



FINAL REPORT • SEPTEMBER 2023

MAPPING REPORT ON EXISTING WOMEN PEACEMAKERS, LEADERS, NETWORKS, AND FORUMS IN SOMALIA



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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

IPIV	On person one vote
ASWJ	Ahlu Sunna Wal Jama'a
DDG	Danish Demining Group
FGM	Female genital mutilation
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
FMS	Federal Member State
GBV	Gender-based violence
KII	Key informant interview
MoWHRD	Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development of Somalia
PMPF	Puntland Maritime Police Force
PSF	Puntland Security Forces
SNA	Somali National Army
UN	United Nations
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
WPP	Women, Peace, and Protection
WPS	Women, Peace, and Security

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Between October and December of 2022, UN Women, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and Somalia's Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development, in collaboration with Consilient Research, undertook a mapping exercise to identify existing women peacebuilders, leaders, and networks in 20 districts across Somalia. The project aimed to understand better general and district-specific barriers against and opportunities for women's increased participation in peace processes, civic affairs, and political leadership. The results of the mapping exercise will inform the implementation of the Women, Peace, and Protection (*Mashruuca Nabadda Iyo U Hiilinta Haweenka*) program, jointly led by the above listed agencies and with the technical guidance of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) in support of women's meaningful participation in peacebuilding processes and the creation of durable infrastructures for peacebuilding in Somalia.

Using a qualitative research methodology consisting of key informant interviews with women's groups, female members of government, district peace and reconciliation committees, peacebuilding groups, clan elders, and religious leaders in each district, the research team identified both district lists of peacebuilding and women's networks and the opportunities for further empowering women to assume leadership roles in peace processes and civic affairs. Except for the Dinsoor district in South West State, the team was able to identify multiple active peacebuilding and women's groups in each district, with the possibility that additional informal, dormant, or *ad hoc* groups also exist outside the scope of this study. Indeed, women across districts are already playing a wide variety of peacebuilding roles, including through directment in mediating conflicts, spreading messages and media related to peace and social inclusion, protesting and physically separating combating parties, and providing logistical and

administrative support for conflict resolution efforts.

However, there remains a strong and widespread cultural expectation that women should not be involved in and are less capable of leading responses to the most complex or pressing conflict issues affecting communities, including clan conflicts or other cases involving violence and land disputes. As a result of these norms, women's roles in peacebuilding are often consigned to less visible 'niche' roles and indirect involvement, such as through providing administrative support to clan elders resolving a dispute, focusing on preventive awareness-raising campaigns, or resolving domestic disputes within the household, which many male community stakeholders still consider to be women's primary domains of expertise. In the relatively rare instances where women are more involved in more direct efforts to resolve 'complex' or high-stakes conflicts, it is often because women groups and leaders mobilized themselves and took the initiative to liaise between belligerents; such initiatives are often not initially supported or sponsored by male stakeholders such as clan elders, and women must usually muster their resources to initiate the process. Even so, it is not infrequent that male community stakeholders join peace processes that have begun and lead the final decision-making therein, often sidelining the women who initiated the processes. One female government member succinctly said, "Women were responsible for 80 per cent of the peacebuilding process while men did 20 per cent [of the work]. For example, women start the process first, and men complete it."¹

The patriarchal nature of many social and political institutions in Somalia creates additional barriers to women's increased involvement in peacebuilding and civic affairs. Women's educational attainment remains lower than men's, which further fuels the perception mentioned above among men,

1 Int. 1304, Member of Government, Dhusamareb.

and which is sometimes internalized by women themselves, that women are less capable of leading community-improving initiatives than men are. The expectation that girls and women should focus on assisting with household chores not only fuels the lower educational attainment of women compared to men but also creates direct barriers to women peacebuilders and leaders, who claim that household chores and childcare responsibilities take time away from their work in their communities and can at times be a serious challenge to their participation in community affairs. Some women community members also face insecurity that directly threatens their ability to travel within communities and engage with multiple stakeholders, as women are, at times, especially vulnerable targets of gender-based violence. Potential women leaders may also fear that their more active, and thus visible, involvement in community institutions may also invite retaliatory attacks carried out by disgruntled community members who may feel aggrieved by the policies or initiatives of women leaders. However, it is worth noting that in some exceptional cases, women are seen as less threatening than men and can, thus, more safely navigate conflict areas without inciting suspicion from parties.

Demographic-specific barriers also exist among sub-groups of women. Young women, for example, are often considered by community members to be less capable than older women and are thus taken less seriously by other community stakeholders; from young women's perspective, their comparative lack of experience in community affairs and small networks may at times also discourage them from even attempting to be more involved in community leadership roles. Young women, and especially young unmarried women, may also encounter gender-based violence in professional or volunteer settings, where male colleagues or supervisors demand sexual favours in exchange for professional development opportunities, thus creating an environment wholly unsuitable for young women's participation in peacebuilding and community

leadership. Finally, women with disabilities – be they mental or physical – face a steep uphill battle in accessing leadership positions. This is due to both the widespread stigma that they are even less capable of contributing to community affairs and the lack of accommodating facilities and attitudes for physical, cognitive, and speech impediments.

To overcome these cross-cutting barriers, the research team identified six types of initiatives which we recommend, and which apply to all districts under study:

1. Increased documentation in Somali and dissemination of women's diverse peacebuilding contributions;
2. Sensitive usage of narratives around women's contributions to peacebuilding to avoid further entrenching existing stereotypes;
3. Continued engagement of clan elders and religious leaders in support of women's inclusion and normative change;
4. Targeted capacity-building programs to address real and perceived skills gaps among potential women peacebuilders and leaders;
5. Integrated livelihoods, education, and civic participation programs;
6. Appropriate integration of protection and peacebuilding initiatives.

In addition to these overarching recommendations, the research team also identified district- or region-specific considerations based on the mapping results of each district. These are further detailed in the remainder of this report.

Over the past decades, multiple peace processes have failed to create lasting stability and social cohesion that would enable Somalia's development and prosperity. The meaningful inclusion of women in these processes and leadership positions can change this paradigm and contribute towards conflict prevention and more durable peace processes. The research team hopes that this mapping report can contribute to that end.

INTRODUCTION

Context

The impact of decades of civil war and humanitarian crisis in Somalia is most evident in the country's limited institutional infrastructure and persistent disunity and grievances across clan lines. Although the country has made significant strides on the path towards stabilisation in the last 10 years, including the re-establishment of the federal government in 2012, the adoption of the National Reconciliation Framework in 2019, and the formation of various line ministries and state administrations, much remains to be done to achieve lasting peace.

One of the significant challenges that hinders the peacebuilding process is the pervasive reliance on the traditional and emerging peacebuilding infrastructure that features men as the sole peace brokers. It is commonplace for clan elders, community leaders, and religious leaders, the vast majority of whom are male, to broker peace in Somalia through dialogue and mediation, whilst women are often held back from these roles through cultural biases, perceived limited capacities, and a lack of gender-inclusive institutions that have further contributed to the exclusion of women from formal peace, security, political, and development processes. The systematic exclusion of women, despite their willingness and ability to lead and participate in peace processes, is not only a missed opportunity for Somalia's peace process, but

it also reinforces women's marginalisation by denying them access to decision-making and leadership positions.

The importance of ensuring an inclusive peace process, both for the fulfilment of women's inherent rights to be engaged in civic affairs and for sustaining peace, serves as the impetus for the Women, Peace and Protection (WPP) Programme implemented by UN Women in conjunction with Somalia's Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development (MoWHRD), the United Nations Development Programme, and United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia. The programme also comes on the heels of Somalia's implementation of its National Action Plan for the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) and subsequent resolutions. In light of this momentum, the project seeks to promote the inclusion of women in leadership roles within the peacebuilding process, realize women's potential as peacebuilders to contribute to reconciliation, conflict prevention, and develop stronger infrastructures for peacebuilding in Somalia. The present mapping report constitutes one of the first activities of the project. It aims to identify the existing women peace actors and understand their challenges to inform the upcoming interventions to uplift women's role in peace and state-building processes.

Research Objectives and Questions

The current research aims to:

- At the district level, identify the women peacemakers, leaders, networks, and forums, and assess their representation on peace/reconciliation committees/structures;
- Examine the challenges women encounter within the existing peace/reconciliation committees, women led CBOs/CSOs, structures networks, forums and district administration/DCF in Somalia;

- Develop strategies for overcoming these challenges and solutions to eliminate gender barriers and to promote women in leadership and decision-making roles at local levels;

Recommend ways the WPP Programme can support each district's women's networks and committees.

The research covers 20 districts across all Federal Member States (FMS) of south-central Somalia

and Puntland. The examined districts are listed below:

TABLE 1

List of districts in the mapping report

Jubaland	South West State	Banadir	Hirshabelle	Galmudug	Puntland
Garbaharey	Xudur	Abdiasis	Jowhar	Cadaado	North Galkacyo
Belet-Xawo	Baidoa	Warta Nabadda	Warsheikh	Dhusamareb	Garowe
Af-Madow	Diinsoor		Beledweyne	South Galkacyo	Eyl
Kismayo	Barawe				Bosaso

METHODOLOGY

Data Collection

The present report utilizes a qualitative methodology to provide an overview of the extent of women's inclusion in peacebuilding in each of the districts and discern cross-cutting findings relevant to

1. District Mapping

The research team developed a district mapping tool to identify major women's and peacebuilding groups, appraise the extent to which women were included in local government and peace committees, and obtain contact information for key informants. The team used the tool to guide the exploratory check-in with focal points in the selected districts to begin developing an understanding of the existing women-led

2. Key Informant Interviews

Following identifying major peacebuilding and women's groups and compiling contact information for key informants, the research team conducted KIIs within each of the 20 districts under study using a semi-structured questionnaire. While the research team targeted eight KIIs per district, external factors such as security developments and the lack of representatives from certain

3. Call-Backs

The third and final step in the data collection was selective call-backs to key informants to collect follow-up information not requested at the interview. Call-backs were conducted after the research team analyzed the KII notes and determined that

many, if not all, of the districts under study. The primary data collection was implemented in three stages.

forums, peace committees, and other relevant organisations/structures in each of the locations. In addition, the research team also examined the current literature for additional information on existing actors in each district. The data collected using the mapping tool was used to catalogue identified women's peacebuilding initiatives and inform the sample selection for the KIIs.

categories of respondents meant that fewer KIIs were conducted in several districts. In all, data was collected from 154 key informants across study locations. A specific breakdown of the sample composition, disaggregated by district, is available in Annex I for the reader's consideration.

several points needed clarification or additional details. This included more information about organisations informants cited and clarifying the logic behind certain responses.

Sample

The research team used a purposive sampling approach to best reach key informants who could speak knowledgeably about the topic. In districts where insufficient contacts were provided to field researchers before the beginning of fieldwork, a snowball sampling strategy was utilized to recruit designated participant types into the study. Our

sample comprises the following types of key informants: women's group representatives, district peace committee representatives, peacebuilding NGO representatives, members of government, clan elders, and religious leaders.

Definitions

Before proceeding to the analysis, a brief note on the definitions used in mapping existing groups is in order. Specifically, we distinguish between “peacebuilding groups” and “women’s groups” in our mapping. We define the latter as any group whose activities are primarily aimed at promoting the welfare of women and girls and/or any group whose leadership team in that district is composed of at least 50 per cent women, which we verified during the district mapping phase of data collection. “Peacebuilding groups,” on the other hand, implement activities around building social cohesion, preventing and resolving violent conflict, and public communications on related security, conflict, and peace issues. Where peacebuilding groups focus on women as their target demographic or where their leadership team is known to be at least half female, we classify such groups as “women’s groups,” and note in the district profile if they have been involved in notable peacebuilding activities.

Limitations and Considerations

The research team has attempted to triangulate information across respondents and published literature as much as possible. Nevertheless, the chosen methodology and the broad focus on 20 districts lead to limitations readers should consider.

- **Mapping informal groups.** In many, if not all, districts, women peacebuilders, leaders, and activists include informal groups with no registered name or office, a roster of volunteers or staff, or an organisational structure. These groups may be *ad hoc* groups that convene when a need emerges, mainly become dormant or are subsumed under a different group. Naturally, these informal groups are often not captured in our district mapping or KIs, despite the important role they might play in civic life and peacebuilding. Considering this, readers should take our identified list of groups as illustrative examples of groups operating in the district. Prior to operationalizing future programs, it is recommended that readers of this report undergo a more detailed district-specific mapping of relevant stakeholders

Finally, in mapping the district’s peacebuilding and women’s groups, we occasionally include foreign organisations if they have played a sizable role in erecting and sustaining peacebuilding structures in the districts. This includes, for example, convening multiple stakeholders to launch a peace platform, providing vital funding for local organisations, or lending technical expertise. However, we aim to include as many local organisations as possible to provide analysis that contributes to future programs over which local partners take significant ownership in designing and implementing.

Where information is available, we also note the specific gender composition of the District Peace Committees in the districts in which they operate.

to engage, including by using a snowball sampling method to obtain contact information from the groups listed under the present mapping report.

- **Comparability of inclusion across districts.** The semi-structured nature of the qualitative data collection tool allowed the research team to pose the same question to multiple respondent types across districts, which facilitated some level of comparability to discern cross-cutting findings. However, it is possible that different respondent types, or respondents from different districts, have different benchmarks for what adequate inclusion of women entails. For instance, a respondent might consider women’s inclusion to be adequate in their district because inclusion has increased substantially from the prior decade; on the other hand, a respondent from another district might consider the same level of women’s participation in civic life to be wholly inadequate because the respondent’s district has traditionally been more inclusive of women, in which case the level of present day inclusion can be considered to be minute progress in the

second district. Where we expect a high degree of subjectivity in respondent answers, we avoid comparing districts and instead focus on assessing the realities of individual districts and respondents' perceptions.

- **Sample size and potential selection bias.**

The small sample size (6-8 KIIs per district) means that the perspectives expressed in this report do not cover the full breadth of women's experiences as peacebuilders and community leaders. This is somewhat compounded by two factors that might lead to selection bias: recruitment method and location. Our recruitment method relied on the research team's networks and contacts provided by UN Women. However, these contact networks may differ from other women leaders in important ways, such as the former's more frequent exposure to international norms, discourses, and project management procedures. Moreover, the ongoing security crisis in Somalia has meant that much of the peri-urban and rural peripheries of district capitals are unreachable by researchers, creating a potential urban bias in our sample. The team has also perused published literature and triangulated interview data across multiple respondents and is confident in the findings of this present report. Nonetheless, readers should be advised that some likely perspectives and data are not well-captured by the current study's research methodology.

- **Women as peacemakers and warmakers.**

The central premise of this study lies in identifying how women in the districts of study exercise – or fail to exercise – their agency in promoting peacebuilding and other civic initiatives for the betterment of their communities. However, it is important to acknowledge that women are also, at times, active participants in violent conflict, if not its instigators. For example, it is well noted that women play several roles in Al-Shabaab, including serving as its spies and helping the group smuggle weapons.² While, at times, respondents promote simplistic narratives of women as inherently being more peaceful than men and inherently desiring peace, others acknowledge women's potential to exacerbate conflict. They argue that women's inclusion in peacebuilding and governance is important precisely because aggrieved women might play an equally destructive role as men. The research team acknowledges that more in-depth research is needed to understand incentives for women to precipitate conflict and what might help shift incentives towards peacebuilding. This report's primary focus is eliminating barriers and creating opportunities for the (already considerable) number of Somali women willing to pursue non-violent methods of resolving conflicts.

2 Cf. International Crisis Group. 2019. "Women and Al-Shabaab's Insurgency." International Crisis Group.

OVERALL FINDINGS

The research undertaken across 20 districts throughout Somalia has revealed location-specific conflict dynamics, women's networks, and opportunities for future programs to empower more women to be peacebuilders and leaders in civic affairs. Much of the value of this research lies in these district-specific analyses. At the same time, several cross-cutting themes are relevant

to multiple districts and, more than likely, apply to other districts in Somalia not studied as part of this exercise. This report section outlines several of the most pertinent findings and provides recommendations for future programs and policies. The sections that follow will, in turn, cover district-specific mappings, findings, and considerations.

Women's Inclusion in Peacebuilding

Respondents interviewed across all districts collectively demonstrate that women are already involved in peacebuilding in various capacities. Previous research has identified multiple modalities in which women can contribute to peace, including acting individually, as part of individual groups, and as part of collectives. Specific activities include directly mediating conflicts, spreading messages and media related to peace and social inclusion, protesting and physically separating combating parties, and providing logistical and administrative support for conflict resolution.³ In general, respondents confirm that women participate in all such activities in support of peace, albeit with different foci and to differing extents depending on the district. In most cases, women work in groups of other women with similar goals or with other actors, such as youth groups. However, women's groups may not always be formal organisations and may sometimes be informal groups without a clear organisational structure. Sometimes, women more experienced in community affairs take the lead in launching a peace initiative, but other women or other community stakeholders usually follow them.

Despite widespread recognition among male and female respondents that women's involvement in peacebuilding is important, there is a stark gendered division of labour in peacebuilding activities across all districts, wherein community members sometimes consider specific peacebuilding

domains outside women's ability to contribute. Specifically, resolving escalated conflicts, including inter-clan conflicts over land and land-based resources, is largely seen by male community stakeholders as their responsibility to resolve, often via the customary *xeer* system for handling clan disputes. This typically means clan elders, government officials, and religious leaders are the primary actors called upon, in roughly that order of frequency. Women's involvement in these processes does exist, but it is often ancillary.⁴ For example, women may be asked to prepare refreshments, greet guests, take notes, and otherwise ensure that the venue for a meeting is hospitable to the attending (often all-male) parties. Even in cases such as those seen in Dhusamareb, where women took the initiative to meet with combating parties and brought them to the negotiating table, clan elders and government officials were ultimately responsible for helping all parties find solutions. As one respondent bluntly puts it:

“Women were responsible for 80 per cent of the peacebuilding process while men did 20 per cent [of the work]. For example, women start the process, and men complete it” – Member of Government, Dhusamareb, Int. 1304

3 Life and Peace Institute, Peace Direct, and Somali Women Solidarity Organisation. 2018. “Women, Conflict, and Peace: Learning from Kismayo. A Study Report, April 2018.” Life and Peace Institute. 62 -3.

4 Int.106. Peace Committee and Int.107, Women's Group, Af-Madow.

The existing conflict cases where women are involved tend to be of two types: minor conflicts and conflicts where most, if not all, of the main disputing parties are women. The former includes disputes about smaller issues, such as minor injuries and petty theft. The latter is one conflict type which male community members sometimes see as women's area of expertise and includes issues such as GBV. Overall, the main impetus behind the marginalisation of women in conflict resolution is the cultural norm held among male community leaders, but also internalized to some extent by women, that women should be less involved in community decision-making due to their lesser understanding of community affairs and principles of justice, as well as their lesser capabilities to handle complex disputes. Somalia's patrilineal clan system is particularly exclusive of women's voices in this regard. Because women are not *diya* paying members of their clans and often have 'divided loyalties' when marrying a husband whose clan affiliation differs from the bride's father,⁵ women's voices are often not represented in the highest and most important decision-making fora of the clan system. With the *xeer* being the preeminent avenue for resolving community disputes, it is little wonder that women are often systematically excluded from efforts to mitigate the most serious conflicts. This is a missed opportunity, to some extent, as women's relationships across clan lines may sometimes make them uniquely positioned to bring together conflicting parties.

There are several additional areas where male and female community members tolerate and actively encourage women's involvement. The first is in awareness-raising, which broadly falls under the conflict prevention aspect of peacebuilding. Multiple respondents noted that spreading messages of

peace and social cohesion is one area in which women have a valuable contribution; some even assert that women may be more credible messengers of peace because they are seen as less of a threat than their male counterparts. The second area of involvement is in resolving disputes at the household level. Several respondents explained that a community's peace starts inside households, as conflicts will inevitably spill over to the broader community. In this way, women – as wives, daughters, and sisters – are seen as having a valuable contribution by ensuring that household members live harmoniously and do not resort to violence to resolve disputes.⁶ The third is women's role in surveillance and early warning, wherein women are expected to provide intelligence on potential security threats in their communities. However, they are not necessarily consulted on what should be done with the information they provide. This is particularly salient in the Banadir region, where there is a heavy security presence and where respondents cited women's role in surveillance.

Finally, one issue area where no respondent explicitly claimed that women are involved is in addressing the threat of Al-Shabaab. In general, very few respondents claimed that this was a conflict in which non-security actors were involved. Extant research does demonstrate that clan elders are involved in addressing violent extremism and terrorism; clan elders both dissuade community members from joining the group and encourage defections from it.⁷ However, based on the research for this report, civilians in general, and especially women, appear reluctant to be involved in programs or initiatives that explicitly frame themselves as being intended to prevent or counter the influence of Al-Shabaab – an unsurprising finding given the significant risks

5 Within Somalia's clan system, an important sub-unit is the *diya* (compensation, or blood money) paying group, which includes clan members from a particular geographic community. The *diya* group takes on collective responsibility for wrongdoing by its members and is responsible for ensuring payment to the *diya* group of the aggrieved party, as well as being entitled to receiving *diya* if one of their members were the aggrieved party. However, women are exempt from making *diya* payments, which contributes to their being seen as less able to contribute to the clan in times of potential conflict, and therefore their lower status compared to *diya* – paying men. This is especially pronounced for women who marry husbands from a different clan and/or from a different *diya* group, as the woman is considered to have fluctuating allegiance to both her father's and her husband's *diya* groups. Róisín Burke. 2020. "Somalia and Legal Pluralism: Advancing Gender Justice Through Rule of Law Programming In Times of Transition," *Loyola University of Chicago International Law Review* 16, 2: 195; Erica Harper. 2019. "Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Analysis." PACT, 5 – 12.

6 Int.405, Clan Elder in Kismayo.

7 Mohamed Ibrahim Shire. 2020. "Dialoguing and negotiating with Al-Shabaab: The role of clan elders as insider-partial mediators." *Journal of East African Studies*. (the volume and issue and he page numbers are missing)

this carries in communities where Al-Shabaab can launch targeted retaliatory attacks. Indeed, programs on preventing or countering violent extremism are increasingly implemented through a broader framework of addressing root causes of violent extremism rather than maintaining a singular and specific focus on combatting Al-Shabaab; programs might address issues such as grievances, poor governance, and socio-economic

General Barriers

Arguably, the biggest barrier facing women, in general, is the aforementioned cultural norm that often dismisses women's ability to contribute meaningfully to the most pressing challenges facing their communities. This norm manifests in peacebuilding activities and, more broadly, in situations where women attempt to influence decision-making by local government. Multiple respondents across districts recount the patronizing attitudes that officeholders and clan elders often display towards women seeking to engage in the policymaking process, sometimes even insulting and humiliating them.

This norm is further exacerbated by other challenges which women often face. First, educational attainment in Somalia remains more precarious among women than men. In many cases, this causes women to be reluctant to engage in civic affairs, as they may not feel confident that they can meaningfully contribute to the process.¹⁰ More nefariously, it also serves as *prima facie* justification in the eyes of male community leaders that women are less capable of handling community affairs than men are, even though girls and women not obtaining more education is often due to gendered expectations that they should be responsible for household work, thus depriving them of time and resources to pursue their studies. Indeed, respondents often argue that attaining more advanced education

inequalities, all of which may be as applicable to clan conflict as they are to preventing and countering violent extremism.⁸ If this is true, women's roles in countering Al-Shabaab through more general peacebuilding strategies may already be captured. Still, their specific efforts to address the Al-Shabaab threat may be underrepresented and require a more specific research report and sampling procedures to capture more fully.⁹

helped them overcome patriarchal norms and obtain leadership positions in peacebuilding and government, as their credentials and capabilities become harder to dismiss.¹¹

Second, there is an issue of time as women are also often expected to be homemakers, responsible for childcare and other household tasks. While multiple respondents argued that this should not preclude women from engaging in peacebuilding and civic affairs, they nonetheless acknowledge that the time needed to do such tasks and community expectations that women should not venture too far outside the household remain significant barriers to more women's involvement in community affairs. This is especially true in areas where conflicts are still active. As the men of the household are often the ones engaged in or targeted during the fighting, conflicts leave women with little help in earning livelihoods and taking care of the household precisely in areas where women's peacebuilding contributions would be most valuable. Indeed, respondents claim that conflicts often cause displacement and the destruction of livelihood options and micro-businesses, further requiring women to devote time and energy to meeting basic needs and leaving little time to be more engaged in the community's affairs.¹² The fact that many peacebuilding roles in communities are voluntary and do not offer remuneration (unlike the fees

8 Saferworld. N.d. "Thinking beyond 'countering violent extremism' in Somalia: local views on an international 'project'," Saferworld. <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/long-reads/thinking-beyond-a-counteracting-violent-extremisma-in-somalia-local-views-on-an-international-aprojecta>

9 It is also possible that respondents are simply reluctant to openly discuss Al-Shabab in general, much less their involvement in countering Al-Shabaab through targeted programs.

10 Int.603, Peace Committee in Barawe.

11 Int.906 Member of Government and Int.907, Member of Government, Beledweyne.

12 Int. 801, Women's Group; Int. 803, Women's Group.

that clan elders sometimes receive for mediating conflicts) exacerbates this problem.

Women's security is also often cited as a challenge that precludes them from more actively engaging with community initiatives. In some exceptional cases, such as the Galmudug – Puntland conflict that has effectively partitioned Galkacyo in two, women are considered less of a threat than men, which allowed them greater mobility to conduct peacebuilding activities.¹³ In most other cases, however, women's mobility during times of conflict tends to be restricted due to threats against their safety, especially at night. This limits how much they can travel, engage

Demographic-Specific Barriers

While the aforementioned barriers are relevant for many women, respondents also noted several challenges that are more prevalent in certain demographics of women. The first is age, which respondents almost universally acknowledged as a barrier for young women seeking to be more active in their communities. Specifically, age is perceived to imply a lack of experience and knowledge about community affairs, which leads many male (and often older female) community leaders to dismiss the opinions of young women. Throughout the districts under study, the study team identified several youth-leaning organisations with peacebuilding initiatives, and several of them also count young women in their leadership teams.¹⁵ Nonetheless, age likely continues to be a major limitation for young women.

In the Somali context, where women (and sometimes girls) tend to marry at young ages on average, those who are not yet married tend also to be especially young. In this way, respondents also note that unmarried young women face an even more daunting challenge than a refusal to acknowledge their capabilities: they also often face discrimination and various forms of GBV in the workplace or when collaborating

multiple stakeholders, and broker agreements. Furthermore, should women become involved in mediating heated conflicts, there is, at times, a concern that combating parties may also use force against the women involved. Less commonly cited, but not surprising, is the fear of attacks from Al-Shabaab, especially against women who are active in civic life.¹⁴ Given that the insurgent group is notorious for targeted assassinations against community members it considers pro-government, the risks that might come from engaging with government or government-related actors may disincentive women from taking on more vocal roles in community affairs.

with different organisations. Many respondents claim that former employers, colleagues, and NGO partners may exploit young or unmarried women and ask for sexual favours in exchange for employment or collaboration on projects, which creates environments where young/unmarried women are unable to fully devote their energy to community initiatives. In other cases, unwanted physical and sexual violence or verbal harassment are committed against women.¹⁶ Though older unmarried women can face these forms of GBV as well, including widows and divorcees, the problem is particularly salient for young, never-married women who have had even less work experience or education to find alternative paths for professional growth or civic involvement. One respondent explains that:

“In some places, older women and their opinions are taken [more seriously] compared to the younger women. 80 per cent of my coworkers are young women. Young girls who are looking for work face greater obstacles than older girls; it may or may not happen that when they go to the workplace, they will be asked something

13 See South and North Galkacyo sections of this report.

14 Int. 1903, Women's Group, Abdiasis.

15 The Jowhar Youth Group and BarBar Youth Empowerment Group.

16 Int.506, Women's Group, Baidoa; Int. 1406, Women's Group, South Galkacyo; Int. 1202, Member of Government, Cadaado; Int. 1307, Peace Committee, Dhusamareb; Int. 606, Women's Group, Barawe; Int. 403, Women's Group, Kismayo; Int. 401, Women's Group, Kismayo; Int. 2008, Peace Committee, Warta Nabadda.

that violates their privacy; many girls come to us crying, saying that they passed all the process for getting the job, but the managers ask them [for sexual favours] to get the job.
“- Member of Government, Abdiasis, Int. 1905

Disabilities, both physical and cognitive, are also universally believed to create barriers for women. Related to an earlier point about mobility, physical disabilities prevent women from moving in their communities to engage with stakeholders or to travel to their office spaces where they can conduct their work. This points to a general lack of accommodating facilities that can improve access for all women, especially given that many conflicts happen in rural areas outside of a district's urban core.

“Disabilities may affect women’s participation in the peacebuilding process because there are no facilities which are easy for women with disabilities to use to reach their ambitions or dreams. There are no wheelchairs, and women with disabilities cannot access buildings.”–
Women’s Group Representative, Barawe, Int. 607

Less is said about cognitive disabilities, as most respondents immediately discuss physical ones. However, there is also widespread stigma against people with physical disabilities, as community members doubt their ability to contribute to civic life. As one respondent puts it, “When someone is disabled, they can be accused of being ineffective and being able to do nothing,”¹⁷ while another claims that “women with disabilities do not go far, and the community ignores them.”¹⁸ In this way, one can assume that women with cognitive disabilities are generally also disadvantaged. However, it is worth noting that a minority of respondents felt that having a disability does not affect the ability of women to take on leadership roles in their communities; another believes that it is important to distinguish between types of disabilities:

17 Int. 1805, Member of Government, North Galkacyo.

18 Int.901, Clan Elder, Beledweyne.

When a woman has a mental disability, that is the worst-case scenario. However, if the person’s disability is physical, it [ability to partake in peacebuilding and civic life] depends on how confident the person is. Participating in peacebuilding depends on the person’s self-esteem, courage, and enthusiasm. – Peace Committee Member, Warta Nabada, Int. 2008

Finally, respondents are roughly evenly divided on whether clan minority status affects women’s prospects of leadership positions in peacebuilding and civic life. In some locations where clan competition for local power remains fierce, such as Beledweyne, respondents are adamant that many of the leadership positions in government are still awarded by the clan, and that being of majority clan status is vital. Two women’s group representatives provided the following statements:

“There is no application process [for district government positions]; you can only be appointed by the authorities. A clan is very important in obtaining leadership positions because the district administration is based on a clan system.” – Women’s Group Representative, Belet Xawo, Int. 206

“Clan is important because the central government of Somalia is based on the 4.5 system. In Beledweyne, the clan is also important. There are oppressed clans who do not get any seats, and they cannot talk about their needs because it is difficult. The important thing for government offices is that they are divided among clans, and the majority are more likely to get these positions than the minority clans.”
– Women’s Group Representative, Beledweyne, Int. 905

Others are less adamant that clan minority status is detrimental to a woman's ability to secure leadership positions. One respondent from Xudur, for instance, believes that positions in the district council are not clan-based. However, access to bureaucratic positions in lower levels of government remains strongly determined by clan affiliation:

“The district council formation is through election from the community. The community exercises their right to elect representatives in the council with the help of other stakeholders, such as other government bodies.... Regulatory bodies and other judicial sectors come through nominations, and clan connection is very important.” – Women’s Group Representative, Xudur, Int. 803

Nonetheless, respondents were more universally in agreement that women community members are affected by the clan system primarily as women, and secondarily as women belonging to specific clans. The fact that clan representation among the dominant clans in a district often remains the impetus for allocating community leadership positions means that officials are expected to represent their clans. As already discussed, women are frequently sidelined in favour of men in the clan system, which means that the appointment of women into government positions meant to represent clan interests is still rare overall,

Overarching Recommendations

Based on the above analysis, program implementers and policymakers supporting women's increased inclusion in peacebuilding and leadership should consider the following overarching recommendations:

1. Increased documentation in Somali and dissemination of women's diverse peacebuilding contributions. Despite women's active involvement in various peace initiatives, there is a need for more case studies and lessons learned, as well as documentation on the strategies women and women's groups have used to be involved in peacebuilding

regardless of women's specific clan affiliation.

However, it is possible that clan minority status indirectly affects women's prospects of obtaining government positions and leadership positions in civil society by influencing women's access to other resources needed to get such positions. Specifically, when asked what helped them obtain their leadership positions today, many women interviewees attribute their achievements to hard work, familial financial and non-financial support, and education. Clan status may influence the latter two factors, affecting women's access to leadership positions. For example, extant research on girls' education in Somalia has suggested that girls from minority clans tend to have a lower level of mastery over study subjects compared to similar-aged peers, in large part because they often lack the financial resources to enrol or purchase necessary items to be productive in school.¹⁹ Women who fall behind in the acquisition of foundational skills may then be further disadvantaged in recruiting cycles for work in the peacebuilding sector or are generally less able to help mobilize their networks and organisations. In addition, women from households in precarious financial states may find it more difficult to allocate time and energy to civic affairs, as they must naturally focus on livelihoods and supporting their families. A more robust study exploring the relationship between clan status and leadership positions will be needed to ascertain the connection between these factors.

and successfully prevent and resolve conflicts. Since literacy rates nationwide remain low, especially for girls and women, various media types should be utilized, including short videos, radio segments, drawn illustrations, etc. While English-language documentation exists for major locations such as Kismayo, Baidoa, and Galkacyo, less is readily available in the other districts under study. Providing Somali audiences with these narratives serves two purposes. First, among aspiring women peacebuilders and leaders, it may help disseminate best practices and new ideas on making space for

¹⁹ Juuso Miettunen. 2020. "Leave No Girl Behind: Adolescent Girls' Education in Somalia Baseline Evaluation." CARE International, 113.

themselves in a traditionally male endeavour and managing ongoing complex conflicts. Second, these narratives can also help gain community buy-in to increase women's inclusion in peacebuilding, particularly in communities where women have thus far not been active in this effort. As the implementation of the National Action Plan may include initiatives to help disengage and reintegrate female supporters and members of Al-Shabaab,²⁰ women's contributions in this effort may be particularly appreciated by communities,²¹ given that clan elders themselves have often struggled to make progress against Al-Shabaab;

2. Careful usage of narratives around women's contributions to peacebuilding.

At the same time, attention should be paid when discussing women's role in peacebuilding, particularly their commonly expected roles as messengers and homemakers. On the one hand, exploring ways women can utilize existing community structures and institutions to contribute to peacebuilding, such as their roles as mothers or wives who reduce household conflict, may be an effective strategy to engage more women in peacebuilding. On the other hand, this further suggests that women taking on these roles may entrench stereotypes that women cannot contribute beyond these activities. As such, the use of case studies and narratives around women's peacebuilding in such a capacity must be carefully weighed against its risks, which should be mitigated through the inclusion of narratives of women making other contributions to peacebuilding, as well as through other recommendations provided in this section;

3. Engagement of clan elders and religious leaders in support of women's inclusion.

Clan elders' and religious leaders' willingness to include women in the peace process will be critical for progress. Multiple respondents claimed these male community leaders wield immense social power and initiate norm changes among community members and government officials. The UN WPP's program's existing engagement with such actors is a positive

first step that should be continued through engaging clan elders and religious leaders, including by highlighting success stories of women's contributions to peacebuilding and governance in other districts or facilitating learning exchanges with male and female community peacebuilding actors from multiple districts. Where possible, credible spokespeople such as other clan elders or respected government officials should help emphasize that women's participation in peacebuilding has helped resolve otherwise intractable conflicts and that it is in the interest of clan elders and religious leaders to better support them in preventing and resolving conflicts;

4. Targeted capacity-building programs to address real and perceived skills gaps.

Respondents largely claimed that capacity-building programs are often very important in helping them become more involved in peacebuilding initiatives, appreciated training provided by (I)NGOs, and frequently requested that more be made available in their communities to help other women acquire the requisite skills. Given that many communities hold a narrow view of women's involvement in peacebuilding as informants, messengers, and homemakers who are not involved in ongoing 'complex' conflicts, a particular focus on equipping women leaders with skills around responding to conflict may be most helpful, including training on mediation, negotiations, and collaborating with security forces. Programs should also address how women with physical and cognitive disabilities may still play an equally valuable role in peacebuilding processes and how this might look different from the involvement of their peers without disabilities. Such programs serve two primary functions. First, they help ensure that women understand various strategies for building peace in their communities and can apply them in practice. In this regard, training programs need to be customized to the kinds of disputes prevalent in a community and the types of other actors with whom women peacebuilders would likely collaborate. Moreover, programs should be

20 UNSOM. 2022. "Somali Government, Civil Society, and UN Mark Anniversary of Historic Resolution on Women, Peace, and Security," UNSOM, October 23. <https://unsom.unmissions.org/somali-government-civil-society-and-un-mark-anniversary-historic-resolution-women-peace-and-security#:~:text=The%20FGS%20official%20noted%20that,of%20women%2C%20and%20their%20protection.>

21 This must be balanced with conflict sensitivity considerations on whether it is appropriate for such efforts to be discussed in an open manner.

institutionalized, where possible, rather than one-off short-term events to promote sustained and long-term capacity-building opportunities. Second, they may help overcome harmful stereotypes about women, especially younger women, not being capable of solving complex issues in the community. To the extent possible, capacity-building programs should be led by FMS line ministries and other government bodies, with substantial collaboration by local stakeholders who are respected and known in their communities, as well as with technical support provided as needed by international partners;

5. Integrated livelihoods, education, and civic participation programs. Beyond occasional capacity-building initiatives for peacebuilding, the various actors responsible for programs targeting women should coordinate and, where possible, create linkages between programs on livelihoods, education, and civic participation. The preceding analysis has made clear that many of the barriers affecting women include challenges created by gendered household norms and women's decreased ability to access resources such as education and financing, especially in times of conflict. Holistic programs that can empower women to take advantage of livelihood opportunities, improve their knowledge on various topics, and become more active actors in civic life may be an effective method for increasing women's willingness to examine critically, engage with, and improve community initiatives, including women's inclusion in the district council formation and implementation processes for new and existing district councils. In addition, integrated programs may also help improve the efficiency of funds used for the desired outcomes. International organisations, such as the UN, may explore the possibility of creating a coordinating

mechanism similar to the cluster approach used in managing emergencies (or add a civic engagement/peacebuilding component to the existing cluster system); federal government bodies, such as the MoWHRD, may serve a government focal point to harmonize policies and funding mechanisms across ministries and levels of government to help facilitate an integrated approach to empowering women in peacebuilding and civic life;

6. Appropriate integration of protection and peacebuilding initiatives. The preceding analysis demonstrates that concerns about personal safety can be an obstacle for women who seek to engage more actively with community initiatives. This includes women's safety when travelling when mediating a conflict, and when seeking or holding positions in government, such as when women are asked to perform sexual acts in exchange for career advancement opportunities. Prospective women community leaders and peacemakers must first believe that their safety can be credibly guaranteed before they take on leadership roles that may be considered subversive for women. In light of this, program implementers should carefully determine how to integrate more robust protection measures into other initiatives. In addition, the federal government, including through the MoWHRD, should collaborate with federal state ministries and local government to enact stronger protection policies to improve security for women. This includes, for example, incorporating specific protection mandates into the National Action Plan for implementing UNSCR 1325 on WPS, which would also have special protection measures and funding for young women who may be at risk of experiencing GBV in the workplace and their professional pursuits.

JUBALAND

BELET XAWO, GEDO

Relevant Groups and Organisations		
<p>Peacebuilding Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Kaalmo Relief and Development Organisation » Juba Youth Association » Social Life and Agricultural Development Organisation (SAADO) » Nomadic Assistance for Peace and Development (NAPAD) » District Peace Committee » Belet Xawo Youth Association » Socio-Economic Development and Human Rights Organisation (SEDHURO) 	<p>Women's Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Barwaqo Women Group » Women for Peace Organisation » Badbaado Women's Group 	<p>Other Relevant Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Building Opportunities for Resilience in the Horn of Africa (BORESHA) – Danish Refugee Council » Socio-Economic Development and Human Rights Organisation (SEDHURO)
<p>District Peace Committee gender breakdown: 0 women, 21 men, out of 21 members.</p>		

The Gedo region, specifically the Belet Xawo district, has been a frequent hotspot for conflict in the past two years. A number of conflict dynamics intersect in the region. Al-Shabaab continues to maintain an operational presence, often clashing with SNA and international peacekeeping forces in the vicinity. Clan conflicts also remain prevalent, as multiple clans in the region (such as the Marehan clans) still maintain militias that clash during land disputes. At the same time, one respondent highlights that land purchases by the Somali diaspora further limit the supply of available land, making competition over remaining lands even fiercer.²² Finally, in early 2020, the region also experienced clashes and subsequent tense standoffs between FGS forces loyal to then Somali president Mohamed Abdullahi' Farmaajo', and

forces loyal to the Jubaland president, Ahmed Mohamed Islam' Madobe',²³ resulting in up to 50,000 people being displaced from Belet Xawo.²⁴

The need for peacebuilding is evident; many peacebuilding entities operate in the district. Yet, despite the significant need for peacebuilding, most, if not all, direct engagements with parties to a conflict are done by men. At the same time, women mostly play a supportive role or are confined to preventive awareness-raising initiatives. One indication of this is that all 21 members of the district peace committee were men at the time of this report's writing²⁵ and that only one out of eight respondents interviewed in Belet Xawo for this mapping report was female. As one clan elder puts it:

22 Int. 206, Women's Group.

23 International Crisis Group. 2020. "Ending the Dangerous Standoff in Southern Somalia." International Crisis Group.

24 UN OCHA. 2020. "Somalia: Flash Update No.2 on displacement in Gedo region, Jubaland as of 12/03/2020".

25 District mapping.

Men are always the ones who solve disputes by mediating the conflicting parties, but the main role of women is to create community awareness [work] on the importance of peace by raising the white (peace) flags.
– Clan Elder, Int. 201

As will be repeatedly seen in many districts in the study, the rationale behind this division of labour is often rooted in clan bias in favour of male community members, with female members seen by male leaders as having fewer capabilities to handle complicated conflict cases. Usually, the disputants refuse to be mediated by women and call upon men to help resolve an ongoing conflict.²⁶ When pressed, our only female respondent in Belet Xawo opined that men always solve cases involving bloodshed because of the perception that men better understand the *Quran* and the *hadiths* therein that underpin much of Somalia's statutory legal system.²⁷ A male respondent claimed more generally that any dispute involving the law would exclude women due to the perception that they lack an understanding of legal matters.²⁸ One respondent also points out that Al-Shabaab may threaten women who are active in peacebuilding in the community, which may make some women reluctant to take on such responsibilities.²⁹

Women's inclusion in governance and decision-making is similarly poor, largely because political power in Gedo has been the subject of fierce competition and tight control. As part of the FGS – FMS rivalry in 2020 in Gedo, Mogadishu

had filled district government ranks throughout the Gedo region with loyalists to align the region to the FGS' cause.³⁰ Key appointments are then made centrally by the Gedo regional governor rather than decided by each district themselves.³¹ In this context of tight control over appointments to government bodies, women and other demographic groups have often found themselves shut out of government opportunities and channels to advocate for changes. Moreover, because government positions are still hotly contested, one respondent claims that women are reluctant to take on such positions because they are not able to "take [sic] the gun" to protect themselves against those also competing for political power.³²

Despite this challenging operational environment, women and women's groups can still contribute sporadically to peace and civic life. In one recent case, women's groups, religious leaders, clan elders, and civil society organisations were able to collectively convince the local government to prosecute security force members who had tortured and killed a civilian. This heated case had previously led to violent demonstrations and the burning of government offices by crowds.³³ In another, the Barwaqo Women's Group, in conjunction with a coalition of others, successfully convinced the local district administration to scrap plans for a land tax that the coalition felt would hurt the community.³⁴ Specifically, the Barwaqo Women's Group mobilized youth groups and, perhaps more importantly, in this context, clan elders to speak jointly on behalf of the community. Indeed, the Barwaqo Women's Group, alongside the Women for Peace organisation, appear to be the most active of the women's groups, frequently

26 Int. 203, Peace Committee.

27 Int.208, Women's Group.

28 Int. 202, Religious Leader.

29 Int.204, Peacebuilding NGO. The fact that there is only female respondent in our Belet Xawo sample makes this claim difficult to triangulate with the perceptions of women leaders. However, *prima facie*, there is strong reason to believe that women in the district tend to be less public in their civic initiatives, as the research team and UN Women struggled to identify and contact more than one female respondent.

30 International Crisis Group, 2020.

31 Int. 201, Clan Elder; Int. 204, Peacebuilding NGO; Int. 205, Peacebuilding NGO; Int.206, Women's Group.

32 Int. 201, Clan Elder.

33 Int. 202, Religious Leaders.

34 Int. 206, Women's Group.

working with clan elders to mitigate conflicts between various armed clans, including those

from Mandera across the Somalia-Kenya border.

District Considerations

- While the district government in Belet Xawo is often unwilling to solicit and consider feedback from citizens, cases of successfully advocating for change involve multiple organisations from the community with the same goal. Coalition building, whereby women and women’s groups’ perspectives are raised in conjunction with other groups’ demands, maybe a practical strategy to engage the district government;
- Initiatives to promote women in government, specifically in the district administration, will need to be preceded by substantial multi-stakeholder engagement to create buy-in, including engagement with stakeholders who may be aligned with different political alliances (pro-FGS, pro-FMS, etc). This will be particularly important to ensure that the community supports women candidates and also to ensure that successful female candidates do not fear for their safety once they hold government roles, as the sense of insecurity which women involved in civic affairs still feel remains an important obstacle to increased women’s involvement in community leadership;
- At the same time, transitioning from the Farmaajo to the Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud presidency of the FGS may mean that previous political contests may become less intractable with time, creating a potential window of opportunity for more social inclusion-driven governance initiatives. Program implementers should closely monitor any changes in the region’s political dynamics and how that might impact programs;
- The Barwaqo Women’s Group have worked extensively on peacebuilding in the district and appears to be a group with which community stakeholders are familiar, with multiple respondents pointing to the group as an example of women engaged in peacebuilding.³⁵ They may be an important focal point and partner for further women’s empowerment and inclusion programming.

GARBAHAREY, GEDO

Relevant Groups and Organisations	
<p>Peacebuilding Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Norwegian Church Aid » District Peace Committee 	<p>Women’s Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Gedo Women Development » Trocaire » Socio-Economic Development and Human Rights Organisation (SEDHURO)
<p>District Peace Committee gender breakdown: 4 women, 9 men, out of 13 members.</p>	

Like Belet Xawo to its north, Garbaharey district is afflicted by conflict dynamics. Most commonly cited by respondents is the continued fighting between Al-Shabaab and government forces, as

well as occasional inter-clan conflicts over land.³⁶ The district is also one of the areas where the FGS – Jubaland conflict unfolded in 2020, which continues to have implications for the district’s

35 Int.204, Peacebuilding NGO; Int. 205, Peacebuilding NGO; Int. 207, Peacebuilding NGO.

36 Int. 303, Clan Elder; Int. 304, Women’s Group; Int. 305, Women’s Group, Int. 306, Women’s Group; Int.307, Peace Committee.

governance: as in Belet Xawo, positions in the local district administration are appointed by the Gedo regional governor, and administration officials, in turn, appoint heads of villages in the district, with seats in local government distributed in a power-sharing formula between the district's dominant Marehan clans and others.³⁷ The emphasis placed on political and clan allegiances over social inclusion means that women are largely excluded from government and are rarely called upon to provide input into the district administration's decision-making processes; where the government engages women's groups, their inputs are seldom incorporated into final decisions.³⁸

Respondents were somewhat more optimistic about women's inclusion in leadership positions for peacebuilding, with one claiming that "women are highly represented in leadership roles in peacebuilding although they are not included in the district administration."³⁹ The higher involvement in peacebuilding leadership roles is further illustrated by the fact that the district's branches of Trocaire and SEDHURO – both NGOs with multiple offices across south-central Somalia – have teams that are at least 50 per cent women. These organisations lead initiatives such as awareness campaigns on FGM and helping resolve domestic violence/dispute cases.⁴⁰ The district's peace committee chairperson is also a woman with prior experience in community mobilisation and dispute resolution.⁴¹ However, inclusion in decision-making fora still does not necessarily equate to substantially shaping peacebuilding initiatives, as multiple respondents still listed myriad problems facing women's participation in peacebuilding. One respondent distinguishes between inclusion in the *process* of decision-making and being able to shape *outcomes* of those processes:

Women design all the activities that need to be implemented, and, in the end, they are not included in the decision-making part. They are the most important group at the initiation point but are ruled out when the final decisions are made. – Peace Committee, Int.308

It should also be noted that while women hold a substantial number of leadership positions in peacebuilding fora or initiatives, there is still significant competition among women to obtain such positions, which suggests that the number of opportunities available is inadequate to meet women's aspirations for more involvement in peacebuilding.⁴² The district administration's budgeting decisions may be partly responsible, with one respondent claiming that many women work voluntarily as peacemakers. At the same time, financial resources that could be spent supporting their initiatives are often allocated by the district administration's (predominantly male) members for other programs. However, it should be acknowledged that some of this spending is likely directed at promoting women's participation in other activities in the district besides peacebuilding.⁴³

A similar trend of women's peacebuilding role being confined to less "serious" conflict issues also emerge in Garbaharey. Women's groups and other peacebuilding practitioners can cite examples of women's participation in peacebuilding, but many are household disputes between family members.⁴⁴ The district's most pressing security and peace issues, such as inter-clan conflict, countering Al-Shabaab influence, and conflicts involving security force members, largely fall outside the purview of women peacemakers. One respondent suggests that this is because there

37 Int. 304, Women's Group .

38 Int. 302, Peace Committee; Int. 304, Women's Group; Int.306, Women's Group.

39 Int.304, Women's Group.

40 District mapping of Garbaharey.

41 Int.308, Peace Committee.

42 Int.305, Women's Group.

43 Int. 305, Women's Group.

44 Int.304, Women's Group; Int.308, Peace Committee.

is inadequate protection for women who seek to engage in these issues, such that the safety risks often disincentivize women's involvement in these matters.⁴⁵ Women are also not actively involved in conflicts between government entities, such as the aforementioned power contestation between the FGS and FMS, primarily because women

are not included in Garbaharey's government. As a result, they often lack representatives they can rely on to convey their perspectives. They are less familiar with the internal machinations of government and where women can make peacebuilding contributions.⁴⁶

District Considerations

- While women's occupying of leadership positions in Garbaharey's various peacebuilding groups is a positive indicator of women's inclusion, it also belies the fact that many women peacemakers and leaders are still unable to provide input into peace and security processes on the district's most salient issues, such as clan conflicts, the Al-Shabaab insurgency, and intergovernmental tensions. Programs on women's empowerment should look beyond whether women figures hold leadership positions and interrogate what they are and are not able to do with such positions;
- Women's protection and contributions to peacebuilding are intricately connected in the district, as one (but not the only) barrier to increased women's leadership on peace initiatives is the lack of protective mechanisms. Practitioners should consider the integration of protection into peacebuilding programming, with protection measures strengthened in conjunction and proportion to increasing efforts at capacity building of core conflict resolution and peacebuilding skills;
- The possible use of resources for other programs outside of women's involvement in peacebuilding suggests a need to allocate resources across different issue areas in the district where women's inclusion is important. Program implementers, to the extent possible, should collaborate and coordinate with other partners in the district and with the district administration to balance available funding for various pertinent issue areas;
- As in Belet Xawo, the transition from the Farmaajo to Sheikh Mohamoud presidency of Somalia and how that affects political relations in the Gedo region should be closely monitored to determine whether there are windows of opportunity for more gender-inclusive government and peacebuilding initiatives.

45 Int. 304; Women's Group.

46 Int. 303, Clan Elder; Int. 306, Women's Group.

AF- MADOW, LOWER JUBA

Relevant Groups and Organisations

Peacebuilding Groups

- » Jubaland Commission for Refugees and IDPs (JUCRI)
- » Socio-Economic Development and Human Rights Organisation (SEDHURO)
- » Suomi – Somalia Seura
- » District Peace Committee

Women’s Groups

- » Afado Community Sanitation Volunteers
- » Af-Madow District Women’s Organisation

Other Relevant Groups or Initiatives

- » Af-Madow District Council
- » Socio-Economic Development and Human Rights Organisation (SEDHURO)

District Peace Committee gender breakdown: 1 woman, 2 men, out of 3 members.

Af-Madow citizens benefit from the fact that it is the only Jubaland district under study that has successfully undergone the district council formation process. Respondents largely argued that clan conflicts in the district are rare and that most of the security threats come from Al-Shabaab clashes with security forces.⁴⁷ Where the previous district administration has been described as “authoritative” and a “dictatorship,”⁴⁸ the new 21-member district council and the community mobilisation that made its creation possible have greatly improved social inclusion and women’s involvement in peacebuilding and decision-making over the past two years.

Women can input into decision-making processes by holding seats in the local district government, which respondents claimed were attainable through merit and hard work; Fadumo Mohamed Mursal, a young member of government serving as the district’s deputy director of finance, is frequently cited as a success story and proof that government has become more inclusive.⁴⁹ In general, financial and administrative departments in local government appear to be one technical area where

women’s inclusion is strongest.⁵⁰ Alternatively, women can participate in consultations with local government on key issues. For instance, when the district council proposed an annual housing tax this past year, groups such as the Af - Madow District Women’s Organisation argued that it was too burdensome for the community during the droughts and successfully advocated for the plan to be cancelled.⁵¹

In line with the other districts and Somalia, residents typically rely on traditional conflict resolution mechanisms – the clan-based *xeer* system. The most sophisticated conflicts are left for male clan elders to solve. While respondents acknowledged that women have a role to play in conflict resolution through mediation and dialogue of ongoing conflicts, many – both men and women – claimed that women’s roles in this mechanism are very much ancillary, with several respondents claiming that women’s role in the clan-based mechanism is mainly to prepare venues and refreshments, and greet guests attending elder council meetings.⁵² The main exceptions are cases of domestic violence

47 Int. 101, Peacebuilding NGO; Int. 102, Clan Elder; Int. 104, Clan Elder, Int. 106, Women’s Group. It should be noted that as recently as mid-2022, clashes between militia from the Mohamed Zubeyr sub-clan of the Ogaden, and the Marehan have been documented in the rural parts of Af-Madow district. See ACLED, 2022.

48 Int. 108, Peacebuilding NGO.

49 Int. 101, Peacebuilding; Int.104, Clan Elder; Int.106, Peace Committee.

50 District mapping of Afmadow.

51 Int. 104, Clan Elder; Int. 106, Peace Committee.

52 Int. 104, Clan Elder; Int. 105, Member of Government; Int.106, Peace Committee; Int. 107, Women’s Group.

or conflict and conflicts where both parties are women. In these cases, women are said to be more involved in engaging with the disputing parties, partly because these are domains in which women are considered more knowledgeable.⁵³

However, outside of resolving ongoing conflicts, women have been able to be much more involved in the preventive aspects of peacebuilding, often touching on issues that improve community wellbeing more broadly and thus improve citizen satisfaction. Specifically, women's groups have been very involved in awareness-raising campaigns on GBV and peace and security related issues, as well as participating in social cohesion activities,

such as sports tournaments organized by groups such as Suomi – Somalia Seura (Finland Somalia Association) that teach youth the importance of teamwork.⁵⁴ At least one women's group – the Afado Community Sanitation Volunteers – is involved in awareness-raising on peacebuilding and community sanitation and hygiene projects. Indeed, community hygiene projects are often cited as one of the popular ongoing initiatives of the district council and women's groups that yield tangible benefits, possibly due to momentum created by the previous UN-sponsored Community Action Plans under the *Midnimo-I* project.⁵⁵

District Considerations

- Af-Madow's successful district council formation may contain success stories and lessons learned, which can be shared more prominently in the district to continue to gain buy-in for women's inclusion from community stakeholders and with other districts in Jubaland, as some respondents outside Af-Madow recognize that is had made more progress on this front compared to other districts;⁵⁶
- Supporting women leaders and women's groups who are already undertaking work that likely has an adequate degree of community buy-in, such as sanitation projects and community finances/revenue management, may be a strategic way to emphasize further the importance of empowering and supporting women's leadership in civic life;
- At the same time, programs should focus on not casting women's roles in the district as narrowly restricted to the above functions. Instead, the abovementioned areas should be considered starting points to expand women's inclusion on other community issues further.

KISMAYO, LOWER JUBA

Relevant Groups and Organisations		
Peacebuilding Groups	Women's Groups	Other Relevant Groups
» Peace Direct	» Somali Women Study Center	» Somali Youth League
» Saferworld	» Somali Women Solidarity Organisation	» Fahan Youths
» District Peace Committee	» Waamo Women Center	» UNDP
» Habla-Kaab	» Kismayo Women's Group	» Madasha Maan Kulan
» Midnimo Peace Umbrella	» Elman Peace and Human Rights Center	» Social-life and Agricultural Development Organisation
» Youth Against Violence		

53 Int.105, Member of Government; Int. 106, Peace Committee.

54 Int. 108, Peacebuilding NGO.

55 Charlotte Mohn. 2020. "Facilitating Durable Solutions in Somalia – Experiences from the Midnimo-I and the Application of Human Security", UN Habitat. 46. The community action plans in Af-Madow involved, for example, creating a community slaughterhouse with toilet blocks and sanitation.

56 Int. 401, Women's Group, Kismayo; Int. 402, Peace Committee, Kismayo

Compared to the other districts in Jubaland, Kismayo - the capital of Jubaland - benefits from a wealth of past and ongoing initiatives to promote women's inclusion in peacebuilding and civic life, as well as backing from international organisations due to the port city's greater accessibility compared to inland districts. Local and regional NGOs, such as the Somali Women Solidarity Organisation (SWSO), have launched prominent programs on the issue, such as the Kismayo Peace Platform, supported by international NGO Peace Direct. Another international NGO, Saferworld, has previously helped establish Community Action Forums (CAF) in various neighbourhoods, to improve citizen-state relations through dialogue and joint planning of community works, as well as helping resolve sensitive cases of conflict such as SGBV cases.⁵⁷ Many peacebuilding-oriented programs also emphasize the capacity building of women community members, with various UN programs and the Elman center's training workshops noted to have been particularly useful.⁵⁸

As with other districts, emphasis is often placed on women's contributions to peacebuilding through their ability to prevent and resolve family and household disputes. At times, the perception among community members is that this is the primary role which women do and should play as peacemakers; because peace in the community begins with "harmony" in individual households, women's role as homemakers and influences their household members is seen as being critical to broader peace.⁵⁹ Indeed, this sentiment is consistent with previous research finding that Kismayo community stakeholders often espouse a view that "conflict begins at home" and that household discord might sometimes incite broader communal conflict if, for instance, husband and

wife came from different clans.⁶⁰

Whereas this perception in other districts is often enough to exclude women from meaningfully participating in different modes of peacebuilding, in Kismayo, there are many cases where women's groups and networks asserted their right to organize and implement peacebuilding initiatives. The Kismayo Women's Group, for example, took an organizing role in convening clan elders from the Harti (of the Hawiye clan family) and Aramale (of the Darood clan family), who in November 2018 were embroiled in a heated conflict over land use rights outside Kismayo. Coordinating between clan elders, government and security force officials, and other community groups, the Women's Group were able to help the conflicting parties find and enforce a mutually acceptable solution.⁶¹ In other cases, women have asserted their roles in peacebuilding, even forming "human chains" to place themselves between combatants and refusing to disburse until the fighting ceased.⁶²

Women taking on more substantial roles in peacebuilding is not without opposition. A peace committee member recounted that "clan elders don't help us [women peacemakers] because they think we are overtaking their professions," and that the heavy presence of international organisations and local partners sometimes leaves women vulnerable to accusations that their active participation is a product of "western culture" that is at odds with "Somali culture."⁶³ Nevertheless, seeing women succeed in brokering peace and improving community relations may be enough to sway elders to support women-led peacebuilding, as the same respondent noted that "the clan elders who used to accuse us are now delighted with us because there is a great

57 Int.401, Women's Group. Hamse Matan. 2021. "Improving citizen-state relationships through community action in Somalia". *Saferworld*, December 5. <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/news-and-analysis/post/979-improving-citizenastate-relationships-through-community-action-in-somalia>

58 Int.401, Women's Group.

59 Int.405, Clan Elder.

60 Life and Peace Institute, Peace Direct, and Somali Women Solidarity Organisation. 2018. "Women, Conflict, and Peace: Learning from Kismayo. A Study Report, April 2018." Life and Peace Institute. 67.

61 Nicholas Frost. 2019. "Opportunities for Peace in Kismayo, Somalia: Insights from Local Peacebuilders on the Causes of Violent Conflict and the Prospects for Peace," Peace Direct. 34.

62 Ibid, 33.

63 Int. 402, Peace Committee.

improvement in our local community since we joined [in peacebuilding activities.”⁶⁴

Women’s inclusion in governance still lags behind their inclusion in peacebuilding. Kismayo’s strategic location as a port city connecting coastal and inland towns in Somalia and serving as a gateway for imports to/exports from Kenya and Ethiopia makes it a major economic centre. Political competition for this lucrative prize is fierce, leading to tight

control over government appointments. As multiple respondents noted, government positions are filled through nominations (of men) by the FMS president; women’s groups seeking to engage with the district administration are largely ignored.⁶⁵ While district council formation is underway, it still lags behind comparable processes in other districts, such as Af-Madow and Xudur.

District Considerations

- The active involvement of women and women’s groups in peacebuilding in Kismayo likely means that valuable lessons on effective peacebuilding and women’s empowerment can be gleaned from these experiences. Program implementers should consider carefully documenting the experiences and practices of women peacemakers and leaders. These insights can then be disseminated in Somali as learning products that can help build the capacity or inspire women changemakers in other districts or form the basis of learning exchanges and workshops for women practitioners throughout Jubaland;
- The already-heavy presence of international donors and organisations in Kismayo means that careful attention should be paid to ensuring that local organisations are empowered and can gain the buy-in of various community stakeholders. This includes ensuring that peacebuilding programs supported by international partners have a sustainability strategy for empowering local actors to continue their work even after international funding has ended and ensuring that local partners are treated as equals in the co-design and implementation of contextually appropriate programs;
- In other districts where women’s involvement in peacebuilding outside household/ domestic disputes is less visible, emphasizing women’s peacebuilding efforts within the household carries the risk of further entrenching the social norm that women should only be involved in certain peace initiatives. However, emphasizing that women can make important peacebuilding contributions even at the household level may be a viable strategy to highlight women’s agency as changemakers in Kismayo, given that the much higher visibility of women taking on myriad other peacebuilding roles in the district likely mitigates the risks of entrenching harmful stereotypes.

64 Ibid.

65 Int. 401, Women’s Group; Int. 402, Peace Committee; Int. 404, Women’s Group; Int.405, Clan Elder.

SOUTH WEST STATE

XUDUR, BAKOOL

Relevant Groups and Organisations		
Peacebuilding Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Danish Demining Group » Xudur Conflict Mitigation Group 	Women's Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Xudur Women's Group » Somali Children Welfare and Human Rights » Somali Community Action Groups 	Other Relevant Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » District Council

Xudur is one of the most precarious districts in South Central Somalia, with much of the rural area controlled by Al-Shabaab, limiting land access to the district's urban centre and stalling the development of local commerce and delivery of aid. Among the key concerns undermining the stability of the district are clan disputes over land, violence during election periods, and intermittent attacks by Al-Shabaab. Xudur's reality as a city under siege from Al-Shabaab has increased its internal social cohesion, as a common security threat has, to some extent, unified the various groups in the city.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, women's roles in peacebuilding and governance remain marginal.

Xudur residents tend to rely on traditional methods of conflict resolution with clan elders at the forefront of dispute mitigation. While women are typically excluded from moderating major clan conflicts due to stigma and cultural norms,⁶⁷ smaller domestic and family disputes are often solved by members of women's groups, especially if the cases involve sensitive information that would be uncomfortable to share with a male elder or religious leader.⁶⁸ Women in the conflict mitigation group can advise and contribute ideas

during dispute resolution sessions, although the elders' final decision-making remains the prerogative.

While leadership roles were thought to be reserved for men, respondents tended to acknowledge women's diverse contributions to peacebuilding. Women's groups were reported to check the cars coming into town with metal detectors to protect civilians from Al-Shabaab attacks,⁶⁹ as well as engage in advocacy. Women who were not formally a part of any civil society group were seen to contribute to stabilisation by promoting peace messages within the family and discouraging their children and brothers from engaging in violence. As one of the elders we interviewed put it:

"[During the period of active military conflict,] women mobilised to support other community members by sending peace messages and preparing snacks for government troops who were fighting against Al-Shabaab. Nowadays, women play a vital role in spearheading peace-building sessions since they work differently from

66 Consilient Research. 2022. "Baseline Report of the Justice Barometer Study". *Expanding Access to Justice Program*.

67 Int.806, Member of Government.

68 Int.805, Religious Leader.

69 Int.803, Women's Group.

their gender. Any difficult work that requires making hard decisions is left for the men.” – Clan Elder, Int. 804

The designation of women to supporting roles in peacebuilding and their limited representation in the district council are linked to the persistent cultural belief that women should not participate in public life. At times, these beliefs may lead to harassment and verbal abuse from the public or resistance from husbands or other male family members.⁷⁰ When describing challenges in accessing peacebuilding opportunities, a women’s group member opined that:

“There are men like brothers or husbands who [...] look down upon sisters to stand beside them during conflict mitigation [...]. You may also find others saying that ladies are supposed to be indoors and should not be allowed to come out and compete with men. The most challenging aspect is the ignorance of men who may even stop women from attending school” – Women’s Group, Int. 803

Additional challenges mentioned by respondents included domestic chores, clan politics, and a lack of experience working on peacebuilding

District Considerations

- With the majority of respondents describing religious and clan leaders as the actors with the highest potential to benefit women, engagement of these groups in advocacy for women’s representation emerges as an optimal strategy to address discriminatory norms, which constituted the most cited challenge for accessing peacebuilding opportunities for women;
- Limited NGO presence in the district is likely linked to the district’s insecurity and lack of connectivity with other outside areas. Given

or community affairs. Nonetheless, some of the women we interviewed also cited encouragement from family, friends, and community leaders as key factors that helped them reach the positions they were in today,⁷¹ which, coupled with the dominant sense of improved women’s representation over the last two years, may be indicative of the shift in cultural norm beginning to reach Xudur.

Nonetheless, it appears that Xudur lacks targeted programming to accelerate that change, likely due to the widespread insecurity and inaccessibility of much of the district. Most of our respondents believed there were no government policies to promote women in leadership roles, and there were few alternative peacebuilding actors outside of traditional elders. The ‘conflict mitigation group,’ consisting of women and elders, was the only major peacebuilding actor cited in our interviews.⁷² The group aimed to conduct awareness campaigns for peace and resolve clan conflicts, with women taking the lead on minor domestic disputes. Further, the GUURTI+ program the Danish Demining Group implemented advocated for greater inclusion of women in conflict mitigation. Other respondents also mentioned that NGOs delivered training, women’s rights awareness campaigns, and psychosocial support for conflict-related trauma, although the respondents could not recall the names of the NGOs.

such a condition, program implementers should emphasise capacity building and empowerment of local groups to be self-sustaining, to the extent possible, to avoid reliance on external groups and funders;

- With the district council formation already complete and with social cohesion relatively strong in Xudur compared to other districts, there may be an opportunity to increase emphasis on social inclusion in district council programming, as opposed to clan balance of power. In this way, the district

70 Int.804, Clan Elder.

71 Int.806, Member of Government.

72 Int.801, Women’s Group.

council should be engaged to advance policies and initiatives that further involve women in peacebuilding and civic life, such as

capacity building workshops or community fora for the co-design of government policies.

BAIDOA, BAY

Relevant Groups and Organisations		
Peacebuilding Groups	Women's Groups	Other Groups
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Saferworld » Danish Demining Group » District Peace Committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Somalia/Baidoa Women's Development Organisation » Somali Youth Voluntary Organisation » Kanava Org » ISHA Human Rights Organisation » BarBar Youth Empowerment Organisation » Kalkal Human Rights Development Organisation » Somali Women Solidarity Organisation » Save Somali Women and Children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Ministry of Justice (via Alternative Dispute Resolution Centers)

Baidoa is the *de facto* capital of South West state characterised by large numbers of IDPs near Baidoa town originating primarily from rural areas of the districts, as well as the wider Bay region. Respondents described the security situation in the region as relatively stable. However, Al-Shabaab attacks and violent clashes between clan militias over land rights, especially between Hariin and Leysan clans from the Rahanweyn family, are common.

Every neighbourhood in Baidoa town has a Community Action Forum (CAF) committee composed of elders, women, youth, and policemen.⁷³ These CAFs were initiated by the NGO Saferworld and in collaboration with the Somali Women Development Center, Somali Women Solidarity Organisation, and ISHA Human Rights Organisation. The CAF committees convene to consider dispute cases where they listen separately to the conflicting

parties and reach a decision based on customary law. The committees often consult with the ISHA-Human Rights Organisation for particularly complex cases. Within this process, women who are part of the committee play an advisory role, with the final decision being the prerogative of the elders. Even in cases related to gender-based violence, women are typically represented by their male relatives and have little say in the outcome.⁷⁴

Despite the pervasive exclusion of women from leadership roles, respondents tended to acknowledge the diverse, although often indirect, ways women contribute to peacebuilding in Baidoa. Women were said to spearhead awareness campaigns for peace, compose and perform peace songs,⁷⁵ cater dispute resolution events, and help organise sports competitions for youth from competing clans.⁷⁶ The less formal contributions of women include sharing information used to adjudicate

73 Int.507, Women's Group.

74 Int.506, Women's Group.

75 Int. 507, Women's Group.

76 Int.501, Peace Committee.

disputed cases by the elders, reporting potential threats, and discouraging men in their families from engaging in violence.⁷⁷ As a women's group member put it:

“Women often play a role in community awareness by pleading with the men from both parties to stop fighting and cooking for the elders during the dispute resolution sessions. Meanwhile, men make decisions and solve conflicts between the warring parties.” - Women’s Group, Int. 507

Bay Women's Development Organisation is a notable example of a women's group that runs a diverse set of programs delivering psychosocial and legal support to the victims of violence. The organisation also gives a rehabilitation program for former female members of Al-Shabaab, provides skill training to women, and offers starting capital for businesses.⁷⁸ There has been progress in increasing the representation of women in the government, with approximately 10 per cent of seats in the district administration and parliament occupied by women, to reach a 30 per cent representation figure in the district administration in the future. Land and domestic disputes tend to be resolved through *xeer* by the elders, especially due to a moratorium on statutory courts adjudicating land cases. However, the Ministry of Justice has recently approved a decree that designates major cases involving death or rape to statutory courts.⁷⁹ While women's access to decision-making roles in the traditional justice system is unlikely to improve due to the rigidity of cultural norms that underlie

this institution, the transfer of some cases to the formal justice system may offer leadership opportunities to women who pursue careers in the legal field, such as by working as paralegals advising community members on how to resolve a dispute. However, it should be acknowledged that respondents still felt that many judiciary positions are distributed based on clan rather than merit.⁸⁰

Clan norms were identified as one of the key challenges for gaining leadership opportunities, as clan leaders were said to be reluctant to endorse women with spouses from different clans and unmarried women who might marry someone from a different clan in the future.⁸¹ Domestic responsibilities were seen as preventing women from being able to participate in peace group meetings regularly.⁸² Other barriers included security considerations⁸³, as there is an added threat for female leaders to be targeted by Al-Shabaab, as well as cultural norms that discourage women's participation in public life.

Overall, Baidoa has a relatively developed peacebuilding infrastructure that involves a diverse set of contributing actors in addition to traditional elders, such as women's groups, NGOs, formal courts, and youth groups. The district also benefits from several programs that empower women through awareness and capacity building. Although key decision-making continues to be carried out by traditional elders, women contribute to peacebuilding in diverse ways, with new leadership opportunities emerging in the formal justice and NGO sectors.

District Considerations

- Continued engagement with the district administration is recommended to build on the progress of the district administration in achieving improved representation of

women. Beyond the mere inclusion of women in government, the following steps should focus on the administration's ability to engage women's groups and other actors

77 Int.506, Women's Group.

78 Int.501, Peace Committee.

79 Int.505, Member of Government.

80 Int. 507, Women's Group.

81 Int.508, Member of Government.

82 Int.505, Member of Government.

83 Int.504, Religious Leader.

in decision-making, as well as enact gender-sensitive policies in consultation with the relevant community stakeholders;

- There may be opportunities for women to play a role as peacebuilders in the community by engaging in the legal/formal dispute resolution field. Though statutory courts and alternative dispute resolution centres remain ridden with clan dynamics and favouritism, there may be cases, particularly those not involving major clans or posing a risk of inciting social conflict, that could still be adjudicated relatively well. Where possible, capacity building for women to serve as paralegals or advisers on how to navigate legal institutions may help prevent some disputes from escalating into violent conflict;

- Due to the breadth of organisations and initiatives around peacebuilding in Baidoa, lessons learned on women’s inclusion should be documented and disseminated in Somali to other relevant groups in the region and beyond. Baidoa’s relative accessibility, compared to districts like Xudur, may mean that learning exchanges hosted in Baidoa or hosted elsewhere with attendance by Baidoa stakeholders may be a valuable contribution to ongoing efforts elsewhere to increase women’s inclusion in peacebuilding and civic life.

DINSOOR, BAY

Relevant Groups and Organisations		
Peacebuilding Groups	Women’s Groups	Other Groups
» District Peace Committee	» None identified	» District Council
District Peace Committee gender breakdown: 3 women, 3 men, out of 6 members.		

Respondents in Dinsoor unanimously reported a decrease in conflict across the district, except for minor disputes over grazing land. These disputes are typically solved by elders who consult each disagreeing party, conduct research to adjudicate between competing claims, and determine a solution or punishment. However, these accounts are inconsistent with data elsewhere demonstrating that Al-Shabaab routinely operates in the district.⁸⁴

The inconsistency suggests that a degree of caution is warranted in interpreting responses from Dinsoor respondents, as they may be reluctant to speak openly about peace and security issues out of fear of potential retaliation, as Al-Shabaab has been known to target civilians seen as cooperating with government actors. Alternatively, it may be the case that few women are involved in peacebuilding because the primary threat in

the district is Al-Shabaab, not clan conflicts; in general, as elaborated in the overall findings section of this report, conflicts related to Al-Shabaab tend to be one area where women are seldom mentioned as being involved in as peacemakers. Indeed, Dinsoor is the only district where the research team failed to find a single respondent from women’s groups.

Nonetheless, the information obtained demonstrates that the district has a peace committee with six members, three of whom are women. Women are also well represented in the district council, with half of the seats reserved. The respondents accessed these positions with the support from their clan elders. This positively portrayed the elders’ role in promoting women to leadership positions in Dinsoor. However, we must note that the women we interviewed successfully

84 ACLED 2022.

obtained the elders' endorsement. This may render them oblivious to the barriers to other women who could not garner the elders' support. The current data does not allow us to evaluate how much the elders rely on merit when endorsing a candidate for a government position.

Indeed, female respondents unanimously stated that their gender did not affect their opportunities as government officials and peace committee members. The main challenge mentioned was the burden of household responsibilities. Nonetheless, respondents reported that women, including the female peace committee members, were not directly involved in conflict mitigation and

instead contributed to peacebuilding through advocacy and advice to decision-makers. As a clan elder put it:

“[Women] raise awareness, support the elders, participate in peace-building campaigns, and more. Yes, if women and traditional elders did not do the peace process, we would not have the peace we have now, but their role in peacebuilding is very different.” – Clan Elder, Int. 701

District Considerations

- Given the conflict dynamics, the difficulties encountered in obtaining information in Dinsoor and the recalcitrance of respondents to speak at length suggest that Dinsoor will be a particularly challenging district for increasing women's roles in peacebuilding. Further research on Dinsoor should be

conducted specifically. Tentatively, it may be that women's involvement in peacebuilding should be increased through a more general increase in the inclusion of various social groups in decision-making in local government rather than through specific women-led peacebuilding initiatives.

BARAWE, LOWER SHABELLE

Relevant Groups and Organisations		
Peacebuilding Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » District Peace Committee » Somali Youth and Development Organisation (SOYDEN) » Deegan Development Organisation (DEDO) » Barawe Youth League » DEEQDA 	Women's Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Towfiq Relief and Development Organisation » Jilaani Women's Employment Association » Dayax Organisation for Development » Barava Women's Group 	Other Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » District Council » UNDP » Barava Youth Group
District Peace Committee gender breakdown: 10 women, 14 men, out of 24 members.		

Since its liberation from Al-Shabaab in 2014, Barawe has served as the *de jure* capital of South West State. While clan conflicts within the district have been stable in the past several years, the

district remains under threat from Al-Shabaab, and the outward mobility of citizens is limited. The stability within the district has led peacebuilding programs to be relatively low-profile, with many

respondents claiming that they are not aware of peacebuilding programs in the district besides the traditional *xeer* – based conflict resolution mechanism led by clan elders.⁸⁵ Yet, of those that exist, some emphasis is placed on conflict prevention, which various groups in the district do by quickly engaging the disputing parties before the dispute escalates to a wider conflict involving other clan members.⁸⁶

Respondents generally claimed that women play an important role in addressing peace and security issues in the district, ranging from GBV cases to land disputes, as well as serving as an early warning mechanism against possible incursions of peace spoilers.⁸⁷ As one women's group representative describes:

“Even women who work in businesses [and may not be conventionally thought of as

peacebuilders] play a major role. Once a new person comes to the district, they communicate with the security agency for further investigation of the newcomer.” – Women's Group, Int. 607

At the same time, this level of involvement in peacebuilding affairs in the district has not translated into increased agency in decision-making in governance. The District Council does have an increased share of women compared to the previous district administration, with seven out of 27 members reported to be women in the current council.⁸⁸ However, membership in the council remains selected and predicated on clan relations; women's groups who seek to provide input into the policymaking process are often still not included, although civil society groups writ large appear to be more engaged in scrutinising and providing input into policymaking.⁸⁹

District Considerations

- Women's groups appear to be uniquely marginalised from providing input into the governance process, possibly because cultural norms and biases against women are particularly prevalent. Short of long-term normative changes, advocating for

women's interests as part of a broader coalition of organisations providing inputs into policymaking may be practical for ensuring that women's perspectives in the district are included.

85 Int. 604, Member of Government; Int. 606, Women's Group; Int. 607, Women's Group.

86 Int.601, Peacebuilding NGO.

87 Int.603, Peace Committee; Int.606, Women's Group.

88 Int.604, Member of Government.

89 Int. 604, Member of Government; Int.606, Women's Group; Int.607, Women's Group.

BANADIR

Encompassing the capital of Somalia, Mogadishu, the Banadir region contains a wealth of civil society and government groups focusing on peacebuilding, social inclusion, and women’s empowerment. Major organisations include Save Somalia Women and Children (SSWC), Somalia Women Development Center (SWDC), Elman Peace and Human Rights Center, SOYDEN, Somali Peace Line, and a range of international NGOs, to name a few. Many are based in the Wadajir district, where many organisations are located due to security reasons and Wadajir’s proximity to Adan Adde International Airport.

While the following sub-sections covering Abdiasis and Warta Nabadda districts will focus on organisations and resources that are based primarily in the districts under study, it is worth noting that community members may be able to engage with organisations from other districts as well to contribute to the region’s overall peace and security and that organisations from other districts may contribute to the following districts as well.

ABDIASIS, MOGADISHU

Relevant Groups and Organisations		
Peacebuilding Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » District Peace Committee » Somali Youth Development Network (SOYDEN) 	Women’s Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Abdiasis District Women’s Association » ‘Hooyooyinka’ Mothers Group 	Other Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » District Council
District Peace Committee gender breakdown: 4 women, 11 men, out of 15 members.		

Abdiasis is a coastal district in Mogadishu afflicted by intermittent explosions, clan and family disputes, as well as a recent uptick in petty crime committed by youth gangs or *ciyal weero*. A diverse set of actors is involved in resolving these issues, including clan elders, peace committees, youth and women’s groups, as well as police and the judiciary.⁹⁰ The descriptions of the conflict resolution process offered by the respondents in this district tended to emphasise the multiple stages and actors involved compared to other districts. For instance, peace committees may be involved in the initial stages of the mitigation upon receiving a complaint. Still, if they are unsuccessful, the case is handed over to the

elders.⁹¹ If elders are unsuccessful in finding a solution, the case is passed on to the police and the district commissioner.⁹² A religious leader we interviewed claimed that:

“The court and the law resolve our disputes. The district has a police station that is dedicated to serving the community. We take things to court if the elders cannot resolve it, and the police are very involved” – Religious Leader, Int. 1906

90 Int. 1905, Member of Government.

91 Int. 1901, Peace Committee Member.

92 Int. 1908, Clan Elder.

Respondents tended to portray women's participation in peacebuilding as equal to men, only admitting that elders primarily carry out direct mitigation when probed. Several of the respondents⁹³ mentioned that women may contribute to mediation during some cases, but the extent of their participation is likely limited to minor conflicts; conflicts involving inter-clan disputes and/or murder remain cases where women are not consulted or invited to contribute to:

“We can participate when neighbourhood fights and mini conflicts happen between the community using our peace committee and civil society, But the one we can't involve as a woman is when a murder happens between two clans, the elder leaders and clan leaders believe that we cannot do anything helpful to solve the conflicts, because we are women.”
- Member of Government, Int. 1905

Women were also said to contribute by raising awareness and concern about potential threats when they see something suspicious, such as

a newcomer to a community.⁹⁴ Finally, several female respondents also highlighted that menial tasks that women do, such as cleaning the streets, also contribute to peacebuilding by increasing overall community well-being and satisfaction.

Security was identified as a key challenge for women's participation in peacebuilding; for instance, attending meetings in the evening was seen as unsafe.⁹⁵ Discrimination during hiring and stereotypes about women's abilities constituted another commonly cited barrier.⁹⁶ Additionally, many positions available to women were voluntary, excluding women who could not work for free.⁹⁷ While the respondents mentioned initiatives encouraging women to participate in government⁹⁸ – indeed, women seem to be decently represented in government, with the district commissioner being a woman – no such programs were reported for promoting women in peacebuilding. Unlike in most other districts, some respondents reported decreased capacity-building opportunities and NGO assistance in recent months.⁹⁹

District Considerations

- The district commissioner of Abdiasis is a woman with a track record of being involved in social work and training young peace messengers. Though her ascension to the commissioner position appears to be somewhat fortuitous, as the position became opened due to the death of the previous holder, the current commissioner is well-regarded among other women respondents. The district council, and the commissioner specifically, may be an important champion for the increased inclusion of women in governance and peacebuilding;
- Given the wealth of women's and peacebuilding groups available in the broader Banadir region, capacity-building and learning exchange opportunities should be created for Abdiasis women leaders and community stakeholders. Collaborative initiatives encompassing multiple districts in Banadir could also be implemented to take advantage of the cross-district mobility of citizens in the region.

93 Int. 1905, Member of Government; Int. 1908, Clan Elder.

94 Int.1902, Peace Committee; Int. 1905, Member of Government.

95 Int.1908, Clan Elder.

96 Int.1901, Peace Committee; Int. 1902, Peace Committee.

97 Int.1905, Member of Government; Int.1907, Member of Government.

98 Int.1902, Peace Committee.

99 Int.1906, Religious Leader.

WARTA NABADDA, MOGADISHU

Relevant Groups and Organisations	
<p>Peacebuilding Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » District Peace Committee » Somali Youth Development Network (SOYDEN) 	<p>Women's Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Warta Nabadda District Women's Association » Warta Nabadda District Youth Association
<p>District Peace Committee gender breakdown: 7 women, 8 men, out of 15 members.</p>	

Warta Nabadda district in Mogadishu benefits from being the most securitised district under study. Its jurisdiction covers the presidential palace and many other important government facilities, which means the security forces maintain a heavy presence in the district. Women's contributions to peacebuilding are often done through the framework of this heavy security infrastructure: women are often expected to be informants to the police and other security actors if they see anything suspicious in their communities.¹⁰⁰

Outside this framework, a select handful of more experienced women community leaders are involved in some dispute resolution cases. One of them provided the following account, highlighting her ability to bring together multiple stakeholders for the peaceful resolution of a dispute before its escalation:

“A family in the district who is from the Jareer Weyne clan imprisoned a young man from the Abgaal clan in their house. They accused him of stealing a cell phone from them, and they tortured him. I and the district division chairman got that information and went to the house where the young boy was imprisoned. We took the family and the accused man to the police station and started resolving the issue to prevent further conflict. We mediated the two sides and finally decided the family should pay for the hospital treatment of the man they tortured. We urged the two families

to forgive each other, and they accepted.” – Women's Group, Int. 2004

However, in other cases, women's role in peacebuilding appears to be limited to minor issues due to the widespread norms among the community that men are inherently more capable (and responsible for their communities) than women are. One respondent explains that even for disputes as simple as two bickering children, there is still a knee-jerk tendency to rely on men to solve the disputes:

“Although sometimes women resolve minor issues between households, 85 per cent of issues between community members are resolved by men. For instance, if two children fight, the first question asked is, who are the fathers of these children to start the resolution process? You know it is our culture that men lead in resolving disputes and conflict among community groups and individuals.” – Peace Committee, Int. 2001

Finally, similar to the case in Abdiasis, several respondents suggest that women's role in community sanitation, including sweeping the streets, can be considered a contribution to peacebuilding, as “you will never see a single man with a broom who is cleaning the street” and contributing to

¹⁰⁰ Int. 2001, Peace Committee; Int. 2004, Women's Group.

overall community satisfaction.¹⁰¹ Indeed, one other respondent suggests that community sanitation, far from a menial task that women take on due to a lack of other opportunities, is sometimes an organised effort by women community members and groups such as the district women's association to contribute to

their community's well-being.¹⁰² In this way, such initiatives should be seen as evidence of how women are organising to contribute to peacebuilding in an otherwise male-dominated space.

District Considerations

- As with Abdiasis, the proximity of Warta Nabadda to other districts in Mogadishu provides opportunities for resource sharing and cross-district initiatives around peacebuilding and women's empowerment;
- The relationship women's groups have with the security forces, including by serving as an early warning system for possible suspicious activity in the community, suggests that relations between some women's groups and the security forces in the district are collaborative. Building off other projects throughout Somalia, such as the Community Action Forums that link community civilian stakeholders with security providers to increase the latter's responsiveness to community needs,¹⁰³ Warta Nabadda might benefit (and become a pilot site) for additional programs that seek to help security

apparatuses become more responsive to women's needs and ideas, particular as the lack of protection is oftentimes cited as a barrier for women's further involvement in peacebuilding. In turn, this collaboration might also help showcase women's tangible contributions to peace and security to other community stakeholders in Warta Nabadda and perhaps beyond;

- Relatedly, a key component of the aforementioned collaborative relationship will be in ensuring that women are not merely acting as informants for the security forces but are also actively consulted on how security forces should respond to the information that was provided, including how to prevent, respond to, and recover from potential violent incidents.

101 Int. 2001, Peace Committee.

102 Int. 2004, Women's Group.

103 Hamse Matan. 2021. "Improving Citizen-State Relationships through Community Action in Somalia." *Saferworld*, December 5. <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/news-and-analysis/post/979-improving-citizenstate-relationships-through-community-action-in-somalia>

HIRSHABELLE

JOWHAR, MIDDLE SHABELLE

Relevant Groups and Organisations	
<p>Peacebuilding Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Sustainable Development and Peacebuilding Initiatives » Somali Peace Line » Shabelle Relief and Development Initiatives » District Peace Committee » Somali Youth Development Network (SOYDEN) 	<p>Women's Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Jowhar Youth Group » Jowhar Women's Group
<p>District Peace Committee gender breakdown: 7 women, 27 men, out of 34 members.</p>	

Located on the banks of the Shabelle River, and the crossroads of major trading routes leading to central and northern Somalia, Jowhar sits strategically in the Middle Shabelle region. Its farmlands are traditionally among the most fertile and lucrative in the country, which further creates powerful incentives for stakeholders, such as the dominant Hawiye–Abgaal clans, to maintain control over institutions in the district. Meanwhile, Jowhar’s strategic location in major transportation corridors may be why Al-Shabaab has been adamant about seizing control over the peripheries of Jowhar, with heavy fighting engulfing the rural areas of the district.¹⁰⁴ In recent months, the SNA has collaborated with Abgaal militia in combatting Al-Shabaab, seizing a host of villages outside Jowhar between October and December 2022.¹⁰⁵

While respondents did not claim that women were involved in peacebuilding regarding Al-Shabaab violence – which is consistent with other districts in Somalia – many claimed that women, along with other community stakeholders such as youth groups and elders, are most actively in

peacebuilding via the DUUBAB/DAWA + platform, which was reportedly initiated by the Danish Demining Group (DDG). Respondents lauded the initiative as something that helped allow women to be more included in peace processes in the district. Moreover, the platform was also said to help women who suffered from violence, such as GBV, come forward to seek help, as some women in the community might be reluctant to approach men on sensitive issues.¹⁰⁶ In this way, one of the contributions of women in visible leadership positions has been to shed light on hitherto underreported problems of violence in the community.

Still, multiple respondents highlight that even with platforms such as that provided by the DDG, there are still noted differences in men’s and women’s methods for peacebuilding, with men taking on more reconciliation and direct conflict management roles. In contrast, women take on awareness-raising roles and provide administrative support to conflict management.¹⁰⁷ Multiple female respondents claimed that women, in general, are not adequately represented in leadership

104 Consilient Research. 2021. “Somalia Security and Justice Design Research: Political Economy Analysis.” *First Call Partners* .36.

105 ACLED 2022.

106 Int. 1002, Peace Committee; Int. 1003, Peace Committee.

107 Int.1008, Women’s Group.

positions in peacebuilding efforts, often due to the belief that women are less capable of handling community affairs than men are.¹⁰⁸ Meanwhile, male respondents seemed optimistic due to recent advances such as the DDG platform. They

felt that women are now well represented,¹⁰⁹ which suggests a disconnect between male and female community stakeholders' perceptions of women's inclusion.

District Considerations

- The FGS' renewed offensive against Al-Shabaab has seen the government encourage and empower local militias to combat the insurgency in both Hirshabelle and Galmudug. While seemingly united by a common enemy, the empowerment of Abgaal militia in an area like Jowhar will likely affect the balance of power, either among Abgaal subclans, such as the Mohamed Muse and Warasnageli, or in comparison to other Hawiye clans, such as the Galjecel and Hawaadle.¹¹⁰ The potential for this to lead to tensions or conflicts, as well as how these dynamics affect women or can be mitigated by women peacemakers, should be carefully monitored;
- The disconnect between male and female respondents' assessment of women's inclusion level is stark in this district. To further increase women's participation in peacebuilding and civic life, targeted dialogues involving male and female stakeholders may help set common expectations for what inclusion looks like and potential ways forward to achieve this goal;
- The frequency with which respondents mentioned the DDG-initiated platform indicates that the initiative has played a significant role in peacebuilding and social inclusion in the district. However, overreliance on external programs and funding streams should be avoided. Due attention should be paid to implementing a sustainability strategy to empower stakeholders involved in this platform (and its potential successors) to continue the work and build the capacity of others to do the same upon the program's completion.

WARSHEIKH, MIDDLE SHABELLE

Relevant Groups and Organisations		
Peacebuilding Groups » Somali Youth Development Network (SOYDEN)	Women's Groups » Warsheikh Educated Women's Network » Warsheikh District Women's Group	Other Relevant Groups » District Council

Warsheikh is perhaps among the safest districts in this mapping study, if not the safest. The district is entirely accessible to government officials,

demonstrates a high-level of social cohesion owing to the majority of residents being part of the same Hawiye–Abgaal clan,¹¹¹ and, over the past

108 Int.1002, Peace Committee; Int. 1003, Peace Committee; Int. 1005, Women's Group.

109 Int.1001, Religious Leader; Int. 1004, Clan Elder.

110 Consilient Research, *Political Economy Analysis*, 38.

111 Juuso Miettunen. 2020. "District Council Formation: Lessons Learned Study." Somalia Stability Fund. 27.

two years, has not registered a single Al-Shabaab attack.¹¹² Due to these factors, Warsheikh's district council formation was among the earliest to be completed.

Partly because of its stability, activities surrounding conflict resolution in the district have not been a mainstay among community stakeholders; where they occurred, these are usually the purview of clan elders, and women's roles in this effort are minimal, as reflected in the experiences of our respondents, among whom only male respondents had regularly been involved in dispute resolution.¹¹³ Instead, in the lead up to district council formation and after, significant effort was placed on general social cohesion initiatives that sought to improve community relations and sensitise community members on the need to engage with all segments of society in the governance process. Women leaders have been more actively involved in such initiatives, primarily in raising awareness through poetry and other communication strategies.¹¹⁴

In terms of governance, there appears to be an improvement in the number of women holding office in government since the creation of the district council, with the commissioner being a woman whom respondents cite as an example of progress. One respondent argues that the most significant way women can contribute to peacebuilding is by serving in government and enacting policies that better their communities.¹¹⁵ Nonetheless, it is important to note that women's representation in government departments remains low despite a few high-profile cases in the district council. Moreover, respondents largely claimed that they have not heard of women's groups or other non-governmental organisations being consulted on policymaking by the district council, suggesting that there are few avenues for influencing important governance decisions outside of holding office, which is a limited opportunity for women.¹¹⁶

District Considerations

- The stability found in Warsheikh, while certainly an enabler of social inclusion initiatives such as the district council, may ironically also mean that the existing clan elder system can handle the sporadic conflicts that occur, and there are fewer cases beyond conflict prevention and the handling of occasional minor disputes where women can demonstrate their contributions to community peace and security. In this regard, emphasising women's contributions to governance and enacting policies that improve community welfare may be a more pragmatic strategy to sensitise the community on the value of women's participation in civic life;
- While the relatively smooth district council formation process can be regarded as a successful initiative, including non-government voices in decision-making can still be improved. Strengthening the council's ability to engage with a wide range of stakeholders should be a priority to increase women's inclusion further;
- Al-Shabaab's absence in Warsheikh has been vital to the district's stability. However, the SNA's alliance with Abgaal and Ma'awiisley (mostly Hawaadle) militias elsewhere in Hirshabelle should be closely monitored, as it might empower some groups at the expense of others, which in turn might have ripple effects in Warsheikh, even if the district has not traditionally been a hotspot for power contestation among clans.

112 ACLED 2022.

113 Int.1103, Religious Leader; Int.1104, Clan Elder.

114 Int.1102, Women's Group; Int.1103, Religious Leader; Int.1105, Member of Government; Int.1108, Peace Committee.

115 Int.1108, Peace Committee.

116 Int.1101, Women's Group; Int.1103, Religious Leader; Int.1104, Clan Elder; Int.1108, Peace Committee.

BELEDWEYNE, HIRAAN

Relevant Groups and Organisations

Peacebuilding Groups

- » Danish Demining Group
- » HALO Trust
- » Somali Peace Line
- » District Peace Committee
- » Somali Youth Development Network (SOYDEN)

Women's Groups

- » Humanitarian Integrate of Women Action (HIWA)
- » Hiraan Women Network

District Peace Committee gender breakdown: 0 women, 16 men, out of 16 members (committee is inactive).

The capital of the Hiraan region, Beledweyne occupies a strategic location by the Shabelle River, near the Ethiopian border, and is located on the major road linking Mogadishu to central and north-central Somalia and linking Mogadishu to the Somali regions of Ethiopia. The district hosts a multitude of clans – of which the Hawaadle is the most powerful - who compete for political positions at both the local and regional levels. Competition over natural resources is also rampant, with disputes over land and land-based resources such as wells and water sources frequently escalating clashes between farmers and pastoralists in the district's villages. Tensions between the Dir and Hawaadle clans frequently escalate into an armed conflict outside the city.¹¹⁷ The district faces a perennial threat from Al-Shabaab, particularly on the city's west side and in villages located south of the town, such as Ceel-Cali, Caaqibooy, Booco, and Buq. The insurgent group's closest base, Luuq-Jeelow, is 15km southwest of Beledweyne.

The fierce competition over resources has meant that control over local government positions is highly sought after. Indeed, the competition for power at the local level has stymied previous attempts to form a district council in the district, with government respondents admitting that clan affiliation is very important in securing government positions. As clan representation

is still deemed highly important in the district administration, women are often not considered for such positions due to clan norms that heavily favour the perspective and voices of men. However, the current mayor of Beledweyne, Nadar Tabah, is a woman. Moreover, government officials rarely engage with civil society or other non-governmental groups during policymaking, as two members of the government admit:

“No, there are no organisations that discuss the new rules issued by the government or present a better rule.” – Member of Government, Int. 906
“There are no civil society organisations that challenge the government's laws or present better rules than the government's.” – Member of Government, Int. 907

Similar exclusionary dynamics are prevalent throughout the district's various peacebuilding mechanisms. Like so many other districts in Somalia, complex conflicts involving death or physical violence are usually left to clan elders to mediate. At the same time, women are mostly asked to support ongoing clan elder dispute resolution mechanisms, such as by preparing the venues or through preventive peacebuilding work through awareness campaigns.¹¹⁸ One possible exception

117 Consilient Research, *Political Economy Analysis*, 47 – 50.

118 Int.902, Women's Group; Int.905, Women's Group; Int.907, Member of Government; Int.908, Religious Leader.

would be conflicts in which the disputing parties are women: such cases may be one conflict type which women peacebuilders are considered (by

male stakeholders) uniquely well-equipped to handle.¹¹⁹

District Considerations

- The SNA's alliance with Abgaal and Ma'awiisley (mostly Hawaadle) militias elsewhere in Hirshabelle should be closely monitored, especially given that the Hawaadle and Abgaal, both members of the Hawiye family, have at times competed for power in Hirshabelle state. Empowering clan militias in this manner may have ripple effects that can also affect the security situation in Beledweyne and its environs, especially since Beledweyne is already prone to conflict among clans;
- Our district mapping exercise indicates that while the district has a 16-person peace committee formed between 2014 and

2015, it is no longer active in peacebuilding. However, the composition includes NGOs, elders, and businesses, with several women committee members also being business leaders. While a more in-depth mapping of stakeholders will be needed to confirm the extent of business involvement, it may suggest that business leaders know peace and stability are prerequisites for increased commercial activity in the district. This may create opportunities for collaboration with business leaders, especially women leaders, by creating local funding streams for social inclusion initiatives.

119 Int.901, Clan Elder.

GALMUDUG

DHUSAMAREB, GALGADUUD

Relevant Groups and Organisations		
Peacebuilding Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » District Peace Committee » Somali Youth Development Network (SOYDEN) 	Women's Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Elman Peace and Human Rights Center » Galmudug Peace and Human Rights » Towfiiq Umbrella Organisation » Ururka Damqasho » Ururka Gargaar » Development Union for Women » Farhan Peace Leaders » Dhusamareb Women Association 	Other Relevant Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » UN JPLG » Ministry of Interior, Local Government, and Reconciliation » Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development
District Peace Committee gender breakdown: 2 women, 5 men, out of 7 members.		

The capital of Galmudug state has seen an uptick in women's peacebuilding involvement in recent years in response to the various conflict dynamics affecting the district. Throughout 2021 and 2022, SNA forces sporadically clashed with the Sufi Islamist militia, Ahlu Sunna Wal Jama'a (ASWJ), throughout Dhusamareb district, including in Balli Birey, Guri Ceel, and Dhusamareb town itself.¹²⁰ Once nominally allied with the FGS and FMS, ASWJ had entered into a power-sharing arrangement with the Galmudug government and thus integrated its military and political apparatus into the state before being ousted from power in the aftermath of the 2019 Galmudug elections.¹²¹ Underpinning the uneasy alliance

between the government and ASWJ forces had been the need to combat Al-Shabaab, which has continued to maintain a sizable presence in Galmudug and launched attacks in Dhusamareb district. However, the group's strongholds are to the east, along the coastal areas of Galmudug.

Dhusamareb's dominant clans, the Hawiye – Habar Gedir – Ayr subclans of Ayanle, Absiye, and Yabar-Dhowrakace, are said to maintain largely cordial relations and collaborate well in co-governing the district with other major clans, chiefly the Habar Gedir – Sacad and Habar Gedir – Saleban, as well as the Hawiye – Duduble.¹²² While other districts in Galmudug, such as Abudwak and

120 Abdi Sheikh. 2021. "Dozens Killed In Fighting Between Somalia Army and Former Allied Group." *Reuters*, October 24. <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/dozens-killed-fighting-between-somalia-army-former-allied-group-2021-10-24/>; Hiraan Online. 2022. "Heavy Fighting Between Sufi Militia and Galmudug Security Forces Erupts in Central Somalia." *Hiraan Online*. May 13, https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/May/186179/heavy_fighting_between_sufi_militia_and_galmudug_security_forces_erupts_in_central_somalia.aspx

121 Ibrahim Mukthar, and M.S. Ahmed. 2021. "How should Galmudug state deal with the resurgence of Sufi militias?" *Hiraan Online*, November 20. https://www.hiiraan.com/op4/2021/nov/184606/how_should_galmudug_state_deal_with_the_resurgence_of_sufi_militias.aspx

122 Consilient Research. 2021. "Election Risk Assessment: Galmudug State." *Somalia Stability Fund*. 68.

Balanbale, tend to be more volatile flashpoints for clan conflict, Dhusamareb also experiences sporadic conflicts between Habar Gedir and Darood – Marehan – Wagardhac, including as recently as November 2022 in Bali Cad village.¹²³

Against this backdrop, women’s groups have strived to contribute to peacebuilding in the district. One chief area in which women’s groups have been involved is the attempts to mediate conflicts between ASWJ and the FMS government; because ASWJ had at one point been integrated into state government, it is said to still command some support among citizens even after its ouster. One respondent noted that in this regard, women representatives from government ministries, such as the Galmudug Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development, have played a key role in mediating between women supporters of ASWJ and the state government. However, the effectiveness of government representatives as mediators remains to be determined.¹²⁴

In other cases, women have taken on leading roles in initiating conflict resolution and prevention initiatives in the district. Groups such as the Elman Peace and Human Rights Center and the Dhusamareb Women’s Association have travelled to nearby villages outside Dhusamareb town to initiate separate meetings with conflicting clan parties before calling on clan elders and government officials for support in joint mediation meetings.¹²⁵ Women activists have also launched a number of awareness-raising campaigns through strategic communications, such as waving white and green flags in public settings and using poetry containing peace messages.¹²⁶ One respondent even claimed that women groups’ strategies have been “smart” and “professional” innovations compared to the strategies men use, which rely primarily on social coercion, traditional *xeer* norms, and the threat of force, given that various clans still maintain militias in the district.¹²⁷

At the same time, respondents note that there is still some level of exclusion experienced by women peacemakers and leaders, with one respondent stating that “the last decision and agreement in peace resolutions [is where women are excluded] because women are not allowed to be part of the conclusion of conflict resolutions.”¹²⁸ Another notes that “women were responsible for 80 per cent of the peacebuilding process while men did 20 per cent. For example, women start the process first, and men complete it.”¹²⁹ In this regard, while women and women’s groups can contribute substantially to peace efforts in the district, their contributions have mainly been their convening power in bringing multiple stakeholders to the table to find peaceful solutions to disputes. However, outcomes and agreements remain primarily the purview of male community leaders, especially clan elders and government officials. As in many other districts in the study, much of this is caused by cultural norms prioritising the agency of male community leaders, as well as the belief that women are less able to participate in the more complex aspects of peacebuilding because they tend to have less education and experience than men in civic affairs.

Respondents felt that women’s voices tend to be excluded from government decision-making processes.¹³⁰ The primary impetus behind district administration and government appointments has been maintaining inter-clan parity in power (among majority clans) rather than the social inclusion of marginalised groups. However, the district council formation process is underway in Dhusamareb: respondents tended to be neither pessimistic nor optimistic about this process, simply stating that it is too early to tell whether the upcoming reforms will elevate women’s abilities to engage in decision-making in substantial ways.

123 ACLED, 2022.

124 Int. 1304, Member of Government.

125 Int. 1302, Women’s Group; Int. 1303, Member of Government; Int. 1308, Peace Committee Member.

126 Int. 1302, Women’s Group; Int. 1303, Member of Government.

127 Int. 1305, Religious Elder.

128 Int.1308, Peace Committee.

129 Int. 1304, Member of Government.

130 Int. 1304, Member of Government; Int.1307, Women’s Group.

District Considerations

- With the district council formation underway, there is a window of opportunity for women's groups and activists to help shape what the council will look like and some of its initiatives. This opportunity should be leveraged to begin initiating relevant programs that can help recognise and deepen women's roles in peacebuilding and government decision-making;
- There is already a robust network of women's peacebuilders, and women's inclusion in peacebuilding groups has been well documented throughout interviews with Dhusamareb respondents. To the extent that they remain excluded from final decision-making fora, capacity-building programs could add focus on the 'final' phases of mediation and peacebuilding, where mediators may need more advanced technical knowledge on how to help conflicting parties find mutually acceptable solutions for various disputes, such as those related to land and borehole access. While it is unclear what the level of knowledge among women peacebuilders is in this regard, the presence of additional programs focusing on this aspect of peacebuilding may nonetheless help dispel stereotypes regarding women's abilities to handle all phases and aspects of peacebuilding and may, therefore, help increase women's inclusion therein;
- Due attention should be paid to the relationship between the current government of Galmudug, led by FMS president Ahmed Abdi Karie' Qoor Qoor,' and the federal government. Under the previous presidency, Qoor Qoor and Farmaajo had been noted to be allies, but the change in the federal presidency might change the FGS -FMS relationship. This could have implications for peace and security in Galmudug given that SNA forces from the federal government continue to maintain a substantial presence in the FMS, and challenges in coordinating the use of security forces may create opportunities which Al-Shabaab can exploit;
- The Sheikh Moahamoud federal presidency has initiated a renewed offensive against Al-Shabaab throughout the country, including in Galmudug, by encouraging vigilante 'Ma'awisley' militias to take up arms against the insurgent group.¹³¹ How the empowerment of such militias affects local level conflicts not involving Al-Shabaab, including inter-clan conflicts, is yet to be determined. Though these militias appear to be more active in southern parts of Galmudug, such as El Gorof and Wabho towns some 100 km south of Dhusamareb, due attention should be paid to whether more such militias might emerge elsewhere in Galmudug and the implications thereof for peacebuilding efforts by community leaders.

¹³¹ Reuters. 2022. "Somalia Army, Allied Militia kill 20 Al Shabaab Fighters in Latest Offensive." *Reuters*, November 10. <https://www.reuters.com/article/somalia-security-idAFKBN2RZ20Q>

CADAADO, GALGAGUUD

Relevant Groups and Organisations		
<p>Peacebuilding Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » District Peace Committee » Somali Youth Development Network (SOYDEN) 	<p>Women’s Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Cadaado Women Association » Save Somali Women and Children (SSWC) » Cadaado Female Youth Association » Hibo Women and Development Center (HWDC) » Youth Empowering Council (YECO) 	<p>Other Relevant Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » District Council » UN JPLG
<p>District Peace Committee gender breakdown: 6 women, 9 men, out of 15 members.</p>		

In many ways, the situation in Cadaado mirrors that in Dhusamareb, albeit without the conflicts caused by the ASWJ and government rift seen in the latter. Al-Shabaab continues to maintain operational capacity in the area, frequently attacking targets in the district. Moreover, clan conflicts remain relevant, with the Ayr, Saleban, Sacad, and Marehan clan militias all involved in conflict with one or more of the other major clans in the area, usually over land and water use rights.

Various women’s groups have taken leading roles in peacebuilding initiatives in the district: like in Dhusamareb, they often take on roles in convening various stakeholders involved in a conflict. The following anecdotes from a female member of government, who also serves as a member of the Cadaado Women’s Association, describe some of the initiatives that women leaders have implemented in the district:

Yes, a few years ago, the Sacad and Saleebaan Clans fought, and they killed hundreds of civilians and armed individuals. We travelled to Bandiiradleey village while women groups from Gaalkacyo came to support us in solving

the conflict. Finally, with our support, women groups from the Sacad clan mediated the armies of the two clans fighting in villages between the Cadaado and Gaalkacyo districts and other Saleban–Sacad conflicts.

In another case, women’s groups from the Balanbale, Caabudwaaq, and Cadaado districts met and hosted the representatives of the conflicting clans. The women groups mediated the conflicts between the clans. We took critical steps such as hosting and inviting the clan elders to the tree to discuss the clans’ challenges and to figure out possible ways to create a peaceful environment – Member of Government, Int. 1202

Unlike in Dhusamareb, however, respondents appeared more optimistic about women groups’ abilities to be involved in peacebuilding initiatives at all phases rather than at the convening or initial phases. Moreover, while some respondents acknowledged that the district council in Cadaado is far from perfect, and the voices of women and other civil society groups remain excluded from final decisions, there are few challenges for groups to engage with local government and

provide input into decision-making.¹³² Caution should be exercised in interpreting these results, as response biases might be responsible for these

findings rather than objective differences in the situation in Cadaado compared to Dhusamareb.¹³³

District Considerations

- A more in-depth study and exercise in finding 'lessons learned' can be initiated in Cadaado to understand better strategies which women's peacebuilders and groups have employed in the district to be more involved in peacebuilding and governance, as well as the incentives and considerations of other actors, such as clan elders and district council members, in choosing to allow women to be actively involved, as compared to a district such as Dhusamareb. These lessons learned could also be documented and disseminated in Somali to other groups in the region facing similar circumstances;
- As with Dhusamareb, due attention should be paid to the FMS – FGS relationship in light of the change in the federal administration, as well as the potential proliferation of militias which the federal government has empowered against Al-Shabaab.

SOUTH GALKACYO, MUDUG

Relevant Groups and Organisations	
<p>Peacebuilding Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Somalia Aid and Humanitarian Organisation (SAHO) » Mudug Peace Organisation » Peace and Reconciliation Committee » Finn Church Aid 	<p>Women's Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » The WISE Organisation » Galkacyo Education Center for Peace and Development » Galkacyo Women's Peace Committee

Before calming tensions between the conflicting sides, the conflict in Galkacyo, a microcosm of the dispute between Galmudug and Puntland states over the Mudug region, had been the major source of non Al-Shabaab conflict. While the initial ceasefire deal signed in 2015 was intermittently violated in the following years, the conflict appears to have deescalated substantially. The chief security threat in the southern part of the city is primarily Al-Shabaab, which continues to launch bombings and targeted assassinations in the city. In addition, clan conflicts remain frequent in the district, with multiple clans having militias that have

clashed sporadically over control of checkpoints (and therefore checkpoint revenues) and land.

The evolving nature of conflict dynamics in the district also appears to have led to a regression in women's involvement in peacebuilding. At the height of the Galmudug – Puntland conflict, women's groups were actively involved in cross-border peacebuilding activities. One women's group representative provided the following account of her involvement in peacebuilding:

132 Int. 1203, Peace Committee; Int. 1206, Peacebuilding NGO.

133 It is possible that Cadaado respondents were more optimistic than those in Dhusamareb when answering these topics, unwilling to provide 'negative' answers that might imply criticism towards other members of Cadaado communities, or that respondents' frame of reference for an adequate level of inclusion was lower than those in Dhusamareb. A more in-depth study would be needed to highlight the situation more conclusively in Cadaado, though the preliminary findings in this report suggest that there may be useful lessons to be learned from women's groups' engagement in the district.

My main role was the establishment of the peace and socialisation committee. I was born in Galkayo, which had many clan conflicts. We thought of bringing youth together from both Mudug and Puntland. I brought three men from Puntland, and we always met in Puntland. The organisation comprised six people, three from each side, then later on, we included business people and religious leaders from both sides. The governments supported us. The youth took an active part in stopping conflicts, and some became disabled in that process. Nonetheless, they worked together, and the organisation developed. The communities are now socialising and living in harmony. - Women's Group, Int.

1408

Other research on the Galkacyo conflict argued that women played a unique role during the conflict. Through inter-marriage between clans, women could be connected to multiple actors in a conflict and thus serve as bridges between them. Moreover, the stereotype that women were not involved directly in the conflict and were, therefore, less threatening, regardless of the empirical validity of the claim, led many to scrutinise women's movements less heavily than men's, allowing women peacemakers greater freedom in travelling across borders in support of peacebuilding initiatives.¹³⁴

However, since stabilising the Puntland – Galmudug conflict, women's roles in peacebuilding within

District Considerations

- Given the explicit grievances which respondents voiced on the unequal distribution of existing resources in support

South Galkacyo may have been somewhat underappreciated despite their prior contributions. More than half of respondents explicitly claimed that women are not sufficiently allowed to be involved in peacebuilding, much less take on leadership positions in peacebuilding initiatives.¹³⁵ While their involvement is not completely absent, respondents claimed that existing NGOs and other government and non-governmental funding mechanisms more often prefer allocating resources, such as transportation, to male community members, especially clan elders.¹³⁶

Often, women peacemakers are required to assert and organise themselves without the assistance of existing initiatives; “when there is a reconciliation meeting, only three women participate while 300 men participate because women are not involved in the reconciliation processes. The women sometimes organise themselves, make contributions and responses for the victims and their families [on their own].”¹³⁷ Other ways in which women have launched their initiatives include “peace protests”, where women activists speak in public or on the radio to relay messages of peace or encourage other women to bring peace messages into the household for their husbands and sons to hear, under the assumption that men are often the inciters of conflict.¹³⁸ A peacebuilding NGO representative admits that while women in the district are doing an admirable job in peacebuilding, they are largely volunteers without adequate resource backing.¹³⁹

of peacebuilding, a review of ongoing and past peacebuilding initiatives undertaken by NGOs and government bodies should

134 Interpeace and Peace and Development Research Center. N.d. “Galkacyo Conflict Assessment: December 2016 – March 2017.” Interpeace and PDRC. 25.

135 Int. 1403, Member of Government; Int. 1404, Member of Government; Int.1406, Women's Group; Int.1407, Women's Group; Int. 1408, Women's Group.

136 Int. 1404, Member of Government.

137 Int. 1403, Member of Government.

138 Int. 1407, Women's Group.

139 Int. 1405, Peacebuilding NGO.

be conducted, with an eye towards where women were not adequately included in peace processes, the rationale behind this, and how future initiatives might be improved to better support women's groups. Program implementers should encourage cross-organisation coordination in identifying such gaps and potential remedies;

- Relatedly, a more in-depth stakeholder mapping exercise of active women's groups during the Puntland – Galmudug conflict and the extent to which these networks can be re-activated should be undertaken. The

data collected under this study suggests that some women who were active in peacebuilding then remain active now, which means that additional support towards these groups could help increase recognition of their valuable contributions to the district;

- As with the other districts in Galmudug, continued monitoring of the increased participation of militias against Al-Shabaa and potential changes in the Galmudug – Puntland – FGS trilateral relationship, especially with Puntland scheduled for elections in 2023.

PUNTLAND

NORTH GALKACYO, MUDUG

Relevant Groups and Organisations	
<p>Peacebuilding Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » District Peace Committee » Dhalinyaro Youth Organisation 	<p>Women's Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Galkacyo Social Work Association » Galkacyo Education Center for Peace and Development » Female Teachers Association » Puntland Minority Women Development Organisation » Hooyooyin Mothers Organisation » Haweeney Womanhood Organisation

North Galkacyo's security dynamics are inevitably tied to its southern neighbour, which the Galmudug state has effectively governed. However, the Al-Shabaab threat in North Galkacyo appears less salient than in South Galkacyo. Instead, sporadic incidents of clan conflicts remain, as many clans still maintain active militias, including the Darood – Majarteen – Cumar Mohamoud, the primary clan in the district. As in South Galkacyo, women's peacebuilders played a pivotal role in mitigating conflicts across the border, with one respondent echoing the sentiment that women tend to be afforded more freedoms in movements than men, hence making them more effective peacebuilders during the conflict:

“Women work for peace in two ways. For example, when something happens somewhere, women are the only ones who can go there, [...] then they do awareness-raising and are more active in it than men. Also, women held meetings with elders, administration, and clans. Women are

stronger at dealing with those issues because they have access to go battlefields.” – Member of Government, Int. 1805

While organisations such as Hooyooyin and Haweeney are said to be active in contributing to peacebuilding, North Galkacyo also experiences the same problem of women often being relegated into smaller conflict resolution roles, rarely given leadership positions, and largely responsible for preventive and/or awareness-raising initiatives, despite their tangible contributions at the height of the cross-border conflict.¹⁴⁰ While somewhat dated, the table below adds additional data from Puntland to reinforce this point further. The study draws its sample of women activists from Galkacyo, Bosaso, and Garowe, which suggests that the below may also apply to other districts in Puntland, to be discussed in the coming sections.¹⁴¹ In asking women activists how they would rate women's involvement (between very low and very high) in a range of different peace-related

¹⁴⁰ Int. 1802, Women's Group; Int. 1804, Religious Leader; Int. 1805, Member of Government; Int. 1806, Member of Government; Int. 1808, Peace Committee.

¹⁴¹ Though it may be possible that disaggregating the data by district might lead one or more of the aforementioned districts to have different trends. The cited study did not publish the dataset used to make these measurements, which renders additional exploration for this report's research team not possible.

initiatives, respondents tended to claim that women had higher levels of involvement in peace and civic education, contributing to the early detection of potential conflicts, and partaking in dialogues around conflict issues. However, all

respondents claimed that women's involvement in formal negotiations to end conflict or prevent the occurrence of conflicts, as well as monitoring peace agreements, were either very low or low.

TABLE 2:
Puntland women's assessment of women's level of participation in various peace-related activities (n=78). Recreated from Ibrahim, 2016.¹⁴²

	Peace and Civic Education	Early Warning Systems	Community/ National Dialogue	Community/ National Negotiations	Monitoring Peace and Security
Very Low	39 (50%)	19 (24%)	46 (59%)	48 (62%)	63 (81%)
Low	25 (32%)	5 (6%)	21 (27%)	30 (38%)	15 (19%)
Neutral	14 (18%)	0%	11 (14%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
High	0 (0%)	54 (70%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Very High	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Respondents were also divided in how inclusive government decision-making is of women's voices, with government representatives claiming that despite many positions in government being allocated primarily by clan consideration, the district administration does engage and consult with civil society groups.¹⁴³ Women's groups, however,

argue that this is largely not the case.¹⁴⁴ Overall, this suggests that while the local administration has been willing to undertake consultations, few, if any, have led to tangible policies reflecting women's groups' priorities.

District Considerations

- A more in-depth stakeholder mapping exercise of women's groups that were active during the Puntland – Galmudug conflict and the extent to which these networks can be re-activated, should be undertaken to empower these networks to take on peacebuilding and civic engagement initiatives in the future.
- Similar to South Galkacyo, potential changes in the Galmudug – Puntland – FGS trilateral relationship, especially with Puntland scheduled for elections in 2023, should be carefully monitored, as it may have a bearing on the stability of the current Galmudug – Puntland ceasefire.

¹⁴² Dahir Mohamoud Ibrahim. 2016. "Women and Youth Participation in Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding in Puntland," *Kampala International University*, 46.

¹⁴³ Int. 1805, Member of Government; Int. 1806, Member of Government.

¹⁴⁴ Int. 1801, Women's Group; Int. 1802, Women's Group.

GAROWE, NUGAL

Relevant Groups and Organisations		
Peacebuilding Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » District Peace Committee » Kaalo Aid and Development » Diakonia » “Midnimo” Organisation » Somali Youth Development Network (SOYDEN) » Puntland Development Research Center 	Women’s Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Samafol Development Organisation » Somalia Minority Women and Children Organisation » Somalia Women Vision » Daryeel Voluntary Women Organisation 	Other Relevant Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs
District Peace Committee gender breakdown: 7 women, 11 men, out of 18 members.		

The capital of Puntland has the benefit of being one of the districts that is largely free from Al-Shabaab attacks, with no recorded incidents of Al-Shabaab attacks over the previous two years.¹⁴⁵ However, clan conflicts remain rife in the district, as multiple clans from the Darod family still maintain militias that have clashed in the past two years, including various groups within the Majarteen – Isse Mohamoud and the Harti – Dhulbahante. An outbreak of conflicts in the Seexmeygaag and Sangejebiye villages in the Sool and Sanaag regions,¹⁴⁶ over which Puntland and Somaliland both claim sovereignty, is often cited by respondents as a major security concern for Puntland in general and Garowe as its capital, though more frequent clan militia targeting of civilians or other clan militia can also be observed in Garowe district itself.

Like their peers in the North Galkacyo, women peacebuilders and community leaders in Garowe are restricted in their involvement in security and conflict in the district despite a relatively robust peacebuilding and women’s empowerment landscape, with multiple organisations identified in our research. Like many other districts, clan preference towards male elders as the primary leaders in community affairs has significant

consequences for women seeking to be more active in peace and security issues. In the case of Garowe, one respondent explains that community disputes that involve the exchange of assets, which could be interpreted as both disputes involving commerce and the compensation typically made by an offending party when a case is brought to a clan elder council, are also areas where women are not even allowed to participate in the peacemaking process.

Yes, women’s voices have a far-reaching effect on the entire community. Women are raising awareness of community issues 24/7. But men are the final decision-makers. Women usually participate in peace activities, but men make final decisions. However, women cannot participate when assets are exchanged. – Women’s Group, Int. 1701

Women’s inclusion in local governance appears to be one area where Garowe outperforms many other districts in this study, as women are reported to hold managerial, even director-level, positions within local government, and there is a near equal

¹⁴⁵ ACLED 2022.

¹⁴⁶ Radio Dalsan. 2022. “Somalia: Puntland Vice President Visits Sangejebiye and Saaxmeygaag Villages to Resolve Clan Fighting.” *All Africa*, January 4, <https://allafrica.com/stories/202201040140.html>

balance of women and men in government.¹⁴⁷ However, serious challenges remain, as women members of government may still be sidelined in key initiatives and decisions. One peace committee member recounted her experience in hosting a training session with members of the local government:

“I tried to conduct training for the district council. Women councillors never attended, and when I asked why, I was told that they were preparing tea and there was no need for them to attend, so I stopped the training.”

District Considerations

- While the rollout of one-person-one-vote (1P1V) systems throughout Puntland has been stalled, with only three districts to date successfully piloting this model of local elections, there is still potential for further advances in inclusive governance to be made, even if they fall short of the 1P1V ideal. As Garowe is the seat of the FMS government, women groups from and in Garowe could play an essential role in

Those who do not know usually demotivate women. A man with good manners, who is educated, normally motivates women.” – Peace Committee Member, Int. 1706

It is important to note that clan considerations remain a major driving force in obtaining government positions, wherein women from the major Darod sub-clans would be more likely to get government positions. Moreover, non-government women’s voices, such as those coming from civil society, tend to be ignored by local government.¹⁴⁸

advocating for more inclusive processes for winning seats in government throughout the FMS. Program implementers should consider strengthening the linkages between different women’s groups and networks in various districts in Puntland to coordinate their advocacy strategies and set common priorities to pursue when engaging with the FMS government.

EYL, NUGAL

Relevant Groups and Organisations	
<p>Peacebuilding Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » District Peace and Security Committee » District Dispute Resolution Committee 	<p>Women’s Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Eyl Women’s Association » Eyl Women’s Peace Association

The coastal district of Eyl differs from the other districts under study in that Eyl, along with Ufeyn and Qardho, were the first districts in Somalia over the past five decades to have held 1P1V votes for local government. As a pilot for broader elections in the rest of Puntland, the successful election of women government members in Eyl is heralded by respondents as a positive sign of

progress. However, additional work remains, as only six out of 27 local council seats in Eyl are occupied by women.

Underpinning the choice of Eyl as a pilot site for 1P1V is likely the fact that inter-clan conflict in Eyl is rare. Similarly, Eyl is also spared from Al-Shabaab attacks. These are reflected in Eyl only registering a single incident of violent

147 Garowe District Mapping.

148 Int. 1702, Women’s Group; Int.1704, Member of Government.

conflict in the past two years.¹⁴⁹ The fact that the major clans in Eyl are all sub-groups of the Darod–Majarteen may have also helped increase the district’s internal social cohesion. However, conflicts between Majarteen sub-groups have been noted elsewhere in Puntland. At the same time, the stability and relatively strong social cohesion in Eyl also means that peacebuilding programs and women’s participation in them are rare compared to other districts. Indeed, many respondents from Eyl had only been involved in minor conflict resolution, including domestic disputes.¹⁵⁰ The district boasts a Peace and Security Committee and a Dispute Resolution Committee comprising nearly 50 per cent women, but our research did not find additional dedicated peacebuilding or women’s groups. Nevertheless, in the rare occasions where conflict resolution at the community level was needed, respondents still believed that women would be excluded from such processes and may have to rely on their resources:

“Women’s participation/inclusion is based on their efforts - many women start peacebuilding activities from their homes for lack of a better space / wider support system from the community”
– Women’s Group, Int. 1602

“Men and women are not equal in peacekeeping, with women conducting administrative work such as finding/arranging meeting places and men carrying out conflict resolution.” – Peace Committee, Int. 1604

On the other hand, as a result of the local elections, respondents were amongst the most optimistic respondents of our sample in assessing whether non-government organisations or voices can meaningfully provide input into the policymaking process. Specifically, the inclusion of more women into the district council is said to have encouraged more women from outside government to voice their opinions on government policies, as the women elected to the council appear to be receptive to community input.¹⁵¹

District Considerations

- As the security situation in Eyl is stable, more programmatic emphasis can be placed on women’s involvement in civic life and governance. In particular, working with the women incumbents in local government to provide additional channels for community/ women’s voices to be represented in government may be the most pragmatic strategy, as the current members will have incentives to continue maintaining community support – a vital political resource under the new IPIV system;
- As women are sometimes valued as messengers of peace, there may be

opportunities for women peacebuilders from Eyl to help spread messages of inter-group collaboration to clan kin elsewhere in Puntland (and Mudug region) and provide examples from Eyl, based on their experiences helping with dispute resolution and conflict prevention/management in Eyl. The high level of social cohesion in the district and the launch of a IPIV election may help ensure that conflicting parties see messages of peace as credible and, more importantly, plausible.

149 ACLED 2022.

150 Int.1601, Women’s Group; Int. 1602, Women’s Group; Int. 1603, Member of Government.

151 Int. 1607. Member of Government.

BOSASO, BARI

Relevant Groups and Organisations		
<p>Peacebuilding Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Kaalo Aid and Development » Puntland Youth and Social Development Association (PSA) 	<p>Women’s Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Puntland Minority Women and Development Organisation (PMWDO) » Bari Region Mothers Association 	<p>Other Relevnat Groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Ministry of Women Development and Family Affairs »

Al-Shabaab attacks against Bosaso happen frequently, especially given the group’s presence in villages on the outskirts of the port city, in the extended Golis Mountain range. In addition, while a tense peace has prevailed mainly between Puntland and the self-declared autonomous republic of Somaliland over the Sool and Sanaag regions, occasional outbreaks of conflicts have been noted. However, over the past year, a major conflict driver has been the rivalries between various actors in Puntland’s political stage, which has led to clashes between the Puntland Security Forces (PSF) and the Puntland Maritime Police Forces (PMPF). The rivalry between PSF commander Mohamud Osman Diyano and Puntland President Said Abdullahi Deni led forces loyal to each party to take up arms in a series of violent clashes, including over whether to welcome delegates from the FGS, with whom the Deni administration had had a frosty relationship. The sentiment among the PSF is that the Deni administration was interfering unnecessarily in the PSF, who play a major role in combatting Al-Shabaab elements in the region; indeed, Deni’s sacking of Diyano before reinstating him as commander was the initial spark that triggered this round of conflict. Ongoing speculation on Deni’s possible extension of his presidential term in 2023 may, in turn, continue to fuel tensions with political rivals, potentially sparking further conflicts.

These conflict dynamics in Bosaso clearly illustrate the division of labour in women’s involvement in peacebuilding. These are examples of more ‘complex’ conflicts to whose resolution women cannot contribute much. Indeed, Bosaso is not

impervious to the trend of women largely assigned to being messengers, initiators, and sometimes implementers of peace processes, such as in resolving clan disputes that straddle the Nugaal–Sool regions. But, they largely remain shut out of the final stages of conflict resolution, often reserved for men. Even in conflict prevention and other peace processes, there is a sense that women are still not fully included in leadership positions and existing peace structures, often needing to rely on themselves to fundraise and organise their separate efforts. One member of the government explained that.

“The difference is that when conflict is ongoing, men and women go for peacebuilding together, but only men go for decision making while women can only be part of the peacemaking []. [...] Bosaso women are important in leadership and peacebuilding because they organise themselves, manage themselves financially, and form reporting groups. We also have peacebuilding groups. We created major groups when conflicts happen, and [they] still exist, so we do not cooperate with government, and we do everything in our way financially.” - Member of Government, Int.1507

In the case of Bosaso, the fact that a major conflict pits government forces against each other highlights the importance of women being involved in government, including in ministries or departments with involvement in security and

peacebuilding affairs. In contrast, our district mapping indicates that women's participation is concentrated in the government departments of education and women's affairs. However, it is worth noting that women's participation in local government in Bosaso is high relative to other districts under study. While respondents did not specifically mention why women have not

been more active in peacebuilding efforts during the recent PSF – PMPF clashes, the emphasis respondents placed on “experience” in being able to take on peacebuilding roles suggests that a lack of women's involvement in government security affairs may be a salient reason for their exclusion from the district's most pressing security challenges.

District Considerations

- With rumours of a possible term extension by the incumbent president, the potential for more inter-security forces clashes remains a considerable concern, especially if the PSF perceives the administration as interfering excessively in its operations and planning. Considering that this may continue to be a major conflict faultline and considering its potentially profound implications (including allowing Al-Shabaab more freedom in operating in the region), women's contributions in preventing further conflicts between security forces may be valuable. Program implementers should explore ways to increase women peacebuilders' exposure to and collaboration with security forces, both to gain more insights into where their contributions can be valuable and to combat potential stereotypes of women's lack of adequate experience in security affairs;
- Bosaso is a port town that experiences a sizable amount of commercial traffic around its port, and it is an import/export hub for markets such as Somaliland. The expansion of the Berbera Port in Somaliland may make it a serious competitor for commercial traffic. Still, Bosaso Port will likely continue to play an essential role in commerce in the FMS, especially as the Puntland government has recently struck an agreement to expand the Bosaso Port. Incentives to make the Bosaso Port a viable commercial hub may mean business communities have incentives to maintain stability and order in the area; a functioning PMPF would be important in that effort. Peacebuilding agencies and organisations should consider exploring the possibilities for further incorporating the private sector in peacebuilding activities, including as a source of potential funding that can also support and improve the inclusion of more women peacebuilders.

ANNEX I: KII SAMPLE

	Women's Group	Peacebuilding NGO	District Peace Committee	Member of Government	Clan Elder	Religious Leader	TOTAL
Belet Xawo, Jubaland	2	3	1	0	1	1	8
Garbaharey, Jubaland	3	1	2	0	1	1	8
Af-Madow, Jubaland	1	2	1	1	2	1	8
Kismayo, Jubaland	3	0	1	1	1	1	7
Xudur, South West State	2	0	2	2	1	1	8
Baidoa, South West State	3	0	1	2	1	1	8
Diinsoor, South West State	0	0	2	2	1	1	6
Barawe, South West State	2	1	1	1	1	1	7
Jowhar, Hirshabelle	2	0	2	2	1	1	8
Warsheikh, Hirshabelle	2	0	2	2	1	1	8
Beledweyn, Hirshabelle	2	0	2	2	1	1	8
Dhusamareb, Galmudug	2	0	2	2	1	1	8
Cadaado, Galmudug	2	1	1	2	1	1	8
South Galkacyo, Galmudug	3	1	0	2	1	1	8
North Galkacyo, Puntland	2	0	2	2	1	1	8
Garowe, Puntland	2	0	2	1	0	1	6
Eyl, Puntland	2	0	2	2	1	1	8

	Women's Group	Peacebuilding NGO	District Peace Committee	Member of Government	Clan Elder	Religious Leader	TOTAL
Bosaso, Puntland	2	0	2	2	1	1	8
Abdiasis, Banadir	2	0	2	2	1	1	8
Warta Nabadda, Banadir	2	0	2	2	1	1	8
TOTAL	41	9	32	32	20	20	154

ANNEX II: LIST OF WOMEN LEADERS & PEACEBUILDERS

Jubaland		
<i>Kismayo</i>		
1	Ambiyo Daud Aden	Women Leaders
2	Amino Abdirahman Ismail	Women Leaders
3	Fatuma Aden Katela	Lower-Jubba Women Chairlady
4	Katra Ahmed Bille	CSO
5	Katro Abdullahi Mohamed	Youth
6	Lul Said Yussuf	Women Advocate
7	Maido Garane Mohamed	Youth
8	Maryan Mahat Aden	IDPs
9	Miski Yussuf Ali	DG
10	Nimco Aden Ali	Women Leaders
11	Rukiyo Mohamed Ahmed	Women with Disability
12	Sahro Ahmed Ismail	Business Women
13	Shamso Shafeec	Women Leaders
14	Shukria Dini	CSO
15	Ubah Hussein Issaq	Women Leaders
<i>Garbaharey</i>		
16	Ambiyo Osman Abdi	Council Rep
17	Amino Abdi Sharaf	Women Leaders
18	Asli Dhagane Warsame	Women Leaders
19	Bosteyo Ahmed Abdi	Special Needs
20	Fartun Ahmed Adan	Business Women
21	Foos Abdi Hirsi	Women Advocate
22	Halima Mohamed Hashi	Women Group
23	Halima Osman lid	Women with Disability
24	Haybo Abdi Hassan	Women Advocate
25	Hibo Farah Diriye	IDPs
26	Hukumo Abdulle Adan	Women Advocate
27	Khadijo Ahmed Aden	Business Women
28	Leylo Mohamed Elmi	CSO
29	Ridwan Ali Omar	Women Advocate
30	Yurub Farah Hashi	Women Leaders

Afmadow

31	Bar Iman Mohamed
32	Carfon Sanbul Farah
33	Deeqo Dhaqane Abdi
34	Fadumo Idle Omar
35	Fadumo Mohamed Abdi
36	Fadumo Osman Ahmed
37	Falastin Abdi Madow
38	Fardowsa Ahmed Abdullahi
39	Furad Abdiaziz
40	Hani Abdi Hassan
41	Kifax Abdi Hassan
42	Naeis Aden Ahmed
43	Nimco Said Adan
44	Raxo Dhubow Gabow
45	Zeinab Mohamed Abdi

South West State

Baidoa

46	Fadumo Abdi Saney
47	Farhiyo Ahmed Mahamed
48	Fartuun Abdullahi Ali
49	Fatima Zahra Mohamed Ali
50	Hamdi Abdinuur Isma'il
51	Ikhlas Abdalla Ahmed
52	Luul Ali Ahmed
53	Majida Hassan Mohamed
54	Maryan Ma'alin Abshir
55	Muslimo Adan Hassan
56	Nasteexo Idris Abdi
57	Sahra Ibrahim Hassan
58	Saida Ibrahim Mahamed
59	Sowda Abdullahi Ali
60	Zaynab Omar Ali

Barawe

61	Adey Abdi Siyad
62	Amina Omar Diin
63	Asha Yusuf Isse

64	Faduma Gabow Osman
65	Fadumo Sheikh Wali
66	Kadija Maxamed Abdule
67	Lul Mohamed Abdi
68	Mako Ahmed Barqsh
69	Nasra Abdi Sheikh
70	Nastah Isse Siyaad
71	Nimco Jaami' Habeeb
72	Safiya Jeele Ji'aale
73	Sahra Elmi Hassan
74	Sahra Omar Abdi
75	Wajid Mohamed Abdi

Xudur

76	Aamina Hassan Mohamed
77	Anab Ilmi Ahmed
78	Ayaan Madey Ahmed
79	Deqa Ali Issack
80	Faadumo Abdirahman
81	Faadumo Sheeq Maxamed
82	Faasumo Ibraahim Adan
83	Fartun Omar Adan
84	Habibo Ali Dubay
85	Halimo Sh. Miiris
86	Malyuun Hasan Adan
87	Nuurto Warsame Mohamed
88	Rahmo Haji Mukhtar
89	Samira Abukar Mursal
90	Suldaano Mohamed Ali

Hishabelle

Beledweyne

91	Aisha Abukar Mohamud	Housewife
92	Arli Mohamed Hussein	Chair lady of WN in Beledweyn
93	Faadumo Abdi Guled	Civil servant
94	Fahma Abdi Gedi	Policewoman
95	Fartun Mohamed Ali	CSO representative
96	Hamdi Abdirahman Ali	Businesswoman
97	I qro Ali Omar	CSO representative
98	Joos Hassan Elmi	Housewife

99	Kalson Farah Abdi	Businesswoman
100	Khadro Farah Elmi	Youth Leader
101	Mulki Abdullahi Abdulkadir	Housewife
102	Nasro Mohamed Abdi	Businesswoman
103	Sacdiyo Isak Hassan	Deputy chair lady of WN in Beledweyn
104	Safiyo Hassan Malik	Youth Leader
105	Samira Hassan Mahad	Housewife

Warsheikh

106	Aisha Sheikh Abdullahi	
107	Batulo Ali Gure	
108	Faay Macalin Omar	
109	Faay Nur Macalin	
110	Fadumo Mohamed	
111	Fadumo Mohamed Ali	
112	Fartun Seef Ahmed	
113	Halimo Abukar Omar	
114	Hawo Mohamed Ahmed	
115	Luul Ali Mohamed	
116	Maryan Sheikh Mohamud	
117	Qaali Mire Sahal	
118	Sahro Ahmed Mohamed	
119	Saynab Hassan Mohamud	
120	Shukri Muxudin Mohamud	

Jowhar

121	Casro Mohamed Mahdi	
122	Faiza Abdulle Hussein	
123	Fowzia Abdullahi Hussein	
124	Hamdi Abdikarin Hussein	
125	Hani Abukar Nur	
126	Hibo Yusuf Hussein	
127	Hodan Ali Maquul	
128	Leylo Cuunsheeye	
129	Luul Ahmed Maow	
130	Madina Cadow Colow	
131	Madina Toxow Mohamud	
132	Maryan Osman Hassan	
133	Maryan Sheikh Abdi	

134 Nasro Osman Ali

135 Ruqiyo Abdulle Ali

Galmudug

Adaado

136 Asha Abdullahi Mohamed

137 Asho Farah Jimcale

138 Asli Salaad Faarax

139 Caaisho Hirsi Faarax

140 Dhuux Maxamed Xasan

141 Hawo Mohamed Diini

142 Ikraan Tahliil Adan

143 Jamaad Ali Salaad

144 Maryan Macalin Abdulahi

145 Muhubo Elmi Ali

146 Qadro Cllahi Ahmed

147 Sacdiyo Abdul Mohamed

148 Suuban Xuseen Maxamud

149 Warsan Abdi Khayre

150 Xaawo Cali Warsame

Galkacyo

151 Abshiro Ali Geedi

152 Amino Cabdiqadir Max'ed

153 Burhaano Bashiir Cali

154 Khadra Mahamud Ahmed

155 Khafiyo Salad Ahmed

156 Marymun Khaliif

157 Ridwaan Cusmaan

158 Sahro Cadaawe

159 Sahro Yaasiin Maxamed

160 Xaliimo Ahmed Cabdi

161 Xamdi Cabdiqaadir

162 Xikmo Cali Nur

163 Yurub Abdulqadir Cali

164 Yurub Muxudiin Sheikh Cali

165 Zamzam Cabdi Xasan

Dhusamareb

166 Dahabo Adan Maxamuud

167 Faatima Cabdi Maxamed

168	Fahmo Cabdi Xirsi
169	Farxiyo Xaaji Omar
170	Kadra Mohamud Khalif
171	Luul Xasan Salaad
172	Mulki Saciid Shiiq
173	Nastexo Maxamed Cali
174	Nastexo Nuux Xasan
175	Sagal Suudi Siyaad
176	Shooco Maxamad Cali Dhere
177	Siraad Shido Faarax
178	Ubox Xasan Ugaas
179	Xaawo Abtidoon
180	Xaliimo Axmad Kariye
Puntland	
<i>Eyl</i>	
181	Amina Hassan Egag
182	Aniso Abdiaziz Ahmed
183	Bahjo Abulkadir Mohamed
184	Buuxo Nuur Ali
185	Fadumo Omar Yusuf
186	Fadumo Said Hussein
187	Isniino Farah Ahmed
188	Kawsar Ismail Mohamed
189	Khinso Abdiaziz Mohamed
190	Luul Faarax Mohamed
191	Maryan Abdishakur Farah
192	Mulki Jama Samatar
193	Safiyo Dahir Yusuf
194	Safiyo Mohamed Omar
195	Waano Hassan nur
<i>Bosaso</i>	
196	Baar Hassan Isse
197	Canaad Ali Jama
198	Fadumo Ahmed Aswad
199	Fadumo Hussein Abdalle
200	Ifarah Khalif Mohamed
201	Karuuro Mohamed Ahmed
202	Khadijo Mohamed Ahmed

203	Mahado Abdi Mohammed
204	Sacdia Abdullahi Yusuf
205	Sacdia Artan Farah
206	Sahra Mahad Bootaan
207	Sahro Said Naasir
208	Saynab Ahmed Dirie
209	Shamso Mahad Botan
210	Zeynab Abbi Nur

North Galkacyo

211	Amina sheikh Abdi
212	Asho Ali Bagaag
213	Deeqo Mohammed Mohammud
214	Fardawso Yusuf Mohammed
215	Foos Aden Hassan
216	Hawo Abdiwali Ali
217	Hawo Ahmed Mohammed
218	Hawo Ali Hirsi
219	Jamad Mohamed Guled
220	Luul Madar Hajji
221	Nasro Abdi Warsame
222	Nasro Jama Arab
223	Ruqiya Mohammed
224	Sahro Abdi Ibrahim
225	Shukri Abdi Ali

Other Organisation

226	SWLI
227	Hear Women Foundation
228	SSWC
229	Ifrah Foundation
230	Somali National Women Organisation/Good Will Ambassadors
231	Nomadic Assistance for Peace and Development (NAPAD)
232	SWDC
233	Puntland Minority Women Development Organisation (PMWDO)
234	Somali Women's Studies Centre
235	Samadon and Relief Development Initiative (SARDI)
236	Bay Women Development Organisation (BWDO)
237	Himilo Relief and Development Association (HIRDA)
238	Humanitarian integrity women action (HIWA)

239	Daryeel Relief & Development Organisation
240	Horn of Africa Community Development Action - HACDA
241	Kaalmo Relief and Development Organisation - KARDO
242	Women Initiative for Society Empowerment (WISE)
243	RADIO DALJIR

ANNEX III: LIST OF WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS

House of the People - 10th Session

1	Amina Hassan Ali
2	Amina Mohamed Abdi
3	Amina Omar Jama
4	Amina Shekh Osman
5	Anab Hassan Elmi
6	Asho-kos Mohamud Omar
7	Bibi Khalif Mohamed
8	Dahabo Susow Mohamed
9	Daleys Hassan Adan
10	Deka Hussein Hassan
11	Deko Said Hassan
12	Dunio Mohamed Ali
13	Fadummo Farah Ibrahim
14	Fadumo Hassan Ali
15	Fadumo Odawa Rage
16	Fahma Ahmed Nur
17	Farhia Hassan Ahmed
18	Farhia Mumin Ali
19	Farhiyo Mohamud Dhakane
20	Fatih Said Hassan
21	Fatima Ismail Hussain
22	Fawzia Yusuf H. Adam
23	Fowsiya Mohamed Sheikh
24	Hani Mohamed Aden
25	Hanifa Mohamed Ibrahim Habsade
26	Hawa Yusuf Ahmed
27	Hawo Mohamed Adan
28	Huda Ahmed Ali
29	Ikran Adam Absuge
30	Ikran Yusuf Hersi
31	Jawahir Adawe Abdi
32	Khadijo Mohamed Diriye

33	Khadra Mohamed Tukale
34	Lul Abdi Aden
35	Lutfi Sheriff Mohamed Omar
36	Mariam Arif Kassim
37	Mariam Aweis Jama
38	Mariam Moalim Isak
39	Marian Mohamed Hussein
40	Maryam Haji Abdi Gedi
41	Maryan Ahmed Harun
42	Maryan Mohamud Isse
43	Mina Hassan Mohamed
44	Muna Sheikh Abu
45	Nadifa Adan Isak
46	Nadifa Farah Jama
47	Naema Mohamed Gaal
48	Rabaco Sheikh Nur
49	Saadia Musa Abdullahi
50	Sadia Areis Isse Karshe
51	Sadiya Yassin Haji Samatar
52	Safio Hassan Nur
53	Sagal Abdirizak Bihi
54	Sahra Haji Hassan Ali
55	Sahra Jama Ali Qorshel
56	Sahro Omar Malin
57	Saido Mohamed Hassan
58	Samiro Hassan Abdulle
59	Samra Ibrahim Omar
60	Sareda Mohamed Abdalla
61	Suri Dirie Arab
62	Ubah Tahlil Warsame
63	Yurub Ahmed Raabi
64	Zahra Abdulkadir Abdirahman
65	Zahra Yusuf Ige
66	Zeinab Mohamed Amir
House of the People - 11th Session	
1	Adar Ali Mohamed
2	Adar Hared Jibril
3	Amb. Khadija Mohamed Almakhoumi

4	Amina Hussein Ali
5	Amina Mohamed Mursal
6	Amina Omar Jama
7	Asho-Kos Mohamud Omar
8	Awliya Said Abdullahi
9	Dahaba Susow Mohamud
10	Dayah Ahmed Omar
11	Duniya Osman Yusuf
12	Faaiza Mohamed Jeyte
13	Fadumo Hassan Ali
14	Fardowsa Osman Egal
15	Farhia Yusuf Omar
16	Farhiyo Mohamed Abdi
17	Farhiyo Mohamud Dhakane
18	Fatima Farah Adam
19	Fatima Ismail Hussain
20	Fawzia Mohamed Sheikh
21	Fawzia Yusuf H
22	Hawa Sokor Ali
23	His Hassan Adan
24	Ifrah Mohamed Awed Ali
25	Jawaahir Mohamed Ahmed
26	Jawahir Adawe Abdi
27	Khadija Mohamed Diriye
28	Khadra Mohamed Tukale
29	Khadro Ahmed Mohamed
30	Lul Ibrahim Omar
31	Mariam Aweis Jama
32	Marian Moalim Isak
33	Marwa Abdi Bashir Haji
34	Maryan Mohamed Ali
35	Nadra Saleh Abdi
36	Nasro Mahdi Arale
37	Nura Mustaf Mukhtar Gudow
38	Nuriya Adan Isse
39	Qali Ahmed Diriye
40	Qali Ali Shire
41	Raysal Qorane Abshir
42	Roda Arab Sharif Abdi

43 Sadiya Yasin Haji (Samatar)

44 Sahra Abdullahi Igal

45 Sahra Jama Ali

46 Sahra Olad Abdi

47 Sahur Haji Ulusow

48 Sareda Mohamed Abdalla

49 Shamso Hassan Elmi Osman

50 Zahra Yusuf Ige

51 Zamzam Muhumed Omar

52 Zaynab Mohamed Amir

The Upper House - 2nd Session

1 Deeqa Xasan Xussen

2 Faaduma Xasan Aaden Gariyow

3 Hodan Maxmuud Cusmaan

4 Jawaahir Axmed Cilmi

5 Muna Cumar Xasan

6 Niciimo Ibraahim Yuusuf

7 Nuura Faarax Jaamac

8 Saciido Xasan Xuseen

9 Sam sam Daahir Maxamuud

10 Samsam Ibraahim Cali

11 Shukri Adam Maxamed

12 Siciido Xasan Cusmaan

The Upper House - 3rd Session

1 Ayaan Adan Abdullahi

2 Deka Hassan Hussein

3 Dunio Mohamed Ali

4 Fartuun Abdukadir Farah Karama

5 Leyla Ahmed Ismail

6 Leyla Nur Mah

7 Maryan Faeah Kaahiye

8 Naima Hassan Haji Mohamud Gadhweyne

9 Samiirro Mohamud Haji

10 Sareedo Mohamed Hassan Jeyte

11 Zamzam Abdullahi Ahmed

12 Zamzam Dahir Mohamud

13 Zamzam Ibraahim Cali

14 Zeynab Ismail Mohamed

ANNEX IV: LIST OF GOODWILL AMBASSADORS

1	Batulo Sheikh Gaballe
2	Mrs. Asha Geele Dirie
3	Murayo Ibrahim
4	Zahra Mohamed Ahmed
5	Asha Shaacuur
6	Shukria Diini
7	Asha Abdulle Siyad
8	Nasro Sheck Mahdi
9	Sharifo Adow Ahmed
10	Hotho Yusuf Hashi
11	Zuhura Yusuf Beynah
12	Hinda Ahmed Farah
13	Ahmed Hassan Sadiq



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