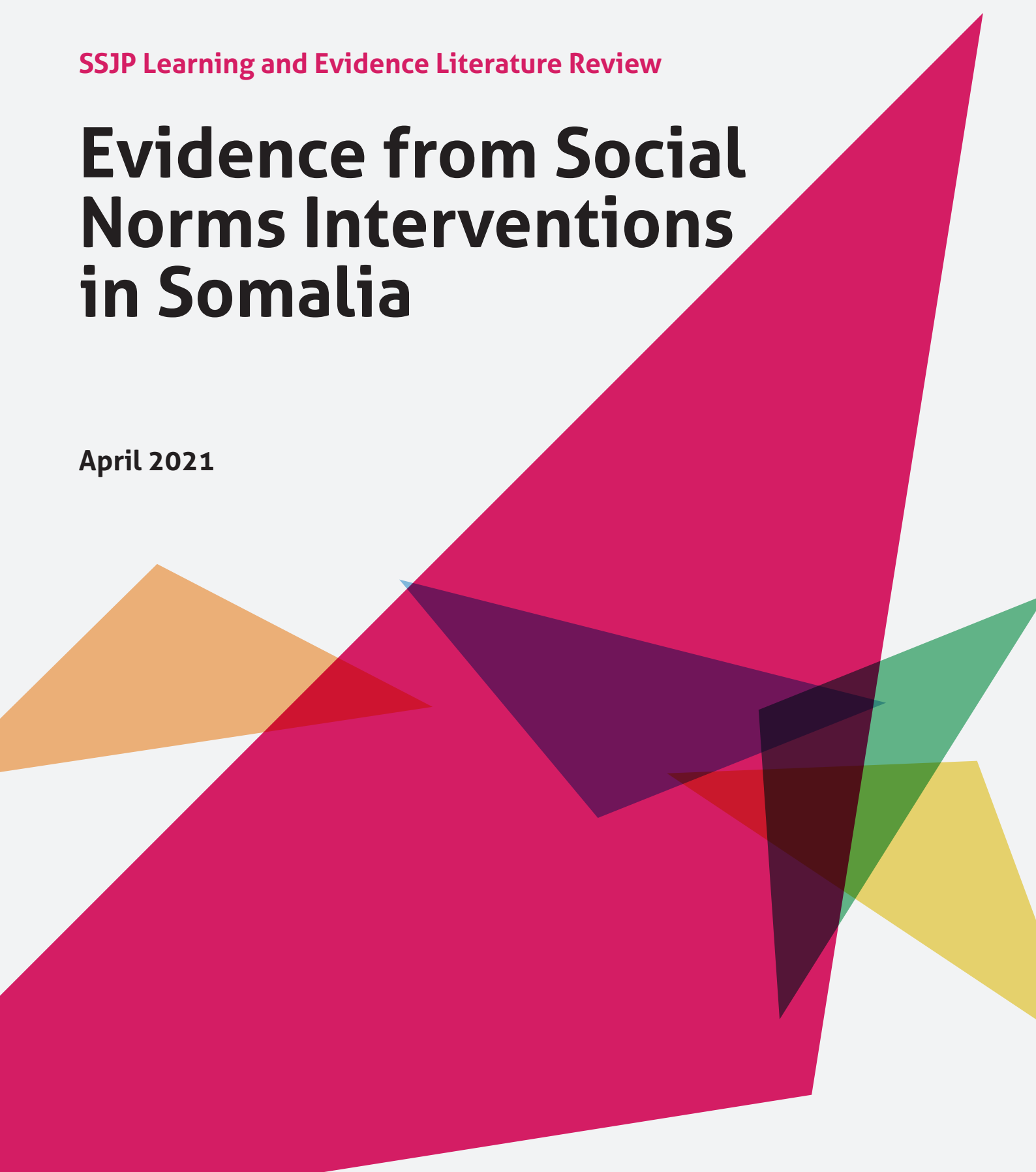


SSJP Learning and Evidence Literature Review

Evidence from Social Norms Interventions in Somalia

April 2021



1. Introduction

This component of the literature review explores the influence of social norms on access to and provision of security and justice (S&J) in Somalia. It seeks to accomplish three aims; firstly, to identify social norms from the existing literature that either directly or indirectly relate to S&J in Somalia. Secondly, it evaluates the evidence from social norms interventions in Somalia in the areas of S&J or broader service delivery (e.g. health, education). Thirdly, it evaluates evidence from interventions in Somalia that seek to enhance the accountability of S&J or other service providers.

The methodology and search strategy used to identify papers for inclusion in this review can be found in Appendix 1.

2. Overview of social norms that affect access to and provision of S&J in Somalia

The scope of this section of the review includes, but is not limited to, social norms that impact access to justice, social norms that affect selection of S&J providers, social norms that influence the response by S&J providers, and social rewards/sanctions for reporting S&J issues to various S&J providers. Given that a literature review on social norms and gender-based violence (GBV) in Somalia was recently undertaken as a component of SSJP, the current literature review will not draw on material included in that study. To reduce the risk of excluding relevant findings due to researcher bias, all social norms identified will be included in this review (except material included in the previous GBV literature review). As a result, some of the norms included in this review may be derived from studies with limitations that call into question the validity of the norm included in this review. The norms included will not represent claims made by the authors of this review, but rather norms identified from within the reviewed studies. Restrictions will not be imposed on study type or design given that a range of study methodologies can elicit valuable information about social norms, and so limiting the inclusion of studies on the basis of study type or design risks arbitrarily introducing unwanted bias.

Social norms can be understood as “the shared beliefs within a social unit about the appropriate ways to think, feel, and behave in a given context.”¹ Social norms differ from individual beliefs and attitudes and can be subdivided into “beliefs about how others expect one to behave” (injunctive norms) and “beliefs about how others behave” (descriptive norms).²

¹ Peggy Chekroun. 'Social Control Behavior: The Effects of Social Situations and Personal Implication on Informal Social Sanctions.' *Soc Personal Psychol Compass*. 2.6 (2008), 2141-58.

² Robert Cialdini, Melanie Trost. 'Social Influence: Social Norms, Conformity and Compliance.' In: *The Handbook of Social Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998).

An overview of reviews on the ways in which the term *social norms* are used in the literature revealed a certain degree of disagreement as to how social norms are defined. However, the study did reveal consensus between reviewers that social norms have a social component, they are action-oriented, and they can affect a person's health and wellbeing.³ 'Social norms' is an umbrella term encompassing norms related to tradition (customary norms), religion (religious norms), culture (cultural norms), amongst others.

There may be differences in expectations of how men and women should behave in any given society. As a result, for each social norm identified, it is important to consider whether or not it applies equally to men and women. The relevance of gender to social norms research is therefore not confined to specific norms dictating how women should behave in a particular context, but rather should be considered central to the pursuit of an in-depth understanding of social norms as a whole.

Social norms may have either a positive or negative impact on behaviour.⁴ As presented in Cislighi & Heise's (2018a) *dynamic framework for social change*, social norms constitute one of multiple factors that can impact upon behaviour, and viewing social norms in isolation from these other factors might limit the success of interventions designed to address problematic behaviours.⁵ Cislighi & Heise (2018a) categorise these non-normative factors into:

- 1) Institutional factors e.g. governance structures, criminal justice system
- 2) Material factors e.g. availability of services, transport/infrastructure
- 3) Individual factors e.g. factual beliefs, attitudes, skills
- 4) Social factors e.g. social network, availability of social support

Social norms may *directly* impact upon access to and provision of S&J, such as the norm that sexual violence should not be reported to authorities to protect family honour.⁶ Social norms may also *indirectly* impact upon access to and provision of S&J. For example, social norms that contribute to an acceptance of gender inequality in society may undermine the efforts of those seeking to remove the barriers faced by women in accessing S&J services and institutions. Whilst it is important to recognise the influence of these more indirect norms, this literature review will primarily focus on social norms that are more clearly and directly related to S&J.

³ Sophie Legros, Ben Cislighi, 'Mapping the Social-Norms Literature: An Overview of Reviews.' *Perspect Psychol Sci.* 15.1 (2020) 62–80.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ben Cislighi, Lori Heise. 'Using Social Norms Theory for Health Promotion in Low-Income Countries.' *Health Promot Int.* 34.3 (2018) 1-8.

⁶ Nancy Glass, Nancy Perrin N, Mendy Marsh M, et al. 'Effectiveness of the Communities Care Programme on Change in Social Norms Associated with Gender-Based Violence (GBV) with Residents in Intervention Compared with Control Districts in Mogadishu, Somalia.' *BMJ Open.* 9.3 (2019) 1-10.

Overview of findings

The literature review found a significant lack of social norms with only 15 studies identified that contained social norms relating to S&J in Somalia. Most of the social norms identified were found within studies that did not explicitly seek to identify social norms. Of those studies that did seek to identify social norms in Somalia, the overwhelming majority of these studies focused on gender-based violence (GBV), and were therefore not included (see above). The lack of studies on social norms in Somalia is perhaps unsurprising given the emergent nature of the field of social norms both globally and in Somalia. The distribution of studies identified tracks the global topical distribution of research in this field, with a significant proportion of social norms research undertaken on the topic of GBV and comparatively little research devoted to S&J more broadly. Many of the social norms identified were found within low quality studies. The social norms identified that impact upon access to, and provision of, S&J in Somalia can be crudely categorised as follows:

- 1) Norms influencing selection of S&J provider
- 2) Norms influencing interactions between S&J providers
- 3) Norms influencing the conduct of state police officers
- 4) Norms influencing the inclusion of women in the state police
- 5) Customary norms within the traditional justice system (Xeer)

The norms identified were found to have different strengths of influence. The study findings complement previous research undertaken by Cislaghi & Heise (2018b),⁷ who proposed four levels of normative strength. This *theory of normative spectrum* can be summarised as follows:⁸

- 1) the strongest norms make a practice **obligatory**
- 2) strong norms make a practice **appropriate**
- 3) weak norms make a practice **acceptable**
- 4) the weakest norms make a practice **possible**

This study found norms at each of these levels of strength. It is important to consider the strength of social norms when designing interventions as a different approach may be required when addressing strong norms compared with weaker norms. For instance, an intervention that seeks to challenge a harmful norm that is acceptable may require magnifying the voice of those who are against the norms, while an intervention to address a harmful obligatory norm

⁷ Ben Cislaghi, Lori Heise. 'Four Avenues of Normative Influence: A Research Agenda for Health Promotion in Low and Mid-Income Countries.' *Health Psychol.* 37.6 (2018) 562–573.

⁸ Ben Cislaghi, Gerry Mackie, Paul Nkwi, et al. 'Social Norms and Child Marriage in Cameroon: An Application of the Theory of Normative Spectrum.' *Glob. Public Health.* 14.10 (2019); 1479-1494.

may require deeper work at the attitude level and the creation of coalitions that coordinate for collective action after having changed their attitudes and agreed upon their basic values. The strengths of the norms identified will be indicated in the report.

Whilst several studies in the review refer specifically to social norms within or relating to state police, one study highlighted that members of the community are not always capable of differentiating between the police and other law enforcement actors including militia or the military.^{9,10} This is relevant to the current review as it could be the case that some of the social norms identified in this review that are attributed to state police also (or exclusively) apply to militia, the military, or other law enforcement actors.

A summary table of the social norms findings can be seen in Appendix 2.

Key

Social norm – italics

Normative strength:

Obligatory ■

Appropriate ■

Acceptable ■

Possible ■

Social Norms

1. Norms influencing selection of S&J provider

a. *It is inappropriate for religious leaders to be sought as the first port of call for S&J issues* ■

A household survey conducted in Somaliland by the Danish Demining Group (DDG) (2846 household questionnaires, 32 districts) suggested the presence of a social norm in Somaliland that it is inappropriate for religious leaders to be sought as the first port of call when seeking support for a crime, and that it is only appropriate for religious leaders to be approached to assist with mediation once two parties have agreed to arbitration.¹¹ Only a small minority of respondents (1%) explained that they would

⁹ Alice Hills. 'The Dynamics of Prototypical Police Forces: Lessons from Two Somali Cities.' *International Affairs*. 96.6 (2020) 1527–1546.

¹⁰ Sean Tait, Thomas Probert, Abdirahman Maalim Gossar, *Community-Police Dialogue and Cooperation in Somalia: Lessons Learnt* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2019).

¹¹ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010).

inform religious leaders if they experienced or witnessed a crime.¹² One interpretation is that religious leaders should be considered security *enablers* rather than security *providers*, as whilst they can contribute skills/expertise at certain stages of the justice process, it is not their role to lead on negotiation or enforcement.¹³ It should be noted that this finding is taken from a study based in Somaliland, thus it may not be replicated in all regions in Somalia e.g. areas under Al-Shabaab control.

b. It is acceptable to consult the police for S&J issues ■

The literature review revealed consensus amongst three studies that whilst traditional elders are typically the first port of call for most minor crimes and disputes, the police are typically the first port of call for serious crimes.^{14,15,16} The DDG household survey conducted in Somaliland (mentioned previously) also suggested that it is acceptable to consult the police for S&J issues. The survey found that most participants (Somaliland residents) upon witnessing or experiencing a crime would report to state police (71%), with the next highest proportion stating that they would report crimes to elders (29%).¹⁷ The study did not differentiate between type of crime or gender with regards to reporting preferences, which could provide valuable nuance to the findings, e.g. is it the case that survivors of intimate partner violence are more likely to report to elders whereas survivors of rape are more likely to report to the police? In addition, the study did not provide participant explanations for their responses. The interpretation provided was that “the large number of respondents who would inform the police if they saw or experienced a crime is a positive affirmation of the police’s position as primary security provider in criminal matters. However, the significant proportion of people who would rather inform traditional leaders suggests a sizeable sub-section of the population for whom the police do not hold such an absolute role as safety and security guarantor.” When asked which actors should be the primary security provider in an ideal world, 29 of 31 female focus groups and 40 of 44 youth focus groups chose the police. Only a minority of traditional leaders (12 of 33 focus groups), however, agreed with this conclusion, with the remaining 19 explaining that police capacity had to increase to improve the relationship between the police and the community. It cannot

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ European Asylum Support Office, *Country of Origin Information Report Somalia Security Situation* (Valletta: EASO, 2017).

¹⁶ Alice Hills. 'Remembrance of Things Past: Somali Roads to Police Development.' *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*. 3.1 (2014) 1-14.

¹⁷ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010)

be ruled out, however, that the finding of a reporting preference for state police reflects a social desirability bias, with participants seeking to respond in a way that they believe the investigators (working for an international development organisation) would perceive favourably. A perception study undertaken by the Sahan Foundation also supported the finding that it is acceptable to consult the police for S&J issues.^{18,19,20,21} In this study, the majority of respondents (members of the community) from three regions reported that they are willing to call the police to report a crime. Whilst the findings were largely consistent between regions, some variability was found with 86% of respondents in Baidoa (Southwest state), 80%/68.5% in Jowhar/Beledwayne (Hirshabelle), and 74.47% in Kismayo (Jubbaland) willing to call the police to report a crime. Quantitative research is needed to establish whether or not this geographical variability is statistically significant before claims can be made with regards to regional variations in confidence in the police. Finally, a household survey undertaken by DDG/DRC further corroborated the finding that it is acceptable to consult the police for S&J issues.²² In this study with 1,143 residents of 10 districts, an average of 81% of respondents across all districts reported satisfaction with police handling crimes.

c. It is acceptable to consult elders for S&J issues ■

As mentioned earlier, the literature review revealed consensus across three studies that traditional elders are typically the first port of call for most minor crimes and disputes (rape may be viewed as a 'minor' crime), and that the police are typically the first port of call for more 'serious' crimes.^{23,24,25} Hills (2014a) explained that crimes that are shameful are typically referred to elders, giving the example of rape, with crimes

¹⁸ Sahan Foundation, *Community Perceptions of Hirshabelle Regional Police Force* (Nairobi: Sahan Foundation, 2019).

¹⁹ Sahan Foundation, *Community Perceptions of Jubbaland Regional Police Force* (Nairobi: Sahan Foundation, 2019).

²⁰ Sahan Foundation, *Community Perceptions of Southwest State Regional Police Force* (Nairobi: Sahan Foundation, 2019).

²¹ Sahan Foundation, *Perception Study: Regional Policing in Southern Somalia* (Nairobi: Sahan Foundation, 2020).

²² DDG & DRC (2019), *Perceptions Assessment/Mid-Term Evaluation for "The Time Is Now-Strengthening Police Accountability and Access to Justice in Somalia"* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2019).

²³ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010)

²⁴ Alice Hills. 'Remembrance of Things Past: Somali Roads to Police Development.' *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*. 3.1 (2014) 1-14.

²⁵ European Asylum Support Office, *Country of Origin Information Report Somalia Security Situation* (Valletta: EASO, 2017).

such as armed robbery referred to the police.²⁶ The DDG household survey conducted in Somaliland also supported the finding that it is acceptable to consult elders for S&J issues.²⁷ Whilst the study found an overall reporting preference for the police, more than a quarter of respondents stated that they would report crimes to elders. A breakdown of the findings revealed that the younger generation of Somaliland citizens are more likely to inform the police of crimes and the older generation are more likely to inform traditional elders. As mentioned above, in the majority of traditional leader focus group discussions (FGDs) it was argued that further capacity building of police is needed before the police should be considered a suitable avenue for reporting crimes. An interpretation offered by the authors of the study was that “in the *ideal world*, the population thinks that the police should be the primary security provider.” This suggests that there is a divide between the expectations of the police by members of the community according to their vision of S&J and the fulfilment of these expectations by the police, indicative of a breakdown in the social contract between the state and the community in Somalia. Several studies also highlighted that the severity and type of the crime impacts on the selection of security provider, with a degree of consensus between studies that traditional elders are typically the first port of call for most minor crimes and disputes (rape may be viewed as a ‘minor’ crime), and that the state police are typically the first port of call for more serious crimes.^{28,29,30} This latter study suggests that there may be both an underappreciation of the gravity of crimes affecting women and that survivors of some crimes that predominantly affect women (such as rape) may face additional barriers to support. This again highlights the centrality of gender to an analysis of social norms relating to S&J in Somalia.

d. It is inappropriate for actors other than religious leaders to handle certain types of S&J issues ■

The DDG household survey conducted in Somaliland suggested a social norm that it is inappropriate for certain types of justice issues to be handled by actors other than religious leaders. One example provided was arbitration over inheritance.³¹

²⁶Alice Hills. 'Remembrance of Things Past: Somali Roads to Police Development.' *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*. 3.1 (2014) 1-14.

²⁷ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010)

²⁸ European Asylum Support Office, *Country of Origin Information Report Somalia Security Situation* (Valletta: EASO, 2017).

²⁹ Alice Hills. 'Remembrance of Things Past: Somali Roads to Police Development.' *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*. 3.1 (2014) 1-14.

³⁰ Alice Hills. 'Somalia Works: Police Development as State Building.' *African Affairs*. 113 (2014) 88-107.

³¹ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010).

2. Norms influencing interactions between S&J providers

a. *It is acceptable for police to involve traditional leaders in the management of S&J cases* ■

The literature review findings suggest a social norm in Somalia that it is acceptable for police to involve traditional authorities when handling cases, particularly when there are limited resources.^{32,33,34} The DDG survey found that a greater degree of collaboration between police and traditional leaders tends to occur in areas with less police presence e.g. Sool and Sanaag, with the police even involving elders in the management of more severe crimes.³⁵ This suggests that broader structural and material factors intersect with social norms in the response to S&J issues in Somalia. This finding underlines the importance of situating social norms within broader structural, material, individual, and social factors of the dynamic framework (Cislaghi & Heise's 2018a).³⁶

b. *It is acceptable for state police or the courts to involve religious leaders in the management of S&J cases* ■

The DDG household survey conducted in Somaliland suggested a social norm that it is acceptable for police or the courts to refer cases to religious leaders, explaining that religious leaders would not take over the management of the cases per se but would rather work collaboratively with the police/courts.³⁷ The interpretation provided was that the knowledge and abilities of religious leaders are deemed “complementary” to the work of the police. Interviews with several religious leaders revealed that whilst religious leaders can offer educated and impartial counsel, arbitration following consent from both parties, and apply Sharia knowledge in setting compensation following negotiations, they would not normally be involved in negotiations themselves. The study found complete agreement between religious leaders on this issue.

³² Ibid.

³³ Alice Hills. 'Remembrance of Things Past: Somali Roads to Police Development.' *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*. 3.1 (2014) 1-14.

³⁴ Alice Hills. 'Somalia Works: Police Development as State Building.' *African Affairs*. 113 (2014) 88-107.

³⁵ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010)

³⁶ Ben Cislaghi, Lori Heise. 'Using Social Norms Theory for Health Promotion in Low-Income Countries.' *Health Promot Int*. 34.3 (2018) 1–8.

³⁷ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010).

3. Norms influencing the conduct of state police officers

a. *It is acceptable to close the police station in the afternoon so that the officers can chew khat* ■

A social norm amongst police officers that was reported by one researcher was that it is acceptable to close the police station in the afternoon so that the officers can consume khat (Hills 2014c).³⁸ Hills (2020) hypothesised that this norm is driven by both the addictiveness and social acceptability of chewing khat.³⁹

b. *It is acceptable for police officers not to wear uniforms* ■

A further social norm identified by one researcher is the norm that it is acceptable for police officers not to wear uniforms.^{40,41} The reasons provided for not wearing uniforms varied between locations. Hills (2014c) noted that some officers in Somaliland view uniforms as unnecessary,⁴² whereas Hills (2014b) explained that not all police officers in every region of Somalia have uniforms.⁴³ This may partly explain the finding mentioned earlier that members of the community are not always capable of differentiating between the police and other law enforcement actors.^{44,45} This norm may be limited to male police officers, however, as a contrasting descriptive norm that female police officers typically **do** wear uniforms was also found.⁴⁶ It should be noted that two of the sources pre-date the institution of Somalia's new policing model (2018) which included new police uniforms, thus more recent research is needed to assess the extent to which this finding applies today.

c. *It is possible for the police to humiliate citizens* ■

³⁸ Alice Hills. 'Somalia Works: Police Development as State Building.' *African Affairs*. 113 (2014) 88-107.

³⁹ Alice Hills. 'The Dynamics of Prototypical Police Forces: Lessons from Two Somali Cities.' *International Affairs*. 96.6 (2020) 1527–1546.

⁴⁰ Alice Hills. 'Somalia Works: Police Development as State Building.' *African Affairs*. 113 (2014) 88-107.

⁴¹ Alice Hills. 'What Is Policeness? On Being Police in Somalia.' *Brit. J. Criminol.* 54 (2014) 765–783.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Alice Hills. 'Somalia Works: Police Development as State Building.' *African Affairs*. 113 (2014) 88-107.

⁴⁴ Alice Hills. 'The Dynamics of Prototypical Police Forces: Lessons from Two Somali Cities.' *International Affairs*. 96.6 (2020) 1527–1546.

⁴⁵ Sean Tait, Thomas Probert, Abdirahman Maalim Gossar, *Community-Police Dialogue and Cooperation in Somalia: Lessons Learnt* (Copenhagen: DDG 2019).

⁴⁶ Alice Hills. 'What Is Policeness? On Being Police in Somalia.' *Brit. J. Criminol.* 54 (2014) 765–783.

One qualitative study involving male and female police officers, elders, and community members from three cities in Somalia (Baidoa, Jowhar, and Dollow) alluded to a weak norm in the police in which the police may publicly humiliate citizens.⁴⁷ Reporting on the success of an intervention to enhance police accountability, one participant noted that the police had begun “respecting the ‘dignity of the community’, that is, not punishing people in the streets as they did before [the intervention].”⁴⁸

d. It is acceptable for the police to informally settle cases without recourse to courts or elders ■

One researcher explained that it is considered acceptable for state police to settle cases informally without recourse to the courts or elders.^{49,50,51} This norm may co-exist with the norm presented earlier that it is acceptable for police to involve traditional leaders in the management of S&J cases. It was noted that a very small proportion of the cases in which the police detain suspects are brought to trial.⁵² Further research is needed to shed light on the factors that influence people's decision to refer cases to elders and the courts or settle cases informally themselves.

4. Norms influencing the inclusion of women in the state police

a. It is inappropriate for women to become police officers ■

b.

A survey undertaken by the SIDRA Institute with 360 male and female police officers in 36 police stations in all regions of Somalia suggested a social norm amongst police officers that it is inappropriate for women to join the police force.⁵³ The beliefs held by

⁴⁷ Sean Tait, Thomas Probert, Abdirahman Maalim Gossar, *Community-Police Dialogue and Cooperation in Somalia: Lessons Learnt* (Copenhagen: DDG 2019).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Alice Hills. 'Remembrance of Things Past: Somali Roads to Police Development.' *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*. 3.1 (2014) 1-14.

⁵⁰ Alice Hills. 'Somalia Works: Police Development as State Building.' *African Affairs*. 113 (2014) 88-107.

⁵¹ Alice Hills. 'What Is Policeness? On Being Police in Somalia.' *Brit. J. Criminol.* 54 (2014) 765–783.

⁵² Sean Tait, Thomas Probert, Abdirahman Maalim Gossar, *Community-Police Dialogue and Cooperation in Somalia: Lessons Learnt* (Copenhagen: DDG 2019).

⁵³ Somali Institute for Development and Research Analysis, *Assessment Study On Female Police Officers in Police Forces in Somalia* (Garowe: SIDRA, 2017).

the police officers surveyed point towards the norm that it is inappropriate for women to become police officers, with the following percentage of survey respondents citing each belief in parentheses:

- i. Women are biologically weak (40%)
- ii. Women cannot do police work (26%)
- iii. Islam does not allow women in the police force (13%)

The following stereotypes were also identified in the surveys, with the percentage of police survey respondents citing each stereotype provided below in parentheses:

- i. Women are very soft naturally and therefore not fit for police work (54%)
- ii. Islam does not allow women to go out of their houses (16%)
- iii. Women are very sensitive and therefore cannot enforce the law (11%)
- iv. Islam forbids women in the police force (9%)

In addition, the police officers surveyed identified the following perceptions about female police officers found amongst members of the community, with the percentage of survey respondents citing each perception in parentheses:

- i. Women are not able to do police work (39%)
- ii. Women should stay at home (21%)
- iii. Islam does not allow women to do such work such as police work (11%),
- iv. Women do not have the physical power to do police work (9%)
- v. Police stations are not comfortable for women (5%)

The study also interviewed key informants (police, civil society, community leaders, and government officials) who were asked to reflect on community perceptions of female police officers. A total of 69% of the key informants noted that the community had a negative perception of the female police officers, including the following:

- i. Women officers were weak emotionally and biologically and therefore were not fit for police work
- ii. Islam did not allow women to mix with men therefore women should not be in the police force
- iii. Women should stay at home and take care of the family

The study also included FGDs featuring 162 male and female participants (including female police officers, male police officers, women's empowerment advocates, religious/traditional elders, and youth). These FGDs revealed the following negative perceptions about women in the police force, which reportedly lead parents to prevent their daughters from joining the police:

- i. Police work is hard and not fit for girls and women who are physically and emotionally weak
- ii. Women who join the police are those that have lost their dignity and those who are badly behaved. They are women who have lost in life.

- iii. Somali culture and Islam religion does not allow men and women to be away from their families and to mix freely as in the police. Women that join the police cross both cultural and religious lines.
- iv. Women should be wives and mothers and stay at home. Women that join the police force are therefore not fit to be married. It is not possible to combine the role of being a wife and mother with the role of being a police officer.

Yet some deviant beliefs were also identified. The police officers surveyed identified the following perceptions about female police officers found amongst members of the community, with percentage of survey respondents citing each belief in parentheses:

- i. Women police officers are also fit for police work (10%)
- ii. Women work harder than men (2%)

Key informants that reflected on community perceptions of female police officers noted an appreciation that some specific work could not be done by male police officers, and that although the community generally has a negative perception of female police officers there is a growing recognition of the role of women in the police force. The study reported that “key informants had experienced instances where female police officers were receiving a lot of appreciation from the community,” although the study did not elaborate further. Differences between populations or regions in the prevalence of support or opposition to the involvement of women in the police force were not reported in the study.

The FGDs revealed the following positive perceptions/arguments supporting the inclusion of women in the police force:

- i. Women have to be in the police force since there are tasks such as screening women at security checks that male officers cannot perform
- ii. Women have the same right as men to choose to become police officers
- iii. Female officers are hardworking and committed to serving the community. They do quality work.
- iv. Female officers are honest, kind, fair and understanding. They are more balanced in their decisions than male police officers. Many people prefer them to male officers.
- v. Female officers can work just as well as male officers and can contribute significantly to the police force by improving security

5. Customary norms within the traditional justice system (Xeer)

a. Norms dictating attendance at Xeer hearings

The literature review findings indicated the presence of several norms relating to attendance at traditional justice system hearings:

- i. *It is inappropriate for Xeer hearings to be attended by persons with close family relationships with those involved in the controversy*⁵⁴ ■
- ii. *It is inappropriate for Xeer hearings to be attended by individuals who have a personal grievance against one of the parties*⁵⁵ ■
- iii. *It is inappropriate for Xeer hearings to be attended by persons who have already sat in judgment of the same case*⁵⁶ ■
- iv. *It is inappropriate for Xeer hearings to be attended by women*^{57,58,59} ■

With regards to the latter norm, several studies explained that women are excluded from any involvement in the Xeer process and cannot participate in Xeer hearings even if they are the victim of the offence).^{60,61,62}

- b. *It is obligatory for the Xeer decision be respected by all parties* ■

A compulsory norm identified by one researcher was that it is imperative to respect the Xeer decision. Zuin (2008) argued that in addition to an appreciation of the authority of

⁵⁴ Margarita Zuin. 'A Model of Transitional Justice for Somalia.' *The Fletcher Journal of Human Security*. 23 (2008) 89-108.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Puntland Development Research Centre (PDRC), *Somali Customary Law and Traditional Economy: Cross Sectional, Pastoral, Frankincense, and Marine Norms* (Garowe: PDRC, 2003).

⁵⁹ Andre Le Sage, *Stateless Justice in Somalia, Formal and Informal Rule of Law Initiatives* (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2005).

⁶⁰ Margarita Zuin. 'A Model of Transitional Justice for Somalia.' *The Fletcher Journal of Human Security*. 23 (2008) 89-108.

⁶¹ Puntland Development Research Centre (PDRC), *Somali Customary Law and Traditional Economy: Cross Sectional, Pastoral, Frankincense, and Marine Norms* (Garowe: PDRC, 2003).

⁶² Andre Le Sage, *Stateless Justice in Somalia, Formal and Informal Rule of Law Initiatives* (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2005).

elders, this obligatory norm derives from a “collective recognition of the necessity to avoid an escalation of violence and revenge among clans.”⁶³

c. It is appropriate for payment of the Diya to be undertaken by the clan collectively ■

A widely recognised customary norm is that payment of compensation following a crime (Diya) is undertaken collectively by a subgroup of the clan, known as the mag-paying group, rather than by the perpetrator(s) of the injustice.^{64,65,66}

⁶³ Margarita Zuin. 'A Model of Transitional Justice for Somalia.' *The Fletcher Journal of Human Security*. 23 (2008) 89-108.

⁶⁴ Puntland Development Research Centre (PDRC), *Somali Customary Law and Traditional Economy: Cross Sectional, Pastoral, Frankincense, and Marine Norms* (Garowe: PDRC, 2003).

⁶⁵ Andre Le Sage, *Stateless Justice in Somalia, Formal and Informal Rule of Law Initiatives* (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2005).

⁶⁶ Margarita Zuin. 'A Model of Transitional Justice for Somalia.' *The Fletcher Journal of Human Security*. 23 (2008) 89-108.

3. Evidence from Interventions that Seek to Change Social Norms and Enhance Accountability in Somalia

This section of the literature review has two parts. The first part presents evidence from interventions that seek to change social norms in Somalia including, but not limited to, norms that impact upon access to and provision of S&J. The second part presents evidence from interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of service providers in Somalia, again focusing on, but not limited to, the accountability of S&J service providers and institutions. Social norms interventions can be understood as activities that seek to disarm or dismantle problematic social norms, or increase the visibility or influence of positive norms. It is necessary to first explore previously evaluated social norms interventions before designing a programme of activity that seeks to leverage social norms to enhance S&J. The scope of the second part of this section encompasses interventions designed to tackle corruption.

Social Norms Interventions in Somalia

The review found only two social norms interventions that fulfilled the criteria for inclusion in the study (see Appendix 1). Both social norms interventions focused on the prevention of GBV. The social norms interventions were both undertaken in Mogadishu, limiting the generalisability of the findings to other geographical locations and populations. An overview of the key details of these studies can be found in Appendix 3 and an overarching assessment of the body of evidence can be found in Table 1.

Social norms interventions that target the prevention of S&J issues

The literature review identified two social norms interventions that targeted the prevention of S&J issues. Both social norms interventions focused on the prevention of GBV.

*Communities Care Program.*⁶⁷ This study evaluated the impact of UNICEF's Communities Care Program, in which information, resources and materials were provided to local communities to transform social norms contributing to GBV. In this randomised control trial (RCT) using mixed methods, 200 members of the community (men and women) in two districts of Mogadishu (Yaqshid and Bondhere) were randomly allocated to either intervention or control groups and followed up for 24 months to assess changes in GBV-related social norms, personal beliefs, and confidence in service providers across sectors. Baseline and endline surveys were undertaken to measure the impact of the intervention. The study found a significant improvement in social norms for residents in the intervention group compared to the control group, in addition to a significantly greater increase in confidence in provision of

⁶⁷ Nancy Glass, Nancy Perrin N, Mendy Marsh M, et al. 'Effectiveness of the Communities Care Programme on Change in Social Norms Associated with Gender-Based Violence (GBV) with Residents in Intervention Compared with Control Districts in Mogadishu, Somalia.' *BMJ Open*. 9.3 (2019) 1-10.

GBV services across a range of sectors. There were no significant differences in personal beliefs on the norms between residents in the intervention and control groups.

Challenging Harmful Attitudes and Norms for Gender Equality and Empowerment in Somalia (CHANGES).⁶⁸ Save the Children undertook a mid-term evaluation of their CHANGES programme, a component of the broader *Social Norms and Participation Project (SNaP)*. In this RCT using mixed methods, 1,824 participants (2,035 participants at baseline) were followed up over two years to measure the effect of an intervention aimed at eradicating female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), child, early and forced marriage (CEFM), intimate partner violence (IPV), and increasing women's participation in household decision making through economic empowerment. Both men and women were included as participants in the study. Baseline and midline surveys were undertaken to measure the impact of the intervention. The study found positive changes in women's empowerment and gender bias, attitude towards IPV, recognition of the harms of FGM/C. The study did not clearly report differences between the intervention and control groups in CEFM practices, norms, or beliefs. The study did not report whether the differences found were statistically significant, perhaps due to the fact that it is was a mid-term evaluation, limiting the strength of the conclusions that can be drawn from the findings.

Table 1. Social norms interventions in Somalia: overall assessment of body of evidence

Category of intervention	Strength of evidence	Assessment of evidence strength	Examples from
Social norms interventions that seek to improve service delivery by primary S&J service providers (formal or informal) e.g. law enforcement officers/militia	None	No studies were found.	N/A
Social norms interventions that seek to improve service delivery by state or non-state judicial actors (e.g. state judges, traditional leaders)	None	No studies were found.	N/A
Social norms interventions that seek to enhance access to S&J services and institutions (formal or informal)	None	No studies were found.	N/A

⁶⁸ Munshi Sulaiman, Elijah Kipkech Kipchumba, Mohammed Magan, *Fighting Harmful Social Norms in Somalia CHANGES Midterm Evaluation* (Nairobi: Save the Children Somalia, 2019).

Social norms interventions that target the prevention of S&J issues e.g. physical violence, economic violence, violation of land rights	Limited	One high quality study ⁶⁹ was found in addition to one study of undetermined quality. ⁷⁰ The quality of the latter study could not be determined given that a midterm evaluation fact sheet was the only document that could be found. Both studies used a randomised controlled trial (RCT) design. Assessment of consistency of findings between studies was not possible due to the diverging focus of studies. Body of evidence limited to gender-based violence.	Mogadishu only
Social norms interventions that seek to improve the professionalism/conduct of primary S&J providers.	None	No studies were found.	N/A
Social norms interventions that seek to influence service delivery more broadly (e.g. health/education)	None	No studies were found.	N/A

⁶⁹ Nancy Glass, Nancy Perrin N, Mendy Marsh M, et al. 'Effectiveness of the Communities Care Programme on Change in Social Norms Associated with Gender-Based Violence (GBV) with Residents in Intervention Compared with Control Districts in Mogadishu, Somalia.' *BMJ Open*. 9.3 (2019) 1-10.

⁷⁰ Munshi Sulaiman, Elijah Kipkech Kipchumba, Mohammed Magan, *Fighting Harmful Social Norms in Somalia CHANGES Midterm Evaluation* (Nairobi: Save the Children Somalia, 2019).

Accountability Interventions in Somalia

The review found four accountability interventions that directly focused on S&J, and three accountability interventions that did not directly focus on S&J, although might have implications for S&J. An overview of the key details of these studies can be found in Appendix 3 and an overarching assessment of the body of evidence can be found in Table 2.

Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of formal frontline law enforcement officers

The literature review found two studies that reported on community-based policing interventions that sought to enhance the accountability of formal frontline law officers^{71,72} and a further retrospective analysis on the success of a government initiative for achieving more accountable policing undertaken by an experienced researcher.

*Community-police Dialogue and Cooperation in Somalia.*⁷³ This study was a preliminary assessment of the first 12 months of the implementation of a programme promoting community–police dialogue and cooperation (CPDC) through CPDC committees in Somalia. The study is situated within a larger programme of activity and shares the broader aim of strengthening police accountability and access to justice in Somalia. KIIs, FGDs, and questionnaires with stakeholders involved in the programme were undertaken to seek participants' views on the programme. Participants were a range of stakeholders involved in the programme from 3 locations (Jowhar, Dollow and Baidoa), including police officers, elders, and members of the community, featuring both male and female participants. Amongst an array of findings, the study reported improvements in police behaviour towards members of the community, police transparency, and an increase in police proceeding with cases to trial. Given the small scale and purposive nature of its survey sample, this study cannot claim to represent the views of the community at large. In addition, the study reported that at least one person that did not participate in the CPDC objected to the programme, raising the question of whether further instances of objection would be found if a sample of participants outside the programme were included in the study. Concerns were also raised that the CPDC committees might usurp police functions by acting as an intermediary in reporting crimes, presenting a barrier to police response.

⁷¹ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety in Somaliland 2008-2010: An Evaluation* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010).

⁷² Sean Tait, Thomas Probert, Abdirahman Maalim Gossar, *Community-Police Dialogue and Cooperation in Somalia: Lessons Learnt* (Copenhagen: DDG 2019).

⁷³ Ibid.

*Community Safety in Somaliland 2008-2010: an Evaluation.*⁷⁴ This project assessed the impact of the Community Safety (CS) programme which sought to enhance community safety through a reduction in armed violence, with its indicators including population trust in the police and rating of police efficiency and accessibility. The CS programme employed a participatory methodology and sustained capacity building within target areas to empower communities with the capacity to identify and address safety issues. Following the identification of safety issues, the CS programme offered assistance in the form of conflict management training and community-based policing. Participants in the study were households (undefined) and “participatory impact assessment” (PIA) discussion groups within the two target districts (Daami and Shiekh), with PIA discussion groups consisting of mature women, male authority figures and mixed youth groups. The impact of the study was assessed using qualitative data from household questionnaires and PIA discussion groups. The exact number of participants in the study was not reported. The study reported that “community-based policing mechanisms established in Sheikh town and the five rural target villages of Sheikh contributed to increased awareness amongst community members of the need for improved trust and cooperation between themselves and the police,” and reported increased community trust in the police and enhanced ratings of police efficiency and accessibility. The study reported an improvement in the perception of the transparency of the police by community members in one of the two districts of the study (Daami) although it did not provide evidence of this in the report, nor did it report on the impact of the programme in terms of transparency in the other location (Sheikh).

*Police, Communities and Communications Technology in Hargeisa.*⁷⁵ This paper assessed the impact of a text alert project in Hargeisa that examined whether information and communications technology could achieve more responsive and accountable policing through greater police-community engagement. This project involved equipping police officers at the police station with mobile phones and providing the public with a direct line to contact the police officers if they witnessed a crime. A publicity campaign was instituted to raise awareness of this initiative amongst members of the community. The participants of this pilot project were members of the community and police based at a single police station in the Macalin Haruun district of Hargeisa. The project was not evaluated prospectively using scientific methods, but rather the author of the current paper conducted a retrospective review of the project which used both quantitative and qualitative data to aid the analysis. The review found “little evidence to suggest that access to ICT [information and communications technology] leads to more responsive or accountable policing.”

⁷⁴ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety in Somaliland 2008-2010: An Evaluation* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010).

⁷⁵ Alice Hills. 'Is There Anybody There? Police, Communities and Communications Technology in Hargeisa.' *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*. 6.1 (2017) 6.

Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of state judicial actors

The literature review found one study that reported on the impact of a government initiative to enhance the accountability of state judicial actors.⁷⁶

*A Transparent and Accountable Judiciary to Deliver Justice for All.*⁷⁷ The aim of this study was to assess the impact of measures to strengthen internal oversight and public complaint mechanisms to improve the transparency and accountability of the judiciary in Somaliland. The measures implemented included the institution of a dedicated team of inspectors within the High Judicial Commission to help them fulfil their mandate of monitoring the performance of judges and their compliance with a judicial code of conduct, developed with technical and financial assistance from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). In addition, training workshops were undertaken to raise awareness of the newly created code of conduct amongst legal professionals and advertisements were disseminated to improve public awareness of available avenues for raising a complaint about a judge. Both quantitative and qualitative data were analysed to assess the impact of the instituted measures, including the number of judges dismissed due to judicial misconduct and the number and types of weaknesses identified in court verdicts. The study reported that “linking the complaints mechanism with the work of the High Judicial Commission’s inspection team helped ensure the presence of a proper system of checks and balances to mitigate corruption in the judicial sector.” It was argued that prior to this initiative, watchdog organisations had not been successful in holding justice actors accountable. The study reported that the initiative helped to raise public awareness to demand accountability, with the Deputy Chief Justice concluding that “before people did not even know that they could complain against a judge.” This study did not use primary data to inform its analysis, and as a result some of the limitations associated with secondary analysis might apply, such as the ‘data fit’ problem whereby research questions are selected to fit with the data.

⁷⁶ United Nations Development Programme, *A Transparent and Accountably Judiciary to Deliver Justice for All* (Bangkok: UNDP, 2016).

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of elected or unelected government officials (district or national level)

The literature review identified three interventions that sought to enhance the accountability of government officials. None of these projects focused on S&J.

*A New Approach to Enhancing District-level Accountability in Somalia: The CDNA Project.*⁷⁸ In this action research project, a variety of measures were implemented in an attempt to improve district-level governance and accountability. These included participatory activities and community planning sessions led by community facilitation officers (CFOs) trained within the programme, the creation of an association that could serve as a platform to negotiate with local officials, and the creation of a forum of elders to enable elders to explore their role in strengthening the accountability of the local government. Participants were from 10 village communities in the Afmadow District in southern Somalia. Anecdotal reports and participant observation informed the assessment of the programme. The study reported that the “inclusive negotiation and consensus building process” of CDNA was successful in strengthening accountability in the targeted areas. The study also concluded that elders can play an important role in enhancing district-level accountability. However, the strength of the conclusions of the study are severely limited by a lack of data and longitudinal follow-up.

*Accountability in Informal Settlements (AIS): Kismayo and Bossaso.*⁷⁹ This qualitative study was undertaken to assess the effectiveness of measures to improve the accountability of Informal Settlement Managers (ISMs) in IDP settlements by enhancing the capacity of ISMs and improving ISM access to dialogue with local government and NGOs. Qualitative data was collected from meeting minutes and questionnaires provided to six ISMs and 42 IDPs (male and female) in two locations in Somalia (Kismayo and Bossaso). The study found examples of greater transparency and inclusive decision-making processes and instances of strong local authority interest and ISM commitment as a result of the interventions.

*Common Social Accountability Platform: Results and Findings from Citizen-led Discussions on Displacement and Durable Solutions in Mogadishu.*⁸⁰ This study sought to enhance social accountability by helping to connect Somali citizens with key decision-makers (including government officials) through a four-part interactive radio show series. This pilot project, undertaken in Mogadishu and surrounding districts, was assessed primarily by engagement with the programme, defined both quantitatively (programme audience size, number of SMS messages received by the radio station) and qualitatively (views of community members about the programme). The study found that participants valued the discussion and saw it as a safe

⁷⁸ Katuni Consult, *A New Approach to Enhancing District-Level Accountability in Somalia: The CDNA Project*. (Nairobi: Katuni Consult, 2017).

⁷⁹ Katuni Consult, *Accountability in Informal Settlements (AIS): Kismayo and Bossaso*. (Nairobi: Katuni Consult, 2018).

⁸⁰ Africa’s Voices Foundation, *Common Social Accountability Platform. Results and Findings from Citizen-Led Discussions on Displacement and Durable Solutions in Mogadishu*. (Nairobi: AVF, 2019).

space for exchanging ideas and engaging with decision makers. Amongst those who participated, 78% felt that the programme had made them feel included in decision-making around durable solutions. The vast majority of participants (93%) wished for the platform to be continued, supported by an upward trend in engagement with the programme over the course of the pilot project.

Ongoing projects with no evaluation identified

The literature review found accountability projects that are currently being implemented in Somalia, although assessments of their effectiveness were not found in this literature review. Since 2013, Legal Action Worldwide have been establishing Civilian Oversight Boards (COBs), which conduct weekly visits to police stations to monitor the physical conditions and welfare of detainees, and the extent to which safeguards to protect detainees are being met.⁸¹ Saferworld are currently exploring the role that community action groups (CAGs) might play in enhancing accountability of police and prison officers. Their project involves the creation and training of 20-member CAGs (sometimes consisting only of civilians) to act as champions for community safety.⁸² The CAGs conduct visits to prisons and police stations as part of their mission to keep the police and prison officers accountable. These CAGs are largely modelled on Police Advisory Committees (PACs) that were set up by the Transitional Federal Government in 2007 with the support of UNDP to monitor the conditions of detainees in addition to police conduct.⁸³

Table 2. Interventions for enhancing accountability in Somalia: overall assessment of body of evidence

Category of intervention	Strength of evidence	Assessment of evidence strength	Examples from
<i>S&J interventions</i>			
Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of formal frontline law	None	Low quality studies. Two studies reported on community-based policing interventions. ^{84,85} Whilst	Jowhar, Dollow & Baidoa;

⁸¹ Sean Tait, Thomas Probert, Abdirahman Maalim Gossar, *Community-Police Dialogue and Cooperation in Somalia: Lessons Learnt* (Copenhagen: DDG 2019).

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ United Nations Development Programme, *Building Effective Policing (Fact Sheet)* (Mogadishu: UNDP, 2013).

⁸⁴ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety in Somaliland 2008-2010: An Evaluation* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010).

⁸⁵ Sean Tait, Thomas Probert, Abdirahman Maalim Gossar, *Community-Police Dialogue and Cooperation in Somalia: Lessons Learnt* (Copenhagen: DDG 2019).

<p>enforcement officers e.g. state police (incl. anti-corruption initiatives).</p>		<p>these studies had differing targets for evaluation and were conducted in different settings, they both reported improvements in perceptions of police transparency and behaviour, suggesting a degree of consistency between the studies with regards to support for the concept of community-based policing in Somalia. However, given methodological limitations and incomplete reporting (e.g. necessary significance values were not reported for quantitative data), the extent to which the reported findings are supported by the underlying data is unclear. Given demographic heterogeneity and regional variations in law enforcement provision in Somalia the extent to which the study findings are generalisable to other regions and populations is unclear. The final study was a retrospective viewpoint on the success of a government initiative, thus whilst valuable it represents a relatively low level in the hierarchy of evidence (expert opinion).⁸⁶</p>	<p>Daami & Shiekh; Hargeisa</p>
<p>Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of informal frontline law enforcement officers, e.g. militia</p>	<p>None</p>	<p>No studies were found.</p>	<p>N/A</p>

⁸⁶ Alice Hills. 'Is There Anybody There? Police, Communities and Communications Technology in Hargeisa.' *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*. 6.1 (2017) 6.

Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of state judicial actors	None	Low quality study. Report on the impact of a government initiative using secondary qualitative and quantitative data to aid analysis. ⁸⁷	Somaliland
Studies that evaluate interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of non-state judicial actors e.g. religious leaders/traditional elders	None	No studies were found.	N/A
Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of administrative-level law enforcement/judicial officials e.g. police commissioned officers/judicial council members	None	No studies were found.	N/A
<i>Other accountability interventions (not S&J focussed)</i>			
Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of elected or unelected government officials (district or national level)	None	Low quality studies. Sources of data collection for evaluations were anecdotal evidence and researcher observations, ⁸⁸ and limited qualitative ⁸⁹ and quantitative data. ^{90,91} Assessment of consistency of findings between studies not	Afmadow district; Kismayo & Bossaso; Mogadishu

⁸⁷ United Nations Development Programme, *A Transparent and Accountably Judiciary to Deliver Justice for All* (Bangkok: UNDP, 2016).

⁸⁸ Katuni Consult, *A New Approach to Enhancing District-Level Accountability in Somalia: The CDNA Project*. (Nairobi: Katuni Consult, 2017).

⁸⁹ Katuni Consult, *Accountability in Informal Settlements (AIS): Kismayo and Bossaso*. (Nairobi: Katuni Consult, 2018).

⁹⁰ Katuni Consult, *Accountability in Informal Settlements (AIS): Kismayo and Bossaso*. (Nairobi: Katuni Consult, 2018).

⁹¹ Africa's Voices Foundation, *Common Social Accountability Platform. Results and Findings from Citizen-Led Discussions on Displacement and Durable Solutions in Mogadishu*. (Nairobi: AVF, 2019).

		possible due to diverging foci of studies.	
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4. Gaps in the literature, limitations of the review, and possible implications for SSJP

Social norms

The body of evidence identified from the studies reviewed on social norms relating to S&J in Somalia was limited, with the majority of findings coming from a small number of studies, some of which were outdated or used study designs that limit the strength of the conclusions that can be drawn.

Norms influencing the selection of S&J providers were identified, with the findings highlighting variability in the acceptability/appropriateness of utilising certain service providers in specific contexts. The study did not offer corroborating evidence with regards to the norms pertaining to the involvement of religious leaders in S&J issues. Further research is needed to gain a greater understanding of the norms and other factors that influence which S&J providers are approached for which crimes in which contexts, in addition to normative barriers to accessing these S&J providers. Some studies suggested that it is acceptable for the police to collaborate with elders or religious leaders in some cases, but further research is needed to shed light on the situations in which collaboration is appropriate, and studies undertaken outside Somaliland are needed to further evidence norms pertaining to collaboration between these actors in other regions of Somalia. Further research is needed to gain insight into the circumstances in which the police refer cases and the circumstances in which they settle cases informally themselves. Some norms influencing the conduct of police officers were identified, although again these were derived from a small number of studies, some of which were authored by the same researcher. Only one of the norms identified concerned the handling of S&J issues by police officers. Whilst this literature review did not actively seek to identify social norms relating to GBV due to a recent literature review undertaken on this topic, the scope of the literature review did include the pursuit of norms relating to gender and S&J, although surprisingly little was found on this topic outside GBV. One study did suggest a norm that it is inappropriate for women to become police officers and further studies reported a norm that it is inappropriate for xeer hearings to be attended by women. Further research is needed to establish the prevalence of the norm that it is inappropriate for women to become police officers and whether or not a co-existing, opposing norm can be found, and subsequently reinforced, in some populations. Further customary norms were identified with respect to attendance at xeer hearings, adherence to xeer decision-making and payment of Diya, although again these findings were mostly taken from a single study providing limited opportunity for corroboration. Norms relating to the handling of crimes in customary law, customary processes, and the application of punishment/reprisals for failure to adhere to xeer judgement were not identified in the literature review.

There were several additional research gaps that future studies, including the qualitative/quantitative studies planned as part of SSJP, should seek to address. Further research should seek to employ a gendered perspective and explore:

1. Norms influencing behaviour towards women and girls and minority groups within the policing sector

2. Norms that influence the choice of S&J service provider by women and girls and minority groups
3. Differences in choice of S&J service provider according to type of S&J issue
4. The extent to which social sanctions and rewards for reporting crimes exist and influence behaviour
5. Norms within the state judiciary influencing the response to S&J issues
6. Norms influencing the response of religious leaders to S&J issues
7. Variations in presence/strength of norms between groups e.g. divergence in norms across geographical, political, gender, demographic, clan, and ethnic divides
8. Norms governing relations between ethnic, religious, clan, and ideological groups in the community
9. Norms influencing the response by victims' family members and the wider community to perpetration of crimes/injustice, with particular attention given to gendered aspects of the response
10. Protective norms that help to prevent, or diminish the consequences of, crimes/injustices
11. Norms that limit interventions to prevent crimes/injustices from occurring
12. Norms that increase the likelihood of crimes/injustices occurring or exacerbate the consequences of crimes/injustices
13. Gender norms that impact upon the role/involvement of women in the police/judiciaries
14. Intersections between social norms and other structural, material, individual, and social factors, as they relate to S&J in Somalia
15. Differences in response by S&J service providers according to type of S&J issue e.g. rape vs. domestic violence or physical violence vs. violation of land rights

Social Norms Interventions

The body of evidence from the studies reviewed on social norms interventions in Somalia was limited, with only two studies identified. Both studies were social norms interventions designed to prevent GBV in Mogadishu. One high quality study evaluated the impact of UNICEF's *Communities Cares* programme in which information, resources and materials were provided to local communities to transform social norms contributing to GBV.⁹² The study results were promising with an improvement in social norms identified, in addition to an increase in confidence in provision of GBV services across a range of sectors. The other intervention appeared to indicate the possibility of an improvement in norms towards GBV, the lack of an endline study meant that it was not possible to ascertain whether or not this intervention was effective.

⁹² Nancy Glass, Nancy Perrin N, Mendy Marsh M, et al. 'Effectiveness of the Communities Care Programme on Change in Social Norms Associated with Gender-Based Violence (GBV) with Residents in Intervention Compared with Control Districts in Mogadishu, Somalia.' *BMJ Open*. 9.3 (2019) 1-10.

Several gaps in the body of evidence were found, which represent opportunities to further explore social norms interventions that might enhance S&J in Somalia (see Table 1). Possible programme avenues for evaluation might include:

1. Social norms interventions that seek to improve the response to S&J issues by formal or informal primary S&J providers.
2. Social norms interventions that seek to improve the professionalism/conduct of primary S&J providers.
3. Social norms interventions that seek to improve service delivery by state or non-state judicial actors
4. Social norms interventions that seek to enhance access to S&J services and institutions (formal or informal) e.g. eliminating normative barriers to S&J
5. Social norms interventions that seek to influence service delivery more broadly (e.g. health/education) that might have implications for S&J

Accountability Interventions

The body of evidence from the studies reviewed on accountability interventions in Somalia was also limited. The literature review found two studies that reported on community-based policing interventions that sought to enhance the accountability of formal frontline law officers.^{93,94} These studies reported improvements in perceptions of police transparency and behaviour suggesting a degree of support for community-based policing in Somalia as a means of enhancing accountability of S&J providers. However, a lack of statistical data limited the strength of the conclusions that could be drawn and the generalisability of the findings to other regions and populations was unclear. The literature review identified a further retrospective analysis on the success of a government initiative in Somaliland for achieving more accountable policing. The study reported that an information and communications technology (ICT) intervention was unsuccessful in enhancing the responsiveness and accountability of policing, although further studies assessing similar technological interventions would be needed before this approach to enhancing accountability can be dismissed. The literature review found one study that reported on the impact of a government initiative to enhance the accountability of state judicial actors through the institution of a dedicated team of inspectors within the High Judicial Commission amongst other measures.⁹⁵ The study reported that the intervention had promising results at the output level e.g. raised public awareness to demand accountability, although the success of the intervention in enhancing accountability was not measured/reported. The literature review identified three

⁹³ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety in Somaliland 2008-2010: An Evaluation* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010).

⁹⁴ Sean Tait, Thomas Probert, Abdirahman Maalim Gossar, *Community-Police Dialogue and Cooperation in Somalia: Lessons Learnt* (Copenhagen: DDG 2019).

⁹⁵ United Nations Development Programme, *A Transparent and Accountably Judiciary to Deliver Justice for All* (Bangkok: UNDP, 2016).

interventions that did not focus on the topic of S&J that sought to enhance the accountability of government officials. An action research project in which a variety of measures were implemented in an attempt to improve district-level governance and accountability, including participatory activities and community planning sessions reported some encouraging results, although provided only anecdotal evidence to support the intervention.⁹⁶ Enhancing the capacity of Informal Settlement Managers in IDP settlements was reported as effective at improving transparency and inclusive decision-making processes of local authorities, although again these reported findings were largely based on anecdotal evidence.⁹⁷ Finally, an intervention to enhance social accountability by helping to connect Somali citizens to key decision-makers (including government officials) through a four-part interactive radio show series reported improvements at an output level e.g. members of the community felt more included in decision-making, although it did not provide any evidence of improvements at the outcome level (enhanced social accountability).

Several gaps in the body of evidence were found, which represent opportunities to further explore interventions that might enhance the accountability of S&J providers in Somalia (see Table 2). Possible programme avenues for evaluation might include:

1. Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of formal frontline law enforcement officers e.g. state police. The studies found were limited to community-based policing interventions designed by international development NGOs.
2. Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of informal frontline law enforcement officers e.g. militia.
3. Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of the state judiciary. The literature review identified one study that reported on the impact of an initiative to improve the accountability of the state judiciary, although further studies are needed to identify alternative approaches given the lack of success of this initiative.
4. Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of non-state judicial actors e.g. religious leaders/traditional elders.
5. Interventions that seek to enhance the accountability of administrative-level law enforcement/judicial officials e.g. police commissioned officers/judicial council members.

Limitations of the literature review

There were a number of limitations of the literature review. First, given time restrictions impacting upon the comprehensiveness of this review, it cannot be ruled out that additional relevant studies exist in the literature that were not identified in this review. The inevitable introduction of bias as a result of the likelihood that the studies included in the literature review

⁹⁶ Katuni Consult, *A New Approach to Enhancing District-Level Accountability in Somalia: The CDNA Project*. (Nairobi: Katuni Consult, 2017).

⁹⁷ Katuni Consult, *Accountability in Informal Settlements (AIS): Kismayo and Bossaso*. (Nairobi: Katuni Consult, 2018).

are not fully representative of the wider body of literature should be taken into consideration when using the findings of this literature review to inform the design of future interventions/research. Second, some of the findings were derived from a small number of studies, limiting the extent to which triangulation could corroborate the findings, and impacting upon the generalisability of the findings to a range of population groups. Third, the decision was made not to impose a date restriction on the literature search given uncertainty surrounding the number of available and relevant studies for each component of this literature review, although it is possible that some of the findings in the older studies referenced may no longer be relevant. Fourth, due to the limited scope of this literature review it was not possible to undertake a complete and systematic appraisal of each of the studies included in this review, thus it is possible that some of the findings included in this review have been derived from studies with limitations that call into question the validity of the findings. Fifth, limiting the inclusion criteria solely to studies in the English language may have excluded valuable studies in other languages, most notably studies in Somali/Arabic. Sixth, the absence of a secondary reviewer to screen articles for inclusion in the literature review meant that the appropriateness of the selection of studies for inclusion by the primary reviewer could not be verified. Finally, it is possible that the search terms used did not fully capture the entirety of literature on this topic and so there may be relevant studies that were not included in this review due to gaps in the search strategy.

Appendix 1: literature review methodology, search strategy and search results

Relevant research was sought from a variety of sources such as peer-reviewed journal articles, conference proceedings, technical reports, policy statements, amongst others. Literature searches of five major online databases (Embase, Cinahl Plus, Scopus, Academic Search Complete, and PsychINFO) were undertaken, covering a wide range of disciplines. A date restriction was not applied to the search results, to maximise the number of results generated. To ensure that relevant studies were not inadvertently excluded due to use of different language, variations of each search term were used. For example, variations of the term “social norms” included “norm”, “behaviour”, and “culture”. Boolean operators “AND” and “OR” were used to cover all possible combinations of terms and truncation was used to ensure that minor variations in terms did not result in the exclusion of relevant results e.g. plural vs singular words. Searches were conducted within the title, abstract, and keyword lists of each database. Articles were initially assessed on the basis of their title and abstract in order to screen their relevance for this review. A total of 2,654 title/abstract reviews were undertaken. Following this, full-text copies of studies for possible inclusion in the review were obtained in order to conduct a more thorough evaluation of their relevance. To search for relevant grey literature, a variety of search terms were entered into the search engine *google*, with several thousand search results reviewed. The references/bibliography of included studies were searched for additional relevant studies.

In determining relevant studies for this review, the following **essential** inclusion criteria were used:

- i. The research is undertaken in Somalia or has a clear relevance to the Somali context [Studies on Somali diaspora populations were excluded from this literature review if not deemed relevant to the Somali context.]
- ii. The full text of the research article is accessible and available in English.

Two searches were undertaken to cover all three components of this literature review, with one search seeking to identify social norms and the other search seeking to identify interventions. The search terms used are provided below.

Social Norms: Security & Justice

“NORM” OR “NORMS” OR “CULTURE” OR “CULTURAL” OR “TRADITION” OR “CLAN” OR “TABOO” OR “FOLKWAY” OR “MORE” OR “SOCIAL CONTRACT” OR “SOCIAL COVENANT” OR “INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE” OR “SECURITY REFORM” OR “TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE”

AND

“SECURIT*” OR “JUSTICE” OR “VIOLEN*” OR “INSECURIT*” OR “JUDICIA*” OR “COURT” OR “COURTS” OR “CONFLICT” OR “CONFLICTS” OR “LAW ENFORCEMENT” OR “XEER” OR “CUSTOMARY LAW” OR “SHARIA” OR “ISLAMIC LAW” OR “LEGAL” OR “ILLEGAL” OR “ILLEGALITY” OR “LEGALITY” OR “POLICE*” OR “LAWYER” OR “PROSECUTOR” OR “DEFENDANT” OR “CIVIL WAR” OR “PEACE*” OR “STABILITY” OR “SAFETY” OR “PROTECTION”

AND

“SOMALI*”

Social Norm & Accountability Interventions

“ACCOUNTAB*” OR “RESPONSIBI*” OR “UNACCOUNTAB*” OR “LIAB*” OR “ANSWERAB*” OR “CORRUP*” OR “ANTI-CORRUP*” OR “BRIB*” OR “TRANSPAREN*” OR “ENFORCEAB*” OR “SANCTION” OR “SANCTIONS” OR “SECURIT*” OR “JUSTICE” OR “VIOLEN*” OR “INSECURIT*” OR “JUDICIA*” OR “COURT” OR “COURTS” OR “CONFLICT” OR “CONFLICTS” OR “LAW ENFORCEMENT” OR “XEER” OR “CUSTOMARY LAW” OR “SHARIA” OR “ISLAMIC LAW” OR “LEGAL” OR “ILLEGAL” OR “ILLEGALITY” OR “LEGALITY” OR “POLICE*” OR “LAWYER” OR “PROSECUTOR” OR “DEFENDANT” OR “CIVIL WAR” OR “PEACE*” OR “STABILITY” OR “SAFETY” OR “PROTECTION” OR “NORM” OR “NORMS” OR “CULTURE” OR “CULTURAL” OR “TRADITION” OR “CLAN” OR “TABOO” OR “FOLKWAY” OR “MORE” OR “SOCIAL CONTRACT” OR “SOCIAL COVENANT” OR “INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE” OR “SECURITY REFORM” OR “TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE”

AND

“INTERVENTION*” OR “PROGRAM*” OR “PROJECT” OR “PROJECTS” OR “STRATEG*” OR “PLAN” OR “PLANS” OR “INITIATIV*” OR “MEASURE” OR “MEASURES” OR “IMPLEMENT*” OR “ACTIVITY” OR “ACTIVITIES”

AND

“SOMALI*”

Appendix 2: social norms table

Key

Social norm – italics

Normative strength:

Obligatory ■

Appropriate ■

Acceptable ■

Social Norm	Study	Location of finding	Normative strength	Source of finding
1. Norms influencing selection of S&J provider				
<i>It is inappropriate for religious leaders to be sought as the first port of call for S&J issues</i>	⁹⁸	Somaliland	■	Various FGDs (traditional leaders, female participants, youth participants); Various key informant interviews (KIIs) (police, programme coordinator, religious leaders)

⁹⁸ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010).

<i>It is acceptable to consult the police for S&J issues</i>	99, 100,101,102, 103,104	Somaliland; Jubbaland; Southwest state; Hirshabelle	■	Various FGDs (female participants, youth participants, traditional leaders)
<i>It is acceptable to consult elders for S&J issues</i>	105,106,107	Somalia (unspecified); Somaliland	■	Various FGDs (traditional leaders, female participants, youth participants); Various KIIs (police, international organisation); Researcher perspective
<i>It is inappropriate for actors other than religious leaders to handle certain types of S&J issues</i>	108	Somaliland	■	Religious leader FGDs

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Sahan Foundation, *Community Perceptions of Hirshabelle Regional Police Force* (Nairobi: Sahan Foundation, 2019).

¹⁰¹ Sahan Foundation, *Community Perceptions of Jubbaland Regional Police Force* (Nairobi: Sahan Foundation, 2019).

¹⁰² Sahan Foundation, *Community Perceptions of Southwest State Regional Police Force* (Nairobi: Sahan Foundation, 2019).

¹⁰³ Sahan Foundation, *Perception Study: Regional Policing in Southern Somalia* (Nairobi: Sahan Foundation, 2020).

¹⁰⁴ DDG & DRC (2019), *Perceptions Assessment/Mid-Term Evaluation for "The Time Is Now-Strengthening Police Accountability and Access to Justice in Somalia"* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2019).

¹⁰⁵ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010).

¹⁰⁶ European Asylum Support Office, *Country of Origin Information Report Somalia Security Situation*. (Valletta: EASO, 2017).

¹⁰⁷ Alice Hills. 'Remembrance of Things Past: Somali Roads to Police Development.' *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*. 3.1 (2014) 1-14.

¹⁰⁸ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010).

2. Norms influencing interactions between S&J providers				
<i>It is acceptable for police to involve traditional leaders in the management of S&J cases</i>	109,110,111	Somaliland	■	Traditional leader FGDs; Female police officer KIIs
<i>It is acceptable for state police or the courts to involve religious leaders in the management of S&J cases</i>	112	Somaliland	■	Religious leader FGDs
3. Norms influencing the conduct of state police officers				
<i>It is acceptable to close the police station in the afternoon so that the officers can chew khat</i>	113,114	Somalia (unspecified)	■	Researcher perspective
<i>It is acceptable for police officers not to wear uniforms</i>	115,116	Somalia (unspecified)	■	Researcher perspective

¹⁰⁹ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010)

¹¹⁰ Alice Hills. 'Remembrance of Things Past: Somali Roads to Police Development.' *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*. 3.1 (2014) 1-14.

¹¹¹ Alice Hills. 'Somalia Works: Police Development as State Building.' *African Affairs*. 113 (2014) 88-107.

¹¹² Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety and Small Arms in Somaliland* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010)

¹¹³ Alice Hills. 'Somalia Works: Police Development as State Building.' *African Affairs*. 113 (2014) 88-107.

¹¹⁴ Alice Hills. 'What Is Policeness? On Being Police in Somalia.' *Brit. J. Criminol.* 54 (2014) 765–783.

¹¹⁵ Alice Hills. 'Somalia Works: Police Development as State Building.' *African Affairs*. 113 (2014) 88-107.

¹¹⁶ Alice Hills. 'What Is Policeness? On Being Police in Somalia.' *Brit. J. Criminol.* 54 (2014) 765–783.

<i>It is possible for the police to humiliate citizens</i>	¹¹⁷	Jowhar/ Dollow/Baidoa		Study participants (undefined)
<i>It is acceptable for the police to informally settle cases without recourse to courts or elders</i>	^{118,119,120} ¹²¹	Jowhar; Hargeisa		Female police officer Kills; Undefined KII
4. Norms influencing the inclusion of women in the state police				
<i>It is inappropriate for women to become police officers</i>	¹²²	9 locations in Somalia (Mogadishu, Baydhabo, Kismayo, Garowe, Qardho, Bosaaso, Borama, Hargeisa and Burao)		Public survey
5. Customary norms within the traditional justice system (Xeer)				

¹¹⁷ Sean Tait, Thomas Probert, Abdirahman Maalim Gossar, *Community-Police Dialogue and Cooperation in Somalia: Lessons Learnt* (Copenhagen: DDG 2019).

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Alice Hills. 'Remembrance of Things Past: Somali Roads to Police Development.' *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*. 3.1 (2014) 1-14.

¹²⁰ Alice Hills. 'Somalia Works: Police Development as State Building.' *African Affairs*. 113 (2014) 88-107.

¹²¹ Alice Hills. 'What Is Policeness? On Being Police in Somalia.' *Brit. J. Criminol.* 54 (2014) 765–783.

¹²² Somali Institute for Development and Research Analysis, *Assessment Study On Female Police Officers in Police Forces in Somalia* (Garowe: SIDRA, 2017).

<i>It is inappropriate for Xeer hearings to be attended by persons with close family relationships with those involved in the controversy</i>	¹²³	Somalia (unspecified)		Researcher perspective
<i>It is inappropriate for Xeer hearings to be attended by individuals who have a personal grievance against one of the parties</i>	¹²⁴	Somalia (unspecified)		Researcher perspective
<i>It is inappropriate for Xeer hearings to be attended by persons who have already sat in judgment of the same case</i>	¹²⁵	Somalia (unspecified)		Researcher perspective
<i>It is inappropriate for Xeer hearings to be attended by women</i>	^{126,127,128}	Somalia (unspecified)		Researcher perspective
<i>It is obligatory for the Xeer decision be respected by all parties</i>	¹²⁹	Somalia (unspecified)		Researcher perspective

¹²³ Margarita Zuin. 'A Model of Transitional Justice for Somalia.' *The Fletcher Journal of Human Security*. 23 (2008) 89-108.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Puntland Development Research Centre (PDRC), *Somali Customary Law and Traditional Economy: Cross Sectional, Pastoral, Frankincense, and Marine Norms* (Garowe: PDRC, 2003).

¹²⁸ Andre Le Sage, *Stateless Justice in Somalia, Formal and Informal Rule of Law Initiatives* (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2005).

¹²⁹ Margarita Zuin. 'A Model of Transitional Justice for Somalia.' *The Fletcher Journal of Human Security*. 23 (2008) 89-108.

<i>It is appropriate for payment of the Diya to be undertaken by the clan collectively</i>	130,131,132	Somalia (unspecified)		Researcher perspective
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¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Puntland Development Research Centre (PDRC), *Somali Customary Law and Traditional Economy: Cross Sectional, Pastoral, Frankincense, and Marine Norms* (Garowe: PDRC, 2003).

¹³² Andre Le Sage, *Stateless Justice in Somalia, Formal and Informal Rule of Law Initiatives* (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2005).

Appendix 3: intervention key information

Study	Basic information
Social norms	
1. Communities care program ¹³³	RCT using mixed methods, 200 members of community (men and women) in 2 districts of Mogadishu followed up for 24 months
2. CHANGES (SNaP) program ¹³⁴	RCT using mixed methods, 1,824 participants (2035 participants at baseline) in Mogadishu were followed up over 2 years
Accountability	
1. A Transparent and Accountable Judiciary to Deliver Justice for All ¹³⁵	Mixed methods study featuring a combination of primary and secondary qualitative and quantitative data. No human subjects.
2. Community-police Dialogue and Cooperation in Somalia ¹³⁶	Qualitative study conducted in 3 locations (Jowhar, Dollow and Baidoa), involving KIIs, FGD, and questionnaires with police officers, elders, and members of the community, featuring both male and female participants.
3. Community Safety in Somaliland 2008-2010: an Evaluation ¹³⁷	Qualitative study conducted in Daami and Shiekh with data collection from household questionnaires and 27 FGDs of between 7 and 12 participants. The exact number of participants in the study was not reported.

¹³³ Nancy Glass, Nancy Perrin N, Mendy Marsh M, et al. 'Effectiveness of the Communities Care Programme on Change in Social Norms Associated with Gender-Based Violence (GBV) with Residents in Intervention Compared with Control Districts in Mogadishu, Somalia.' *BMJ Open*. 9.3 (2019) 1-10.

¹³⁴ Munshi Sulaiman, Elijah Kipkech Kipchumba, Mohammed Magan, *Fighting Harmful Social Norms in Somalia CHANGES Midterm Evaluation* (Nairobi: Save the Children Somalia, 2019).

¹³⁵ United Nations Development Programme, *A Transparent and Accountably Judiciary to Deliver Justice for All* (Bangkok: UNDP, 2016).

¹³⁶ Sean Tait, Thomas Probert, Abdirahman Maalim Gossar, *Community-Police Dialogue and Cooperation in Somalia: Lessons Learnt* (Copenhagen: DDG 2019).

¹³⁷ Danish Demining Group, *Community Safety in Somaliland 2008-2010: An Evaluation* (Copenhagen: DDG, 2010).

4. Police, Communities and Communications Technology in Hargeisa ¹³⁸	Retrospective review of an intervention by an independent researcher using qualitative and quantitative data from the original study (secondary analysis). Unable to identify original reports of the intervention. Participants in the intervention were residents of Macalin Haruun district of Hargeisa.
5. A New Approach to Enhancing District-level Accountability in Somalia: The CDNA Project ¹³⁹	Qualitative study with data derived from anecdotal reports and participant observation. Participants were members of the community, clan elders, and local administrative organisation officials from 10 village communities in the Afmadow District in southern Somalia.
6. Accountability in Informal Settlements (AIS): Kismayo and Bossaso ¹⁴⁰	Qualitative study, with data collected from meeting minutes and questionnaires with 6 informal settlement managers (ISMs) and 42 IDPs (male and female) in two locations in Somalia (Kismayo and Bossaso).
7. Common Social Accountability Platform: Results and Findings from Citizen-led Discussions on Displacement and Durable Solutions in Mogadishu ¹⁴¹	Pilot project undertaken in Mogadishu, assessed primarily by engagement with the program, using both quantitative and qualitative data. Participants were members of the community in Mogadishu and surrounding districts.

¹³⁸ Alice Hills. 'Remembrance of Things Past: Somali Roads to Police Development.' *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*. 3.1 (2014) 1-14.

¹³⁹ Katuni Consult, *A New Approach to Enhancing District-Level Accountability in Somalia: The CDNA Project*. (Nairobi: Katuni Consult, 2017).

¹⁴⁰ Katuni Consult, *Accountability in Informal Settlements (AIS): Kismayo and Bossaso*. (Nairobi: Katuni Consult, 2018).

¹⁴¹ Africa's Voices Foundation, *Common Social Accountability Platform. Results and Findings from Citizen-Led Discussions on Displacement and Durable Solutions in Mogadishu*. (Nairobi: AVF, 2019).

