

Forskning och utvärdering inom Kriminalvården

## **”AN IDLE MIND IS THE DEVIL’S WORKSHOP”**

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**An interview study on the rehabilitation  
and reintegration prospects and needs of  
prisoners in Garowe, Somalia**

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## Preface

The Swedish Prison and Probation Service (SPPS) is commissioned by the Swedish Government to contribute to the missions of the UN and the EU to develop democracy and improve the judiciary in countries with weak central power after, for example, conflicts or natural disasters. Somalia is a prioritized country in Sweden's foreign policy and SPPS' work in Somalia is a central part of the agency's international cooperation.

This research report is a joint effort between SPPS Office for International Affairs and its Research and Evaluation Unit. Together, the two units have combined correctional and area specific expertise with research methodology and analysis skills to contribute to knowledge in the emerging field of prisons in peacebuilding. This study examines prison conditions in Puntland, Somalia, especially focusing on the rehabilitation and reintegration prospects and needs of prisoners in Garowe. The research team has conducted a large number of interviews to capture how prisoners and personnel view the challenges and opportunities for future programmes targeting high-risk prisoners. The results of this original study highlight the needs for safe, equal and humane prison services and provide insights into some of the negative implications that the lack of such structures and practices may generate. Many of the themes underlined in this report are relevant and familiar to SPPS's foundational work in Sweden, including the importance of structured activities and work, trained staff working with the clients, and an organised approach to assess an inmate's risks, needs and responsivity. This illustrates that the Swedish prison service can provide valuable expertise and inspiration to correctional work internationally, including in Somalia. However, the results also show that context-specific empirical knowledge is needed when designing programmes or other interventions. Experiences and practices can be shared across contexts, but prioritising and planning effective interventions require in-depth understanding of local circumstances. This report contributes to an overall assessment of the importance for the SPSS to continue contributing to the missions of the UN and the EU in Somalia.

The results of this report show that, at the time of research, very few extremists serve time in Garowe prison. Those who do are remand prisoners who have little information about their justice status or process. A general finding is that there was very little staff oversight and systematic engagement with prisoners. There are currently no tools to identify or prevent risks for radicalisation among the general prison population. Yet another finding is that there is very strong support among both prisoners and staff to introduce rehabilitation programmes or other structured activities in the prison as the lack of distraction and boredom is considered harmful: "An idle mind is the devil's workshop".

Authors of the publication are Jenniina Kotajoki and Lina Grip. Yet this ambitious project was indeed a team effort. The study was made possible through the cooperation with the Puntland Custodial Corps, Head Quarter and Garowe Prison, Puntland's Ministry of Justice, Religious Affairs and Rehabilitation, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the local non-governmental organization New Access International (NAI). The data collection was conducted primarily by NAI, SPPS staff and SPPS staff seconded to UNODC. SPPS especially

would like to thank Hodan Jamal, Director of Research NAI, Yusuf Mussa, Executive Director NAI, and Leila Ali Caad, Director of Waves of Somali innovative art, for their extensive data collection and collaboration. SPPS also wish to thank James Khalil who was a consultant to the study and contributed with developing the methodology and conducted some of the initial interviews with prisoners. SPPS is deeply thankful to all those who directly contributed to the making of this report. On this note, we would like to extend our deepest gratitude to the more than one hundred respondents who trusted us with their views and experiences from Garowe, the justice process and prison life.

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## Summary

This study examines prison conditions in Puntland, Somalia, especially the current rehabilitation and reintegration prospects and needs of prisoners in Garowe. Somalia's prison reform, as well as that of other conflict-affected countries, has previously been given comparatively little attention from practitioners and minimal attention from academics.

The original purpose of this study was to focus on identifying points for consideration in a potential future rehabilitation and reintegration programme in Garowe Prison, specifically targeting violent extremist offenders. Due to a lack of previous research and knowledge concerning prisons in Somalia, this study adopted an explorative approach. It became clear during the research process that there were fewer violent extremist prisoners in Garowe Prison than expected and that there are overarching issues in the prison context that would have a major impact on the planning of interventions that aim to address high-risk prisoners such as violent extremists. Thus, it was considered beneficial to broaden the aim of the study to encompass an examination of the needs and current situation in Garowe Prison from the perspective of the inmates, prison staff and wider community more generally. Based on the analysis, the study sought to make recommendations for future initiatives in Garowe Prison, particularly from the point of view of external actor engagement. Even though the emphasis is on the needs and preconditions for rehabilitation and reintegration of all prisoners, there is, given the original aim of the study, a specific focus in the analysis on examining the linkages between the prevailing situation and opportunities to prevent violent extremism.

The study is a qualitative interview study based on 75 semi-structured interviews with individual prisoners, 25 semi-structured interviews with individual prison staff, 10 semi-structured interviews and five focus group discussions with community members in Garowe, Somalia. The interviews gathered data on the background and perceptions of the inmates, prison staff and wider community concerning prison conditions and the rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners. The data were analysed both descriptively and inductively.

The results of this study are well in line with previous research highlighting the connections between individual, family and community in rehabilitation and reintegration in conflict-affected contexts. However, in addition to these factors and based on the interviews conducted, this report underlines the role of state institutions, especially the justice sector and prison authorities, in prison programmes, or conversely, the negative consequences of the dysfunctionality of these institutions. This study also draws attention to economic and social inequalities and grievances that interact with experiences of injustice, dysfunctional state support structures and crime. Based on the interviews, it is noteworthy that while some of the issues experienced by the inmates were characteristic of the Somali context or of a conflict-affected context more generally (including clan influence on prison terms), others were more universal, such as feelings of isolation and uncertainty about the future. On the one hand, these notions highlight how important local context and understanding are to engagement, while on the other, they imply that knowledge dissemination across contexts may sometimes be beneficial for finding solutions to existing concerns.

A main finding of the study is that there are several overarching issues embedded in the Garowe Prison context that are linked to access to justice, basic prison services, staff needs and community involvement. While these are broad themes and require cooperation between various stakeholders, this study argues that they are also preventive strategies for addressing violent extremism.

## Sammanfattning

Den här rapporten undersöker möjligheterna till rehabilitering och återintegrering för intagna på Garowe-anstalten i Puntland, Somalia. Anstalter i Somalia och andra konfliktdrabbade länder har tidigare sällan uppmärksammats eller studerats utifrån de intagnas eller anstaltspersonalens perspektiv. Ändå utgår en rad nationella och internationella aktörer från att anstalter har en stor potential att förebygga våldsbejakande extremism och terrorism i Somalia. Genom att arbeta aktivt med särskilda insatser riktade mot att avradikalisera terrordömda personer antas nya dåd förhindras och tidigare splittrade samhällens sociala sammanhållning öka. Enskilda anstalters möjligheter att genomföra sådana program har dock inte tidigare undersökts.

Det ursprungliga syftet med studien var att identifiera områden för ett framtida rehabiliterings- och återintegreringsprogram i Garowe-anstalten, specifikt inriktat på våldbejakande extremister. Bristen på tidigare forskning och kunskap om anstalter i Somalia motiverade att studie antog en explorativ ansats, där olika lokala relevanta aktörer inkluderades. Under datainsamlingen blev det tydligt att det fanns långt färre våldsbejakande extremister i Garowe-anstalten än förväntat, samtidigt som övergripande frågor gällande själva anstaltskontexten utkristalliserades. Dessa antogs kunna ha en stor inverkan på planeringen av program riktade till högriskintagna. Forskargruppen ansåg det därför vara fördelaktigt att utvidga studiens mål för att omfatta en mer generell undersökning av intagnas behov och möjligheter till rehabilitering och den aktuella situationen i Garowe-anstalten. Även om tonvikten ligger på behoven och förutsättningarna för rehabilitering och återintegrering av alla intagna finns det, med tanke på det ursprungliga syftet med studien, ett specifikt fokus i analysen på att undersöka kopplingen mellan den rådande situationen och möjligheterna att förebygga våldsbejakande extremism.

Studien är en kvalitativ intervjustudie baserad på 75 semistrukturerade individuella intervjuer med intagna, 25 semistrukturerade intervjuer med anstaltspersonal, 10 semistrukturerade intervjuer och fem fokusgruppsdiskussioner med representanter från Garowe. Intervjuerna samlade data om uppfattningarna hos intagna, anstaltspersonal och det bredare samhället om anstaltsvillkor och möjligheter till rehabilitering och återintegrering av intagna. Svaren analyserades både deskriptivt och induktivt. Baserat på analysen mynnar rapporten ut i rekommendationer för framtida insatser i Garowe-anstalten. Dessa syftar särskilt till att informera externa aktörer (så som Kriminalvården) i deras framtida engagemang.

Rapportens resultat stämmer väl överens med tidigare forskning som belyser sambanden mellan individ, familj och samhälle i intagnas rehabilitering och återintegrering i konfliktdrabbade länder. Rapporten understryker vikten av ett bättre fungerande rättsväsende för att lyckas med programverksamhet i anstalter och omvänt: de negativa konsekvenserna av dessa institutioners dysfunktionalitet på riktade insatser. Studien betonar vikten av att stärka personalen och höja standarden på administrativa rutiner i anstalten, samt öka kontinuiteten och förutsägbarheten för att förbättra tillvaron för både personal och intagna. Samtliga deltagare var positiva till att introducera programinsatser eller andra strukturerade aktiviteter i anstalten. Baserat på intervjuerna är det anmärkningsvärt att även om några av de problem som intagna upplevde var karakteristiska för det somaliska sammanhanget eller en postkonfliktkontext mer generellt (så som klanpåverkan på anstaltsvillkor), var andra mer universella för intagna, till exempel känslor av isolering och osäkerhet inför framtiden. Resultaten belyser hur viktigt lokalt sammanhang och förståelse är för riktade insatser, samtidigt som kunskapsspridning mellan olika kontexter ibland kan vara fördelaktigt för att hitta lösningar på befintliga problem. Även om grundläggande

rättigheter och rutiner är breda teman som kräver samarbete mellan olika aktörer, kan de samtidigt ses som förebyggande strategier mot vidare radikaliserings under anstaltsvistelser.

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## Chapter 1 Introduction

Garowe Prison in Puntland was built in 2014 under the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) Piracy Prisoner Transfer Programme. According to Gilmer, “The creation of a regional model for prosecuting pirates has spurred an East Africa prison boom” in which those who did “accept the transfer of suspected Somali pirates and piracy prisoners received large amounts of penal aid in the form of infrastructure refurbishment” and other types of support (Gilmer, 2017, p. 127). The prison in Garowe was reportedly the largest construction project ever undertaken in Somalia (‘UNODC Global Maritime Programme Detention and Transfer’, 2019). According to the UN Security Council, the new Garowe Prison was meant to “provide humane and secure detention conditions in line with international human rights standards”, as well as to improve “infrastructure and sanitation, medical support for inmates and staff and education and vocational training programmes”. The penal aid package to Garowe also included “training and mentoring custodial staff to ensure that the prison is managed in accordance with best practice in the provision of criminal justice” (United Nations Security Council, 2014).

Sweden has been strongly engaged in Somali reform processes by promoting civil society engagement, providing development assistance and contributing to the EU’s crisis management initiatives in Somalia. Sweden recently doubled the volume of its financial support, making the country the fourth largest bilateral donor to Somalia (Regeringskansliet, 2018). The Swedish Prison and Probation Service (SPPS) has been contributing to Sweden’s and the UN’s programmes in Somalia since 2015. As a part of its international work, SPPS has seconded experts, contributed to competence development and supported the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia and Somali prison authorities in rehabilitating ex-combatants in a pilot project in Baidoa. SPPS currently has seven members of staff in Somalia. Two Swedish experts are working inside Garowe Prison, seconded from SPPS to the UNODC as part of its Global Maritime Crime Programme in the Horn of Africa. SPPS prides itself on striving to be an evidence- and knowledge-based organization, with international engagement founded on transnational dialogue, local ownership and relevance. Its professionalism and humane approach towards offenders have made SPPS an attractive partner in strengthening prison services in conflict-affected states.

There is an increased interest among international actors in involving prison authorities in addressing violent extremism in Somalia; an interest that is reportedly shared by regional authorities. Presumably, the infrastructure that was built under the Piracy Prisoner Transfer Programme could be used to contain and rehabilitate other types of high-risk prisoner, currently violent extremist prisoners whose rehabilitation has been of interest to both international and domestic stakeholders. There is, however, very little knowledge about Somali prisons and no study has followed up on the prison reforms conducted under the pirate transfer programme. Hence, in order to design a new programme or intervention, a more solid knowledge base is needed. Besides a lack of knowledge about Somali prisons, there is a shortage of studies looking at prison-based interventions and their prospects for addressing violent extremism in countries similar to Somalia. Even though conflict-affected states suffer most from violence caused by violent extremism and terrorism (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2017), most of the research into addressing these issues has focused on non-conflict contexts. In 2018, as part of SPPS’s contribution to enhancing knowledge about violent extremism in prison environments in Somalia and beyond, the authors conducted a systematic literature review of deradicalization,

disengagement, rehabilitation and reintegration (DDRR) in conflict-affected contexts. In June 2018, the SPPS Office for International Affairs commissioned the SPPS Research and Evaluation Unit to conduct this feasibility study into the prospects of SPPS supporting the development of a programme that aims to address violent extremism in Garowe Prison.

## **Objectives and study approach**

The original objective of this study was to answer two questions: What are the prospects and needs of rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners in Garowe? And, what should be key considerations in a rehabilitation and reintegration programme in Garowe Prison, specifically targeting violent extremist offenders? The aim was to make recommendations for an external programme that aims to address violent extremism in the prison. An interview method was chosen to analyse the research questions and make recommendations for international engagement in the prison from the point of view of local actors and relevance for local contexts.

Garowe, the administrative capital of Puntland, was chosen as a case study due to its relative stability, the anticipated needs and necessary preconditions for possible engagement and opportunities for the research team to conduct interviews in the area. Puntland is a semi-autonomous state in the north and northeast of Somalia and a relatively mature and stable example of the political formations that have emerged since the collapse of the central authority in the country in 1991 (Harper, 2012).

Due to the lack of research on the topic and data on prisons in Somalia, this study adopted an explorative approach. As it was difficult to assess beforehand what kind of data existed or would be accessible, the research approach needed to be adaptable to the data acquired. It became clear during the research process that there were fewer violent extremist prisoners in Garowe Prison than expected and that there are overarching issues in the prison context that would have a major impact on the planning of interventions that aim to address violent extremism. In August 2018, there was only one convicted violent extremist prisoner in Garowe and seven other prisoners accused of terrorism who were on remand. Moreover, there was barely any available information on the prison population. For example, the admission record had a lot fewer names in it than there were inmates in the prison and it was not possible to link the names on the admission record to actual inmates as staff did not keep track of the names of the inmates and the admission record did not have pictures in it.

Thus, instead of focusing on addressing violent extremism, it was considered beneficial to broaden the aim of this study to examine the needs and current situation in Garowe Prison from the perspective of the inmates, prison staff and wider community more generally in light of potential future prison reform. Subsequently, recommendations for externally supported reform in Garowe Prison were made based on the analysis. Even though the emphasis is on the needs and preconditions in the prison as a whole, there is a specific focus in the analysis on examining the linkages between the prevailing situation and opportunities to address violent extremism, especially with regard to prevention.

This study is an interview study based on interviews with 75 individual prisoners, 25 individual prison staff members and 10 local community members and discussions with five community groups in Garowe, Puntland. The interviews sought to gather data on the background and perceptions of the inmates, prison staff and wider community regarding prison conditions and

the rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners. As interviews with community members were conducted before recognizing the situation in the prison, those interviews focus especially strongly on violent extremism. In the community interviews, questions about economic, social, justice and security issues were also posed as we consider these factors important to understanding the role and functioning of prisons in conflict and post-conflict societies. Moreover, this study aimed to underline the local perspectives in understanding the social context of Garowe and the prospects for rehabilitation and reintegration in the community as a whole.

The interviews were semi-structured and the interview material was analysed both descriptively and inductively. While a descriptive approach was deemed appropriate for providing an overview of the interviewees' perceptions, an inductive approach, "the bottom-up approach", allowed the identification of patterns beyond prior theories or a hypothesis. This is considered especially useful in situations where there is a lack of previous knowledge on the topic.

### **Criminal justice reform in conflict affected states**

The (re)establishment of prison systems is key to restoring and maintaining peace in conflict-affected states and has been part of UN peacekeeping operations since 1999 (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations/Department of Field Support, 2015, p. 3) As of 2004, prison services had often been overlooked in international engagement for the rule of law and transitional justice in post-conflict states (United Nations Security Council, 2004, p. 9). O'Connor describes the prison system in post-conflict states as "Armed with nothing but a devastated criminal justice system lacking basic resources and personnel ... Even if a conviction is secured, prisons are overcrowded and prison facilities are inadequate to house the convicted" (O'Connor, 2005, p. 231).

Somalia's prison reform has been given little attention compared to other justice reforms in the country (International Security Sector Advisory Team, 2017). The authors of this study could only find one academic study pertaining to prisons in Somalia. Gilmer (2017) uses the concept of penal aid as a framework for analysing changing prison space and practices in East Africa, using the Piracy Prisoner Transfer Programme as a case study. In the "biopolitics form of penal aid", a particular set of prisoners are identified as underdeveloped and dangerous, and donors target them and the spaces they inhabit with penal investment (Gilmer, 2017, p. 120). According to Gilmer, this is a new development in prison reform, which is more short-term and focused on a specific prisoner population rather than on long-term broad prison reform. This form of prison reform "can only continue if a new prisoner population is identified as a containment and maintenance priority (e.g. terrorists, drug-traffickers, etc.)" (Gilmer, 2017, pp. 127–128). Central to Gilmer's theory is that prison reform in Somalia is formulated and driven by external actors and that domestic actors are simply responding to those demands in ways that would maximize their revenues.

The only other report on prison reform in Somalia found was a short note by UNODC and Oceans Beyond Piracy. They conducted a limited survey of 66 Somali inmates accused of piracy in Hargeisa Prison in Somaliland (28), Bosasso Prison in Puntland (17) and Montagne Posee Prison in the Seychelles (21). The eight-question survey sought to capture prisoner attitudes and experiences around piracy and possible deterrents. "Many" respondents, however, maintained that they were not guilty of piracy, and so the questions were rephrased to be about piracy in general, not personal experiences. However, the respondents reported being very impacted by

prison, and a strong desire to avoid future prison time (UNODC and Oceans Beyond Piracy, n.d.). In addition to these reports, the United Kingdom Home Office, for example, has reported that prisons in Somalia, including those in Puntland, have “poor levels of sanitation, overcrowding and disease; inadequate medical facilities; extensive use of lengthy pre-trial detention and the use of torture and other forms of ill-treatment” (United Kingdom Home Office, 2015).

Despite the lack of empirical research on the topic, some perspectives that are shared across theoretical approaches to prison sociology, peace research and institutional theory are useful in positioning this study. One of these aspects is the emphasis on the interaction between social and political developments, individuals and state institutions, including prisons. Peace researchers have argued for the need to consider individual experiences and perceptions (micro level) with community level processes and local institutions (meso level) as well as the link to political, economic and social processes (macro level). Balcells & Justino (2014, p. 1345) argue here that “the meso level connects individuals and households with larger communities and broader processes”. Prisons can be analysed in connection to the wider society of which prisons constitute a part, and prison organizations and values are shaped through this embeddedness (International Security Sector Advisory Team, 2017). While prisons can be an institution for reform and rehabilitation, it can be argued that all institutions and all forms of social relations exist only to the degree that people act in accordance with their orders (Lambach, Johais, & Bayer, 2015). Thus, the organization of prisons is a function of social orders and norms, but at the same time, their functioning may affect broader social developments such as the issues of peace and conflict. Despite these interlinkages, prisons in post-conflict processes is a topic that has often been neglected (Detzner, 2017).

In addition to the broader context in which the prison and its inmates exist, the social system inside the prison matters. Similarly to peace research, which underlines the role of local communities in constructing peace and emancipatory approaches that promote the use of local understandings of peace as the point of departure when designing interventions (Leonardsson & Rudd, 2015), prison sociology views prisons as social systems with inherent roles, norms, values, methods of control, language, tensions, deprivations and frustrations. From this point of view, attempts at reforming the prisoners must take into account this local social system. A central element for prison sociologists like Sykes and Clemmer is how inmates experience imprisonment. Sykes argued that there are also shared pains of imprisonment in facilities without physical violence and corporal punishment. Inmates still experience psychological deprivations and frustrations, which threatens the inmates’ personality and sense of personal worth (Sykes, 2007, pp. 63–64). The primary pain of imprisonment is the deprivation of liberty, both the confinement to the prison and the confinement inside the prison. The inmates are not only separated from family and friends, they are rejected as free or trusted members of society, with prison life organized in ways that provide constant reminders of their loss of autonomy (anonymous clothing, deprived of first names, shaved heads etc.) (Sykes, 2007, p. 65).

The different theoretical approaches, namely peace research, institutionalist approaches and prison sociology, also have some common terminology, for example reform, rehabilitation, reintegration and reconciliation. The concepts of deradicalization and disengagement have also been used recently in connection to peacebuilding and prison research, especially as the issue of addressing violent extremism has risen high on the global political agenda. Violent extremism

lacks a clear internationally recognized definition, but it may refer to the beliefs and actions of people who support or use violence to achieve ideological or religious goals. Addressing violent extremism can take various different forms, but the concepts of rehabilitation, deradicalization, disengagement and reintegration are applied in the field. However, while deradicalization and disengagement are often specifically used in the context of violent extremism, rehabilitation and reintegration refer to broader phenomena. Rehabilitation is the process that assists a person in recovering, while reintegration refers to a process of integrating someone back into society. With regard to violent extremism, a distinction is often made between deradicalization and disengagement, where deradicalization is understood to be a change in attitudes or beliefs and disengagement means a change in behaviour. While this study aims to take into account all four of these processes, because the approach of this study is inclusive and explorative, the main focus is on rehabilitation and reintegration. Both rehabilitation and reintegration can be seen as dynamic processes involving the family, the individual and the community. Previous research has highlighted the importance of embedding rehabilitation and reintegration programmes within the local community in conflict-affected contexts (Grip and Kotajoki, 2019).

### **Structure of the study**

The first part of this report contextualizes the study by providing a short description of the current societal situation in Garowe and Puntland. The context of Garowe and Somalia more broadly is considered vital to understanding the situation in the prison. The second chapter introduces the method used in the study. Building on the explorative approach, descriptive research is conducted to build an outline of the perceptions of the community, the prisoners and the prison staff that is based on semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. An inductive approach is also applied in order to analyse the empirical data on prisoners and prison staff.

The third part of this report presents the results of the analysis. First, primary results from interviews and focus group discussions with community members are analysed descriptively. Secondly, the main results from the interviews with inmates are described, after which an inductive thematic analysis is conducted. Thirdly, main results from the interviews with Garowe Prison staff are described, after which an inductive thematic analysis is conducted. After the results section, the outcomes of the analysis are discussed in connection to previous research. The final section provides recommendations for potential future prison reform in Garowe, including possible rehabilitation and reintegration programme

## Chapter 2 The context of Puntland

This section seeks to contextualize prison conditions and the prospects for prison reform in Garowe. By examining the societal developments in Garowe and Puntland, it underlines the distinctiveness of Garowe as a location for prison reform.

### Governance in Puntland

Somalia has frequently been at the forefront of the so-called “failed state” discourse since the 1990s. Regardless of perspective, analysts agree that Somalia has large governance challenges. As an example, Transparency International ranked Somalia as the most corrupt country or territory in 2017 (Transparency International, 2018). After the overthrow of General Siad Barre’s socialist military regime on 26 January 1991, clan-based armed militias began to violently compete for government power, resulting in the collapse of state authority and effective government. In 1992, the group known as al-Itihad al-Islamiyya, led by Hassan Dahir Aweys – who later became a prominent member of al-Shabaab – challenged remnants of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) for control over Bossaso port and the Bari region. The SSDF was the first rebel group to challenge Siad Barre and mainly consisted of clans from present day Puntland. After this collapse, the remnants of SSDF acted as the de facto government and initially gave control of the port to religious scholars, some of whom supported Hassan Dahir Aweys in his bid to expand the Islamist group’s control of the port to the regions of Puntland. The remnants of SSDF, backed by popular support, ultimately forced the Itihad group to surrender. After spending years trying to revive the Somali Democratic Republic, Puntland politicians and prominent stakeholders opted for the formation of a state government under the banner of Somali federalism. In 1998, the Puntland State of Somalia in the north and northeast of Somalia took the opportunity to declare its autonomy. Puntland has not sought legal separation from the south, but has its own presidential government and regional administration (Harper, 2012, p. 109). Garowe is the administrative capital of Puntland, whilst Bosasso is the commercial capital and largest city in the semi-autonomous state.

The government of Puntland has not received international support, otherwise often available to post-conflict states, due to its lack of international or regional recognition. Thus, it has been argued that Puntland, and Somaliland, have aimed to engage in local state-building as a bottom-up process that has relied on clan elders and politicians (Hagmann & Hoehne, 2009; Johnson & Smaker, 2014). Although this development has been weaker in Puntland compared to Somaliland, which has managed to develop more viable self-governance structures (Dill, 2010), Puntland has succeeded in building some institutions (Hesse, 2010). Puntland has a permanent state constitution and police forces, and prisons have been built (Puntland Development Research Center (PDRC) & Interpeace, 2015). In January 2019, Puntland experienced a peaceful transfer of power through a presidential election. Despite these developments, Puntland is still an integral part of Somalia and the latter’s weak governance structures that are manifested in, for example, widespread corruption.

The level of women’s participation and representation in politics in Puntland is very low. Only two parliamentarians out of 66 and one minister out of 18 are women. Women’s participation in Puntland is growing at the local level, which is visible in an increased number of women being

elected to local councils and becoming engaged in civil society organizations (Somali Institute for Development and Research Analysis, 2016).

## **Economy and social order in Somalia**

Somalia is among the poorest countries in the world and its contemporary development has been strongly affected by the armed conflicts that have destabilized the country for decades. More than half of the working-age population in Somalia is officially unemployed (International Monetary Fund, 2018). Gathering reliable data on economic development in Somalia or its regions is a challenge, but there are some studies showing that the economy of Somalia has actually grown during the years without an effective central authority (Harper 2012, 112). The private sector in particular has played a key role in Somalia's development over the past two and half decades (Randa et al., 2017). Despite some positive developments and recovery, poverty in Somalia is widespread. In addition, the legacy of the protracted conflict and prevailing security concerns also pose a risk to economic activity (International Monetary Fund, 2018). Furthermore, the adult literacy rate in Somalia is among the lowest in the world at around just 38 percent in 2015 (World Bank, 2015).

Somalia is among the most gender unequal countries in the world. Gender-based violence is widespread and approximately 98 per cent of women in Somalia undergo female genital mutilation. Many women marry before the age of 18 and three quarters of the female population is illiterate. The majority of Puntland's population earns their living from agriculture, however, women in Puntland participate to a greater extent than elsewhere in Somalia in paid employment in the non-agricultural sector. Nonetheless, most Somali women are heavily marginalized or excluded from decision-making and asset ownership (UNDP, 2016).

Clans are an important part of the social order in Somalia. However, scholars debate the importance of clans in understanding Somalia – while some scholars place the clan at the centre of their analysis, others emphasize other factors such as socio-economic relationships (Harper, 2012, p. 38). It has been argued that the importance of the clan has been blurred by recent developments, especially the rise of Islamist groups such as al-Shabaab (Harper, 2012), but official arrangements and public affairs still build on the clan structures. Political power-sharing in the country is based on a 4.5-clan system where four main clans are given equal stakes in the government, while the minority clans together share the remaining 0.5. Furthermore, clan structures are intertwined with socio-economic issues as clan-based conflicts are closely related to land and resources in Puntland (Puntland Development Research Center (PDRC) & Interpeace, 2015, p. 22), which is mainly inhabited by the Darood clan family (Farrell, 2012; Schlee, 2008, p. 117). On the one hand, clan based organization of the system has contributed to marginalization and exclusion especially among minority clans, young people and women (International Crisis Group, 2013, 2016). On the other hand, however, clans can be a positive resource by providing protection, important social networks and support structures for individuals, and the role of clan elders is considered vital in conflict resolution.

## **Security in Puntland**

Since 1998, the government of Puntland has invested a large part of its resources in the security apparatus (Johnson & Smaker, 2014). Over the past ten years, the radical Islamist group al-

Shabaab has taken control of large parts of Somalia, especially in southern and central Somalia, with the vision of establishing a global Islamist caliphate with links to al-Qaeda. In addition, Islamic State has been establishing a foothold in Somalia, focusing especially on Puntland. Puntland is generally considered to be more stable than various other parts of the country, but, especially since 2012, al-Shabaab has had a stronghold in the area centred on the Galgala mountains. Galgala has also been a refuge for al-Shabaab fighters, who are under pressure in southern and central Somalia (Hoehne, 2014). There have been gains against al-Shabaab in the mountain range, however the group still has fighting forces in the area. Furthermore, sea piracy and inter-clan conflicts pose challenges to Puntland's security situation. Islamic State has also managed to consolidate a foothold in Puntland's Bari region since 2015 as a result of a group defecting from al-Shabaab and pledging loyalty to Islamic State (International Crisis Group, 2016; Warner & Weiss, 2017). Puntland forces made advances against al-Shabaab in 2014 and 2015, but in 2016, Somali Islamic State seized the city of Qandala, east of Bosasso, and the security situation worsened again (ibid.). Qandala was retaken by Puntland's armed forces in December 2016; however, the group still manages to operate in the mountain range. Due to weak border controls in the area, there is movement of foreign fighters, couriers and individuals performing logistical tasks between Somalia and Yemen (United Nations Security Council, 2018), as well as free flows of illegal arms and ammunitions between the countries (Puntland Development Research Center (PDRC) and Interpeace, 2015). The number of individuals that have connections to al-Shabaab or Islamic State in Puntland or Somalia is unknown.

## **Legal system in Somalia and Puntland**

Puntland has established its own court system separate from the national court system. Formal judicial processes operate alongside informal mechanisms of justice, and mediation by clan elders is often given greater legitimacy than formal courts (International Security Sector Advisory Team, 2017). In Somalia, customary law (xeer), religious law (sharia) and secular law coexist. Xeer has been described as a form of social contract consisting of fluid customs and unwritten agreements. Xeer is closely associated with diya; blood money paid as compensation for misconduct (Ubink & Rea, 2017). Customary law and religious courts based on sharia have provided an important element of order and contracts in Somalia, where state structures and secular institutions have been weak (Leonard & Samantar, 2011). These systems together have, among other things, facilitated business. However, it has been argued that there is an absence of clearly defined working relationships between the three forms of justice (Puntland Development Research Center (PDRC) and Interpeace, 2015). There is, for example, no clear description of which law applies under which circumstances (International Security Sector Advisory Team, 2017). All in all, there are various ways individuals may both end up in and be released from prison. Moreover, each of the used systems have their limitations. While both xeer and sharia are imbued with motifs and ideals of forgiveness, harmony and peace, xeer, in particular, has been criticized for upholding inequalities between clans, between men and women, and between young and old (Ubink & Rea, 2017). On the other hand, operational incapacity continues to exist when it comes to the Puntland justice system (Puntland Development Research Center (PDRC) and Interpeace, 2015). According to a study conducted by PDRC and Interpeace in 2014 and 2015, there are perceptions of unethical practices such as bribes, clan bias and impunity of officials regarding the formal justice system and people resort instead to the traditional or sharia system of justice. However, "inadequate awareness or sensitization on national justice systems and rule of law has left the majority of people in Puntland unequipped to make an informed decision about how justice would be best served" (Puntland Development Research Center (PDRC) and Interpeace,

2015, p. 22). All in all, the three different judicial arrangements overlap and include fluid procedures that individuals may have a hard time following or overseeing. This may also have severe implications for the functioning of the prison system and the experiences of inmates.

When it comes to the rule of law, it has been found that the National Intelligence and Security Agency and the Puntland Intelligence Service are operating without legal authority and arbitrarily arrest and detain individuals without charge or access to legal counsel and family visits (Human Rights Watch, 2018b). The problems are related to the fight against violent extremism in the area, and intelligence agents have allegedly been torturing and ill-treating presumed terrorism suspects to extract confessions or obtain information. The main captures of al-Shabaab fighters in Puntland are being made in the Bosasso area. Children have also been prosecuted in military courts and given harsh sentences for terrorism-related offences. In December 2016, 28 children were detained in Garowe Prison in a section separate from adults (Human Rights Watch, 2018a, p. 47).

## Chapter 3 Method

This study is an explorative interview study based on three sets of semi-structured interviews or focus group discussions: contextual interviews and discussions with community members (n=15), interviews with prisoners (n=75) and interviews with prison staff (n=25). The conversations with local community actors consisted of 10 interviews and 5 focus group discussions with purposefully selected groups and individuals with varying roles in the Garowe community. The inmate interviews involved 75 individual interviews with inmates in Garowe Prison and the prison staff interviews consisted of 25 individual interviews with staff members in Garowe Prison. Both the inmates and prison staff were selected so that the interview samples included variation in terms of age, background and sentence or work experience and are thus not representative of the entire inmate population and prison staff. Originally, interviews with family members were also foreseen, but due to uncertainty about final programme participants these did not materialize.

The collected empirical data were analysed using descriptive and inductive approaches. The descriptive analysis aimed to describe the interview answers under each given theme in the interview guides, with a minimum amount of interpretation by the researchers. The inductive analysis allowed more interpretation of the data by the researchers in that empirical observations moved towards generalizations and ideas. Thus, the inductive approach allowed new coding categories to emerge from the data instead of being constructed by the researcher beforehand. Thematic analysis is used to identify patterns within and across data in relation to participants' lived experience, views and perspectives, and behaviour and practices. This "experiential" research approach seeks to understand what participants' think, feel and do (Clark and Braun, 2017) and is considered especially useful in this study due to the lack of available information about the interview subjects. As the community interviews mainly aimed to contextualize the other interviews, only a descriptive analysis of these was conducted. The prisoner and prison staff interviews were analysed both descriptively and thematically, the latter based on inductively constructed coding categories.

### Community members

The interviews and focus group discussions with community members aimed to gather nuanced information about the perceptions and responsiveness of the community members, including their perspectives on the preconditions, needs and prospects for the rehabilitation of violent extremist offenders in Puntland. Previous research has highlighted the importance of embedding rehabilitation and reintegration programmes within the local community in conflict-affected contexts (Grip and Kotajoki, 2019), which justifies the inclusion of local actor interviews. Furthermore, as the role of community groups in the rehabilitation and reintegration of former extremists has been advocated by previous research in Somalia and beyond (Annan, Brier, & Aryemo, 2009; Ubink & Rea, 2017; UNSOM, 2017), understanding the perspectives of local actors is considered extremely important when planning interventions.

Based on findings from past research and lessons learned from SPSS's pilot project in Baidoa, economic, political, security, social relations and justice topics were included in the interviews. The interview templates were developed together with a local non-governmental organization, New Access International (NAI), which created and led the Puntland Consortium for CVE

Reform (PCCVE) that conducted the final interviews. Three test interviews were conducted as a part of the development process.

The interviewees included a community leader, a religious leader, a clan elder, a representative from the Ministry of Justice, Religious Affairs and Rehabilitation, a representative from the Ministry of Interior, a police officer, a military officer, an intelligence officer, a judge and a lawyer (all male). The individuals taking part in the focus group discussions were women's groups (4 women) and civil society members (2 women, 3 men), as well as youth groups, prison authorities and members of the business community (all male). The objective was both to collect detailed information and to draw from broad perspectives in order to identify apparent trends in the interviewees' perceptions. The group or individual was selected on the basis of their knowledge, availability, life-experience or role in a group/community, as is typical for focus group analysis (see e.g. Rabiee, 2004). However, elements of convenience sampling were also applied in the sense that the interviewees and discussants were individuals that the research team had some prior knowledge of and could reach out to.

Notes of the interviews conducted by NAI were translated into English. The SPPS research team condensed the raw textual data and a description of it is presented in the results chapter. The results are organized on the basis of the themes of the interview questions. The aim of the community interviews was to understand the context, outline frameworks and understand meanings rather than to test a hypothesis or identify relationships, which is why a descriptive approach is considered suitable.

## **Prisoners**

The second part of the study focused on increasing the understanding of the inmates in Garowe Prison, including their backgrounds, views on prison conditions and ideas about rehabilitation and reintegration. Garowe Prison has a capacity of 500 inmates and currently hosts approximately 300 male inmates (the amount fluctuates and the exact number is not known). While Garowe Prison has places reserved for women, there were no female prisoners at the time of the interviews. The 75 interviews included questions about demographics, the educational or occupational background of the prisoners, the crime perception of the prisoners, their opinions on the prison conditions, their social relationships and aspirations after release. One third of the interviews were conducted by SPPS researchers, one third by SPPS prison staff seconded to UNODC and one third by NAI. Two thirds of the interviews with prisoners were conducted through interpreters who were staff members of UNODC. While the same themes emerged in the interviews regardless of whether or not an interpreter was used, the interviews held without interpretation tended to involve more elaborate language, for example by using more metaphors and imagery.

Interviews with both convicted and detained inmates accused of terrorism-related offences as well as of other type of offence were included in this study. Focusing only on the violent extremist offenders would risk creating tensions or hostilities within the prison that may in turn disrupt or undermine the project or increase stigmatization (e.g. Veldhuis, 2015). As there is little consensus in existing research on drivers of violent extremism (United Nations, 2015), examining the profiles of the prisoners and analysing similarities and differences between violent extremists and other offenders may contribute to our understanding of the individual processes that may have influenced violent extremist engagement. The changing nature of conflict and the

connections between different actors in post-conflict societies have blurred the distinctions between armed conflict, organized crime and terrorism, which further underlines the importance of an inclusive and wide-ranging approach when researching prisons.

The original plan was to conduct stratified random sampling. However, this was considered impossible as it became clear during the research process that there is no complete data set available covering the inmates in Garowe Prison. For example, the admission record had a lot fewer names on it than there are inmates in the prison and appeared not to be updated on a regular basis. It was also impossible to link the names on the admission record to an actual inmate as staff did not keep track of the names of inmates and the admission record did not have pictures in it. Moreover, no other data on the inmates were available. Accordingly, the inmate interview sample was selected purposefully to include variability in terms of age, clan, perceived risk-level, sentence or reason for detention and prison placement. The inmates were chosen by asking those inmates who, according to the local prison staff, had the required characteristics whether they wanted to be interviewed or by randomly choosing and asking inmates in the crowd. Local prison staff and the UNODC staff working in the prison cooperated in choosing the interviewees and the interviewees were asked whether they wanted to be interviewed by the staff approaching the possible interviewees and again by the interviewers. Approximately 12 said that they did not want to be interviewed and one wanted to drop out in the middle of an interview.

Initially, the researchers planned to conduct more in-depth interviews with al-Shabaab or IS prisoners than with other inmates. This was dropped before interviews began because, as explained previously, the group of prisoners associated with violent extremism in Garowe was considerably smaller than anticipated; eight in total. Furthermore, the local NGO staff raised their concerns about asking highly sensitive questions in a first interview with prisoners. Thus, more structured interviews were conducted with a larger sample that included the eight suspected al-Shabaab members. As the majority of the suspected al-Shabaab members interviewed (8) had not had a trial (7) and denied the accusations of being associated with al-Shabaab (7), they cannot be considered violent extremist prisoners (VEPs) in the traditional sense. Instead, the term VEP refers in this report to the prisoners who are on remand for their suspected links to al-Shabaab or have been convicted.

The interviews were conducted by local researchers affiliated with NAI in Somali, by SPPS researchers or UNODC seconded personnel in English with a Somali interpreter. All the interviews took place in office rooms in which no other persons were present aside from the interviewer, interviewee and, in some cases, an interpreter. In the majority of the interviews, the atmosphere was considered good, calm and constructive and the prisoners were generally willing to engage in the interview. All interviewees verbally gave their consent to be interviewed before the interview started. There were various interviewees who frankly said that they did not want to answer to specific questions and their decisions were respected.

Both a descriptive analysis and an inductive thematic analysis of the data are provided in this report. The descriptive part is organized in line with the interview questions, while the thematic analysis aims to identify themes that surfaced in the interviews. Both manifest (explicit) and latent (underlying) meanings can be captured through thematic analysis (Clarke & Braun, 2017). In addition, connections between the themes are analysed. To identify the themes, the SPPS research team manually coded the data provided by the interviewees in English. The coding is

inductive. Participants' expressions are used to formulate categories of data and the categories are built and modified throughout the coding process. The final categories are the ones that emerge strongest from the data. Typically in qualitative coding, one segment of text may be coded into more than one category and a considerable amount of the text may not be assigned to any category as it was not considered relevant to the aims of the study (Thomas, 2006). It should be noted that the formulation of the question is taken into account in the coding. After the coding and subsequent dynamic categorization, some of the categories were merged and, in the end, five interrelated themes were established. These were "I don't know what will happen and why I am here", experiences of injustice, importance of family and clan, money and isolation or longing for freedom.

## **Prison staff**

The third set of interviews was with local prison staff in Garowe Prison. There are approximately 140 prison staff officially employed in the entire organization in Garowe Prison. All of them are male. However, approximately 40 of them are actively working. Purposeful sampling was applied in order to identify interviewees with different perceptions and experience as employees. As a part of the sampling process, the age of the interviewee and their position and length and nature of their experience within the organization were considered. Previous research has found that that prejudices and fear of staff members can undermine deradicalization and disengagement efforts, that staff dealing with violent extremist in prison contexts need specific skills and that it is challenging to train staff (Radicalisation Awareness Network, 2016). This highlights the need to understand the needs, responsiveness and perspectives of staff members.

The questions that formed the structure of the interviews focused on both the interviewee's own experiences and points of view and his perspectives on the inmates' well-being and future prospects. Questions addressed the interviewee's background and life experience, his experiences working with high-risk prisoners, especially al-Shabaab-associated prisoners, the interviewee's perspective on prison conditions, relations in the prison and inmates' rehabilitation and reintegration. The need for staff training was also covered.

The interviews with prison staff were conducted by NAI. The local research team conducted the interviews in private rooms in a staff training facility. Most of the interviews were recorded to allow confirmation of notes made during the interview. Notes from the interviews were translated to English.

As with the prisoner interviews, both a descriptive analysis and an inductive thematic analysis of the data are provided in this report. The descriptive part is organized in line with the interview questions, while the thematic analysis aims to identify themes that surface in the data. In addition, connections between the themes are analysed. To identify the themes, the SPSS research team manually coded the data by applying inductive coding. Participants' expressions are used to formulate categories of data and the categories are built and modified throughout the coding process. It should be noted that the formulation of the question is taken into account in the coding. Finally, four interrelated themes that surfaced in the data across questions were identified: respect, training, the importance of change in the inmates' lives and agitation and anger among the inmates.

## **Ethics**

The project plan of the feasibility study has been reviewed by the steering committee of the Research and Evaluation Unit at the Swedish Prison and Probation Service. No research ethics board exists in Puntland. Instead, research proposals have to be approved by relevant authorities. In this project, SPPS sought and received consent from bodies representing regional authorities, civil society and the international community.

Prior to conducting this study, SPPS reached out to the relevant authorities in Puntland, including the Ministry of Justice, Religious Affairs and Rehabilitation and Puntland Custodial Corps, Head Quarter and Garowe Prison. A research permit for the study was approved in August 2018. SPPS conducted the project together with a local organization, NAI. The organization has revised all the interview instruments drafted by SPPS on the basis of their considerations for appropriateness to local contexts. What is more, SPPS signed a memorandum of understanding with the UNODC for the project. UNODC represents the international community in Somalia on issues related to terrorist convicts and relevant prison programmes.

All interviewees were first informed orally about the study. As literacy among many of the respondents was limited, there was no standard process to hand out written information about the study. All possible respondents were informed about the purpose of the study, their right to refuse to participate and how the answers and documentation would be treated. All the interviewees gave their consent to be interviewed. Ensuring informed consent can be a challenging process anywhere, and some of the circumstances in this study – a prison in a highly corrupt country – only exacerbate this problem. The researchers paid special attention to whether any inmates looked or acted as if they were forced to participate. Some of the people approached declined to be interviewed; others declined to answer specific questions. Several of the inmates had been interviewed by external researchers or staff before. The majority of respondents, both prisoners and staff members, took the opportunity to raise issues related to prison conditions. The interview notes did not contain names or other personal information that could lead to the identification of individual respondents. The list of names of interviewees was stored separate from the interview notes. In addition, interviewees were asked before the start of their interview not to provide the names of others who were involved and not to divulge information that he deemed too sensitive. The interviewer stated at the beginning of the interview that the respondent may, at any time, choose not to reply to questions that he deemed too difficult or hard to grasp. At the end of the interview, the interviewer asked if there was something in particular that came up in the interview that was sensitive or particularly difficult and agreed to omit information from the interview from the notes if requested.

Some of the interviews were recorded, but only in cases where the interviewee gave their full consent. All interview notes and recordings with prisoners were stored and handled confidentially and the interview material was transferred through SPPS's internal email system. The recordings were deleted after the researcher had transcribed them.

## **Reflection on rigor and study limitations**

As this is a qualitative, explorative interview study, replicability of the study process or generalizability of results are not considered as desirable outcomes nor appropriate means to evaluate the study's contribution to knowledge. Instead, this section provides the authors'

reflections on the strengths and limitations of the study from the perspective of the concept of rigor.

The focus of the study is to capture time and context-bound experiences. The aims of this study were to bring forth the insights of the inmates, who often do not get their voices heard, and to underline the importance of the needs of the inmates, staff and community. The research team sought to ensure reliability in the study by documenting the process of data collection and analysis in detail (see the methods chapter), following Liamputtong's perspective that the study process needs to be traceable and have a logic that others could follow (Liamputtong, 2009, p. 22). There are factors that may have affected the data collection and should be specifically taken into account. In the case of the community interviews, the characteristics of convenience sampling and the prior personal connections between interviewers and interviewees may have increased the risk of confirmation bias or social desirability bias. However, as there was considered to be a low trust in objective research in the context and most of the interviewees were not familiar with SPPS, the personal connection between the interviewers and interviewees substantially facilitated collecting opinions on sensitive topics. When it came to the interviews with the inmates, it may be that the interviewees were not willing to share their experiences with the interviewers, especially the SPPS researchers and UNODC staff conducting the interviews. It may, for instance, be the case that inmates were unwilling to reveal certain information about their crimes to gain favours or that offenders may seek to manipulate information, believing they might benefit in some way (e.g. Herbig & Doorewaard, 2018).

For qualitative interview studies, confirmability means that the findings derive from the data and not the perspective or imagination of the researcher (Liamputtong, 2009, p. 22). Some self-reflection is in order. Several of the interviewers and the lead researcher conducting the analysis were not Somali. All were highly educated and had not been incarcerated. The specific context in Garowe Prison and the distance between the highly educated, and at times foreign, researchers meant that interpretation of the data has indeed been influenced by the researchers' own perspectives. To mitigate the risk of individual bias, a number of researchers were involved in the data collection and in reading and adjusting the coding and analysis. For example, the Somali researchers ensured that the interview guide was appropriate, and translated and contextualized data when needed. Their ability to conduct interviews without an interpreter also strengthened the authenticity and representation of the participants' accounts. While the distance between the position of the respondents and that of the interviewers was significant, the project also used experienced prison officers as interviewers. These officers had a lot of previous experiences from various prison environments and from spending time with prisoners in diverse places like Somalia, Afghanistan and South Sudan. The daily work in Garowe Prison over a period of one year – working mainly with staff capacity-building – meant that they had a prolonged engagement with both inmates and staff. The credibility of the study has been sought by presenting the interviews authentically and accurately, for example by using verbatim quotations from the interviews. There is a possibility that cultural differences, the use of interpretations in some of the interviews and the formulation of the questions affected the respondents' understanding of specific questions. For example, questions about rehabilitation and reintegration may have been interpreted on the basis of the respondent's prior understanding of these concepts, which may have varied widely.

Triangulation typically refers to specific techniques used to enhance validity in qualitative studies (Cho & Trent, 2006, p. 333). In some prison contexts, information from in-prison interviews can be verified through, for example, court documents or criminal records. In Garowe this is not the case, which reduced the potential to triangulate the data by using other sources. The data collection and analysis process involved several researchers with different professional backgrounds and disciplines. This enriched the research and is arguably a form of triangulation, which strengthens the study's rigor (Liamputtong, 2009). What is more, there were no substantial and systematic differences between the interviews conducted by NAI and the SPPS or UNODC-associated personnel which reduce the concerns of interviewer bias. The answers given by the inmates were, in most cases, deemed reliable by the researchers and when doubts occurred, these were documented and taken into account in the analysis.

Transferability in qualitative research can be measured through the possible application of theoretical or analytical knowledge gained from one study to other similar individuals, groups or situations (Liamputtong, 2009, p. 22). We argue that some inferences about the Garowe Prison environment and the community can be made based on the individual-level interviews, including inferences about the organization of prison life and about perceptions in the community regarding levels of social cohesion. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the individuals who have agreed to share their views in the interviews may have, for instance, more generally accepted views or knowledge regarding the topics of the interviews.

## Chapter 4 Results

The findings of the interviews are presented in this chapter. First, results from the interviews with the community members are described, focusing on five thematic areas that the interview guide built on. The community interviews aimed to increase our understanding of the local context of Garowe and examine the perceptions in the community as a whole regarding the prospects for rehabilitation and reintegration. Interviews with the inmates are presented in the second part of this chapter. Firstly, a description of the interview participants and their answers is provided, after which the results from a thematic analysis are presented. The last part of this chapter describes the main results from the interviews with prison staff and sets out the findings from the thematic analysis.

### Community

#### Economy

Most of the interviewees or focus group discussants pointed out that there are varying ways to earn a living in Garowe, ranging from refuse collectors to small businesses or office workers (Interview (IV) 5, 1, 3, 6, 2, 8, 14) and that the ways to find employment vary as well. However, the role of social networks (IV 8, 1, 6, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15) was underlined in the answers. The importance of skills for finding employment also came up in some interviews (IV 8, 6, 2). However, one interviewee had an opposing opinion, stating that, *“even if the person has all the qualifications to get a job, they might not get it due to the corrupt system”*, referring to people being employed due to family or clan connections instead of qualifications (IV 14). Family, relatives, neighbours or community at large were also identified as the main source of support for individuals without employment. There was no consensus on emerging professions or missing skill sets and many interviewees did not answer the question, but construction or engineering (IV 1, 10), computer or IT skills (IV 2, 7), linguistic skills (IV 2), interior decoration, small scale production, health (IV 7), security officials (IV 9), electricians and plumbers (IV 10), fishing and agriculture (IV 14) and financial sector (IV 13) were mentioned.

#### Social relations

From the respondents' points of view, there are barely any tensions between different groups or clans in Garowe. *“There are no tensions”* was the most common answer (IV 5, 1, 3, 6, 4, 8, 13). Land disputes (IV 2, IV 15) revenge or other killings between clans (IV 4, IV 9), religious tensions or clan-based tensions (IV 14) as well as tensions between internally displaced persons (IDPs) and host community (IV 8) were mentioned as issues, but they did not seem to undermine the perceived social cohesion in Garowe. The Garowe community was described as *“integrated”* (IV 2, 15), *“accepting of all Somalis”* (IV 6) and *“not discriminating”* (IV 1). Multiculturalism, inter-clan relations or inter-ethnicity were described as social strengths of Garowe (IV 5, 2, 3, 1, 7, 9, 8, 13). However, when asked specifically about marginalization, it was stated that some clans, especially Madhebaan, face discrimination (IV 1, 9, 8, 10, 12, 15). In addition, minority groups Tumaal and Yibir (IV 9) as well as Digil, Mirifle and Raxawayn (IV 8), young people and women were described as marginalized by respondents (IV 1). An example of clan-based marginalization pertained to marriages (IV 8, 14, 10, 15), in that some clans are not allowed to intermarry with other clans. Media, including radio, TV, social media or print media were identified as effective ways to reach the community by almost all respondents.

When asked about whether the interviewees had heard about people who have joined al-Shabaab, in almost all of the interviews the answer was yes. When asked to reflect on the reasons for joining, two themes emerged. In particular, financial motivations (IV1, 3, 4, 6, 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15) and “*brainwashing*” (IV 3, 2, 6, 5, 10, 14, 15) or ideological commitment (IV 1, 9, 12, 13) were considered important reasons for joining by the interviewees. Access to power (IV 6) abduction or coercion (IV 7, 11) and perception of inequality or injustice (IV 7) and revenge (IV 8, 15) were also mentioned. Three interviewees stated that some clans, such as minority or marginalized clans, have been more closely perceived as being connected to al-Shabaab (IV 2, 4, 12), but according to some interviewees, these perceptions are generally fading (IV 1, 5, 6). The remaining interviewees believed that al-Shabaab is a cross-clan organization and no clans were especially associated with al-Shabaab (IV 5, 2, 6, 1, 9, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15). However, Islamic State was mentioned to be an Ali Saleban-dominated group (IV 5, 2, 1, 13).

## Security

The security situation in Garowe was consistently stated to be “*good*” or “*stable*” (IV 5, 1, 3, 6, 4, 2, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15) and a good security situation was also mentioned as Garowe’s strength by some interviewees (e.g. IV 10, 11). Only minor crimes such as thefts (IV 2, 8), especially by young people (IV 3, 9, 12, 15), and the dispute between Puntland and Somaliland at Tukaraq (IV 7) were mentioned as security issues. In line with these answers, in most of the interviews al-Shabaab was not considered to pose a major threat to the community (IV 8, 9, 2, 6, 1, 5, 4, 10, 13, 14, 15). However, some variation occurred and some threats such as assassinations (IV 7), attacks (IV 12) and threatening through phone calls by al-Shabaab were mentioned (IV 3). When asked if the interviewees knew about cases where former members or their family members had been threatened or attacked by al-Shabaab, the issue was recognized in the majority of the interviews (IV 3, 5, 6, 2, 1, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14). One interviewee even answered “*Yes. You hear it all the time. These groups do not let their former members get away*” (IV 6). However, in some interviews it was specifically stated that they don’t harm family members (IV 12, 14, 4).

Regarding the relationship between army, police, intelligence and the local community, the answers varied. Some interviewees considered these relations to be good (IV 4, 9, 15) and especially the community’s support for the army was mentioned in the interviews (IV 8, 3, 1, 11). However, it was also stated in one interview that “*The army is completely destroyed by the government because they don’t provide salaries or other support to them*” (IV 14). However, some interviewees who considered the relationship to be good, thought that there was room for improvement (IV 5, 1, 10). In one focus group discussion, the accessibility of the security institutions to the wider community was criticized (IV 3), and it was stated in some interviews that there is no relationship (IV 3, 14, 12). Lack of resources or training for these sectors was mentioned as an issue in some interviews (IV 4, 3, 10, 14). Corruption, especially within the police, was also mentioned (IV 7, 11, 12, 13).

When asked about the relationship between al-Shabaab and the community, most interviewees stated there was no such connection in Garowe (IV 5, 2, 6, 1, 8, 13, 14, 11, 15). Instead, the relationship was limited to specific individuals (IV 9, 7). However, some also posited that there is support in the community, especially among businesspeople, but no clear reasons behind this support were mentioned (IV 4, 3). Interviewees also stated that most of the supporters of al-Shabaab are from southern Somalia (IV 4, 7). Generally, the lack of support from the community for the extremist organizations and the community’s commitment to keeping the city safe were

considered a main explanation for why al-Shabaab hasn't carried out attacks in Garowe recently (IV 5, 2, 6, 1, 8, 4, 13, 15). Other explanations were improved security in the city, including through active countermeasures, local vigilance and intelligence collaboration (IV 3, 7, 8, 13).

## Justice

The respondents saw various challenges with the formal justice system, especially poor capacity or resources (IV 5, 6, 3, 1, 9, 10, 13, 12), corruption (IV 2, 5, 12, 13, 14) or lack of trust (IV 2, 5, 13). In addition, imprisonment without trial (IV 3, 15) and problems regarding rehabilitation and reintegration programmes were among the other factors mentioned (IV 7, 11). While some were rather sceptical about the existing justice system (IV 2, 14, 11), others believed in its justness (IV 3, 9, 6) and ability to be independent from clan disputes, as opposed to the xeer system (IV 6). According to one interviewee, *“There is a lack of capacity but not to the extent that justice is not served at all”* (IV 5). It was claimed by two respondents, that, in addition to the formal justice system, xeer is still widely used (IV 6, 8), creating a *“hybrid system”* (IV 1), even though this was not specifically asked about.

With regard to terrorist convicts, the answers indicate that the convicts are captured, investigated or interrogated and a case file is produced (IV 10, 11, 7), after which they are tried in military courts (IV 5, 1, 7, 8, 12) and then either freed, sentenced to death and/or kept in prison (IV 7, 9, 3, 11). Furthermore, it was stated in one interview that there are issues with the judicial process and that *“people are convicted without any evidence of committing the crime”* (IV 15). However, many respondents stated that they were not familiar with the procedure. All respondents stated that there were no judicial processes for terrorist convicts (e.g. xeer) other than the formal system.

## Rehabilitation and reintegration

With regard to radicalization in prisons, there seemed to be some hesitation and variation in the answers. Many interviewees did not know about the subject, had not heard about it or did not believe that it is an issue (e.g. IV 9, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15). However, several anticipated that it could be an issue (IV 5, 6, 1, 11, 14) due to factors such as unfair treatment by the justice system (IV 1, 7, 11, 5, 15) or vulnerability of the prisoners (IV 5, 1). When asked about the type of support that a rehabilitation and reintegration programme for former extremist prisoners should include, most interviewees mentioned some type of ideological element. Among other factors, *“changing mindsets and views of former members”* (IV 4), *“deradicalization”* (IV 2, 7), and *“counter-messaging”* (IV 5, 13) were mentioned, and it was even stated in one interview that *“the most important support is ideological support”* (IV 6). This is in line with the interviewees' ideas about the motivations of violent extremists. Also, religious education/Islamic studies and other education, mental healthcare services and creating employment opportunities were mentioned as important elements of a possible programme (e.g. IV 7, 11). The age of the prisoner came up in many interviews and it was implied that rehabilitating younger extremists would be more feasible than rehabilitating older fighters (IV 5, 8).

When the interviewees were specifically asked about the role of families in rehabilitation and reintegration, there were variations in the answers. Many stated that families could and should play an important role (IV 2, 6, 5, 13, 15) by providing financial (IV 9, 14) as well as psychological, emotional or educational support (IV 3) and helping in dialogue (IV 12) or rehabilitation assessment (IV 14). However, one indicated that *“it depends on the family”* (IV 1),

referring to the ideological background of the family. One respondent stated that *“the biggest concern is: does his family accept his actions? If they don't then they should be involved”* (IV 5). When asked about the role of communities, many stated that communities can do a lot by showing support (IV 5), offering jobs (IV 3, 9, 14) and providing ideological guidance (IV 7, 3, 14). Many interviewees indicated that it is important that the community is involved. *“A lot has to be done by the community. We need to create the environment for them to come back to. If the society isn't willing to take them back then the process fails.”* (IV 1)

However, many interviewees stated that gaining the trust of the community in the former extremist and in the rehabilitation process may be challenging and that information about the process should be communicated to the public (IV 5, 8, 2, 7). *“It will be hard to get the community to throw their support behind people who were trying to destabilize their country. It will need a lot of community awareness-raising to get them to support these young people.”* (IV 5) It was suggested that community or religious leaders could play a role in sensitizing the community (IV 2, 7, 13). According to the respondents, lack of trust from the community in former extremists and the effectiveness of a rehabilitation programme were identified as the biggest obstacles to reintegration. It was stated that *“it's hard to get the community to accept these people”* (IV 6) and that *“the community will never trust the former member”* (IV 15). Other challenges raised were the possible lack of transparency (IV 8, 13), *“to know if the person is rehabilitated”* (IV 4), difficulties finding a job (IV 10, 14) and security issues for the former extremists (IV 7, 15). The existence of possible discrimination against former al-Shabaab members and difficulties getting employment, at least to some extent, was stated in all the interviews. However, it was thought that sensitization (IV 5) or ensuring the transparency of the rehabilitation activities (IV 8) would reduce discrimination.

With regard to the interviewees' views on the role of the government in a possible rehabilitation and reintegration programme, the responses varied from increasing public understanding of the programme (IV 8, 1, 14), an advisory or supervisory role (IV 6, 7, 11), to providing financial support or creating jobs for the former members (IV 4, 9, 3) and providing security (IV 13, 10, 15). One respondent believed that the government should not have a role in the programmes (IV 2) and others indicated problems with the government's involvement due to the lack of trust, namely the fact that the former extremists do not necessarily trust the government. *“The government needs to provide the facility and security. The government should not provide anything else.”* (IV 15) There was consensus that women could and should contribute actively to a rehabilitation and reintegration program. Roles mentioned included teachers, awareness raisers and trust builders. *“Women are very important to any programme or process. They are crucial when it comes to resolving disputes. Most of the time they are the main catalyst for peace. They can be the main catalyst here as well.”* (IV 1) However, it was stated in one interview that the ideology of adult male convicts may hinder women's involvement (IV 6) and that women may be al-Shabaab affiliates as well, although this is not talked about openly (IV 15).

The majority of respondents were not familiar with any traditional mechanisms, processes or ceremonies that may be used to facilitate reintegration. One very rare event mentioned was *“maqdharaḍ”* (celebration); *“where the person is brought to a place where they hold a ceremony for that person because they had been shown mercy (by the government)”* (IV 4). It was also believed by one that a ceremony like this should occur *“to act as the introduction to the community”* (IV 8).

# Prisoners

## Descriptive analysis

This section includes both a summary of the demographic information of the prisoners interviewed and a description of the answers under each category in the interview guide. As stated in the method section, the descriptive analysis contains a minimum level of interpretation by the researchers.

### Demographics

The average age of the inmates was approximately 31 years, but the age span was wide, ranging from 15 to 80, although the interviewer did not consider the age of 80 to be credible. According to UNFPA, three quarters of the population of Somalia was under 30 years old in 2014. All the interviewees were male.

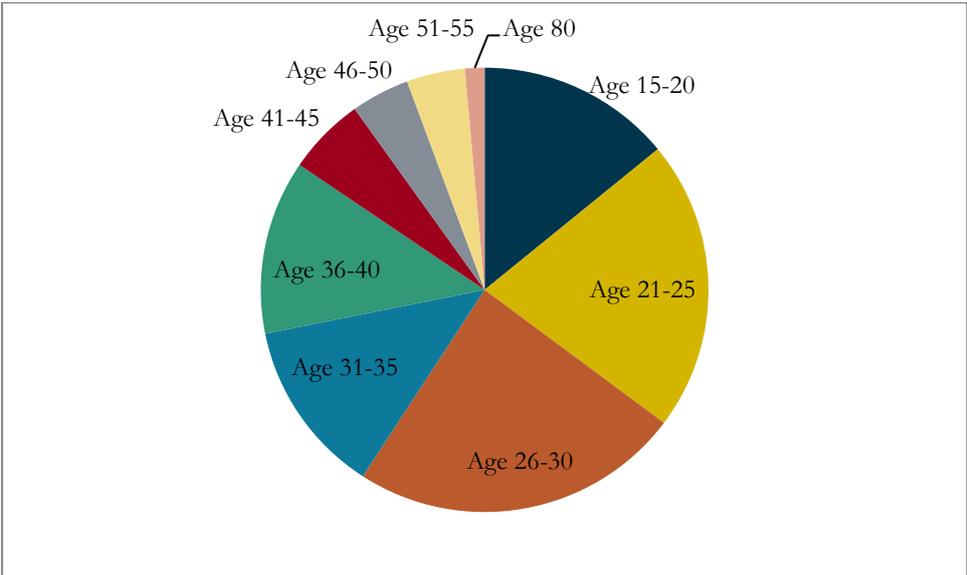


Figure 1 Ages of the interviewees (No. 75).

The family situations of the prisoners were also diverse; while many prisoners were married with one or more wives and had children, others were single. Approximately 60 percent of the interviewees stated that they had one or more children. Seventeen percent of the respondents stated that they were divorced.

The place of origin of the prisoners varied as well. Many were from different parts of Puntland, some from the disputed areas between Somaliland and Puntland and others from southern Somalia. A few of the prisoners were from Somaliland and Ethiopia. Questions regarding the clan of the prisoners were considered sensitive, but answers to a question about the individual belonging to a minority clan, some respondents' willingness to share their clan background and the places of origin of the prisoners indicate that the prisoners represent various different clans, including both majority and minority clans. The majority of the interviewees (approximately 80 percent) were from majority clans.

### Education and work experience

There was variance in the educational background of the inmates, but the majority had little formal education. Almost 40 percent of the interviewees who answered the question about

educational background (n=73) stated that they did not have any formal education or had never attended school. Approximately 30 percent of the inmates could not read or write or had limited skills. However, the majority of the inmates had attended religious school. Twenty inmates had attended higher levels of education, including high school, secondary school or above (27%).

Most of the inmates had worked within different sectors and had experience from various jobs. The most common occupations were driving, construction and arable and livestock farming. Many also had experience from the service sector, fishing, mechanics and the military and police. Almost half of the interviewees stated that they had attended vocational or technical training but the inmates often referred to the training received in the prison in their answers. A relatively large number had also received military training. These individuals often had experience of working either in the police or army.

### Criminal history and views on the judicial process

The interviewees were a heterogeneous group with regard to their criminal history and the time they had already spent in the prison. While some had been in Garowe Prison only for a couple of weeks, others had been in the facility since it was built in 2014. Only eleven prisoners stated that they had previously been charged with any crime.

Half of those who had been convicted were currently in the prison for rehabilitation purposes. The rest were charged with diverse crimes. Moreover, some of the interviewees were not sure of their charges saying, for instance, *“I don’t know. They don’t tell me”* (IV 14). However, four specific groups of prisoners were identified; convicted pirates, individuals who are sent to prison for “rehabilitation” by their families due to misbehaviour such as khat chewing and smoking, detained individuals accused of being associated with al-Shabaab, and a heterogeneous group of other convicted prisoners and those on remand. The individuals who had been convicted had either been convicted through clan court, sharia or the official judiciary, including military courts. The majority of those who had had a trial considered it unfair and those who had not had a trial perceived their arrest or charge to be unfair. Many of the inmates did not know when they would be released. This was especially true for those on remand.

Most of the imprisoned pirates had had a trial in the Seychelles before being moved to Garowe Prison. All of the eight convicted pirates considered the charge and trial to be unjust and they presented themselves as fishermen. All of the convicted pirates interviewed were in the high-risk block.

Eight of the interviewed inmates had been imprisoned because of an alleged connection to al-Shabaab or the interviewees suspected that that was the reason for their imprisonment. Six of the suspected al-Shabaab associates stated that they were arrested while travelling. Moreover, five of the eight interviewees were captured around the same time in March 2018. Only one of the eight individuals had had a trial. Seven of the eight inmates suspected of being associated with al-Shabaab denied the connection and provided an alternative story. The one who admitted the connection stated that he is a defector. Considering the negative attitudes towards al-Shabaab documented in the interviews with the Garowe community members, the detainees may be motivated to conceal information about their extremist connections in order to avoid, for example, retaliation from other inmates. However, some of the alternative stories provided by the

inmates were considered credible, and it is possible that these individuals have been arbitrarily arrested and detained. One background factor that differentiated the al-Shabaab-associated detainees from the other prisoners was their place of origin. None of the inmates accused of being associated with al-Shabaab were from Garowe and only one was from Puntland. Most of the suspected al-Shabaab detainees were placed in the high-risk block.

A large proportion of the interviewees were in the prison for “rehabilitation”. In most cases, their family or relatives had sent them to prison because of misbehaviour. *“My father put me in prison because I was chewing khat.”* (IV 70) In other cases, the cause of imprisonment was a family argument or disobeying orders: *“I had gotten into an altercation with my father. He told me to be a driver for his truck and we gotten into an argument which led to him putting me in this prison”* (IV 50). However, some of the individuals who stated they were in prison for rehabilitation purposes also said that they had had a trial. Similar to other inmates, many of the inmates categorized as “rehabilitation” inmates did not know when they will be released. Some of the rehabilitation inmates had been in the prison for more than a year without trial. Most of these inmates were in the low-risk blocks, but some were also in the high-risk block, including one minor. Even though many of the “rehabilitation” inmates were young, there were also men in their forties or fifties who said that they had been sent to prison for rehabilitation by their families (IV 19, IV 50, IV 56, IV 70).

The fourth category of prisoners is heterogeneous in terms of their crimes and time spent in the prison. The charges included murder, manslaughter, rape and theft. Some of these inmates were on remand, although the proportion on remand was smaller than among the “rehabilitation” group and among the individuals suspected of being associated with al-Shabaab. In addition to the formal judicial process, one inmate stated that he had been put through a sharia court and another said that instead of a formal court he had been tried in a clan court. All the inmates on remand had been in the prison without a formal trial for as long as two years (IV 28, 57). It is possible that more inmates had been convicted in a clan court instead of the formal justice system as the interviews did not include a specific question about the form of the trial. In these cases, it is possible that the clans have shared their decision with the formal courts and the process has resulted in detention or sentencing.

### Prosocial factors

Most respondents seem to be strongly connected to their family and clan networks, and the majority of the inmates stated that they had good relations with their families. Many also stated that they received support from their families.

The inmates from Garowe were happy with the opportunities for family visits, although some stated that the time for visits was too short and they would like more opportunities for visits (IV 29, 37, 51, 53, 55). However, many inmates said that their families live far from Garowe or did not have financial means to visit (IV 2, 7, 10, 14, 15, 30, 38, 39, 42, 47, 52, 56, 65, 70, 72).

Even though the majority of the inmates had a relationship with their families, a few of them stated that they are not in contact or do not receive support from their families. However, the majority of these individuals stated that they received at least some form of support from either their friends or their clan, or both. In addition to the inmates whose families did not know they were imprisoned, only a couple of the inmates seemed to lack any strong social networks or

support structures. These individuals were divorced or single and not from Garowe, which seems to increase the risk for weak social networks and support.

In addition to the support that the families provide for the inmates, many interviewees explained that they receive support from their clan. While some of the prisoners received support in terms of advocacy for their release and visits from members of their clan, others stated that their clan was happy that they were in prison or that their clans were the ones imprisoning them. This was especially true for the rehabilitation inmates. However, the clans' positive attitudes towards the inmates' imprisonment were not necessarily connected to the support that the inmate expected to receive after his release. As one interviewee explained: *"My clan members are very pleased with the sentence I received. I was put through the clan courts so my clan leader sentenced me for this crime. They will support me when I get out"* (IV 28).

### Life in prison

The majority of the inmates were not happy with the general conditions in the prison. Most of the interviewees described deficiencies in terms of the quality of the water and food and the availability of healthcare: *"There is no healthcare at all in here. The food and water are poor quality. Life is very difficult in here."* (IV 40) However, some mentioned that the cells were relatively good. Some of the inmates were worried about their own health or the spread of disease due to the conditions. The respondents described a recent negative change in the general prison conditions. This was confirmed by staff from UNODC, who stated that there had been issues with the prison's water pump for several months during 2018.

The relationships between the inmates were described as good. Some respondents described that the inmates supported, helped and respected each other. While various interviewees stated that there are no groupings in the prison, one inmate mentioned that there were groupings based on the type of crime or sentence. Moreover, relations between the prison staff and the inmates were also generally stated to be good. However, some inmates mentioned being isolated by the staff and a couple of inmates mentioned beatings by prison staff. One inmate described the relationship: *"in general not so bad, sometimes they beat inmates that are obstructive"* (IV 75). However, one inmate specifically mentioned that *"they don't do any punishment or torture"* (IV 71).

At the same time as the interviews with inmates were taking place, August to December 2018, a vocational training and education programme started in the prison. Both the inmates who stated that there were no activities and those who attended some education were positive towards this change. However, some wanted more activities, especially sports and religious education, and others hoped for more variation in the activities available. Some inmates criticized the nature of the existing activities: *"The basic education is not of the standard it should be and it is never run for a long time. I don't think it is logical for inmates to be put on vocational training courses for a short period if they can't even read or write. The training courses should be longer or the inmates should be given basic education before they attend vocational training"* (IV 45). Many inmates criticized the sporadic nature of the activities. There was consensus in the interviews that there were no formal religious services in the prison, but many referred to their own study and some to visits by preachers or imams: *"Sometimes the imam brings us religious books and sometimes toothbrushes, it is good"* (IV 72).

Even though questions about mental health were not posed to the inmates, the interviewers' interpretation was that some of the inmates clearly had mental issues. In some cases, inmates referred to these issues themselves.

### Reintegration

When asked about a likely location of residence after release, most of the interviewees stated that they will choose the location based on the location of their family. As one prisoner stated when asked about his reasons for going back to Dangorayo: "*My family and friends and everything I know is there*" (IV 49). In addition to family and friends, some referred to their relatives, their clan and work as motivations for planning to reside in a specific location.

Family members were also mentioned most frequently when asked about individuals who could best support the process of reintegrating the inmates. In addition, clan, community, friends and relatives were commonly mentioned. Six of the respondents indicated that they did not have any individuals that could support their reintegration. However, two of these inmates stated that they have family and planned to reside in a location where their family, children or clan lives (IV 44, 45). The four inmates that did not expect to have support for their reintegration did not have family visits and had little in terms of a social network in the location they planned to reside in. Three of them were divorced and one had never been married. None of the four had any formal education or reading and writing skills (IV 54, 58, 69, 71).

Most of the interviewees did not seem to think that there is much they themselves can do to avoid ending up in similar situation in the future, other than educating themselves, developing skills and finding a job. When asked about challenges they anticipated after their release, the majority of the inmates did not anticipate any challenges or name any specific challenges. Many stated directly "*I don't anticipate any challenges when I'm released*" (IV 50), while others believed that "*only Allah knows*" (IV 57). Of those who anticipated some challenges, the majority anticipated financial difficulties. Only a few prisoners reflected more deeply on possible negative effects of their imprisonment, identifying the possible effects of institutionalization and difficulties adapting to a changed society. Few inmates had any concerns regarding their personal safety after release. Three inmates referred to the general security situation in Somalia as a concern (IV 9, 58, 60) and two to al-Shabaab (IV 8, 71). In addition, one inmate was afraid of reprisals from the family of the alleged victim (IV 6) and one of the inmates was afraid of Allah (IV 68).

### Inductive thematic analysis

This section presents the results from the inductive thematic analysis, which identifies themes that appear in the data across different questions based on inductive coding. Five interrelated themes were found: "*I don't know what will happen and why I am here*", experiences of injustice, importance of family and clan, money and isolation or longing for freedom. These categories are formulated based on participants' expressions.

#### I don't know what will happen or why I am here

One of the themes that appeared in the interviews was experiences of uncertainty and lack of knowledge or trust in the future. These experiences were especially common when it comes to questions regarding the inmates' views on the crime they had allegedly committed. Some of the interviewees were not sure why they had been arrested or what their charges were saying, for

instance, *“I don’t know. They don’t tell me”* (IV 14), and many did not know when they would be released. The uncertainty regarding release was linked to the functioning of the justice system and the fact that many of the inmates were on remand. One prisoner who stated that he was accused of causing deaths through a car accident said, *“I do not know when I will be released because I have been here for two years and have not had a trial yet”* (IV 45).

Uncertainty about the future was also connected to the role that families and clans play in the inmates’ lives. In particular, some “rehabilitation” inmates stated that their release depends on their family members: *“I have no idea. It depends when my family and clan want to release me”* (IV 34). Some also stated that their release depends on negotiations that their clan is conducting for them. One inmate stated, *“Hopefully beginning of the year. This is in my clan members’ hands, so it depends on when they have negotiated with the other clan, the amount they want me to pay to be released”* (IV 32).

Feelings of uncertainty also extended to the time after release from prison. Some inmates were unsure about how to earn a living after their release. While some inmates were relying on the will of Allah when it comes to earning a living, others stated that they would take any job available. These answers are in line with the relatively scattered occupational history of the majority of the inmates.

### Experience of injustice

In the interviews, many inmates expressed feelings of injustice or described unfair experiences. Both those who were convicted and those on remand were unhappy and considered their treatment unjust. As one prisoner explained, *“I believe I was wrongfully convicted because I did nothing wrong. I was working as a fisherman in Hafun and a ship captured me and took me to the Seychelles”*(IV 38).

Many inmates referred to the lack of a trial or seemingly arbitrary detentions as unjust. One interviewee who was charged for chewing khat and smoking cigarettes said, *“I’m not satisfied, I didn’t do any crime. They just arrested me, then I was brought to court and then I was transferred to prison directly”* (IV 70). Two inmates also expressed concerns about unjust treatment of their fellow inmates, stating that *“There have been a few inmates that have organized themselves to help release some inmates that were put on remand and wrongfully held in the prison”* (IV 37).

In addition to feelings of unjustness directed towards the justice system, many considered the treatment by their families to be unjust, especially in the cases where the inmate had been placed in the prison by his family. *“It’s wrong, no one asked me anything, there is no evidence. And my family just suddenly put me in jail.”* (IV 51) However, not all the inmates considered imprisonment by their families to be unfair, and feelings of injustice were also directed at other instances. One convicted pirate shared his experiences of unjust treatment by “foreigners”: *“The foreigners are unjust and unfair. They have their own agenda”* (IV 30).

### Family and clan

The themes that inmates most often referred in their interviews, regardless of the question asked, were family related. Clan also frequently came up during the interviews, sometimes connected to family, sometimes unrelated. Inmates connected family and clan to both negative and positive experiences.

While some of the inmates described how they had been imprisoned by their families or clans, others said that their families and clans were trying to work for their release. One inmate who said that he was in prison because he couldn't pay back money he had borrowed stated that he will be released when his family manages to pay back the money (IV 25). Thus, it is not just the inmates imprisoned by their families, but also other prisoners who appeared to be dependent on their family and clan for their release. One man who was charged and tried due to a land dispute stated that his *"clan members are currently advocating and working hard"* for his release and that he will be released when the clan elders have come to an agreement (IV 40). This was stated to be a common procedure: *"Usually when you get arrested, the ones who advocate for your release are your family and your clan. They are advocating for me now; the process right now is going well"* (IV 55). One inmate was even directly frustrated with his clan leader's (lack of) efforts to work for his release: *"our clan leader treats me very badly because he is not making an effort to have me released. He does not do anything to help me get my freedom. None of my clan members support me. . . . If they supported me, they would release me from prison"* (IV 37).

Relations with their family seemed to also affect the inmates' prison conditions as many inmates stated that their families pay the inmates' medical costs, bring food or give them money to buy other basic necessities. In other words, family visits offer the opportunity to provide material and social support. This puts the inmates without family close to Garowe in a weaker situation in the prison. One inmate described the prison conditions and summarized the role of families: *"There is almost no nutrition, only rice. We get support from our families, if you don't have any family, you are in trouble"* (IV 72). One inmate explained his situation and reflected on the social support function of families: *"I do not have any visitors because my family lives in Yagoori. I think it is good that inmates are allowed visitors, but there are many lonely inmates that do not have family and friends"* (IV 42).

It was stated in two interviews that the prisoners are treated differently by the prison authorities depending on their clan. The other stated that *"if you are not from the majority clan in Puntland, it is very difficult to receive healthcare inside the prison"* (IV 33) and the other said that *"some people live on the first floor, some people live on the second floor, those on the ground floor are privileged it terms of time outside, water and medical. It seems clan related"* (IV 69).

In addition to the fact that most of the interviewees stated that they will choose the location of residence after the release based on the location of their families, some believed that their family members would also take care of them financially after they are released or help them find employment. Support from family was posited as a reason for not worrying about challenges after release: *"I don't think I will face any problems when I am released. Everyone will welcome me with open arms. The community, family, relatives and clan members"* (IV 47). The inmates also had little thoughts about their own role in the future reintegration process, saying, among other things, that *"everything is already set, my brothers and my uncle will help me"* (IV 55).

Some inmates stated that imprisonment had affected their relations with their family both negatively and positively. Some were unhappy about their families imprisoning them and some of the divorced inmates stated that their imprisonment had, to some extent, caused their divorce. One inmate reflected: *"I got married once, but when I got locked up, my wife went on to marry another man and they have children together"* (IV 39). For one "rehabilitation" inmate, imprisonment had offered him an opportunity to reflect on his behaviour and relations. When asked what the prisoner

himself needs to do to reintegrate, he said, *“two things, I need to stop doing bad things and I need to take advice from my mother”* (IV 70).

## Money

Money or other economic factors were identified as a reason for imprisonment, a way to gain or a barrier to release and a cause of concern in the interviews. Moreover, money was also interpreted as an important means of support for the inmates.

There were individuals among the inmates who had ended up in the prison due to conflicts over money, stealing money or not being able to pay back some money. One inmate also indirectly stated that lack of money can be a reason for imprisonment, explaining that *“I don’t oppose the conviction that I have been given because sharia law says if you kill someone then you have to either be killed, pay money to the victim’s family or be put in prison”* (IV 35). Some inmates also stated that lack of money had played a role in their life story in other ways, mainly referring to their lack of education or employment options. This may have indirectly affected their imprisonment.

The role of money was closely connected to clan and family relations and the possibilities for release. In particular, payments from the offender’s clan to the victim’s clan were referred to as a way to gain release: *“the two clans have already agreed that when 35 camels are paid, I will get released”* (IV 55). In addition, one inmate asked for money so he could be released from prison. The inmates often connected financial or material help to support from their families; material support and visits seemed to indicate good relations. One prisoner specified that *“We have a good family relationship, the truth is that they are my people, the ones who defend me and the ones I hope will release me from prison. They are also the ones who bring me things I want like food, medicine and come to visit me at visiting times”* (IV 26). However, visits require money for family members who live far from Garowe and many inmates stated that their families live far from Garowe or did not have the financial means to visit (IV 2, 7, 10, 14, 15, 30, 38, 39, 42, 47, 52, 56, 65, 70, 72).

If inmates’ expectations regarding release were mainly directed towards their families and other social networks, the concerns expressed by the inmates focused on economic factors. Of those who anticipated some challenges following their release, the majority referred to possible difficulties finding employment or lack of money. One inmate who was planning to move back to his place of origin where his family resides stated, *“apart from not having money, I don’t think there are any challenges that I will face”* (IV 49). The concerns about economic factors were related in many cases to family relations. *“I will work very hard as a fisherman. I am hoping that I can get enough money to survive and support my family.”* (IV 41) Moreover, when the inmates referred to education in connection to reintegration, it was often mentioned in connection to money.

## Isolation and longing for family

The final theme that dominated some of the inmates’ answers was the focus on isolation and longing for freedom. It seemed like the inmates had difficulties analysing some of the questions due to their continued focus on being released. For instance, one inmate who was asked about activities in the prison stated, *“I don’t think about it, I just want out”* (IV 57). Similar answers were documented when inmates were asked about their plans for future and *“freedom”* was a commonly mentioned word in the answers regarding reintegration. As one inmate stated when asked about what he needs to do to be able to reintegrate successfully, *“I need to regain my freedom and only then can I start thinking about that”* (IV 46).

Furthermore, the experience of being “*locked up*” or isolated was connected to many of the negative experiences the inmates shared in the interviews. When asked about the relationship between inmates and prison staff, one inmate explained, “*Mostly good, but sometimes bad. Sometimes you are not allowed out of the cell*” (IV 20). Moreover, a couple of the inmates referred to physical abuse in connection to isolation or the use of isolation as a punishment: “*the staff punishes us by forcing us into our cells when we are out. Sometimes they don’t let us out*” (IV 58).

The lack of freedom also raised concerns regarding social relationships: “*I need my freedom and financial support to get on my feet so that I can provide for my family*” (IV 40). What is more, lack of freedom was connected to the uncertainty caused by imprisonment without trial, which caused some inmates to even express concerns about their mental health. “*They just keep me here without a trial or any evidence that I have committed a crime. . . . They should at least put me on trial and convict me. It is easier to come to terms with a clear answer, either convict me or give me my freedom. I am getting more mentally unstable due to this situation. I love my country and I never thought my own people would take my freedom away from me.*” (IV 33)

## **Prison staff**

### **Descriptive analysis**

#### **Demographics**

The ages of the prison staff interviewed varied from 19 to 60 years old. The mean age of the interviewees was approximately 30. The majority of the interviewees were prison guards, but administrative personnel and commanders were also interviewed. The group was heterogeneous in terms of experience; while some had worked in the prison only for a couple of months, others had worked there for as long as nine years. Many of the interviewees were motivated by the salary and gaining work experience. Many also stated that they wanted to “*serve my country, my people and my religion*” by working in the prison (IV 17). One quarter of the staff members interviewed could not read and write or stated that they had limited skills. All of the interviewees were male.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Prison environment and procedures**

There was consensus among the interviewees about the good and respectful relations between prisoners and staff in Garowe Prison. The interviewees also agreed that “*there are no issues between specific groups of prisoners*” (IV4). These results are well in line with the answers collected in the interviews with the prisoners. Despite the overall good relations between groups, some staff members referred to issues between individuals that escalated at times to fights (IV 14, 20, 21).

Many interviewed staff members claimed that inmates from different blocks are not allowed to interact with each other. So called high-risk prisoners are kept in Block A, away from other inmates (IV 4, 13, 14, 19). According to the interviewees, a risk assessment of the prisoners is conducted on the basis of the type of crime and length of sentence. The prison staff do not conduct additional risk assessments but simply read the court documents and assign them to a block. However, many of the prisoners have not been convicted (IV 5). In these cases, it is

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<sup>1</sup> There are also female employees at Garowe Prison, but they only work when there are female inmates in the prison.

unclear how the risk level is assessed. One interviewee stated that “*Block C and B are non-convicted and petty crimes blocks.*” (IV 5), but according to the interviews with the prisoners, there are many detainees in Block A who claim to have been imprisoned without trial for as long as two years, including suspected al-Shabaab members. Some interviewees mentioned that commanders are responsible for assessing the risk level of the prisoners and assigning them to a block based on the documentation, but one of the interviewed commanders had limited reading skills. In addition to the crime committed and the length of the sentence, some stated that the health status of the inmate is also assessed, but the process was not described in detail (IV 24, 21, 19, 12, 11).

When the respondents were asked about the information that the prison regularly collects, the respondents shared the view that the prison regularly collects information about the family connections, court documents, personal background and possible health issues of the prisoners. Most stated that the commanders and administrative staff have access to the information that is stored in the administration office. However, given that the prisoners are not always aware of their sentences and the lack of procedures regarding health issues indicate that the prison guards who work with the inmates on a day-to-day basis do not necessarily use the available information.

When asked about prisoners’ possible mental health issues, the interviewees’ answers varied. Some stated that “*yes, there are many inmates with mental health problems*” (IV 1), while others argued that “*there are very few prisoners with mental health issues in the prison*” (IV 16) or that “*mentally ill people who have committed crimes are not kept here. They are released to their family members*” (IV 13). Some interviewees explained that, in cases where prisoners have severe mental health issues or if the prison cannot take care of the mentally ill prisoners, a re-evaluation is sent to court (IV 8, 9, 3, 14, 11, 12, 16, 17, 20, 23). Some stated that there is a specific cell in the prison for mentally ill prisoners and that they are isolated (IV 14, 11, 19, 21, 22, 23). It was also mentioned that Block A prisoners suffer more frequently from mental health issues (IV 1, 5). A possible result of the long-term isolation in their cell.

#### Al Shabaab and radicalisation in prison

Seven of the interviewed staff members worked with the detainees suspected of being members of al-Shabaab. In line with the inmates’ answers, one staff member pointed out that these prisoners are suspected terrorists and have not been convicted of terrorism (IV 5). The staff working with al-Shabaab suspects did not seem to have any issues working with violent extremist or other high-risk detainees: “*There is no difference between the prisoners. I treat all of them the same and they treat me the same*” (IV 5). However, some also admitted that they are dangerous (IV 7, 9, 11), demanding some extra carefulness (IV 4, 7).

When asked about the possibility of providing rehabilitation programmes for al-Shabaab prisoners, the majority of the interviewees (approximately 70 %) thought that it was a good idea. Only two respondents directly stated that al-Shabaab prisoners do not “*deserve to join any program*” (IV 8, 13). When asked specifically whether the interviewees think that members of al-Shabaab can be rehabilitated and become good and productive members of the community, almost half of the respondents were sceptical about the potential to rehabilitate former al-Shabaab members. Somewhat counterintuitively, these respondents also included individuals who were positive towards a rehabilitation program. For instance, one interviewee who stated that it would be “*a great programme and a great idea*” to provide rehabilitation for al-Shabaab prisoners thought that

rehabilitating al-Shabaab is challenging: *“There might be a chance that they are rehabilitated. But I personally don’t think that it is possible. I would never trust a current or former AS member. They will always be bad people to me”* (IV 6). These statements seem contradictory, but one respondent explained his reasoning: *“To me they will always be bad people, but I think it is good to have programmes for them so they can be kept busy instead of walking around with nothing to do. There is a Somali proverb that says ‘an idle mind is the devil’s workshop’”*(IV 22). Some thought that there would be difficulties rehabilitating older members but not necessarily young people (IV 10, 18). Despite sceptical voices, some staff members were very positive towards the potential for rehabilitation and stated that they could see themselves as playing a role in a future rehabilitation programme. Some, however, stated that the potential to rehabilitate former al-Shabaab members depends on the quality of the programme and on the programme’s length.

The interviewees shared the view that there is no ongoing radicalization in Garowe Prison. Most stated that they *“don’t think so”* and that they haven’t experienced or heard of any specific cases of radicalization in the prison. Even those who stated that it could be an issue did not know any specific cases. However, the respondents were systematically concerned about the possibility of a lack of due process contributing to radicalization. *“Due process is a right of everyone, whatever the crime. Lack of it can contribute to them joining AS because they will lose trust and faith in the system, believing that the system is biased against them. And they may want to take revenge on that system”* (IV 18).

### Training and activities

The staff members interviewed agreed on the willingness of the inmates to participate in a possible rehabilitation programme. The respondents also stated consistently that the detainees suspect of being former al-Shabaab members would most likely want to participate in such a programme: *“They want to participate because there is nothing else to do here and no one would say no to learning something”* (IV 4). A rehabilitation programme was also associated with opportunities to break the isolation that many inmates experience: *“Of course they want to participate in rehabilitation programmes in the prison. It’s an opportunity for them to be outside of their cells and blocks more often”* (IV 16).

Regarding specific activities for the inmates, skills or vocational training and basic education and religious education were specifically highlighted as useful for prisoners to help with their rehabilitation and eventual reintegration into society. *“They should be given all kinds of help. Most of the prisoners don’t have any education or skills and that’s probably why they ended up here in the first place. They should be provided with basic education such as how to read, write, poetry, Somali history, maths and English. Also, sewing, carpentry, plumbing and construction.”* (IV 12) The majority of the interviewees did not express any concerns about the implementation of activities when asked if they foresee any issues with implementing such activities. The only issues raised were possible lack of funds (IV 15) and of competent and experienced staff (IV 24). In addition, one interviewee mentioned that *“the tools that the inmates are given can be used against the staff. It would be very important that there is more staff and more trained staff, if these programmes are going to take place”* (IV 2).

The interviewees were generally very positive towards staff training. In particular, the need for security training was mentioned when the staff members were asked if Garowe Prison staff would benefit from training. However, when asked specifically about human rights training, rule of law training, justice chain training, administrative procedures training, prison security training, vulnerable groups training, high-risk groups training, visits and contacts training and complaints procedures training, most of the respondents were positive towards all types of training.

## Inductive thematic analysis

This section presents the results from the inductive thematic analysis, which identifies themes that appear in the data across different questions. Four interrelated themes were found: respect, training, the importance of change in the inmates' lives and agitation and anger among the inmates.

### Respect

The theme respect was present, especially in the staff members' answers that focused on their relations and work with the inmates. Many described how inmates and staff have "mutual respect for each other" (IV 4). Respect was also mentioned in connection to the work with al-Shabaab-associated prisoners: "*We treat them like humans by respecting them and we even let them carry phones. We want them to feel like every other prisoner. We treat al-Shabaab members the way we would treat our own cousins/clan members. The crime they have committed or are suspected of committing has nothing to do with us. We still have to treat them with dignity and respect, just like everyone else*" (IV 11).

The respect also had direct implications for the staff members' work. The respondents felt that the respectful relations with the inmates make their work in the prison easier and, among other things, "*minimize the risks of riots or even jail breaks*" (IV 20). In some cases, however, the respect seemed to be based on the inmates' willingness to obey staff members and, accordingly, rely on the power relationship between the staff and inmates. One interviewee explained, "*They listen to us and we respect each other. They obey our rules and if they have any complaints, we take them seriously*" (IV 9).

It was mentioned in two interviews that the respect, at least partly, originated from training that the prison staff had received, and one of the staff members explained that they "*are trained to treat prisoners with dignity and respect*" (IV 22).

### I am trained to do this kind of work

In addition to the fact that training seems, in some cases, to have affected the relationships between the inmates and prison staff, the interviewees also underlined the importance of training in other parts of the interviews. For instance, when asked about the work with al-Shabaab-associated prisoners, many interviewees stated that they are not trained to work with them or other high-risk prisoners, while others emphasized that they are trained to work with all kinds of prisoners. One interviewee explained his thoughts about working with high-risk prisoners: "*I find it normal working with high-risk inmates. I am trained to do this kind of work*" (IV 5). The training seemed to be associated with pride that the staff felt towards their occupation.

In terms of the possible rehabilitation program, some interviewees put forth that there is a need for trained, experienced and knowledgeable staff in such a programme. One interviewee stated that "*it would be very important that there is more staff and more trained staff, if these programmes are going to take place*" (IV 2). The need for competent staff was connected to the security and effectiveness of the programme.

### Importance of change in the inmates' lives

Another theme that often emerged in the interviews with prison staff was a need or possibility for change in the inmates' lives. On one hand, the interviewees put forth that there is a need for changes in the current prison routines and on the other, highlighted the opportunities that a

rehabilitation programme could offer in terms of changing the inmates' views and the course of their lives.

With regard to changes in current prison routines, the issue that was raised in the interviews was the lack of activities and need for variety. The interviewees argued that as there is not much for the inmates to do in prison, with one stating that *“all activities would be a good change for them”* (IV 9). The positive attitude towards activities seemed to encompass different types of inmate, also including, in many cases, al-Shabaab-associated inmates. When it comes to the type of activities, vocational training courses and education were mentioned in various interviews as being important elements of the possible programme. The reasons for preferring education and vocational training were mainly related to employment opportunities following the inmate's release. In many cases, however, the interviewees did not provide a lot of motivation for their suggestions or implied that any programmes providing activities for the inmates would be welcome.

Even though some were sceptical about the prospects of a rehabilitation programme for al-Shabaab members, many believed that it is possible for an individual to change as a result of a rehabilitation programme. As one interviewee described, *“Inmates with radical views can change their views. People are different and can change”* (IV 5). However, the focus was mainly on *“changing radicalized ideas or views”* and the need for change was primarily connected to al-Shabaab-associated prisoners. Other changes that were potentially needed, for instance regarding smoking khat or drinking alcohol, were not mentioned. Implicitly, education and skills training as part of a programme in the prison were presented in a couple of interviews as ways that inmates could change their lifestyles. *“I have met several inmates that have done well for themselves after they have been released. They need to get basic education and craftsmanship skills, like building furniture, that they can work with when they have been released.”* (IV 2)

#### Agitation and anger among the inmates

When talking about the inmates, the staff members stated relatively frequently that the inmates expressed feelings or would have a right to express feelings of agitation and anger. These feelings were mainly connected to the lack of due process and access to justice and, relatedly, to the possibility of prison radicalization. As one interviewee explained the situation, *“If a person is denied his basic rights to justice, he loses trust and might as well get angry and hateful towards the system. As the Somali proverb says, ‘an angry man chooses hell’”* (IV 19).

Paranoia was also mentioned a few times in the interviews. Paranoia was systematically connected to the high-risk prisoners. One interviewee reflected that these feelings had to do with the long imprisonment times: *“The Block-A prisoners are not happy and are very quiet, they don't talk much and are more paranoid. Their long prison sentences have had a big effect on their behaviour”* (IV 10). In one interview, it was even stated that the negative feelings may be expressed as violent behaviour (IV 9). The expression *“paranoia”* may refer to mental health issues or to lack of trust between the inmates and prison staff.

## Chapter 5 Discussion

The overall aim of this study was to examine the needs and current situation in Garowe Prison from the perspective of the inmates, prison staff and wider community in light of potential future prison reform, including programmes for rehabilitation and reintegration. In total, the researchers conducted 110 individual interviews and five focus group discussions. The interviews were analysed both descriptively and using an inductive thematic analysis. A significant theme that surfaced in the interviews was the perceived limited access to justice. Based on the interview analysis, it appears that some inmates did not know what they were charged with, when they would be released or how the justice system functions in general. The feelings of uncertainty or lack of information expressed by the inmates appeared at times directly connected to arbitrary detention. Several remand prisoners stated that they were kept in prison without any evidence and that they were given no information about when a trial would be held or when they would be released. This indicates both shortcomings in the justice system and in the prison procedures, including the provision of information about the judicial process by the prison staff.

Based on the interviews, clan structures seemed to have a major impact on the rule of law. Many inmates stated in the interviews that their release was dependent on the ability of the clan to negotiate their release. These findings indicate that many inmates believe that their release is dependent on their clans' actions, rather than on the formal justice system. From this point of view, the prison is used as a storage place during clan negotiations. The clans' influence, lack of trust in the official justice system and an absence of clear boundaries between customary law (*xeer*), religious law (*sharia*) and secular law may further impede access to justice and create feelings of uncertainty. The interviews with prisoners indicate that the parallel structures seem to disadvantage those who are disconnected from or in conflict with their clan, at the same time as they support the view that these structures undermine the formal legal processes. Financial assets, or lack thereof, also surfaced in the interviews as affecting prisoners' chances of being released. Several interviewees stated that they were in prison not because they had committed a crime, but due to their inability or their clan's unwillingness to settle financially with the victim or accuser.

It was not only the inmates, but also the staff who expressed concern about a lack of access to justice for the inmates, especially those on remand. The issue of imprisonment without trial was also mentioned in the community interviews. The lack of oversight and understanding of the justice system, the long remand times, the absence of legal counsel and the short notice of release sometimes make it difficult to distinguish prisoners on remand from possible arbitrary detainees. While prisoners and staff were referring to those without a trial as on remand, their descriptions of their situations appear at best as a watered-down use of the remand status. While the experiences of the interviewees are not necessarily the only reality, reported deficiencies in the Puntland justice system support the experiences of the inmates. This is extremely worrisome in light of international human rights law, according to which no one can be detained without a legitimate reason and anyone accused of a crime has the right to a fair trial. A lack of access to justice could be seen both as a key justification for future prison reform and as a significant structural barrier to effective prison programming. Unfair or discriminatory treatment by the justice system arguably has the potential to fuel local grievances and subsequently radicalization to violent extremism. Perceptions of injustice have often been linked to radicalization and individuals involvement in violence (Joyce & Lynch, 2017), and lack of trust in the police, military and justice system has been found to trigger violent extremism (UNDP, 2017). Furthermore, the staff members expressed their concern about the possible effects of lack of due process on

radicalization. While a lack of access to justice is described as a general challenge in Garowe Prison, it may influence the need and prospects for the prevention of extremism.

The findings in Garowe Prison that are related to a lack of justice and prisoners' dependency on their clans mirror some of the broader governance issues in Puntland. Prevailing corruption, injustices, human rights abuses, the dire situation for women etc. make Puntland a highly challenging place to implement reforms. It is of the utmost importance that any external actor seeking to engage with the prison authorities approaches the task with an understanding that the challenges go far beyond the prison compound.

The existing prison procedures further hinder the inmates' access to justice. According to the staff interviews, prisoners are placed in low or high-risk blocks based on the crime the inmate is convicted or accused of and length of their sentence. According to DCAF's International Security Sector Advisory Team, Somali courts also typically hand out long sentences (International Security Sector Advisory Team, 2017). As many of the prisoners have not been convicted, or have been convicted of minor offences, there is a high risk of a phenomenon known as "contamination". Placing inmates in unsuitable security blocks may have long-term consequences for the individuals themselves and society as a whole. Research suggests that when offenders are placed into higher than necessary levels of security, they are more likely to have higher rates of recidivism than if they were placed at the appropriate security level (Gaes & Camp, 2009). The lack of proper risk-assessment procedures in the prison is also problematic for preserving security in the prison. Due to lack of risk assessments or other structured communication or information-sharing procedures, there may be a risk that staff will not identify high-risk inmates placed in lower security blocks, which could lead to attempts to escape or other incidents. Special-needs inmates, such as young inmates or people with mental health issues, will not be identified and the lack of risk and needs assessments makes it impossible to identify those who are at risk of radicalization. The injustices perceived by the inmates and the lack of proper prison procedures raise concerns about the issue of prisons being an environment that induce radicalization rather than a context for deradicalization. Clearly, the tendency to serve long sentences – and therefore enhance the number of perceived high-risk prisoners in Garowe – together with a lack of prison procedures for adjusting stated risk levels, are barriers to the identification of a specific group of prisoners for targeted interventions.

Many of the convicted inmates denied their criminal behaviour. While it is possible that these individuals are victims of the dysfunctional justice system, there is a possibility that the inmates feel that they may benefit from trying to manipulate information or portray themselves as victims of unjust structures (logically, it is also possible that they are both criminal offenders and poorly treated by the system). Pleading innocence can act as a protective factor for some offenders. It has been argued that, by maintaining that he has not committed an offence, an offender may be aiming to guarantee that people important to him – such as family and friends – will remain supportive (see e.g. Dealey, 2018), which, in the case of Garowe, is vital to the inmates life in prison. The interviews also indicated that denial may also be connected to the inmates' willingness to take responsibility for their actions. Many of the inmates had a hard time imagining their own roles in the reintegration process, for example, and some underlined the role of families or clans in managing their future. The staff, however, highlighted the need for change in the inmates' lives. While this theme did surface in the interviews, understanding the complexities of denial and shame would require further research in this specific context.

The interviewees implied that radicalization in the prison is not an issue. However, in addition to deficient procedures and perceived injustices, there are other factors that may be counterproductive for possible rehabilitation initiatives or addressing violent extremism. For instance, inmates' religious study groups may increase the risk of radicalization if they are not supervised and inmates' possession of private phones may be a major security risk. The interviewees in Garowe stated that there are issues with the basic prison conditions, including a lack of medical resources, problems with the provision of food and water and with the care of mentally ill prisoners. If true, this runs directly contrary the UN's ambition under the Piracy Prisoner Transfer Programme and is a violation of the Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners.

Local authorities in Puntland are responsible for the basic needs in the prison, but there seems to be issues delivering these services, including salaries for the staff. This underlines the, at times, problematic relationship between local ownership, local resources and international interventions and their long-term effects. However, what is clear is that the lack of basic services in the prison is holding back the potential that the prison has to be an institution for rehabilitation and reform. Research confirms that decent, well-organized prisons that treat prisoners with humanity, are safe, helpful and well policed lead to increased well-being, increased personal development and better outcomes on release (Auty & Liebling, 2019). Poorly managed prison environments may promote radicalisation (Swedish Prison and Probation Service, 2017).

Regarding the prospects for future rehabilitation and reintegration programmes, there are currently no recognized structures in place to build on. There are no separate and specialized facilities for special-needs offenders like juveniles and drug addicts (although inmates who were known to be mentally ill were, to some extent, placed together and away from others). There are no existing treatment programmes designed to address specific issues and offenders and there are no continuous efforts to implement social rehabilitation, which includes education, vocational and social skills training and labour market preparation in advance of release (Robinson & Crow, 2009).<sup>2</sup> Instead, young offenders, individuals with mental health issues and misbehaving sons are grouped together without sustainable, structured activities. What is more, when analysing the respondents' perceptions of rehabilitation, it appears that, in the community as a whole, only one type of rehabilitation – social rehabilitation laying the groundwork for life after release – was identified as rehabilitation. On a practical level, it appears that the concept of rehabilitation is mainly associated with education or training activities. In some cases, the prison was considered a rehabilitation facility for misbehaving family members, simply by way of existing. As noted above, many of the overarching issues in the prison correspond to challenges at a societal level in Puntland and Somalia. For example, access to treatment programmes and therapy is extremely limited in Somalia, and so introducing it in prison would be challenging.

The interviews with community and staff members indicated a lack of trust in a future rehabilitation and reintegration initiative's potential to succeed in changing attitudes and generating long-term effects on violent extremism. This may be due to the perceived strong associations between rehabilitation and education or training activities. Reflecting the lack of confidence in the prospects of a rehabilitation programme generating long-term change, some

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<sup>2</sup> Vocational training was started in the prison during the interview process.

staff members directly stated that what was most important was that the inmates just have something to do while imprisoned. In addition, previous programmes were criticized by the community members interviewed. Some of the interviewees expressed scepticism regarding convicted adult violent extremists' potential to change and reintegrate into the community. The community's inclusion in the process, transparent communication and sensitization were highlighted as vital for any intervention. *"The community needs to understand, accept and support the project. Without them this project will fail, it is them who have to deal with these people at the end of the day."* (IV 5)

Many inmates' experience was that relatives and family members were important supporters during imprisonment and planned to rely on their support for future reintegration. The inmates were happy with weekly family visits and many inmates also stated that, after release, they are likely to reside in a location where they have their family. One shortcoming with this study is that it did not capture the view of families. It is possible that they would describe their relationship with their imprisoned family member differently. However, in addition to family and clan relationships, other types of social ties and contexts may also create successful prospects for rehabilitation and reintegration. When asked explicitly about women's role in a possible programme, many respondents were positive towards women having a role or even stated that women would be vital to the programme. However, the role of women was not raised spontaneously during the interviews. Questions specifically about the role of women in the programme were asked because of the long history of patriarchy in Somalia, the limited public roles of women in Puntland, and the aim of SPPS to work for equal prison services. According to both staff and inmates, relations between the inmates and the staff as well as among the inmates were consistently stated to be good. While there is a certain risk that the respondents did not feel comfortable in stating otherwise, the distance between prisoners and guards in particular, appeared short. Some guards had previously been inmates in the prison, and the two groups seemed to share common educational backgrounds. The important roles held by prison staff should be highlighted in any rehabilitation or reintegration initiatives.

Even though some of the dynamics in Garowe seem to differ substantially from many Western contexts, the findings indicate that many of the inmates' experiences correspond to experiences highlighted in substantially different settings. The pains of imprisonment identified by Sykes also appear to be experienced in Garowe. In particular, the primary pain of imprisonment, the deprivation of liberty, was clearly present, according to the interviewees. In addition, the pain caused by uncertainty for the individual prisoner, was strongly expressed. These issues emerged in the inductive analysis and were not explicitly asked about in the interviews. There may be other more general factors that this study does not capture but that have unique implications in the present context. For instance, imprisonment may generate among the inmates feelings of rejection as a free or trusted member of the community (Sykes, 2007, p. 65), which could have especially severe consequences in Garowe due to the important role of the family and community. Furthermore, the description of the conditions in Garowe Prison suggest that the prison is facing much the same challenges as have been identified elsewhere in Somalia and in East Africa more widely, with the exception of overcrowding.

Previous literature from diverse geographical areas has eluded to the importance of the role of the community in facilitating reintegration after a prison sentence and preventing recidivism, including re-engagement in violent extremism (Grip and Kotajoki, 2019). In Somalia, where state

institutional structures have been weak, families and clans are important providers of support and security. According to the interviews conducted with community members, with the staff and with the prisoners, the role of community and family also appears to be important in the context of Garowe. Close social ties with the family was an accentuated theme in the interviews with community members.

Even though tightly knit communities and good social relations may be valuable resources for preventing crime, they may also cause challenges for reintegration. The community's lack of trust in former extremists was identified in the interviews with local community actors as the biggest obstacle to rehabilitation and reintegration of such prisoners. *"It will be hard to get the community to throw their support behind people who were trying to destabilize their country."* (IV 5) The lack of support from the community for those convicted as former extremists may have implications for the social and economic integration of these individuals. There was consensus in the interviews about the possibility of former extremists being discriminated against after their release. This issue is underlined by other dynamics in the community. For instance, if jobs are found mainly through social networks, as the interview results indicate, vocational training as a part of international engagement in the prison may not generate the expected outcomes if the beneficiary lacks the necessary connections after their release. Furthermore, lack of trust in the transformative power of the rehabilitation and reintegration process may hinder economic integration. *"First, an effort should be made to rehabilitate and then get the community on board and then, and only then, should there be skills training for them. And once the community believes in the process, then they won't have difficulties finding employment."* (IV 2) It would be valuable if future research were to look at experiences of reintegrating violent prisoners in Garowe more generally.

When the inmates were asked about their needs in terms of reintegration, the most common answer was *"I need a job"*. Lack of employment opportunities was, at times, anticipated as being a challenge the inmates may face after their release. Some the inmates interviewed indicated that post-release acceptance by families and the community may depend on financial contributions and thus that employment has a positive impact on social reintegration. Low levels of education and economic vulnerability have been found to be connected to violent extremism in Africa (UNDP, 2017), which underlines how addressing these issues is a part of the reintegration process. Financial support from the government, families or the community for former extremists through employment after release was also highlighted in the interviews with the community members. According to previous research, education and training may have preventive effects or motivate engagement by creating a means to generate alternative livelihoods or by enabling participation in meaningful activities (Jones & Morales, 2012; Kaplan & Nussio, 2018; Webber et al., 2017).

## Chapter 6 Recommendations

### Access to justice and the prison regime

The study found that inmates, community members and prison staff in Garowe frequently perceive the justice system to be flawed and imprisonment to be without due process. Hence, prison reforms should be considered together with broader reforms encompassing the rule of law. However, certain reforms within the prison could improve access to justice and compliance with international standards. Practices in the prison do not resolve the issues relating to the hybrid legal system or discrimination within this system, but may contribute to the well-being of the prisoners by, for example, making them more informed about their rights and current situation. To facilitate access to justice, the local justice system needs to be better understood. In particular, the role of clans and prisoners' dependency on clans should be thoroughly charted and understood by any actors looking to engage in prison programmes and reforms.

A prisoner file management system should be introduced based on the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules). The system should include information related to the judicial process, including dates of court hearings and legal representation. Importantly, the inmate should be informed about the content of the case file. Developing a standardized and continuous procedure for informing inmates would help to ensure they have more equal access to information. When compiling and planning the use of such a system, the capacity and views of the staff should be taken into account. The work with the register and providing information to inmates should be an integral part of day-to-day work in the prison. Well-functioning procedures would also help the staff with their work. At the time of the interviews, there was not even a proper register of all the inmates in Garowe Prison. Educating prisoners and staff about the judicial process would also be beneficial. Experiences of injustice and lack of trust in institutions may fuel grievances and subsequently recidivism or even radicalization to violent extremism.

The prison population in Garowe is an extremely heterogeneous group and the placement of inmates in different security blocks is based on the crime the inmate is convicted or accused of and length of their sentence. Convicted and non-convicted prisoners are placed together. A large proportion is made up of so-called "rehabilitation" inmates who have often committed deeds that are not considered criminal offences in many other countries. The full implications of these, often young, individuals serving one year in prison among serious and repeat offenders are not known. Clearly, the current situation causes substantial negative exposure. Studies from other countries on what is termed the "peer effect" have found that prisoners have an impact on each other's future criminal behaviour by increasing the risk of recidivism. "Criminal learning" in prisons is particularly evident through "advancing" prisoners with previous experience in a particular category of crime to commit similar crimes in the future rather than introducing the prisoners to new types of crime. (Bayer, Hjalmarsson & Pozen, 2009; Damm & Gorinas, 2016) While these findings suggest that the "rehabilitation" inmates in Garowe may be less at risk of future criminality due to their lack of criminal experience (the referenced studies were conducted in Denmark and the United States in facilities not known to host a large population without any past criminal record), there may be an increased risk of "rehabilitation" inmates engaging in crime in the future, as well as the potential risk of radicalization. External actors need to consider how they can work with local authorities to move towards introducing various prison security regimes (i.e. different facilities for low-risk and high-risk offenders) and a dialogue regarding the

consequences of using prisons as disciplinary facilities for clans and families. The staff should also understand the risks related to placements and possible contamination, as well as being aware of their own important role in these processes.

### **Basic prison service**

The interviews consistently indicated that there are ongoing issues with basic prison conditions in Garowe. The issues include lack of medical resources, drinking water and food. While these are challenges faced by many prisons in conflict-affected states, Garowe Prison was built to make a difference. Providing national prison services are the responsibility of domestic actors, yet it is widely acknowledged that post-conflict countries require assistance to (re)build their judicial institutions. In the case of Garowe Prison, it was primarily built and designed to meet a specific demand from international, not local, actors. International actors should cooperate with local and regional authorities in order to develop sustainable ways of providing basic services.

Another basic right of offenders that was referred to repeatedly by inmates and staff was the need and desire of inmates to have something to do. The UN Security Council claimed that Garowe Prison would provide “education and vocational training programmes in such areas as construction, sewing, carpentry and brick-making” (United Nations Security Council, 2014). While some education, vocational training and recreational activities have been offered, they have not been sustained over time. Respondents in all three sets of interviews described formal education and vocational training for the inmates as being particularly useful parts of a possible rehabilitation initiative. The results suggest that there is a willingness among the inmates to take part in education and vocational training. In addition, the staff were very positive towards their own engagement and the inmates’ participation in such activities. The results of this study suggest that providing any activities for the inmates may have preventive effects in terms of violent extremism as they may prevent “an idle mind becoming the devil’s workshop” during imprisonment. However, it cannot be assumed that the prison-based activities will have positive effects on economic reintegration after release. This notion is underlined by the structural economic issues prevalent in Somalia.

While badly managed prisons may generate grievances and promote radicalization, educational and vocational skills gained through a rehabilitation programme may provide extremists with alternative routes to significance that rival the appeal of violence (Webber et al., 2017). The interviews also consistently suggested that religious education was a valuable activity and, if properly managed, this could be beneficial in terms of addressing violent extremist prisoners and for preventive purposes.

The prison population in Garowe changes relatively frequently, which is at least partly due to the large proportion of inmates who are on remand (and, possibly, due to the option to resolve disputes outside of the formal court system). The basic activities offered in the prison should take these fluctuations into account and also include some activities for those who are on remand. Regardless of the nature of the interventions, we recommend that more information about the individual programme beneficiaries be gathered before starting any initiatives so that it is later possible to assess the effects of the initiatives and develop them further.

## Investing in staff

Prison staff play a key role in creating a prison environment that enables rehabilitation and reintegration. We deem investing in capacity building among the staff would be a beneficial part of prison reform and necessary for any targeted programme in the prison. Reportedly, “Strong emphasis has been placed on training and mentoring custodial staff to ensure that the prison is managed in accordance with best practice in the provision of criminal justice”(UN Security Council, 2014). The local staff should also be prepared to take responsibility for the long-term development of the prison.

The findings of this study suggest that staff members value the training they have already received and feel there is a need for further training. Other findings of this study suggest that, in particular, training in communication and systematic information gathering from the inmates should be considered. The good relations between inmates and staff expressed in the interviews indicate that there are good preconditions for developing such procedures in a more systematic direction.

It should be noted that, in terms of writing and reading skills, for instance, the inmates and staff are relatively similar groups. This underlines that if, for instance, basic formal education is provided for the inmates, the needs of the staff should also be taken into account. When developing the prison procedures, the skill levels of the staff need to be taken into account. For instance, a prison file management system that is dependent on reading and writing skills is unlikely to succeed as staff members have limited skills in this regard.

Our study did not gather detailed information about the needs of the staff beyond different types of training. Moreover, based on our study, it is unclear to what extent staff are currently being trained. Future initiatives should pay attention to the skills and needs of staff members. However, according to the information gained by the interviewees, it is clear that the working conditions for staff are currently deficient. For instance, salaries are paid only sporadically, which has caused a very high rate of staff turnover. Reform efforts in the prison should invest in improving the basic working conditions for staff. The regional government is responsible for providing the basic necessities for running the prison, including staff salaries. This underlines the need to engage all important stakeholders when planning and implementing external interventions.

Previous research suggests that staff who deal with violent extremists in prison contexts need specific skill sets and that it is challenging to train staff (Radicalisation Awareness Network, 2016). According to our results, some of the staff have received training relating to the work with violent extremists, but the need for further training should be examined. In addition, building a shared understanding among staff members about the purpose of rehabilitation and reintegration initiatives should be part of any engagement. While the study was ongoing, Garowe Prison had no female staff working in the prison. It should be noted that most of the prisoners stated that they would accept female staff working in their professional capacity in the prison, for example female teachers, although a number of respondents were initially perplexed by the question. Resources should be allocated to the inclusion of women so that their role is not only recognized rhetorically but also put into practice.

## **Social support**

Our results illustrate that the inmates currently receive different forms and amounts of support from their families. While some rely on their families for food, hygiene products and healthcare, for example, others have little contact with their families. The support provided by families seems to be associated with their resources, especially money, and their opportunities to travel to Garowe for visits. Occasionally, a conflict in the family also had negative consequences for support or visits. Due to the poor basic prison services, an inmate's conditions in the prison are strongly affected by his relationship with his family and the family's potential to provide support.

The accumulation of different vulnerabilities relating to economic resources, social connections and place of origin should be addressed in future prison reform, including in rehabilitation and reintegration processes. The results also highlight how specific attention should be paid to building additional support for the most vulnerable prisoners, including those whose families do not live close to the prison or those who have grievances with their families. Under the current conditions, it is unlikely that these individuals are being identified by the prison authorities.

Previous research on addressing violent extremism in conflict-affected contexts suggests that programmes targeting former extremists would benefit from involving inmates' family members both during imprisonment and after release (Grip and Kotajoki, 2019). Relations between the inmates and their families and the support functions that families seem to provide highlight how there are opportunities to facilitate both rehabilitation and reintegration by building on already functioning social relationships and support structures. A possible intervention could involve developing the already functioning family visits and developing post-release support for the inmates and their families. Families are expected to facilitate inmates' rehabilitation and reintegration, but positive effects of the programme may also reach the wider community outside the prison through the involvement of families. Moreover, it could also be beneficial to, for example, facilitate the return of some former prisoners to living near their families or other social networks on whom many inmates are expected to rely after their release. When asked about the role of women, many of the respondents in the community interviews and discussions raised the role of mothers as important actors in rehabilitation and reintegration.

## **Engaging communities**

There is a need to problematize the current role of the prison in Garowe. Currently, there seem to be perceptions that Garowe Prison is a facility for misbehaving family members, while the prison simultaneously plays host to violent convicts – these individuals may even be placed in the same block. Varying understandings of the role of the prison may have implications for the perceived legitimacy of the prison and undermine its functions. The risks associated with the current setup should be reviewed and communicated. If local or international actors want to invest in a rehabilitation programme, there is also a need to build a shared understanding both within the prison in the wider community of the purpose and expected outcome of rehabilitation. The interviews with community members and staff indicated a lack of confidence in the potential for a future rehabilitation and reintegration initiative to succeed in generating long-term effects, especially for violent extremists. Implementing successful rehabilitation initiatives will be impossible without a shared understanding of the aim of such efforts.

In addition to engaging the community in communication and sensitization, the community should be involved in social and economic reintegration efforts for former prisoners. With regard to former violent extremist prisoners, efforts could be made to build trust between former extremists and the community. According to the interviews, there does not seem to be common traditional mechanisms, processes or ceremonies that may be used to facilitate the reintegration process, which highlights the issue of how to facilitate reintegration into the community in practice. The role of victims has been highlighted in some studies that focus on the role of communities (Brewer & Hayes, 2015), and it has been suggested that finding ways to address the grief and loss of community members as a whole is an important factor in improving their relations with the returning former extremists (Annan et al., 2009). Post-release programmes can also benefit from being administered by civil society or other actors that are not associated with the prison or the security services in order to, for example, reduce the stigma associated with such programmes (Ferguson, 2016).

### **Need based approach**

There is a need to develop processes for identifying the individual needs of prisoners. As the relations between staff and inmates are described as good, members of staff could be trained in how to engage with prisoners and how to share information about prisoners that they come into contact with. As there are no registers covering criminal and health history, interviews with family and community members could be used in information gathering. Based on the findings of this study, these interviews should focus on known risk factors such as weak family and clan relations, access to justice, feelings of frustration and anger and mental health issues. Considering the young age of some of the inmates and the history of Garowe Prison hosting young inmates, it may be necessary to plan separate procedures for young offenders.

Most inmates claimed to be first-time offenders and a substantial proportion of the prison population are minor offenders (or in many definitions, not offenders at all). A significant proportion have not been convicted or tried in court. Hence, based on this description, part of the prison population does not need targeted treatment programmes and it could not be ruled out that a significant number of the prisoners are not guilty of any crime. However, the results from this study described vulnerabilities among groups of inmates, especially inmates who do not have family or friends in Garowe to support them with basic necessities and those who have special needs and could be exposed to risks in prison.

The contamination of young and adult “rehabilitation” inmates by violent offenders is considered a risk. While risks associated with violent extremism and radicalization were less prevalent than anticipated, especially among convicted prisoners, (former) al-Shabaab members are likely to be, at least occasionally, placed in Garowe Prison. Thus, beyond the al-Shabaab members identified by the police or intelligence services, other prisoners may be at risk of recruitment or radicalization.

The interviewees were consistently welcoming of initiatives that would introduce new activities in the prison. While interviewees were particularly responsive when it came to education and vocational training, sports and religious studies, this could be influenced by a lack of knowledge about other types of prison treatment program, which have never been offered at Garowe Prison before. Few inmates admitted guilt or claimed responsibility, and many blamed the system. Even the inmates who acknowledged their criminal behaviour seldom recognized their own role in

making a positive change in their lives. Instead, the roles of families, communities or employment prospects, in particular, were highlighted. Importantly, a substantial proportion of the inmates cannot read or write, some appeared to have learning disabilities or mental health issues. These factors all influence responsiveness and should be individually assessed before targeted interventions can be implemented.

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## Annex 1 Interview Guides

### Interview guide community interviews and focus group discussions

Question	
Date	
State	
District	
Occupation	
Gender	
KII Type/FGD Type	
1. How do people in this community tend to earn a living?	
2. How do people without a job support themselves?	
3. How do people find work?	
4. What is good socially in Garowe? What are the weaknesses? Do you think Garowe is socially inclusive?	
5. Are there tensions in this community between different groups/clans? Between what groups? What form does this take?	
6. Are certain groups/clans considered to be marginalised?	
7. Have you heard of people who have joined al-Shabaab in Puntland? If so, what do you think their reasons for joining were?	
8. Are there any specific groups/clans that you see are more commonly perceived being associated with al-Shabaab or ISIS? If so, which ones?	
9. What is the most effective method for the government to reach the community with their message?	
10. How do you view the security situation in Garowe?	
11. How is the relationship between the a) army b) police c) intelligence and the local community?	
12. What sort of relationship does al-Shabaab / ISIS have with the local community? Do you think people in the local community support them? Why? What do you think is the reason why al-Shabaab hasn't carried out attacks in Garowe recently?	
13. What sort of threat does al-Shabaab / ISIS pose to Garowe?	
14. Have you heard of cases of former members of al-Shabaab / ISIS or their families being threatened or attacked by these groups?	
15. What would you say are the strengths and weaknesses of the formal justice system? What improvements should be made	
16. What is the judicial procedure with regard to terrorist convicts?	

17. Are there other more legitimate traditional or clan-based judicial processes for terrorist convicts?	
18. Are there any additional judicial processes that we haven't talked about ? (With regard to clans or community)?	
19. To what extent is radicalisation in prison a problem? How do you know? Are you aware of specific cases of individuals being radicalized in prison, or is it just something that you heard that certain prisoners become radicalized?	
20. Imagine there was a programme to provide rehabilitation and reintegration support to prisoners who were formerly involved with al-Shabaab / ISIS. What sorts of support would that programme need to provide?	
21. Do you think that families could support the rehabilitation and reintegration process? How?	
22. Do you think community members could support the rehabilitation and reintegration process, e.g. community elders, religious leaders, clan leaders etc.? How?	
23. What role do you believe the government should have in these kind of programmes?	
24. What roles could women play in this kind of programme?	
25. What do you think would be the main obstacles to rehabilitation and reintegration in this community?	
26. Do you think that former members of al-Shabaab / ISIS who have been rehabilitated are likely to face challenges when they try and find work? Do you think that they will experience discrimination from other community members?	
27. Does the community have any traditional mechanisms, processes or ceremonies that may be used to facilitate the reintegration process?	
28. If we are considering the idea of supporting the rehabilitation and reintegration process of former members of al-Shabaab / ISIS, are there any other things that you think that we should know that we have not already discussed?	

## Interview guide Prisoners

Date	
Interview number	
Demographic Information	
<p><b>Tell me a little bit about yourself, what's your background? Family situation?</b> Waxaad xooga ii sharaxda nolosha aad ku kortay iyo wixi aad so martay? Xalada qoyskaaga ama reerkaga wa sidee?</p>	
<p><b>How old are you? Imisa jirta?</b></p>	
<p><b>Where do you come from? (region and district) Gobolkee ka timid? Iyo degmada?</b></p>	
<p><b>What is your nationality? Wa maxay jiinsagaaga?</b></p>	
<p><b>Are you from a minority clan? Qabiilkaaga ma yahay kuwa laga tiro badan yahay?</b></p>	
<p><b>What is your marital status? Xaladaada guur wa sidee?</b></p>	
<p><b>How many children do you have? Imisa caruur aya leedahay?</b></p>	
<b>Education and work experience</b>	
<p><b>Can you tell me a bit about your education and training?</b> Sharaaxad ku sabsan nolashadaada, waxbarashadaada iyo tababaraha aad so martay ma iga siin karta?</p>	
<p><b>Can you read? (yes, limited, no)? Sida lo akhriyo ma taqana?</b></p>	
<p><b>Can you write? Sida wax lo qoraa ma taqana?</b></p>	
<p><b>What is the highest level of formal education you have completed? Wa maxay heerka waxbarasho ugu saareysa aad ka gaartay?</b></p>	
<p><b>Have you attended any technical or vocational training? Waliga ma ka qeyb qadaatay waxbarashada farsamada gacanta ama waxbarashada aan rasmiga ahayn?</b></p>	
<p><b>Do you have any military-security training? Please explain</b> Ma ka qeyb qadaatay tababar cidaan ama military? Fadlan Sharax.</p>	
<p><b>Have you attended religious school? How long?</b> Dugsi diini ah ama malcaamad ma dhigtay? Hadii ha, intee le'eg aya dhiganeysey?</p>	
<p><b>What previous occupations have you had? (list all mentioned)</b> Wa maxay shaqooyinka aad hore uu haysa, hadii aad shaqeyn jirtay? (Kuli qor)</p>	
<b>Prosocial factors</b>	
<p><b>How is your relationship with your family? How do they support you (in what way)?</b> Xiriirka qoyskaaga iyo adiga wa sidee? Sidee ayey ku tageeran?</p>	
<p><b>How is your relationship with your friends? How do they support you (in what way)?</b> Xiriirka adiga iyo asxaabtaada wa sidee? Sidee ayey ku tageeran?</p>	
<p><b>Have any of your family members/friends been imprisoned?</b> Ma jirtaa dad ka tirsan qoyskaaga ama asxaabtada oo xabsi ku xiran ama ku xirnaan jiray?</p>	
<p><b>How does your clan view the fact that you have been convicted? Do you think they will support you after your release?</b></p>	

Qabiilkaaga sidee ayey uu arkaan xukunkaaga? Ma umalaynesa in ay ku taagerayaan markii lagu sii daayo?	
<b>Crime perception</b>	
<b>How long have you been here? Have you had a trial?</b> Muddo intee le'eg aya halkan joogta? Maxkamad ma so martay?	
<b>What are you charged for?</b> Dembi nooce aya lagu soo oogay?	
<b>How do you view the charge and the trial?</b> Sidaa uu aragta dembiga lagu soo oogay iyo maxkamada lagu qaaday?	
<b>Have you previously been charged with any crimes?</b> Mar hore miyaa dembiyo lagu so oogay?	
<b>When where you captured?</b> Gorma lagu qabtay?	
<b>Where were you captured?</b> Xagee lagu qabtay?	
<b>When did you arrive at the prison?</b> Gorma timid xabsiga?	
<b>When are you expected to be released?</b> Gormaad is leedahay wa lagu sii daayn doona ama xornimo heli doonta?	
<b>Prison conditions</b>	
<b>How do you view the general conditions in the prison (food, medical services, cells)?</b> Sidee uu aragta xalada guud ee xabsiga (sida cuntada, adeega cafimad, iyo qolalka)	
<b>How do you view the relationship between prisoners and prison staff?</b> Sidee uu aragta xiriirka uu dheexaya maxbuusta iyo askarta xabsiga?	
<b>How is the relationship between different groups of prisoners, e.g. between high-risk and low-risk, between pirates and others, between former al-Shabaab and others, etc.?</b> Xiriirka ka dheexaya kooxaha kale duwan ee maxabiista ah wa sidee?	
<b>How do you view the activities (basic education, vocational training, sports) provided in the prison?</b> Sidee uu aragta adeegyada laga biixiyo xabsiga (sida waxbarashada asaasiga, tababarka farsamada iyo ciiyaraha)	
<b>How do you view the religious services provided? If the prison provided religious services, is that something that you think you would become involved in?</b> Sidee uu aragta adeegayada diimeed ee laga biixiyo xabsiga? Hadii adeego diimeed sida dugsi Quraanka iyo arkaano Islaamka la bixin laha ma ka qeyb geli laheed?	
<b>How do you view the opportunities for family visits?</b> Sidee uu aragta fursadaha boqoshada qoyska?	
<b>If you think about your time here in prison, can you think about any specific activities or programmes that you would like to see?</b> Hadii aad ka fakirtid mudada aad halkan joogtay, ma jiraan barnamijyo ama wax qabad aad jeclan lahayd in aad aragtid ama ka qeyb gashid?	
<b>If there were female staff at the prison, would you be happy to work with them?</b> Hadii ee shaqaalo dumar ah ka howl geli lahaayen xabsiga, raali ma ka ahaan laheed?	
<b>Aspirations</b>	

<p><b>What would be a likely location of residence after you are released?</b> Xagee ba isleedahay wa degi lahayd markii lagu sii daayo?</p>	
<p><b>What is the reason you will likely reside in this location?</b> Wa maxay sababta aad uu degi laheed goobtaas?</p>	
<p><b>What kind of social networks do you have in this location (family, friends, clan members)?</b> Yaa ku tiirsan tahay oo bulshada ka mid ah oo goobtaas jooga (asxaab, qoyskaaga, qabiilkaaga?)</p>	
<p><b>How are you expecting to earn a living?</b> Sidee aya is leedahay aya ku heli doonta nolol maalmeedkaaga?</p>	
<p><b>What challenges do you anticipate once you are released?</b> Wa maxay caqabadaha aad umalaynesid in aad la kulmi doonto markii lagu sii daayo?</p>	
<p><b>Do you have any concerns regarding your personal safety or security once you are released?</b> Wax walaac ah miyaa ka qabtaa amaankaaga ama naftaada marki lagu sii daayo?</p>	
<p><b>Which individuals (family, community members, clan, elders etc.) could best support your reintegration process?</b> Wa kuwee dadka si wanagsan ku taageri karo marka xariigaaga dhameysatid oo aad doonesid in aad bulshada dib ugu so laabatid?</p>	
<p><b>What do you need to do yourself to be able to reintegrate successfully?</b> Wa maxay waxyabaha aad uu bahantahay si aad dib bulshada ugu dheex noolatid?</p>	
<p><b>Is there anything else we have not covered that you think will be important to your reintegration back into the community?</b> Ma jiraan wax kale oo aad rabtid in aad nala wadaagtid oo aan ka boodnay si aad bulshada dib ugu soo laabatid?</p>	

## Interview guide for prison staff

<p><b>What is your position in the prison?</b> Wa maxay doorkaaga xabsigan?</p>	
<p><b>How long have you worked in the prison?</b> Waqti intee le'eg aya ka shaqayneysay xabsigan?</p>	
<p><b>What is your motivation for working in this prison?</b> Wa maxay sababaha aad xabsiga uga shaqeysa?</p>	
<p><b>How old are you?</b> Imisa jirta?</p>	

<p><b>Can you read?</b> Wax ma akhridaa?</p>	<p>(a) Yes (b) Ha (c) Limited (d) Xooga (e) No (f) Maya</p>
<p><b>Can you write?</b> Wax ma qortaa?</p>	<p>(g) Yes (h) Ha (i) Limited (j) Xooga (k) No (a) Maya</p>
<p><b>How is the relationship between prisoners and prison staff generally?</b> Xiriir ka dheexaya maxabiista iyo shaqalaha xabsiga sidee ayu yahay?</p>	
<p><b>How do prison commanders and staff assess the risk levels of prisoners? How do they decide which blocks to place prisoners in?</b> Sarakiisha xabsiga iyo shaqalaha kale sidee uu qiimayen khatarta ay keeni karaan maxabiista qarkood? Sidee uu kale saraan qeybaha kale duwan ay dajiyeen maxabiista ama blocks ka ay dajiyeen?</p>	

<p><b>Do many of the prisoners have mental health issues, including things like stress, anxiety, sadness, poor or inconsistent sleep, bad dreams, agitation, a tendency to isolate themselves from others, concentration deficits or negative visions of the future? What do you do with such cases?</b></p> <p>Maxabiis badan ma qaban xanuunada dhimirka ama maskaxda sidee diiqada ama stress ka, walaac, murugo, hurdo la'aan, riyada xun, xanaaqa fuduud, in ay is go'doomiyan oo dad kale dheex galin, in ay maskaxdooda iska maqantahay, ama in ay mustaqbalka ka haystan aragti xuun? Maxa ka sameysan kiisaska noocas?</p>	
<p><b>Do you work with al-Shabaab prisoners? How do you find it working with al-Shabaab prisoners? Can you describe the difference working with these prisoners and other prisoners?</b></p> <p>Ma la shaqeysa maxabiista Al Shabaab lagu xukumay? Sidee uu aragta? Markay noqoto shaqadaada ma ii sheegi karta kala duwanaanshaha uu dheexaya maxabiistan iyo maxabiista kale?</p>	
<p><b>What would you think about the idea of providing rehabilitation programmes for al-Shabaab prisoners? Could you see yourself having a role in such a programme?</b></p> <p>Maxa ka oran lahayd fikir ah in loo sameyo barnaamij dhaqan celin ah oo lo sameynayo maxabiista Al Shabaab lagu xukumay ama lagu eedayey? Ma isleedahay door ba ka ciyari karta barnaamijkan?</p>	
<p><b>Do you think that members of al-Shabaab can be rehabilitated and become good and productive members of the community? Or do you think that they will always remain bad people?</b></p> <p>Ma umalaynesa in dadka ka tirsan Al Shabaab la hagaajin karo oo ay noqon karaan dad caadi ah oo bulshada ku dheex nool? Ama waxaad umalaynesa in ay waligood ahaan doonan dad xun?</p>	

<p><b>Do you think that radicalisation is a problem in Garowe prison? Do you know of specific cases who have been radicalised in this prison by members of al-Shabaab?</b></p> <p>Ma umalayneysa in xaq jirnimada ay tahay mushkulid ka jirta Xabsiga Garowe? Miyaad garenesa kiisas dhacay oo miyaad ka warqabtaa kiisas gaar ah oo maxabiis xagjir ku noqday xabsiga dheexdiisa?</p>			
<p><b>Do you think the lack of due process for some inmates specifically ones with charged with AS can contribute to further radicalizing them or them joining?</b></p> <p>Ma umalaynesa maxabiista Al Shabaab lagu eedeeyey oo aan la xukumin oo ruuman ku jooga xabsiga muddo badan, ay keeni karto in ay xaq jir noqdaan ama ay ku biiraan?</p>			
<p><b>How do you find it working with other high-risk prisoners? Can you describe the difference working with these prisoners and other prisoners?</b></p> <p>Sidee uu aragta la shaqeynta maxabiista khatarta badan? Ma ii sheegi karta kale duwanaansha uu dheexaya maxabiistaas iyo maxabiista kale?</p>			
<p><b>To what extent do prisoners from different blocks interact with each other?</b></p> <p>Maxabiista qeybaha kale duwan deegan ama blocks kale duwan intee le'eg ayey is dheex galan oo is arkaan?</p>			
<p><b>Are there any issues between specific groups of prisoners (e.g. pirates, al-Shabaab etc.)? What form do these issues take, e.g. tensions only, fights etc.?</b></p> <p>Ma jiraan khilaafyo uu dheexaya kooxaha maxbuus ah. Sidee burcad badeedka iyo Al Shabaab iyo kooxaha kale. Hadii ay ha tahay, sidee ayu khilaafkan uu dhaca, ma dagaal ba mise wa mid afka ah?</p>			
<p><b>What information does the prison regularly collect about prisoners, how is this stored and who has access?</b></p> <p>Xoog nooc ee ayu xabsiga aruuriya, xagee lagu keydiya xoogtan, yaa awooda in uu isticmaalo ama arko xoogta?</p>	<i>Type of data</i>	<i>Storage</i>	<i>Access</i>



<p><b>a. Human rights training?</b> Tababar Xaquuqda bulshada?</p>	<p>YES / SOMEWHAT / NO</p>
<p><b>b. Rule of law training?</b> Tababar ku sabsan sharciga?</p>	<p>YES / SOMEWHAT / NO</p>
<p><b>c. The justice chain training?</b> Tababar ku sabsan garsoorka?</p>	<p>YES / SOMEWHAT / NO</p>
<p><b>d. Administrative procedures training?</b> Tababar ku sabsan mamulka?</p>	<p>YES / SOMEWHAT / NO</p>
<p><b>e. Prison security training?</b> Tababar xabsiga aamnigiisa?</p>	<p>YES / SOMEWHAT / NO</p>
<p><b>f. Vulnerable groups training?</b> Tababar ku sabsan dadka nugul?</p>	<p>YES / SOMEWHAT / NO</p>
<p><b>g. High-risk groups training?</b> Tababar ku sabsan kooxda khatarta badan?</p>	<p>YES / SOMEWHAT / NO</p>
<p><b>h. Visits and contacts training?</b> Tababar ku sabsan boqashada iyo xiriirka</p>	<p>YES / SOMEWHAT / NO</p>
<p><b>i. Complaints procedures training?</b> Tababar ku sabsan cabashada nidaamkiisa</p>	<p>YES / SOMEWHAT / NO</p>



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