

# End-line Evaluation of the Danwadaag Project



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REFUGEE  
COUNCIL

 DANISH  
DEMINEING  
GROUP

Baidoa | Xudur | Bardale

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Danwadaag project, funded by the Somalia Stability Fund (SSF), was implemented over the course of three years by the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) / Danish Demining Group (DDG). The project implementation took place in three areas of the South West State during a phase of post-conflict consolidation of new local and regional governmental institutions. Consistent with DDG's strategic programming in the Horn of Africa and Yemen region, the project employed a community-driven-development (CDD) approach to foster bottom-up governance and reduce social factors that contribute to recruitment into armed groups or spurn other forms of armed violence.

In the Bay region's and the South West State's capital Baidoa, nearby Bardale, and the Bakool region's capital Xudur, DDG formed local task forces elected through a bottom-up selection of community representatives. These task forces, in cooperation with DDG project staff, ranked proposals submitted by local firms for infrastructure projects according to community needs priorities. Cash-for-work activities accompanied successful proposals, alongside extensive training for community groups, committees, and representatives. The trainings targeted in particular communal fundraising, as community ownership was fostered not only through involvement in decision-making throughout the project cycle, but significant community contributions collected locally.

It should be noted here that findings showed a consistent discrepancy in terms of project exposure and participation as well as government-community engagement between Baidoa on the one hand and Bardale and Xudur on the other hand. This is likely due to significant differences in size, as Baidoa hosts a population ten times that of Bardale and Xudur. As a result, residents in the latter two towns are more likely to interact directly with local representatives as well as international organisations, whereas in Baidoa the ratio of representatives to residents is necessarily smaller, and a plethora of humanitarian, development, and governmental activities reduces the visibility of individual project components.

Forcier Consulting was commissioned in early 2017 to act as external evaluator for the *End-line Evaluation of the Danwadaag Project*. Employing a robust mixed-methods approach, Forcier conducted a quantitative questionnaire with beneficiaries in the form of computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI) from Forcier's Hargeisa offices, and administered a mixture of focus group discussions and key informant interviews on site, complemented by a comprehensive desk review. This approach was buttressed through participatory action research (PAR) methods that conform to the same framework and methodology of CDD approaches in that they utilise local research partners, and prioritise local knowledge and ownership. This evaluation centered on five key evaluation questions:

Objectives (I-V)	Key Evaluation Questions
I. Relevance	What results did the Danwadaag project in Baidoa and Xudur and Bardale deliver, and were the activities relevant to the purpose of the project?
II. Impact	What did the Danwadaag project in Baidoa, Xudur, and Bardale achieve as outcomes (changes in attitudes, perception, trust among community groups, and social cohesion)?

III. Sustainability	Are the positive project results sustainable? Can data support the findings, and how reliable is it? How can this be improved?
IV. Effectiveness	Did the Danwadaag project in Xudur, Baidoa, and Bardale achieve its Theory of Change and how valid were the underlying assumptions made in terms of DDG's collaboration with taskforces and community structures?
V. Efficiency	How do different approaches used in Baidoa compare with the project implementation used in Xudur and Bardale as well as the second project phase in Baidoa?

These guiding questions are broken down into commensurable indicators by the project's logical framework, and grouped in five clusters:

1. Recovery & Stabilisation
2. Basic Service Provision
3. Government-Community Engagement
4. Community Fundraising Capacity
5. Conflict Mediation & Resolution

Following DRC/DDG's regional strategic programming, capacity building inherent in each cluster linked each component to achieve an overall reduction and prevention in armed violence in the area, thereby creating space for peaceful resolution of conflict, itself an outcome indicator. One challenge in this instance was that due to sequential implementation and limited availability of funds, two short Base-line studies were conducted separately that addressed only indicators under cluster 1 (optimism in future, local pride, increase/decrease of conflicts, confidence in decision-making processes) as well as satisfaction with basic service provision. This study therefore surveyed both perceptions of existing states of indicators as well as perceptions of recent changes. Another challenge was the absence of a formal Theory of Change for this project, which this evaluation substituted with general CDD-theory and its standard premises/assumptions.

A core tenet of the CDD-approach mandates community involvement and ownership throughout the project cycle, from inception to closure. In case of the Danwadaag project, this was achieved by the aforementioned bottom-up composition of task forces as liaisons between project staff, local communities, and fledging local and regional governmental institutions. Task forces indeed emerged as one if not the most successful and impactful component of the Danwadaag project. Not only did they successfully connect local communities with local authorities, thereby strengthening government-community relations. They also employed the legitimacy and credibility to mediate disputes swiftly during project implementation, thereby ensuring successful infrastructure construction and rehabilitation, which in turn reinforces satisfaction with basic public service provision, and indirectly enhances the legitimacy of public institutions. This credibility, according to focus groups and key informants in each location, stemmed from the task forces' transparent, fair, and inclusive selection. Task forces have therefore directly and indirectly contributed to the reduction and prevention of armed violence, and the fact that they continue to operate in each project location is indicative of the sustainability of the community mobilisation approach chosen by DDG for the Danwadaag project.

Although basic service provision failed to reach target levels for operational facilities, accessible services, and overall satisfaction by a small margin, the Danwadaag project saw a

notable increase in satisfaction with basic service provision in each district. The levels of operational and accessible facilities are likely attributable to overall instability in the area and the ongoing drought's effects on both capacity of local institutions and the general economic environment due to accompanying displacement and diseases.

Government-community engagement, conversely, exhibited a significant uptake in each project location, more so in Bardale and Xudur than in Baidoa, for aforementioned reasons. Confidence in decision-making structures had risen significantly, and respondents felt that decision-makers were attentive to their needs and grievances. Several focus group participants and key informants explicitly credited the collaboration of task forces with DDG project staff, local authorities, community leaders, and community members for this increase in community support for and satisfaction with local and regional administrations. Moreover, this collaboration was universally judged positive and constructive, further underpinning the centrality of task forces to the impact, efficiency, and sustainability of this project.

Another significant and successful platform for community mobilisation and community ownership were fundraising activities that gathered large crowds in each place and thereby also raised awareness for project activities. Community contributions present a key part of the CDD approach chosen for the Danwadaag project in that they are designed to instill in disenfranchised or disempowered communities a sense of capacity to conceive and support their own projects for the improvement of their communities. The Danwadaag project had set targets of 20-25% of project funding to come from community contributions – a target that was achieved in Baidoa and Xudur, but adjusted downwards to 15-20% in Bardale due to limited financial capacity in a recently recovered town that is currently facing severe consequences from the unfolding drought in Somalia.

Nevertheless, residents in each project location had enthusiastically embraced their role in contributing to project costs. Key informants and focus group participants, in particular business owners, asserted their willingness to contribute to future project activities as well as to the maintenance of existing infrastructure components. Community leaders and project staff involved in project implementation furthermore praised fundraising activities as excellent avenues for community mobilisation. Fundraising committees had been established in each location, and interviewed members expressed confidence in their ability to organise fundraising activities in the future, indicative of successful capacity building.

Alongside task forces and fundraising committees, peace committees established during the Danwadaag project's conflict resolution trainings for traditional elders, members of local authorities, task force members, and other community leaders proved crucial to the project's success. Composed from a variety of community representatives, the broad legitimacy wielded by peace committees renders them a credible first instance for disputes and conflicts to be examined and resolved. Not only did they collaborate with task forces during project implementation activities on several successful mediations. Their initial examination of conflicts has reportedly eased work for governmental institutions dealing with land disputes, and the council of traditional clan elders' (*Guurti*) arbitration of clan-related conflicts. Peace committees are still active, testifying to the approach's sustainability.



In fact, the inclusion and prioritisation of clan elders and the *Guurti's* traditional approach to conflict resolution based on *Xeer*<sup>1</sup> greatly facilitated access and acceptance of improved conflict resolution methods among local communities, which have practiced *Xeer*-based conflict mediation for generations. The impact of this dual approach via capacitating both peace committees and *Guurtis* has indeed proven impactful and effective inasmuch as conflicts were seen to have further decreased since Base-line by the majority of respondents, who by and large attributed this to improved clan relations and conflict management skills. Confidence in *Xeer*-based conflict mediation was ubiquitously high. Moreover, the collaboration of local authorities, task forces, peace committees, and *Guurtis* served to institutionalise and anchor formal and informal structures for improved government-community engagement as well as conflict resolution further, contributing significantly to the project's sustainability.

As such, the majority of project components achieved their envisaged target outcomes, and almost all respondents, focus groups, and key informants deemed the evaluation framework appropriate. This is consistent with the importance of transparent and inclusive bottom-up selection of committees, participatory needs assessments as well as respect for traditional *Xeer* conflict mediation practices. This combination was widely acknowledged as having rendered the project relevant to local context and community needs.

The only two project components that drew ambiguous responses were the inclusion of women in community groups and economic activities, and cash-for-work labour intensive public works. Women received targeted support via cash grants, cash-for-work, and were included in committees and groups among members of other minorities and disadvantaged groups. This approach did indeed elevate women's profile across towns. Male interviewees in each location acknowledged their contribution to improved decision-making through input from hitherto disregarded perspectives, as well as their right to partake in decision-making processes as integral members of the community. Business owners furthermore stressed the contributions made by female business owners to fund project activities. However, female focus group participants in each district conceded that household relations had not changed as a result, settling many women with the dual or triple responsibility of managing household, earning income, and civic engagement.

Finally, many respondents to the quantitative survey had been beneficiaries of cash-for-work labour-based public work activities. In other words, they had received a stable income for a short amount of time. Asked whether they wanted to pose any questions to DDG project staff at the end of the survey, respondents almost invariably asked when DDG would return and employ them again. This reveals a cleavage in DDG's CDD approach. Gatekeepers such as community leaders, local authority staff, and task force members unanimously praised positive and mutually constructive engagement with DDG project staff.. This likely facilitates future return and continuation of project works with now existing and interlinked administrative bodies capable of supporting project activities in terms of mobilisation, fundraising, and conflict resolution. However, the short term influx of cash risks rendering other parts of the local population passive, looking for external support rather than engaging with community structures on bottom-up projects.

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<sup>1</sup> Customary law, highly adaptable to local circumstances and geared towards agreement on collective compensation through discussion amongst clan elders instead of codified punishment.

In this respect, future infrastructure interventions should target economic factors to stimulate local growth. This would not only facilitate future community contributions and maintenance of infrastructure, but might also motivate larger parts of local populations to become actively involved with community organisation and local administrations. Such interventions could include solar street lights to allow for longer opening hours for small and medium businesses, market buildings to provide hygienic spaces for the sale of meat, vegetables, fruits, and animal produce, or other support for existing local businesses.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Danwadaag project, funded by the Somalia Stability Fund (SSF), comprises interventions in three locations in the South West State (SWS) territory in South Central Somalia that were implemented in two phases, spanning from April 2014 to January 2017. Baidoa, the capital of the SWS and the Bay region, Bardale in the same region, and the capital of the Bakool region Xudur are still recovering from civil war, occupation by Al Shabaab, and the resultant lasting social divisions and devastated infrastructure. Al Shabaab still maintains a significant presence in both regions, leading to armed clashes with African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) troops, Ethiopian National Defence Forces (ENDF), and the Somali National Armed Forces (SNAF), as well as regional and clan militias. Armed conflict in turn exacerbates conditions of drought and famine that have been recurring since 2011/2012, leading to migration, malnutrition, and persistent poverty. The Danwadaag project activities aimed at supporting stabilisation and reconciliation processes in each of these locations by:

- strengthening unity within and across communities
- fostering engagement between communities and fledging administrations at local, district, and regional levels
- increasing civic awareness and collective action
- expanding basic service delivery
- improving accountability and transparency of decision-making procedures
- enhancing conflict mediation and resolution capabilities among community leaders and groups

As local, district, and regional administrations are still in their constitutional phase, the Danwadaag project utilised a community-driven development (CDD) approach. DDG assembled local task forces in different sections of each town. Task force members were elected by communities themselves or selected according to pre-defined selection criteria. These task forces, in turn, facilitated communal votes on recovery and security priorities, which then determined the allocation of funds. Local firms were able to bid on project activities, and members of local and district administrations, task forces, project tender committees, and DDG project staff oversaw the bidding process collaboratively.

The following implementation phase included both block-grants provided by DDG, but also contributions in cash and kind from local community members, business owners, and, where possible, local administrations. This approach is not only in line with CDD frameworks in general, but also with the central position of local capacity creation, capacity utilisation, and capacity retention in DRC/DDG's operational principles. Capacity development occupies this key position among DRC/DDG's operational principles precisely because it reinforces or enables the realisation of other, related principles, such as the sustainability of results, or the environmental stabilisation effects particularly pertinent to newly recovered areas (NRAs) in the SWS's territory. Moreover, the for local communities relatively novel concept of community contributions to infrastructure development during the Danwadaag project's first phase aimed to set the stage for community-driven sub-projects implemented during the project's second phase, as well as the subsequent capacity of community and local institutions to maintain infrastructure components and continue collaborative community-led development beyond the conclusion of project activities.

## 1.1. Purpose of the Assessment

The *End-line Evaluation of the Danwadaag Project in Baidoa, Xudur, and Bardale* – referred to hereafter as *Danwadaag End-line Evaluation* – was conducted in each location to assess the Danwadaag project’s relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability, vis-à-vis its stated objectives. For this End-line Evaluation, these thematic objectives were converted into the following key evaluation questions. Owing to the project’s breadth and the context-specificity of interventions as well as the explicit intention to achieve indirect and intangible outcomes in terms of community unity and civic engagement, the evaluation questions were operationalised into the following clusters containing commensurable indicators for measurement purposes following the project’s logical framework:

Objectives (I-V) / Clusters (1-5)	Key Evaluation Question / Logical Framework Indicator	Assessed at Base-line
I. Relevance	What results did the Danwadaag project in Baidoa and Xudur and Bardale deliver, and were the activities relevant to the purpose of the project?	n/a
II. Impact	What did the Danwadaag project in Baidoa, Xudur, and Bardale achieve as outcomes (changes in attitudes, perception, trust among community groups, and social cohesion)?	n/a
III. Sustainability	Are the positive project results sustainable? Can data support the findings, and how reliable is it? How can this be improved?	n/a
IV. Effectiveness	Did the Danwadaag project in Xudur, Baidoa, and Bardale achieve its Theory of Change and how valid were the underlying assumptions made in terms of DDG’s collaboration with taskforces and community structures?	n/a
V. Efficiency	How do different approaches used in Baidoa compare with the project implementation used in Xudur and Bardale as well as the second project phase in Baidoa?	n/a
1. Recovery & Stabilisation	1.1. Optimism in the Future 1.2. Reported Conflicts (Town/Section) 1.3. Local Pride 1.4. Confidence in Decision-making Processes	Yes
2. Government-Community Engagement	2.1. Action plans developed by task forces and district administration 2.2. Implemented action points enhancing minority confidence (women, youth etc.) 2.3. Other community sub-projects	No
3. Basic Service Provision	3.1. Facilities operational 3.2. Increased access to services 3.3. Satisfaction with services	No
4. Community-based Fundraising Capacity	4.1. Townspeople who contributed cash or kind 4.2. Community contribution to sub-projects 4.3. Community sub-projects jointly financed 4.4. Community funding management procedures	No

	<p>established</p> <p>4.5. Community fundraising committees established</p> <p>4.6. Attendance of community fundraising events</p> <p>4.7. Community contribution from fundraising</p>	
5. Conflict Mediation & Resolution	<p>5.1. Trainings for Guurti (council of elders)</p> <p>5.2. Reported conflicts managed peacefully using skills acquired during project activities</p> <p>5.3. Confidence in Xeer-based conflict mediation and resolution</p> <p>5.4. Formation of peace committee</p> <p>5.5. Collaboration between peace committee and Guurti, local authorities, and other community groups</p>	No

In addition to these, this End-line evaluation applied a participatory action research (PAR) approach, the core tenets of which complement the project’s CDD framework:

- prioritising local knowledge instead of imposing external concepts
- self-reflection on whether own conduct contributes to community empowerment (*reflexive subjectivity*)
- awareness of context to assess appropriateness of methodology
- allowing community input on research framework to avoid the stringent and often hierarchical distinction between researchers and researched

In PAR-informed methodologies, the barrier between researchers and researched is broken down by allowing community members to participate as research partners with the explicit mandate to challenge methods where they are not appropriate to the context, and ensure that implicit assumptions are challenged where they risk obscuring local knowledge. Given the duration and scope of the Danwadaag project, chosen research partners were community members who had been involved in the project’s implementation as local project staff, and could therefore represent the community as well as contribute significant knowledge about project activities.

In order to ensure the independence of the external evaluation, the research partners’ role was restricted to consultation with researchers and accompaniment during FGDs. Lead researchers retained sole responsibility for data collection, submission, and communication with Forcier project staff. Finally, all data collection tools probed the transparency of information, allocation processes, and decision-making procedures throughout the project life cycle – a core component of community-driven development projects.

## 1.2. Research Area

Data collection both field-based and remote via Computer-assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI) targeted three towns: Baidoa, Xudur, and Bardale. All three towns lie in the SWS’s territory, encompassing the Bay, Bakool, and Lower Shabelle regions. Formed in 2014, the SWS is still in its consolidation phase, which entails cooperation of its own forces with SNAF, ENDF, and AMISOM troops to widen security provision beyond the confines of major cities, in particular Baidoa, the capital of the Bay region and seat of the SWS administration.

Challenges persist, as Al Shabaab retains a significant presence across the region following its retreat from incoming SNA, ENDF and AMISOM forces in 2013/14. This affects roads in particular, confronting travellers and shipments with irregular roadblocks often resulting in

seizures of cargo or taxation. This renders access by vehicle to many sites challenging for some, impossible for others. In many cases, travel between towns is only feasible by irregular convoys or flight. This affects Bardale in particular, as it experiences poor connectivity in general, and occasional network outages due to ENDF troop movements.

This context highlights the relevance of the Danwadaag intervention. Upon retreating from advancing AMISOM, ENDF, and SNA forces, Al Shabaab dismantled large parts of local infrastructure in the already war-scarred region. This left many towns in desperate need of support to rebuild basic local infrastructure for trade, pastoralism, and agriculture. As such, community-driven infrastructure development projects support stabilisation processes from two angles. On the one hand, stabilising local economic life limits one important recruitment-avenue for armed groups – lack of other opportunities to gain a livelihood – whilst fostering trust towards the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS), regional interim governments, and the international community backing them. On the other hand, involving local community in the design and implementation processes supports and legitimises local structures of self-government, which is also geared towards engendering confidence among local population that post-conflict reconciliation and reconstruction towards the predictable and reliable maintenance of social order remain a genuine possibility for their communities.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

To assess the above, this study employed a robust mixed methods approach inclusive of focus group discussions (FGDs), key informant interviews (KIIs), and a quantitative questionnaire (QQ). The quantitative survey tracked changes in previously operationalised key indicators detailed in the Danwadaag project's logical framework. FGDs and KIIs in combination with a comprehensive desk review provided explanatory context towards a better understanding of quantitative findings.

### 2.1. Desk Review

A desk review of relevant literature surrounding the project's methodological framework was conducted to ensure an appropriate and up-to-date conceptual understanding of both community-driven development (CDD) approaches that guided the Danwadaag project's implementation in accordance with DRC/DDG's regional strategic programming concerning armed violence prevention, and participatory action research (PAR) strategies. PAR was chosen to ensure that evaluation methods respect community ownership and reflective engagement with local knowledge, which are at the heart of CDD approaches.

CDD aims to empower local communities to conceptualise, (partially) fund, and carry out project activities addressing community needs via bottom-up deliberation towards increasing independence from external support. PAR methods seek to break the distinction between researcher (subject) and researched (object) in that the 'researched' community is given the opportunity to question and challenge researchers' roles and evaluation frameworks. Furthermore, the community is involved in leading part of the evaluation through the employment of local research partners that accompany external assessors.

This methodological grounding was complemented by an extensive review of project documents including logical framework, context analyses, pre-project summaries, Base-line and quarterly reports, as well as DRC/DDG's strategic programming document for the Horn of Africa and Yemen region, and DRC's/DDG's programme handbook. This ensures that

recommendations and lessons learned drawn from this study contribute directly to DRC/DDG’s overall programmatic approach in the region.

## 2.2. Quantitative Research

The quantitative questionnaire designed and finalised in agreement with DRC/DDG was implemented in all three project locations as computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI) by experienced researchers from Forcier’s Hargeisa offices. Other than basic service provision and Action Points implemented, the quantitative component of this End-line Evaluation addressed the full spectrum of outcome and output indicators as well as allowing for respondent feedback on research framework, indicators, and choice of researchers as such. Working from beneficiary contact detail lists provided by DDG, Forcier enumerators experienced with CATI data collection methods and trained on the agreed upon survey tool conducted the survey using the Android-based data-entry software ODK Collect. The CATI team included four Af-Ma’ay speakers, a dialect predominantly spoken in Bay and Bakool regions by the Rahanweyn/Digil-Mirifle clan, to ensure that language barriers would not emerge as an obstacle to End-line data collection. The findings were subsequently stored on a password-protected server, cleaned by a Forcier Research Officer, and shared with DDG.

### 2.2.1. Sampling and Demographics

DDG provided Forcier with contact details for a total of 927 beneficiaries, who were evenly split by gender. Geographically, roughly half of the thus targeted beneficiaries were based in Baidoa, whilst Bardale and Xudur based beneficiaries made up approximately 25% of the sample, respectively. Enumerators were instructed to endeavour to produce a gender-balanced target sample of 300 respondents with 100 observations per project location, following the End-line Evaluation’s Terms of Reference. Most (233) respondents were heads of households, 60.5% of whom were male. Among the remaining 67 respondents, 67% were spouses of household heads. These ratios were largely consistent across project locations.

The largest group of respondents (130, 43.3%) had not received any education, followed by 99 respondents (33%) with formal education and 65 respondents (21.7%) with quranic education. Six respondents had undergone vocational formation. Among those with formal education, the majority in each district had received some or complete primary education only. Respondents in Baidoa tended to be in employment more often, most as skilled or unskilled workers or small business owners, with a rough 50/50 split amongst employed and unemployed respondents. In Bardale and Xudur, conversely, roughly two thirds of respondents were unemployed. Most unemployed (99) did not report being otherwise occupied with family or temporary disabilities, but claimed to be simply unemployed. Whilst overall most respondents reported living in a house made of mud, 64 in Bardale and 74 in Xudur, Baidoa residents were more likely to live in iron sheet huts, with 47 stating as much.

Location	Female	Male	Young (15-24)	Adult (25-49)	Elderly (50 and above)
Baidoa	50	50	11	62	27
Bardale	50	50	17	71	12
Xudur	47	53	13	75	12
<b>Total</b>	49%	51%	13.7%	69.3%	17%

Table 1: Sample Demographics

### 2.3. Qualitative Research

In each project location, Forcier researchers conducted five KIIs and three FGDs. Forcier lead researchers identified and recruited focus group participants and key informants based on their local expertise and knowledge of community structures. For KIIs, lead researchers consulted with research partners to ensure that identified respondents had worked with Danwadaag project staff or task force members during project implementation so that they would be able to provide the required information. Research partners were not otherwise involved in recruitment. During FGDs, research partners accompanied researchers, tasked with ensuring that the community perspective is respected, and participants are given adequate opportunity to contribute own views as well as to challenge the evaluation framework where appropriate.

In total, 75 community members, task force members, and local business owners participated in focus groups, and 14 key informants were interviewed in the course of this project. The following tables provide a detailed overview inclusive of demographics.

Method	Source/Respondents	Gender/Age Breakdown
<b>Focus Group Discussion (FGD)</b>	10 Men	18-50 years old
	10 Women	20-40 years old
	Business Owners: wholesale, trade, retail, hawkers	5 female participants, 5 male participants, 20-50 years old
	Task Force Members	7 participants, mixed gender, 29-60 years old
<b>Key Informant Interview (KII)</b>	Community Leader (Danwadaag: technical advisor for conflict resolution, community mobiliser)	Male, 34 years old
	DDG Project Staff	Male, 32 years old
	Local Authorities (District Commissioner)	Male, 34 years old
	Task Force Member	Male, 34 years old

Table 2: Focus Groups and Key Informants Baidoa

Method	Source/Respondents	Gender/Age Breakdown
<b>Focus Group Discussion (FGD)</b>	8 Men	22-45 years old
	8 Women	23-56 years old
	Business Owners: retail (groceries & cosmetics), pharmacists, water trackers, livestock traders	2 female participants, 7 male participants, 27-60 years old
<b>Key Informant Interview (KII)</b>	Community Leader (community mobiliser & traditional elder)	Male, 38 years old
	DDG Project Staff (community mobiliser)	Male, 53 years old
	Local Authorities (community mobiliser & fundraising committee)	Male, 40 years old
	Task Force Member (fundraising committee)	Male, 60 years old
	Task Force Member	Male, 60 years old

Table 3: Focus Groups and Key Informants Xudur



Method	Source/Respondents	Gender/Age Breakdown
Focus Group Discussion (FGD)	7 Men	n/a
	7 Women	n/a
	Business Owners: retail (clothes and groceries), livestock, sorghum farming	2 female participants, 7 male participants, 27-60 years old
Key Informant Interview (KII)	Community Leader (also cooperated with task force)	Male, 50 years old
	DDG Project Staff (project officer)	Male, 38 years old
	Local Authorities (District Commissioner)	Male, 65 years old
	Task Force Chairperson	Male, 57 years old
	Task Force Member (chair of fundraising committee)	Male, 46 years old

Table 4: Focus Groups and Key Informants Bardale

## 2.4. Limitations

A few limitations to this study must be taken into account. First, the complex and changing security environment in each project location might skew results of the quantitative and qualitative data collection as respondents might not share opinions honestly out of fear of retaliation from various actors. As such, respondents' perception of projects is necessarily affected by incidents that have occurred in the near-term before data collection, including local conflicts, but also non-security related phenomena such as drought or elections.

In particular the current drought must be taken into account as a significant exogenous factor shaping not only respondents' perceptions of project activities, but shaping life in their localities as such. UN officials have described the unfolding drought as "largest humanitarian crisis since the creation of the UN"<sup>2</sup>, and the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) identifies project regions, Bay and Bakool, as heavily afflicted by outbreaks of acute watery diarrhoea (AWD) an cholera with fatality rates above 14.1% and 5.1% respectively, spread further by drought-related displacement<sup>3</sup>. This humanitarian emergency likely affects perceptions of quality of life in the region, as well as the overall perceived effectiveness of any preceding project interventions.

The respective size of the towns in which the project was implemented warrants a further caveat. Baidoa, the South-West State's capital, is home to 129,839 inhabitants, whilst 12,500 people reside in Xudur<sup>4</sup>, and UNOCHA/UNDP in 2005 recorded an urban population of 13,686<sup>5</sup>. Although local populations across Somalia are undergoing constant change due to displacement and migration, which limits the comparability of these figures, the stark

<sup>2</sup> United Nations (2017). *UN aid chief urges global action as starvation, famine loom for 20 million across four countries*. UN News Centre, available at:

<https://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=56339#.WSbghxP1CYU>. [last accessed 25 May 2017]

<sup>3</sup> UNOCHA (2017). *Somalia: Drought Response - Situation Report No. 3 (as of 7 April 2017)*. ReliefWeb, available at: <http://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/somalia-drought-response-situation-report-no-3-7-april-2017>. [last accessed 25 May 2017]

<sup>4</sup> World Population Review (2017). *Somalia Population 2017*. World Population Review, available at: <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/somalia-population/> [last accessed 5 July 2017]

<sup>5</sup> UNOCHA (2005). *Regions, districts, and their populations: Somalia 2005 (Draft)*. available at: <https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/Somalia/UNDP-POP-RURAL-URBAN%202005.pdf> [last accessed 5 July 2017]

difference in population sizes affect the reach of individual project components. In other words, workshops and infrastructure in Xudur and Bardale are likely to attract the attention of all or most residents, whilst in Baidoa their reach may either be limited to the respective section of the town, or their visibility diminished by other activities of international and local organisations as well as those of local and regional administrations.

Finally, the absence at Base-line of precise measurements of most indicators used in this End-line report limits the possibility of tracking percentage increases in various perceptions or service deliveries. Due to sequential starting times of project activities in different locations limited funding availability, and barriers in terms of community access, DDG conducted two separate and limited Base-line surveys in Baidoa and Xudur. These surveys set benchmarks for three of the four logical framework indicators addressing project impact: optimism in the future, number of conflicts, and local pride. Other indicators included in this evaluation's logical framework therefore do not have a Base-line benchmark to measure commensurable change. The survey tools for this End-line evaluation were therefore designed to capture both current perceptions of each thematic cluster (Recovery & Stabilisation, Basic Services, Government-Community Cooperation, Community Fundraising Capacity, Conflict Occurrence & Resolution) and respondents' perceptions of changes in each sector. The following section will report these perceptions and, where possible, contrast these with an introductory statement on the situation at Base-line.

### 3. KEY FINDINGS

The following sections present findings from both quantitative and qualitative components of this study. Structurally, they follow the clustering of indicators as per logical framework outlined above. As such, this section will first assess the tangible outcomes of the project for impact and efficiency. Sustainability will be analysed by proxy via continued activity of community groups established during the Danwadaag project life cycle as well as willingness of community members, especially business owners, to further participate in such activities, and to support project components.

After a brief overview of perceptions of project activities and willingness to further contribute, the following section will detail perceptions of basic service delivery, their functionality, and respondents' satisfaction. The second and third sections move on to the interaction between community and government, followed by an overview of previous fundraising activities, capability, and willingness amongst community members, in particular business owners, to contribute to maintenance and similar project activities in the future.

The penultimate section addresses the occurrence of social conflict, and perceptions of conflict resolution and mediation mechanisms. It must be noted here that *International NGO Safety Organisation (INSO)* data was reviewed for the time of the project duration in order to triangulate responses on conflict. Most evident from contrasting this data with information provided by local residents is that whilst the INSO tracks incidents of armed violence, often political, residents tend to associate conflict with interpersonal disputes, often related to claims to land or water that lead to tensions, but not always to outright violence. This poses a challenge for assessing the extent to which the Danwadaag project components have contributed to armed violence reduction and conflict prevention/resolution in the region. In this regard, the analysis follows the findings of Fearon and Laitin who argue that a lack of capacity and stability of local governmental institutions is a significant explanatory factor for the likelihood of armed violent conflict to occur<sup>6</sup>. As such, confidence in decision-making processes and governmental institutions as well as in the capacity of local conflict resolution mechanisms are used as proxies for measuring the likelihood of local residents supporting informal armed groups or resorting to armed violence to solve disputes.

Throughout these sections, relevance and effectiveness are measured through the perceptions of change of relevant indicators such as perceived ability to participate in decision-making processes or confidence in conflict mediation and resolution mechanisms. The final section includes feedback on the project's framework, evaluating not only whether the project activities were as transparent and inclusive as warranted for community-driven development, but also detailing feedback on the appropriateness of this evaluation's framework as expressed by community members.

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<sup>6</sup> James D. Fearon & David D. Laitin (2003). Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75–90.

### 3.1. Project Overview

*“First of all, I would like to say that the DDG/DRC project under the name Danwadaag was implemented well, with transparency and accountability. DDG contributed a lot to this town in terms of finances and renovated facilities, and many other things.” – Member of Xudur Local Authorities*

For the sake of brevity and concision, this section will not include an exhaustive list of Danwadaag project activities implemented in each location since 2014. Instead, the section will detail project activities as listed by respondents, and provide averages of self-reported participation in project activities, which are complemented by an overview of participation numbers drawn from internal quarterly reports kindly made available by DDG project staff.

#### 3.1.1. Project Activities

Respondents in each project location were easily able to identify Danwadaag project activities, and the project itself was known to virtually everyone. More than 80% of respondents recalled actively participating in such an activity over the past 12 months. On average, respondents claimed to have participated in 3.6 activities over the past year, of which, on average, 2.7 were reportedly funded by community contribution. In Baidoa, this number was slightly higher, with averages of 5 and 3.5 respectively, whilst in Xudur respondents stated an average of 2.8 activities in which they participated, of which almost all were reported to have been funded by community members. Table 5 details the projects focus group participants and key informants recalled distinctly in each location.

**Table 5: Project Activities identified during Qualitative Data Collection by Focus Groups and Key Informants**

Baidoa	Xudur	Bardale
- rehabilitation of tarmac and feeder roads ( <b>also sub-project</b> )	- feeder road rehabilitation	- construction / rehabilitation of nine feeder roads
- construction of meeting hall ( <b>sub-project</b> )	- support for local businesses	- construction of two water tanks
- construction of schools	- refurbished basketball centre	- construction of school
- construction of maternal and child health centres	- construction of district hospital	- construction of health facility/hospital
- construction of bridges	- rehabilitation of schools	- construction of administration office
- construction of police station	- clearing & expansion of airstrip	
- social integration trainings	- water reservoir excavation	
- task force training & office construction	- rehabilitation of hospital & meeting hall	
	- solar street light installation ( <b>sub-project</b> )	

Table 6: Participation in Project Activities

Location	Activity	Partici- pants	Male	Fe- male	Source
Baidoa	Launch Ceremony Phase II	60	50	10	Quarterly Report 1 2016
	Peace Committee	17	12	5	
	Labour-based Public Works	125	35	90	
	Social Hall/Community Orientation (Baidoa & Xudur)	333	72	261	
	Community Trauma Care Centre Opening Ceremony	83	75	8	Quarterly Report 3 2016
	2 Government-Community Engagement Forums	213	179	34	
	Baidoa Development Committee (Reformed Task force)	28	25	3	
	Internal Development Consultation Meetings	85	79	6	
	Community Contributions Awareness Raising Meetings	5254	2581	2673	Final Report Phase II
	3 Community Sub-Project employment	1629	1143	486	
	4 Government-Community Engagement Forums	209	184	25	
	7 Community-Contribution Fundraising meetings	5498	2814	2684	
	Youth Peace Building and Dialogue Meeting	330	192	138	
	Closing Ceremony Phase II	80	69	11	
Xudur	Launch Ceremony Phase II	42	35	7	Quarterly Report 1 2016
	Public Works Phase II: Rehabilitation/Clean-up of Water Reservoir	200	88	112	
	Sewing Machine Training	10	0	10	
	Social Hall/Community Orientation (Baidoa & Xudur)	333	72	261	Quarterly Report 3 2016
	4 Government-Community Engagement Forums	3218	1485	1733	
	Main Fundraising Event	2100	1680	420	
	Marathon & Pot-breaking Games	34		34	
	Ramadan General Knowledge Competition Radio Show	60	51	9	
	Independence Day General Knowledge Competition	24	24	0	
	Independence Day Celebration	500	290	210	
	Community Contributions Awareness Raising Meetings	4167	1239	2928	
10 community Sub-Project Employment	742	506	236		

	11 Government-Community Engagement Forums	50	41	9	Final Report Phase II
	3 Community-Contribution Fundraising Meetings	1516	1195	321	
	Sports Tournament Peace Trophy Ceremony	1300	1118	182	
	Closing Ceremony Phase II	260	183	77	
<b>Bardale</b>	Project Staff Recruitment	14		14	Quarterly Report 1 2016
	Project Launch Workshop	50	36	14	
	Participatory Conflict Assessment Meeting	15	15	0	
	Participatory Needs Assessment Exercise	214	n/a	n/a	
	Community Action Plan Workshop	126	104	22	
	First Football Tournament	75	75	0	
	Community Contributions Awareness Raising Meetings	450	395	55	Quarterly Report 3 2016
	Community Sub-Project Employment	40	25	15	
	Conflict Mediation & Resolution Training	105	79	26	
	Public Works (clearing feeder roads)	200	126	74	Final Report Phase II
	Community Mobilisation & Hygiene Activities by Bardale Youth Innovators (BYI)	40	36	4	
	Peace Committee	10	7	3	
	Sports Tournament	60	60	0	
	Task Force	15	11	4	
	Community Contribution Committee	4	3	1	
	Community Mobilisation Meetings	563	492	71	
Business Community Meeting	113	97	16		
Closing Ceremony	115	87	28		

An encouraging aspect of the participation numbers shown in table 6 and taken from DDG quarterly reports is that activities relating to community contributions to project components – a core component of the sustainability and efficacy of the community ownership aspect as well as stabilisation effect of project activities – appeared to attract the largest crowds in each location. Aside from public announcements such as community mobilisation, communal fundraising, and holiday celebrations, female participation remained relatively low compared to male participation.

However, it must be kept in mind that Somali society presents a strongly patriarchal environment, in which female participation as such signifies a change in the partition of responsibility for decision-making. In fact, the project accorded special emphasis to the inclusion of minorities and other disadvantaged groups, as evinced by the fact that 35% of public work beneficiaries in Bardale were drawn from the Riibi, Gawawayne, Hadani, and Eyli minority clans as well as from female-headed households, as recorded in the first quarterly report for Bardale in 2016. In light of this, the active and consistent participation of

women in project activities other than sports tournaments can be seen as a significant and successful contribution towards women’s empowerment in each project location. Subsequent sections will address female participation, minority inclusion, and further willingness to partake in and contribute to similar project activities more directly, further unpacking the positive trend foreshadowed here.

Across project locations, respondents indeed noted that willingness to participate in communal events is still very much present amongst themselves and their neighbours (see figure 1). This is significant inasmuch as such a willingness to participate indicates that the establishment of collaborative community structures, and that project activities as such attract continued interest among community

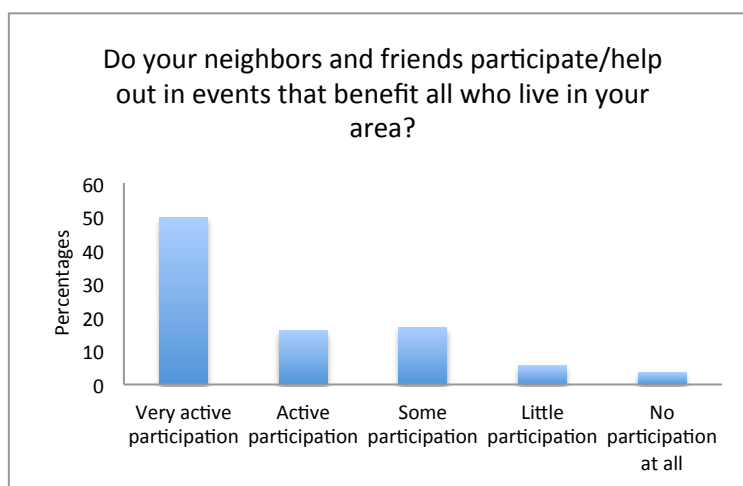


Figure 1: Civic Engagement reported across locations

members, indicating both relevance to community needs and sustainability through continued support. Further corroborating the wide appeal and inclusiveness of the project, most focus group participants and key informants across locations claimed to have been involved in Danwadaag project activities in a variety of ways. The most frequently listed role was that of a committee member, from community mobilisation to evaluation of bids as task force members, supporting community-based fundraising activities, and participation in village, business, or peace committees mediating and mitigating conflicts.

**“The task forces’ work is important to all of the community, and I have not seen anything that I would call ‘bad work’ from them.”**  
 - Member of Baidoa Local Authority

Among this array of avenues for participation, task forces were not only the core component of the Danwadaag project activities inasmuch as they functioned as a bottom-up representative body for different town sections. They had significant input in project selection and implementation during a period in which local

and regional administrations were still in their constitutive phase. They also remained as integral and integrating nodes for communal activities, connecting community groups, and supporting traditional elders as well as sectoral associations in mediating and resolving conflicts. This was borne out by key informants and focus groups in each location, who invariably reported good cooperation between task forces and local authorities, project staff, traditional elders, other community-based organisations (CBOs), and the community at large. In the same vein, quarterly reports by DDG note that task forces played a significant role in conflict resolution in each town, often supporting traditional elders and peace committees with their authority deriving from their popular mandate to represent their respective town section. The continuation of task forces beyond the presence of DDG project staff and project phases I and II therefore points both to sustainability of community ownership structures and to high relevance of the project’s approach towards addressing local conflict mediation and resolution needs as well as supporting local governing institutions and structures.

According to task force members interviewed in each location, they had received sufficient support, training, and equipment from DDG to carry out this key function within the Danwadaag project framework. In each location, task force members stated that they were given sufficient opportunity to provide input on the project framework and implementation process so as to ensure context appropriateness of project activities and community ownership over the project as such. They furthermore credited the transparent and inclusive selection process for the legitimacy among local communities, conducive to working constructively with local authorities and community leaders throughout the project cycle. That task forces have remained active indicates that they function indeed as link between local communities and fledging government institutions as intended by the Danwadaag



Administrative Block constructed in Bardale

project framework. One task force member from Bardale described their legitimacy before local authorities and community leaders as follows: “Our interaction was really good. They respected the decision that we made, and listened to our words.”

In Bardale, for instance, the collaboration between task force members and community leaders was put to the test with a land dispute arising from road construction. Several community members claimed ownership over the area in question. As the interviewed community leader noted, the task force and community leaders acted harmoniously and managed to resolve this dispute quickly and peacefully. This anecdotal evidence represents accounts from each location that the capacity development at the core of task force member training did indeed function as envisaged by DRC/DDG’s programme handbook, in that it reinforced the successful achievement of other project outcomes, namely social cohesion and conflict resolution capacity. Moreover, Bardale’s District Commissioner noted an added value for governmental institutions. The position of task forces as bottom-up formal community representation bodies enables them to communicate project procedures, purposes, and institutional activity to local communities more efficiently than local, district, and regional authorities can, thereby indirectly facilitating their interaction with local communities.

Beyond the success of the task force concept, the Danwadaag project sought to reinforce CBO-structures as such, to foster greater social cohesion and render achievements in community cooperation and reconciliation sustainable through their institutionalisation. An important indicator of the

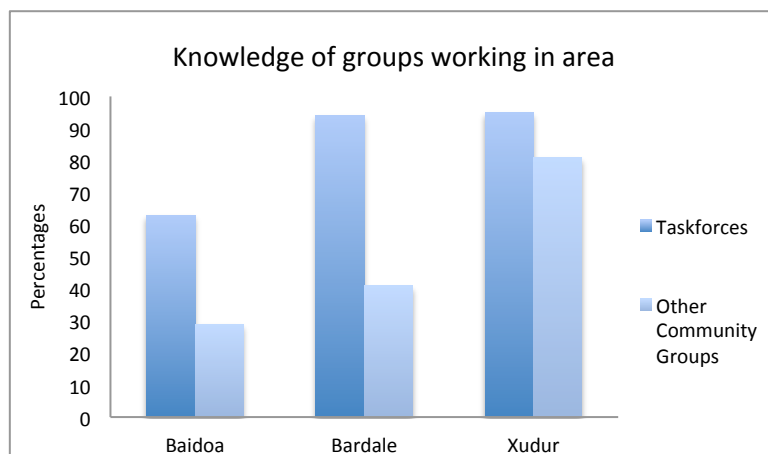


Figure 2: Awareness of Community Groups by Location



success of this project component is the awareness of CBO-structures among local communities. At Base-line in Xudur, around 82.5% of respondents were aware of CBOs active in their town, the majority of which (59.2% of responses) were working on security issues, thus not directly tackling the root causes of armed violence.

During this End-line Evaluation, informants and focus group participants in Xudur universally cited community mobilisers as sources of information on projects, and Bardale informants credited task force collaboration with local administrations for resolving project-related conflicts efficiently and successfully, it can be inferred that community awareness of beneficial community group activity beyond security issues has increased in all locations. In particular, Baidoa-based community leaders and local authority staff pointed out that the institutionalisation of communal cooperation benefitted from excellent prior communication with DDG project-staff and good information sharing throughout. Coupled with universally strong awareness of task force activities shown in figure 2, these findings indicate that the Danwadaag project has indeed strengthened formal and institutional networks that contribute to greater social cohesion, government legitimacy, and capacity for conflict resolution in each location. That residents in Baidoa were generally less aware of CBO activity may be attributable to its much larger size, in which CBOs that would be able to

cover the entirety of Xudur and Bardale may not reach some sections of Baidoa.

**“The needs in this region are many, and therefore the achievement of DDG is known by everybody, but we expect similar projects from DDG in the future.”**

- Male Focus Group Participant, Xudur

Finally, it must be noted that legitimacy and support for Danwadaag project activities among beneficiaries stemmed to a significant part from the employment and thus financial resources it provided. In each location, labour-based activities such as the

clearing of airstrips and roads, as well as employment linked to rehabilitation and construction activities engendered widespread support. However, they equally fostered expectations of future employment and financial benefits, which will be discussed in greater depth in the final section entailing respondent feedback.

*“DRC/DDG did a lot, but its budget left a gap. If it was to extend its budget, the development and the beauty of this city would be more than this.” - Xudur Community Leader*

### **3.1.2. Community Sub-Projects**

Central to the CDD approach the Danwadaag project employed is community ownership not merely of project selection, but more importantly of the project implementation process, in order to develop the capacity to implement such projects without external encouragement, and thereby to sustain the positive trends in community cooperation and infrastructure development. Local communities were therefore encouraged to follow the first project phase with projects of their own that would entail significantly less administrative support from DDG, albeit still necessitating significant financial help given limited local resources. In each location, communities embraced what a staff member of Baidoa’s local administration called “emulating DDG activities”. In Baidoa, volunteers in different town sections formed sanitation teams to clean and clear their areas that were still active at the time of this End-line Evaluation. Their members cited task forces as role models for their activities.

Quarterly reports by DDG provide an exhaustive list of community sub-projects. For the purpose of this evaluation, however, residents’ knowledge of sub-projects is more pertinent, and presented here. In Baidoa, focus group participants and interviewees listed feeder and

tarmac road rehabilitations as well as the construction of a meeting hall as community-initiated sub-projects. They also mentioned the community-organised funding of a formal educational school for women, supported by women’s groups. In Xudur, focus groups ranked the installation of solar street lights as the most prominent and most impactful community sub-project, which one of the business owners participating in a focus group discussion explained as follows:

*“People did not have this sort of light. They used their personal lamps, and even that was not common. At night, businesses closed because it was dark. The street lights therefore influenced our economic environment in that businesses now stay open day and night.”*

In total, Xudur-based DDG staff and local authorities claimed that over 20 community sub-projects have been conceptualised and implemented, including the establishment of cultural and music associations. Final project reports only list four community sub-projects in Xudur. Yet, these comprise exclusively infrastructure components implemented by local companies, whilst key informants in Xudur included the setting up of social organisations as well as meetings and workshops. This indicates that local residents do not sharply differentiate between tangible and intangible project components, but intuitively understand the linkages between establishing CBOs, bringing community members together, creating structures for conflict resolution related to the construction and rehabilitation of infrastructure, and installing facilities that address communal needs.



Solar Streetlights in Xudur installed during Phase II

Local authorities also noted explicitly that further action plans have been developed, but cautioned that they are “waiting for DDG to come back to implement them.” This discrepancy between community initiative and underlying dependency on external support in fact permeated findings, as foreshadowed above by community members’ expectations of being hired in cash-for-work (CfW) activities again, and present in final feedback below. This finding is further significant insofar as it highlights an inherent challenge to stabilisation work in recent post-conflict areas: the discrepancy between the presence of social capital that can be used for reconciliation, and the absence of financial resources that are needed to buttress reconciliation with stable livelihoods, a tax-base for local and regional governments, and the resulting capacity to maintain public infrastructure from which legitimacy of formal institutions derives to a large extent.

Table 7: Cooperation among Community Members by District

Cooperating with other residents on projects to improve the town section	Baidoa	Bardale	Xudur	Total
Yes	68%	84%	98%	83.3%
No	32%	16%	2%	16.6%

Nevertheless, 81.3% of respondents recalled cooperating with other residents on projects for the improvement of their sector, and 60% also worked outside their own sector, albeit

primarily on activities related to security (73%). As aforementioned, participation and cooperation were higher in Xudur and Bardale than in Baidoa, as shown in table 7, likely due to the size of Baidoa and its already more developed infrastructure. The high rate of cooperation in Bardale and Xudur, however, led one task force member in Bardale to conclude that sub-projects “were not just a result, but a copy of the DDG-supported Danwadaag project.” This statement does not only allude to the higher density of development projects in Baidoa vis-à-vis Bardale and Xudur, where DDG is among a small number of organisations providing assistance. It also signifies an implicit endorsement of the Danwadaag project’s approach as appropriate and relevant to the local context as well as efficient and impactful in the eyes of beneficiaries and participants.

### 3.1.3. Selection Process

*“DDG used to call us to monitor the needs of the community before the project design phase.”*  
- Business Owner in Baidoa

*“The community learnt about civic engagement project activities and community ownership. This was a result of improving social infrastructure.”* – Female Focus Group Participant in Baidoa

*“The selection process was fair because it was participatory. The community discussed and agreed on the highest priorities among community needs.”* – Male Focus Group Participant in Xudur

*“It was one man, one vote”* – Task Force Member in Xudur

*“They [projects] have been chosen by the community for their usefulness. I have only done what they [community members] would have done.”* – Task Force Member in Bardale

These quotes illustrate the variety of avenues via which community members were able to participate in the selection of project activities and community groups. Indeed, all focus groups and interviewees described the selection process for project bids as fair, transparent, and inclusive. No one considered any disagreements between local authorities and project staff mentioned in DDG’s quarterly reports as noteworthy, and again credited the task forces and traditional elders with swiftly solving any dispute. Community leaders added that participatory needs assessments carried out prior to project activities successfully ensured that community needs were correctly recorded and taken into account.



Perimeter Wall around the Towfiq MCH in Baidoa

### 3.2. Basic Service Provision

Beyond fostering communal cohesion, the Danwadaag project also addressed more formal socio-political structures, to counter feelings of disenfranchisement with formal authorities that can perpetuate civil conflict in areas with low levels of legitimate and effective governance. At Base-line, governmental structures in the South West State regions of Bay and Bakool were still in their formative phase.

However, seeing as regions were not only recovering from armed clashes between previously dominant Al Shabaab troops and AMISOM and Somali forces, but were also struck by a widespread destruction of physical infrastructure in the wake of Al Shabaab's withdrawal, it is unsurprising that at Base-line 44% of respondents considered services to have decreased or stagnated since 2013. Only 24% saw an increase, mostly referring to water availability. This section evaluates the current state of basic services in each location according to respondents' perceptions. Respondents were furthermore asked about the accessibility of basic public services. In this case, only active restriction of access by another actor was probed, as other questions had addressed the presence and functionality of basic public services. The survey further probed costs of basic necessities as well as main service provider as additional explanatory factors in case access is severely limited. Findings in terms of limited access were negligible, pointing to maintenance and supply as primary issues for basic service provision in each location, as the following shows.



Water reservoir in Bardale, rehabilitated through public works

### 3.2.1. Overview of Services

The Danwadaag project restored or constructed a wide range of infrastructure in each locality, most notably roads and health facilities. It thereby aimed at indirectly bolstering legitimacy and reach of fledging local and regional governments, which are faced with the task of restoring confidence in political leadership and progress among a population that has been caught in faction and clan conflicts for several decades.

Respondents in each location did not report any significant lack of access to any basic public service, such as water sources, health facilities, education, veterinary services, security or garbage collection. Less than 5% of respondents reported having been denied access to any of these services over the past year. Furthermore, respondents were able to identify a long list of public facilities in their sector of the existence of which they were aware. Table 8 details the frequency of mentions per public service facility, which indicate that albeit present in general, most cannot be found in every single section of the town, or are unknown to families due to their socio-economic status.

Figure 3, moreover, shows a difference between locations in terms of socio-economic capacity that is not directly evident from table 8. In fact, fewer respondents in Baidoa were able to identify public service infrastructure in their vicinity, but asserted that these facilities are mostly operational. In Bardale and even more so in Xudur, the majority of respondents were able to identify the most prominent and prevalent components in their region, namely primary schools, maternal and child health centres (MCHs), and Quranic schools (Madrassas). However, whilst Bardale residents were split on the functionality of said infrastructure, almost half of all respondents in Xudur (43%) stated that only 40-60% of all public infrastructure is currently operational.

Table 8: Awareness of Public Service Facilities

Public facilities known	Baidoa	Bardale	Xudur
Primary school	55	71	96
Secondary school	38	30	64
University	18	3	0
Quranic school (Madrassa)	28	48	54
Dental clinic	6	7	5
Maternal and child health centre (MCH)	34	47	61
Other health centre	26	34	24
Nutritional facility	9	13	12
Pharmacy	4	6	8
Veterinary pharmacy	1	5	6
Community-based animal health centre	3	11	12
Local hospital	21	10	13
District hospital	7	18	15
District office	4	23	14
Local government building	4	12	28
Courthouse	18	12	21
Prison	19	25	30
Community guesthouse	4	15	12
Regional government building	9	5	16

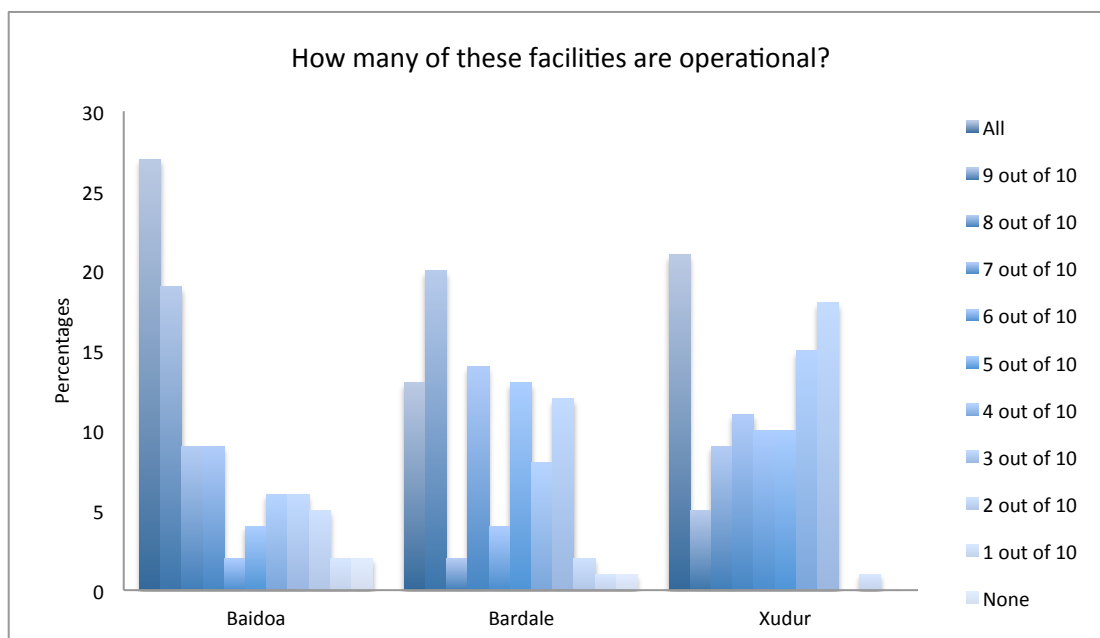


Figure 3: Operational Public Service Facilities

Seeing as very few respondents claimed to have been denied access to services in the past, the following cost figures for services can be seen as mostly affordable (see table 9). In terms of service provision, private sector companies appeared to play a slightly larger role in Baidoa, where 55% of respondents identified such firms as service providers, than in Bardale (49%). Across locations, prices are roughly the same, aside from higher food prices in

Bardale, which are likely caused by higher transport costs because of road insecurity due to Al Shabaab presence around Bardale.

Average expenditure per district	Baidoa	Bardale	Xudur
Food	\$5.50	\$7.30	\$5.90
Water	\$3.40	\$3.70	\$4.10
Health	\$4.20	\$3.80	\$4.90
Garbage collection	\$3.90	\$1.70	\$2.80

Table 9: Average Monthly Basic Service Costs by Location

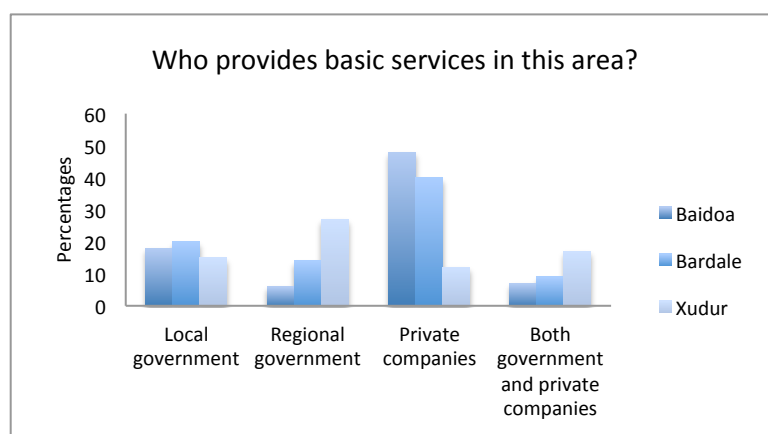


Figure 4: Service Providers by Location

In terms of concrete access to basic services that address everyday needs, 73.7% of respondents reported to have access to one water source, whilst 5.4% of respondents claimed to use three or more water sources. In most cases, water sources were indicated as purchases from vendors (27-48%), followed by communal

shallow wells (17-23%). Similarly, around 84% of respondents across locations with children at school age said they were able to send children to school, indicating that the average monthly fees between \$11 and \$40 are affordable to most households. Yet, 79% of those households unable to send their children to school listed their inability to stem school fees as the main reason, which is reflective of the severity of widespread unemployment and pervasive poverty across Somalia.

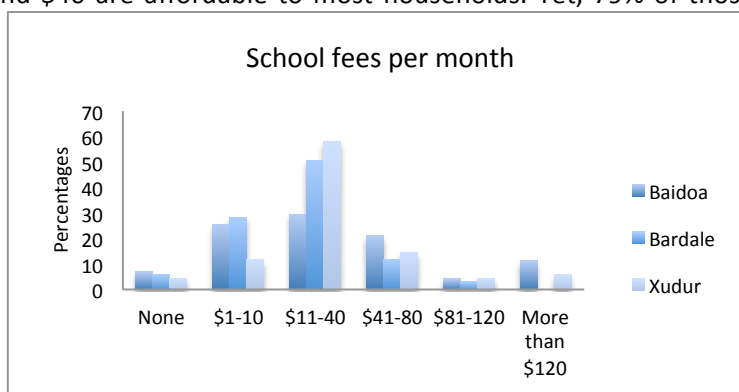


Figure 5: Monthly School Fees by Location

Finally, most respondents also claimed to have access to medication via various avenues, although hospitals and health clinics appeared more prevalent in the South West State's administrations' seat Baidoa than in Bakool's capital Xudur or the more remote town of Bardale (see table 10).

Where do you get your medication in case of sickness?	Baidoa	Bardale	Xudur
Local health clinic	50	41	39
Local hospital	35	28	21
Consult local pharmacy	5	4	23
Local traditional herbalist	0	1	0
Health clinic in different village	3	2	4
Hospital in different village	1	0	1
Pharmacy in different village	0	2	0
Health clinic in different district	1	2	3
Hospital in different district	2	0	0
Traditional herbalist in different district	0	0	1
No access to medicine	0	1	0

Table 10: Access to Medication by Location

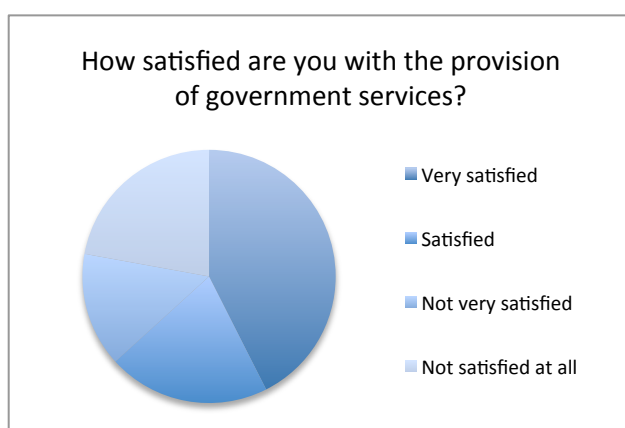


Figure 6: Satisfaction with Government Services

All in all, the majority of respondents across locations was either satisfied (20.3%) or very satisfied (41.7%) with the state of public services, indicating a significant uptake of public service provision since Base-line. Discontent with public service delivery by governmental institutions was more prevalent in Xudur with 28% of respondents, amounting to a total of 21.7% who were not at all satisfied with government services. Although this indicates room for improvement, it must be considered here that South

West State governmental institutions have not been operational for long, in light of which the acknowledgement of government service provision as such by the majority of respondents must be considered a substantial improvement.

To conclude, basic service provision in all locations appears to have significantly increased in the eyes of local residents. The subjective element of this assessment is crucial, as basic service provision is generally seen as the primary responsibility of local, district, and regional governments, which implies that higher satisfaction with basic services reinforces institutional legitimacy among local populations for service providers. Legitimacy, in turn, is paramount to foster support for governmental institutions, discourage support for informal armed actors, and widens space for more peaceful methods of conflict resolution. The next section will therefore delve more deeply in government-community relations.

### 3.3. Government-Community Engagement

With local and regional administrations now at work, legitimacy of and interaction with governmental institutions becomes a key issue for community cohesion and thus, by extension, prevention of continued armed violence. In fact, the Danwadaag Base-line study in Baidoa found that “the population of Baidoa did not deem the district level authorities legitimate” with close to half of all respondents expressing small or very small confidence in local authorities.

Yet, already the Bardale End-of-Project summary noted enthusiastic and notable participation by local government staff in community mobilisation, coordination, and administrative support, albeit intermixed with significant individual attempts at securing personal benefits among local officials, necessitating task forces and DDG staff to mediate, or leading to an outright replacement of the entire task force in Baidoa by a new group then called Baidoa Development Committee.

#### 3.3.1. Decision-Making Processes (including confidence, representation, and inclusiveness)

At Base-line, 40% of surveyed Baidoa residents claimed to have little or no control over decision-making that affected their own lives, although this differed between sections. This discrepancy likely indicated that sub-clans based in Horseed village were less represented in local government structures than sub-clans in the section Darusalam, where only 6% felt disenfranchised. In Xudur, these feelings of a lack of control were more severe, with almost 60% stating as much, and slightly over 50% deeming sector and district leaders not responsive to their needs.

At the time of this End-line study, however, more than half of all respondents felt they had significant input in decisions affecting their current and

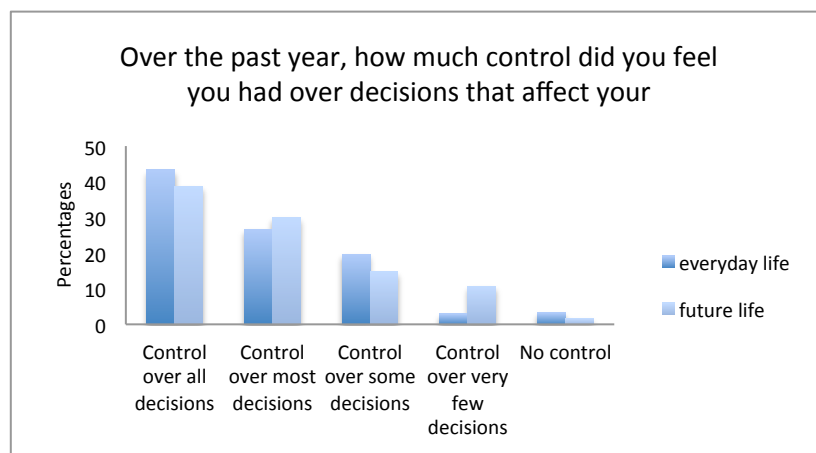


Figure 7: Control over Decision Making Processes across Locations

future lives, which was consistent across districts (see figure 7). These sentiments were further corroborated by focus groups, who explained that although formal and informal representatives such as traditional elders and village or business representatives were taking the majority of decisions – sometimes in coordination with local authorities (Baidoa and Xudur), sometimes for local authorities to carry out (Bardale) – all decisions were informed to a large extent by and based upon community member input. Both task force members and focus group participants in Baidoa underscored the importance of a balance between leaders who listen to their community but also lead, yet caution that decisions could be more thoroughly communicated to community members.



*“Every community has to have leaders to work for their needs and towards their development. The task forces are the ones who go to the DDG office and bring the community updates.” – Task Force Member, Baidoa*

*“People or communities without leaders are just like animals”  
– Male Focus Group Participant, Baidoa*

Although business owners interviewed in Bardale observed that corruption is still pervasive amongst leadership structures, all focus group participants expressed confidence in decision making structures. This was born out by an overwhelming endorsement of decision makers’ attention to community and personal needs among respondents to the quantitative survey that reached almost 90% in Xudur, whilst hovering between 40% and 50% of respondents in Baidoa (see figure 8). This discrepancy may be reflective of both size and wider political significance of Baidoa, and as such a stronger presence of political cleavages. These cleavages might be linked to party politics, but also to historical grievances between the Rahanweyn/Digil-Mirifle clan that is dominant in the Bay region and the Hawiye clan that is more populous especially in the Banadir region around Mogadishu, and therefore sometimes seen to exert greater influence on federal politics<sup>7</sup>. Another, more direct explanation that eschews political affiliation could be that due to the substantive differences in population sizes, residents in Xudur and Bardale can more easily access local representatives,



Bardale Maternal and Child Health Clinic

whilst the much larger population of Baidoa might entail more distance and smaller ratios between local communities and their representatives, as well as a larger presence of smaller clans and ethnic minorities that may feel disenfranchised.

Corroborating the importance of direct contact between community members and representatives, business owners in Bardale attributed the high confidence in decision-making processes to an increase in community consultations over the past years. Moreover, focus groups and key informants in each location stressed the impact of increased participation of women, which they described as a development that took place and accelerated over the past two years.

Male focus group participants in Xudur explained that as a result of greater input from female community members, a hitherto missed perspective on communal issues enriches decision making, whilst business owners in Baidoa emphasised women’s reputation for greater honesty and trustworthiness, rendering them more credible in mediation and representation. Both female and male focus group participants in Bardale echoed this sentiment, adding that not only does women’s involvement add to creativity in problem-solving amongst decision-makers, but also broadens the scope in which communities are

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<sup>7</sup> cf. AMISOM (2017). *Sector III Profile: Baidoa*. African Union Mission to Somalia, available at: <http://amisom-au.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Sector-III-Baidoa.pdf> [last accessed 5 July 2017]

consulted, thereby engendering greater legitimacy for decision-making structures. In this respect, female participation increases the peace dividend produced by the community involvement and empowerment the Danwadaag project was designed to foster.

As such, both male and female focus group participants in Bardale added that during project activities local communities had come to appreciate the importance of gender balance as a concept to be applied to local interactions and decision-making procedures. They estimated that at End-line around a third of decision-makers in Bardale were female. Local government staff interviewed in Xudur put women’s contribution to decisions made at 55% to 60% of the input that led to final decisions, and male Xudur focus group participants added:

*“Women have a role in decision making processes because they are our sisters, mothers, or spouses. They take on an important role and men support their involvement.”*

*“I trust women’s decisions. They are the backbone of the community.”*

Finally, half of all respondents were aware of community groups active in their respective area. In Baidoa, only one third of all respondents stated as much, reflective of the wider reach of the town and greater separation of its villages. In Xudur, conversely, 81% of respondent knew of at least one community group active in their vicinity, indicative of Xudur’s smaller size and greater isolation. All key informants and respondents noted good cooperation, with 92% of all surveyed in Baidoa and 100% of respondents in Xudur and Bardale concluding that the work of community groups led to improved cooperation between community and government – a core aspect of the project’s stabilisation approach.

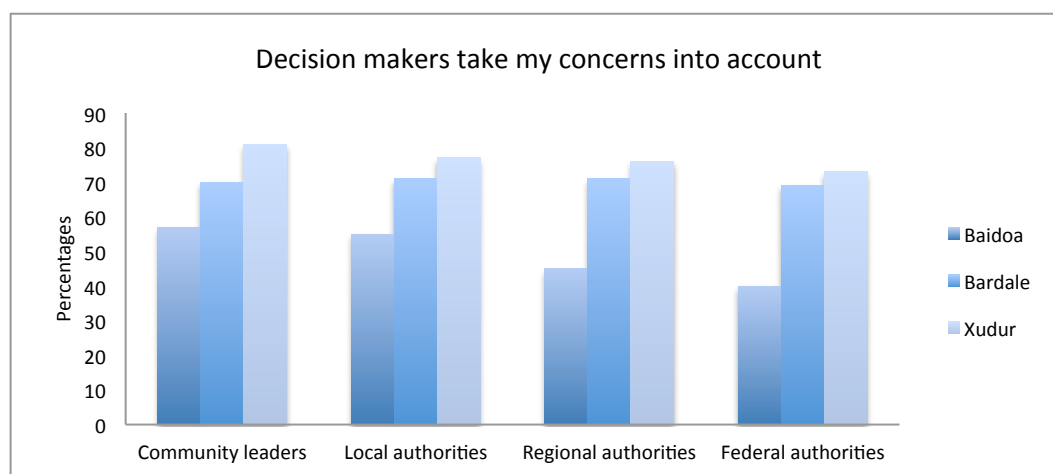


Figure 8: Responsiveness of Gatekeepers by Location

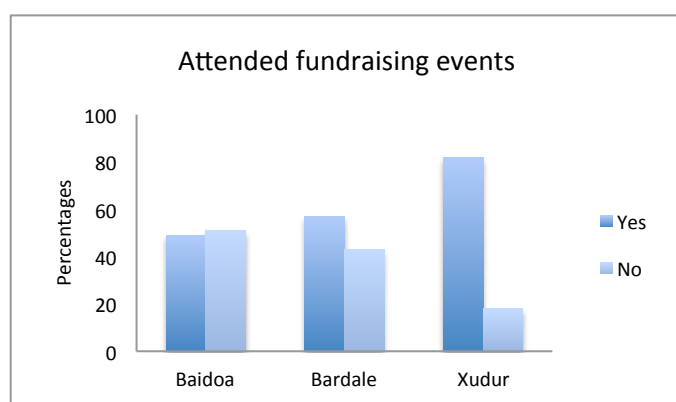
### 3.4. Community-based Fundraising Capacity

A key component of the community-driven development aspect of the Danwadaag project activities was to break with the notion that communities themselves are unable to support project activities. Alongside local task forces overseeing project selection and implementation in collaboration with DDG project staff, communities and in particular task force members were trained in organising fundraising activities to contribute to project financing. The following section first confirms the presence of fundraising committees and presents perceptions as well as self-reported attendance of fundraising events. Subsequently, key informants’ estimates of community contributions are presented, differentiating between contributions from community members, local business owners, and local administrations, and are contrasted with DDG progress reports where possible.

### 3.4.1. Committees & Events

The first indicator for the successful initiation of fundraising activities – the establishment of a fundraising committee – can be considered as achieved in each location. Between 80% and 90% of respondents in each town were able to identify at least one fundraising committee in their respective area. On average, respondents counted two fundraising committees. This observation was borne out by all focus groups and key informants, most of whom specified that one committee was set up to raise funds specifically for project activities, whilst the other committee was working to pool funds for drought periods.

Similarly, more than 60% of respondents and all key informants claimed to have attended a fundraising event over the past two years. Figure 9 provides a breakdown via district, which is consistent with previous findings that residents in the smaller Bardale and especially Xudur were more likely to have participated in project activities than residents in the larger



Baidoa, whose involvement with the Danwadaag project may have been more sporadic or distant.

Nevertheless, several focus group participants, task force members, interviewed community leaders, and local officials across districts stated that they had been actively involved in organizing fundraising activities. In Baidoa, female focus group participants stressed that fundraising

**Figure 9: Fundraising Events attended by Location**

activities were jointly organised by the designated 11-member fundraising committee, task force members, and village leaders, whilst the interviewed local official noted that he was responsible for documenting the precise amount of money raised during these events, amounting to 25% of project costs.

In Xudur, focus group participants explained that traditional elders, local government officials, and community group leaders had chosen the 15 fundraising committee members deliberately, who then reportedly raised between 20% and 25% of contributions. The community leader interviewed for this study agreed with focus group participants that fundraising activities were organised in an effective manner.

In Bardale, the expected amount of community contributions had been lowered from 25% of project costs to 15-20% upon recommendation by task force members to reflect local capacity more accurately. Contribution targets in the two regional capitals Baidoa and Xudur remained unaltered at 20-25%, which, according to quarterly



Community Mobilisation Forum in Xudur

progress reports and final reports on project activities were by and large met. Despite the adjustment of contribution targets, the interviewed community leader and focus group participants in Bardale considered fundraising activities as carried out during the Danwadaag project implementation effective, useful, and a simple way to allow community members to contribute towards the fulfillment of their own needs. This highlights that although local economic capacity in Bardale remains weak, the presence of social capital for community cooperation is strong, and fundraising structures implemented by DDG are appropriate to the local context.

### 3.4.2. Contributions to Projects – Capacity & Future Readiness to Contribute

As aforementioned, the Danwadaag project’s approach to sustainable stabilisation and reduction in armed violence centres on capacitating communities to assume ownership over implementation processes and maintenance of infrastructure, as well as resolving social conflicts arising from self-interest or the necessary self-organisation. However, it is important to distinguish between readiness to contribute to such project activities among community members in general and business owners in particular on the one hand, and the capacity of inhabitants of a drought- and conflict-stricken region with weak infrastructure and insecure transport routes to do so. This sub-section presents respondents’ estimates of how many of their fellow residents contributed during project activities, as well as cases that illustrate the context in which contributions were gathered.

Quarterly progress reports had already stressed that economic capacity under conditions of drought must be taken into account as an explanatory factor for levels of community contributions. Beyond the encroaching drought at time of project activities, findings reflect general discrepancies in economic activity between firstly the South West State’s capital Baidoa, with a direct road to Mogadishu; secondly a recently recovered part of the Bay region, Bardale, with access difficulties and ongoing military activities in its vicinity; and thirdly Xudur, located in a region heavily afflicted by drought, displacement, and a presence of Al Shabaab forces that is growing with the gradual withdrawal of Ethiopian troops.

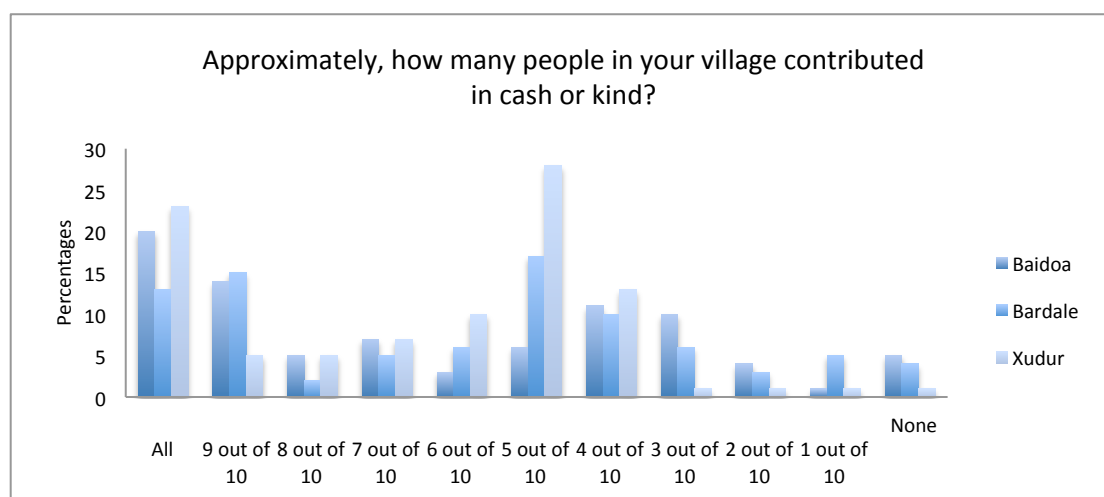


Figure 10: Community Contributions by Location

Figure 10 shows a difference in observed participation in community contributions consistent with these economic cleavages, which is corroborated by respondents’ divergent perceptions of the share of projects for which community contributions were reinforced by the local administrations. In Baidoa, 34% of respondents put this share at 90-100% of

projects, whilst half of all respondents in Xudur estimated that between four and six out of 10 projects were thus funded. These findings are also consistent with the persisting importance of size, as a fifth of respondents in Baidoa professed not to know how many of their more numerous neighbours (relative to Bardale and Xudur) had contributed. Although quarterly reports did not state numbers or percentages of residents who contributed, they universally noted that contribution targets were by and large achieved. This serves to underscore that in cases such as Bardale in which targets were adjusted downwards, the shortfall was not in willingness to contribute, but in the capacity to do so.

The wider community's diminished capacity to contribute financially and local administrations' limited resources shifted the focus towards local business owners, with divergent outcomes. In each location, business owners proudly proclaimed having contributed what one participant in Xudur called "a lion's share" to project activities, indicating that community prestige is of considerable importance to local businesses. This was corroborated by Baidoa-based business owners' insistence that they did not only contribute financially, but were also involved in community mobilisation and dispute settlement. In Bardale, conversely, increased reliance on local business owners led to discontent among the Leysaan sub-clan, which controls most major businesses in Bardale. However, this conflict was successfully mediated, and with business contributions the community was able to raise 97% of the target amount set out in the initial memorandum of understanding.

During focus group discussions conducted for this End-line Evaluation, business owners in all locations stressed their willingness to contribute to future project activities. This is significant inasmuch as it signals both confidence among business communities in the efficacy and impact of projects such as the Danwadaag intervention and the willingness to reinvest the economic dividend such projects yield in further activities that produce both direct economic benefit and a wider peace dividends – crucial for the sustainability of outcomes such as greater social cohesion and government legitimacy.

In particular, Baidoa business owners noted that female business owners and residents predominantly contributed in-kind rather than in cash, although they did not specify what form the specific contributions took. The interviewed local government official in Baidoa added that local non-governmental organisations



Feeder road in Baidoa

(NGOs) contributed to the rehabilitation of the 30<sup>th</sup> road and tarmac roads. Female focus group participants and task force members also emphasised that all Baidoa community sub-projects were partially funded by community members, including the construction/rehabilitation of feeder roads and the construction of health facilities and schools, further underscoring the greater average economic capacity in Baidoa vis-à-vis other project locations.

In Xudur, the interviewed staff member of the local administration claimed that around 40% of all townspeople<sup>8</sup> contributed roughly 9% of project finances, which was then reinforced by contributions from the local administration. For the community-initiated solar street light installation, the interviewed community leader and task force member stated that a full 25% of costs were community-financed. The interviewed traditional elder explained that the community reached target contributions due to the projects' relevance to communal needs:

*“My community will do everything they can to fund such project activities, because these projects are in their interest.”*

In Bardale, the heavy toll the ongoing drought has taken on the local community may have diminished their ability to contribute, but by no means affected their willingness. All interviewed business owners concurred with their counterparts from Baidoa and Xudur that project activities such as those initiated by DDG for the Danwadaag project are worthwhile investments, whilst several key informants – community leader, District Commissioner, task force chairperson – contended that most people in Bardale, around 400 residents, contributed 20% of the cost of five road construction projects. Female focus group participants added that in absence of NGO and administration support, three quarters of all townspeople contributed significantly to all community sub-projects.



Focus Group Discussion in Xudur

Community leaders and task force members in Bardale concurred with the quarterly progress reports' explanation that the reason for the sharp decline in community members' capacity to reach levels of contributions found in Baidoa lies with agro-pastoralism as the primary source of livelihood. With the onset of the current drought that witnessed months without rain, this source of income had indeed dried up, as DDG project

staff affirmed. The task force chairperson expanded upon this, noting that not only have farms become unviable sources of income, but also did employment opportunities on farms and in the further processing of goods produced by agro-pastoralists vanish with the drought. This wholesale loss of income sources additionally reduces overall economic activity and thus capacity to contribute in Bardale, including that of local government that sees its tax base decline with the town's major resources: livestock and livestock produce.

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<sup>8</sup> It should be noted here that surveys probed contributions by "townspeople" as noted in the project's logical framework, as project activities were situated in different parts of each town rather than rural surroundings.

### 3.5. Conflict Mediation & Resolution

The Danwadaag project pursued a two-fold aim consistent with overall DRC/DDG regional strategic programming: to decrease the overall occurrence of conflict in the area, and to increase communities' capacity to mediate and resolve conflict peacefully where it does occur. Previous sections have addressed the means by which Danwadaag project activities have addressed indirect drivers of conflict, namely weak government legitimacy, feelings of disenfranchisement and marginalisation through lack of representation or engagement with authorities, dissatisfaction with basic service provision that delegitimises local and regional governmental institutions, and absence of platforms for communities and community members to collaborate constructively to fund and implement projects for the improvement of communal life and social cohesion. Findings have been overwhelmingly positive in terms of relevance and efficiency, as community groups set up for community ownership over and community participation in project activities enjoy widespread support and continue to be active, whilst respondents in each location felt basic service provision was now satisfactory, and expressed confidence in decision-making structures.



FC Alaathi football players at a peace tournament

This penultimate section looks directly at the occurrence of conflict and communities' capacity to resolve these peacefully. The first part briefly sketches the political context that renders conflict mediation and resolution structures crucial to regional stabilisation, before outlining respondents' perceptions of the frequency of a variety of conflicts in the area. Unfortunately, however, trends in conflict occurrence can only be derived from respondents' perceptions, as Base-line studies for the Danwadaag project did not

measure the frequency of specific conflicts, nor are INSO reports of direct relevance to the conflicts prioritised by local residents. INSO reports largely list attacks by and clashes between major armed groups. The community structures set up by DDG and the majority of respondents, however, primarily addressed local social conflict that then fuels or leads to violence between armed groups. This section will therefore sketch respondents' perceptions of conflict frequency and changes in frequency before outlining available conflict resolution mechanisms. Frequency of conflicts was already noted to have decreased by the majority of respondents in Baidoa and Xudur at Base-line. After confirming continuation of this trend, the section will conclude with anecdotal evidence of conflict mediation and respondents' perceptions of changes in their communities' capacity to resolve conflicts peacefully.

#### 3.5.1. Conflicts

In an area still riveted by armed clashes between AMISOM and SNA troops and Al Shabaab as well as amongst clan militias, security remains precarious. Following the gradual withdrawal of Ethiopian forces, Al Shabaab has been able to enlarge its sphere of influence most notably in the Bakool region. Moreover, both Bay and Bakool regions are severely struck by drought, leading to displacement and conflict over land and resources, in particular

between traditionally opposed clans – an opposition to which the withdrawal of Al Shabaab and the accompanying abatement of military activity have given additional space. The legitimacy of the emerging governmental institutions in the South West State therefore depends on the capacity of their local and regional administrations to arbitrate and manage such smaller scale conflicts, and to prevent them from spilling over into armed violence.

This development entails a paradoxical situation, in which social conflict remains a significant issue, whilst conflicts as such have been seen as decreasing for several years now. The vast majority of Base-line respondents, 75% in Baidoa and 98.8% in Xudur, found conflicts to have become less frequent in their respective sector over previous months. At End-line,

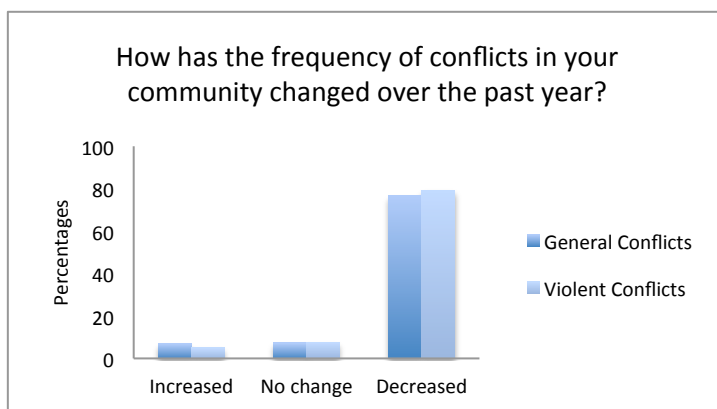


Figure 11: Change in Frequency of Conflicts

70% of Baidoa respondents and 80% of respondents in Bardale and Xudur echoed this observation (see figure 11). The discrepancy is likely due to the higher profile of Baidoa, which renders the town a target for guerilla bomb attacks aimed at high visibility – a tactic to which Al Shabaab has increasingly resorted over the past years<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, the substantially larger population in Baidoa comprises a greater diversity of clans and ethnic groups, which provides greater scope for conflict to arise over resource and land distribution, in particular during droughts.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that the trend of a decrease in observed conflicts recorded at the inception of the Danwadaag project continued unabatedly at its conclusion. In fact, when asked about the recurrence of conflicts in their area, most respondents to the quantitative survey could not think of any conflicts at all. This likely indicates that most residents in project locations take occasional flare-ups of clan tensions, long-standing clan hostilities, and military clashes between formal and informal armed groups in the area as a given, and no longer note these as occurrences of conflict. Instead, roughly 20% of respondents in each project location listed conflicts on issues related to clan belonging, sex,



Task force members deliberate in Xudur

race, age differences, and land conflicts as occurring between one and three times a year. It is therefore likely that respondents tend to deem only conflicts occurring in direct proximity with concrete visibility to local communities as noteworthy.

<sup>9</sup> Seth G. Jones, Andrew Liepman, Nathan Chandler (2016). *Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency in Somalia: Assessing the Campaign Against Al Shabaab*. RAND Coproration, available at: [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1539.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1539.html) [last accessed 16 July 2017]



More conclusive than respondents' recollection of conflicts occurring in their respective communities over the past twelve months was information obtained from focus groups and, more so, from key informants. Whilst focus group participants were able to pool their knowledge of disputes and conflicts occurring, their position as key stakeholders and often gatekeepers in communities rendered key informants in each location more capable of identifying key conflict dynamics or conflicts occurring in their communities. In other words, key informants often occupied positions of authority and connection within communities, and therefore had a better overview of conflicts occurring.

Key informants and focus groups across locations identified conflicts over water and land, linked by their convergence in claims to pasture and farmland, as the most frequent source of conflict, albeit by and large limited to interpersonal conflict rather than sparking a full clan dispute. Although key informants in each district recalled several incidences of such disputes, which will be discussed as anecdotal evidence of conflict mediation and resolution effort in the following sub-section, they limited their frequency to a bi-monthly occurrence that very infrequently escalated into violence.

Outliers were conflicts related to wealth and income, which 7.7% of respondents considered to occur up to five times per year; religious conflicts that an equal number of respondents felt occurred between five and six times annually; conflicts related to household-decision making, which 5.3% of surveyed residents in all locations listed as becoming notable five times a year; and land conflicts, which 13% of respondents claimed occur up to six times per year. Bardale task force members indeed underscored that religious conflicts are extremely rare, and the few conflicts within households that do arise are usually of minor significance.

*“These are frequent in drought seasons, not in other seasons. Nowadays it is mostly water truckers and livestock owners who enter into conflict over water wells because of the drought.” – Xudur Community Leader*

*“Conflicts are very rare. They happen about once in a blue moon”  
– Bardale Community Leader*

Baidoa business owners clarified that land disputes are not only triggered by competing claims to land, but also by unrelated parties attempting to capitalise on the current scarcity of pasture and farmland by fraudulently selling land they do not own to outside investors, which they stated happens on a monthly basis. Participants added that increasing displacement in the region exacerbates this quandary, leading to displaced persons laying additional claim to resources in an already strained environment. In Xudur, task force members added that the collapse of central government institutions almost thirty years ago produced a juridical vacuum that created space for such conflicts to skyrocket. Xudur-based business owners reported similar conflicts over arbitrary pricing on goods and land, which they added were usually resolved through fixed pricing imposed by business community leaders. They did note, however, that room for improvement in form of additional training remains, the urgency of which one participant expressed when asked about the usual consequences of conflicts for the Xudur community, referring to the ongoing drought:

*“No changes happen from conflicts. We are already in the worst possible situation”*

This quote illustrates that armed violence or recruitment by armed groups does not necessarily result directly from grievances towards an opposing party, but largely from socio-economic context. In other words, residents in each project location are primarily

concerned with everyday livelihoods, and consider as significant or troublesome anything that facilitates or interferes with this. This observation affirms the CDD approach chosen by DDG for armed violence prevention as relevant and effective, inasmuch as it is geared towards bottom-up capacity building and retention in support of local and regional governmental institutions. These in turn can act as arbiters of local conflict alongside less formal or informal institutions such as task forces and councils of traditional elders (*Guurti*). With effective mediation of conflicts and satisfactory provision of basic public services, these formal and informal institutions thus directly address motivations for supporting armed groups that can act as interim purveyors of adjudication and provide rudimentary services to disenfranchised or otherwise excluded communities to derive legitimacy and support. This following sub-section therefore turns towards the effectiveness of conflict resolution mechanisms established or supported by Danwadaag project activities.

### 3.5.2. Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

Although Base-line informants depicted religious leaders as the primary reference points for conflict resolution, Base-line respondents ascribed the decrease in conflicts the majority had observed in equal parts to improved clan cooperation, improved conflict management capacity, and clan elders responding to conflict (25% each). This points to a prevalence of informal conflict resolution mechanisms, most notably the *Guurti*, the council of traditional clan elders, which convenes in case of a conflict to determine guilt and adequate compensation not on an individual, but on a clan basis. This method of mediation is often preferred across Somalia as it is less formal, and therefore less expensive and time-consuming than comparable formal police and court structures, which may also prioritise punishment over compensation.

**“It is calm now compared to two years ago, because we have a council of elders that solves every problem.”**

- Task Force Member, Xudur

The *Guurti* operates upon the basis of customary *Xeer*-law, a non-codified set of variable guidelines for conflict resolution by clan elders. *Xeer* is geared towards local context and communal needs. As this approach is more concerned with mutually agreeable resolution of conflicts and adequate satisfaction of grievances, the Danwadaag project supported members of local *Guurtis* with training in conflict mediation and resolution practices, to strengthen the capacity to resolve disputes before they escalate into violent conflict.



Rehabilitated building in Xudur with final supplies

This approach appears to have proven impactful and successful, inasmuch as 59.5% of End-line respondents identified improved clan relations and therefore the capacity of elders to come to agreements as major cause for a decline in conflicts within their communities. Secondly, 41.7% of respondents pointed to improved conflict management skills among community leaders as a reason for a reduction in conflicts, corroborating that disputes are resolved before they are considered conflicts.

The successful reinforcement and promotion of inter-clan conflict resolution mechanisms by the Danwadaag project is all the more significant inasmuch as, according to focus groups and key informants, inter-clan disputes increase rapidly as drought sets in and essential resources as well as access to pasture and farmland grows scarce. According to respondents to the quantitative survey at End-line, moreover, the positive effect of improved conflict resolution skills is visible not only with regards to inter-clan conflict. The majority of respondents who did identify conflicts related to issues of income, race, languages, social status, religion, politics, age, sex, household decisions, or education stated that most or all of these had also been resolved peacefully through usage of skills gained during Danwadaag conflict mediation and resolution trainings.

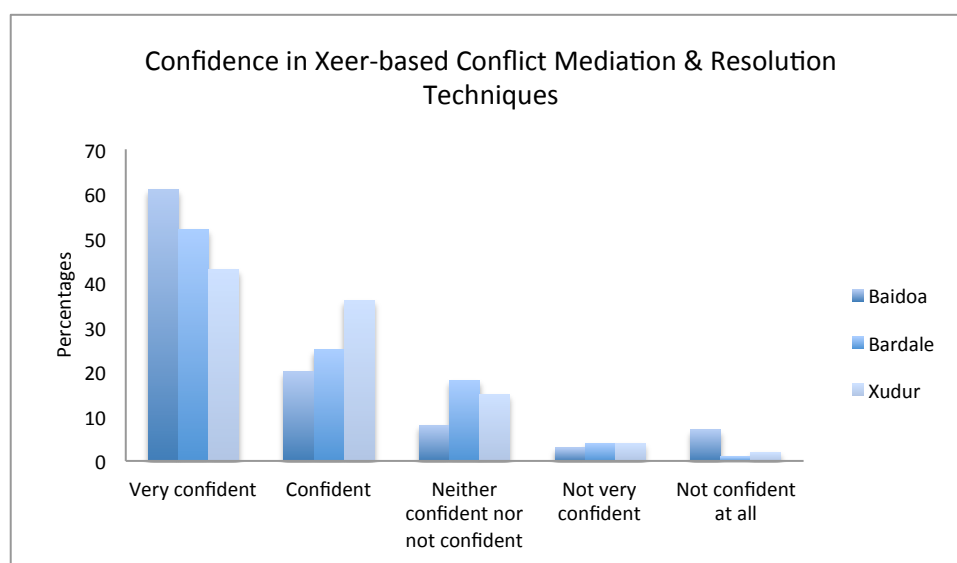


Figure 12: Confidence in Xeer-based Conflict Resolution

In addition to crediting improved conflict resolution skills and involvement of clan elders for a decrease in overall conflicts, confidence in *Xeer*-based conflict resolution was ubiquitously high (see figure 12), and many key informants praised *Xeer* as the most effective method for conflict resolution:

*“The Somali community respects Xeer, inherited from our forefathers.”*  
 – Baidoa Community Leader

*“We are confident in Xeer because our community values culture and tradition highly. Whoever goes against culture will go astray, as we say in Somalia. So we think any agreement by Xeer prevents people from doing so.”*  
 – Female Focus Group Participant, Baidoa

*“We have confidence in the Xeer system. Negotiations between two groups can result in a win-win situation.”*  
 – Task Force Member, Baidoa

The final quote above most aptly illustrates why communities embrace *Xeer*. As opposed to a set codified penal code that depends on a functioning judiciary not readily available in post-conflict environments, *Xeer* allows for negotiations that centre on local context, needs, and capacities of all parties involved. Under precarious circumstances such as those of drought and displacement, a prolonged conflict can lastingly damage all parties, who

therefore have an interest in an equitable settlement respected by all. In this respect, DDG staff in Xudur fittingly described *Xeer* as “ground rules for the community”, facilitating communal life under extreme circumstances.

Key informants in each location provided various examples of successful *Xeer*-based practice, including many clan tensions that had already been noted at Base-line. In Xudur, clashes over farmland among Hadame and Luqay sub-clans saw one casualty, but together with Laysaan and Jiroon sub-clan tensions they were reported to have been successfully resolved before the local peace committees and the Guurti. In fact, *Xeer*-based conflict resolution practices in Xudur were reportedly so successful that elders and members of local and regional administrations agreed upon a codified set of guidelines for the implementation of *Xeer*-based approaches, which they ratified and now carry into the surrounding districts of Garasweyne, Wajid, and El Barde as external mediators.



Rehabilitated bridge in Baidoa

In Bardale, business owners emphasised the usefulness of *Xeer* for business disputes, filling a gap that had existed in the business community until two years ago. As an example, focus group participants cited division of market segments to avoid monopolies or oversupply. Moreover, the peace committee employed *Xeer*-practices to settle a violent clash between members of the Leysaan and Ma’alin Weyne sub-clans over a water hole, as well as a dispute between two farmers over land. The task force chairperson recalled: “The case was brought to us and we fined the man who wanted to kill the other man. After that we measured the farm and established peace between the two men.” In fact, several key informants noted the imposition of fines as an effective method to deter escalation of conflicts in precarious economic settings.

This anecdote points to structural catalysts of conflicts that were addressed by various infrastructural components of the Danwadaag project. Key informants in Baidoa mentioned that the drilling of additional boreholes defused tensions over water scarcity. Focus group participants in Bardale considered the employment of 200 beneficiaries in labour-based project activities an effective manner not only to detract from conflicts over livelihood

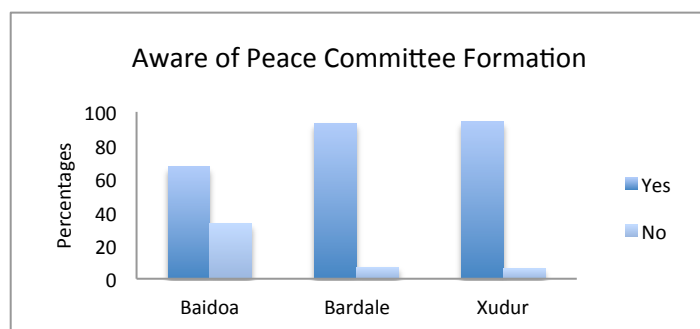


Figure 13: Peace Committee formed in each Location

sources, but also empowered residents to look for alternatives, so as to avoid conflicting interests due to the limited availability of income sources, thereby pre-empting disputes.

In short, not only did the Danwadaag project’s support for traditional elders through training and integration in project activities promote their

role as effective conflict mediators. Various components of the Danwadaag project interacted to address underlying grievances on the one hand by enhancing access to resources through infrastructure development, and to provide community-based conflict resolution mechanisms on the other hand where disputes persist. Support for the latter indeed extended beyond clan-based conflicts and mediation, to encapsulate more formalised procedures and institutions that address domestic and political conflicts, amongst others.

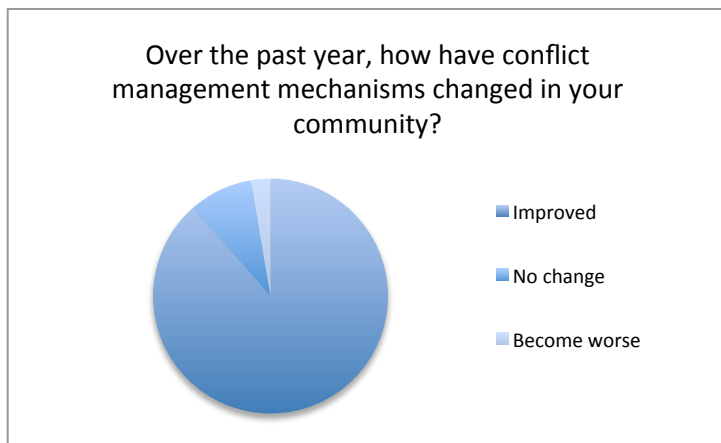
Conflict resolution trainings therefore included members of local authorities, task forces, and peace committees, the establishment of which was central to the Danwadaag project's conflict resolution component in order to support task forces and *Guurti* and address conflicts that do not pertain to clan relations. This objective can be considered to have been fully achieved, as all focus groups and key informants in each location as well as over 90% of respondents in Bardale and Xudur knew of at least one peace committee that had been formed in their community (see figure 13). Only in Baidoa were 33% of respondents unaware of the establishment of a peace committee in their community, which is likely due to either geographical distance from peace committees, or difficulty to identify a specific community group formed by a specific INGO among the plethora of humanitarian, development, and governmental activities in Baidoa.



Celebrating Independence Day in Xudur

Peace committees had not only been established, but were also operating successfully. DDG's quarterly progress reports already list a range of conflicts that were resolved by peace committees in collaboration with task forces and elders during the project implementation phase (12 out of 19 conflicts in the first quarter of 2016 in Baidoa, and six conflicts in Bardale during the third quarter of 2016). Key informants explained that the efficacy of peace committees derives from their composition, comprising representatives of all major community groups and minorities. This composition equips peace committees with widespread legitimacy and credibility, rendering them the first instance for hearing and attempting to resolve disputes.

Should the peace committee fail to generate an agreement in the case of a land dispute, governmental institutions build on the evidence gathered by peace committees to adjudicate. Task force members in Baidoa indeed noted that they routinely visit conflict site to obtain information on conflict modalities before hosting negotiations and mediations between parties in their offices. Other cases not pertaining to legal claims and not resolved by the peace committee are mostly passed onto the *Guurti*. Informants and focus groups across locations noted all three institutions –peace committees, task forces, and Guurtis – as enjoying substantial support from and legitimacy among local communities, which facilitates the acceptance of their verdicts tremendously.



**Figure 14:** Change in Conflict Management Capacity

Linkages between formal and informal bodies appear to reinforce the effectiveness of each. Baidoa's district commissioner stressed the contribution of increasingly functional state institutions to conflict resolution, to which he counted the infrastructure constructed and rehabilitated during the Danwadaag project. This observation was borne out by his counterparts in Xudur, where local administration and peace committee meet three times a week, and in Bardale, where the District Commissioner claimed that the Danwadaag conflict resolution training had enabled a closer and more professional collaboration between task forces, peace committee, and district administration.

It is therefore unsurprising that the majority of respondents to the quantitative survey across locations, 231 out of 300, found conflict management in their communities to have improved (see figure 14). Key informants explained that the improvement in conflict management extended beyond a mere improvement in mediation and arbitration techniques to understanding the benefits of peace dividends and their communication by elders, task forces and peace committees to the wider community.



Community-driven Development in the green spaces of Xudur

In short, the targets for the project's conflict mediation and resolution component as set out in the project's logical framework have been clearly met. In the absence of Base-line data on confidence in *Xeer*-based mediation and conflicts

managed peacefully, the strong support for *Xeer*-practice speaks for itself, and the vast majority of conflicts listed by respondents to the quantitative survey had reportedly been resolved peacefully using skills obtained in Danwadaag project trainings. In each location, members of the *Guurti* partook in such trainings and peace committees had been formed. Furthermore, in each location key informants reported good cooperation between *Guurti*, peace committee, task forces, and local authorities.

In terms of overall evaluation criteria, the incorporation of *Xeer*-based practices has been shown to ensure relevance of the project component to local context, whilst the establishment of peace committees and extensive training has magnified impact and effectiveness. Finally, institutionalised and standardised cooperation among *Guurti*, peace committee, task forces, and local authorities not only ensures the continued functioning of each body with respect to other project output, but also sustains progress in conflict resolution capacity and legitimacy with local communities.

### 3.6. Recovery, Stabilisation & Participation

This final section tackles four interconnected thematic complexes clustered under the themes of recovery and stabilisation. Whereas previous sections have analysed the impact, efficiency, sustainability, and relevance of project components, this section evaluates the effectiveness of the CDD approach that underpinned the project framework and implementation. This includes transparency and inclusiveness of selection processes and activities, women's empowerment, quality of life and local pride, optimism in the future, appropriateness of evaluation methods, and beneficiary feedback.

This sub-section will, however, not include detailed feedback on monitoring and evaluation procedures, as respondents almost unanimously deemed logical framework indicators, research methods, and choice of researchers appropriate towards their communities' needs, which they felt were comprehensively encapsulated in the Danwadaag project's logical framework. Only four respondents to the quantitative survey would have preferred its administration by local community members or project staff in person.

#### 3.6.1. Life in District

This section opens with a range of quotes by which key informants and focus group participants describe life in their respective regions. These quotes are presented without comment as an illustration of the confluence of various endogenous and exogenous factors such as social cohesion and droughts that enhance or impede the impact of Danwadaag project activities. They furthermore highlight that a perceived drop in quality of life due to drought, displacement, and diseases does not stand in contradiction to a thoroughly positive impact of the Danwadaag project's components, which have instilled optimism and hope, as this section will detail below.

*"Hardship. Until now there has been no rain."* – Task Force Member, Baidoa

*"Life is not only difficult for displaced people, but also for the urban population who cannot host them. They are overwhelmed by their own problems."* – Female Focus Group Participant, Baidoa

*"We hope that rainfall will start, these people will go back to their places, and life will return to normal."* – Task Force Member, Baidoa

*"This year's drought has not only caused displacement, but also epidemics and a loss of jobs."* – Task Force Member, Baidoa

*"Life has become worse due to the drought that devastated every part of the society's life. Livestock is dying and diseases are widespread."* – Male Focus Group Participant, Baidoa

*"Drought leads to diseases, which cause many people – mainly women, children, and elderly – to flee from their localities and look for a better life."* – Local Government Official, Baidoa

*"Compared to two years ago, life has improved, because there are many things now that were not there two years ago, such as public and private works, new schools, and stronger connections between communities and government"* – Danwadaag Project Staff, Baidoa

*"Two years ago, there was ongoing development of social aspects and infrastructure. Now, life is at its worst since 2011."* – Community Leader, Baidoa

*“Life in Xudur has become weaker compared to two years ago due to the drought that killed our livestock. There is no source for livelihoods now, and the only two humanitarian agencies active in Xudur are Action Contre la Faim and the International Committee of the Red Cross.”*  
 – Danwadaag Project Staff, Xudur

*“We recovered during the times of the DDG intervention in Xudur”* – Female Focus Group Participant, Xudur

*“DDG has changed life in this region by creating jobs, making it more peaceful.”* – Task Force Member, Xudur

*“Compared to two years ago there are a lot more challenges, but our town is also more beautiful thanks to the feeder roads, government offices, our district hospital, solar lights, and other facilities that were furnished.”* – Local Government Official, Xudur

*“We are poorer compared to our life two years ago. DDG has done great work in Xudur before, but now we are suffering from drought, diseases, and lack of water”* – Female Focus Group Participant, Xudur

*“Life in Bakool is very weak. We need many things, because we are in a drought, and face other problems such as diseases. We need support. We expect God and other interested people to come and help if possible.”* – Male Focus Group Participant, Xudur

*“Life is very difficult, not easy, because of drought, famine, war and diseases.”* – Task Force Member, Bardale

*“Although security is still a problem, there have been slight improvements. The physical environment and infrastructure have improvement due to increased community cohesion and presence of NGOs carrying out development projects. Even though there is drought now and acute watery diarrhea, which was not here two years ago, the positive changes run more deeply. The community shows their spirit, to fight for their humanity and their rights. So I believe that things will get better. I hope that, God willing, there will be rain to get out of droughts and epidemic diseases.”* – Danwadaag Project Staff, Bardale

These quotes are illustrative of the interplay of forces that lead focus group participants to depict life in their regions primarily as ‘weak’ and ‘poor’. A female focus group participant summarised the most significant array of intertwined developments that lead to the overall reduction in quality and security of life in Bay and Bakool regions as “the three Ds”: drought, disease, and displacement. It is against this background that views on life in regions compared to their situation in 2015 must be read.

Moreover, the deteriorating humanitarian situation diverts resources from security provision, which in interaction with a gradual withdrawal of Ethiopian troops due to clashes within Ethiopia vacates space seized by Al Shabaab and local militias. According to interviewed business owners,

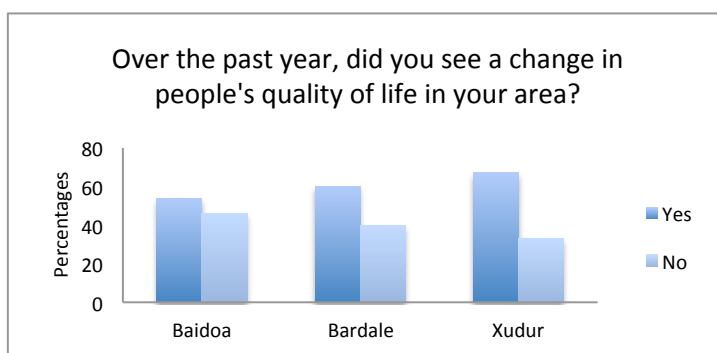


Figure 15: Changes in Quality of Life by Location



this jeopardises the import of goods via road, leading to a two-fold negative outcome in that not only are goods less available due to looting and repeated tolls and taxation on roads, but also does consumers’ purchasing power to obtain necessary items decrease due to a worsening business and employment environment. As such, respondents were split on whether quality of life in their region had changed over the past year, and if so, how, with no clearly identifiable trend.

Nevertheless, respondents in Baidoa and Bardale were optimistic with regards to their future life (see figure 16). Whilst in Baidoa, 77% of respondents looking positively towards their communities’ future marks a 12% increase from Base-line, Xudur saw an increase of 24%, from 42% of respondents optimistic about their community’s future at Base-line to 66% at Endline. This may reflect the above-cited take of a Baidoa community leader, that life has hit a low point unseen since 2011, and can only improve from here. Yet, key informants and focus group participants in all locations noted not only an uptake in security conditions accompanied by an overall reduction in conflict, but also credited DDG among others for improving infrastructure and boosting the local economy through short term provision of employment, which in turn fuels tax bases and improved working conditions for fledging governmental bodies. In fact, focus group participants in Xudur explicitly professed encouragement drawn from the recent election results, lifting Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed Farmajo into presidential office, but also added that they primarily “expect rain from god”.

Key informants and focus groups also repeatedly pointed to greater intra-communal cohesion and improved relations among communities as reasons for optimism alongside improved household finances. This, however, highlights a consistency of belonging to locality and clan in which district tends to take precedence, and definitions of community in each location that reach beyond clan boundaries (see table 11).

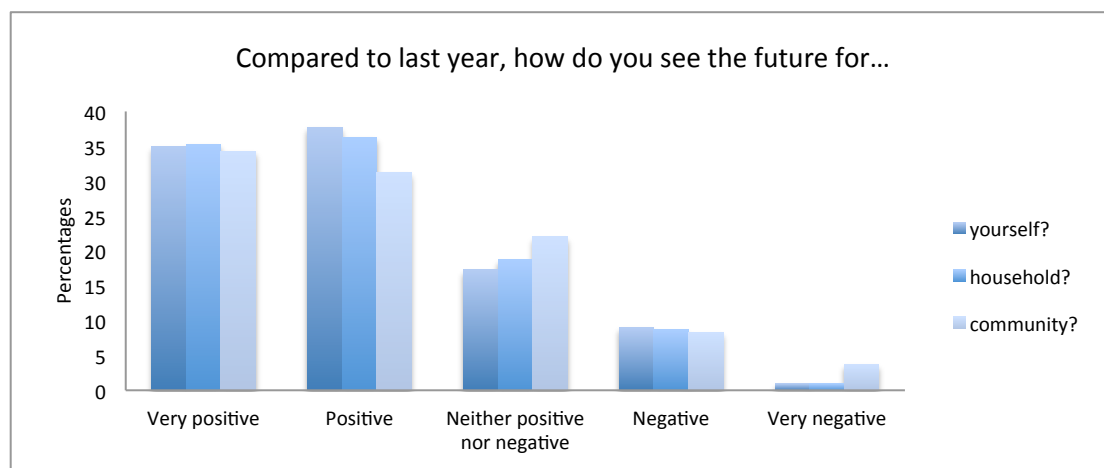


Figure 16: Optimism towards the Future by Location

Baidoa	Xudur	Bardale
“people residing in a locality and with a common goal in their interconnected existence, ... by-laws, social infrastructures including healthy post, schools“	unity in vision, religion, culture, development	“a group of people sharing the same objectives and activities”
“cooperation, unity, mutual respect, support and with compatible goals”	“people living together and discussing their issues”	“a people sharing the same language, religion, and objectives”
“there is government administration, business, integration settlement, education, institutions and organisations all are to be identified as community structures”	“People who are united, work for and discuss their issues together, and respect one another. In Xudur we have many community structures, such as sports teams, elders, cultural groups, women’s and youth groups, and others”	“a group of people sharing the same language, mission, and objectives”
“People coming from one family and one nation with a specific settlement and common goals” ... “same religion, language, culture, and locality”	“Some people who come together, relate with one another, and ask themselves: ‘what is good for us and what is bad for us?’”	A group with a common purpose, consisting of different identity sub-groups (women, elders, youth, authorities)

Table 11: Conceptions of Community by Location

At Base-line, three quarters of residents in Baidoa reported feeling proud of their locality all or most of the time, whilst respondents in Xudur ranked their hometown as more important than their clan-belonging. This is reflected in findings presented in figures 17 and 18, which denote an overall high level of pride in belonging both to area and to clan, although districts are taken to be a slightly greater source of pride. Baidoa figures as an outlier in that a fifth of respondents were indifferent towards clan belonging, likely a result of Baidoa’s significance as the South West State’s capital.

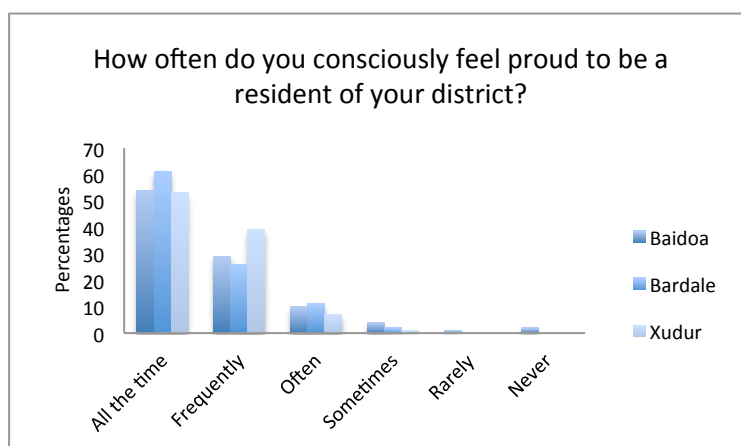


Figure 17: Pride in District by Location

The most frequent reasons, however, which key informants and focus group participants stated for their pride in locality, were somewhat circular, in that the mere fact of stemming from a specific location

sufficed. More nuanced aspects included memories of upbringing, origin of education, presence of children as anchoring one’s future, and knowledge of the area, with “no other place to go” as a more somber yet singular opinion given by one focus group participant in Bardale.

Residents in Xudur were not only more proud of their district, with one female focus group participant stating that the “district is good in terms of peace, business, and health, and that is why we are proud to be residents in our town.” They also stated that not only

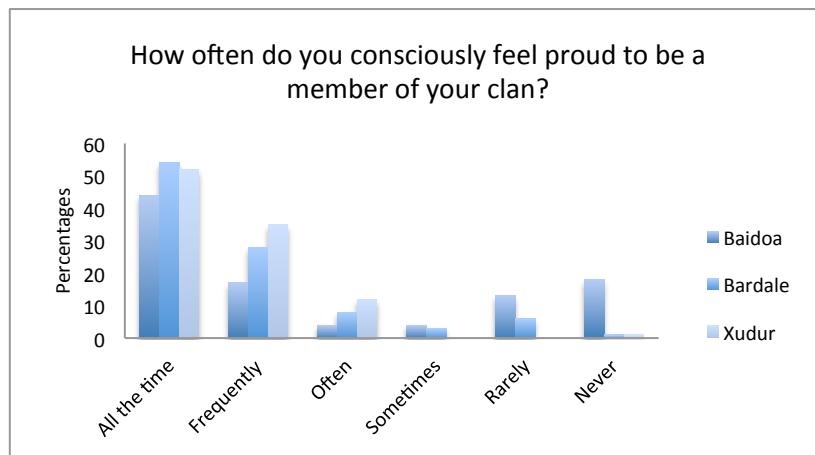


Figure 18: Pride in Clan by Location

were they simply unable to relocate even if they wanted to, but also added that their town contains their livelihood, a reliable community around them, and overall security, as Danwadaag project staff underscored: “No explosion has ever taken place in our town.”

### 3.6.2. Inclusiveness & Impact on Women’s Roles in Community

Women’s empowerment is not only a core tenet of most development activities, but of community-driven development in particular. CDD takes into account potentially engrained marginalisation within community structures it seeks to tap into. Local government staff in Baidoa was explicitly receptive to this approach, stressing that inclusivity conforms to non-discrimination imperatives inherent in Muslim ethics, and is therefore easily compatible with existing community guidelines.

To combine this ethical outlook with existing socio-economic differences in access, the interviewed local official in Xudur argued that although no marginalised groups existed in a community of “brothers”, often disadvantaged artisanal professions, traditional in minor clans and looked down upon by pastoralists and agro-pastoralists, were targeted through the construction of a new blacksmith building. Task force members in each region also stated that their mandate included special attention to more vulnerable groups and their inclusion in cash-for-work activities:

*“Muruqmaal (labour) included all the people, whereby especially the situation of minorities and vulnerable people was improved”*  
 – Task Force Member, Xudur

Women were targeted by several project components, notably their inclusion in decision-making structures and financial support towards economic empowerment. The Bardale end-of-project read: “A total of 10461 women have benefitted from the activities, directly or indirectly. 111 women in total were directly involved in the rehabilitation/construction of community sub-projects and the feeder road rehabilitation. Women also played a significant role in community mobilisation during the implementation and as part of the taskforce, women have also contributed to the conflict mediation role.”

Women’s inclusion and empowerment through Danwadaag project activities took two main forms, according to key informants and focus group participants. Firstly, in some cases women reportedly received financial assistance to facilitate their involvement in economic activity in town, as well as through participation in cash-for-work activities. Secondly, women were involved in community groups, most notably task forces, to support their overall involvement in local decision-making structures. In each location, key informants and focus groups noted that women were increasingly engaged in both spheres. One Baidoa-based business owner pointed out that women’s involvement in small businesses had been on an upwards trajectory since the collapse of Somalia’s central government around 1990. He attributed this to women’s reputation of being more honest than men, which gained value in times of reduced path dependency and greater male involvement in civil war.

However, their male focus group counterparts contended that they are now more involved in all areas, including community mobilisation, teaching, and, most notably, education, which they claimed to support strongly. Female focus group participants in Baidoa added that due to women’s greater presence amongst small business owners, their contribution to community sub-projects dwarfed that of men. This was echoed by informants and focus groups in each location, with informants estimating women to make up between 60% and 80% of business owners in town.

Yet, women’s greater involvement in economic activities entails a drawback for women in question, as domestic relations reportedly remain unchanged. In other words, women now act as primary breadwinner whilst retaining full responsibility for household work including looking after children and other relatives. Men claimed to contribute to paying bills wherever possible, but did not profess to have taken on any greater role in household work other than holding on to final decision-making power. This settles women with greater strain,

**“Initially, men did not allow women’s participation in decision making, but since parliament has allocated 25% of seats for women, men are fully confident in women’s role in peace processes and support their involvement in any activities.”**

- Female Focus Group Participant, Baidoa

which is a common observation for development projects that focus on women’s empowerment in especially rural patriarchal structures.

It therefore remains to be seen to what extent women’s growing involvement in political decision-making engenders a confidence

that could spill over into household dynamics. In Bardale, key informants put women’s presence in community group decision-making bodies at 75% and at 30% for village leadership. Interviewed male task force members highly valued women’s input:

*“They were involved in the provision of opinions. They were among those with the best opinions and most decisions were taken according to their opinions. One of the feeder roads was rehabilitated upon the initiative of a single woman in the community. The idea seemed great at the time, and now it is implemented well.”*

A final aspect of women’s and overall minority empowerment was their inclusion in cash-for-work activities, which presented a quandary for longer-term community empowerment. Table 12 showcases questions put forward by focus group participants and key informants to be passed on to DDG Programme Staff for consideration. The primary tenet expressed by these questions concerned DDG’s potential return to project sites to continue activities, whilst others specifically asked for concrete project interventions. This trend is reflected in

similar questions asked by respondents to the quantitative survey, many of whom had been beneficiaries of cash-for-work activities, and asked for continued employment. In this respect, a side-effect of prolonged and evidently impactful infrastructure development may have been the instilling of a certain passivity among residents expecting an influx of money from outside, somewhat reminiscent of what Dambisa Moyo critiqued as common side-effects of *Dead Aid*, albeit at a micro-level<sup>10</sup>.

**Table 12: Questions for DDG Programme Staff**

Baidoa	Xudur	Bardale
“Why are small scale business not provided with support to scale up their business?”	“Yes, we have a question: when will DDG come back?”	All key informants and focus group participants asked if and when DDG would return
“Why are street children not being supported through a project?”	“We request that solar streetlights are increased”	“a people sharing the same language, religion, and objectives”
“Why are women with orphaned children provided with jobs through Danwadaag projects/ DDG and the community not cooperatively or jointly supplied with fire fighter trucks or vehicles?”	“We hope that DDG constructs for us an airstrip and universities.”	“I think I have been given a golden chance to communicate with the NGOs. My area needs a lot of improvement in terms of WASH, general health service, and wider development. Youth empowerment is another key need of this community.”
“We are asking for the completion of pending activities, for more skill training for teenagers, and in general for DDG to return.”	“The community keep on asking when DDG will come back. DDG is one of the best organisations that have worked in Xudur District.”	A group with a common purpose, consisting of different identity sub-groups (women, elders, youth, authorities)
“Could DDG open food centres because of the emergency/ drill boreholes to tackle the water shortage in this community?”	“We have other daunting needs, such as the construction of an airstrip, the rehabilitation of Xudur’s primary and secondary school, renovating the veterinarian’s building, and installing water pipes. These are all badly needed.”	“My question is: why has DDG just gone like this and not returned, even though they have not experienced insecurity or community pressure? May I know the reason, please?”

<sup>10</sup> cf. Dambisa Moyo (2009). *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not working and how there is a better way for Africa*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

### 3.7. Conclusion

The Danwadaag project comprised a plethora of infrastructure components, communal reconciliation activities, skills trainings, and the setting up of community-based deliberation and representation structures. The community-driven development approach employed for this project was widely considered as successful, in that the selection processes for representative bodies and project components were deemed transparent and fair; communities expressed a strong feeling of ownership over project implementation; newly established groups and committees felt well-trained, enjoyed public legitimacy and support, and reported successes in their work; and each community enthusiastically contributed to project finances not merely in kind, but in cash. Local partners stated that DDG provided sufficient information on budgetary and administrative issues, community leaders felt adequately consulted, and each community developed follow-on sub-projects, all of which included community funding.

The majority of respondents in each location expressed satisfaction with the current level of basic service provision. Most facilities were reported as still operational. Local government officials noted constructive cooperation with communal task forces, peace committees, and fundraising committees set up by Danwadaag project staff. Local residents expressed confidence in decision-making processes, stating a higher level of community input than at Base-line. Key informants underscored the significant contribution from female members of decision-making bodies.

In each location, intra-communal conflicts were noted as having decreased further since Base-line, at which point respondents had already observed a downwards trajectory. Violent inter-clan clashes, conversely, are still occurring, mainly driven by the scarcity of water and resulting disputes over water sources, farmland, and pastures. However, most respondents deemed conflict management skills by community leaders and committees/task forces to have improved considerably, leading to successful conflict resolution respected by all parties in most cases.

Women reportedly play a significant role in both political and economic spheres. Although this leaves women with a staggering workload managing both income-earning and household-responsibilities, it remains to be seen if their rising involvement in political activity might filter back to thus far unchanged household relations.

The evaluation framework as well as choice of researchers and indicators was almost unanimously considered appropriate to community needs. Most respondents indeed welcomed the opportunity to give feedback, and explicitly stated that they felt their input was respected and would be meaningful.

Although residents expressed both optimism and pride, they considered life in their region as poor and weak due to drought, disease, and displacement – exogenous factors beyond the reach of the Danwadaag project.



Cash-for-Work Beneficiaries clearing bushes

The following table breaks down outcomes, output, and results by overall objectives and specific indicators according to the project’s logical framework:

Objectives (I-V) / Clusters (1-5)	Outcomes/Output/Results
I. Relevance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The community-driven selection process for project components and members of selection/representation/management committees as well as participatory needs assessments ensured that project activities were relevant to community needs. This relevance pertained primarily to basic service provision, but also to structures of representation, and to root causes of distributional conflict.</li> <li>- The centrality of <i>Xeer</i>-based practices in DDG’s support for local structures through training and venues ensured cultural sensitivity and compatibility with traditions and habits. <i>Xeer</i>, customary law, has been used in a non-codified, highly adaptable form for generations. Linking <i>Guurti</i> (councils of elders) with more formal structures such as peace committees, task forces, and local administrations, rendered conflict mediation and resolution structures accessible to and credible among local communities.</li> <li>- The establishment of fundraising structures for community contributions alongside bottom-up representation in the form of task forces empowered communities to collaborate, often across mistrust, divisions, and personal interest in devising own infrastructure projects to rebuild their sector after more than a decade of civil war. In this, community group members explicitly noted that they were emulating what DDG had done in Phase I of the Danwadaag project.</li> </ul>
II. Impact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The impact of Danwadaag project activities was almost as broad as the array of infrastructure interventions implemented over the course of the project cycle. Alongside optimism towards the future and pride in belonging to local communities,</li> <li>- In particular the establishment of task forces has provided communities with a platform for self-organisation on the one hand, which all three project locations have embraced enthusiastically to organise further project activities. Here in particular the willingness among community members and especially the business community to contribute to future infrastructure projects is remarkable.</li> <li>- On the other hand, task forces provided communities with a trustworthy linkage to local and regional administrations – trustworthy due to reportedly transparent and inclusive</li> </ul>

selection processes. This has significantly enhanced confidence in decision-making structures among local populations.

- The most significant change that contributes to armed violence prevention indirectly is a substantial increase in satisfaction with basic service provision across all locations.
- Finally, conflict is continuing to decrease according to respondents, and confidence in conflict resolution mechanisms is not only high, but also explicitly attributed to conflict mediation and resolution trainings during the Danwadaag project.

### III. Sustainability

- Most community groups set up during the project cycle are still operational. This includes particularly task forces, which arguably were of the greatest significance for this project, but also peace committees, and community mobilisation groups such as a hygiene awareness and cleaning youth group in Bardale. The continued and active presence of such groups is crucial to ensure that effects on social cohesion, governmental legitimacy (as most cooperate well with local authorities), and capacity development and preservation are sustainable.
- Continued willingness to contribute to project activities among communities and especially business owners indicates that communities are prepared to organise themselves and support maintenance and rehabilitation activities if prompted by bodies such as task forces.
- Institutionalised and routinised collaboration between informal (*Guurti*, other community leaders, peace committee) and more formal (task forces, local and regional administrations) conflict resolution and mediation structures ensures that lessons learned during conflict mediation trainings are retained, and improvements in conflict resolution capacity are sustainable.
- Respondents appeared to strongly depend on cash-for-work schemes, casting doubt on the economic sustainability of current stabilisation and recovery processes without long-term and sustained outside investment.
- Given the scope of the project vis-à-vis the scope of this evaluation, it remains difficult to link concrete project components to changes in attitude and perception and to assess sustainability. Moreover, the complex post-conflict context in which the Danwadaag project was implemented additionally obscures direct linkages, with most impacts stemming from a confluence of factors. Real-time monitoring or sequential evaluations throughout project implementation would be required to establish such links more thoroughly.



IV.  
Effectiveness

- In line with the findings on the relevance of the Danwadaag project (objective I), the composition of community-driven development approaches to infrastructure and committee selection and collaboration during implementation, and targeted strengthening of community-based conflict resolution structures proved highly effective. Conflicts that arose during project selection and implementation were swiftly resolved between task forces, peace committees, local authorities, and community leaders, capacitating communities whilst also ensuring progress of infrastructure components.
- Inclusion of minority groups further mitigated potential grievances during project implementation.
- Task force inclusion in project selection, transparent bidding, and emphasis on community contributions fostered a sense of pride and engendered community ownership, motivating community groups to propose own sub-projects as well as to set up community cultural groups on their own account. As such, the assumptions implicit in the project's CDD approach to empowerment and stabilisation were proven correct and effective.
- Expectations towards community contributions must take into account general levels of financial capacity among local communities, and exogenous factors such as droughts that may further diminish capacities. In Bardale, target contributions were adjusted downwards as communities were heavily affected by the incoming drought.
- Women's involvement in community groups alongside their preferential treatment with cash grants and support interacted to elevate the position of women in the community. However, this did not affect relations within the household, settling some women with the dual or triple responsibility for family, income, and civic engagement.
- Cash-for-work activities have provided communities with much needed resources, but run the risk of instilling an attitude of expectation that outside organisations may come and pay salaries, which runs counter to the empowerment dynamic CDD approaches aim at.

V. Efficiency

- The second phase in Baidoa can be considered successful as handover ceremonies were well attended, community contributions significant, and project components completed.
- Awareness of project activities and engagement with local and regional authorities were lower in Baidoa than Bardale and Xudur. However, this is most likely attributable to differences in size, as

	<p>the substantially smaller communities in Bardale and Xudur are more likely to have direct exposure both to Danwadaag project components and administrations, whilst the widespread population of Baidoa results in a lower ratio of representatives to residents.</p>
1. Recovery & Stabilisation	<p>1.1. Optimism in the Future: +12% in Baidoa, +24% in Xudur (achieved)  1.2. Reported Conflicts (Town/Section): ø76.7% said conflicts decreased (achieved)  1.3. Local Pride: ø97% important or very important, ø87.3% always or frequently proud (achieved)  1.4. Confidence in Decision-making Processes: ø76% confident or very confident (section), ø73% confident or very confident (town), øincrease &gt;20% from less than 25% at Base-line (achieved)</p>
2. Government-Community Engagement	<p>2.1. Action plans developed by task forces and district administration: noted in Xudur, no mention in Bardale and Baidoa  2.2. Implemented action points enhancing minority confidence (women, youth etc.): minorities included in each location, special attention by task forces (achieved)  2.3. Other community sub-projects: &gt;1 per district (achieved)</p>
3. Basic Service Provision	<p>3.1. Facilities operational: ø36% of respondents said 90% or more operational (not achieved)  3.2. Increased access to services: ø41% said access increased / 47% said access decreased (little variance across regions) (not achieved)  3.3 Satisfaction with services: ø62% satisfied or very satisfied (not achieved)</p>
4. Community-based Fundraising Capacity	<p>4.1. Townspeople who contributed cash or kind: 84% said &gt;20% of townspeople contributed (achieved)  4.2. Community contribution to sub-projects: targets achieved in each location  4.3. Community sub-projects jointly financed: achieved in each location  4.4. Community funding management procedures established: achieved in each location  4.5. Community fundraising committees established: achieved in each location  4.6. Attendance of community fundraising events: achieved in each location  4.7. Community contribution from fundraising: see quarterly reports</p>
5. Conflict Mediation & Resolution	<p>5.1. Trainings for Guurti (council of elders): achieved in each location  5.2. Reported conflicts managed peacefully using skills acquired during project activities: varied, no Base-line benchmark, generally ø50-75% (achieved)  5.3. Confidence in Xeer-based conflict mediation and resolution: no Base-line benchmark, ø79% confident or very confident (achieved)  5.4. Formation of peace committee: achieved in each location  5.5. Collaboration between peace committee and Guurti, local authorities, and other community groups: achieved in each location</p>

## 4. RECOMMENDATIONS

Seeing as the Danwadaag project established significant infrastructure in each project location that cannot be clearly separated from overall stabilisation and reconciliation processes as well as government formation in the area, and the implementation process did not receive any substantive criticism. Instead, the overall positive response this survey found yields only few actionable recommendations, which primarily relate to future activities rather than reflections on problematic project components.

<b>Cash Programming</b>	<p>The provision of paid employment is crucial in a low-activity economic environment, as the lack of purchasing power amongst consumers hinders small businesses from scaling up, and leaves households dependent on external support. As such, cash-for-work activities can and, as noted in this case by business owners, have a boosting effect on local economies.</p>
	<p>One potential side-effect of large-scale cash-for-work and short term employment can, however, be the development of expectations among local population that this source of financial support can be relied upon to continue, in which case the economic uptake would come at the cost of merely shifting the reliance on external support without engendering local initiative.</p>
	<p>It could therefore be inferred that future project activities in the three project locations could build on the crucial infrastructure established through the Danwadaag project as well as representative community structures such as task forces. They could thereby focus on infrastructure that enhances local economic activity without cash transfers or cash-for-work activities, such as solar streetlights extending business hours, and strengthening the capacity of local and regional administrations to provide employment or attract investment through energy grids, trainings, and facilities.</p>
<b>Women's Empowerment</b>	<p>The inclusion of women in economic and political activities has largely been a success of the Danwadaag project activities. Yet, the greater role assumed by women in local business environments often leaves women to shoulder the double-burden of main income earner and being solely responsible for all household tasks due to pervasive and persistent patriarchal social structures.</p>
	<p>A greater emphasis on women's role as community decision-makers in the political sphere may foster the confidence and role-change needed to alter household relations. In this respect, focus group participants noted the inclusion of women in federal and regional parliaments as inspiration for pursuing greater political gender equality locally, which suggests that cooperation with federal, regional, and local government could present an indirect avenue to support women at the local level.</p>

## 5. LESSONS LEARNED

Instead of actionable recommendations based upon challenges and negative feedback, this evaluation yields positive lessons to be incorporated into future activities or disseminated among partners. This positive outcome with regards to armed violence prevention through proxy indicators such as social cohesion, government legitimacy, government-community interaction, and conflict resolution capacity is underscored by the fact that the only indicators that were not achieved pertained to basic service provision. Government capacity is currently under substantial strain in areas heavily afflicted by drought, and therefore affected by exogenous factors beyond the control of project staff and framework.

<p><b>Task forces</b></p>	<p>The bottom-up selection of task forces bestowed them with significant credibility among local communities, which facilitated their role in conflict mediation, and facilitation of cooperation between project staff, local authorities, community leaders, and community members. Moreover, they inspired the creation of further community groups for cultural or hygiene purposes.</p> <p>The close collaboration between project staff, task forces, and local authorities as well as community leaders also allowed for the holistic replacement of the Baidoa task force under allegations of corruption. This signifies that the community cooperation network set up around task forces operates a functioning system of bottom-up checks and balances.</p> <p>Finally, the integrative role played by task forces allowed for swift conflict resolution during project implementation.</p>
<p><b>Community contributions</b></p>	<p>As envisaged by the community-driven development project framework, encouragement for community members, business owners, and local authorities to contribute to project financing did not only enhance community ownership and thereby pride. It also fostered interaction and collaboration amongst all three groups of stakeholders through task forces and fundraising committees, in turn buttressing government legitimacy, government-community relations, and social cohesions, as well as confidence in the future.</p>